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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.

it inspiring. It reminded me of the Jewish displaced persons' camps I visited in Germany after the war. There was the same squalor and the same bad smells, but also the same hope and the same will to rebuild from the ashes of adversity. To organize the hopeless, to give them fresh spirit, to set them marching was truly resurrection. If much went wrong, that was to be expected; what was miraculous was that so much could be accomplished with the supposed dregs of our society. Disorganization is hardly a novelty in Washington; you can find it everywhere from Capitol Hill to the Pentagon. The striking thing about Resurrection City is that there was so much genuine non-racialism. The organizers have been given very little credit for bridging a gap everyone deplores. The Rev. Ralph David Abernathy is not the first man of God to be ridiculed and jailed. The wry humor of the poor he led was summed up for me by that touching sign on one of the mule wagons. "Don't Laugh Folks," it said, "Jesus Was A Poor Man." It would be tragic if their voices were so easily smothered.

Mules More Precious Than Men

The skewed vision which afflicts the respectable in our society was beautifully summed up in the outburst of concern for the 23 skinny mules that finally made it to Washington. The first edition of the *Washington Daily News* June 28 carried across its front page a picture of a mule in clover with a caption saying that the mules had been moved to pasture land in Columbia, Maryland, "where the meadows go for \$8000 an acre and their next-door neighbors are \$15,000 show horses and \$20,000 stallions. 'They're going to be treated better than any mules in the history of muledom,' one bountiful lady says." What of the poor hungry human mules who balked at their heavy burdens?

When the Vietnamese war causes inflation, the poor bear the burden in the shape of higher living costs; they eat less. When higher taxes are imposed and the budget cut to save the dollar from inflation, the poor pay again in the shape of fewer jobs (see box at the top of this page) and reduced wel-

The Price The Poor Pay In The Tax Bill

"The very heart of the Kerner Commission report is that we must provide more jobs for the Nation's poor. The report specifically recommends the creation of 1 million public sector jobs and 1 million private sector jobs forthwith. Mr. President, how can we begin to create an additional 2 million jobs when we are taking action today that will destroy a million jobs? I have in my possession a letter from Gardner Ackley, former head of the Council of Economic Advisers under President Johnson, and a leading proponent of the tax increase. Mr. Ackley assures me in this letter that the tax increase will eliminate hundreds of thousands of jobs.

"Mr. President, if we add to the tax increase that mandate for expenditure reduction, this whole package bill in my view, will increase unemployment by 1 million. Mr. President, let us ask, who are going to be those who are among the million to be laid off? . . .

"Garth Mangum, eminent economist, told our committee and told it truly that the poor have been the price stabilizers of our economy, that we have achieved price stability by keeping a proportion of our population out of work and the incidence of unemployment has fallen very, very heavily among the unskilled white and especially Negro American citizens."

—Proxmire (D. Wisc.) in the Senate during debate on the tax bill, June 21.

fare. And now that there is hope the Vietnam war may be ending and more funds available to help them, the Under Secretary of the Treasury tells a Town Hall audience in Los Angeles June 25 that he doubts the end of the war will bring any sizeable reduction in the military budget. Mr. Barr estimated that "a cessation of hostilities would result in great pressures to rebuild stock in military supplies and equipment to a more acceptable level." He informs us that "We have been fighting this war on a very, very lean [only \$80 billion!] budget." How dare the poor be so obstreperous when the Pentagon is so hungry?

July 31

We'll comment in our next issue on the Gromyko-Johnson exchange for a summit conference on the ABM and the arms race.

How Little Noticed Official Testimony In Washington Confirms Hanoi's Charges

Secretary of Defense CLIFFORD: The restriction of the bombing to the 20th [parallel], in my opinion, has not done us very much damage. We are concentrating our force in a smaller area down where the panhandle of North Vietnam begins, and the whole flow of traffic that comes from this wide area up here [apparently he had a map before the committee] comes down into the handle of the pan. We are concentrating our bombing through there. We are increasing the number of missions over that area very substantially. As I remember the figures, they were something like 3,000 [sorties] in February, about 5,000 in March, 7,000 in April, AND NOW THEY ARE RUNNING AT AROUND 10,000 SORTIES A MONTH. [Emphasis added.] We are destroying more trucks than ever before.

—Testimony at p. 727 of the House Appropriations Hearings on the 1969 second supplemental. The Secretary testified in executive session on May 28 but the hearings were not released until June 6. This shows that in May the number of bombing sorties were twice as great as in March before the President announced that bombing would be limited. This startling figure has gone almost unnoticed. Later in the same hearing (at p. 762) some idea was given

of the increase in bomb tonnages dropped. Joseph P. Addabbo (D. N.Y.) asked whether in the new budget requests allowance was made for what he supposed was ordinance saved by the restrictions on bombing the North:

Paul H. NITZE, Deputy Secretary of Defense: Even though we are not bombing north of the 20th parallel[deletion by censor], at the present time, the number of sorties being flown in North Vietnam has not decreased, because we have increased the rate of bombing—correct me if I am wrong General Clay. It is my impression that the aggregate number of sorties—

Major General Lucius D. CLAY, Jr., U.S. Air Force: The total number of sorties is holding fairly constant.

Mr. ADDABBO: What about the bomb load?

Major Gen. D. L. CROW, director, budget, U.S. Air Force: I can give you the pertinent data. Total expenditures in the month of March for Air Force munitions were 91,700 tons. In February it was 78,100, and in January it was 67,600. So, you can see, on a comparable basis, even though we have stopped bombing north of the 20th parallel, as a consequence of the additional B-52 sorties the overall expenditure of munitions have considerably increased.