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A number of these low interest "development" loans actually were for budget support; that is to offset balance of payments and other deficits incurred by the borrowing countries.

In other words, the United States, with its own budget running in the red in the billions, is lading out tens of millions to balance the budgets of other countries.

That's the giant "hidden grant" in the foreign aid program. On the basis of its estimated \$800 million cost to American taxpayers last year, this secret burden in the pending foreign aid measure is calculated at around \$1 billion.

FOREIGN AID FLASHES

In 1963, 35 countries were granted low interest "development" loans. Largest beneficiary was India with \$414,150,000, Pakistan second with \$69,450,000. Since 1947, the United States has poured more than \$4 billion in foreign aid into Turkey—largely a state monopoly economy. Of this amount, \$1.6 billion was in economic aid, the remainder in military aid. The United States is continuing to grant so-called supporting assistance to Yemen—which is little more than a satellite of Egyptian Dictator Gamal Nasser.

VIA

**SAMPLE OF CORRESPONDENCE
SUPPORTING THE OPPOSITION
OF SENATOR MORSE TO THE
SOUTH VIETNAM RESOLUTION**

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may have printed in the Record another sampling of correspondence that I have received, relating to my vote and my speeches in opposition to the South Vietnam resolution and the war-making policies of the United States in southeast Asia.

My mail is still running better than 200 to 1 in support of my position, although one would never know it if he were to read the kept press of America.

My mail runs better than 10 to 1 in support of my opposition to foreign aid.

There being no objection, the correspondence was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

WASHINGTON, D.C., July 16, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: You have been doing a badly needed job in your speeches on the situation in southeast Asia. You may be interested in the enclosed article, which I wrote. It was published in a number of railroad and other union monthly magazines back around April 1946, shortly after the end of World War II in the Pacific area.

The reason why I think this article is significant is that the story told about our performance and policy in Indonesia after the war is virtually identical with the performance and policy of the United States in Indochina at the same time. In both cases, we backed British forces which landed quickly after the Japanese surrender, to reestablish, in behalf of Britain, France and Holland, the colonial power and prestige which had taken a bad beating when the Japs swept over that area early in the war.

I got both those stories from U.S. military officers who were eyewitnesses of the events. In both cases, they landed with the British forces, whose commanders told the Jap troops to keep their weapons, because they might be needed to help hold down the rebellious natives. These officers were friends of mine in the Office of Strategic Services, in which I served for nearly 3 years.

The people of that area had immense good will for Uncle Sam when World War II ended, but we lost it by backing the colonial powers.

Sincerely,

ALBERT H. JENKINS.

[From Railway Labor Magazine, April 1946]
WHAT'S HAPPENING IN JAVA?—INDONESIANS
GREET BRITISH AND DUTCH WITH BULLETS;
AMERICANS WITH CHEERS

(By Albert H. Jenkins)

What's going on in Java and the other South Pacific islands where 70 million Indonesian natives are rebelling against the return of Dutch rule, and where British forces are helping the Dutch put down the rebellion?

Few Americans have any first-hand information on that subject. One of the few is a young officer who arrived at Batavia, Java, on a British cruiser, just in time to see the Japs surrender there at the end of the war.

He was a member of a small group of U.S. soldiers and sailors taking food, clothes, and medicines to sick and starved American prisoners of war held by the Japs on Java. His name cannot be disclosed here.

In letters to "Mother and Dad," not intended for publication, this average young American told the following story of his "great adventure"—a unique journey to Java and other South Pacific lands.

Let's skip his story until he arrives at Singapore, the big British naval base at the southern tip of the Malay Peninsula. The Japs captured it in the first days of the war. Now, in the young officer's tale, the British are taking it back again.

"I was in the city of Singapore, the day of the signing of the formal Jap surrender. Somehow, I did not like the idea of all this celebration without a single American flag in sight, when it is doubtful that, were it not for our casualties on Iwo Jima and elsewhere, the British would ever have returned to Singapore.

"The population here is mostly Chinese, with some Malaysians. They greeted the British with indifference—as though they were saying: 'Oh, well, here we go again.' Nine-tenths of them never even glanced at the victorious white man."

The cruiser left Singapore and sailed to Batavia, Java, where the young officer wrote this:

"I was the first American to set foot on the soil of the Netherlands East Indies after the end of the war. I went ashore in the British admiral's barge, sliding in alongside a wharf where 12 shiny new American cars, complete with snappy Japanese drivers, were waiting to take us to our quarters.

"The Japs set the tone for the whole of our stay by being from the very beginning most courteous and helpful, carrying baggage and waiting on us hand and foot.

"And thereby hangs a tale. The preliminary parley with the Japs about our entering the country was held on board our cruiser. All the British and Dutch officers (we Americans were not invited) wore their stiffest high-collared white uniforms.

"Every preparation was made to act the part of victors in a great war. Much whispering and conference over protocol, how and when the admiral would enter, when the delegates would be allowed to sit down, and all the other details which make for dignity and redtape.

"So up the gangway came the Japs. They bow, hiss, salute, and right away General Yamaguchi made a little speech of welcome. He took the wind right out of the British and Dutch sails.

"He started out by saying that he was at our disposal and would cooperate and make our task easy. If there was anything we wanted, just ask and it would be done.

"And then he presented, without even

being asked, a tremendous sheaf of carefully drawn up lists and documents answering every possible question about prisoners of war, supplies, transportation, and everything else we needed.

"Here he was practically doing our job for us. The more formal and curt the British and Dutch representatives were, the more polite and helpful the Japs. You can't imagine the confusion that resulted among the starched whites of the admiral's staff.

"The Japs made good on everything they promised. Nothing, I assure you, is so disconcerting as going into a conquered country expecting sullen obstruction from the Japs, and getting it from no one but the British."

The reason for quoting so much of that part of the young American's letters is this:

The British forces have been in Java for nearly 6 months. They insist they are there only because they have to force the reluctant Japs to surrender, and round them up. Yet this eyewitness account makes it clear that the Japs surrendered instantly and almost gladly.

As this is written, early in March 1946, a newspaper report says the British are using Japanese troops in Java to maintain order. In other words, to shoot the rebellious natives.

Why are the British there? Let's see what their unwelcome American visitor has to say.

"When I landed in Java, I was ignorant of the status of the natives and the general political conditions in the country. But I began to smell a rat the first few minutes, as I drove a jeep into the city from the dock.

"Everywhere people lined the streets, but there were no cheering crowds, no smiles, no waves, no shouting. Just silence.

"At this time, and for about a week thereafter, there was nothing to identify Americans as apart from the British or Dutch. Even the uniform did not mean a thing, as nine-tenths of the Dutch wore American uniforms, too.

"We were not allowed by the British to display any flags, so you can see where that left us. I was just one of the hated white men. Gave me a funny feeling.

"The Dutch have been tragically stupid in their relations with the natives. They do not want the Dutch to come back and rule them as a 'colony' again.

"The natives have formed a government of their own, called 'Free Indonesia,' with its own president, foreign minister, police force, and other officials.

"They have announced their intention of resisting by force any attempt by the Dutch to return to the East Indies.

"To support their claim to the right of self-determination, they point to the Atlantic Charter, the American Declaration of Independence, and the U.S. Constitution. They ask why those principles should not apply to them.

"Every night since we landed, people gather on the streets, and there have been armed clashes between Indonesians and the occupation troops.

"What is the Dutch answer to this agitation? I have talked with dozens of Dutch, and they all say: 'Just wait till we get more troops in here. After we machinegun some of these natives, they'll forget all about it.'

"They have refused pointblank to sit down and discuss the problem with the native leaders. It does not set very well with me.

"There is a food shortage in the city, though 'upcountry' there is plenty of rice. The Dutch have made no attempt to move food down here for the native population.

"The UNRRA food and medical supplies, and U.S.-made trucks, have been taken over lock, stock and barrel by the Dutch, with no sign of using any for relief of the native population.

"I feel the natives have lost their golden opportunity by waiting so long before mak-

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ing a disturbance which would bring the whole stinking matter to the world's attention. But I still don't see how the Dutch can ever come back here in anything like their former status.

"They may rule the place, but they'll do it by force.

"Our position, as the only Americans on the island, is peculiar to say the least. The natives are tremendously enthusiastic about Uncle Sam, and look to us as their deliverers, champions of the people's rights, and defenders of international justice.

"Of course, we are absolutely unable to do anything, but still they come to us, beg us to do something, and plead for American assistance in their fight for freedom. All this annoys the British and Dutch.

"The natives give us Americans the 'freedom of the country.' I have in my pocket a pass signed by the Vice President of the Indonesian Republic, saying in Malay that I am an 'Orang Amerika,' and as such am a guest of the country.

"We Americans have been able to pass roadblocks, tour the city, go into the native 'Kamponga' where no other white men dare go, and even take motor trips up into the hills with perfect safety, thanks to these passes, and the 'U.S.A.' on the backs of our cars.

"Instead of shots and bricks, all we get is cheers. No doubt that is the reason why the British forbade us to use the American flag."

All that was written in the first days of October 1945. About 2 weeks later, the young officer wrote another letter. Among other things, it said:

"The situation in Indonesia is going from bad to worse. Incidents are increasing in number and violence, and bode ill for the future. By and large, however, the Nationalists continue to be able to keep their followers in check.

"British Prime Minister Attlee dealt the nationalists quite a blow the other day by announcing that the British are under obligation to support the Dutch in their return to the Netherlands East Indies. Just what that obligation is, I don't rightly know.

"If the British openly try to do so, they'll have a war on their hands.

"Another complicating factor is the fact that 90 percent of the British troops are Indians. They are a little unenthusiastic about assisting by force of arms the suppression of a movement closely akin to what their own country, India, has been trying to do for hundreds of years.

"The Indian troops, however, commit numerous crimes against the natives, such as robbery and rape, which does not help the general feeling toward the Allies.

"We neutrals feel that the Indonesians have a good cause and the organization to put it over, if recognition comes in time."

Still another letter, written toward the end of October, says:

"The former American consul general to Java has reappeared on the scene. And what a character. He is a typical old-line diplomat, large and portly, with a comfortable paunch. He loves nothing better than to sit back in a big chair and give you his views on Java.

"He is more Dutch than the Dutch themselves. To do him justice, he likes the Indonesians, but his affection for them is too much of the typical colonial 'nice children' sort.

"He wants to be pals with everyone, particularly the Dutch. The first person he saw after he arrived the other day was the commander of the Dutch forces in Batavia. Ever since, he has been expounding Dutch propaganda as gospel truth.

"The terrible thing about all this is that now another conflicting voice is going to be added to the 'information from reliable sources' which is raining upon the U.S. State Department in Washington.

"Now one of that Department's oldest and most trusted servants is reassuring it that, as soon as the Dutch can get a few thousand men with machineguns into Java, the whole movement will die a natural death.

"That attitude is going to make for a lot of bloodshed. These people know what they want. They may not get it this year, or 10 years hence, but the wanting is going to remain. They are not going to look upon themselves as 'colonials' for the rest of eternity."

PORTLAND, OREG.,
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MORSE: Congratulations on your courageous stand in criticizing our recent actions in southeast Asia. No doubt, you are feeling rather alone, judging from the senatorial vote of confidence, and I feel proud of your stand on this matter. I fully agree with you, and also feel uneasy, to say the least, in regards to our country's actions.

Also, I understand that there has been a motion introduced recently to repress news coverage on elections until the returns are in across the entire Nation. What became of the bill, or who introduced it, I do not know, but I think that it is not only a good idea, but that it would help immensely in making elections more a matter of individual choice, as they should be.

Very respectfully yours,
MERLE A. GULLIKSON.
SANDRA GULLIKSON.

PORTLAND, OREG.,
August 7, 1964.

Senator MORSE,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I wish to commend you upon your no vote on the southeast Asia resolution.

I hope you have your economic security as the opponents are vicious. More power to you.

As ever your friend,
GEORGE H. PETERSON.

PORTLAND, OREG.,
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE L. MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: The announcement of your negative vote to the resolution supporting President Johnson's moves in Vietnam prompt this letter. You will have to pardon the scrawl—it is being written from a hospital bed.

I want to commend you for your vote. The label of "aggressor" is being appended to our country in several instances. I read it from the people of western Europe as they criticize us for helping to rearm Germany and give her a share in the control of nuclear weapons. I am sure that the people of the world are saying this with regard to our role in Vietnam.

These are hard days in which we live, but the struggle for peace is augmented by men like yourself and Senator GAUENING.

Sincerely,
HEBER L. GORDON.

MOUNT ANGEL, OREG.,
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am writing to back you on your stand regarding Vietnam.

It is only too bad that there aren't more thinking people like you in our Capital with the courage to speak out.

Sincerely,
MARK PETERSON.

EUGENE, OREG.,
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We have just sent the following telegram to President Johnson:

We deplore U.S. unilateral military action against North Vietnam, subverting the principles of the United Nations.

Your stand on the Vietnam problem and the current crisis in particular is absolutely right and has our wholehearted support.

Sincerely yours,
Mr. and Mrs. ARNULF ZWEIF.

EUGENE, OREG.,
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We have just sent the following telegram to President Johnson:

We deplore U.S. unilateral military action against North Vietnam, subverting the principles of the United Nations.

As Oregonians, we are proud of your stand on the current crisis, and want you to know that you have our wholehearted support.

Sincerely,
Mr. and Mrs. JOHN W. COOK.

EUGENE, OREG.,
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I should like to express my appreciation for your courageous stand in opposition to the administration's policy in Vietnam. Your dissenting vote on the resolution supporting our attack on North Vietnam is a vote against the cynical and hypocritical policy that our Government is pursuing in this area. I hope you will continue to work for the principles that we have agreed to as a member of the United Nations.

Sincerely yours,
ALVIN F. KELM.

EUGENE, OREG.,
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We would like to express our appreciation and our support for your stand on U.S. involvement in South Vietnam. It is heartening to hear at least one voice in this country raised against what we believe is a mistaken and very dangerous path followed by our Government in southeast Asia.

Please continue to speak against "military actions" and for peace.

Very sincerely,
AGNES and DAVID CURLAND.

SALEM, OREG.,
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
House of Congress,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: We were glad to know there was one Senator with the intestinal fortitude to stand up for what he thought was right. No doubt history and time will prove you were right in your analysis of the situation in Vietnam. While there has been no lambasting in the press here for the position you have taken, they may be waiting for a more opportune moment. I am old enough to recall what Bob La Follette had to contend with. He was proven right after years had passed.

Secretary Rusk says we have to protect our national interests. He fails to tell what they are. I know I did not have any over there and hope the rest of the American people will also realize such.

Someone must have used some strong medicine on Senator FULBRIGHT to get him

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to change his mind. Maybe a Rhodes scholar can be unduly influenced too. Was hoping he would stay with the ship too.

It looked like some of us would get more in the way of social security. Now I doubt if anything will become of it. Think there will be too much opposition to the medicare item. The veterans' bill also looks like a host cause.

I just thought you would like to know we stacked up on your stand on these late issues. We are stronger than ever for you and know we are not alone.

Respectfully yours,

W. A. RENTSCHLER.

STATE OF OREGON,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Salem, Oreg., August 8, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to assure you of my hearty support for standing firmly against the recent naval actions near Vietnam. There are usually two sides to every question and we did not hear the other side.

The issues in the Far East are too complex and serious to be settled by brute force. If we are to live we must sit around the conference table. This should be done now and in conjunction with the U.N.

You are an island of sanity and courage.
Sincerely,

HOWARD WILLITS.

LEWIS AND CLARK COLLEGE,
Portland, Oreg., August 10, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for raising the right questions about North Vietnam. The unfortunate hand of domestic politics and the San Francisco fiasco appears too nakedly in this instance. Would it have happened had Rockefeller been nominated?

My wife, my four boys, and I are driving east to Atlantic City and to Washington, leaving at once. Perhaps we shall see you back there.

Sincerely,

DONALD G. BALMER,
Chairman, Department of Political
Science.

PORTLAND, OREG.,
August 9, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE: As an ex-sailor and merchant marine skipper, I must say that your evaluation of the southeast Asia problems are absolutely correct.

Of course the problems were not created by the Johnson administration; the pregnancy occurred a few years back.

Respectfully yours,

JACOB A. WICK.

VAN NUYS, CALIF.,
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR: We are very grateful for the "lone voice in the wilderness" for sanity and peace. I hope we are able to hold back the leap "over the brink." "Negotiate" is the word and bring back our troops.

Sincerely,

Mrs. E. SOZER.

DENVER, COLO.,
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: It was my pleasure to see and hear you on TV on the incident in South Vietnam.

I, with millions of other Americans abhor war, especially if it is not justified. I can only say "Thank you" for the stand you have taken in this case.

Very truly yours,

HELEN DIETRICH.

OAKLAND, CALIF.,
August 7, 1964.

Congratulations on your courageous stand on Vietnam. From one who knows something about the background of the situation

there, it is comforting to hear at least one voice raised in the Senate on behalf of the truth. If more people knew the facts, you would have more support.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. G. SORENSEN.

FAIRFIELD, CONN.,
August 9, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

SIR: I realize that it has taken a tremendous moral and political courage to stand alone in the Senate and question a blanket authorization for acts of war by the President, as you have in the recent crisis. I am writing to you, as a Senator of the United States, not of Oregon alone, to express my recognition of your usual effort and to enclose a copy of a letter sent to each Member of Congress from Connecticut for your interest.

We have many people congratulating themselves with this last success in brinkmanship, but many, however, are realizing intuitively this cannot be repeated often. Inasmuch as a policy must have a sense of history, and see beyond the year, we have no realistic policy for southeast Asia and China. I encourage you to bring the facts and understandings to Congress and the people of how we must create a realistic policy.

I have not had the chance to become fully acquainted with your point of view, because of limited reporting of your statements in the Senate, and I would accordingly appreciate arrangement for receipt of copies of your statements.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT K. DUBROFF.

P.S.—I have written Senator FULBRIGHT expressing my concern that he was a leader in the Senate in introducing and supporting the resolution to give the President unlimited discretion in deciding on acts of war.

FAIRFIELD, CONN.,
August 6, 1964.

Representative BERNARD GRABOWSKI,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE GRABOWSKI: I am writing at an instant when we are poised at the edge of war—a war which will lead we know not where. We know essentially that this would be a war with Red China, a limited war to start; then a total war. At this moment, there are basic assumptions prevailing in the United States regarding this war:

1. That if the United States shows enough force, Red China will not fight.
2. That if Red China does fight, U.S. superior firepower in conventional arms will prevail.
3. That if conventional arms do not prevail; we can always resort to nuclear weapons—first tactical, then strategic.
4. That the United States can safely resort to nuclear weapons in a war with Red China since China lacks both the bombs and the missiles.
5. That at no stage in a war with Red China will Russia interfere.

These basic assumptions, taken singly and in sequence, involve so much uncertainty—instead of certainty—that they cannot be taken as guides for policy.

Can we look at the present moment? A tide of indignation is being roused in the United States in protest at the aggression of North Vietnam torpedo boats against vessels of the U.S. Navy. We are letting out the word that we will resist all further aggression. Just in the midst of these developments we have the need to reexamine the major assumption of U.S. foreign policy: that limited war with Red China—which can flare out to uncontrolled major war—will bring needed solutions. If we accept this

assumption, if you accept this assumption, then we have learned nothing from the Korean war and we ignore the plain fact that Red China has 700 million people.

Red China is at the heart of the problem. We have deliberately ignored her in the past; now propose to go to war with her and this country's leaders are representing that this war can be won. Such thinking is in the world of dreams—not in the world of hard-headed reality.

At this moment in history we have passed the point where we can practice war without courting disaster. I am asking, as your constituent, that you take leadership—not in giving President Johnson a blank check for the conduct of a bottomless war—in mobilizing all skills to engineer a peace and to insist on a procedure for peace finding and keeping in the Far East.

In this quest I think we have to abandon these myths:

1. That we can support despotic, corrupt, incompetent regimes—such as the government of Mme. Nhu and family—without inviting revolt.
2. That we can have escalating military buildups without inflammatory incidents.
3. That we can defeat Red China in a war, without drastic repercussions.

The present crisis calls for a greater and different courage than that summoned for a declaration of war. It calls for the courage of utter realism—to discard, following the lead of Senator FULBRIGHT, old myths and take heed of new realities. It calls for a recognition, in keeping with the editorial of the July 25-August 1 issue of the Saturday Evening Post, of the need to come to terms with Red China; to get over our paralysis of action short of war because it is Communist.

Today, as your constituent, I am asking what leadership you will give our country in the restoration of peace, the renunciation of myths, and the invigoration of our responsibilities to achieve a peace that works.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT K. DUBROFF.

WEST COLLINGSWOOD, N.J.,
August 4, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
The Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: Enclosed is an article from the Philadelphia, Pa., Inquirer. I know you are opposed to our participation in the war waging in South Vietnam.

Why doesn't the U.N. have control over this situation? I thought the purpose of the United Nations was to control such wars.

I don't think our Government ever asked the U.N. to send troops to fight the Vietcong.

It seems to me we should only be in South Vietnam under U.N. orders.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. PAUL A. BLOSER.

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer]

GRAVE DECISIONS AHEAD

The unprovoked attack on the U.S. destroyer *Maddox* by PT boats of the North Vietnam Navy, in international waters off the North Vietnam coast, carries ominous warning that the time is at hand for grave policy decisions in the southeast Asia theater.

If the attack was a considered test of American determination, the North Vietnam Reds received a quick answer. The *Maddox* responded vigorously, as did the fighter planes from the aircraft carrier *Ticonderoga*. As Secretary of State Rusk put it, "The other side got a sting out of this. If they do it again, they'll get another sting."

This is true enough, as far as it goes. It still leaves major questions for which the American public is entitled to answers.

Why, after years of such routine patrols as the *Maddox* was engaged in, did the North Vietnamese choose this time to launch a di-

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rect attack on an American ship in international waters? Why should they have felt (if they did) the need to test American determination? Did they count upon prompt help from their Red Chinese allies if the United States had chosen to reply still more vigorously to this provocation?

One plausible answer to the first of these questions lies in the smoldering differences between policymakers of the United States and South Vietnam Governments. Premier Khanh has recently been talking belligerently of carrying the war into North Vietnam, and one of his commanders has said that parachutists have already been dropped there. American officials have disputed these statements, at the same time that more American troops have been ordered to South Vietnam as advisers.

The American public, unfortunately, is left uncertain as to the meaning of all this. It may well be that the North Vietnamese are equally uncertain. The time appears near for making clear to everyone what seems to lie ahead.

TOLEDO, OHIO,
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE.

DEAR SENATOR: Nine out of ten people share your views on southeast Asia.

Nothing would please Russia more than to have United States embroiled in a jungle war in Asia.

Napoleon once said China is a sleeping giant: don't wake her up.

CHAS. E. KNOTT.

OLMSTED FALLS, OHIO,
August 9, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I write to congratulate you on your talk before the Senate in regard to Vietnam. I try to imagine the courage you had to oppose all those other Senators except Senator GRUENING. In March and in May I wrote to the President asking him to seek negotiations on South Vietnam. The letters are handed over to the State Department and they send out stupid literature without any sense of reality for the American people to read. They, the State Department, hold conferences in the major cities of the Nation to brainwash the people on Vietnam. In Cleveland when people wanted to discuss the issues they rail-roaded all discussion, even insulting the persons who rose from the floor to ask questions.

I am enclosing a letter I wrote the President on July 19 when I sent back to him all the State Department propaganda. I haven't had a reply this time unless it was the action they took against North Vietnam. Although I had two copies of the material I sent them both back so I cannot enclose copies to you, but I suppose you have read the literature they write for the American people.

I am enclosing an open letter to the U.S. Department of State which was in the Plain Dealer the day the State Department officials and a Dr. Strangelove character from the Pentagon held their brainwashing conference here.

Thank you for representing some of us (could it only be 2 percent of the people?) who do not like what our Government is doing in southeast Asia. Everyone I talk to doesn't like the situation in South Vietnam * * * yet their Senators approve of what the President did. The action seems so unconstitutional to me. Only Congress can declare war. Do I only know those 2 percent who are for negotiations?

Sincerely,

VIVIAN WILSON.

OLMSTED FALLS, OHIO,
July 19, 1964.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I am returning to you the material the State Department sent me. Unless the State Department understands reality in Vietnam we may destroy the world. The people who wrote the enclosed material never seem to have read D. F. Fleming, Graham Greene, David Hotham, Milton Taylor, Frank Child, Adrian Jaffe or any authority on Vietnam. These papers admit the State Department did not know Ngo Dinh Diem and his administration was as bad as it was, but they should have known.

One would think our Government would not repeat so pitiful and devastating a tragedy. The constant State Department propaganda blaming North Vietnam for violating the 1954 Geneva accord is an outrageous perversion of truth. The Geneva accord prohibited all foreign military personnel, equipment, and bases in Vietnam and called for general democratic elections by July 1956. The U.S. Government prevented the elections. U.S. arms in Vietnam is in direct violation of the Geneva agreement. This is known all over the world.

The United States should welcome the peace proposals of U Thant and the 5,000 professors who have asked that the Government seek negotiations.

Never mind what BARRY GOLDWATER says about using nuclear force in southeast Asia. As Alvin Silverman says, BARRY GOLDWATER is a man without brains, and, as you know, without administrative experience.

Why talk about democracy in Vietnam when we prevented elections in 1956? Why talk about freedom in Vietnam when we have Mississippi, Alabama and other States where Negroes are not free? Let the Federal Government protect the civil rights workers who are the bravest and most courageous people in our country, doing the work of the Federal Government, but without the pay. In order that things do not get out of hand in the South, it is necessary to send Federal aid at once to stop the violence which has occurred since the civil rights bill was passed.

We need men of vision in our State Department. How about D. F. Fleming?

Thank you for beginning negotiations over Vietnam.

Sincerely yours,

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE—NEEDED: AN APPROACH TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

The United States is a foreign party to a civil war in Vietnam. Fifteen thousand U.S. uniformed personnel have been committed to the battle. Casualties include American soldiers.

Acceleration of the American war effort in South Vietnam invites increased aid by China to the Communist Vietnamese. Stepping up the war effort risks the use by either side of nuclear arms. Nuclear war offers no victory.

What is the alternative?

Negotiation is urged by Senator WAYNE MORSE, Senator ERNEST GRUENING, Columnist Walter Lippmann, and others. Recognizing it takes both sides to make peace, we urge our Government to initiate a conference of nations to guarantee a neutral Vietnam.

We support U.S. efforts to insure enforcement of agreements. The United Nations can assist direct negotiation. Inspection teams must be free to operate wherever needed. They can be backed by frontier patrols.

The best guarantee of enforcement is the

mutual advantage of the agreement. The goal is a Vietnam whose independence is guaranteed and respected.

This statement paid for by the signers: Robert E. Archer, professor; Raymond S. Beard, business counselor; Marguerite S. Bellamy, housewife; Keith C. Billman, social worker; Evelyn A. Blackburn, insurance agent.

Isabel N. Bliss, homemaker; William M. Bliss, engineer; Edith O. Brashares, college instructor; Edwin A. Brown, minister; Rilma Buckman, sociologist; Bronson P. Clark, businessman.

Sheldon D. Clark, lawyer; Lila Cornell, homemaker; Marie F. Cotton, homemaker; Wendell P. Cotton, salesman; Natalie C. Crouter, housewife; Eilfrieda S. Daiber, secretary; Alan J. Davis, minister; Hortense M. Davis, teacher; Jack G. Day, lawyer.

Steven Deutsch, university faculty; Mort Epstein, designer; Gail R. Gann, homemaker; Donald S. Gann, surgeon; Joel M. Garver, lawyer; Paul Gitlin, social worker; Henry Gluck, psychologist.

William F. Hellmuth, Jr., professor; Arnold A. Herzog, lawyer; Fred Husa, office worker; Sidney D. Josephs, businessman; Mrs. Harry Kirtz, homemaker; Waldo H. Kliever, consultant; Dennis G. Kuby, minister; Jerome Landfield, college professor; Ada N. Leflingwell, homemaker.

George Levinger, educator; John P. Marhevka, male hair stylist; Mrs. Edward A. Marshall, homemaker; Charles R. Miller, lawyer; Paul I. Miller, professor; Hans F. Mueller, retired; Laura Muller, homemaker; Sarah B. Nenner, housewife.

James M. Newman, advertising; Paul Olynnyk, professor; Clyde Onyett, public relations; William W. Outland, order analyst; Samuel Prellwitz, industrial research; Harold J. Quigley, minister; Willard C. Richan, educator; Eldon F. Roe, merchant; Marian Rosenberg, social workers.

Ralph Rudd, lawyer; Audrey Sabadosh, librarian; Nicholas Sabadosh, teacher; Wilmer L. Satterthwait, painter; Vera A. Schwartz, legal secretary; A. L. Sherwin, lawyer; Frank Spigel, lawyer; Benjamin Spock, physician; Sam Sponseller, retired.

Vera Smisek, teacher; Oscar H. Steiner, businessman; Helen Stewart, high school counselor; Edward A. Taubert, photographer; Warren E. Thompson, educator; Hugh Tyson, graduate student; Harry O. Way, bacteriologist.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We support enthusiastically your criticism of the foreign aid program and the administration's policy in southeast Asia. You are the only liberal who has criticized the foreign aid program. Why is it that the liberals in Congress have always supported foreign aid while the opposition to it has come from southern Democrats and Goldwater Republicans?

We appreciate your enlightened stand on these two issues.

Very truly yours,

RICHARD L. BACH.
MARGUERITE BACH.

PARADISE, CALIF.,
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We are for you 100 percent in your lone courageous stand in this present Vietnam crisis.

Senator GOLDWATER's contrary approval of what is happening adds, in our opinion, confirmation of your stand.

Furthermore, we don't believe the story that is being told of how this present crisis happened. It stinks to high heaven—worse if anything, than the Republican Convention

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at San Francisco last month. Where, oh, where, are we going? And, who can we vote for, for President?

Most respectfully yours,

HAROLD C. BARTHELSON,
ARDIS J. BARTHELSON.

(Copy to Senator KUCHEL.)

TROUVILLE S/MER, FRANCE,
August 8, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: A word of thanks for your splendid stand on Vietnam. We are trying to police the whole world to keep it in our image. No patriot gets our help to suppress his people unless like Khanh, he promises there will be no changes. Imaginative men, patriots, George Washingtons, can never turn to us—we only offer bombs and death in areas we do not own and have no right to fight in.

Again thanks. Time is with you.

Sincerely,

DAVID MANDEL.

REDDING, CALIF.,
August 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We have noted with surprise and pleasure that you have almost singlehandedly upheld measures for the benefit of the common people. As far back as the tideland oil giveaway to your present stand on the Vietnam war.

Never forget there are people that agree with your views, and admire your great courage and integrity. We are often too silent in supporting public-minded statesmen. We thank you for your efforts in behalf of the whole society.

Another statesman we have admired is Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY of Minnesota. If you have the time, we would like your opinion of him as a possible Vice President of the United States.

Sincerely yours,

EMIL E. TWETEN.

WESTPORT, CONN.,
August 9, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

Again you have shown courage and patriotism by standing up in the Senate and speaking the truth.

Where is our Jeffersonian democracy? Where was MANSFIELD and FULBRIGHT and others?

When future historians write the sad pages of U.S. events of today, your name will represent the wisdom and courage and statesmanship that still exists in our land.

Respectfully,

CHICAGO, ILL.,
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wanted to write to you to express my support for your views on the Vietnam question and to tell you that I am glad that there are at least a few responsible Americans willing to speak out clearly on this issue. I thought that your article in the current Progressive was particularly cogent.

I realize that the situation in Vietnam is a difficult one and that, most unfortunately, the United States has lost almost all options that could lead to a victory for a non-Communist and popular government. From my point of view, neither the Vietcong nor the Khanh government is a suitable alternative and neither is capable of supporting a democratic government nor needed land reforms.

No. 158—27

I am only sorry that I am not a citizen of Oregon and therefore cannot vote for you.

Yours sincerely,

PHILIP G. ALTBACH,
Ford Foundation Comparative Studies,
Fellow, University of Chicago.

SANTA ROSA, CALIF.,
August 7, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate.

DEAR SENATOR: As a mother, as a great lover of all mankind and all living creatures, as one who believes that by order of a great Creator all are entitled to live—I wish to express my sincere gratitude to you for your standing alone to defend these divine rights. You should be given a medal for courage, a medal of honor. I am not a hero worshipper, but I cannot help saying that in my way of thinking, you are a real hero in opposing the warmongers who would destroy all life.

I have a young son (19 years) aboard the U.S.S. *Constellation*. He has been taught to love, to honor, to respect life—not to destroy it. It would give me great pleasure to tell President Johnson that I'm not standing behind him in his warmongering action. Nor for any resolution backed by Congress supporting such drastic inhuman action. This to me is signing and supporting a death warrant for all creation. President Johnson, McNamara, and company did not create the world and man and they certainly have no right to destroy it. So many times recently Mr. Johnson has asked the American people to stop hating, to love our neighbors—now I would ask, was this an act of love that he ordered to kill, to destroy perhaps many innocent people? This is, may I say: "Dr. Strangelove," indeed.

My heart goes out to you, I am with you in thought and deed. If there should ever be any way that I could help you, please do call on me. It is my greatest hope that I can meet you personally, shake your hand and say "thank you from the bottom of my heart." I ask myself so often—when will man learn that he has no enemies, that in the science and truth of being all men are brothers by nature?

Yours for peace and understanding,
SARA BURCH.

ROCHESTER, N.Y.,
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We wish to thank you for your forthright condemnation of the role of the United States in southeast Asia. In these times of national immorality, it takes a man of the utmost moral conviction and courage to speak out vigorously against the actions of a society which is sick from its affluency and military might and whose code of conduct has degraded to that of "the end justifies the means."

What a pity that the people of this Nation will not have the opportunity to vote for a man of your integrity in the coming fall election. As it is we personally feel that we have been disfranchised by being given the choice of the "lesser of two evils."

Sincerely yours,

Mr. and Mrs. PAUL STEWART.

PLAINVIEW, N.Y.,
August 9, 1964.

President LYNDON B. JOHNSON,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I agree thoroughly with Senator MORSE on the Vietnam situation. If the North Vietnamese attacked our ships (and they deny it), we provoked it.

We have killed men, women, and children in South Vietnam, supported ruthless, blood-thirsty dictatorships like the Diem regime in defense of "freedom," destroyed crops and livestock in order to "protect the people against communism," and committed atrocities against helpless civilians. Then we wonder why the southeast Asians hate us.

In addition, we have refused to abide by the Geneva convention agreement of 1954, which stated an election should be held in Vietnam so the Vietnamese people could decide their government.

General de Gaulle has advocated neutralization of southeast Asia. The only honorable and practical thing for us to do now is to stop the war, see that an election is held, and work for neutralization of the area.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. DONALD S. DUSHKIND.

PRITCHETT, COLO.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations on your spunk.

It looks like another black chapter is being written in Vietnam.

There is much evidence to prove that we were lied into at least three wars during the past century, and after reading your fine article in Progressive it may be possible to include another.

All offers to settle this trouble were rejected at once which would seem to prove that buzzards who profit through bloodshed are dictating Government policy.

Sincerely,

W. F. BROWN.

P.S.—What we need is a third party for people who believe in peace and good will. This would eliminate most members of the NAM and USCC.

PICO-RIVERA, CALIF.,
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Our family wish to express our appreciation to you for taking the stand on foreign aid that you have, and you are making a fight to reduce it. We are native Oregonians, who have been residents of California for over 20 years. We have scores of relatives in Oregon, both Democrats and Republicans, though voting pretty much as independents.

We respect you for being outspoken in your beliefs, in our estimation, we need more active, outspoken men such as you in Washington. Right now we are very concerned over our huge foreign aid to countries of Ben Bella, Sukarno, Tito, etc. Also this proposed Hart amendment. We have requested information pertaining to this from our Senator KUCHEL.

Very sincerely,

BLANCHE E. GRABLE.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,
August 7, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SENATOR: May I commend you for your courage in refusing so staunchly a "pre-declaration of war" in Asia. I agree with you that we had no business to be in Vietnam in the first place. If we had kept our men and our flag at home there would have been no occasion for anyone to shoot at it.

Voices like yours are the only ones that give so many of us who crave peace and fear annihilation, the hope to carry on. The United States, by its persistent policy of refusing to utilize the U.N. or the World Court, or of violating many of its agreements,

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has set the nations of the world a poor example.

I pray you have the courage to keep to your course.

Sincerely,

MAY GOLDMAN.

WAUKESHA, WIS.,
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I would like to commend you on the courageous stand that you took when you voted against President Johnson's resolution in regard to Vietnam. I was shocked by this resolution and horrified by the action preceding it. I regard the recent bombing of bases in North Vietnam as nothing less than an immoral act on the part of our Nation. We certainly have the right and the duty to defend ourselves in the face of aggression but open aggression on our part is another thing. I strenuously object and most heartily disapprove.

Mrs. DOROTHY BOXHORN.

MENDOCINO, CALIF.,
August 6, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
The Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: It is indeed heartening to see a man of courage and understanding stand out against the rabble that make up most of the present Congress. The prospects for a decent world would be far better if someone of your stature had occupied the White House during the last couple of decades.

All good luck to you.

R. J. KENNEDY.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,
August 7, 1964.

Hon. Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I should like to congratulate you on your courageous dissenting vote with Senator ERNEST GRUENING, of Alaska, against the emergency Vietnam resolution, which would give a carte blanche authority to President Johnson to interfere even more with the touchy and inflammable southeast Asia situation.

I, as many, know how much and long you have struggled for sanity on this issue in Washington; it is to your eternal credit that you've taken a hands-off stand about this part of the world.

When there are enough men like yourself, with personal integrity, to champion even for the rights of faraway peoples to determine their own future, then and only then, will this world eventually settle down to some semblance of peace. By that time, of course, it would be judicious to embrace a World Court with legal and police powers to enforce all international decisions.

As long as you continue to believe that the freedom of other nations is as important as that of our United States, you'll have the sincere support of people like myself who not only are concerned for our family or our city or our country—but for the world.

Respectfully yours,

ROBERT E. BLOMQUIST.

MAYNARD, MASS.,
August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

We admire your courage and hope American policy in Asia will be corrected.

HAINES and CATHERINE TURNER.

SAN JOSE, CALIF.,
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Many thanks for your courageous stand on Vietnam. Remain firm in the right.

FRED STROHM.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Thank you and congratulations for your stand on Vietnam and peace.

EVA RICHMOND,
San Francisco Women for Peace.

SILVER SPRING, MD.,
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE, of Oregon,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

As future Oregon residents we thank and commend you for courageous just stand on Vietnam.

Mr. and Mrs. BOB PASKOFF.

LOS GATOS, CALIF.,
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

We fully support your courageous protest against U.S. action in Vietnam. You are not alone.

ELLIOTT WAX and family.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Thank heavens we have two courageous Senators who think independently. Congratulations on your Vietnam vote.

SYLVIA POWELL.
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,

August 8, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.:

Congratulations on your stand for peace. Keep it up, please.

STELLA PATRI.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Congratulations on outspoken Vietnam stand. Working in California for more representatives like you.

SUSANNE EUBANKS.

PITTSBURGH, PA.,
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

Congratulations on your vote. Save lives, save the peace. Don't enlarge Viet war.

LEO GRONER.

CLEVELAND, OHIO,
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

I am in complete support of your position on Vietnam. Please do not waver.

NANCY HOLLANDER.

PORTLAND, OREG.,
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

Congratulations on your courageous stand on Vietnam. Your commitment to world peace most reassuring.

GEORGE ABEDE.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,
August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

Wish to express deep-felt gratitude and appreciation for your forthright and courageous stand on the Vietnam resolution. It is a tragedy there should be only two voices in Congress in opposition. Please con-

tinue to fight for those of us who have no voice.

MADELYNE GERLACH.

NEW YORK, N.Y., August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

We applaud your position on the pre-election Asia crisis. Congratulations.

Mr. and Mrs. H. LEVY.

EUGENE, OREG., August 9, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

We support your proposals regarding Vietnam and foreign aid. You deserve chapter in "Profiles in Courage."

Mr. and Mrs. RUDOLPH POHL.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Commend your opposition to military action in Vietnam. Urge concurrent resolution disapproving agreement to extend nuclear information to NATO member country. Debate by Congress imperative.

MEDORA PETERSEN,
President, Minnesota Branch WILPF.

BUFFALO, N.Y., August 9, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

We applaud your position and vote on South Vietnam.

DONALD and LESLIE SILBERMAN.

BERKELEY, CALIF., August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

Congratulations on your courageous stand on Vietnam. Please continue to present clearheaded and realistic alternatives.

DAVID GROSS.

EAST HAMPTON, N.Y., August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Congratulations on your courageous stand against the predated declaration of war on Vietnam.

Mr. and Mrs. BURTON LANE.

PALO ALTO, CALIF.,
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

Thank you for courageous fight for truth about Vietnam. We support you.

JANICE and STUART HARWOOD.

SOUTH GATE, CALIF.,
August 9, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Twenty-four organizations tonight distributed your speech on a vigil commemorating Hiroshima and protesting involvement in Vietnam. The vigil, sponsored by Unitarian Universalists Fellowship for Social Justice, Los Angeles, covered 12 blocks on both sides of Hollywood Boulevard. Many signs were taken from your statements. A tribute to your courageous fight for truth and peace.

KENNETH and BETTY ROTTGER.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations. You of all our so-called Government leaders had the courage to call a spade, a spade.

We don't belong in South Vietnam, and should get out and let the people decide their own destiny. Our "big stick" policy results in support of every two-bit dictator in the name of democracy.

What has happened to our glorious democratic heritage? Liberty, justice for all gave

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birth to our Nation. Today we distort its sacred meaning to hold in power ever dictator throughout the globe who oppresses the people.

When are we going to reverse our suicidal policy? Time is getting short. Must we take the road to atomic suicide? I say no.

Keep up the good fight. It takes courage and integrity to buck the war mongers in these United States.

Sincerely,

CHARLES BERKOW.

SAN JOSE, CALIF.,
 August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

Twenty-fifth Assembly District California Democratic Council Club strongly supports your position on Asian resolution.

JERRY GORDON, Secretary.

PORTLAND, OREG.,
 August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

Regarding Vietnam, applaud your stand. Keep it up.

ELEANORE M. CAMPBELL.

QUINCY, MASS.,
 August 8, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

We applaud your courageous stand and integrity in opposing the President's recent action in Vietnam. We hope you will continue to show continued courage in the face of powerful majority who seem eager to escalate present crisis into a world war.

RUTH and EDWARD ROSELAND.

WEST HEMPSTEAD, N.Y.,
 August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

You may have addressed an empty Senate Chamber but the people and particularly the mothers of this country are listening to the only voice for peace in that supposedly august body. Please keep up your wonderful plea for sanity and world peace.

SYLVIA FINK.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,
 August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I appreciate very much your continued opposition to U.S. involvement in the Vietnam war. I am glad for your recent no vote on the President's resolution.

I hope and pray that our Government will be willing to enter into negotiation soon through the calling of the Geneva powers.

Sincerely,

MARGARET T. SIMKIN.

AUGUST 10, 1964.

Hon. Senator WAYNE L. MORSE,
 U.S. Senate Chamber,
 Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: My sincerest congratulations to you for your courageous stand you took against the joint resolution on southeast Asia. Our warships have no business in southeast Asia. They are there to provoke the North Vietnamese and China. I am convinced that China will never attack the United States.

S. M. BALINER.

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I have absolutely no time—pressed for time to write papers

and have final examinations—but I must tell you of my appreciation for your love of truth and for your lionlike courage. Anybody who even begins a study of Vietnam knows that the situation there stemmed from rural despair and from Diem's arbitrary tyranny—not from an invasion from the North. How can we base our whole policy on a myth? My Senator from Wyoming McGEE says in letter to me that the main cause of trouble is Red Chinese expansionism.

My heartiest and best wishes. This will reach you after you have spoken—but what you have already said puts you in Lincoln's courageous tradition of opposition to the cooked-up incidents leading to the Mexican War.

Yours for a country which is right.

SYDNEY SPIEGEL.

AUGUST 7, 1964.

DEAR SIR: Thank you for opposing the Vietnam resolution.

It seems, at times, that men are not unlike the lemming—racing toward the sea—and suicide. It is at these times, that it is glorious to hear the sweet voice of reason.

I cannot fully express my gratitude for your courage and convictions.

Thank you, sir.

PAT CAWTHON.

SEATTLE, WASH.

UTICA, N.Y.,

August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Washington, D.C.

SIR: I think that you are to be commended for your stand on the Asian situation.

You apparently see the futility and the irresponsibility of the involvement.

You may be a voice crying in the wilderness, but your example and courage and integrity are an inspiration to all Americans who cherish justice and truth.

In an era of extremism and insanity you have shown that you can maintain common-sense regardless.

Senator MORSE, we need more men and certainly more elected representatives like you. Please keep up the good work.

With best wishes,

Yours truly,

RALPH TACZYNSKI.

AUGUST 5, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,
 U.S. Senate,
 Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MORSE: We support your courageous stand on American military ventures in Vietnam. Keep up the good work.

Yours truly,

Mr. and Mrs. R. E. GREENBERG.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,
 U.S. Senate,
 Washington, D.C.

SIR: It must be the "latter days" if there are only two prophets willing to stand up. Commonsense seems to say that it would be foolhardy for a small kid to attack or tease a big kid like the United States. But if he did, the big kid beat the ——— out of him and then run and tells on him, instead of telling on him first—if he's so bighearted. I think the slanted news we get in this country is appalling. And no one is allowed to visit Cuba and find out the truth either.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,
 August 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,
 U.S. Senate,
 Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR MORSE: May I take this opportunity to thank you for the courageous position you have taken against our foreign policy in Vietnam, and in other areas involving peace.

In making known your position, you speak out in the name of all peace-loving people, who understand that it no longer is a question of war or peace—but a question of survival.

Yours has been a voice in the wilderness, and most welcome to hear.

Thank you again for myself and for my sons.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. JULIE MERLINO.

AUGUST 9, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I think the whole country is indebted to you for that fine speech you made on the floor of the Senate on our involvement in Vietnam. I realize many of your colleagues must, with their minds and their hearts, have agreed with you. If I am right in thinking that it is depressing that they lacked the honesty and courage to express their opposition to the stupid and dangerous tactics that are being used by our Government.

Please keep on with your good work.

Gratefully yours,

FRANCES MEYER.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.,
 August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: We wish to comment on the stand you took for morality. God bless you for your forthrightness.

Sincerely,

HELEN PIERSOL.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 U.S. Senate,
 Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Your lone voice dissenting in Johnson's Vietnam action is to be commended. I realize that "realistic politics" demands that Johnson do something to drown some of GOLDWATER's campaign charges. However, it's been dishartening to see so many Congressmen silent on this U.S. action.

Congratulations for your stand.

Sincerely,

Mrs. ELIZABETH RICE MOORE.

CHERRY HILL, N.J.,
 August 9, 1964.

HON. WAYNE L. MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I have intended to write to you for several months, but the present crisis forces me to end the delay. I completely support your position on the war in Vietnam and on the recent attack on North Vietnam. It is unfortunate that this intensification of the war has brought such a jingoistic and unreasoned response on the part of our lawmakers, rather than the sober questioning of the Maddox attack, as well as the whole war, that our involvement there deserves. What serious discussion there has been in Congress has been largely the result of Senator GRUENING's and your speeches.

I notice in a UPI dispatch of August 6 that Assistant Secretary of State William Bundy acknowledged on Thursday that South Vietnamese gunboats may have shelled two North Vietnamese islands approximately a day before the first attack on the U.S.S. Maddox. He asserted, however, that the destroyer was at least 60 miles away and did not provide cover for the attack. Even if this distance is correct, and I no longer have the utmost confidence in the State Department, this action surely must have been viewed by Hanoi as having U.S. approval. What with repeated calls for reprisals against the "privileged sanctuary" of North Vietnam by both United States and Vietnamese officials, even to the extent of step-by-step plans for military attack on the

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North; admitted South Vietnamese guerrilla raids on North Vietnam; this alleged island incident; and provocative U.S. patrols off Hanoi's coast, these attacks do not seem so surprising. That our naval patrols in the Gulf of Tonkin have intended to intimidate, if not provoke Hanoi can no longer be easily denied. For if, indeed, the Maddox was 60 miles away during the Vietnamese attack on the North Vietnam islands, its patrol roughly 24 hours later at supposedly 30 miles offshore must have been viewed at the very least with alarm by Hanoi.

I certainly do not agree with Communist claims to possession of waterways bounded by their territory, but we have also abused the concept of "freedom of the high seas." I do not believe that it includes maneuvers in such close proximity to a hostile country at a time of great tension. The ostensible reason for our patrols is to prevent infiltration of men and materiel by sea from North to South. Secretary McNamara, in his news conference as reported in the New York Times of August 7, revealed that the South Vietnamese Navy has for some time patrolled its coast and portions of the North Vietnamese coast with a fleet composed of as many as 500 vessels for precisely this same purpose. It does not seem to me that the Vietcong are extensively supplied in any way from the North, but if patrols are to be kept, the logical place for them would seem to be along South Vietnam where there would be no confusion as to their mission, rather than off North Vietnam where fishing boats are indistinguishable from supply ships and where patrols (and I presume searches if they are to be effective) can only invite perpetual error, antagonism, and eventual retaliation.

I regret having taken your time with such a long letter, but I wanted to give a few of my reasons for supporting your speeches.

Very truly yours,

WALTER BROD.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for your sanity, intelligence, and courage.

Would to God more of your colleagues possessed at least a little of these fine qualities.

Most sincerely,

JAMES V. RYAN.

WESTMINSTER, CALIF.,
August 7, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,
Senator from Oregon,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I, for one, admire your stand in denouncing the dangerous policy that our country is pursuing in southeast Asia. Your refusal to "knuckle under" is held in high regard by myself, my family, and those of us who truly desire peace in our time.

Sincerely,

PERRY DEMAKEAS.

WESTBURY, N.Y.,
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: May I begin this humble letter by congratulating you for your courage. Some people might doubt that that noun applies to Senator Morse who refuses his vote to President Johnson allowing him to use whatever forces are fitting in South and North Vietnam. Some people do not appreciate true courage. They must still prove their greatness by employing barbaric, primitive methods.

Things that are important and worthy are often difficult to attain. A neutral southeast Asia is important. It is, in fact, imperative that it does not become another Korea. For the more inflamed this problem becomes the

more of a threat "all-out nuclear war" becomes.

There is a way to settle this problem other than the arrogant and barbaric way still used by man. We on the Hiroshima Day observance in New York City, August 6, recognize it and were so happy to receive your telegram. You are still one out of a hundred, but it made us at least hope that someone in our Government is sympathetic.

The way is negotiation.
The only moral and sane way is through negotiation.

President Johnson speaks of freedom and peace for South Vietnam, in fact, for all of southeast Asia. Yet ironically enough he asks Congress for permission to use military force to attain this end. At the rally at Washington Square yesterday, Mr. Bayard Rustin spoke to us. He cited that history has taught some of us that violence has never settled any human problem. He reminded us that World War I was to be the "war to end all wars." This war was ended by the Treaty of Paris of 1918. President Wilson was afraid of a punitive peace treaty. His fears were realized with World War II.

This war was more destructive than the first. This time the world was brought to peace with the atom bombs at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. These events marked a sordid change in the world's mortality. During no other time in history has man been so casual with his brothers' lives. Now he nonchalantly speaks of such immoralities as "128 over-kill." After all this violence, and violence to end violence, 19 years later we are still a long way from peace.

Mr. Rustin also reminded us of what someone once said. I am not quoting: those who do not learn from history are condemned to relive it. Perhaps it is not too late to learn. At least we must not be discouraged. You, a minority, must not be discouraged. All of us who attended the Hiroshima Day Observance and many more are supporting you. I sincerely thank you.

I remain,

Respectfully,

MISS DEANNA GALLO.

BURBANK, CALIF.,
August 8, 1964.

DEAR WAYNE MORSE: Both Mrs. Wolf and I agree 100 percent with your brave stand on the Vietnam mess.

And as the single Senator who stood with you said (and he, too, is to be commended) the whole of Vietnam, and I might add, all of southeast Asia is not worth the life of one American boy.

With highest regard for your display of real guts, regardless of consequences.

Sincerely yours,

HAROLD E. WOLF.

AUGUST 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Forgive the appearance of this hastily scribbled note but these are times which often put feeling above ceremony.

I congratulate you on your lone, courageous vote against the madness which we have become a part of in Vietnam. Yours is the voice of vanity and honesty, a rare thing in our country today. I shall write in your name on my presidential ballot this year. Keep it up—for a future.

Sincerely,

MARTIN COOPER.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

NORTH HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.,
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Although we are not residents of your State, we feel we owe you a debt of thanks as the lone voice that speaks out for sanity. We are grateful for your ra-

tional approach to the Vietnam situation, and only regret that you are alone in the Senate seeking to secure a more peaceful world.

Very truly yours,

Mr. and Mrs. SIGMOND FIELD.

DALLAS, TEX., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE: Thank you for your dissenting vote on the "fight if we must" resolution. That took courage, and not the type of flag-flying courage which goes forth to kill, maim, and destroy, all over the world in the name of liberty, freedom and democracy.

The U.S. economy is war geared. It demands war crises and occasional war for maintenance and the justification of big defense. The United States interferes in internal affairs of other countries in both hemispheres. We forced Cuba to accept aid from Russia and now we can hardly wait to take over Cuba and get back the vast interests and opportunities our big industry had there before Castro.

The Vietnam problem must be taken to United Nations. Delegates from Vietnam, especially North Vietnam, and from China should sit in on all conferences so that United Nations has both versions of the story, upon which to base a just decision.

Thank you for your frankness. I cannot express my gratitude.

EULA M. McNABB.

CUBANS BLAST RAIDS ON REDS

HAVANA.—The Communist Cuban Government today sided with North Vietnam in a bitter statement saying "We know how Yankee imperialism acts—its incessant provocations, its piratical methods, its scandalous lies, and its shameless pretexes."

A statement signed by President Osvaldo Dorticos and Prime Minister Fidel Castro said the Cuban Government, "in the name of the Cuban people, condemns the unjustifiable attack unleashed by American Armed Forces against the democratic Republic of North Vietnam.

"In cynical, cold, and deliberate form, the U.S. Government planned and executed its criminal attack."

Referring to the ill-fated Bay of Pigs invasion and the repeated Cuban charges of American provocations at the Guantanamo Navy Base border, the statement said "In this case the U.S. Government, with the same lack of scruples, has forged an incident that was used as the pretext for an air attack against North Vietnamese installations."

The two Cabinet members went from the Senate to testify before the House Foreign Relations Committee on the resolution which Johnson said was needed to show "that our policy in southeast Asia will be carried forward and that the peace and security of the area will be preserved."

Senator Morse, a sharp critic of the administration's Vietnam policy, said Wednesday that the United States shares responsibility with the Communists for the attacks which brought on the crisis.

"For 10 years, the role of the United States in South Vietnam has been that of a provocateur, every bit as much as North Vietnam has been a provocateur," he said. He has urged that the Vietnam problem be taken to the United Nations and that the United States make use of the SEATO pact.

DALLAS, TEX.,
August 6, 1964.

President LYNDON B. JOHNSON,
President of the United States of America,
Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE PRESIDENT JOHNSON: Our hearts are very heavy as we realize that the maturely intelligent people of the United States and of the world, are being given no choice, as to our state of war, now, or in No-

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member. With an accompaniment by Syracuse University Band, must we say: "Onward Christian Soldiers"—onward with all the destruction that can be wrought through the employment of war as a futile, wasteful, and archaic method of attempting to determine right, or, of attempting to point the way to justice.

You have stated: "The world is challenged to make its will known, and make it known, now." How? How, we ask as citizens of the United States and of the world? Shall we make our will known through ever-escalating war until the world is devastated and the efforts of centuries of progress have been obliterated? Shall we have peace dangled before us as the illusive, future reward for fighting another, and, yet another war? Why sacrifice our men and the men of the "current enemy" for matters which will never be settled by war?

Secretary McNamara has stated: "Whether any further major action will be taken by the United States against Vietnam depends upon the Vietnamese." Is this statement not typical of all warring nations from time immemorial? In the senseless game of war, the full blame for aggression is always placed upon the enemy. And, the assistance of Almighty God (or, counterpart) is invoked by each warring nation because each feels that "God is on our side—the side of right."

Please use your influence toward having the decision of the course to be pursued in Asia placed under the United Nations. All conferences on Asia should include discussions by delegates from Vietnam and from the Peoples' Republic of China; otherwise the United Nations will not have both versions of the recent events upon which to base a just decision.

Respectfully,

EULA M. McNABB.

AUGUST 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: This is the first letter I have ever written to any elected official, but I feel so strongly that unless all adult Americans speak up now we will be involved in another full-scale war in Asia.

I would like to congratulate you and the distinguished Senator from Alaska for the stand you took recently, and have been taking for a considerable time, against the Vietnam war.

As you continually point out, we are totally in the wrong. Our involvement there is blatant belligerence. This is a popular uprising against continued dictatorships with foreign power behind them. The CIA for too long a time has used that country as their own "poaching grounds." And the U.S. Army for too long has been using it as a "testing ground" for their weapons and tactics.

Everyone, however, seems to have overlooked the continued toll on the Vietnamese population. Why should these human beings be slaughtered any longer?

Not all Americans are warmongers, and I am certain that you have received other letters thanking you for your lonely stand. Needless to say I am aware of the virtual news "blackout" imposed on the majority of your speeches on this issue. If it weren't for such fine journalists as Mr. I. F. Stone, we would not be able to penetrate this "blackout."

Keep up the good work.

Respectfully yours,

RAYMOND STAINCH.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,

August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senator from Oregon,
Senate Office Building.

DEAR SENATOR: I wish to thank you sincerely for voicing your opposition to our pol-

icy regarding Vietnam. I can see no valid reason for our interference with, or in, the affairs of southeast Asia.

President Johnson speaks of a limited war. Facts show that when war begins there is no knowing when and how it will end.

Please continue your outcry. We need you.

ARLINE D. HAYS.

CLEVELAND, OHIO,

August 9, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: It required a tremendous amount of courage for you to express opposition to granting President Johnson unlimited power against the North Vietnamese. There is too much at stake in trusting such colossal powers of worldwide destruction to any man, let alone one who doesn't even drive a car rationally.

If the facts were presented, they wouldn't even justify our presence in South Vietnam where we now have some 18,000 armed-to-the-teeth advisers.

As I read the enclosed clipping I wondered whether the chuckle was intentionally placed where it so aptly fits.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE FLICK.

[From the Cleveland (Ohio) Plain Dealer,
Aug. 7, 1964]

L.B.J. VIETNAM STAND OK'D BY CONGRESS

WASHINGTON.—The House and Senate approved in quick succession today an emergency Vietnam resolution upholding President Johnson in any "fight-if-we-must" measures needed to counter Red aggression in southeast Asia.

The House rollcall vote was 414 to 0.

The Senate vote, which sent the resolution to the White House, was 88 to 2. The dissenting votes were cast by Senators WAYNE MORSE, Democrat, of Oregon, and ERNEST GRUENING, Democrat, of Alaska.

The resolution states that "the Congress approves and supports the determination of the President—as Commander in Chief—to take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression.

It was proposed to Congress Wednesday after Johnson ordered U.S. carrier planes to bomb North Vietnamese torpedo boat bases which had sent out attackers against two U.S. destroyers.

Only major opposition to the declaration came from Senator WAYNE MORSE, Democrat, of Oregon, who waged a delaying action against the resolution in the Senate. House passage came after a 40-minute debate.

MORSE, a sharp critic of the administration's policies in Vietnam, opened his attack on the resolution with a speech last night. He said, "No one can justify the (North Vietnamese) PT boat attacks, but the fact that the U.S. destroyer *Maddox* was relatively close inshore when South Vietnamese planes attacked some North Vietnamese islands "was a well thought out military maneuver."

"If we had known that the South Vietnamese were going to bomb the islands (last Friday) we should not have had ships anywhere near the islands," he said. MORSE contended that it was after the bombings that the PT boats began pursuing the *Maddox*.

The Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees and the House Foreign Affairs Committee overwhelmingly approved the resolution yesterday.

AUGUST 8, 1964.

HON. SENATOR MORSE: In behalf of many mothers, garment workers, we send you our heartfelt greetings and thanks.

Stand up—as you do—for peace and life for our children.

With gratitude,

ESTHER CARROLL.

JAMAICA, N.Y.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I have been following your statements on Vietnam with the greatest admiration for your uncommon "commonsense" and courage. Your ability to keep your head while others all around you lose theirs in true "rugged individualism" of the highest order.

I live in what I believe to be the Nation's largest cooperative apartment unit which is to house some 6 thousand families and is called Rochdale Village.

What I would like to do is personally to put your views in every single household by slipping a printed summary of your views under each and every door or in the hands of every household head here.

I would deem it a great service if you could send me such a summary that I could have copied somehow if you cannot send me yourself several thousand copies for immediate distribution.

As I realize no man in this country understands the importance of shedding some light on this heated situation better than you do, I await your reply in all confidence that you will help me to help my country.

Thank you.

Very truly yours,

SONYA FINGER.

BROOKLINE, MASS.,

August 8, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: You and Senator ERNEST GRUENING are the only two men in the Congress of the United States who, in my opinion, see the grave situation in southeast Asia in its proper perspective and are willing and courageous enough to speak out against the dangerous and deceptive foreign policy of our Government. I know it must be difficult to stand alone against the emotionalism of false patriotism, but to do so is a measure of your intelligence, wisdom, and integrity, which few men today are privileged to share with you.

Only history (if there is a world and history is possible) will prove that men like you are the true patriots who love our great country and want to see it receive the proper respect and admiration, which it can only achieve through realistic attitudes toward the needs of the peoples of the world who look to us for help.

I take comfort in the fact that there are at least two such distinguished men of principle as you and Senator GRUENING in our Congress. You represent the many thinking people of our country. It is my hope that your sanity will eventually prevail.

My congratulations to you and my best wishes for success in your strivings.

Sincerely yours,

EDNA STEIN.

VENICE, CALIF.,

August 9, 1964.

President L. B. JOHNSON,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I have been shocked by your recent show of force action in the Gulf of Tonkin. It seems to me that such action could not be necessary if our preceding action had been as reasonable as we were led to believe it was.

I agree with Senator WAYNE MORSE who has said that we have nothing to gain by continuing "unilateral military action in southeast Asia, unsanctioned by the United Nations and unaccompanied by allies."

I urge that we take the matter to the United Nations and arrange to negotiate.

Most of all we want no tensions built up that could lead to war. Peace requires re-

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laxation of tension and this is what we want to see throughout the world.
 Very sincerely,

MARGARET P. MAHONEY.

MORGAN HILL, CALIF.,
 August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We support you in your stand against the terrible war in Vietnam.

Sincerely yours,

BETTY ANDERSON.

MAHOPAC FALLS, N.Y.,
 August 8, 1964.

U.S. Senator Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: You have always with good judgment stood with honor on your own feet.

Our Government and our SAR Society both need you, and need you very much.

Do keep up your good work. It is all that can save the world from another state of war.

My Gen. Israel Putnam chapter (Empire State), Society SAR, well knows my objection to having us put on record as favoring invasion of Cuba or any other country, and I refuse to believe the majority of our members are so ignorant as to be warmongers.

No, I am not a doctor of medicine or law; I am a plumber 82 years of age suffering with a heart condition and arthritis, but made most unhappy by the actions of our warmongers.

The Bible states all men are liars, and women, too. Wars, war after war, is proof what we are.

We never learn.

We can be very proud of our Revolutionary ancestors. My grandfather's grandfather, Morris Earle, fought all through the war and was a prisoner in the old sugarhouse prison (Yonkers) 9 months. His brother, Peter, was killed in the battle at Saratoga.

But we, too, must be men of honor and courage, not puppets.

Sincerely,

STEPHEN HENRY VRIELAND.

WYNEWOOD, PA.,
 August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to commend you for your vote last week in opposition to the President's resolution not only giving him a blank check to enlarge the war in southeast Asia, but expressing approval for his action against North Vietnam.

We appreciate tremendously the courage and insight into the possible dire consequences shown by you and Senator GREENING. Although we heartily wish we had 100 Senators with your vision, we are glad we have at least 2, and hope you will continue to work and write (your article "Humpty Dumpty in Vietnam" in the August "Progressive" is superb) for the earliest possible settlement of the Pacific crisis. Thank you.

Cordially yours,

MARGARET FORSYTHE.

AUGUST 9, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I sincerely commend your voice of dissent in the actions of our country in the North Vietnam crisis.

I, too, feel we were not justified in our actions there. It seems our country is fast becoming a warring nation rather than the great proponents for peace as has been our profession in the past.

Sure, our country must show itself to be great in the eyes of the smaller, uncommit-

ted nations of the world, but is this greatness to murder the Vietcong in their own land by such a trivial provocation? It's surely time for men such as you and I to speak out against our policies of war at the drop of a hat.

I'm afraid many people do not really understand the gravity of a possibility of nuclear war and its consequences. My children, your children, and even countless thousands of children of uninvolved nations would be consumed, maimed, and left to a hell such as we have never faced before.

God help us to see that peace will not come from provoking war.

God will surely judge us for all innocent blood we have spilled as a nation.

Thank you again for speaking out on a subject which is in dire need of spokesmen. You're truly a statesman in the sense that we've not seen in many days.

God bless you.

HAROLD E. CORDELL, JR.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,

August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.

(The following is a copy of a telegram which has been sent to Congressman BURTON of San Francisco.)

"DEAR REPRESENTATIVE BURTON: Suppose a newly elected President GOLDWATER had ordered the bombing of North Vietnam. We would have vigorously opposed such action. We cannot now allow fear of a GOLDWATER victory to be translated into uncritical support of acts of brinkmanship on the part of the Johnson administration. We want a policy aimed at a world in which freedom can grow. We applaud the courage of Senator MORSE in challenging our present Vietnam policy, and we ask you to help open the debate in the House by: (1) plainly opposing the extension of the war to the North, and (2) urging an immediate reconvention of the Geneva Conference to work for a peaceful solution based on the principle of self-determination.

"The recent events demonstrate the critical urgency for Americans to begin to heed the call of Senator FULBRIGHT and George Kennan to challenge the outworn myths of the cold war era. Your actions on the floor of the House in the coming weeks could be of great importance in opening this crucial discussion. The following is a partial list of signers:

"Marshall Axelrod.

"Prof. Arthur K. Bierman, San Francisco State College.

"John Burton, Democratic candidate, 20th Assembly District.

"Rev. Harry J. Chuck, Jr., Cameron House.

"Rev. James M. Christensen, Presbyterian Inner-City Council, Coleman Street, M.D.

"Douglas Corbin.

"John David, Democratic candidate, 21st Assembly District.

"K. R. G. Davis, director, San Francisco Mine Troupe.

"John Dearman.

"Ed Dunn, vice chairman, San Francisco Firefighters Association.

"Prof. David Eakins, San Jose State College.

"Lawrence Fenlinghetti, City Lights Books.

"Rev. Frances Geddes.

"Asher Gordon, M.D.

"Don Grimes.

"Paul Jacobs, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

"Rev. Andrew Juvinal, Hamilton Methodist Church.

"Richard Liebis.

"Frank Marx.

"Mike Millen.

"Rev. William P. Miller, Methodist mission parish.

"Prof. George Nononha.

"Gerald Rosenfield, M.D.

"Robert Scheer, author.

"Rev. William Shirley.

"Marvin Stender, Democratic County Central Committee.

"Prof. Jerrold Werthimer, San Francisco State College.

"Tom Winnett, assistant editor, the Liberal Democrat."

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.,

August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

Sincere appreciation for your vote on Vietnam. Millions of mothers, like myself, though inarticulate, are heartily in accord with the stand you have taken.

MARY DONOVAN HAFGOOD.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,

August 11, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

I gratefully support your courageous stand on Vietnam.

SYLVIA BAILEY.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,

August 10, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
 U.S. Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

Our association endorses the principles in Senate Joint Resolution 139 proposing constitutional amendment relating to disability of the President of the United States and urges adoption of amendment embodying those principles.

CATHRINE EDMONDSON,

President, National Association of Women Lawyers.

HERSHEY, PA.,

August 11, 1964.

Senator WAYNE L. MORSE,
 U.S. Senator from Oregon,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

HONORABLE SIR: Congratulations upon your courage to speak out against involvement in the warfare now raging in the rice paddies and jungles of southeast Asia. What a shame that more voices can't be heard.

Respectfully,

EDWARD E. SHEARER.

MARTINSVILLE, VA.,

August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

We support your effort for a peaceful solution in Asia.

NOVOGRODSKY FAMILY.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,

August 8, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.:

Report your stand for world peace and your realistic American leadership.

LESTER and EDITH VOGEL.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,

August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Washington, D.C.:

My congratulations to you and to Senator GREENING for the position both of you took in yesterday's resolution. If we would only have a few more Senators like yourself we might have had a little better and safe world to live in. I'm sure that all the peace loving people of the world are with you and pray for your continued fight for the cause of peace.

SIMON M. KAZARUS.

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LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,
August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.:

Support your stand on North Vietnam.
Proud to have you for an American with me.
Dr. and Mrs. BERNARD BRICKMAN.

BERKELEY, CALIF.,
August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Congratulations on courageous dissent in
recent Vietnam crisis. Proud to have sup-
ported you in 1958.

H. SNOGRASS.

COLOMA, MICH.,
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Keep up your magnificent fight. You
speak for more people than you think.

Mrs. C. E. KILLEBREW.

PITTSBURGH PA.,
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senator from Oregon,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Congratulations on the stand you and
Senator GRUENING have taken on Vietnam.
Please, no war.

Mrs. DORIS HERRON.

BALTIMORE, Md.,
August 10, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Please continue your
courageous stand for a negotiated peace in
Vietnam before it is too late.

Also prevail upon all our legislators and
President Johnson that the people of the
United States want peace, no matter how
long it takes to negotiate.

Thanking you, I am,
Sincerely yours,

Mrs. SARAH ANN MILLER.

SAN JOSE, CALIF.,
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations on
your continuing fight for the just and honor-
able solution of the southeast Asian problem.

There are millions of people in the United
States of America who agree with you and
they should all write to you and show you
how they feel. I hope they do.

It is so important that you continue your
fight as you have been doing because if your
forces in the country fail, this country is
surely going down the drain.

Yours respectively,

SHERMAN W. GRAVES.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senator from Oregon.

Senator ERNEST GRUENING,
Senator from Alaska.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Senators: This letter is to com-
mend both of you for the stand you have
taken against the measure presented by the
President yesterday, giving him the absolute
right to take this country into war in any
part of the world, without any further con-
sent by Congress or the American people,
through their Congress.

We are unalterably opposed to the war in
South Vietnam, and neither do we believe
the assertions that there has been any ag-
gression there against American territory or
the American people. Neither South nor
North Vietnam are American territory nor is
the Gulf of Tonkin American. What is there

that we are defending, or against which there
has been aggression that concerns us?

We reiterate that we commend you for your
stand and thank you for your courage and
honesty in being the only ones in the Con-
gress to tell us the truth. We hope you will
continue to do so.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. and Mrs. B. C. RUDEN.

PARKTON, MD.,
August 8, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: If we can refrain
from turning ourselves into nuclear dust, the
Nation will one day thank you for your lone-
ly and courageous warnings against the ig-
norant and immoral policies we now blindly
follow in Vietnam. At present you will re-
ceive nothing for your stand but the vitu-
peration of the idiot right, and frowns of
the laggard liberals.

I hope your dedication to sanity does not
cost you votes, though I am afraid it will;
but whatever the cost, you have spoken the
truth and the Nation will be in your debt.

Though not a constituent, I follow your
career with real interest, for yours is one of
the few creative voices in our Government.
It is unfortunate that even liberals do not
understand what you are trying to say about
southeast Asia or foreign aid; but keep talk-
ing, for the sake of history if for nothing
else. Let it not be said by future historians
that all Americans in the 1950's and 1960's
were blind to the disastrous course we often
take in foreign affairs.

Sincerely,

JOHN ROEMER III.

DAMASCUS, Md.,
August 10, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MORSE: I approve of your action
of voting against the measure declaring con-
fidence in the Executive actions in southeast
Asia on the basis of two considerations.

A true patriot is not a man who says, "My
country, right or wrong, my country." Rath-
er, he is a man who is willing to seek out the
right path for his country even when such a
search is unpopular. He is a man who real-
izes destruction awaits the country that con-
sistently chooses the wrong path and is will-
ing to declare publicly his convictions as to
what, in his mind, constitutes the right
course in a particular circumstance. National
unity is admirable, but to purchase it by
national mindlessness toward a problem
confronting the Nation destroys its value.
This is illustrated time and again in Euro-
pean history: France was unified when it
destroyed itself in a needless war with Ger-
many in 1870; Germany was unified in 1899;
but in both nations the unity one built on
mindless pursuit of what a few men called
national destiny. It seems to me that you
considered fully the policy of our country in
southeast Asia, found it lacking, and conse-
quently voted against the measure of con-
fidence.

I further approve of your action on the
basis of subsequent happenings in the world.
I believe our violent action has provided a
pattern that many a nation can follow in
dealing with its problems in the near future.
Indeed, the Turkish Government is almost
mimicking our words in regard to its attacks
on Cyprus. It seems almost as if "limited
and fitting" military action can replace nego-
tiation as an instrument of national policy
using the U.S. actions in the Gulf of Tonkin
as an example. Furthermore, the suspension
of civil government in South Vietnam and
the shift of U.S. military power into that area
has probably delayed for a significant amount
of time the return of southeast Asia to a nor-
mal, nonmilitary, and peaceful condition.

Sincerely,

GILCIN MEADORS.

WISCASSET, MAINE,
August 9, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: This is just to say
"bravo," once again to your stand against
gunboat diplomacy in southeast Asia.

May your admirable efforts be rewarded.
Sincerely,

FANNY VENTADOUR.

TACOMA, WASH.,
August 9, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wish to congratu-
late you on your and Senator GRUENING's po-
sition in voting "no" on the recent resolu-
tion regarding Vietnam.

The following from an AP wire dispatch is
quoted from the Portland Reporter dated
Friday, August 7, 1964:

"MORSE told the Senate that as a fore-
runner to attacks on the U.S. destroyers there
was a known bombardment by South Viet-
namese naval vessels on 'two North Viet-
namese islands within 3 to 5 or 6 miles of
the main coast of North Vietnam.' He said
the 'clear implication' of that incident was
that the U.S. Navy stood guard while the
shelling took place."

The above vital information was con-
veniently left out in the local papers as far
as I can determine. It looks like there was
going being done.

With best wishes.

Very truly yours,

JOHN C. MIGDULA.

P.S.—I am also in favor of getting rid of
most of the foreign aid and starting more
concentration and expansion of the Peace
Corps.

NEWARK, N.J.,
August 9, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SENATOR: Congratulations on
your lone and courageous stand on Vietnam.
Enclosed is a copy of a letter which I have
sent to President Johnson.

May your inspiring voice long continue to
be heard in a free America.

Sincerely yours,

BERNARD H. DAVIDSON.

AUGUST 9, 1964.

President JOHNSON,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I respectfully submit
to you these observations on Vietnam.

I pray that negotiation will soon replace
belligerency and I believe that neutralization
of southeast Asia will ultimately prove to be
in the best interests of all.

Sincerely yours,

BERNARD H. DAVIDSON.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,
August 6, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: While I am not one
of your constituents I do want to take this
opportunity, Sir, to thank you for one of the
few examples of intellectual honesty, de-
cency, and integrity, that I find in our Gov-
ernment today.

Many Americans like myself, feel that our
actions in many parts of the world and es-
pecially in southeast Asia, have been pro-
vocative rather than intelligent. That the
collective American nose, already overex-
tended, is being poked into corners where
it does not belong and with what will un-
doubtedly be painful results. And all this
under the demagogic banners of so-called
freedom, which apparently means merely
freedom for corrupt and inept regimes which

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we seem to have a penchant for supporting. Like many, or should I say most Americans, I was always under the impression that war was the most serious of matters which under our Constitution would be determined by Congress and only after due deliberation. I was not aware that today the normal method is to have Mr. McNamara decide what little war he wants to start, secure the Chief Executive's approval, and once action has commenced, so advise Congress and secure approval of that body by resolution.

In all candor I say, Sir, that I am at a loss to understand what is happening in my country. What can we individual citizens do when every action we take seems to go for naught? Must my sons be subjected to another bloodletting such as I went through in the past war? Truly, I am nauseated and ashamed of the actions of our country in the gulch of battling communism.

My sincere regret, Senator MORSE, is that we do not have more men of your caliber representing us. Were it so, there would be fewer ills in our land today. But anyway, please accept my thanks for continuing to express what I believe to be the true essence of the American spirit.

Sincerely,

REGINALD J. NAHAS.

SONORA, CALIF.,
August 6, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We watched you and listened to your wise comments on the the "Today" show sometime ago. We have always respected and admired you and wish you were in a position to lead our country.

All world problems should be settled around the conference table and in our opinion settled by the United Nations. It is hoped that the U.N. can be strengthened and all international problems in their hand—nations in this day will have to handle only internal affairs and external affairs taken to U.N.

Peaceful solutions must prevail.

We thank you for your hard work and the hope you bring to all of us.

You are a man of courage and intelligence.
Sincerely,

Mrs. ALICE S. CLARKE.

OAKLAND, CALIF.,
August 8, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

HON. SENATOR MORSE: We are so thankful for your opposition to the United States going to Vietnam. You are very correct in your statements against this awful war. The fact that our men are being killed and killing the peoples of those countries is very horrible to us. All of southeast Asia is many independent nations. We must get out of there. We must have a nonmilitary settlement.

We urge the reconvening of the 14 nation Geneva Conference to implement a United Nations settlement.

We are being hated all over the world. The military must not be allowed to run our country.

Respectfully yours,

HAZEL M. LINTON.
RUSSELL L. LINTON.

PURCELLVILLE, VA., August 9, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Please accept this commendation of your recent courageous stand in regard to the crisis in Vietnam. At a time when others are being led in their actions by irresponsibility grounded in pseudo-patriotic emotions, it is indeed en-

couraging to hear at least one voice of reason and reproach.

Let it be recorded in your records that the author of this letter supports your views concerning our position in southeast Asia. I believe in the exigency of United Nations participation in the area. I also believe as you, that we are wrong in the actions of last week. The question haunts me. When will the foreign policies of our Nation be governed by a creative concern for the unfortunate peoples of underdeveloped countries instead of the expediency of stopping an ideology which has the seeds of its own destruction within it?

I am not a member of any political organization and represent only my own point of view on this matter. Whatever my opinion may be worth to you is given in good faith. Your acceptance will be appreciated.
Sincerely,

H. EUGENE MINNICK, Teacher.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,
August 7, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for your remarks on the Vietnam crisis. You were the only sane, intelligent, realistic words I heard on the situation.

May I also register my support at the Geneva Disarmament Conference for a treaty to prohibit the spread of nuclear weapons.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. ETHEL M. STUBBS.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,
August 9, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: The following is a copy of the letter I have written to President Johnson—

"DEAR PRESIDENT JOHNSON: Please end our involvement in the war in South Vietnam. I support Senator WAYNE MORSE's stand and can only hope that you will act quickly.

"Sincerely yours,

Gratefully yours,

FLUSHING, N.Y., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE SIR: Congratulations upon the stand you took in opposing the resolution on Vietnam.

May I commend you for possessing the two qualities which are grievously lacking on our political scene today, courage and wisdom.

I respectfully urge you to continue your efforts in behalf of sanity and reason to end the war in Vietnam through negotiation and the withdrawal of our troops.

Respectfully,

Mrs. BILLIE PARTNOW.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.,
August 7, 1964.Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wish to commend you for your stand on the Vietnam issue. I suspect that now you may be somewhat solitary in this as everybody hops on the patriotic bandwagon. An article in the Progressive which you wrote on the issue was most illuminating, and I wondered how can one move from there. Well, the answer is that we have moved into a war. It seems to me that some weeks ago the head of the South Vietnam forces made a statement about escalating into North Vietnam and taking on China for good measure, this to broad grins of American advisers according to the news account I read. I wonder whether this was

a trial balloon. There is a sort of madness in this whole affair, and I wonder how much of this "brinkmanship" is still basic policy, supported possibly by some of these war games played by the Rand corporation so that a thermonuclear war with its millions of dead is one of those calculated risks that is essentially foisted on the people.

It is very difficult to stand fast in the current situation. I can see the rightwing extremists clamoring for still more military involvement, Cuba, and then for good measures the U.S.S.R. It is all quite frightening, and I am proud of the fact that you still are a voice of sanity in this mess.

Sincerely yours,

H. OTTO DAHLKE.

MAGNOLIA, N.J.,
August 6, 1964.The Honorable WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations on your stand in reference to the joint resolution to support President Johnson's action in the North Vietnam. I agree with your stand and with the enclosed open letter to the President which appeared in the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin on August 5.

We shall need all our strength to solve our social and economic problems at home.
Yours truly,

LEONARD A. WESTMAN.

AUGUST 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am enclosing a copy of an advertisement placed in the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin yesterday. It contains the names of nearly 1,000 people who support your position on this most explosive issue.

You are not talking to an empty wilderness. You are giving all of us the courage to speak and act in these most trying times.

Sincerely yours,

CAROLYN AQUINO BERGER.

PELHAM, N.Y.,
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Several months ago, commenting on the war in Vietnam, you asserted: "We should never have gone in. We should never have stayed in. We should get out." I am writing to tell you that I agree completely with your statement. On June 23 you told McNamara and Taylor that "I am now convinced that the greatest threat to the peace of the world is the United States." At the time I was somewhat skeptical. I am no longer skeptical; I am sure that you are right.

It is unfortunate that your statements, along with those of a couple of other Senators, are the only ones that have been critical of the belligerent foreign policies pursued by the United States.

I do not think that the people of South Vietnam are aided in any way by the presence of our troops. I am sure that the majority of our country's citizens are only endangered by the reckless policies of the warmongers who run our Government.

It is frightening to realize that I am at the mercy of such irresponsible individuals. I implore you to continue your efforts to make the officials of our Government admit that war is being waged in Vietnam to serve the interests of a small number of selfish individuals.

I wish that there were something that I could do to help you, for I don't want to be annihilated because some people think that they have to control the whole world.

Sincerely,

PAUL J. NYDEN.

ENGLEWOOD CLIFFS, N.J.,
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: This letter from me is long overdue, I had intended to write you long ago, but your vote today against the President's resolution on Vietnam made me realize my longstanding obligation. First of all, in regards to your stand on the communication satellite bill, I wish to compliment you and your colleagues who stood against this bill. I believe that eventually the wisdom of your position will be obvious to the majority of Americans. Second, regarding your stand against the Vietnam resolution and war require admirable courage and in this too, I believe, Americans will eventually regard as correct. I only hope that when this realization comes it will not be too late. In these two issues you have demonstrated a courage and honesty that few possess. I am only sorry that, not being from Oregon, I cannot say that I will vote for you when you are up for reelection.

As long as I am writing you, I would like to communicate my support for the House-passed social security increase bill. I hope that the Senate does not try to attach a medicare rider. While favoring medicare, I feel the passage of the present bill would be seriously hampered with a medicare rider. I also feel that Congressmen should be able to express themselves on each issue separately and if both are tied together this would not be possible. Your consideration of these views will be most appreciated.

Sincerely,

WALTER H. ROTHHAUG.

LYNBROOK, LONG ISLAND, N.Y.,
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE SENATOR MORSE: I support you in your stand in regard to the Vietnamese position. I believe our action in the Bay of Tonkin is provocative.

I admire your outspoken manner and agree with most all you have to say.

You consistently have the correct perspective on our foreign policy.

Yours truly,

SAMPSON ENGOREN.

OCEAN BEACH, N.Y.,
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
The Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: May I offer you my heartfelt thanks for your courageous speech critical of our attack on the North Vietnam naval bases.

Yours was the voice of sanity calling for restraint in international relations and a reexamination of our entire policy in southeast Asia. What I and many other citizens fail to understand—and certainly the administration has failed to clarify the situation—is why America must accept the sole responsibility for maintaining peace in a good part of Indochina especially when the people of that unhappy region have not been consulted as to whether they want our intervention or not. The French, very wisely I think, decided that the problem was too much for them to go alone. Is this not the time to urge the United Nations to attempt to settle the problems that beset this troubled region rather than by unilateral action take ourselves into what may become a disastrous war with over one-fifth of the world's population?

I have the greatest admiration for Lyndon B. Johnson who I think will be one of our most eminent Presidents but I must confess that when I saw the headlines about our Navy's action in Tonkin Gulf for a

moment I was convinced that BARRY GOLDWATER was in the White House and not L.B.J. Cordially,

ARTHUR S. GREGOR.

Copies to Senator J. W. FULBRIGHT, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States.

ENGLEWOOD, N.J.,
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We wish to endorse wholeheartedly the position you have taken in opposition to our Government's actions in southeast Asia.

The recent escalation of the conflict through the bombing of North Vietnam is particularly alarming, and the attacks on our destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin seem at best to be an inadequate justification, and at worst to be manufactured provocations.

A glance at a map indicates that, regardless of legal technicalities, the Gulf of Tonkin can scarcely be described as being "the high seas." Not so long ago, our Government went to the brink of war when a neighboring sovereign nation installed on its own territory certain military equipment supplied by an ally. We went so far as to intercept foreign vessels on the high seas, and, at that time, unlike the present, our Government was not parading the principles for which we fought the War of 1812. The only consistent factor in our policies seems to be an increasing bellicosity and reliance on naked force.

We greatly appreciate your courage and forcefulness in combating this dangerous and immoral trend.

Yours truly,

STEPHEN H. UNGER,
Mrs. MARION R. UNGER.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,
August 5, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I am very pleased to see that we still have a Senator who not only thinks for himself but one who is not afraid to act in the Legislature even when his is the lone voice calling for sanity.

I had already sent the enclosed letter to the Tribune when I read of your action in the Senate and it warmed my heart to know that a man like you had similar opinions. Before I read of your action, or rather I should say I heard of it in a newscast, I had the feeling that everyone in the whole country was blind and sick with the fear of not conforming. If this country is that sick in its thinking, then the danger of a nuclear holocaust is very great. Thanks for helping me look upon our Government with a little renewed faith.

Very truly yours,

DAVID S. MITCHELL.

EAST ELMHURST, N.Y.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you very much for standing up and saying loud and clear what needs saying. Please keep speaking as you have so that we may find a way out of South Vietnam and not another Korea.

You certainly have my support.

Sincerely,

JOSEPH SHILL.

AUGUST 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Your voice and efforts—and those of Senator GRUENING—are the only sane ones in these profoundly disturbing days of sheer madness. Shame on those who for whatever insane reasons—have gotten us into this mess in Asia. And

who, it seems, will not rest happy until they have catapulted the whole world into devastating war. As you have said, if the world survives, for 500 years we Americans will bear the brunt of these crimes our leaders are perpetrating in the "strange" name of peace.

Sincerely,

RUTH V. FRIEDMAN.

GROTON, CONN.,
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: For many years I have admired your courageous expression of moral convictions in the face of everything from disagreement to open hostility. Your most current stand on our retaliatory action in destroying the bases in North Vietnam is a case in point.

As a Christian I cannot help but feel you are right, unpopular though the stand may be. And I want you to know that you have my good wishes and prayers in your continuing struggle for peace, justice, and reason in human affairs. "Blessed are ye when ye are persecuted for righteousness sake."

Sincerely,

HARRIET M. HOWE.

CHICAGO, ILL.,
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE.

DEAR SIR: Continue to do your utmost for preservation of peace in southeast Asia, and expose the false charges of Pentagon militarists to justify aggression against Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Wish you success in your pursuit of peace and better still it is you Mr. WAYNE MORSE who should be candidate for the Presidency of the United States.

Respectfully,

ZYGMUNT MORAWOSKI.

MIAMI, FLA.,
August 6, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
Senator of the United States,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: Your outspoken remarks about the Vietnam affair have revived my faith in us as a thinking nation.

Thank you for having the courage to speak out—I have always wondered why it was imperative for us to be there—or at least, thought our motives were surely political and that it was hypocritical to call it by any other name—but when you hear no other dissenting voices, you begin to feel very lonesome and uneasy.

Poor little nation—forced to fight itself and destroy itself, between two great powers. Nuts.

But it was nice to hear someone else speak out. Perhaps, if we truly use it, the U.N. will help us more than Mr. U Thant seems to think.

Thanks again.

Sincerely,

LOUISE M. MAURER.

LEXINGTON, MASS.,
August 6, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I have many things to do preparatory to leaving in a couple of days for my first trip to Europe, yet I must write to tell you how much I admire and am grateful to you for being the only Senator in the Chamber with any courage and deep intelligence. You see through the bottom, around, and project a situation, and come up with a proposed solution that

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always rings true, and then, best of all, you are not afraid to risk your career in order to see that truth and justice prevail. Unfortunately, you are alone. However, please keep it up—if it weren't for you, I'd feel like giving it all up—just never reading a newspaper again, etc.

Please keep it going: You are right—we have no business in Vietnam. It seems a situation like this is engineered before each election. I was on the verge of resigning my foolish seat on the Town Democratic Committee, but your lonely voice saved me. What if you gave up? Keep making yourself heard—however, if you could only get a press agent who would see to it that your views were publicized better.

Sorry for this emotional letter but I really have been low since the new escapade in the Vietnam gulf.

I'm so grateful to you however.
Thank you again.

Sincerely yours,

MARION COLETTA.

P.S.—Mr. Coletta feels same way.—M.C.

HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.,
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We are deeply grateful that you are able to say on the floor of the Senate what I am sure many Americans feel; that we are pursuing an immoral and dangerous course in the Far East; that it is clear that the U.S. Navy acted as provocateurs and freebooters in an area they had no business being. But I thought we had a man of courage and forbearance in the White House, not a pawn of the Pentagon. In one rash moment he has hurt that image considerably.

I agree; we must stop this senseless war and turn our national capacity into something constructive for people everywhere. Good luck, Senator, and make the airways more often.

Sincerely,

R. E. SPENCER.

WILLINGBORO, N.J.,
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building.

DEAR SENATOR: This is just to congratulate you on your courageous stand against getting us involved in war in Asia.

May you long be in a position to fight for justice.

Respectfully yours,

CONRAD E. KRECKMANN,
ALICE N. KRECKMAN.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MORSE: Please continue your fight in trying to halt McNamara's war in Vietnam, and informing the public on the truth.

Thank you.

RUDOLPH VOGEL.
August 7, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senator,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Are we asking for chaos? are we in need of destruction? are we not human? Indeed, sir, it seems as though peace amid our world's leaders should be the top and foremost subject on anyone's agenda.

But really, among our leaders of this day, one wonders, and we should, there's so much at risk. But why, Senator, why have we so many knots that are unknotted? Why so many stones unturned? Are we not very deep in Latin America; knee deep, in fact, also in the Congo, Middle East, Cyprus, Taiwan, and most important, it's waist deep in our own domestic entanglement?

Sir, are we lacking in general leadership. Our diplomatic corps, are they in capable hands, efficient in handling world affairs. Are we blind to possible outlets that could lead to a peaceful solution, or do we care?

Were we not a bit hasty in the Tonkin Gulf affair, responsive to a quick draw. Were we in reason in comparative to our American way of thinking. Surely the decisive order to assemble our great forces in such a small and inadequate area such as the Vietnam or much less the Saigon area, was indeed very amateurish. Especially we Americans with so much power forces, modern long-range fighters and bombers with great striking arms, updated radar equipment, plus echelons of armed elements, all concentrated in a limited and restricted area. This is, without doubt, very poorly supervised. Indeed, a similar sight was seen and commented by most of our allies, when we "packed 'em in," on the Florida Keys during the Cuban fiasco.

But sir, would world opinion alter our leader's thinking. You know as well as anyone, that opinions of our allies as well as our adversaries is not as bipartisan as we would think. Surely we must heed advice from others, those that understand the other's problems.

But sir, at stake possible lies our future, and the investment of arms and hate in South Africa, Latin America, Asia, and even here in our own America, it must be a breadline, adequately supervised to deter world destruction.

Please sir, make your strong move; we cannot ignore the fact, even though we are not in agreement with the opposite way of life, we have the facilities which can produce what the other countries are in great need, we need the export of our machinery and byproducts, in order that we as well as our importers can work side by side, we need ties, we need leaders, so that this troublesome old world can and will survive.

Yours very truly,

ROSS CUTRERA,
Retired, U.S. Air Force.

ARLINGTON, VA.,
August 7, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,

Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for your courage in shedding light on the situation with regard to North Vietnam.

Please continue to urge negotiations around the conference table for settling the present difficulties.

Gratefully yours,

KATHRYN I. COOPER.

AUGUST 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We saw you on TV. We all agree with you.

You are carrying on in the tradition of old Bob La Follette.

May you stand fast in your principles regardless of what men like that "Wizard of Ooze" DIRKSEN preach.

We have lived through three wars, each one getting worse.

Sincerely,

ROBERT G. BREHMER,
VIOLA BREHMER,
MRS. DONALD KLASSEN.

AUGUST 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I heard your reasons for urging the United States to settle Vietnam at a peace conference and I must say I would vote and follow your leadership as a President or in any other leadership capacity.

I trust your judgment, and it is sad how little people like us do not know or hear enough to understand these actions by our Government.

I was wounded twice in World War II and still do not know why a lot of things hap-

pened then and also now. I hope to hear you more as you always made sense to me. Good luck.

Yours truly,

EDWARD J. PORZUCZEK.

P.S.—We need more people running this country like you. Where do we find them? And how do we put them in office? All the rest are afraid of their own shadow.

Mrs. GLENN A. PORZUCZEK.

CAPE GIRARDEAU, MO.,

August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Your strong, clear, and courageous statement on the southeast Asia situation gave me immense gratitude as it came yesterday via the television broadcast. All along, I've shared and rejoiced because of your attitude on the issue of our Nation's policy and program there.

Truly yours,

BEN H. CLEAVER.

HORNBY ISLAND,
BRITISH COLUMBIA, CANADA,

August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: On this 20th anniversary of Hiroshima our thanks to you for your courageous and determined stand against further military involvement in Vietnam. You speak not only for the best in America but also for all of us who work for peace and understanding.

More power to your voice—I have written President Johnson urging him to listen to it—and to his own conscience, for humanity's sake.

Yours for peace.

Mrs. SILES BROWN.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I congratulate you for your courageous and outspoken stand with respect to South Vietnam. Your recent statements concerning the North Vietnam strikes are completely in accord with my feelings.

I deeply regret that I am denied the opportunity to vote for you. Your patriotism is a "shining light" in the troubled Republic. Best wishes.

EUGENE CHARLOP.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.,
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE L. MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Thank God, we have at least one sensible and sane voice in the U.S. Senate today.

I have always agreed with your thinking on our involvements in South Vietnam.

As a veteran of both World War II and the Korean conflict, I have seen the results of our aid in the Far East and the waste of life and money in that area.

Senator MORSE, please continue to plea your cause, you have more support than you can imagine. We have spent too much time and effort in the Far East and now we have fallen into the trap that has been built by the administration's stupidity over the past years.

Again, many thanks Senator.

Very truly yours,

FRANK I. O'BRIEN.

LOMBARD, ILL.,
August 5, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Though I do not always agree wholeheartedly with the stands you take, I want to say that I believe you have the correct opinion about our part in

1964

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the war in Vietnam. You have taken a courageous stand.

What more can we do to keep our country from making the terrible error of continuing in the path of war?

Sincerely,

Mrs. SARAH J. BEALL.

SILVER SPRING, MD.,
August 7, 1964.

HON. LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON,
President of the United States,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I know you did not take us into Vietnam. But get us out.

It should always have been a United Nations problem. It still should be. I have greatly admired United Nations restraint—in the Congo, in Cyprus.

The Democrats have already taken us into two World Wars.

Must the Democrats, again as in Korea, defer to the Republicans as peacemakers?

Unfortunately I may not be able to vote in the coming election—only one possible candidate, and he has great big feet of Vietnam clay.

I am guilty of having procrastinated far too long in writing this letter. Senator WAYNE MORSE and the 5,000 ministers share my guilt of procrastination. God give us peacemakers more militancy. While we siesta the warmongers bestir themselves. I'm afraid we may deserve what they beget.

Very sincerely,

F. E. PERKINS.

(CC: Senator MORSE.)

PITTSBURGH, PA.,
August 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,
Senator from Oregon,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you very much for your vote on the congressional resolution on the President's recent action in Vietnam. Yours is a refreshing voice in the U.S. chamber of winds. Keep on fighting.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN J. TOBIN, Jr.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.,
August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: All I can say is, Thank God for WAYNE MORSE. Your position is positively right and sound. Keep up the good fight—history will vindicate your stand.

Sincerely,

AN ENTHUSIASTIC SUPPORTER.

ASHEVILLE, N.C.,
August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Every citizen of the United States is indebted to you for your efforts to spare us the shame, the folly, and the peril of this country's armed intervention in southeast Asian affairs.

It strengthens my faith in our Government that you are there in the Senate.

With deep appreciation.

Sincerely,

PAULA G. HESTER.

P.S.—I am making an effort to get your message to others; am writing Senators JORDAN and ERVIN today.

This letter also to Senator GRUENING.

P.G.H.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: Your position on Vietnam has my complete support and your courage in maintaining it has won my most sincere admiration. Yesterday I was present at a rally in memorial of the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima. The message you sent was read and very warmly received by the

large crowd. You are not alone in this struggle.

I realize how easy it is to get popular support by playing the role of the strong man, but the strength you have demonstrated is of the highest sort. I know you will continue to exercise this strength and I will support you in any way possible. I plan to write your name in for President in the forthcoming election and if there is any other way in which I can be of aid (including campaign funds in the future) please let me know.

Sincerely,

THOMAS M. MICKLOW.

JERSEY CITY, N.J.,
August 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We are indebted to you for the fine initiative, intellectual greatness, and extraordinary personal courage you are displaying in reacting to the crisis in southeast Asia. Your profound endeavor to preserve the integrity of this Nation and peace for the world deserves the enduring gratitude of all people.

The pressures for aggressive military postures dismay us, for we wonder why men, especially intelligent and responsible ones, are so very much prepared to ignore the terrible lessons so severely taught by the First and Second World Wars and the Korean conflict.

Please continue your present efforts, for they have historic significance and magnificent moral value. They may even succeed in constructively arousing many of those persons who fail to recognize the facts or are victimized by the wave of warlike talk.

Respectfully,

Mr. and Mrs. JACOB H. JAFFE.

AUGUST 7, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Gee, you are wonderful.

E.D.

SYOSSET, LONG ISLAND, N.Y.,
August 7, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

God bless you.

BERNARD L. WINTER, D.D.S.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
August 7, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Heartfelt thanks to you from all peace-loving Americans for your courageous stand against aggression in Vietnam.

ANN S. HARRIS.

SANTA ROSA, CALIF.,
August 7, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MORSE: More power to you for your dauntless stand on the Vietnam situation. I am sure you have the accord of millions of your fellow citizens.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) LEONA D. SURRYHONE.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Thank you for your stand on the Vietnam situation. It is encouraging to have one person state the truth.

KATHERINE MARJOR.

LONGVIEW, WASH.,
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

YOUR HONOR SENATOR MORSE: I agree with you about South Vietnam. Most people I speak with also agree with you. There will be no war if we stay at home and allow each nation to vote as it chooses, not as we choose. I believe in defense, not aggression.

Let's use the United Nations.

Respectfully,

IONE RAEMER.

KENOSHA, Wis.,
August 7, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: What, if any, is the limit of a Nation's paranoia? Six thousand miles from home, our Navy "defends" itself against the "aggression" of the people it is operating against. It's as though we had committed "aggression" in depth-bombing Nazi U-boats off the Carolinas in 1941.

God be with you in your lonely fight for sanity in the senatorial snakepit. If you have any data you believe would be of value against the current flood of war propaganda, I'll be happy to try to place it in the local papers.

Sincerely,

C. D. MEYER.

ALBANY, N.Y.,
August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

Sirs: Again, all thoughtful and unbiased citizens of the U.S.A. gratefully acknowledge your courageous stand in regard to Laos, Vietnam, etc. The French rode the gravy train over there for decades and got out after 7½ years of warfare, we failed to extend help then, so your insistence of the United Nations' for a peaceful settlement is, or should be the only answer. Let's get the hell out of Vietnam.

J. J. CEBULA.

EVANSTON, ILL.,
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE: May I express my appreciation and agreement with your courageous and realistic statements on U.S. foreign policy, especially on the current situation in Vietnam.

T. F. RICHARDSON.

BAY CITY MICH.,
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SIR: I wish to congratulate you Sir, in regards to your statement and views on the U.S. bombings in Vietnam.

It has been said "America is losing its prestige," yet how can we be proud of the many things we know are being done is "wrong" abroad as well as here at home.

Others, as well as I, admire you greatly, after seeing and hearing you on TV. I would be proud to shake your hand. Wish you were running for President.

Mrs. R. N. MacDONALD.

BLOOMINGTON, IND.,
August 6, 1964.

I wish to commend you for your position on the Vietnam Crisis. A diplomatic settlement through the UN or the Geneva Conference would be a better solution than war.

Mrs. MARK C. MILLS.

CANTON, OHIO,
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SIR: Watch out for Russia. Russia would just love to get the United States and China into a war, then after 3 or 4 years, Russia would step in and take over.

Be sure and keep an eye on Russia, they are the people that would like to take over the world.

We love our Nation, these United States, don't let Russia suck us into anything.

Lot's of good luck, from a man that thinks you, Mr. MORSE are tops.

JOHN R. WILSON.

FORT COLLINS, COLO.,
August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Yours is the refreshing voice of reasoned and intelligent dissent in these recent days and events in southeast Asia and I hope that you will not cease to raise the questions you have raised, express the ideas you have expressed, and continue to offer alternative courses of action and approaches to the situation, including the use of the United Nations.

CHESTER F. MCQUEARY.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.,
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I applaud your stand on our position in southeast Asia, particularly Vietnam. We have nothing to gain there but more trouble and financial and military problems. I have written the President and my Senators about this. I hope that you will continue to express your views on these matters as there are many Americans who agree with you.

Sincerely,

FRED WEZEMAN.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: One of the only things that keeps me from going into a complete state of depression about the events in southeast Asia is your clear voice ringing a note of sanity throughout the land. In these awful times of managed news and shoot first, ask questions later, it's a relief to know that there's at least one person in Washington acting as guardian of my human, maternal interests.

Sincerely,

MRS. ETHEL LAKE.

CHICAGO, ILL.,
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: You are about the only person in Washington that we can appeal to for help in peaceably solving the conflict in south Vietnam. Please continue trying to get our Government to stop interfering with faraway places where we are not even wanted.

Sincerely,

MRS. KOENIG.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Praise God that you have the intelligence and morals and courage to stand up in that legislative body and speak up for truth and decency in our foreign activities, and may He bless you most richly.

I am not a Communist, I am opposed to the wrongdoings of Communist countries, and for exactly the same reasons I do not approve of wrongs committed by my beloved United States of America.

While accusing the Communists of attempting to start a war to keep our wealthy industrialists fat on war orders, we not only refuse to negotiate in good faith for peace, but engage in provocative acts when things begin to get quiet.

Anyone who doubts that Whizz-Bang Johnson did not arrange this latest outrage to boost his political stock and get the Republicans off his neck is unsophisticated indeed.

Sincerely,

RALPH D. BROWN.

MADISON, WIS.,
August 6, 1964.

U.S. SENATOR WAYNE MORSE.

DEAR SIR: Many of our Madison friends want you to know we are very pleased that you have sense enough to stand as you do against the U.S. attack on South and/or North Vietnam. It seems to me that as a peaceful Nation we are way out of line. I also want to thank you and all others, who passed the recent civil rights bill. I have suffered racial prejudice all of my life. I would like to think that maybe my two grandchildren may have equal opportunity for housing, education, jobs, and the good life the United States offers to all.

Thank you.

MRS. STANLEY SHIVERS.

LITTLE NECK, N.Y.,
August 6, 1964.

HONORABLE SIR: I say: Get U.S. ships out of the Gulf of Tonkin.

Get U.S. troops out of South Vietnam.

Respectfully yours,

J. J. STERNBACH.

ROCKVILLE, MD.,
August 6, 1964.

When executive control, White House control, of the Senate has reached a point where there is almost unanimous approval of moving in on French Indochina as a symbol of U.S. freedom from the obligation to observe international agreements which we have signed. This Nation has demonstrated not its ability to lead but its insanity.

MARGARET BUTCHER.

HAMPTON, CONN.,
August 8, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Even before reading your article in the last Progressive, I was in agreement with your stand on our presence in South Vietnam. To me, you and Senator GRUENING are right. I have a son working in Laos for IVS and have been in southeast Asia within the year. I know something of the problems we face out there.

Now, Senator Dodd, my Senator, has the opposite point of view from yours. He demands that we carry the war to North Vietnam. I believe he is sincere in thinking this to be the proper course for the United States, but I also believe he is dead wrong. We shouldn't be in southeast Asia at all. What can I, an ordinary voter, do to help get us out of a mess that promises to become another Korea (or worse), and to which there is no end in sight? Has the thing gone so far that we are powerless to do anything but watch the interplay of events over which we have a good deal less than complete control?

I will appreciate any suggestions you can give me and am willing to do some work if there is any chance of changing the frightening course we are now committed to.

Sincerely yours,

LEONARD F. HOLMES.

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

Senator WAYNE MORSE.

DEAR SENATOR: Thank God we have at least one man in the U.S. Senate with guts enough to stand up against the war hawks (shades of La Follette).

I think it was a put-up job from beginning to—What?

South Vietnam said last week we were going to attack the North Vietnamese so a reason had to be arranged. After all, we are the good guys and wouldn't dare stand before the world as the armed aggressors.

But I say that is exactly what we are and our tactics have been exactly the same as the Germans and Italians in Spain and the Japs in China.

Johnson acts like a patsy for the deal Dulles and old Ike set up and Kennedy furthered.

If communism disappeared from the earth, we'd find some reason to further employment and keep this Nation from going into a tailspin.

What would the little brass hats do with all their dear little missiles if they can't bomb hell out of the world?

I'm afraid they have jumped into a red hot pan and it could burn us more than some of the others.

I hope others show forbearance, as they have so far.

Nostradamus said "the Eagle of the West will stand before the world without one friend." Are we there right now? Thanks for you anyway. Hope there are more in this Nation.

MRS. GLADYS LITTLEFIELD.

COOPERATIVE COMMUNITY
BUILDERS, INC.,
St. Petersburg, Fla., August 7, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senator,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: I want to thank you and congratulate you for your courageous, wise, and statesmanlike stand on the Vietnam situation.

I thought that you would like to have the enclosed report.

Success and more power to you.

Sincerely,

J. R. COTTON.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Bravo. Bless you for voting against U.S. involvement in Vietnam as you stated not one American boy's life is worth losing.

There are no Russian or Chinese soldiers in South Vietnam, only American soldiers.

One million dollars a day down the drain, for war 10,000 miles away from home.

U.S. fleet has been protecting Formosa and Chiang Kai-shek for a long time. Why?

Best wishes.

Respectfully,

M. MILLER.

EAST NORWICH, N.Y.,
August 8, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I support your courageous stand on the resolution. By your one lone voice you are keeping a semblance of free inquiry and healthy criticism of our Government's actions. I for one am skeptical of our Government's pronouncements. I would like to know more. When my Government is trigger happy in defending two "democratically elected South Vietnam regimes" like the Diem and Khanh governments as representative of the free world, I say "let's take a look."

Yours truly,

H. SARAVAY.

CHICAGO, ILL.,
August 7, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wanted to congratulate you for your courageous and sensible stand on the deteriorating situation in Southeast Asia. Unfortunately, your remarks got little press attention, but this is symptomatic of the same malady that grips Congress—with yourself and one or two others, at great personal political risk, struggling against the mounting pressures toward war.

1964

Please continue your efforts for peace and reason. There are so few clear and sensible voices around, it is frightening. The country owes you its thanks, but I am afraid you will get its wrath.

Thank you again.
 Respectfully,

BERNARD A. KATZ.

EVANSTON, ILL.,
 August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 U.S. Senate,
 Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations on your stand on Vietnam. It is just too bad that we do not have more men in your position with this opinion. Peace cannot be obtained through military force, but by sitting down at the conference table and negotiating our difficulties.

Keep up your good work. You do not stand alone.

Yours very truly,
 HENRY ADAMOWICZ.

PALO ALTO, CALIF.,
 August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wish to thank you for taking your brave and lonely stand on the Senate floor in opposing McNamara's policy of carrying the war to the North in Vietnam.

I think that it is especially valuable that you again remind everyone that we are in Vietnam to impose by force, a government of our choosing. This is something that is not often mentioned in the press.

I am sorry only that I do not live in Oregon, so I could show my appreciation directly at election time.

Yours sincerely,

RUSSELL TARG.

JACKSON HEIGHTS, N.Y.,
 August 7, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
 Committee on Foreign Relations,
 U.S. Senate,
 Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: It gives me pleasure to congratulate you as Senator con amore. Only you and Senator GRUENING had the guts to say what you believe.

We are at war.

At this writing, the de facto policy of Washington has become "the worst until the next." Congress and the administration are getting out on a limb—farther and farther—until there is no retreat but ignominy.

Chinese have been scratching and struggling to move into the 20th century ever since they molted and shed their pigtails, inspired by Sun Yat Sen—I am not sure of the spelling, and am too lazy to look it up. Meanwhile, beheld as an idol, we harassed them and their aspirations, losing a friend and acquiring an enemy.

State has been ignoring a revolution underway for at least a half century. Why ignore it?

Respectfully yours,

WALTER HANLEY.

ST. PAUL, MINN.,
 August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I have not ventured to write to you before, but I have kept your March 4, 1964 statement on our involvement in South Vietnam in mind, and have the deepest appreciation of your position, and have spoken out on my agreement with it, and have found much agreement from others.

When this present crisis flared up and threatened further involvement I sort of held my breath waiting for what Senator MORSE would say, since I have not changed my position but it becomes a rather more difficult one to hold. And when your brief

remarks come over TV I was not disappointed but greatly heartened, and I have written to the President and my own Senators saying there can be no military solution to peace in Vietnam and asking for disengagement; and full debate in the U.N. General Assembly.

Do you have excerpts from your speeches on this matter in the Senate, that you could send me? I would like to have them to show others.

What do you think should be done now to get that critical situation cooled off, and avert the culmination of the tragic threat to world peace? Do you have a suggestion for action? I would like to say, "get out—we shouldn't have been there," but that advice isn't going to be heeded right now, so what should one say and do to defend the peace?

Yours truly, with appreciation,

ROSE RENAUD.

Senator WAYNE MORSE.

RESPECTED SIR: I pray God your sane reasoning may save us from another miserable war. At 68 years of age this would be the fourth. Korea was a war.

On the radio today I heard an English general give a most enlightening laugh when he said, his country had troops in so and so, the United States had advisers.

To tell our dull people that we were party to splitting up these countries. The part we do not control becomes Reds.

Tell them had we been victims of such a happenstance, New York East would be good fine folk we controlled, New York West would become "Red." Uncle John's family would become enemy to Uncle Bill's family even though they had loved each other deeply. You cannot imagine how many people do not know this. The white collar man is the most lost. He has his two cars, two mortgages, two side neighbors, his little cage of quiet desperation. I worry for my poor grandchildren.

Sincerely,

Mrs. GRACE McCLOSKEY REINHART.

BEVERLY HILLS, CALIF.,
 August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I wish to congratulate you on your courageous stand on the Vietnam situation. Yours is a welcome voice of reason, and your recommendations are intelligent and show much more understanding of the situation than our leaders have thus far demonstrated.

I only wish you had more people in this administration on your side, although maybe you do, but they are not as brave as you and therefore do not speak out.

By your actions in speaking out, you have given real meaning to the concept of freedom of speech, and I fervently hope you will continue to be outspoken and will not be silenced on this or any other issue. Thank you.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. LEILA BROWNFIELD.

MARYSVILLE, KANS.,
 August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We agree with your opinion regarding the recent crisis with North Vietnam.

Sincerely,

Mr. and Mrs. CALVIN J. KING.

AGRE MUSIC CENTER,
 Anchorage, Alaska, August 6, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: This is to let you know that I think your stand on Vietnam is absolutely correct.

I also want to thank you for your many years of service in behalf of reason and decency.

Yours truly,

ALBERT AGRE.

SWARTHMORE, PA.,
 August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations on your continued stand against the war in Vietnam. Keep up the good work.

Enclosed is a copy of a petition to President Johnson which you may be interested in. It appeared in the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin on August 6.

Sincerely,

Mrs. ESTHER ROSENBERG.

AN OPEN LETTER TO PRESIDENT JOHNSON ON
 THE WAR IN VIETNAM

WE ARE ENGAGED IN A HOPELESS STRUGGLE IN
 SOUTH VIETNAM

Americans are dying while serving as "military advisers" to a U.S. financed and reluctant South Vietnamese Army. We are sending our sons to die to prop up a succession of governments unsupported by their own people.

We cannot win this war no matter how many men we send or how much money we spend. If we expand it we run the risk of blowing it up into a nuclear war.

LET US LEARN FROM HISTORY

During 9 years of warfare in Vietnam the French suffered 240,000 casualties. Despite billions of dollars in U.S. aid, the French surrendered at Dien Bien Phu was a half-million troops still under their command.

THE SOUTHEAST ASIAN PROBLEM CALLS FOR
 A POLITICAL SOLUTION—NOT GUNS AND
 BOMBS

The confrontation of the parties involved should be around a conference table, not in jungle undergrowth or in muddy fields.

THERE IS A UNITED NATIONS AND A GENEVA
 CONFERENCE IN WHOSE JURISDICTION THIS
 BELONGS

"There has never been any other way out of the dead-end street in southeast Asia except to make a political settlement, to construct international machinery, and to exert what influence we can by underwriting them." (Walter Lippmann, May 28, 1964.)

(If you agree with the above statement please add your name and mail to President Lyndon B. Johnson, White House, Washington, D.C.)

SIGNERS

Mildred E. Adams, David Adsen, Evelyn Albert, Elizabeth Alburger, Anne Alexander, Lawrence Alexander, Evelyn Alloy, Diane Amaro, Ida Apfelbaum, James Amory, Sarah T. Amos, Marjorie Anderson, Mr. and Mrs. Bent Andresen, Dorothy Argupos, Edward Arian, Dr. and Mrs. John H. Arnett, Mr. and Mrs. Oscar Arost, Nancy Kelly Ashton, Helen Kirk Atkinson, F. W. Austin, Gladys Austin, Dr. and Mrs. Budd B. Axelrod, Elsie Axler, Dr. Nejat Aydin, Jennie Bachrach, Mrs. Ellis W. Bacon, Dorothy Baker, Edna C. Baker, Mr. and Mrs. Percy Baker, John Balaban, Bertha Balderston, Laura Lambert Bannister, R. B. Barrish, Harriet Barron, Dr. F. Lewis Bartlett, Elizabeth Bartram, Thomas S. Bartram, Margaret D. Bartram, Mr. and Mrs. Franklin Baruch, Esther Beldy, David Bell, Mrs. Jean Bellow, Dorothy G. Belmont, Esther Belov, Sarah B. Benamy, Mr. and Mrs. Max Berg, J. Malvern Benjamin, Jr., Ruth E. Berger, Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Berger, Herbert C. Bergstrom, Peter Bernard, Tillie R. Bernstein, Ann Berthoff.

Mr. and Mrs. A. Berthoff, Mark Bilk, Mr. and Mrs. S. Bitters, Evelyn Blackman, Mr. and Mrs. E. Allan Blair, Paul Blanshard, Jr., Mr. and Mrs. Peter Block, Sidney Bloom, Mr. and Mrs. John L. Bloom, Mr. and Mrs. H. Blum, Marjorie F. Blumberg, Yvonne Bobrowicz, Mr. and Mrs. Derk Bodde, Mitzi Bogursky, R. Ridgely Bolgiano, Conrad F. Bond, May Bond, Mrs. J. Borenstein, D. Boyarin, S. Brait, Leila J. Brand, Mrs. Simma Brandow, Theodore Brandow, Julian Braude, Mrs. Louis H. Bressen, Bernard Brickman, Franklin Briggs, Janis Brodie, Michael Brodie, Grace G. Broomall, Jeanette T. Broomall,

Anne Brown, Cele Brown, Elvira Brown, Mr. and Mrs. J. L. Brown, Leon Brown, Louis Brown, Laurence Browne, Vera M. Browne, Mrs. Jean Bryant, C. Rex Bulley, Ann Guthins Bulling, Anneliese Sutkind Bulling, Mrs. Peggy Bunberry, Freda J. Burke, Norman Bush, Mary Bye, Catharine Cadbury, Emma Cadbury, Mr. and Mrs. Abe Caesar, Margery T. Calvert, Robert S. Camburn.

Mr. and Mrs. Robert Cammer, Dr. and Mrs. Wm. P. Camp, Bertha Campbell, William Campbell, Fannie Caplan, Lydia Carlin, Ruth N. Carlin, Lucy Carner, Mary G. Cary, Anthony Castillo, Ruth Chait, Marcel Challier, John L. Chamness, Harold J. Chance, Hanna Charry, Mr. and Mrs. L. V. Cherry, K. A. Cheyney, Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Chambers, Dr. and Mrs. R. J. Chodoff, Pearl Clayner, Margareta L. Clemens, Barbara R. Clement, William Cleveland, Reuben Close, Walter F. Cluid, Mr. and Mrs. Forrest Coburn, Bernard D. Cohan, Irene S. Cohan, Dr. and Mrs. David J. Cohen, Mary Cohen, Thelma Cohn, Rae Cohn, Adela Coleman, Robena Coleman, Mrs. Arthur L. Collins, Moyer Collinson, Nancy Collinson, Edith J. Comfort, Emily Conlon, Helen Cook.

Prof. E. A. Gutkind, Sylvia Gutlohn, Theodore Hallman, Grace D. Halter, John C. Hamell, Marian R. Hamilton, Bessie Hammer, Patricia Hannon, Robert Hansell, Zelda Hansell, Richard E. Harlen, Robin Harper, Louis Harrington, Matilda Harrington, Mr. and Mrs. Pierson Harris, Jr., Louise D. Hart, Sylvia Hartenbaum, Venette Hartman, Wilton E. Hartzler, Melvin M. Harvey, Philip Hassrick, Robin R. Hassrick, Dr. and Mrs. David A. Hausman, Mary Hausermann, Bill Havens, Joseph Havens, Lucia Havens, A. W. Haynes, G. E. Haynes, Howard K. Hays, Esther Heacock, Priscilla Heacock, Eleanor Hearn, Helen C. Heller, Edith Herb, Alyson Herbine, Mr. and Mrs. L. Herlick, Ethel B. Hibbert, Celestine Hill, Theodore Hill, Virginia Hill, Barbara Hinchcliff, Maud Hines, Eliz. and Robt. Ho, Ruth Hoepfner, Isadore M. Hofferman, Anne E. Hoffman, Claire W. Hoffman, Norman C. Hoffman, Sol Hoffman, Ethel Hollin, Frank Hollin.

Irving Hollingshead, Jr., Jennifer Hollingshead, Lillian Holmes, J. Hoppie, Marilyn B. Horen, Mary Horos, Sylvia Horowitz, Robert Horton, Katherine Horton, Ann B. Houston, William Hubben, Peter Huegel, Mrs. Alfred R. Hunter, Sr., Bess Hurwitz, Mr. and Mrs. Spencer Husk, Dorothy Hutchinson, Catherine Huntington, Henry S. Huntington, Libby Haynes Hyman, Raymond Hyman, M. Constance Hyslop, Mrs. B. W. Ingber, Clarissa B. Ingle, Emnia Issel, Max Isser, Dr. Mabel C. Jackson, Bessie Jacobs, Gertrude Jacobs, Mr. and Mrs. J. L. Jensen, Jr., Augustine Jetter, Margery John, Dorothy Johnson, Edith Warner Johnson, Mrs. John M. Johnstone, Mr. and Mrs. Edward M. Jones, Alice Kalman, Ruth S. Kaplan, Samuel Kaplan, Stephanie J. Kaplan, Mr. and Mrs. M. Katz, Mr. and Mrs. Geo. Kauffman, Ellen Sue Kaufman, Karen Kehos, Alice Keighton, James Keighton, David Keiser, Marjorie Keiser, Anne Kenin, Helen E. Kennedy.

Stanwood Kenyon, William J. Kerr, Rose Kessler, Dr. and Mrs. B. B. Kimmelman, Renee B. Kimmich, Elsie Kirk, Jeffery Kirk, Florence Kite, Dr. Lee Klein, Mr. and Mrs. Fred F. Klett, Mr. and Mrs. I. R. Klingsberg, Paul Klingsberg, Marion Klugman, Harriet and Thos. Knight, Bettie F. Knox, Jr., Mr. and Mrs. Reed Knox, Jr., Leonore Koehler, Louise Koszalka, Hideko Kouzou Mr. and Mrs. Jos. M. Krause, Margaret Y. Krausz, Bea Kravinsky, Dr. and Mrs. Victor Kremens, Donald Kripke, Bernice Kuhn, Estelle Kulick, Mr. and Mrs. James Kunkle, Shella Kuzma, P. Labovitz, Tim Lachman, Emma Jane Lafetra, Gertrude G. Lafore, Diane Laison, George Lakey, Esther Landan, Bess Lane, Ann Z. Landis, Charles Lang, Vivien Lang, Ida Langman, May Lapin.

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Corry, Mr. and Mrs. Elwood Cronk, Leonard E. Crooke, Victoria S. Creed, Dr. and Mrs. A. H. Cristol, Nancy Crosby, Phoebe Crosby, Sylvia G. Croll, Leif A. Dahl, Carl E. Dahlgreen, Celia Daidy, Dr. and Mrs. Nell Dell Daniels, Jean Darnaby, Mr. and Mrs. E. L. Darnell, Dr. and Mrs. Robert Davidson, Dr. and Mrs. William C. Davidson, Claire S. Davidson, Jo Davis, Ruth Deacon, Brucya Dedinsky, Robert Defuccio, Elaine De Marco, Don De Vault, Jeanette De Vault, Mr. and Mrs. Fred DeVan, Charles De Voe, Tillie Diamond, Josephine Dirvin, Mrs. William Dobkin, Marian Dockhorn, Ada M. Dolan, Jean W. Dole, Mrs. R. K. Dorfman, Elizabeth Douglas, F. Douglas, John M. Downie, Henry Dropkin, Richard B. Du Boff, Frances M. Dubois, Ann H. Duffield, James Dugan, Ruth Dugan, Margaret L. Duncan, Mary M. Edwards, Mr. and Mrs. A. Egnal, Ione Ehrlich.

Reese Ehmer, Rebecca P. Elliott, Gerald Ensiol, Mrs. Morris Escoll, Kathryn B. Etris, A. L. Evans, Eleanor Evans, Mr. and Mrs. J. Morris Evans, Lauretta Evans, Mr. and Mrs. L. Eveley, Esther Eyer, Robert M. Eyer, Harriet Fahey, Mrs. Florence Farnum, Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Farber, Miss Elizabeth Farr, Bertha B. Faust, Elizabeth Fawcett, Mr. and Mrs. Milton Feldman, Mr. and Mrs. Seymour S. Fels, George L. Fernsler, Jr., Margaret Field, Bess Fischbein, Douglas S. Fischer, Marion S. Fischer, William F. Fischer, Jr., Frederick Fisher, Mary T. Fisher, A. Lidie Fite, Mary Jane Flaith, Ruth H. Flick, Etta Forsythe, Margaret Forsythe, Ellen Foster, Felicia Foulkes, Albert V. Fowler, Eleanor Fowler, Helen W. Fowler, Mary J. Francis, Marion P. Frazier, Gordon L. Fredendall, Pearl L. Fredendall, Barry M. Freeman, Rose Fried, Florence Freund, Betty Friedmann, Sylvia Friedland, Ella Friedman, Robert Friedmann, Gertrude Fuchs, Andree Fury, Doris Gaines, Joan Ganz, Beatrice Garber.

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Sophia Thomas, Ann Newlin Thompson, Marjorie L. Thompson, May Tisa, Mrs. Fridtjof Tobiesen, Mrs. Ada Toll, Mr. and Mrs. H. Tomlinson, Marjorie C. Toomer, Mrs. Paul Toururier, Ruth Trimble, Willard Uphaus, Betty Uphoff, Frank B. Uphoff, Mr. and Mrs. Andries Van Dam, Betty Pennell Vanderwater, Doris Van Doren, Mrs. R. Venturi, Robert Venturi, Christine J. Volker, Lillian Volusher, Simon Volusher, Edna Wagner, Edith Wallace, Candis Wallace, Susan Tatum Wallace, Mildred Walton, George A. Walton, Walter M. Walton, Grace W. Waring, Louis Waronker.

Sandra Warren, Arthur H. Washburn, Lucy Waters, Katharine B. Way, Robert M. Way, Jean Patterson Weber, Michael H. Weber, Everhard Webster, Holley Webster, Hannah Weiman, Judith Weinberg, B. Weiner, Marie Weinman, Mrs. Clara Weiner, Betty Weiss, E. P. Welch, Hope Welker, Robert Welker, Milton Werrin, Nola Wharton, Wilhelmina Whiley, Mildred Whitney, Gustav K. Wieneke, A. Wilder, Clayda I. Williams, Arlene Williams, Margaret R. Williams, Dagmar Wilson, Helen Wilson, Dr. and Mrs. Edward Winheld, Mrs. Walter Wolfe, Frank B. Wolf, Elizabeth Wood, Diana Woodruff, Susan V. Worrell, Marjorie Woznicki, Vivien Wyatt, Mr. and Mrs. D. R. Yarnall, Margaret Yarrow, Mrs. Helen Yoskowitz, Edith Elliott Young, Mr. and Mrs. Vincent Young, Ralph Zaroff, Rosette Zeman, Mr. and Mrs. E. Zimmerman.

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Rev. Edgar Metzler, Catherine Mischee, MD, Hugh Middleton, Edgar W. Miller, Florence Miller, Mr. and Mrs. Jos. Miller, Lidie Miller, Shirley F. Miller, Susan Perry Mills, Mrs. Joseph Moedern, M. Morand, Alleen H. Morford, Mrs. S. A. Morgenstern, Byron S. Morehouse, Elizabeth K. Morison, Mr. and Mrs. Alfonso Morriconi, Anna S. Morris, Charlotte Morris, Elliston P. Morris, Morris Moses, Sylvia Moses, Diana P. Moulton, Joseph T. Moynahan, Mr. and Mrs. Ben Muchnick, Margareta R. Muller, Werner E. Muller, Marcia S. Murray, Dorothy Nahan, Mr. and Mrs.

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

AUGUST 7, 1964.

Arthur A. Narins, Betty Ness, Albert Newbold, Ann Newbold, Elizabeth K. Newbold, P. Newman, Christopher Nicholson, Helen Nicholson, Rose D. Nitzberg, Mrs. Sally Newmark, Mrs. Blanche Noonan.

Mr. and Mrs. Harry J. North, Dorothy B. Nurry, Ariadna Ocone, Martha O'Conion, Mrs. Minnie O'Connell, Anne Wain Ody, Florence Olivenbaum, Mildred Scott Olmstead, Nancy O'Neill, Thomas O'Neill, Martin Oppenheimer, Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Ostroff, Anna Owers, Jacob Oxman, Tim J. Parsons, Louis Paulmier, III, Maureen Parker, Mrs. H. Clay Pastorius, Marguerite Paulmier, Thos. D. Paxsop, Peace Committee of Chester Monthly Meeting, Helen Penzur, Muriel Perley, Sidney Perloe, Mr. and Mrs. Hans Peters, Theodore J. Peters, Mr. and Mrs. Charles M. Phillips, Miriam Phillips, Jean Platt, Marybelle Platt, Harry and Helen Pinsky, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph E. Platt, Dr. and Mrs. George Plutchok, Louise Polett, Lydia A. Pollack, Robert L. Pollack, Norman Polster, Ed. Porzuczek.

Mrs. Glenna Porzuczek, E. Lloyd Potter, Jane McCord Potts, Mary Powell, Helen G. Powers, Dorothy Gest Pownall, Mrs. B. Prager, Mrs. Jos. Praiseman, Dan Preiser, Margaret S. Price, Grace G. Pruitt, Evelyn Prybutuk, Sally and Dick Pryor, Etna Pursell, Marette Quick, Edward Quill, Irene Quill, Lydia P. Quill, I. Rabinowitz, Pauline Rabinowitz, Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Radeloff, Hans Rademacher, Irma Rademacher, Rene Yaffe Ralph, Edward Ramberg, Harrison C. Raper, Marilyn K. Raper, Joanne and Jules Raskin, Anne M. Rawson, Kenneth S. Rawson, Isadore Reivich, L. W. Reynolds, Eleanor Marshall Reynolds, Olive Reynolds, Ann Rhoads, Frances Richardson, Allan L. Rice, Rigmor Rice, Howard R. Richardson, Johanna Rldpath, Lydia E. Elehl, Anna Roberts, Emma D. Roberts, Eugene Roberts, Jean Rosen, Deena Rosenbaum, Albert M. Rosenberg, Mrs. M. A. Rosenberg, Mark J. Rosenberg, Harry Rosenblatt, Naomi Rosenblatt, Sylvia Rosenfeld, Mr. and Mrs. Wm. Rosenglick, Anna Rosenthal, Elsie L. Rosner, Martha Rossiter, Grace Rotzel, John S. Rounds, Esther Rubin, Frances Rubin, Janie Rubinoff, Mary Ellen S. Rugg.

Robert Rutman, Helen Sanders, Mrs. Jos. R. Sandler, Wm. Sattler, Adele Scott Saul, Eleanor W. Saylor, Ann Schabacker, Walter Schabacker, Rose Schafer, Dr. and Mrs. Arthur Schneeberg, Ida Schneeberg, Dr. and Mrs. J. M. Schneeberg, B. Schreiberman, Alfred C. Schroeder, Janet E. Schroeder, Mr. and Mrs. Jay Schuchar, Ernest A. Schulte, Trudy Schultz, Mr. and Mrs. Naftall Schwager, Martin Schwartz, Jean Scoblink, Bonnie Segal, Roderick Seidenberg, Ellis Seidenman, Ethel Seidenman, Mary Sciaky, Bobby Siefert, A. C. Seubello, Betty Shaffer, Anna Shallit, Richard Shamis, Sylvia Shamis, Alice B. Shannon, Dr. William A. Shannon, Mr. and Mrs. L. K. Sharpless, Mark D. Shaw, Elizabeth Shelling, Dena N. Sher, Arthur Sherman, Mr. and Mrs. Eli Shneyer, Dick Shouse.

AUGUST 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Although I am a California resident, I wanted to write to you and express my support for any my approval of your position on the situation in Vietnam.

I too wish we would start negotiations on this situation, rather than continue to use military force as the only answer to the problem.

I think that realistically, the most pragmatic solution is ultimate and genuine neutralization of all of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Chinese domination over Indochina, although a danger, is not inevitable, but it is made more certain by the intransigence of current American policy.

Therefore, I shall continue to applaud your forthright stand against our present Vietnam policy.

Sincerely yours,

MRS. RUTH E. TERRELL,

REDWOOD CITY, CALIF.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,

August 6, 1964.

SENATOR MORSE: I wish to express my appreciation and approval of the stand you have made against the resolution endorsing the American attack against the democratic Republic of Vietnam. Your firm stand at this time of irrationality and emotion required the highest personal courage and conviction, as have all your previous statements against the American presence in southeast Asia and particularly the cruel inhumane folly of McNamara's war in South Vietnam.

I urge you on behalf of those of us who believe as you do, and particularly those like me who are too young to vote, to continue to take a stand on the side of reason against the empty platitudes backed by senseless military force that has passed for our southeast Asian policy. You have been in the past, and are now, a personal inspiration to me, giving me new faith in our system of government and my own possibilities for a political career, fighting for the ideals that you so ably represent in Congress today.

With deepest respect.

Sincerely,

MARTIN GOLDSTEIN.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE,
DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS,
Bryn Mawr, Pa., August 7, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,

U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Let me express my appreciation and thanks, as a citizen, for your stand on the recent U.S. raids against North Vietnam. The New York Times has long reported that South Vietnam has been raiding the North Vietnam coast. Under these circumstances, the very appearance of U.S. Navy ships in the Tonkin Bay waters is a rather provocative act. My own feeling is that the U.S. military, the Khanh government, and Messrs. Bundy and Rostow are trying to force the hand of President Johnson, who still may not have a firm grip on foreign affairs. The sooner he replaces Kennedy's men with his own, the better off we shall all be.

RICHARD B. DU BOFF.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,

U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Please accept our heartfelt gratitude for your courageous stand on Vietnam. Be assured you do not stand alone, and you have the support of the multitude of sane, levelheaded persons, who really care about the future of this world.

Sincerely,

EDITH HELLER.

SPENCER, N.Y.,
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MORSE: Through all these months I have intended to write to you and tell you how much I have admired your stand on Vietnam. Now I admire you more than ever because everybody else is jumping on the bandwagon and saying we have to "defend" ourselves against a puny little peanut of a country.

The unnecessary massacre in South Vietnam has sickened me and it is obvious that the latest steps are sneaking us into a world war.

Personally a war cannot affect me too much—our son has put in his military service and reserve duty, but I ask you in the name of the other American mothers whose sons will have to go, so keep up your good fight as a "voice in the wilderness."

Yours truly,

LILA K. LARSON.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: In the Progressive of August 1964 I find a cogent critique by Senator MORSE of our policy in Vietnam, while the American press seems to be giving Senator MORSE the silent treatment. Can't the Times exercise its undisputed leadership by provoking a great debate on Vietnam that would let more readers than the Progressive can reach hear Senator MORSE's case against our present policy? Or must we first make a cliché of the statement that Vietnam is a political problem and not basically a military one, and then act on the contrary assumption? I should think we would do better either to get a new policy or to get a new cliché.

Sincerely yours,

STRINGFELLOW BARR.

PRINCETON, N.J.

LEXINGTON, VA.,

August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to express my great admiration for your "no" vote in yesterday's Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees' resolution to support whatever measures the administration judges necessary in Vietnam.

Such a resolution removes the formulation of national policy from representative influence, and thus, by giving the executive branch monarchical powers to define the national interest, destroys even the form of democracy.

Even more important, however, is the way in which the public has been deliberately deceived as to the nature of the Vietnam war. This is inexcusable on the part of anyone with some feeling for the possibilities of democratic government. Wrong conceptions can lead only to wrong actions.

In your lone dissent from the official litany of our righteousness, I see the single instance of that respect for truth which is so needed in these angry, impetuous times.

Respectfully yours,

GEORGE A. LEAR, JR.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Just a greeting and to tell you how good it feels to have a sane voice in these unrealistic politics of ours.

Gratefully yours,

JOHANNA LOTTE JACOBI REISS.

DEERING, N.H., August 6, 1964.

BEREA, OHIO, August 6, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Both as a citizen and a minister I am deeply concerned with the keeping of peace in our world. Although I have only once before written to a U.S. Senator, many years ago, I felt a strong guidance to write you in support of your stand in the face of taking a position public polls may not register popular.

I commend your courage, integrity, and forthright opposition to congressional sanction of presidential power to involve us in a senseless and unnecessary war. You are one of the few truly liberal independent thinkers left among Members of Congress today. The rule of conformity on controversial issues seems to prevail and few leaders are willing to demonstrate individual integrity if it may affect their rating with the prevailing tide of opinion.

I urge you to continue as an outspoken voice of conscience. "One with God is a majority," no less than one with right cannot be silenced. And I believe the public will get "second thoughts" and the witness you bear with others will strengthen now

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quiet voices to raise their testimony with you for sanity and prudence.

Respectfully yours,

NORMAN V. OLSSON.

FRESNO, CALIF.,
August 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MORSE: This is Hiroshima Day and God forbid that there should ever be another anywhere. We ought still to be asking God's forgiveness.

Thanks very much for your opposition to our folly in Vietnam. I feel that the other nations of the world, Communists and friends alike think we are stupid. And they are right. Our problems of poverty and unemployment could use this money in a more constructive way.

I sincerely hope that the Democrat convention will not be pressured into adopting a far right position on account of GOLDWATER's bomb-rattling crackpots.

He does not represent the peace-loving grassroots people and they will repudiate them in November.

Sincerely,

H. C. NOCZ.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: This is to express my sincere gratitude to you for your opposition to our military force and interference in Vietnam.

Please urge multilateral negotiations in southeast Asia and let us give technical and economic assistance without compensation.

Sincerely,

AVIS FLEISCHER.

AUGUST 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I would like to express my approval of your views on our policy on Vietnam and on your decision to vote against approving President Johnson's orders on Tonkin.

Sincerely yours,

HOWARD RICKERT.

WILLIAMSVILLE, N.Y.,
August 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: You are the conscience of America. It is sad to find you alone among the holders of high places. Jesus was alone too—and, initially, all like him. Now even the criminals in high places have to invoke his name in vain. His crucifiers are remembered (as what they were) only because of him they crucified. If I cannot turn the other cheek, I do say palms off the other man's cheek, and keep the napalm off the bodies of Vietnamese children.

We have come to the reenactment of the approaching end of the Third Reich, Gomorrah and the reign of Nero, though it will not be tomorrow. You will stand out brighter as the flames rise.

I stand behind my words as you do.

Respectfully yours,

GEORGE W. PROVOST.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.,
August 7, 1964.

HON. WAYNE L. MORSE,
U.S. Senator,
Washington, D.C.:

I wish to express my admiration and support for your efforts to avert a new catastrophe in this generation.

I have two sons and hope that they will be spared the fate of other millions who were denied life in two World Wars which brought neither peace nor freedom in our world.

You are one of the few who today have a clear vision of the need for understanding and love.

Yours truly,

JOHN DESIDERIO.

Coffeyville, Kans.,

August 4, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senator from Oregon,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: I compliment you on your recent comments on TV concerning the action of the United States in the recent bombing of North Vietnam, and on our disregard of treaties and agreements with other nations in the past, etc.

I think the U.S. affairs are too much dominated by the military mind in league with the industrialists. H. G. Wells, in his "Outline of History," said of the military in part as follows: "No person of high intellectual qualifications would imprison his talents in such a calling."

I think Eric Fromm has painted a very good picture of the United States of America when he said: "That paranoid thinking is the hostile and destructive person (nation) who accuses everybody else of being hostile and pictures himself as being innocent and victimized; those whose thought barriers built upon cliches, ritualistic ideologies and a good deal of common craziness that prevent people—leaders and the led—from seeing sanely and realistically what the facts are, from separating the facts from the fiction and as a consequence, from recognizing alternative solutions to violence."

I think we are an immature people who are obsessed with a messianic complex that leads us to believe we are the chosen people—by some mystic power—to lead the rest of the world into the land of milk and honey. We have created a false image of ourselves and are trying to impose this false image on the rest of the world not realizing that the rest of the world and no part of it sees us as we see ourselves looking through our Alice in Wonderland looking glass of messianic and narcissus complexes of wishful thinking and self-deception.

It is unfortunate for this country that it does not have more men of intelligence and courage to tell the truth about the United States as you have done.

Sincerely,

A. A. BAKER.

DULUTH, MINN.,
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
State Capitol Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: Thank you for speaking for me during the discussion on the resolution backing the action of the President. We do well in appraising anew our aims and means of obtaining them in the Vietnamese situation as you so ably do for us in the article "Humpty Dumpty in Vietnam" in the Progressive magazine. Prestige and dignity may be enhanced by the returned slap but the basis for correction of the difficulty and a change of direction comes much more effectively from the conference table agonizing as that method may be, it does indeed seem to me.

Sincerely,

Mrs. ADELE HIGH.

VINELAND, N.J.,
August 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senator,
Washington, D.C.

Sir: Thank you for your lone voice of sanity.

Respectfully,

ERIC P. GUMPERZ.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,
August 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Your views concerning the war in Vietnam were reported in today's Los Angeles Times. Enclosed is the clipping.

At intervals throughout this busy day, I

have thought about your opinion, and I remarked to our son (a premedical student at UBC in September) that I intended to write the Senator and cheer him on.

His comment was, "What good will it do? No one can reach the people who clamor for war in this instance." I think it is important to keep on trying. If enough of us write to you, your mail deliveries should indicate public interest.

In applause of the course you follow, here is an old Gaelic blessing:

"May the roads rise with you,
And the wind be always at your back;
And may the Lord hold you in the hollow
of His hand."

Sincerely,

Mrs. EDWARD B. MCMONIGLE.

MORSE INSISTS UNITED STATES PROVOKED VIET
SITUATION

WASHINGTON.—Senator WAYNE MORSE, Democrat, of Oregon, Wednesday assailed the United States as a "provocateur" in South Vietnam and said he will not support a "predated declaration of war" in Asia.

MORSE, a consistent critic of U.S. maintenance of troops in South Vietnam, voiced his opposition as the Senate's leadership mapped plans to push through a resolution today backing President Johnson in whatever steps are necessary to preserve peace and freedom in southeast Asia.

He charged, in a Senate speech, that the incidents which inspired the resolution—on which the Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees will meet at 9 a.m. today—"is as much the doing of the United States as it is the doing of North Vietnam."

OVERWHELMING BACKING

The resolution, expected to have overwhelming bipartisan backing, grew out of two attacks by PT boats on U.S. destroyers in the Gulf of Tonkin. It is expected to be introduced in the Senate today.

MORSE charged that a forerunner to the attacks on the U.S. destroyers was a known bombardment by South Vietnamese naval vessels of "two North Vietnamese islands within 3 to 5 or 6 miles of the main coast of North Vietnam."

He said the "clear implication" of that incident is that the U.S. Navy stood guard while vessels of South Vietnam shelled North Vietnam.

SEES MUCH TO LOSE

MORSE declared that the United States has much to lose and little to gain by continuing its "unilateral military action in southeast Asia, un sanctioned by the United Nations, and unaccompanied by allies" and should "strike a blow for peace" at the conference table.

"I shall not support any substitute which takes the form of a predated declaration of war," he declared.

"For 10 years, the role of the United States in South Vietnam has been that of a provocateur, every bit as much as North Vietnam has been a provocateur," MORSE said.

He said "we have been making covert war in southeast Asia for some time, instead of seeking to keep the peace by taking the issues to the United Nations or some other international body."

"It was inevitable and inexorable that sooner or later we would have to engage in overt acts of war in pursuance of that policy, and we are now doing so," he added.

He said that whether the choice of expanding the war is that of North Vietnam or South Vietnam "is still in doubt." But he said he is satisfied the (Premier Nguyen) Khanh government in South Vietnam could not long continue its civil war "unless the war were expanded," and that the United States is a "full partner" of that government.

"When the high emotionalism of the present crisis has passed," MORSE said, historians

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will disclose that for some time past "there have been violations of the North Vietnamese border and the Cambodian border by South Vietnam."

"I am also satisfied that they will disclose that the United States was not an innocent bystander," he said. He said U.S. troops were sent into South Vietnam in violation of the 1954 Geneva accords.

MORSE referred to news reports of rumors in Saigon Tuesday of a coup against the Khanh regime, "rumors which are said to have been quelled by the expansion of the fighting."

He said that U.S. charges of aggression against North Vietnam will be greeted "by considerable snickering abroad."

"So, too, will the pious phrases of the resolution about defending freedom in South Vietnam," he said, and added:

"There is no freedom in South Vietnam. I think even the American people know that to say we are defending freedom in South Vietnam is a travesty upon the word. We are defending General Khanh from being overthrown, that is all."

HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.,
 August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am not normally a letter writer but I am compelled to write to you today to congratulate you on the courage with which you have responded to the unfortunate situation in southeast Asia.

Frankly, I await further disclosure of the facts before reaching final conclusions on the propriety of the actions which our country has taken in this area. Nevertheless, the courage of your response and the forthrightness with which you focused the attention of the public on the real issues involved here will, I hope, serve as a model and a vision for legislators for generations to come.

I am particularly cognizant of the risks which any legislator takes in speaking his mind when it appears to be against the apparent national view as reflected in the public press. I have intended to write you many times because you have in the past been the lone voice trying to indicate that the simple counting of noses of support does not always reflect the location of the truth.

I am hopeful that you will not be deterred from bringing to the public the truth as you see it.

Again my congratulations. If one can ever be of help to you although not living in Oregon, please feel free to call upon me.

Very truly yours,

EDWARD MOSK.

CARMEL, CALIF.,
 August 7, 1964.

HON. WAYNE L. MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We strongly support your stand on southeast Asia and hope that you will not vote for the declaration approving the U.S. bombing of North Vietnam. It seems to us that any such drastic military action should require prior approval of Congress.

Sincerely yours,

TOM GOODMAN.
 MAIZIE GOODMAN.

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
 August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: The 8 a.m., CBS radio news report, this "mourn" made reference to your Senate fight to have the U.S. military disengaged from "aid" or action in South Vietnam.

I would like to echo one phrase that commentator used in the report. It went something like "you have the public opinion of the American people behind you."

Thank you for continuing to uphold that law which is still the U.S. Constitution. * * * However much the executive departments of the Federal Government may find rationale for self-exemption, to observe the Constitution; in the breach. Looking to the day when "breachmanship" makes a fast retreat, with Brinkmanship. * * * Two twins to be happily misused.

Sincerely,

J. GODFREY.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., August 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,
 Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I would like to thank you for standing up and speaking the truth about we the United States are the provocateur, we have exactly no business in Vietnam.

It makes me feel good to have at least one Senator that has my interest at heart. I wish I were able to do more than just write you a note. Please keep up your most appreciated work.

Sincerely yours,

W. A. CUNNINGHAM.

FAIRLAWN, N.J., August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR: Thank you for having made one of the few intelligent remarks concerning our foreign policy in the past few days.

If only there were more like you we might conceivably avoid a larger war.

Gratefully yours,

Mrs. JORDON KART.

TAKOMA PARK, Md.

DEAR MR. MORSE: Stick with it. You are not the only honest and decent man in the Senate, but you and Mr. GRUENING appear to be the only ones who also have some guts. From the point of view of personal advantage your stand will probably work against you, but I think history will vindicate you, and you are old enough not to give a damn about personal advancement.

The present U.S. imitation of the Nazi policies of 1936 may progress from murder to world extermination, but, God help us, let's hope there will be some opposition. Right now, you're it.

Please don't waste time on a reply.

Sincerely,

C. D. FIRESTONE.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.,
 August 7, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 The U.S. Senate,
 Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: Thank you for the courage and commonsense you displayed in voting against the enactment-of-war measure which was presented to Congress yesterday. At least someone in Washington is willing to risk a few votes rather than see our American servicemen risk their lives for a cause as selfish and absurd as that of General Khanh's.

I am in complete sympathy with the peasantry of Vietnam who are struggling to save their land from falling into the hands of the native aristocracy. After all, this battle is just one thing: The rich against the poor. And our American boys are forced to risk their lives for a dictator who does not and never will have the support of his own people. Why don't we help Castro? At least he has the popular support of the Cuban people.

What is happening in this country? Has American propaganda reached a point where all one must say is that he is not a Communist and, irregardless of what he is—be it

Nazi, Fascist, warmonger, or whatnot—we accept him and like him?

President Kennedy knew the score, and so do you. Just about 2 weeks before that great American was murdered I recall him saying: "The rich have to help the poor. We cannot survive an atomic war, and if the widening gap between the rich and the poor is not closed, we face that result." Let's tell this to Khahn and his aristocratic followers. The time has come to spread the dough.

It is indeed satisfying to know that someone like you is in Washington.

Sincerely yours,

ELOISE B. BONDROWSKY.

P.S.—Ambassador Stevenson babbles nonsense.

AUGUST 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: You are to be commended for your courage in refusing to support the all-out war drive in this country. I wish you were President at this crucial time. It was with a very heavy heart that we heard the President's speech and then to think that he had to notify that great American, Senator GOLDWATER, who very quickly gave his approval, is very frightening. You may be a lone voice with courage and integrity but please remember that there are fellow Americans who support your stand but just don't have too much hope in their hearts because the propaganda leans in the direction of the might of the industrial-military complex which is very big business in our country. Bless you for this great act of honor.

Very truly yours,

Mr. and Mrs. ALBERT WATKINS
 and FAMILY.

CONCORD, CALIF.,
 August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: My wife and I would like to express our admiration for your courageous and lonely stand against the dangerous and provocative presence of U.S. military "advisors" and naval forces in southeast Asia. Please keep up your fight. Someday our fellow Americans must come to realize the injustice of much our country does in the name of foreign aid.

Our California residence precludes our having the honor of voting for you.

With great respect,

RAYMOND GILBERT.
 LUANNE S. GILBERT.

WYOMING, MINN.,
 August 6, 1964.

U.S. Senator WAYNE MORSE, of Oregon.

DEAR SIR: More power to your way of presenting the "Vietnam" policy we should adopt.

We're too nearsighted in our meddling in everybody's business and passions—in the name of democracy. Back to Washington's ideal. We've parted from it for over 50 years.

Besides if your stated premises are right, we got into Vietnam in the wrong way, in the first place.

We rejoice in men like you.

Sincerely yours,

Rev. ARNOLD SCHULZ,
 Pastor, M. Paul's Lutheran Church.

FLUSHING, N.Y.,
 August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
 Senate Office Building,
 Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: My family and I, long admirers of yours, have been heartened by your courageous stand on the Vietnamese war. We

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are alarmed and deeply troubled by the most recent U.S. actions in Indochina, and have sent letters to President Johnson and to Senators JAVRS and KEATING, to this effect. We have urged them to oppose any declaration of war by "resolution," and to use their offices to bring about a truce in the war, under United Nations auspices.

It is unfortunate for our country that we do not have many more spokesmen of your insight and integrity.

Respectfully yours,
Mrs. Blossom Backal.

St. Louis, Mo.,
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MORSE: Events in Vietnam indicate that you were right in saying that we should have handled this through the U.N. Now we are in a mess which might get worse. The hard-nosed attitude of the Republican candidate no doubt encourages President Johnson to take a stronger line than he might otherwise do.

I hope that the more moderate influences in our National Government such as yourself may be able to do something to prevent hostilities from becoming too widespread. It seems to me that by these constant so-called "brush wars" we are spending a great deal of wealth and energy which is sapping our vitality as a Nation without accomplishing much, but the answer is not to practice brinkmanship as advocated by GOLDWATER. One more war would about finish us off and perhaps everybody else along with us.

We are trying to maintain something which we cannot maintain, as General De Gaulle has pointed out. We cannot maintain a political climate all over the world just the way we want it because other nations have something to say about their own affairs and we cannot afford to police the world by military force. It will bust us economically just as it has always busted everybody who ever tried it.

FRANCIS HELLWIG.

New York, N.Y.,
August 5, 1964.

President L. B. JOHNSON,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR PRESIDENT JOHNSON: These are horrible, incredible days for U.S. citizens, and one of their most curious aspects is the feeling that I daresay most of us have that there is nothing, nothing we can do as individuals, that our Government is no longer responsive to public pressure except insofar as it is gaged by newspaper headlines or some guessed-at TV response. So it is with a feeling of a Kafka character who goes about with a petition but can never find anyone to read it, that I address this letter to you.

It is carefully explained in this morning's Times that you submitted details of your last night's TV address to Senator GOLDWATER in advance to gain his approval. And it is carefully explained that your TV appearance was delayed several hours after reporters had been alerted, so that you could get word the attacks on the PT boats "and related facilities" had been carried out.

To me this appears a most cynical way to conduct a presidential campaign. The decent people in this country are sick and frightened over the mere nomination of GOLDWATER. But for you, the only alternative they have, to interpret the mood of the American masses in the summer of 1964 as wanting a Democratic candidate who moves further to the right, tries to rival GOLDWATER in bellicose words and risks American boys' lives and the peace of the world by adventuresome and flamboyant military moves, is

in my opinion a grave underestimation of the American people.

And this news of us shooting from the hip in a faraway gulf bordered by the Chinese mainland, the Chinese Hainan Island and North Vietnam, by the 7th Fleet whose very presence there is a provocation, comes to us on the very day that two of three bodies found in Mississippi are verified as those of the missing civil rights workers. While the Federal Government has done nothing to my knowledge to protect the lives of the many idealistic young students who have gone into Mississippi to do what that same Government should be doing in the first place—educating Negroes in registration procedures and giving them encouragement.

You are an astute politician. I only pray that you have the imagination to see, soon, what I see no signs of your having grasped to date: that this is no ordinary election year. If there is no man of courage to cement the decent, ordinary, white, responsible citizens who want Negroes to have a fair shake, with the black masses who have awakened and are demanding what is so long overdue, then the United States will not survive as a free nation. I for one am thoroughly sick of all the reams of tired words about "freedom" for the Vietnamese. What kind of freedom do we provide them? It is an immoral, cruel, and senseless war we are waging there. Let the Vietnamese people decide their way of life themselves, whether it is neutralist—or even Communist. It is not our problem and if you persist in dragging us into another Korea you will not be adding to our glory.

I urge you: bring back the 7th Fleet, let us get our troops (advisers) out of Vietnam, land and sea. Let us get out of Vietnam and into Mississippi.

Sincerely yours,

VIRGINIA MARBERRY.

POMONA, CALIF.,
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I agree with you that both sides acted as provocateurs in the clash in the Gulf of Tonkin.

I have often wondered, and worried, about the consequences of the United States succeeding to the former role of French colonial power in southeast Asia. That we are now playing that role is clear to me.

I have never accepted the excuse that we are not ruling directly, but are simply "advisers" to the incumbent regime, whatever form it might take. It seems to me that the Central Intelligence Agency has a great deal to say about whom we select as our favorite puppet in office.

You may not agree with me, completely, in my outlook upon this question, but I agree with your stand.

Sincerely,

DANIEL N. FOX.

MARION, IOWA,
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE B. MORSE,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations on your stand relative to our senseless involvement in southeast Asia.

I have yet to meet a single individual who is ready to die in a nuclear holocaust in order to prevent those people from having the type of government and economic order which they desire.

If we have a case in that part of the world, why are we unwilling to lay our complaint in the hands of the International Court of Justice for adjudication, and then abide by its decision?

Sincerely,

CHESTER B. VERNON.

St. Louis, Mo.,
August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Heard your views on channel 4 this evening regarding Vietnam situation.

You are 100 percent right in every way, shape, manner and form.

I heard a man downtown this afternoon mention to an acquaintance, "That this mad dog McNamara and the half-witted boy Rusk have finally succeeded in their aim in heading us into a land war in Asia with Red China."

That is what this man said, and I personally have men relatives who will probably be fighting over there.

I shudder to think of it.

God help our young men.

Sincerely,

M. SCULLY.

BRONX, N.Y.,
August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Please be assured of my support for your position on our policies in Vietnam, particularly your lone vote today against the President's resolution regarding our attack yesterday on the North Vietnam coast.

Although yours was the solitary courageous voice against these military adventurist actions, I am sure that scores of thousands of now silent Americans are with you on this.

Very truly yours,

BERNARD KASSEY.

HAZELHURST, WIS.,
August 6, 1964.

Mr. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senator,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Be sure that millions of Americans share your alarm at the administration's undeclared war. Even though only intended for home consumption as a diversion from the now unpopular results of administration wrongdoing it is a very dangerous diversion. Surely there is no certainty that Khrushchev can keep a powerful part of the Communist world on the sidelines while we fight with the now powerful Red Chinese.

At best it is not likely to work well for the administration in November. My profound thanks.

Sincerely yours,

PHIL KRONENWETTER.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,
August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to thank you very much for the statements I just heard you make on CBS-TV regarding the situation in Vietnam.

You are courageous and just in your statements and I hope you will continue to be forthright in your utterances.

Sincerely yours,

RUBY LORMOR.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations to you. You are a voice of sanity. I have long respected you and admired your guts.

I'll keep this short, because I'm stealing time at work to send it. I enclose a letter I sent to President Johnson today. I have also sent copies of it, and covering letters to Senators KUCHEL and SALINGER and Congressman MALLIARD, and urged the Senators to support your stand against endorsing a blanket resolution, which you have labeled "a predated declaration of war."

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

MARCO SKINNER.

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SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.,
August 5, 1964.

President LYNDON B. JOHNSON,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I am seriously disturbed by the present position vis-a-vis Vietnam. At work today I have been listening to the radio as much as possible, and talking to everyone I've seen. Nobody is enthusiastic about the attack on North Vietnamese bases. If our ships were attacked, and twice, by what can only seem a piece of lunacy on the part of the North Vietnamese, certainly those attackers could have been repelled and destroyed, as they were. But further unilateral action seems to me extremely dangerous in this powder keg on which the world stands. One friend suggested it might have been possible to issue an ultimatum to the North Vietnamese after the first attack. Another said that the issue should have been brought immediately to the United Nations after the first incident.

All that is past. I am sure, Mr. President, that the action which you took seemed to you the best one in the context of the situation.

The question is: What now? I feel that the sooner this conflict moves off the shooting range and onto the council floors of the U.N. as Senator MORSE has said, the less chance there is that it may escalate to dimensions which will mean oblivion for all of us. You have said that you were responding on a limited basis. I think the limits of safety have been reached, indeed, perhaps already passed.

We have a world organization whose justification for existence lies just in its capacity to deal with dangerous situations such as this. It is too late in world history to consider war as an instrument of foreign policy.

Further, I hold no brief for either the North or South Vietnamese. The former are authoritarian, the latter hardly less so. Neither side is such that a Democrat can grant full support to it. Ideally, I would think that neutralization of the area, not by a conference of Western nations, but through the U.N. itself, and democratic elections for both North and South, would constitute the beginnings of a solution in an otherwise intolerable situation, where at best a dragged-out war goes on, and where at worst the world may be involved and destroyed. Let me add that I am a registered Democrat, and one who intended to be fully involved in the forthcoming campaign; but I do not feel that the President Johnson who will be remembered as the President under whose administration the civil rights bill was passed should be also remembered, if there is anyone left to remember, as the President under whose administration world war III—the last war—began.

Yours sincerely,

MARGO SKINNER.

AUGUST 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: We owe you a real debt of gratitude for speaking out against our policies and actions in Vietnam. Thank you for your courage and love of the truth. It is not the popular course.

There are many who believe this to be an immoral and illegal war and that we need to seek diplomatic and not military settlement.

Is there any way to reconvene the 14 nation 1962 Geneva Conference to secure withdrawal of foreign personnel and material, for a negotiated settlement?

The press minimizes what is happening to civilians in Vietnam and children. We will lose our moral leadership in the eyes of the world if we continue this senseless war.

It makes us feel more secure to have you speaking out.

Thank you again.
Sincerely,

Mrs. JULIA P. RUOPP.

SILVER SPRING, Md.,
August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for your courageous stand on Vietnam.

As long as we have even one person like yourself in the Senate, there may be a chance for us.

Sincerely,

Mrs. DOLORES HELMAN.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
The Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: I am writing to express my admiration for your courage in opposing the use of U.S. military forces in the current Gulf of Tonkin crisis.

You are one of the few voices in our country speaking out for peace. If only your courage were contagious and could infect the other Senators. Keep up the good work.

Yours sincerely,

GERTRUDE REED.

THE INSTITUTE,
Rensselaerville, N.Y., August 6, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Bully for you. Your talk in the Senate Wednesday with regard to the recent record of our Nation in South Vietnam, our announced intentions this spring and summer to step up the war, our unilateral action outside the U.N. with military measures contrary to the Geneva agreement, and our apparent upholding and supplying General Khanh's current pushes to the north implicitly threatening China, needs to be said. I hope that you can restrain this military action and persuade our Government to resort to conferences and U.N. channels for the management of tensions in southeast Asia.

Sincerely yours,

EVERETT R. CLINCHY.

HAYWARD, CALIF.,
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

HONORABLE SENATOR MORSE: I wish to commend you and express my appreciation of your courageous and forthright statements relative to escalating the war in Vietnam. No problem has ever been solved with the use of force, and we are in danger of initiating a worldwide nuclear conflict.

Be assured that the majority of Americans desire peace, and if they were to know the true facts, they would be more vocal about our involvement in Vietnam.

Again, thank you.

Sincerely,

Mrs. RHODA TRESKIN.

CHICAGO, ILL.,
August 6, 1964.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I have written President Johnson, and both of my Senators in support of your position on Vietnam.

I can't understand or condone the recent attack on our vessels—in such wise neither can I condemn our retaliation—any escalation on our part, however, would be immoral and immature—We can't allow a South or

North Vietnam to sucker us into another Korea.

Please keep up your fight. We who believe in peace need voices such as yours.

Sincerely,

DONALD HECKIMBLATT.

SAN ANSELMO, CALIF.,
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I thank you from the bottom of my heart for your firm stand for truth and justice. You have met a great test and have proven true and courageous. It is men like you that this country and the world needs so badly today but are so few. But all the more honor and appreciation to the one we have. Time will prove you great.

Gratefully,

CLARE MCKLAGE.

AUGUST 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Congratulations on your courage to question our action in Vietnam. You are doing a marvelous work in the Senate and I only wish I could vote for you. Wish you could be nominated for Vice President.

Cordially,

JEROME DAVIS.

DELAWARE, OHIO,
August 5, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I was very glad to hear that you are still working for more peaceful means of trying to solve the problems of southeast Asia. I hope that with all our modern knowledge of science and human nature we can somehow figure out better ways of resolving political differences than by killing others and risking atomic devastation for ourselves.

Respectfully yours,

KENNETH H. MORRIS, JR.

WOOD AVENUE METHODIST CHURCH,
Muskegon, Mich., August 6 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want you to know that your opposition to the military development in southeast Asia is deeply appreciated. Someone has suggested that the military jingle of Senator BARRY GOLDWATER is too prominent now.

May you gain strength from the courage of your convictions. The military approach can never solve the problems of this part of our world.

Let's follow the suggestion of Secretary General U Thant by reconvening the 14-Power Geneva Conference on southeast Asia.

May the peacekeeping role of the United Nations be exploited to the utmost.

Sincerely,

CARL B. STRANGE.

CHICAGO, ILL.,
August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I want to commend you for your blunt statement in opposition to President Johnson's resolution on the Vietnam crisis. You stated that the resolution amounts to a predated declaration of war." You also said that the United States is as much to blame as North Vietnam for the destroyer incidents.

I certainly agree with you, and I hope you will vote against the resolution when it comes up in the Senate.

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I realize of course that in the state of jingo opinion in the United States today President Johnson had no real choice. Any President who is doing less than he is doing would be thrown out of office in a hurry. I am really denouncing not President Johnson but the kind of national insanity we have come to in our country.

It is obvious that if Communist China calls our bluff we will have to begin throwing atomic bombs. We are apparently prepared to kill several hundred millions of Chinese if we are challenged. If we do such a thing we will make ourselves the worst criminal nation in world history. Our very name will be a byword of contempt and loathing. Others may yet save us from this fate; we are not prepared to save ourselves.

If war is avoided I certainly hope the other nations will combine against us to force us to negotiate the situation in southeast Asia.

Very truly yours,

FLOYD MULKEY.

HANOVER, PA.,

August 6, 1964.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE: I am very much in favor of the stand you have taken on South Vietnam. If we had more Senators like you, things like this would not happen.

Respectfully yours,

EDWARD BROWNWELL.

BLINICK PHARMACY,

Chicago, Ill., August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

I wish to congratulate you on your stand toward our policies in Vietnam and for the courage you have shown (and I pray will continue to be able to show) in the past. I know it is no easy task to face up to popular opinion and say to the multitude: "I am right because my conscience says I am right." Unfortunately, such bravery is never appreciated until it is time to be written in the history books. In his book, "Profiles in Courage," President Kennedy told of the Senator who ruined his career by not going along with the mob in impeaching President Andrew Johnson. I hope that your career won't be hurt that badly, but I do want you to know that I am proud to be a compatriot of yours and wish that the two Senators who represented me were as brave as you.

Warmest regards,

GEORGE H. BLINICK.

P.S.—Should we ever differ on certain legislation, I will at least feel that you sincerely believe you are right and not just voting the way certain pressures push you.

CLINTON, IND.,

August 5, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thanks, thanks, thanks for speaking out against what we are doing in Vietnam. I have just heard you on TV. I also heard Senator FULBRIGHT, a great disappointment. You are going to have a hard time of it, I fear, but you have fortitude.

Yours sincerely,

RUTH C. FRANCE.

NASHVILLE, TENN.,

August 6, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I quite agree with you about our boys dying in southeast Asia. We should stay at home and attend to our business here, just as those people should stay out of Mississippi. If they don't, Johnson should tell them to.

There is plenty going on in their own States to keep them busy.

I wonder why Negroes don't do more for their own race? They could take them off the streets and teach them to be more civilized.

Back to wars abroad. Truman didn't declare war in Korea. I understand the word "victory" is not allowed to be uttered, much

less attained. I can't imagine any war being fought without an objective.

I understand our boys were right at Berlin, and Roosevelt didn't allow them to go in, held them back for Russia to go first.

Could that be responsible for the Berlin wall today? Why is the administration so concerned about Communists abroad and so little concerned about them on our own doorsteps? Before it was admitted the public in general helped the Communists along pushing through the Negroes to achieve their objective. What will not people do for votes?

Sincerely,

Miss JENNIE ALLIEN ASHWORTH.

SPOKANE, WASH.,

August 8, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: Thank you for your stand on our southeast Asia policy. And I thank God for a man like you. I am with you all the way as millions of other Americans are. May God bless you.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN DENHAM.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,

August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MORSE: Your voice rings clear above the propaganda, hate, and ignorance from the right and righteous, the "war at any cost" lunatics. You are not alone; please continue to speak for us. We must stop this thing.

Sincerely,

THOMAS GRABELL.

AUGUST 5, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for your statement today on our role in Vietnam. I appreciate your courage and your dedication to sanity in foreign policy.

Sincerely,

VARDA M. ULLMAN.

WESTMINSTER, CALIF.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.,

August 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: At this time when the threat of an escalation of the war in South Vietnam seems possible, it is encouraging to know of your leadership in the Senate opposing the U.S. "unilateral military action in southeast Asia, unannounced by the United Nations, and accompanied by allies." I hope there will be enough strong and courageous leadership in the United States to "strike a blow for peace" at the conference table.

Sincerely,

Mrs. MIRIAM CAMP.

INDEPENDENCE, MO.,

August 6, 1964.

HON. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: In times like these it is easy and politically attractive to speak of "unity," even though it really means an abdication of responsibility to discuss unilateral actions of the President and his advisers.

In daring to oppose the resolution requested by the President, you have fulfilled your responsibility and have acted with rare courage. You must continue to oppose the tragic course of events in southeast Asia.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM H. WILSON.

PALO ALTO, CALIF.,

August 6, 1964.

That President Johnson's recent statement that "we will seek no wider war" warrants support, we will all agree. That both Vietnam and United States "overreacted" in the sea incident, seems likely to some of us, including a reported statement by a Stanford political scientist in the Palo Alto Times of this date. That a political, rather than a military settlement must be made and that U Thant's suggestion of reconvening the Geneva conference to search for this solution, seems sound. Although previous agreements were made and broken, it does not mean that new insights cannot be found and more consistent renewed efforts made to overcome the destruction and deterioration that have taken place since Vietnam was divided 10 years ago.

David Arnold, Ph. D., of Princeton, who served with USIA office there 1962 to 1963, states, "the nation, group of nations, or international organization that could guarantee a reunified and peaceful Vietnam, freed from the pressures of the cold war, would have the support of all Vietnamese, in the north, in the south, or in exile." Isn't that kind of goal implied in Johnson's statement?

Mrs. EUGENIA R. SORENSEN.

SACRAMENTO, CALIF.,

August 5, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank God for one sane man in Congress. Do keep up your protest against our mad policy in Vietnam and adjacent waters, even though it seems like a voice crying in wilderness.

I do wish that California had some Congressmen with your convictions and your courage.

Sincerely,

MARGARET M. HOWARD.

BETHESDA, MD.,

August 7, 1964.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I would like to commend you for your sensible and courageous statements on Vietnam.

Sincerely,

EDWIN A. WEINSTEIN.

AUGUST 6, 1964.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: We are deeply concerned about the role of the United States in Vietnam, and it is our thinking that this dangerous and tragic situation can only be solved by an internationally representative group, specifically the United Nations.

Therefore, we want to inform you of our wholehearted and appreciative support of your position in Congress against the resolution backing the U.S. military role presently in force in Vietnam. Please continue to bring to the attention of the American people the fact that U.S. military intervention on behalf of the Khanh government in South Vietnam could bring about world war III.

It is gratifying to us that a man of your courage and ability can speak for us in Washington today.

Yours truly,

Mr. and Mrs. S. KATZ.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

TRANSACTION OF ADDITIONAL
ROUTINE BUSINESS

By unanimous consent, the following additional routine business was transacted:

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE—
ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Hackney, one of its