

When "Reciprocity" Really Means Surrender

"We say to the North Vietnamese: 'We will stop bombing if you will stop infiltrating.' What does that add up to? It adds up to: 'You leave to our tender mercy the Viet Cong and we will stop our bombing.' Of course they are not going to do it. Why should they? Why should they withdraw forces unless we do? We talk about infiltration by

them. We have more than 500,000 men in Vietnam."
—Morse in the Senate June 21. A week later the Lawyers Committee on American Policy Towards Vietnam in a letter to Chairman Fulbright of Senate Foreign Relations attacked this U.S. demand for "reciprocity" as a threat to peace and urged public hearings on the issue.

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Billions for Missiles and Pennies for Poverty

The day the poor were driven out of Resurrection City was the day the Senate voted to approve an anti-missile system. Monday June 24 deserves to go down in history for its symbolic significance. Congress turned a flinty banker's face to the poor but took the first step toward the deployment of an ABM (anti-ballistic missile) network which could cost more than their most utopian demands. The first installment for Sentinel, the "thin" one, is \$5 billion. The total cost of the big one the military-industrial complex wants can easily run to \$50 billion. Even that is only the beginning. For the ABM will set off a new spiral in the arms race, as each side builds more missiles to overwhelm the other's anti-missiles, and then more anti-missiles to counter the new missiles. "And at the end of it all," as Nelson of Wisconsin told the Senate that day, the U.S. and the Soviet Union "will be right back where we started, except out of pocket \$50 to \$100 billion."

No Police Barred Them

While the chief lobbyist of the poor, the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy went to jail, the lobbyists of the military-industrial complex celebrated their biggest victory. The ABM will prove to be our most wasteful handout. But the lobbyists who sold this bill of goods did not have to live in shanties or confront police lines on their way to the Capitol. The clients of the welfare state ought to get acquainted with the clients of the warfare state. The decision to go ahead with the ABM, *Congressional Quarterly* said in a special study May 24 of the Military-Industrial Complex, will benefit more than 15,000 companies including such major defense contractors as General Electric, General Dynamics and Thiokol-Chemical. One brokerage firm told its customers last summer that the day Congress approved the ABM was "the day they will shake the money tree for electronic companies." In the last quarter of 1967, after Johnson overruled McNamara and approved the Sentinel, 75 mutual investment funds "sold \$90 million in other stock holdings [the CQ report says] and invested the proceeds in electronics."

The ABM is the latest break-through in the arms race and it is time to recognize the arms race for what it is—the social-

The Changes At The Court

"It still seems a happy accident," we wrote in the Weekly 15 years ago, "that produced a Warren in the party of Nixon and Knowland, and determined the award of our highest judicial office to a Republican as respected, humane and liberal as Earl Warren." We were the only publication on the Left to welcome the appointment. The Vinson court, packed by Truman cronies, tried to read the cold war into the Constitution. The Warren court helped to dissipate the miasma of McCarthyism and in the Brown decision sought to put the Negro a giant step forward to full equality. If the hopes it aroused have been disappointed, the fault is not Warren's. We were stung to tears when we heard the new Chief Justice declare segregation of Negro children in the schools "generates a feeling of inferiority . . . that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone." The direct and simple humanity of that utterance was Warren at his best. The Court over which he presided has ever sought to widen democracy and to humanize law.

We believe his successor has already shown he will carry on in the same tradition, and it is a happy day that brings the defender of Owen Lattimore in the darkest days of the witch hunt to the Chief Justiceship. We also welcome the appointment of Judge Homer Thornberry. The South is underrepresented on the Court. Thornberry on the Fifth Circuit has already shown a consistency and strength on civil liberties and Negro rights few would have suspected from a rather tepid record in Congress. Last December he struck down as unconstitutional an ordinance under which anti-war demonstrators against President Johnson at Killeen, Texas, had been convicted; he could have dodged the issue. He dissented sharply when the Circuit declined to hear Stokely Carmichael's appeal from an incitement to riot conviction in Selma, and indicated plainly that he felt the majority was being unfairly swayed by Mr. Carmichael's notoriety.

ism of the rich. It is the welfare system which supports some of our richest corporations. The physicist Ralph Lapp, who did so much to arouse the country to the fallout danger in the campaign against nuclear testing, has provided the best overall view of what the ABM and the arms race really mean in

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his new book, "The Weapons Culture." The spokesmen for the poor should use it as ammunition. Dr. Lapp observed that the so-called free enterprise system "has been distorted into a kind of 'defense socialism', in which the welfare of the country is permanently tied to the continued growth of military technology and the continued stockpiling of military hardware." Dr. Lapp estimates that since World War II the U.S. has spent about one trillion dollars—1,000 billions or 1,000,000 millions—on armament! The program has fallen like manna on the country club set and—with the related space program—created a whole new generation of millionaires. We could have cleaned up every slum and solved every racial and social problem with a fraction of the money, thought and energy which went into military hardware, most of it already junked as obsolete.

As Soon As Solidarity Day Was Over

Solidarity Day brought a vast throng to Washington and half a dozen Establishment phonies hastened to address it from the Lincoln Memorial. But no occasional upsurge of benevolent feeling, much less spurious oratorical generalities about poverty, are going to change the allocation of resources between those who grow rich on weaponry and those who decay on welfare. The swift liquidation of Resurrection City once the visitors had departed was the reflection of a more permanent solidarity among those who fatten on the waste of national income. Those poor shanties the police destroyed were the first signs, we hope, of a widening and continued struggle against the inhumanity and the irrationality of our spending policy. During the House debate June 26 which ended with sharp cuts in the welfare budget, a typical Iowa Republican opponent of the poverty program said the country did not have "money to throw away . . . on this type of luxury" while a tightwad on the Democratic side (Flood of Pennsylvania) cried, "What do you want? Diamonds? What are you going to use for money? Cigar store coupons?" But when it comes to the war machine and the space program the

Unsolicited Testimonials to McCarthy

"The nomination of Senator McCarthy would cause the Republicans the most trouble, he [Reagan] said, because McCarthy is also a critic of the Johnson Administration and would offer a less inviting target than a candidate who defends it."

—Tom Wicker interview with Governor Reagan, New York Times, June 24.

"It [the Humphrey organization] is winning the delegates but it is worried about the voters. . . . Their delegate count . . . still leaves them unhappy, and they are honest enough to admit it. . . . They don't like their own record on the war—Mr. Johnson's and therefore Mr. Humphrey's. . . . Many of them have trouble dealing with their own children. They face the charge that they represent the political bosses while McCarthy represents the anti-war sentiment of the majority of the people."

—James Reston from Washington same day.

billions flow freely.

Mrs. Green of Oregon protested that this same Congress had voted \$4 billion for the space program. "That means," she said, "we are willing to spend more dollars for outer space than we are willing to spend in total amount of tax dollars for the education of 50 million boys and girls in our elementary and secondary schools." But education, unlike the race for the moon, does not rain dollars on Houston, Texas. "It makes me heart-sick," Mrs. Green cried, "to see my nation spending in one day in Vietnam more than the total amount of increase I am requesting that affects 2 million teachers and the quality of education for 50 million boys and girls." It is not only the blacks nor only the poor who suffer from the huge allocations to the war and space machines. It is the quality of American life. Urban blight and pollution could be ended permanently for what that war in Vietnam has cost us. Abernathy's little army has been fighting a battle for all of us.

Resurrection City is supposed to have been a mess. I found

Hanoi Charges Sharp Stepup In U.S. Bombing Since LBJ's Geographic Limitations

"Since 31 March 1968 the number of raids against North Vietnam has increased enormously. Previously the number of raids against all North Vietnam was 2,500 per month at the most (in January and March 1968). The number of raids against the former 4th zone [below the 20th parallel] after 31 March 1968 rose to more than 3,500 in April and to more than 4,700 in May.

"Whereas during the first quarter of 1968 the daily average was 75 raids for all North Vietnam, it rose to 115 in April and to 152 in May for the region extending from the 20th parallel to the Vinh Linh area. . . . The number of targets attacked also increased. While in March 1968 the U.S. aggressors bombed 2,000 targets in all North Vietnam, they attacked 2,300 of them in April in the former 4th zone and 3,700 in May in the same zone. The attacks were effected with a brutality and a cruelty much more severe than previously. . . .

"B-52 strategic superbombers and ultrarapid-fire cannon were used increasingly. In May 1968, B-52 planes, for 7 days in a row, conducted 32 carpet-bombing strikes against the Vinh Linh area. The same zone received 40,000 shells launched by the artillery installed south of the demilitarized

zone and by big cannons of the 7th fleet.

"Various types of anti-personnel bombs were used more frequently and in greater quantities. In May 1968 alone, 8,000 delayed-action bombs were dropped on 200 civilian targets . . . and nearly 1,000 containers enclosing more than 600,000 spherical steel pellet bombs were dumped on the same zone to massacre the civilian population. Napalm bombs were indiscriminately dropped. . . . The Americans used in large quantities phosphorus bombs and shells. . . .

"The main targets chosen by the U.S. imperialists were densely populated areas and civilian objectives. . . . Fifteen markets of Nghe An, Ha Tinh and Quang Binh province sustained in May 1968, 16 attacks with 400 explosive bombs and a great mass of steel pellet bombs. . . . The quibbles advanced by the Americans on peace de-escalation, abstention from attacks on the civilian population and against food-producing areas and so forth are deceitful arguments. In reality the Americans continue to step up their aggressive war. . . ."

—Hanoi radio international service in French 0747GMT June 11 reporting a declaration issued by the North Vietnamese war crimes commission the day before.