

trol. The essence is not gun control but hate control.

This is not an argument against gun control; there are far too many guns around. But gun control will not prevent insurrection unless we end the frustration in the ghetto and the settlement of inter-human disputes by force, as in the Palestine conflict which Sirhan reflected, and above all in Vietnam. If we have no choice in November but Humphrey or Nixon—especially if Humphrey is accompanied by a Teddy Kennedy sellout—then the nihilistic anger will deepen. Events everywhere have shown that tiny groups of revolutionaries can polarize whole campuses and countries when a malaise of this kind grows.

### McCarthy Is Our Last Chance

Only McCarthy offers a way to escape, a way to make democratic processes meaningful again, a way to preserve peace at home by moving swiftly toward it in Vietnam. He has grown, his campaign has deepened, his appeal has widened. All of us professional dopesters and commentators—myself included—have underestimated him. No man has been counted out more often; no man has made the polls and the political consensus look sillier more often. We think he has a fighting chance, if we all close ranks behind him.

His speech to the Fellowship of Reconciliation in New York June 13 was one of his finest. It struck a new note when it said that in Vietnam we must end the war "under conditions which do justice not only to our honor but to the honor of our opponents, and most of all to the common wish to live and to rebuild." This recalls de Gaulle's call to the Algerian rebels for "a peace of the brave" with honor to both sides. He called—as the next step—to a liquidation of the cold war atmosphere and an arms reduction agreement with the Soviet Union to lift the menace of thermonuclear war. He called for an end to the world policeman role and to letting American policy be made—tail-wag-the-dog style—"by small and often undemocratic governments who get out support only by their claim to be anti-Communist."

McCarthy may be our last chance for peace. We do not know what will happen after the election. There are ominous signs. There are indications that the conviction of Dr. Spock

### How the Viet Cong Use Our Firepower

"It's of really no military consequence. It does make headlines, I must say."

—Westmoreland on the VC shelling of Saigon, Washington Star, June 11.

"In fact, the Viet Cong have discovered a way—the discovery was made accidentally during the Tet offensive—of using the American firepower against them. For the loss of a dozen or so brave men the Viet Cong can rely on showing up the weakness and indiscipline of the South Vietnamese Government troops and they can count on a whole suburb being destroyed in the process. With the showers of rockets and mortar shells every night they hope that an overwhelming demand will be built up that Saigon should be evacuated, especially women and children—but where to? If Saigon is not safe nowhere in South Vietnam is safe."

—Murray Sayle, London Sunday Times, June 9.

and three associates is but the beginning of a whole series of prosecutions intended to break resistance to war and intimidate the peace movement. Why the further prosecutions in the works if the Johnson Administration really looks toward peace? They serve a political purpose only if the war is to escalate again, and some way must be found in advance to prevent effective protest.

There is another factor which makes redoubled efforts for McCarthy urgent. There are signs that the Johnson Administration at Paris has upped the price for a complete cessation of the bombing in the North. At one time its position was that we would only stop the bombing if we were sure talks would follow. Talks are on now. The San Antonio formula and the Clifford explanation was that we would end the bombing totally if we could assume that the enemy would not afterward raise the level of supplies and reinforcements into the South. But now it seems that Harriman is asking that Hanoi agree to shut off aid to the south altogether before we will end the bombing. This, it appears, is the real meaning of Harriman's emphasis on restoring the DMZ and enforcing the 1962 Laotian agreement. The first would end all move-

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### A Brave Civil Rights Commission Report Timed to Help The Poor Peoples March

"The South has been exporting its problems North. Many of the unemployed, frustrated, hopeless people of the cities are migrants from rural areas, who have left behind other unemployed, frustrated and hopeless people . . . [G]overnment is not intervening effectively at any point to provide people who have been victims of slavery and discrimination with an opportunity to lead decent and productive lives. . . . Government policy is not making it possible for him to stay on the land or work in the towns of the area, it is not equipping him with the education and skill which will enable him to survive in the big city or to obtain a job once he gets there, and it is not providing any place else for him to go. . . .

"The total economic dependence of black people is not confined to the agricultural sector of the economy. Even when family income is from nonfarm employment, extensive underemployment and seasonal employment requires that families seek credit from others in order to survive. The Commission heard testimony about Bellamy, Alabama, a company town owned by the American Can Company and the site of one of their large sawmill operations. Frank Fenderson, an employee, who lives at Bellamy, testified that his total take home pay for two weeks' work, after deduc-

tion for taxes, rent and debts owed to the company store, was five dollars. . . . [W]hen government programs fail to reach people they remain dependent upon their old masters—the plantation owner, the furnishing merchant, the bossman. . . .

"Companies holding millions of dollars of government contracts and required to take steps to provide equal opportunity engage in blatant discrimination. For example, the American Can Company is a government contractor. Its Company town, Bellamy, is totally segregated. Only four black homes have running water and inside toilet facilities; every white house has running water and inside toilet facilities. . . . Before the economic bondage which exists in Alabama can be ended it will be necessary to develop programs to assure every family a standard of living adequate to provide at least a reasonable chance in life. . . . [But] it is not enough merely to shift the focus of dependency from a plantation owner to a government agency. People must be given some measure of influence or control over programs and decisions which affect them. . . .

—William L. Taylor, Staff Director U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, June 14, reporting on Alabama.

## Indications That We Are Stiffening Our Terms In Paris

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ment across the zone; the second would shut off the so-called Ho Chi Minh trail in Eastern Laos.

This means that the price is still surrender and that we still hope to use the bombing of the North to end the war in the South. This is beginning to leak out of briefings in Paris (see Thomas Fenton's backgrounder from Paris in the Perspective section of the *Baltimore Sun*, Sunday, June 16) and out of briefings in Washington. One such was reflected in an unsigned piece on the opposite editorial page of the *Washington Post*, June 15, which said "This double request is acknowledged to be *perhaps a bit more* [our italics] than the assumption in President Johnson's San Antonio formula." We managed to check this out with one official, but only on a not for attribution basis. The explanation given was that in asking a shutoff of both the DMZ and the Ho Chi Minh trail Harriman was only making "proposals" for reciprocal moves which would lead us to end the bombing, not setting "conditions" for doing so!

### A Distinction Without A Difference

This seems to us a distinction without a difference. It must stiffen the other side to arrive in Paris and find that we have upped our terms—whether as "proposals" or "conditions"—for a complete cessation of the bombing. This strengthens the evidence reported in our last issue (1) that Harriman on the eve of Paris showed no readiness for any political compromise and (2) that Johnson's real strategy is to defuse the peace movement during the campaign by the talks and the limited cessation. After the election, whether the victor be Humphrey or Nixon, the essential Johnson policy can be continued of striving to restore an "independent" South Vietnam under our wing.

We still believe a major factor in limiting the bombing was to end the extraordinarily high cost, in planes and pilots, of the raids on heavily defended Hanoi and Haiphong. World War II experience showed air raids most effective not as a terror weapon—Mary McCarthy's magnificent series from Hanoi in the *New York Review of Books* shows bombing has

### Saigon's Failing Grip

"With enemy forces entrenched on all sides of South Vietnam's capital and less than 20 percent of its territory under the Government's undisputed control, it is difficult to imagine how the Government can end the war without talking with the enemy. More and more government officials at the highest level recognize this in private. . . . Today [Dr. Phan Quang] Dan [dismissed as Minister of State for saying in the U. S. last week that since Saigon cannot kill off all the Viet Cong it will have to end up by talking to them] is regarded as having said too soon what many Vietnamese regard as inevitable."

—AP from Saigon in *Baltimore Sun*, June 17.

only inspired greater resistance—but as a means of attacking transportation routes. We have increased the number and intensity of our air raids but limited them to the transportation lines of the panhandle. "Admiral Cagle's pilots claim," Keyes Beech of the *Chicago Daily News* reported from the nuclear powered flagship USS Enterprise in the Tonkin Gulf (*Washington Post*, June 15) "that they are doing a more effective job of disrupting Communist supply lines to South Vietnam by concentrating on a smaller target area than before President Johnson imposed the bombing limitation on March 31." The Rear Admiral himself told Beech, "From a purely tactical military viewpoint I see no point in resuming the bombing, under the same target restrictions."

Even Johnson only claims that we are destroying 20 percent of the shipments. Our guess would be that this 20 percent increase in costs to the enemy (if Johnson's estimate, unlike our other war claims, are not exaggerated) is paid for many times over in the costs to us of the bombardment. Some day the whole truth will be known, and we suspect the disparity in costs will prove to be enormous. In the meantime it is not cutting down the pace of the war in the South nor our casualties. Its only effect is political, to disarm the peace movement. Peace now depends on reawakening the peace movement and on the toppling of the Saigon regime under Viet Cong attacks. It is there that the issue will be decided.

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