system in the South. The beneficiaries of the system may repair some of the damage, but it will not be quite the same again. Despite the fact that Mr. Kennedy carried a number of Southern states, he is not the bondsman of the Dixiecrats and, as a political realist, he is not likely to reward the Quislings in his party. The defecting Dixiecrats should not receive so much as a single fourth-class postmastership from the President-elect, who has few past favors to pay for and little expectation of new ones. The Dixiecrats who lined up for the Kennedy-Johnson ticket in the end did so not out of loyalty to the Democratic Party but because they had become convinced its nominees would win.

In the future, the influence of the Dixiecrat element will decline relative to the influence of the liberal South, including the growing political strength of Southern Negroes. Mr. Kennedy intervened — showing imagination and courage — in the Martin Luther King, Jr., case where a Georgia judge had revoked the Rev. King's probation on a traffic violation and sent him to the state penitentiary. In fact, Robert Kennedy's direct communication with the judge was improper; but the uproar which might have been expected failed to develop. Segregation is losing ground, and Mr. Kennedy helped. The Negro now knows that his interests lie with the Northern, liberal wing of the Democratic Party.

Another development which may assuage the frustration of liberals is that the Catholic bugaboo has been laid, once and for all. Like racial segregation, which it resembles in kind, it was a disgrace to the country. Its dissolution will add to America's international prestige and lift a burden from its conscience. Mr. Kennedy met this issue head-on, frankly, logically and courageously, and by all indications he gained more votes than he lost.

The Roman Catholic Church came out ahead, not only because the outcome demonstrated that a qualified Catholic could be elected, but because the clergy and laity alike behaved with notable wisdom and restraint. One instance was a pronouncement by Msgr. Franklyn J. Kennedy, editorial manager of the Catholic Herald Citizen, which is published weekly by the Archdiocese of Milwaukee and the Dioceses of Milwaukee and Superior. Despite much urging, the Herald Citizen refused to support either candidate. "We are confident," said Msgr. Kennedy, "that our readers would think it highly improper for a Catholic paper — published under the direction of one Archbishop and two Bishops — to come out in favor of one candidate over the other." And in Puerto Rico, where the bishops overstepped their proper bounds, they were deservedly rebuked by the Catholic electorate — and again the Church gained, although the bishops did not.

Finally, the press as a whole, while largely supporting Nixon editorially, gave the Democrats a fair break in its news columns. The Democrats are reported to feel that they received the fairest press treatment of recent decades. Some of the interpretive journalism was not only fair, but brilliant. Whatever redounds to the credit of the press redounds to the credit of the country, let us hope that the gain will be held.

Are We Training Cuban Guerrillas?

Fidel Castro may have a sounder basis for his expressed fears of a U.S.-financed "Guatemala-type" invasion than most of us realize. On a recent visit to Guatemala, Dr. Ronald Hilton, Director of the Institute of Hispanic-American Studies at Stanford University, was told:

1 The United States Central Intelligence Agency has acquired a large tract of land, at an outlay in excess of $1,000,000, which is stoutly fenced and heavily guarded. Dr. Hilton was informed that it is "common knowledge" in Guatemala that the tract is being used as a training ground for Cuban counter-revolutionaries who are preparing for an eventual landing in Cuba. It was also said that U.S. personnel and equipment are being used at the base. The camp is said to be located in Retalhuéu, between Guatemala City and the coast.

2 Substantially all of the above was reported by a well-known Guatemalan journalist, Clemente Marquón Ropas, in La Hora, a Guatemalan newspaper of which he is the director. His article appeared in violation, it is said, of a Government prohibition against any public discussion of the matter.

3 More recently, the President of Guatemala, forced to take cognizance of the persistent reports concerning the base, went on TV and admitted its existence, but refused to discuss its purpose or any other facts about it.

The American press — even media with accredited correspondents on the scene — has apparently remained unaware of the public commotion the subject has aroused in Guatemala. Not even President Ydígoras' TV statement that a secret base exists has been reported in the United States, so far as we know. We ourselves, of course, pretend to no first-hand knowledge of the facts, nevertheless, we feel an obligation to bring the subject to public attention. If Washington is ignorant of the existence of the base, or, knowing that it exists, is nevertheless innocent of any involvement in it, then surely the appropriate authorities will want to scotch all invidious rumors and issue a full statement of the real facts. On the other hand, if the reports as heard by Dr. Hilton are true, then public pressure should be brought to bear upon the Administration to abandon this dangerous and hair-brained project.

There is a second reason why we believe the reports merit publication: they can, and should, be checked immediately by all U.S. news media with correspondents in Guatemala.
Meanwhile, Dr. Hilton informs us that he will publish additional details of his findings in Guatemala in the November issue of the *Hispano-American Review*, published by the Institute of which he is the director. The sooner the truth emerges, the better for all concerned — the United States, which now stands accused; the Cubans, who assert fear of an imminent invasion, and the Guatemalans, who appear to be thrust into a perilous quarrel not of their making.

**More Blessed to Receive**

Among the multitude of problems which beset the United States, two related ones are most troublesome. Paul Heffernan, a financial writer of *The New York Times*, asks in that paper where the $6 billion in monetary gold which the United States has lost since 1948 has disappeared to, and who is to help Uncle Sam pick up the tab for aid to the underdeveloped countries. The answer to both questions is the same: West Germany. In 1948, when the rescue operation in West Germany was well under way, the formerly erring, but free and capitalistic country, had no gold reserves. She was in debt to the ears. Now this showcase of free enterprise, her debts forgiven by her former enemies, possesses $6.5 billion in gold. The transfusion has become painful to the donor, but the West German financial interests are happy. The debt capital forgiven by the United States is being loaned out at high interest rates — 6 per cent in Greece, for instance. “So go the incredible financial miscarriages of the postwar period,” writes Mr. Heffernan “The war victor pays reparations to the loser by forgiving debt. The loser lends out the forgiven debt capital in the land he ravaged. The victim of the ravagement pays 6 per cent interest to the war raver for the use of capital donated by the war victor.” And the loser gorges himself with gold siphoned off from the victor.

When the technically victorious Uncle Sam humbly asks the victorious loser for help, he is sternly rebuffed. Chancellor Konrad Adenauer protests that he cannot afford to tax the West Germans in an election year, and he always has an election year coming up, or the danger of a recession, or some other impending calamity. Later this month, Secretary of the Treasury Robert Anderson and Under Secretary of State Douglas Dillon will travel to Bonn to present their petitions to the Chancellor in person. They may even threaten to slash local purchases of supplies for U.S. troops stationed in Germany, or to send home the families of U.S. servicemen. To reduce the occupation troops, of course, is unthinkable; everyone knows that West Germany would immediately be overrun by the Russian hordes. It is safe to predict that the lame-duck Secretaries will get little satisfaction from the perpetual Chancellor, although it is not ruled out that he may throw them a symbolic bone or two so that they will not have to go home conspicuously empty-handed. But the job of getting the affluent West German capitalists to shell out is a job for President Kennedy, and good luck to him.

**The Resurrection of Valkyrie**

When the B-7 bomber was “cut back” by the Administration of “Old Infantryman” Dwight Eisenhower last January, the howls of the Air Force and the prime contractor, North American Aviation, resounded through the land. Thousands of subcontractors and the West Coast newspapers joined in the outcry. The B-7, christened *Valkyrie* by North American, was to fly at three times the speed of sound at an altitude of 70,000 feet; it was the darling of the World War II generals of the Air Force. *The Nation* was not greatly impressed, however, for 2,000 miles an hour is still only a fraction of a ballistic missile’s speed; what was even more to the point, the aircraft could not be ready for action until 1965 or later — probably later. The Old Infantryman seemed to have a pretty good case, as long as one did not happen to own airplane stock or have some other partisan interest in the matter.

The decibels of protest were such, however, that *The Nation* remarked that *Valkyrie* might have life in her yet, and so it has turned out. Eight days before the election the Old Infantryman relented and shelled out $265 million in fiscal 1961 funds to permit construction of two combat-equipped B-70s, as well as the two stripped models originally allowed for. The decision was immensely popular in Southern California, where unemployment in the air-frame industry is a major headache. A four-day market rally was set off in Wall Street in the stocks of North American Aviation and some of its major subcontractors (GE, Westinghouse, I.B.M., etc.). One who did not join in the chorus of rejoicing was Jack Kennedy. Although Democratic sentiment had favored *Valkyrie* and her anguished sponsors, and the Democratic-controlled Congress had increased the Old Infantryman’s $39.2 billion defense budget by $662 million, Mr. Kennedy assailed the Administration for a “transparent political maneuver to increase Republican votes.”

Well, the votes weren’t quite enough, and Candidate Kennedy will soon be President Kennedy. If the resurrection of *Valkyrie* was a “transparent political maneuver,” should she not, in fairness to the taxpayers, now be taken out of the iron lung from which, in any case, she will probably never emerge? She is little more than a set of plans on paper (and some not even on paper). By the time this prodigy of the Air Force can become a weapons system, missiles will have made aircraft obsolete. Here is one of the items that belong on the President-elect’s crowded agenda.