

## Why Sweden Refuses to Sell U.S. Arms for Vietnam, P. 3

### As If Johnson Didn't Have Enough Trouble Already With The Pope's Peace Appeal

"Let America realize that self-scrutiny is not treason, self-examination is not disloyalty. Patriotism is not a cloak for the blanket and blind acceptance of all decisions made by the United States. This is not patriotism. It can be,

instead, the road to national disintegration. . . . Critical thinkers and thinking critics constitute the lifeblood of any society."

—Boston's Cardinal Cushing in a pastoral letter Dec. 10.

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## Why Not Bring Christmas Up to Date?

One bit of holiday cheer is the news that for years to come we won't need a poverty program for the Pentagon. The December issue of *Air Force*, just in time for Christmas, brings a projection into the 1980s by a Col. Posvar who is chairman of the Division of Social Sciences at the U.S. Air Force Academy. It shows a globe with the northern section of Richer Nations as white as new-fallen snow while the southern section of Poorer Nations is prettily pockmarked with little red symbols showing various kinds of armed conflict—enough to keep his graduates busy into their old age. He sees (in capitals) "Revolution Rampant in Africa and Latin America" and even touches cheerfully on the "policy dilemmas" which will arise as Communists "maneuver us into a choice" between supporting "local elements" with "reasonable social and economic grievances" but "tainted with communism" or "supporting reactionary or racist governments that are resisting change." He leaves the reader to guess—it's not hard—which side our B-52s will bolster.

### The Romans Were More Successful

This is the shape of that *Pax Americana* for which the Pentagon labors. Like Trotzkyists in reverse our military dream of permanent revolution requiring permanent agencies of suppression. Their in-house literature looks back to the *Pax Romana*, and extols it as having given the world five unparalleled centuries of law and order. The troubles they don't speak about also parallel those of the Romans, the need for a virile fighting ideology to combat a subversive faith. The Romans seem gradually to have solved the problem. At first, as Gibbon ironically describes them, the Christians persisted in "their humane ignorance" and could not "be convinced that it was lawful on any occasion to shed the blood of our fellow creatures." But by the Fifth century, as portrayed by Gibbon's continuator, Dean Milman, in his *History of Latin Christianity*, "The Christian God . . . had become a God of battle. The cross . . . glittered on the standards of the legions. . . . We find bishops in arms."

Now they seem to be relapsing into their old ways. The Pope, not satisfied with Christmas and New Year truces in Vietnam, is calling for one continuous holiday armistice leading to negotiations. The Protestants are no better than the Catholics. The National Council of Churches wants to stop

### Bobby Beginning to Sound Like Hubert

#### **LBJ's Just More Compassionate In Vietnam Than At Home**

SEN. ROBERT F. KENNEDY (rebuking a witness who questioned President Johnson's sincerity on the poverty program): "President Johnson needs no defense from me. The poverty program originated under him. He has immense responsibilities, great problems over defense costs and the budget. Also a very serious struggle in Southeast Asia. I understand the difficulties you face. But the President is a man of great compassion. He is also facing problems that are perhaps more difficult for you to understand."

MRS. KATIE RIDLEY, head of the Howard Road Tenants Council: "I'm not knocking the Vietnam war. But I think the war on poverty is also important. If we have to fight two wars, why can't we fight them equally?"

SEN. JOSEPH CLARK (D. Pa.) complaining that as floor manager for the anti-poverty bill, he brought a \$2.3 billion measure to the floor this year only to have it cut back to \$1.75 billion on Johnson's angry insistence, "We are spending \$2.5 billion a month on the war in Vietnam. Surely we can spend this much money each year on the war on poverty."

—At the Ribicoff subcommittee hearing Dec. 12.

the bombing of North Vietnam and even asks for more "can-dor", noxiously implying that our leaders have been telling us less than the truth. How can the military carry out their invigorating tasks if the clergy go around whining for truces? How can they, amid all this pacifistic preaching, bring up a younger generation to the manly virtue of visiting aerial conflagration on obdurate villagers? What could be more hurtful to the morale of our troops than to have the Pope say, as he did on Dec. 8, "How opposed to one another are these two forms, these two events, Christmas and war?" If our sorely tried military had to choose between them, their only way out would be to get rid of Christmas. A less radical course would lead to its modernization. Surely, considering the resources and the willing intellectuals at its disposal, the Pentagon could convert it into a Holiday of Pacification, with Kris Kingle jumping out of a helicopter in a jolly Green Beret, gifts in one hand for the submissive and in the other a little can of instant hell to napalm the wicked.

## More Urgent Than The Space Pact: To Stop the Anti-Ballistic Missile Race . . .

Antarctica is safe for penguins, but we have no faith in the new Soviet-American space treaty. We think it will last until one side or the other discovers some splendid new way to store weapons of mass destruction in orbit, whence they can be hurled down like lightning on an enemy. Our own space program is heavily infiltrated by the military and we doubt that the Soviet's is any different.

### New Arms Race on Earth The Danger

We agree with Senator Kuchel (*D. Cal.*) that the draft agreement on nuclear weapons on space ought not to distract attention from the more urgent problem of keeping the anti-ballistic missile from setting off a new spiral in the arms race. Kuchel called for a Soviet-American conference on the anti-ballistic missile. We think it ought to be the subject of a world conference, since a new speedup in the arms race and in tension will gravely affect the hope of the poorer nations for aid, and deepen the shadow of a nuclear holocaust. This is not just a private matter for settlement between Moscow and Washington.

What we also need is the appointment of a new high level commission at home to study the whole subject of the anti-missile. . . . Leaders of the poor should pay attention, for this could be the biggest bonanza in years for the armament and electronic industries, siphoning off more money from the poor. . . . The military-industrial complex profited from the bomber and the missile gap scares and the anti-missile gap scare is made to order along the same lines. . . . Biggest question for an investigating commission: What does saving 30 million lives mean if we still have 70 million dead? At what point do deaths and casualties of such magnitude mean the end of organized society as we have known it? . . . There is no safety in this Strangelovian arithmetic. Only some form of world government in which individual nations renounce their arms and their right to kill can save mankind. . . . Gen. Omar Bradley said the last word on the subject in his address at St. Albans here in 1957 when he said "Missiles will bring anti-missiles, and anti-missiles will bring anti-anti-missiles" but at some point "this whole electronic house of cards" will collapse unless men have developed safer means of living together. . . .

### Either A Top AP Reporter Was Seeing Things or the Pentagon Is Deceiving Itself Again

"Air Force Secretary Harold Brown said today bombing attacks against North Vietnam have significantly weakened the Communists' ability to supply combat troops in South Vietnam. In one of the most definitive accounts ever given on the U.S. air campaign against Hanoi, Brown said the North Vietnamese have suffered 'serious degradation' of resources and means of moving men and supplies South. . . . The comments came in a speech prepared for the Aviation and Space Writers Association meeting [in Washington]."

—Associated Press in Washington Star, Dec. 8.

"Plei Djereng, Central Vietnam Dec. 5 (AP)—North Vietnamese troops fighting in the jungles along the Cambodian border are better fed and healthier than they were a year ago. No starving or malaria-ridden prisoners are being taken. The enemy dead are not the spindly-legged, emaciated corpses found in the Ia Drang battles of December last year and February and March of this year. Now they look well fed and tough. Senior U.S. officers chasing the Com-

### Who Killed Tran Van Van?

The murder of Tran Van Van—Ky's foremost civilian rival—is becoming Saigon's No. 1 scandal. The Vietnam Guardian has been suspended for printing two pictures which cast doubt on the government's story that he was assassinated by the Viet Cong (Wash. Post, Dec. 13). The Saigon Post fears it will be suspended because copies of its Dec. 12 issue with an editorial questioning the official version hit the streets before the censor blacked it out (Balt. Sun, Dec. 13.) The Saigon Post spoke of "political foul play" and called for an independent investigation headed by a man of integrity "preferably from South Vietnam proper." This is a dig at the Ky military junta which is made up almost entirely of Northerners. Richard Critchfield (Wash. Star, Dec. 8) reported that three weeks before Tran was killed he showed Critchfield an article the censors had barred, exposing the junta as Northern members of the clandestine Dai Viet party which ran the last French puppet regime in Hanoi from 1949 to 1954. Tran said he had warned Ky's Information Minister, Gen. Bao Tri, that if censored at home he would publish the article abroad. Critchfield said "many Southerners will blame the Dai Viet" for Tran's murder "since in 1950 they were implicated in more political assassinations than the Viet Minh, led by Ho Chi Minh." Tran's murder, he wrote, left the Southerners "with few leaders to rally behind." The Tran funeral orations pointedly failed to blame the Viet Cong (Balt. Sun, Dec. 12). Both Hanoi and the National Liberation Front accuse the military of the murder.

LOST CHANCE FOR PEACE WITH CHINA: Some day, when there is a real investigation of U.S. relations with China, someone should look into the interview the London *Times* (Dec. 7) has just published with Two-Gun Cohen, the famous cockney who was once Sun Yat-sen's bodyguard and at 79 is just back from a visit to Peking. He now admits what he then denied that in 1955 he took part in a secret mission to reconcile Chiang Kai-shek, whom he knows well, with the Chinese Communist leaders who also trust him. The mission began in Peking where he was summoned by Chou En-lai. "The suggestion got as far as the State Department through an American intermediary," the London *Times* recounts, "but the idea petered out." No doubt our government hated the idea of giving up Formosa as an air and naval base. This

munists in the foothills around the Special Forces camp, and in the mountains along the Cambodian border to the west, believe the North Vietnamese have beaten the huge supply problem that plagued them last year, at least for the time being. . . . The malaria problem which decimated Communist ranks last year, according to prisoners picked up at that time, has also been beaten, new prisoners say. The Communist troops take four malaria pills weekly. . . . There seems to be no problem in getting plenty of ammunition. In one attack on a 4th division battalion, the Communists fired 500 mortar rounds, a huge amount considering it had to be packed through heavy jungles."

—Associated Press, by its famous West German photographer-reporter, Horst Fass, in the Saigon Post Dec. 6. It is odd that we should see this in the censored Vietnam press but not in the uncensored U.S. press. We learned it moved on the AP wire Nov. 29 for U.S. publication Dec. 4. U.S. editors not the AP are to blame for the blackout.

## ... Time Leaders of the Poor Paid More Attention to Guaranteed Annual Income

may have been one of the great lost opportunities of all time.

### Easiest Way to End Poverty

It may not be as emotionally satisfying as crying "Black Power" but the idea of a guaranteed annual income is a lot less pie-in-the-sky. When the U.S. Chamber of Commerce listens as sympathetically as it did here Dec. 9 to three different expositions of this idea, it is ripe for political action. The spokesmen were as divergent in their views as the radical Robert Theobald; the former member of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, Prof. James Tobin of Yale, and Barry Goldwater's economic adviser Prof. Milton Friedman of Chicago. Though they disagreed sharply on whether to use direct payments or a negative income tax, they all agreed the easiest way to get rid of poverty and mushrooming welfare costs was for the government to guarantee a minimum income for every family. When Henry Hazlitt chimed in to suggest that relief recipients should not be allowed to vote, Friedman retorted that if this principle were extended logically most business men would also lose the right to vote since many businesses benefit from government subsidies. "Let us not be hypocritical," Friedman declared. "The poor are not the only people at the public trough."

**A TRULY HOLY COMMUNION:** We had the pleasure of taking part in a tea-and-rice dinner here at St. Stephens Church Dec. 12 to launch a campaign by the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the *International Committee of Conscience on Vietnam* to send medical and other supplies to both sides in the Vietnamese war. The idea is by dining off a handful of rice to express one's communion with the suffering and to provide funds to help them. Those who wish to organize such dinners in their own communities during the holiday season may obtain directions from the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271, Nyack, N.Y. Catholic, Protestant and

### Gunnar Myrdal Explains Why Sweden Refused to Sell the U.S. Arms for Use in Vietnam

"There is not a single government in Western Europe which would dare send a squad of soldiers to Vietnam as a symbolic gesture of sympathy with the U.S.

"Sweden is one of the very few countries where there is not a trace of basic anti-Americanism. But over the Vietnam issue the overwhelming majority of Swedish opinion is sharply critical. Only 8% think America is doing the right thing in Vietnam. In Sweden we have a fairly large armaments industry to make ourselves independent. To keep this industry efficient we need to export armaments. But there is government control, so that armament exports do not go to active disturbers of peace. The Swedish government now includes the U.S. in this group. To allow Swedish-produced weapons to be used in Vietnam would have outraged Swedish opinion.

"The U.S. government might have sympathizers for its war in Vietnam among the ruling whites in Rhodesia and South Africa. But in all the poor and colored nations in Africa, however much they need financial assistance, I know of no government or articulate individual who can be counted as a supporter of the Vietnam policy of the U.S. I believe the same is true of Latin America. The U.S. tries to create an image at home that it has trusted allies in 'Free Asia.' The truth is that [these are] 'client governments'. In a country like Thailand there has never been any public discussion of policy issues but only an opportunistic adjust-

### LBJ's Desire to Talk Peace Doubted

"The State Dept. now says that the U.S. welcomes all efforts for a 'just' solution of the Vietnam war, but that 'nothing useful' can come from reviving stories about past efforts by UN Secretary General U Thant. This comment leave much to be desired because it skips blithely over the reasons why. . . . What really is at stake here is the credibility of President Johnson's repeated assertions that he has been willing to go to the conference table without preconditions at any place and at any time. If so, what was the real reason for spurning the opportunity to meet in Rangoon? In late 1964 and 1965 the military situation in South Vietnam was very unfavorable. Perhaps this explains what happened. Or there may have been some other good reasons for rejecting Thant's overtures. But they do not emerge from saying in one breath that we doubted Hanoi's sincerity and in the next that we feared the effect on the Saigon government. There must have been some better reason, and as long as it remains undisclosed the President's oft-stated desire to 'talk peace' will remain suspect in many minds."

—*"U Thant's Peace Efforts"*, editorial Dec. 8 in the conservative Washington Star, no "dove" organ.

Jewish clergy are taking part and the Buddhist poet-monk, Thich Nhat Hanh, has helped to organize the campaign . . . Another way to express one's feelings is to join in with a group of SANE and other organizations suggesting wires to the President to extend the truce into a peace. If every reader sent a wire to Johnson and got two friends to do likewise, that alone would add up to 90,000 telegrams.

**Christmas Appeal:** Irrespective of the outcome of the pending motion for a new trial, isn't a pardon long overdue for Morton Sobell, now in the 17th year of a 30-year sentence arising out of the atom bomb scare two decades ago? It has never been clear just what he was accused of doing.

### ment by the ruling upper crust. During the war that meant collaborating faithfully with the Japanese invaders against the U.S. Now it means holding to the U.S.

"If there is one thing I fear more than anything else, it is that the strained relations between the rich minority nations and the poor majority nations will come to be poisoned by the color complex. From that point of view a big American army bringing death and misery to a poor colored nation in Asia by means of huge jet-bombers, helicopters and other devilish instruments of destruction, including chemicals, toxic gases and jelly gasoline, is immensely dangerous for all our hopes of world peace, cooperation and progress."

—Abridged from a speech, "The Vietnam War and the Political and Moral Isolation of America," by Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish sociologist whose "An American Dilemma" is the most famous study ever made of the American Negro problem, speaking at an anti-war rally by SANE and 36 other organizations which overflowed Madison Square Garden, Dec. 8, a speech generally ignored by the U.S. press except for a few lines in one part of one edition in the New York Times. Floyd McKissick of CORE, Dr. Spock, Norman Thomas, Jules Feiffer and IFS were among the other speakers. One Senator, McGovern of South Dakota, and one Congressman, John Dow of New York, sent greetings and Secretary General U Thant agreed to receive a delegation from these peace organizations.

## Hoffa Decision A Reminder Of Kennedy's Readiness to Use Dirty Methods

# Bobby vs. J. Edgar: A Controversy In Which Neither Side Is Convincing

We cannot imagine a phonier controversy between two less plausible characters than J. Edgar Hoover and Robert Kennedy over "bugging." The sudden libertarian passion which has led the Johnson Administration voluntarily to disclose the wide extent of electronic eavesdropping in pending prosecutions has the double effect of getting one Bobby (Baker) off the hook and another Bobby (Kennedy) on. It will probably end by keeping Baker out of jail and tarnishing Kennedy's freshly painted "image" as a liberal. This is one of those controversies in which neither side is convincing. A sifting of the thick soup that is Hoover's prose indicates that the self-righteous G-man is disingenuous in implying that he never "bugged" a criminal without the express permission of the Attorney General. On the other hand, Kennedy's injured innocence is not credible either. He'd have to be pretty dimwitted not to suspect where those "bugs" he listened to came from, and what that "leased line" letter he signed really meant. One need only recall his effort as Attorney General to legalize wire-tapping to realize that for him as a crime-buster the end justified the means.

### They Hired A Judas

The Supreme Court's decision in the Hoffa case serves as another reminder that Kennedy as Attorney General was not a man of scruples as to means. We agree with the lone dissenter, Chief Justice Warren, that the Justice Department engaged in dirty business when it let Edward Partin out of a Louisiana jail where he was awaiting trial on a variety of State and Federal indictments for embezzlement, kidnapping, extortion (and soon perjury and assault) so he could keep the government "informed" as to Hoffa's plans in fighting prosecution. "Certainly," the Chief Justice wrote, "if a criminal defendant insinuated his informer into the prosecution's camp in this manner he would be guilty of obstructing justice." Partin's bail was reduced, charges against him dropped and his wife paid \$1200.

Morally this was no less reprehensible than "bugging". Indeed what if Hoffa's counsel now petitions for a rehearing

### They Deserve Honor Not Persecution

The spirit of our Immigration and Naturalization Service has always been reactionary and inhumane. We welcome the rebuke to it in the cases of Elizabeth Rosalie Woody and Joseph Sherman whose deportations were reversed in a 7-to-2 decision by the Supreme Court last Monday. The former was accused of having been a prostitute for a period after being abandoned by her GI husband, the latter of having used a false passport to reenter the U.S. almost 30 years ago after fighting for the Loyalists in Spain. The effect of the decision is to establish for deportation cases virtually as strict a rule of evidence as for a criminal conviction. Since deportation is fully as terrible as any criminal penalty, there is no reason why a lesser standard of proof should be required. We welcome the change in the law. The Sherman case is especially repellent. The informer, also a Loyalist veteran, never was sure in identifying Sherman; the government had to squeeze hard to get his testimony. Had it not been for the McCarran Walter Act which Congress passed over a Truman veto in 1952, this case would have been outlawed by the statute of limitations. As it is, McCarran, a clerical Fascist Spanish style, and Walter, a chronic witch-hunter, left a legacy under which any foreign-born veteran of the Spanish Civil War may still be threatened a quarter century later by deportation or denaturalization. There was no nobler and more pathetic cause in our time than this effort to stop Fascism in Spain before it engulfed the world, and those who fought there deserve honor in their old age, not constant persecution by petty bureaucrats. We wait to see whether they will dare retry the Sherman case.

and asks the Solicitor General to tell the Court—as he did in the Black and Baker cases—whether Hoffa, too, was subjected to electronic eavesdropping in that jury-tampering prosecution? Considering the mutual hatred between Hoffa and Kennedy—so natural in men so alike in their single-minded hunger for power—and the personal vindictiveness evident in the prosecution, it would be a surprise to learn that in this case alone the Justice Department never once resorted to "bugging."

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