

## How the New Bombings Recall The Tonkin Gulf Affair, Pps. 2-3

### Bobby Kennedy's Ultimate Depravity As Exposed By J. Edgar Hoover

Until Bobby Kennedy came along, I never had trouble with Attorneys General. The trouble was that Kennedy wanted to loosen up our standards and qualifications . . . In short he wanted more Negro agents.

—J. Edgar Hoover in a Washington Post interview of Nov. 17 attacking former Attorney General Ramsey Clark's new book, "Crime in America" which dared to criticize Hoover as a publicity seeker. Hoover called Clark "worse than Kennedy," which under the circumstances seems quite a compliment.

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## The Costly Fallacies In The Nixon Aid Message

The opening sentence of President Nixon's new military aid message to Congress provides a succinct summary of what is wrong with American foreign policy. "In today's world," the message begins, "peace is synonymous with the strength of America and her friends." But if we had learned anything at all from the past decade, including ten disastrous years of intervention in Southeast Asia, it is that in today's world the main danger to peace is not the military weakness of the U.S. and its friends but Washington's lack of political sagacity. If peace were synonymous with the strength of the U.S. and its friends, peace should have come to Southeast Asia long ago. There could hardly be a greater disproportion in military and economic power than between the U.S. and the Vietnamese forces led by Hanoi. It was not military muscle our side lacked. It was brains.

### The Same Errors In Cambodia

This is what Gen. Lewis W. Walt, the assistant commandant of the Marine Corps, was trying to say, though more tactfully, in his recent press conference here and in his new book, *Strange War, Strange Strategy*. He said of the Vietnamese war that we failed to realize it was "a new kind of war," a war "where concern for the people was as essential to the battle as guns or ammunition, where restraint was as necessary as food or water." These are the same errors we are now committing in Cambodia. As in South Vietnam, we upset the country's fragile neutrality. We picked the government we preferred, we escalated a civil war, and then tried to remedy political clumsiness by overwhelming firepower. The new request raises the bill for Cambodian aid to \$285 million, and the message assures us—as if this were a guarantee that the money will be well spent—that "70 percent of the military assistance will be ammunition." Too much ammunition is exactly what Gen. Walt was talking about. Indiscriminate and disproportionate firepower by air and artillery is beginning to ravage the Cambodian countryside as it did the Vietnamese, and to fuel the rebellion against Lon Nol as it did the rebellion against Diem and his successors. "Concern for the people"—in Gen. Walt's phrase—is as absent in our Cambodian policy as it was in our Vietnamese.

The Nixon Administration acts as if it had discovered some new formula in "Vietnamization." Vietnamization and the Nixon Doctrine are only new variants of the old imperial policy of fighting colonial wars with native troops and controlling other countries through puppet native rulers. This is what the French did in Africa and the British in India. It is a recipe for endless trouble and ultimate defeat. Nixon gives the impression that we have been bearing the main burden of

### Helpful Hint To The Peace Movement

Q. Was the winding down of the war an issue the President might have capitalized on?

A. He might have, but for whatever reason, he did not. Our view is that the President may have been just as wise to stay away from Vietnam lest he raise false hopes for a complete end to the war by 1972. If the war still is going on at any substantial level two years from now, this could hurt the President's chances for re-election. What you see starting to pop up when you do surveys is a feeling that, "Well, the war is over, isn't it? How come American boys are still getting killed over there and all these billions still being spent?" So there may be arising a new definition of the resentment toward the war. Getting out slowly may not be enough. We get the indication that this could yet become a major problem for the Administration.

—U.S. News & World Report interview Nov. 23 with Political Pollster John F. Kraft. He said the elections left the Democrats "in much better shape than anyone would have thought possible a year ago."

these wars, and that he has found a way to shift it to the natives. If the full total of losses is ever added up it will be seen that the carnage suffered by the Vietnamese people, North and South, in this war is comparable only to the terrible losses of the Soviet Union and Poland in World War II. It is blind and bitter to talk of "Vietnamizing" it now. It has been Vietnamized since it began, and the Nixon Doctrine offers people elsewhere more of the same.

### Manichean View Of The World

There is another hidden and equally pernicious premise behind that opening sentence in the Nixon aid message: "In today's world, peace is synonymous with the strength of America and her friends." This implies that but for American military strength, the world would be gobbled up by evil monsters. It divides the world between the forces of light and darkness. This is one of the oldest delusions of mankind, and it is time we all outgrew it. If there is to be an enduring peace in the world, there must be some readiness to understand that the same human beings live on both sides, and that everybody has the same fears of the other. If confrontation is to be replaced with negotiation, as Nixon himself promised, this requires a more sophisticated model of the real world we all inhabit than the simple-minded cold war view which is indeed

(Continued on Page Four)

## How the New Bombings of North Vietnam Recall The Tonkin Gulf Affair . . .

In three respects the renewed attacks on North Vietnam recall the Tonkin Gulf affair. Firstly, because the "punishment" was so disproportionate to the "crime." The laws of war restrict reprisals to a level commensurate with the offense—but two days of attacks by "about 200" fighter-bombers (the unofficial Pentagon estimate in the *Washington Post* Nov. 22) would seem a high price to exact for the reported shooting down of the Phantom plane and its two-man crew.

### They Were Looking For An Excuse

Secondly, the new bombings recall Tonkin Gulf in that some military men were looking for an excuse to resume the bombing, and did use it for far wider purposes, including that of instilling terror in the North. The *Baltimore Sun* (Nov. 22) reported that some military men have been arguing for a limited resumption of the bombing to hit at supplies being built up for a possible new offensive. Our air raids were ostensibly aimed at anti-aircraft missile and gun emplacements endangering our reconnaissance planes. But Secretary Laird's first statement also referred to "related facilities" as additional targets. According to the *Washington Star* (Nov. 22) "officials later confirmed" that these were supply and ammunition dumps. Unofficially there was acknowledgement that the bombing aims were also to terrorize. The *New York Times* (Nov. 22) was told one purpose was to warn the North not to take advantage of U.S. troop withdrawals to step up infiltration and attacks. One "planner" was quoted as saying our new bombing raids were "inhibitory" attacks made with a view to what might happen "next summer and beyond when our force levels will be down considerably." Either this is a bluff or the Administration is prepared to resume the air war on the North to protect "Vietnamization" in the South. Is Nixon also prepared to put more U.S. troops back into combat if bombing fails as it did before under Johnson?

The third respect in which this affair recalls that of the Tonkin Gulf is in the ease with which such incidents can be provoked or fabricated. This was clearly no fabrication, since the downing of the plane was announced the same day by Hanoi radio. But there is by now considerable reason to believe that the U.S. has taken advantage of its presumed "understanding" allowing aerial reconnaissance to carry on widespread bombing and strafing. These can provoke counter-attacks any time we desire them.

Two days after our plane was downed on Nov. 13, Hanoi radio broadcast a *Nhan Danh* newspaper article complaining that in October alone U.S. aircraft made 1,540 sorties on 910 occasions. It said this included B-52 raids just north of the

### The Pentagon and The Peace Dividend

During the elections Republicans proclaimed that the Nixon administration had cut \$17 billion from the defense budget. The facts are different. In fiscal 1969, when Mr. Nixon took office, total defense outlays were \$81.2 billion. In fiscal 1970 they were \$79.4, a drop of only \$1.8 billion. In the new fiscal year national defense spending is estimated at \$73.6 billion. Instead of a cut of \$17 billion, there is to be a cut of \$7.6 billion. Where have the billions gone? The services are vying with each other over the spoils. The Air Force is pushing for a new manned bomber. The Navy insists on new carriers. The Pentagon has put its vast public relations machine to work to convince the public that there are few or no savings from a cut in Vietnam from peak spending of \$30 billion, to fiscal 1971 spending of \$11 to \$12 billion. We are told that there are few if any savings from a reduction from a 3.5 million military force to a 3 million military force. The Pentagon has usurped the peace dividend. It is poor mouthing our relative strength with the Soviet Union, and claiming, as they have claimed countless times before, that we are in deadly peril if we reorder our priorities and return to a pre-Vietnam level of defense spending.

—Proxmire (D. Wis) in the Senate Nov. 16 (abr.)

DMZ (where there seem to be few SAMs to endanger them) and that tactical aircraft dropped some 2,000 demolition bombs and 85,000 steel-pellet bombs elsewhere in North Vietnam. The latter are—in the antisepic phrase—anti-personnel weapons. This is more than "reconnaissance" and more than "protective-reaction", whatever that doubletalk means.

There is a natural reluctance to take enemy statements at face value in wartime. No doubt both sides exaggerate in all wars. But the time has come for the U.S. press to treat Hanoi radio more seriously. These new raids were first announced by Hanoi radio at 1:30 p.m. EST Friday, Nov. 21 but the news—like many past such broadcasts from Hanoi—was not used until it was confirmed by Laird at 2:55 a.m. EST Saturday. It was not in any Friday afternoon papers we saw nor in any but late editions of the Saturday morning papers. Laird said the raids were confined to the area below the 19th parallel while Hanoi claimed that bombs had been dropped as far north as the area between Hanoi and Haiphong. This was confirmed by the only Western press agency in Hanoi. An *Agence France Presse* dispatch published by the *New York Times* Nov. 22 said "Hanoi shook today from the blast of bombs only 25 miles away." Hanoi's claim that we struck POW camps and that a

## Creeping Militarism in Japan as Programmed by Japanese Big Business

Big business leaders, throwing their active support behind the proposed new Fourth Defense Buildup Program covering 1972-6, are moving to lay the groundwork in next year's budget to assure that the 5,800,000-million program is adequately funded.

The initial version of the program, revealed by the defense agency last month, calls for a switch in Japan's basic defense policy from a strictly defensive posture to tactical offense against any external attack.

Some business leaders go well beyond the Defense Agency's cautious policy line. Kazutaka Kikawada, president of Tokyo Electric Power, has spoken of the need to assure the security of the Malacca Strait, and Tekeshi Sakurada, a retired chief executive of Nissin Spinning, of amending the no-war Article Nine of the Constitution. Kenzo Okubo, president of Mitsubishi Electric, is for tripling

### the Maritime Self-Defense Force.

Business plans to work through the Public Finance Council, an advisory body to the Finance Ministry, to obtain increased defense appropriations. The Chairman of the Public Finance Council is Ataru Kobayashi, president of Arabian Oil Co. and a leading business figure.

Business leaders generally share the view that for Japan with a gross national product second only to the U.S. in the free world, to increase her own capabilities to defend herself is an entirely natural and appropriate policy objective. To avoid antagonizing public opinion, however, they feel that their two-stage approach of giving first priority to social problems, and then increasing tax revenue to make possible a bigger budget and larger defense appropriations would be the wiser course.

—*Asahi Evening News, Tokyo, Nov. 11.*

## ... Renewed Tension, Arms Race and Wider War Might Be Nixon's Way Out

number of captured U.S. pilots were wounded was at once dismissed by Laird as "erroneous." How could he be so sure? We have too often bombed our own and friendly troops in South Vietnam to be certain of what we hit in the North.

The legal or moral excuse for these reprisal raids was considerably undercut by Majority Leader Mike Mansfield on ABC's *Issues and Answers* Nov. 22. He was asked about the alleged "understandings" on which the Johnson administration agreed to end the bombing of the North. One of them is supposed to have given us the right to fly unarmed reconnaissance planes over the North. Mansfield, when asked about this, said he had no knowledge of any such "understandings," and added pointedly that the bombings had ended under the previous Administration. Under Johnson he was the ranking Democratic Senator and presumably would have known. He said there were no such understandings written or oral, that these were only our "assumptions."

### What If Hanoi Overflow Us?

In any case even an understanding to allow unarmed reconnaissance planes would hardly cover the extensive bombings Hanoi has been alleging. The North Vietnamese delegate in Paris Nov. 21 charged that there had been 36 B-52 raids in 1969 and 137 in the first ten months of this year; that total U.S. missions over the North were 7,970 in 1969 and 11,180 up to the end of October this year. Even if these figures are swollen, they go far beyond simple unarmed reconnaissance or even "protective-reaction." The Pentagon itself is beginning to admit this, even though unofficially, when it confirms attacks on supply dumps and for "inhibitory" purposes. This kind of overt terrorism is only possible for arrogant great powers. What if North Vietnam had an air force and claimed the right to reconnaissance over South Vietnam, or an air force big enough to overflow the U.S., and then shoot us up from time to time just as an "inhibitory" warning?

Behind all these tricky excuses for the renewed bombing lie more serious matters which ought to be opened up by Senate investigation before we find ourselves drawn back into the Vietnamese quagmire when we are hardly half out of it. One is Nixon's obsession about showing that he is "tough" and the White House belief that it is good strategy to try and scare the other side by demonstrating from time to time that Nixon is "unpredictable" and may make wild moves. The last

### The Arms Lobby's New Line— Social Welfare "Unproductive"

The new Congress will adopt a more serious attitude toward defense problems. Continued Soviet pressures as generated by their vast military technology development is finally getting through to both the White House and Congress. The major defense budget cuts in prospect for Fiscal 1972 have already evaporated in this atmosphere. Increases over Fiscal 1971 are certain. Criticism of the supersonic transport program has also passed its peak. The Fiscal 1971 SST appropriation should clear the Senate hurdle and get this program really rolling. Economic impact of the aerospace industry cuts, combined with other softenings in the economy, will force both the White House and Congress to explore new methods of trying to reverse this trend. Boosting technology offers a quicker and more effective stimulant than the unproductive drains of social welfare programs.

—Aviation Week editorial Nov. 9

practitioner of this strategy was Adolf Hitler, a precedent which does not recommend it. British Conservatives were always being told privately that the Fuehrer was unpredictable and if he wasn't given his way might do just awful things. Bluffs of this kind may work up to a point, but the point at which they are called may prove disastrous for the practitioner.

Nixon is also growing desperate on the home front. He has just about turned full circle on fiscal policy. He has cheapened money, but borrowings remain low because business men do not see enough demand to warrant expansion. He has given up on the balanced budget and now looks to deficit financing—a la Keynes—to stimulate business, though just when Galbraith warns that Keynesianism will no longer work because of the power wielded by organized labor and big business. Nixon may find himself pushed even to wage-price guidelines if he cannot find some other way to revive the economy in time for the next election without another inflationary spiral. In such grim circumstances, the one easy way out would be to step up the arms race again and/or stumble into a wider conflict in Southeast Asia or somewhere else. This is the line of least resistance. We have seen it happen several times under the Democrats. It may happen again.

Nov. 22

## A Bill Which Threatens A Revived Witch

Academic freedom is endangered by the Defense Facilities and Industrial Security Act of 1970 now pending in the Senate. This bill would reinstitute security clearance for defense workers. The Secretary of Defense can designate "any plant, factory, industry, public utility, mine, laboratory, educational institution, research organization, railroad, airport, pier, waterfront installation, canal dam, bridge, highway, vessel, aircraft, vehicle and pipeline" as a defense facility if he declares that it is "in whole or part engaged in furnishing defense materials or services." For educational institutions any classified military project could be so designated.

The bill would overturn eight decisions of the Supreme Court that protect the right of individual freedom of employment. The bill proscribes employment or federal support to individuals who have committed acts of subversion defined as follows: "any act . . . which effects any plan, policy, recommendation, directive, tactic, or strategy of any communist, Marxist, Leninist, revolutionary socialist, anarchist, nihilist, Nazi, fascist, or any other organization which has as its purpose the destruction of the constitutional

## Hunt in Industry and Science Laboratories

form of government of the United States by any means deemed necessary to that end." Rep. Louis Stokes, House leader of the opposition to the bill points out that "The range of activities, which, under this definition, would constitute an act of subversion is boundless."

Among the dangers to liberty in this measure is the denial of recourse to the courts until administrative procedures are exhausted. There is no provision either for full disclosure of charges or for cross-examination of adverse witnesses; it also denies the right of individuals against self-incrimination. The threat from H.R. 14864 to academic freedom and scholarly pursuit is clear. Science editorialized (2/27/70): This bill "could have a decisive effect on the employment prospects of employment of many people and an equally adverse impact on the careers of people who might be denied access to research information or research facilities." [Emphasis in original].

—Petition from 750 scientists including 6 Nobel winners presented Nov. 18 to Senator Kennedy who promised to oppose it. The bill passed the House in February, and could come up in the Senate at any time.

## If Poles and Germans Can Be Reconciled, Why Not Arabs and Jews?

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the obverse of the Communist view. For they, too, are demonologists and Manicheans.

The truth is that American military aid has only fostered intransigence and delayed peaceful settlements. Regimes which would have been forced by necessity to conciliate domestic opposition or to accept foreign policy realities have been encouraged by U.S. aid to persist in costly and self-defeating policies. "The decade of the 1960s," the Nixon message says, "taught us that it is neither necessary, nor even possible, for the U.S. to bear the principal burden for the defense or economic progress of all our allies and friends. They are now ready and willing to assume an increasing share of the burden for their own defense." This is wishful thinking.

### Brandt's Defection From Unreality

It is triply misleading. In the first place, as the newly released Symington hearings on NATO disclose (p.2112), our NATO allies including Canada almost doubled their arms expenditures between 1957 and 1969—they rose from \$13 to almost \$25 billion. In the second place, there is little evidence of their readiness to increase them much further in an endless arms race. On the contrary—and this is the third and most important point—the 70s will show that as the U.S. withdraws militarily from abroad, our allies will grow more disposed to recognize realities. The *Ostpolitik* of the Brandt regime in West Germany is the outstanding example of what we must come to expect. The original idea in rearming West Germany was that its military power, when combined with NATO's, would force a rollback of Communist power to the Russian borders. That turned out to be a costly pipedream; it still costs us \$14 billion a year in NATO. Now we see West Germany accepting the Oder-Neisse frontier with Poland and the existence of a separate East German state. All that might have happened a good many years, and a good many billions of dollars, ago. Indeed a wiser Western policy might have negotiated the reunification of Germany in 1955. In Germany, as in Korea and China and Vietnam, American military aid has fostered a blind faith that basic political problems could be solved by military means. These divided countries have been the focal point of world tension and of heavy military costs. Nixon says the first six decades of the Twentieth Century "taught us that a stable and tranquil world requires American

### On Exploiting Obscure Persons

A close advisor and press aid to President Nixon [Herbert G. Klein in a lecture at Johns Hopkins] said yesterday that the news media had "deserted" their responsibility to the public by making national personalities out of "obscure persons" taking part in acts of violence.—*Baltimore Sun*, Nov. 17.

The question asked about the hecklers endemic in the current campaign is, are they for real or are they for hire? Some are demonstrably mercenaries. So it was in Indiana. There the Republican organization scoured Chicago for the most scrofulous yippies to be found, sent a band of them to break up a rally for a Republican candidate while waving placards boosting his Democratic opponent, all for the benefit of television cameras. The yippies said their pay was \$75.

—O'Neill: *Politics and People*, *Balt. Sun.* Nov. 23

participation in keeping the peace." It would be more accurate to say that American participation in maintaining the cold war has kept the world unstable and uneasy ever since World War II.

In a complex world, one simple formula will not fit the disparate situations covered by the aid message. But in one respect the problem represented by Israel and the Middle East is like the others. The problem there, too, is political rather than military. Until some viable political compromise has been worked out which will reconcile Israel with its Arab neighbors, ensure the survival of the Jewish State while providing for Palestinian Arab aspirations, there will be no peace and there will be the continued danger of a world conflagration. Here the Nixon policy wavers between seeking just such a solution and giving a blank check to the Jordanian and Israeli regimes. The price of U.S. aid should be the acquiescence of both King Hussein and Golda Meir in a compromise which will make a place for a new and independent Palestinian Arab state. It would be a happy day if that half billion credit for new Israeli arms could be used instead as a first payment for Arab refugee restitution and resettlement. Military power will not solve political problems in the Middle East anymore than it has in Southeast Asia. If Poles and Germans can be reconciled on the Oder-Neisse, there is no reason why Arabs and Jews cannot be reconciled on the 1967 borders.

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