

STUDENTS for a DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

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Departments: MOVEMENT NEWS

FORUM

LETTERS

OTHER VOICES

FOLK SONG

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Movement News

Oglesby Ignites Tokyo Teach-In

The Tokyo Teach-In was broken up into many meetings, some on the afternoon of Saturday, Aug. 14, and some on the morning and afternoon of Aug. 15, the 20th anniversary of Japan's surrender. The single largest assembled crowd came together on Sunday afternoon, about 2000 in a large Tokyo theater. I gave a fairly formal speech to this large crowd, talking about 15 minutes, chiefly about the American peace movement and SDS' plans. This audience was very warm. Biggest response came when I said: "We Americans against the Vietnam war are grateful for the chance to work with the people of Japan--of all other countries. But we know at the same time that if peace is to be saved, it must be saved in America; if the war is to be stopped, it must be Americans who stop it. The burden is mainly ours."

The central part of the teach-in had become history by then: the all-night meeting in the ballroom of the Akasaka-Prince Hotel, lasting from 10:30 PM on Saturday to 6:00 AM on Sunday, all but the last two hours of which were televised nationally. For an idea of how many watched: the basic Meet-the-Press-type political program in Japan has an index rating of 0.5. The basic home entertainment stuff rates 1. Between midnight and 2:00 AM, the teach-in had a rating of 3.

It was during those hours that I was made a national political figure for the Japanese. Here's how that happened.

The first part of the all-night meeting was essentially a

panel discussion. There were 11 intellectuals (teachers and writers) on one side of the moderator and 11 members of the Diet on the other. Except for 2 politicians, members of the governing Liberal Democratic Party, everyone was more or less opposed to American policy in Vietnam. (This by no means represents the power balance in the Government, of course; but it may not be too far from representing actual Japanese public opinion.)

The panel discussion lasted about two hours and was then opened to the floor. As arranged with Oda and Tsurumi, the chief organizers of the teach-in, I was introduced first and invited to say a few American words, my translator beside me. I had before asked Oda what sort of speech to make. He had grinned: "Strong!"

Okay by me. One Lib-Dem, Yasuhiro Nakasone (head of the Diet's Foreign Affairs Committee), remarked that Americans are very good-natured at bottom, and so was their Vietnam policy--at bottom. So I made a comment or so about their good-natured complicity in the torture of prisoners of war, their good natured obliteration of whole villages via such wonder weapons as napalm, pellet bombs, gas, etc. The other Lib-Dem, Kiichi Miyazawa (a "friend of Mr. Rusk's") had argued that the Saigon government was after all "legal," that it had "legally" asked the U.S. for help, and that was all there was to it. I replied that I was sad to find that the Japanese like the Americans still indulged in such "silliness". Continuing, I argued, that the governments of Hitler, Tojo, Batista, and Chiang Kai-shek were all "legal govern-

ments," but their legality didn't lift the burden from good men to struggle against these oppressive government's injustices. There were a thousand people there, and they applauded for a solid minute.

Then, right there, it happened. I started to go on and a shout rang out, then another: both from the panel, one from Nakasone and one from Miyazawa. Answering shouts from the floor, more shouts from the panel. It appeared the Lib-Dems didn't want me to speak. They were shouting: Who is he? What right does he have to speak here? No one told us about him! Is this a trick? A new cult of the foreigner? The Socialist was soon shouting too: Let him speak! Then the intellectuals. The audience was on its feet demanding that I be allowed to say what I had started to say. The cameras were zooming, the flashbulbs were popping. Quite suddenly, my "strong" speech had become an "incident."

Finally, 10 minutes later, I was obliged to yield the floor. Otherwise, the Lib-Dems would not let the teach-in continue. My feeling was that this was quite okay, and in a few minutes I got a note from Oda (who was on the panel) that confirmed this: "Carl," he wrote, "your mission has been fulfilled!" First, because millions of Japanese have seen for themselves how "liberal" and "democratic" the Liberal Democrats are. Second, and Oda thought much more important, because these same millions had for the first time heard an American criticize American foreign policy.

But I liked best the interpretation supplied by three fine guys from Zengakuren, the Japanese Student Association, whom I

had breakfast with on Monday. The Lib-Dems' interruption of my speech, they said, was just another example of "the ruling class' fear of an international solidarity of peoples."

Much later that long teach-in night, when the politicians had all gone home to bed, I was asked to read to the assembly--still all there at 6:00 AM--the messages from the American Teach-In Committee and SDS. The ovation was endless; it was for the New American Left, and I saw suddenly how important we are to them. It can make you feel damned tiny.

We ought to find ways to help the Japanese by working with Zengakuren. Almost as important to them as the Vietnam war is the new Japan-Korea Treaty, which the leftists view as opening up the possibilities of a new militarization of Japan against China. Already they say, the Sato government is sending to South Korea something called "political assistance funds." This money--wonder where it originates?--is going to the South Korean police. The riot training and equipment they buy with it are used directly for one thing: suppression of the protest of Korean students--who, nevertheless, continue to protest, even though Park's government has already ratified the treaty. It will come up before the Diet for ratification sometime around October.

Carl Oglesby

Ann Arbor

Slogan Of The Month:

**MAKE LOVE
NOT WAR**

McComb Anti War Petition

The following leaflet was passed out and posted in McComb, Miss. in July, 1965. It was written by a group of Negroes in the community who met together after learning a classmate of theirs, John D. Shaw, had been killed in action in Vietnam. Shaw, who was 23 years old, had participated in the 1961 demonstrations in McComb. Criticism of the group eventually reached the floor of the US Senate.

"Here are 5 reasons why Negroes should not be in any War fighting for America:

1. No Mississippi Negroes should be fighting in Vietnam for the White Man's freedom, until all the Negro People are free in Mississippi.
2. Negro boys should not honor the draft here in Mississippi. Mothers should encourage their sons not to go.
3. We will gain respect and dignity as a race only by forcing the United States government and the Mississippi Government to come with guns, dogs and trucks to take our sons away to fight and be killed protecting Miss., Ala., Georgia, and Louisiana.
4. No one has a right to ask us to risk our lives and kill other Colored People in Santo Domingo and Vietnam, so that the White American can get richer. We will be looked upon as traitors by all the Colored People of the world if the Negro people continue to fight and die without a cause.
5. Last week a white soldier from New Jersey was discharged from the Army because he refused to fight in Vietnam and went on a hunger strike. Negro boys can do the same thing. We can write and ask our sons if they know what

they are fighting for. If he answers Freedom, tell him that's what we are fighting for here in Mississippi. And if he says Democracy tell him the truth--we don't know anything about Communism, Socialism, and all that, but we do know that Negroes have caught hell here under this American Democracy."

Canadians Organize Against US Missile Base

La Macaza is a Canadian base which houses American anti-aircraft missiles with nuclear warheads. This village, about 100 miles north of Montreal, became the nuclear base site in 1963, after the minority Liberal government decided to put nuclear warheads on the missiles. This decision represented several things. First of all, it was a decision to participate actively in the cold war. In accepting the American offer of nuclear weaponry, Canada endorsed the system of military alliances and the use of nuclear arms. It is an acceptance of and cooperative gesture toward American military policies. The overall position Canada holds in this situation is not an original one, rather, one which is maintained under American supervision and approval.

Secondly, the procedures by which the decision was made were undemocratic. The decision was a unilateral one reached by an elite in Washington and Ottawa. Neither the people of the La Macaza area, the people of the province of Quebec, nor the general populace of Canada were consulted.

The fact that Canada is pouring millions of dollars into making herself a nuclear power implies a misguided priority in the

field of investments. Money is withheld from social and economic development to stock an arsenal of American weapons of mass destruction. Participation in military alliances has taken priority over the social needs of Canada. The La Macaza area itself is badly in need of government aid for redevelopment. While millions of dollars are being spent to make Canada an atomic power, thousands of qualified students are unable to attend university because of the very high educational costs.

What must be done to remedy this situation? A good number of changes must take place. The right of Canadian people to democratically decide upon policies and issues affecting their lives must be reaffirmed. Canada must readjust her budget to concentrate on the economic redevelopment of depressed areas such as the La Macaza area. Free education at all levels must become a reality. Positive political action on all these matters must be carried out.

With these facts in mind, l'Union Générale des Etudiants du Quebec (UGEZ) and the Student Union for Peace Action (SUPA) have been conducting a summer program in the La Macaza area. Groups of students have been living in the towns of La Macaza, Labelle, and l'Annonciation, discussing with the inhabitants of the area the social and economic problems directly concerning them, and attempting to demonstrate the link between these problems and the nuclear issue. These groups are trying to catalyze the development of local leadership on various issues such as unemployment, low wages, lack of leisure facilities, etc. Above all, the community workers will raise the question of why the Canadian gov-

ernment allots so many millions of dollars to weapons of mass destruction and so little to improve the conditions of underdeveloped areas like La Macaza. Besides the work in the communities, an economic research program is being undertaken to study the relationship of the missile base and the community, and to produce a practical plan for conversion and development of the area after the base is removed.

There will be a mass demonstration outside the La Macaza base on October 1. There will be about 4,000 students from Quebec, people from various organizations from all across Canada and the United States, as well as the inhabitants of the La Macaza area.

For information write to:

PROJECT LA MACAZA
3510 St. Famille
Montreal 18, P.Q.
Canada

Oakland Project Resists Draft

The West Oakland ERAP project has embarked on a program to combat Selective Service. We are trying to organize around the issue by getting kids to file the conscientious objector form. We have been leafleting the induction center in Oakland - which gives physicals for all of northern California--with the message being an informational one: if you oppose the war, you can try to get c.o. status, and if it is denied, you can appeal it and hold the draft off for at least a year.

If thousands of young people avail themselves of the legitimate procedures for the c.o. form, this could both be a way of registering protest and of clogging up the draft system. We hope to

reach kids in the neighborhood as well as at the point of induction; we're working with people from the Vietnam Day Community Project in setting up a meeting this Saturday for the Park in our neighborhood.

We've been getting a very good response from Negro high school kids, and expect to have an exciting program at McClymonds H.S. once school resumes in the middle of September. We'll be trying to get people to file for c.o., and to form collective defense committees which would work out legal defense strategies and would try to recruit more people to file the form.

We've been leafleting at the recruiting center this week, and got some people definitely saying they would file. Generally, we stirred up a satisfying amount of interest, enough to convince us that the program is viable.

People all over the country should do this. We're going to try to get SDS to put out two publications--a guide to filing the c.o. form (maybe a 4-page deallie with a facsimile of the form and some suggested answers), and a guide of greater length called "How to Cool the Military," which would include all the hints for beating the system that we've garnered from bull sessions around the country, and some indication of the risks each gimmick bears.

Throughout our thinking runs the following thread--that we are searching for gimmicks that snatch some political content out of personal escape tactics. For publishing this booklet, we will probably incur federal prosecution--a political trial in which we'll have the secret sympathies of every young guy who has seen

the booklet. It should receive massive circulation. And the c.o. filing program should be just as widely noted as the draft-dodging marriages have been, and much solidier proof of popular opposition to the war.

Other Bay Area Vietnam activity:

Steve Weissman and Eric Levine of SDS, and some people from Vietnam Day including Mike Schechner, are doing a research on U-C and the Cold War. A similar job is being done at Stanford.

Bill Vandercook has been working out a proposal for a Bay Area peace commando squad. The Bay Area is the major terminal for supplies and soldiers for Vietnam. All the dramatic troop train demonstrations and other demonstrations have still not added up to more than a handful of arrests, although we have regularly hit Huntley-Brinkley. The point of a squad would be to harness ingenuity to the superb organizational skills of the Vietnam Day Committee (how did we know when the trains were coming? answer--spotters up the line), so that we actually outsmart the military and stop troop trains and/or movements of material, etc. Successes are 10 times as embarrassing. These people would also be prepared for arrest, and legal and political defense would be in able hands. The VDC defendants' committee may well provide the basis for this.

Community organizing: my feeling is that an unpolitical approach among the VDC leadership has contributed to a relatively small emphasis on community organizing. The brainpower and energy have gone into big demonstrations which are fine for building a peace movement among the most sympathetic sectors of

society, but either frighten or leave cold the majority of the populace. The "congress of unrepresented people" held here August 21 looked very much like the movement's own picnic outing, and not at all like a congress of unrepresented peoples as I would imagine it.

However, the VDC community organizing project rolls along slowly but surely in between the high points of crisis-fever activity. It may be that with all the inviting targets for direct action, the de-emphasis of community work is justified; at any rate, it should be expected to stay de-emphasized.

Paul Booth
Oakland Community Project
320 Henry, Oakland
444-3587

SNCC Worker Elected To Georgia House

(reprint from the voice of SNCC)

ATLANTA, GA. -- The successful campaign of a young SNCC worker for the Georgia House of Representatives has begun a new phase of political organizing for SNCC.

The worker, Julian Bond, defeated a Negro Republican 5 to 1 in the General Election called this spring to fill seats in Georgia's newly apportioned House.

"The campaign was a new one for Atlanta for several reasons," Bond said. "For one, we tried to run on issues and not labels, on people's concerns and not their prejudices. Atlanta has never had a house-to-house campaign like this one, where people knew the candidate and got a chance to question him."

"The next step," a campaign

worker said, "is to put people inside Julian's District in touch with each other, so they can use each other to get things for themselves."

"People don't 'use' politics because they don't know how. They know politicians take money, and some of them steal, and a few of them do things to help people, but people don't know how to 'use' politics to help themselves."

Already, a group living in sub-standard housing have begun to talk about rent strikes here.

"But more important," Bond says, "they've begun to talk about including in the strike others across the city who live in the same kind of houses. They want a better house through their actions."

The campaign was unique because Bond and his campaign workers asked residents of the District - voters and non-voters alike - what it was that they expected from a State Representative and what they were prepared to do themselves.

"I'd like to see people organized across the District," SNCC worker Judy Richardson said. "I'd like to see a community advisory board that would tell their representative what to do in the Georgia House and would give them opportunity to plan what they can do for themselves in the community."

The campaign gave some workers doubts about partisan elections. "We'll never know how many people voted for/or against Julian because of his party label," one said. Bond is a Democrat.

Bond is a college drop-out, and rebelled against other candidates who stressed their education and formal training, jobs or

civic organization memberships as "qualifications" for the Georgia House.

"The state of Georgia says anyone who is 21-years old and who has \$500 is 'qualified' and can run for this office," Bond said, "and I agree with them completely. The real qualification is interest and a willingness to work."

The campaign workers expressed disappointment at the response they received from the few whites in Bond's District. "It was impossible to get past race," one worker explained, "although only Negroes offered for that seat, most whites felt they could not be represented by any Negro."

The workers did discover, that whites were willing to discuss issues of jobs, housing and schooling, and were surprised to learn that Negro canvassers had more success in white areas than whites did.

"Some Fond Notes On Viet Nam"

Jeff -- Here's a copy of the letter I just got from my friend Quy in Hue, Vietnam. In my letter, I had mentioned the warriors' growing talk of bombing the Hai-phong dikes, our idea for an international student strike later on this year, and the possibility of getting some more Ho Chi Minh sandals through him. The following copy is as faithful as I can make it.

August 6, 1965

Dear Carl,

Thank you very much for your long letter. I said hello for you to Kiem and Phuoc yesterday when I go to the students union office. Here ajeter after? I give

you the answer:

*United States will bomb the dikes around H.P.

I knew it. But I hope it will not be the truth. Please listen to me, I am demonstrating it:

One day, we went into a park, we see a big man was beating a baby. That man used all his strong to beat the baby and the baby still kept a silent attitude. What would you think about the baby? May be you would be pity him, although may be he was a thief. And may be we would show the anger to the big man.

We are longing for peace in my country. But it must be a real peace: not influence on by? Russia or America or on other country.

*An international students strike in early december.

May be it does not make sense for the Vietnamese students now. And the next months, I am not sure. From now to december is too far, and may be there are many changes. But please remember: we are always ready, and we always act on right time.

*Buy sandals

Yes. Those sandals made from old tires. And it is a type of sandal of Viet Cong soldiers. How many pairs of those sandals you need? Let me know the size? For boy or girl or both? I will say the shoe-maker make at once (ready made may be worse) and I ship them to you.

Don't send money to me. I will rely on you to buy for my sister something which we can't find here such as an "egg beater" (has legs to support). If you spend more for me, I will give back money. Let me know what you think.

Stop here. With my best regards to you and your family. I

hope to see you again, especially in your country. I will tell to the American students the joyful and sad talk of my country.

Your Friend,
Quy

Let me add to this letter of Quy's two stories that say something to us in the Movement. One incident happened on the way into Vietnam and the other on the way out.

Our plane stopped for two hours in Pnom Penh on the way to Saigon. By then, I was beginning to feel like a pilgrim into a sacred place and everything I saw moved me. It was late afternoon, cool, and the sky was big, wind-mangled and solemn. I walked out of the waiting area to the front of the airport. There was a long hedge and beyond it a long rectangular pond stretching out toward the highway, filled with lotus on my end and a half-dozen kids wading around far up at the other.

I'd been standing there maybe ten minutes when an airport attendant appeared and rather sharply told me in some Cambodian dialect of English to go back to the waiting area. I said I was sorry and turned to go. He followed me, a little behind. I looked at him, he at me. I shrugged, he shrugged; we grinned. Maybe he was sorry for having spoken harshly. He wanted to talk? So did I, feeling inside like a balloon was blowing up in my chest: I hadn't talked before, alone, to an Asian in Asia. He spoke no real English, some French, so like cripples on stilts we stumbled at each other on the neutral territory of a tongue that belonged to neither of us.

But we get some place. He is my age. He, too, has three kids. Neither of us has pictures, too bad. What do I think of Cambodia? Elle est belle, n'est-ce pas? Mais comme la ciel est formidable! Or something like that. Then some fumbling praise of Sihanouk from me--je pense qu'il a beaucoup d'honneur. Is that French? It seemed to communicate.

Then his eyes narrowed and he grew unsure of himself. Haltingly, he asked me if I am an American. Quietly: oui. Then: am I a soldier? A man of the government? With what French gestures do I deny those guesses! A student, I say. A radical student! I felt compelled to spill the beans about myself. But how do you translate "teach-in"? So finally I just blurt it out with all the French-sounding accent I can muster up: Pas un soldat! Pas une homme du gouvernement! Je suis un representif de la--teach-in!

His head pops forward. His eyes go like pinwheels. "Teach-in?" he says--like that, as plain as anything. He takes my hand and nearly shakes it off. Oui, oui! he says. Teach-in! the marsh in Washington d'avril! The balloon in my chest pops. Some Cambodia! Some airport attendant!

One tale like that I could make up. Two I wouldn't dare to.

A gentle little guy in a dark double-breasted suit sits beside me from Tokyo to Honolulu. His English is rudimentary, but I am able to help him from time to time with the stewardess, and I wake up once to find he's put a blanket over me. Finally we decide to try talking to one another.

Turns out he's a Thai soldier on his way with five others to an American base in Hawaii where

they will be instructed in the use of some big gun. I express my regrets. Very bad, very bad. He agrees. Then he wants to know something about me. Having by now heard the French, the Cambodian, the Vietnamese, and the Japanese all saying "teach-in", I spit it right out, pointing to myself; but my amazement is new all over again when he grins and bobs his head up and down excitedly, sticks out his fist and raises his thumb and pokes it rapidly into the air: "Teach-in," he says, "yes, yes, I know teach-in! Teach-in good! Good!"

Only slightly more so than "the marsh in Washington," the term "teach-in" appears now to be already as much a part of the international language as Coca-Cola. Is that comparison invidious? A final story: In a tiny one-room bar one hot night at the top of a beat-up hotel in the red-light part of Hue, a young man named Khiet told me why Coca-Cola has become the national drink of Vietnam. The name happens to make a perfect Vietnamese phrase: co means young girl, maiden; ca means sings; la means cries; co ca, co la means; the maiden sings, the maiden cries. A drink with such a name--I guess I'd drink it too. On those terms, the comparison is not invidious.

Here's an idea we might think about. There are Vietnamese here and there studying in the United States. Like Liem Nghiem Xuan at the University of Florida, the brother of General Nguyen Cao Ky's aide de camp, they are mostly from wealthy families. Quy, on the other hand, is poor. He could never make it here by himself. No government will offer assistance to him. I wonder if we might use

(as he put it) "all our strong" to help him come here. What would he do? He said it: "I will tell to the American students the joyful and sad talk of my country."

Carl Oglesby

Gitlin On The Human Facts Of A Brutal War

NANCI GITLIN TESTIFIES ON WAR REALITIES

(Ed. Note: The following is a transcript of testimony given by Nanci Gitlin before Congressmen Diggs and Bloomfield (Michigan) at Citizens Hearings on Vietnam in Detroit, Michigan, on August 7, 1965. These hearings were organized, in part, by the Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam.)

My name is (Mrs.) Nanci Gitlin; I work with Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) in Ann Arbor, Michigan. I recently returned from Djakarta, Indonesia, where I met with women from North and South Vietnam. The meeting was arranged by Women Strike for Peace; the American delegation consisted of ten women. There were six women in the North Vietnamese delegation and three in the delegation from the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. The three groups met together for at least eight hours each day from July 12 through July 18.

I'm sure the other speakers here will talk about the political and strategic aspects of the war; therefore, here I want only to mention some of the less well-known facts about the human consequences of this unnecessary war, as conveyed to us by the Vietnam-

ese women.

SOUTH VIETNAM

Between 1962 and April 1964, 200,000 people were affected by chemicals sprayed over the countryside. These chemicals kill crops and farm animals -- they also kill old people and children who do not have the resistance to fight their effects. The least reaction to the chemicals by a healthy individual is severe vomiting. The most recent use of these chemicals was from June 7-13 in Tra Vinh province, where 30,000 people were affected.

Between 1954 and 1964, 170,000 Vietnamese citizens were killed by Saigon and American forces; 800,000 maimed by torture and 400,000 imprisoned in 1000 jails. One third of the prisoners were women and 6000 children have been in jail -- most of them born there.

Many men are forced to join the Vietnamese army against their will. If students fail their exams they can be automatically inducted into the army. Bribery is often used, showing the army as a way to make a good living. This is very appealing in an impoverished country. Various threats are used against those who do not join, and if that does not work, they are simply rounded up from the villages in "mopping-up" raids. The men use many devices to avoid the army; some pretend to be ill or crazy: Reuter's reported from Saigon on July 14, 1965, that some men dress up as women when the recruiting officers come around. The women from the NLF claimed that 21,000 men had deserted the Vietnamese army during the month of March, 1965.

On July 8, 1965 the Lin Phung

school in Ben Tre Province was bombed. 38 children were killed. The people in the area were so strongly affected by this event that the Vietnamese army told the US not to bomb any more schools-- because it turned too many people against them.

The island of Boi Loi was bombed on April 15, 1965, by 300 aircraft carrying over 1,000 tons of bombs. The area of the island is only about 11 square miles.

Even churches are not spared-- for example, 175 Catholics were killed while praying in the province of Can Tho on June 3, 1965.

I wish also to raise a question about the use of leaflets warning villagers of an impending raid. The government seems surprised to find that many peasants refuse to leave even though they stand a very good chance of being wounded or killed. Where are they expected to go when they evacuate? Everything they own -- their houses, their cattle, their crops -- are in that village beyond which may be a dense jungle probably equally unsafe. It is no surprise that people are reticent to leave the little they have to the mercy of the soldiers, especially when there are no convenient concrete bomb shelters nearby.

NORTH VIETNAM

The first bombing raids against North Vietnam began on August 5, 1964. Conco Island near the 17th parallel was bombed 100 times between August 1964 and May 1965.

In March of 1965 there were 18 attacks in North Vietnam with 716 sorties using 1200 tons of bombs. In April of 1965 there were 98 attacks. Bombs are now being dropped over Lao Kay Province

near the Chinese border. (Two of the women from North Vietnam had sent their children to a village in this province where they thought they would be safe; that village was bombed during our meeting in Djakarta.)

Several hospitals in North Vietnam have been destroyed by these bombing raids. The most notable is the Quynh Lap hospital for lepers. This was an isolated community far from any military installations and famous as the largest institution of its kind in S.E. Asia. It was bombed on June 12, 13 and 15, 1965, killing 120 persons and leaving 2,000 homeless. More than 50 buildings and clinics were destroyed. (Reported in the London Tribune, the London Observer and the Washington Star) Hospitals in Kong Hoi, Ho Xa, Nghu Dan, and Thanh Hoa have also been bombed. Every hospital in North Vietnam has a large red cross painted on its roof.

Schools in Vinh Linh and Dong Hoi province have also been bombed while the children were there. Now all North Vietnamese children must go to school at night and use tiny lights to see their work. According to a doctor in the Northern delegation, the children are having severe trouble with their eyesight as a result. The Quynh Tam church was bombed along with other churches and pagodas.

Markets have been bombed, often on market days when mostly women and children are in the vicinity. The Ho Xa and Dung Soi markets in Nghean Province were also bombed. Villages too are assaulted: 140 houses were destroyed in the village of Thans Trach.

On May 12 the US declared a

cessation of bombings in North Vietnam for a week, while "peace feelers" were supposedly sent out. On that very day the village of Nghi Hai in Thanh Hoa province was destroyed. The North Vietnamese doctor said that her hospital in Nghe An province was also damaged during that period. Apparently most heavy bombing was discontinued during the "moratorium" but low-level bombing and strafing never ceased. Thus the women looked skeptically on talk of cease-fires, insisting on strict guarantees and controls.

Even if the US bombs fell only on roads and bridges it would be the civilian population that would be most affected, not the North Vietnamese army. Vietnam is an underdeveloped country; its roads are narrow -- meant for oxen, not cars. The houses are built right up to the roads and when the planes strafe looking for the army they hit instead women and children living in houses on the edges of the roads. The army, of course, will steer clear of the roads when they have a whole jungle in which to hide.

North Vietnam is a country of rivers with many tiny villages whose only link to one another is over bridges. These are bridges which carry women and children and oxen and pigs and chickens to market. The army also uses the bridges, of course, but if they come upon a bridge that has been destroyed they can construct one suitable for them within a matter of hours. It will be weeks, however, before a bridge can be rebuilt for the civilians -- in the meantime, they must go without food.

The situation in Vietnam is strikingly like that of England

during the Second World War, when Hitler's bombs came daily to the towns and cities. The English people became more and more resolved to fight each time they saw the planes; they became more and more determined to build strength and not waver under the blows. And their hatred for Hitler grew justly more intense as his attacks continued.

The Vietnamese are no different; they do not love their people or their land any less. They too are determined to fight and to continue to fight even under the heaviest of bombing raids. As the US continues to follow this policy of decimation in Vietnam the people will fight harder because they will be convinced that the US never intends to bring freedom -- its only intent will appear to be the total ruination of their country.

The Times They Are A Changing ?

GUESS WHAT LEADER SAID THIS?

a) "We see in Communism more now than before, the incarnation of human destructive forces...We therefore oppose any attempt at sreading Communism, wherever it may take place...We shall always and everywhere champion peace and freedom against aggression."

b) "We are getting stronger every year and no one can stop us...Trust your President and do not waver...We have done everything for peace...Our alliances are firmer than ever and are the only bulwark against Communism... So long as the President and the nation are one, we are invincible."

c) "It would be a great day for all humanity if the nations would banish, once and for all, force from their common life. We are ready to do so...We seek only peace."

d) "We are exceedingly sorry that our enemies do not yet understand our sincerity. It is our mission to struggle against all acts incompatible with freedom and self-determination...We have no other intention than to realize, with all its power, the fundamental idea - the preservation of peace."

e) "I shall strike and not capitulate. It is victory or defeat...We will never retreat...No human power can force us to do so...But we seek no wider war."

- a) Adolf Hitler, Feb. 20, 1938
- b) Herman Goering, to the Nazi Arbeitfront, Sept. 10, 1938
- c) Adolf Hitler, Oct. 14, 1933
- d) Gen. Sadao Araki on the eve of the Japanese seizure of Manchuria, 1931
- e) Adolf Hitler, Nov. 23, 1939

(Reprint from SUPA Newsletter)

ANNOUNCEMENT:

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Forum

Life with Lyndon in the Great Society by Jack Minnis,

SNCC Research Director

Lyndon's good friends in the chemical industry are trying to get him to use more of their products in the war-- either that or they are worried about public reaction to what Lyndon is already doing in Vietnam, and they're afraid he'll stop using their stuff against the Vietnamese people.

There's an outfit that's called the American Chemical Society. It publishes a number of magazines. One of them is the Chemical and Engineering News. In its August 16 issue, this publication carried an editorial which said that more chemicals should be used in the Vietnam war. The editorial went on: "Chemical warfare has been engulfed in a haze of horror through propaganda and ignorance . . ."

The fellow who wrote the editorial is Dr. Richard L. Kenyon, director of publications of the American Chemical Society. We don't know just how many times Dr. Kenyon has been under napalm attack. We don't know how many times he has seen his children liberally sprinkled with extremely corrosive defoliant chemicals. We don't know how many times he and his wife have lain retching on the ground as a result of the administration of nausea gas. We don't know how many of his children have had their eyesight permanently damaged by tear-gas.

But we do have a pretty good idea what some of the people who have had this experience think about Lyndon's use of chemical warfare in Vietnam. Of course, these folks are probably biased --well, let's consider them anyway, keeping in mind that their viewpoint is a bit different from Dr. Kenyon's. Not being scientifically trained as Dr. Kenyon is, these folks are probably not "objective."

Bertrand Russell says that the South Vietnamese Liberation Red Cross "has offered evidence to any international

investigatory body, showing that over 1,000 people were caused severe illness accompanied by vomiting, bleeding, paralysis and loss of sight and consciousness" by the defoliants and other chemicals used by U.S. forces against the Vietnamese people.

Ma Thi Chu, a representative of the Vietnam Women's Union and the National Liberation Front, said: "During the period from January to March, 1963, when chemicals were used against 46 villages, 20,000 people were affected, many of them women, children, and old people. I have seen children with swollen faces and bodies covered with burns. I have met women blinded or suffering from sanguinolent diarrhoea. Many of them died afterwards."

Then, there are the reports from respectable American newspapers. The Baltimore Sun last year reported: "We supply a phosphorous explosive fired from artillery and from fighter bombers which erupts in a white cloud burning everything it touches."

The Washington Star said: "The spectacle of children half-alive with napalm burns across their bodies was revolting to both Vietnamese and Americans."

Yes, we dare say the Vietnamese people are considerably less enthusiastic about chemical warfare than are the officials of the chemical corporations that make the chemicals and sell them to Lyndon for use in Vietnam.

And that brings us to another point. Dr. Kenyon is, we should judge, a pretty small apple in the chemical barrel. He is just an employee of the American Chemical Society. The Society is supported, we should suppose, by contributions from its members. And we should suppose that the larger the contribution from an individual member, the greater would be that member's influence in the affairs of the Society. Of course, Dr. Kenyon has said that his editorial does not speak for the whole society. But are we foolish enough to think that an employee of the Society is going to put something into the Society's magazine, with which the people who control disagree? It would indeed be a strange -- even unique -- Society

if this were the case.

So who are members of the American Chemical Society for whom, Dr. Kenyon, in some sense, must speak? We don't have a membership list of the Society, but we've taken the trouble to identify some of the more distinguished members, along with their corporations. Here they are:

Crawford H. Greenewalt, Chairman, E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.

Lammot du Pont Copeland, President, E.I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.

H. G. Vesper, President, Western Operations, Inc., Standard Oil Co. of Calif.

David A. Shepard, Exec. Vice-President, Standrad Oil Co. (New Jersey)

Charles A. Thomas, Chairman, Monsanto Chemical Co.

Herbert Dow Doan, President, Dow Chemical Co.

William E. Hanford, Vice-President, Olin Matthieson Chemical Co.

Robert E. Hulse, Exec. Vice-President, Natl. Distillers & Chemical Corp.

These are the fine, honorable, decent, law-abiding, respectable, god-fearing, pass-the-collection-plate-on-Sunday, child-loving, wife-loving, home-loving American industrial heroes who, if we are right, want to increase the use of chemicals in Lyndon's war against the Vietnamese people -- who are not troubled as much, one supposes, by the mental picture of "children with swollen faces and bodies covered with burns," "women blinded or suffering from sanguinolent diarrhoea," "children half-alive with napalm burns across their bodies," as they are by the prospect of losing a profitable government contract.

* * *

Lyndon is still worried about what people will think of the way the U.S. and "Government" forces treat prisoners in South Vietnam. He had his Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, tell the International Committee of the Red Cross that the U.S. intends to abide by the "humanitarian principles" of the Geneva Conventions on February 2, 1956. Lyndon told Rusk to send a letter to the Red Cross saying that the U.S. is already "applying" those conventions in

South Vietnam." He said that the "Government" of South Vietnam is sending a similar letter to the Red Cross. Lyndon also got in a little slap at the National Liberation Front by saying that "to our knowledge, the United States Government and the Government of South Vietnam are the only parties" that have said they'll observe the conventions.

While Lyndon was saying this, a reporter was interviewing Staff Sergeant Barry Sadler, of the U.S. Army, who is in this country recuperating from wounds he suffered while fighting for freedom in South Vietnam. Sergeant Sadler told about some of his experiences in South Vietnam. This included stories of the beheading of prisoners by the forces of the "Government." They also included some interesting ways of extracting information from prisoners: "They'll ("Government forces) take four or five VC (Vietnamese guerillas) up in a helicopter (piloted by a U.S. Air Force pilot), and if they have refused to talk after capture, throw them out one at a time. Eventually, one of them talks."

This treatment of prisoners by U.S. and "Government" forces is, of course, nothing new. Almost a year ago there appeared an Associated Press photograph showing two men walking through the jungle. One was in uniform, the other in civilian clothes. Between them they carried a pole from which were suspended three human heads. "War Trophies in Viet Nam," read the AP cutlines, "A Vietnamese Marine follows a captive Viet Cong suspect as they carry the heads of a Viet Cong platoon leader and two soldiers . . ." The cutline said that the picture was made by U.S. Marine Sergeant Steve Stibbins.

Now we don't have before us a set of the Geneva Conventions on the treatment of war prisoners. It's been some time since we've read them. But as we recall them, they contain nothing which would suggest that throwing prisoners out of helicopters, and chopping off their heads is acceptable treatment.

There's that "ventriloquism" again. While Lyndon's help mates are busily scribbling letters to all kinds of folks, protesting how holy and pure are

the U. S. intentions and actions in South Vietnam, the soldiers of whom Lyndon is commander-in-chief, are just as busy with their savagery against the people of Vietnam.

All this is not to suggest that Lyndon or his corporation friends or his soldiers enjoy the beastiality of war. But it does, we think, confirm the fact that savagery is always the necessary tool of the empire. And those who accept the necessity for maintaining the American Corporate Empire, by that acceptance, endorse the use of the savagery.

One does choose.

* * *

We don't like to let the Vietnamese situation starve out other matters that deserve comment. On the other hand, the mailed fist of the Great Society is so frequently exposed there, it is difficult to resist reporting it. For example, on August 9, a man and two young boys were wounded near the South Vietnamese town of Quinhon. It seems that a U.S. Army garbage detail was taking to a garbage dump the leavings from the table of the "liberators." A crowd of 150 or so Vietnamese civilians, hoping to get some food, approached the garbage detail. Two U.S. guards, no doubt afraid that the hungry civilians were actually guerillas, opened fire. And three more Vietnamese were wounded.

Again, we have a dispatch from Saigon which details how fortunate the Vietnam girls are when they can arrange an alliance with a U.S. soldier. As a result of becoming the lover of a U.S. "freedom fighter," one girl's family is getting enough money from the soldier to send her five brothers to school."

Garbage for the hungry. Whoredom for the women. Napalm, poison gas, and hot lead for dissenters.

Lyndon's dream of freedom for an oppressed people."

**IN THE NEXT SDS BULLETIN:
Eyewitness Account from Watts
Report from the National
Council**

SDS Aid to North Vietnam ?

PROPOSAL FOR A MISSION TO NORTH VIETNAM

A word of background. This proposal is rooted in the supposition that embedded somewhere in large numbers of Americans is a latent, diffuse humanitarianism that is unable to operate because it finds nothing concrete to fasten onto in the Vietnamese war. The political nature and particularly the human consequences of the war are sufficiently distorted by the U.S. government and press (e.g. the public insistence that only "military targets" are being bombed in the North) so that this buried but potential force, insofar as it exists, is left diffuse and abstract. What is needed, aside from (and not tending to replace) basic organizing work on Vietnam is a method that promises to bring home to people, in elemental human terms, and as close to first-hand as possible, the immeasurable evil the U.S. is perpetuating.

The proposal is to send a mission of, say, twenty-five or fifty people to North Vietnam to help rebuild a hospital or school destroyed by American bombings. On return to the U.S. they would speak and organize with the experience of first-hand knowledge of the effects of the American policy of decimation. While in North Vietnam they would also, by virtue of their very presence, serve as American hostages against further bombings in their vicinity. In a larger sense they would be doing recompense for the evil done in their name.

Of course travel to North Vietnam is illegal, but it is still possible to get there -- via either Cambodia (weekly flights from Phnom Penh to Hanoi) or, perhaps, Moscow. The mission would have to be prepared to be prosecuted for passport violations on return, but at the same time avoid a preoccupation with the travel-ban issue. I understand that each round trip fare San Francisco - Phnom Penh - Hanoi is about \$1200.

I think students would be the most appropriate group to undertake the mission, although that is open to question.

The idea is that the mission would tap some of the same sentiment as did, say, the Oberlin group that rebuilt a Mississippi church. If students were the group involved, Christmas vacation would seem to be the earliest possible time for the trip. If it can be judged a success, a larger mission could be sent afterward as soon as possible.

To anticipate some questions:

1. Why not send the mission to NLF-controlled areas in South Vietnam?

--Almost certainly the NLF could not allow the mission in: first, because they would be rightly reluctant to allow such a large number of Americans to discover their routes of entry, meeting-places, fortifications, etc., second, because they would feel compelled to divert an unwarrantedly large number of soldiers to protect the mission. Still, it might be possible to send a handful of Americans to the South at the same time the larger mission is in the North.

2. Would the Hanoi government allow the mission in?

--It shouldn't be difficult to convince the Hanoi government that the mission would be valuable to the anti-war movement in America. In any case, the effort should be made. I would think the chances would be excellent.

3. Would this project divert resources from the effort at home?

--On the contrary, I think the movement at home would gain speakers and organizers who could work with new authority and vitalized commitment. I would also think that money could be raised for this project (because of its somewhat apolitical character) that would not otherwise be available for anti-war activity.

Todd Gitlin

Anti-Apartheid Proposals

A MEMO ON A NEW SOUTH AFRICAN PROGRAM

This memo is about further action on South Africa. There are two different areas in which the South Africa demonstrations of last spring have left some

sorts of ripples. One is in the trial, which is in recess for the summer but will reconvene on September 13. The defense there has been based on the contentions that (a) sitting down on the sidewalk is a more vigorous form of picketing, so long as traffic is not blocked, and therefore is not disorderly conduct; (b) going limp is not resisting arrest. Judging from his denial of a motion to dismiss the charges in which these points were made, it seems quite likely that the trial judge will reject these contentions and convict those of us who are still on trial. If so, to take an appeal will cost about \$2500 (for transcripts, etc; the lawyers will continue to volunteer); and it will be necessary to appeal if the energy already put into the defense is to have any value at all. The legal points above (especially the second) would make the job of every future civil-rights or other demonstrator far more effective. So raising the appeal fund is an important necessity, on that basis.

The second area of "ripples" is of course the South African question specifically; and that is what I want to address most of this memo to. It seems to me extremely important that this not be dropped, for a number of reasons:

(1) If within the next decade there were a black revolt in South Africa, and if it received Chinese and Soviet support (both reasonable possibilities), it now seems quite possible -- if no political resistance to such a course has been built in advance -- that the United States government would intervene on the side of the Afrikaners, as part of its duty to police the world against Communism. I can hardly imagine a worse disaster both for Africa and for the quality and direction of American society. In Africa, such a course would be at least as humanly destructive and socially damaging as the present war in Viet Nam is, it could put black economic development in all of black Africa for 20 years, and it would probably end up making all of black Africa utterly dependent on Soviet or Chinese support. At home, such a course would immeasurably strengthen American racists, it would militarize the society

further (outdoing Vietnam by 10 times or so, because the job of putting down the revolt would be so much tougher and the dissent at home would be so much more intense that it would have to be smashed instead of tolerated), and it would totally alienate the U. S. from every stream of decent thought and change in the world. In this sense, it seems to me the South Africa question is a much more serious one than Vietnam. And even though Vietnam is a crisis right now, as student and intellectuals we are supposed to be able to look ahead to the coming crises and to develop a strategy that anticipates the government instead of just reacting to it. To "anticipate" in that sense would require the building of political energy around opposition to the present Afrikaner government and support for revolutionary change in South Africa -- and to do this now. If that is done, a great deal of this political energy would spill over into other areas of the Third World as well, as people understood that South Africa was only a special, and especially dramatic, case of a more general issue.

(2) If one of our assumptions is that American foreign policy is supposed to be democratically chosen, not decided by "experts", then we should try to stimulate popular understanding of, involvement in, and action on foreign policy issues. (On practically all foreign policy issues, most Americans are as powerless as Mississippi Negroes are on issues of domestic policy.) It would make sense to start off stimulating such involvement with an issue that engages deep emotional feelings, conscience, etc., from the start -- and is then intrinsically educative so that people teach themselves more and more about foreign policy and the world in general as they get deeper and deeper into the issue. If this is true for Americans in general, it is especially true for American Negroes. If what we would like to see someday is large numbers of people in Harlem making independent judgments about a decent relationship between America and the rest of the world, and then trying either to make the government carry out their judgment or to carry on, in a sense, their own foreign policy -- i.e., rebuilding the

whole structure of the way Americans deal with other people so that it doesn't all have to be channeled through Washington -- then there could be no better place to begin than with South Africa.

(3) Several people have told me that a number of students "tuned in" to the South Africa issue and perceived from it some of the deeper problems in American society (the intersection of race, peace, and economic issues) who had not seen these in any other context, and that other students perceived American involvement in support of the Afrikaner government as more deeply morally outrageous than any other problem that concerned them - including Mississippi, Vietnam, and the bomb. Thus, if the issue somehow has a special poignancy for some people, it would be silly to let it moulder.

(4) Finally, quite aside from the long-term considerations in the three notes above, there is the constantly deepening apartheid in South Africa, which exists now, today, and tomorrow, which the Chase, as well as other American interests, is in effect supporting, and which is simply despicable and to be resisted with whatever efforts we can now afford. On this score, only Vietnam "deserves" more energy and urgency: even Mississippi and Newark are better off than Johannesburg. So if we were to judge simply by this criterion, efforts to force an end to American support of the Afrikaners would rank high on any moral scale of priorities; and I have suggested above why I think they should also rank high among our politico-strategic priorities.

Having said this, I realize that the obvious question is what to do. I can imagine a number of possibilities:

(1) Organizing in Harlem and other ghettos around a free-South Africa campaign. For instance, there is a Chase-Manhattan branch in Harlem. Could it be immobilized for a year unless the Chase dropped its aid to South Africa? (Both integrationists and black nationalists could join on this.) Could NYC students take on the job of organizing this?

(2) Campus groups could both pursue research connections to South Africa

and focus on their own college's investments in South African-involved banks, companies, etc. -- possible demonstrating against the latter till they are ended.

(3) "Alperovitzing" missions (i.e. study groups with an outward perspective -- one week in seminar among themselves, the next back in seminar) could be set up to labor unions with direct South African impacts - e.g. longshoremen; to business groups; to scientists in the space program (N.B. the NASA tracking stations), to bring home to them what is involved in apartheid and urge they bring pressure (boycotts of trade, refusals to unload cargo, boycotts of NASA unless Negroes are included in the space tracking crews in South Africa, etc.) Alperovitzers would latch on to particular organizations (John Doe to the New York longshore local, Richard Roe to the New York goldsmith's association, Larry Loe to the Columbia University space-science institute, etc. etc.) and keep in touch with their officers, etc., instead of being a one-shot speakers' bureau.

(4) I have been in close touch with a legislative assistant to a U.S. Congressman who is on the Africa subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. He has gotten the Congressman very interested in the possibility of hearings on U.S. relations with South Africa. A student-faculty group on some campus could feed him tons of research material on which to base questions, etc.

(5) Student groups could make contact with Arab students to create pressure for an embargo on oil to South Africa.

There are probably a dozen other possibilities that we cook up among ourselves, or with others who are interested. What I suggest is that we keep in touch with each other as a South Africa Task Force within the movement, that we invent new ways of having an effect on South Africa and on American interests there and urge these new approaches on others on the campuses, in the ghettos, or wherever, who become interested in the issue...

--Art Waskow
Institute for Policy Studies

Civil Disobedience in Action

Dear co-conspirators,

To repeat: It is difficult to differentiate between neurosis, existential anguish, and bourgeois revisionism -- and it is upon the resultant confusion that the following remarks are founded (or founded.)

Civil Disobedience is good when it feels good -- not only at the point of disruption, but also as one looks back after the euphoria and the crowd have dispersed. This means -- orientation of civil disobedience is more than self-indulgence: creative social dislocation that feels good will enlarge participation and limit the disillusionment and depoliticalization that often follow those gruelling days in court.

But, dearies, we can't let that moment of apparent pleasure arising out of frustration ruin a life of happiness and community service. For my own part, I find a correlation between the political effectiveness of C.D. and its long lasting pleurability.

To be effective C.D. should:

(1) Focus as closely as possible on the issue -- sit-in at Pennsylvania Avenue if you want a traffic light installed, not if you're pissed-off over Selma. Of course, the more people you have, the more you can afford a loss of focus. Nonetheless, the action should be clear enough to add to the dialogue even after newspaper distortion. Also, in using disruption to focus attention on the responsibility of an official, a slumlord, a public agency, make sure that your selection of targets is "politically motivated." For instance, don't sit-in on the University President if your criticism is of the system, not of individuals.

In the case of Vietnam, I'd like to focus on (a) the moral horror of the war and (b) the responsibility of individual moral choice. Beyond draft - card burning and espionage, we might have a mothers' march for all victims of American policy in Vietnam, a mothers' sit-in at the draft board or recruiting center ("Don't make my son a paid

killer."), an invasion of naval depots with medical supplies, a vigil at Walden with intellectual administrators, new torture posters without "free elections," pray-ins in mourning clothes at the President's church, maybe a focus on American Revolution shrines.

(2) Effective C.D. should be creative, both to enlarge participation and to gain news coverage.

(3) Protest of a particular condition should be posited as a defence of long-standing moral principles -- the right to vote, free speech, Thou Shalt Not Kill, the Hessians were paid mercenaries Eichmann was wrong, etc.

(4) A case must be made that no effective alternatives to civil disobedience existed -- "we went through channels," we're unrepresented, etc.

Now, from tactics to strategy -- the Continental Congress has brought forward notions of "parallel government," "parallel non-government," secession, etc. I favor civil disobedience which stresses the moral secession from government control of a large movement of people. At present I see no possibility of the movement seizing or being given power, so our strength lies in jamming up the system by refusing to cooperate. Moreover, the movement is deepened as people make the commitment to choose freedom over the lesser evil. (Practically speaking, I think that the example of people choosing freedom actually strengthens the lesser evil reformists while broadening the base of radical support. This has to do with the need for commitment opportunities in American society, the power of moral arrogance, and the learning principle.) The movement not only poses alternatives to the system, but becomes an alternative style in itself.

About the impossibility of seizing power, I question the desirability of governments having certain powers. The decision to kill should be personal -- if the "nation" feels that a war is in its national interest, then the nation should have sufficient volunteers. It beats the Congress or the Gallup Poll for determining military policy.

Most of the above is repetition. Hopefully, the debate in SDS can view alternatives as options for explicit po-

litical strategies. I really feel that a massive C.D. -- espionage draft-card program can greatly enlarge the size and strength of the American left, especially on campuses. Perhaps, the appeal to moral principles is bourgeois, but then, so is America. Students and professors have shown the extreme arrogance of demanding the right to feel guilty about American policy. Extreme action on their part might move whole other sectors of the population. If not, we should perhaps find out now so that we can plan our futures differently.

Steve Weissman
Berkeley

Draft Opposition -- A Dialogue

The other day I was talking to a guy who had attended a draft brain storming meeting at Berkeley. He came up with the only good idea that I have heard in the whole area of the draft. It is still being developed and researched but I would like to have the ideas of others in hand before I work up something final to present to the fall NC. If possible maybe the following could be included in the next worklist mailing:

Perhaps first I should go through some of the objections that I have had to other ideas that have been presented on the draft. The most basic is that for the most part the program could not hope to involve more than a few people in a total way. For all the rest the most that could be hoped for would be that they would participate in it as part of a total anti-war program that would have a anti-Vietnam staff as a central focus. Nothing that had been said would indicate to me that the draft could be used as a handle to reach and involve large numbers of new people and to provide a new depth to their involvement. It appeared that any draft program would be swallowed up in a wave of mass demonstrations, not about the draft but more narrowly about Vietnam.

I think that the new idea answers these objections and provides a program

that could be national in scope and involve large numbers of students on most college campuses. The key is the CO appeal process that now exists. It is believed that if an applicant either says "yes" or leaves blank the supreme being questions; and says that he opposes all wars that this then guarantees the full appeal process which at the present time lasts at least a year. It doesn't matter what answers are given on the other questions or even if they are left blank. The program would be to draw up a short explanation of what it means to apply for CO and what types of answers are expected, what to expect and demand during the appeal process, and so forth. It is thought that this would easily fit on one page. Relevant sections of the CO form itself would be duplicated on the opposite side. The tone could be of at least two basic types: one apolitical that merely explains the process and talks of it as an alternative to the draft; the second could key the whole thing to the war in Vietnam and stress that this would be one way to oppose the war. I am not sure which I prefer but I think that I lean toward the first. I hope this will be clear later.

These leaflets would be then mass distributed on all campuses and in the communities. It could also be given out on induction lines, etc. There should be much more research on timing of applications etc. I would assume that in a very short period of time that the whole draft process would be gummed up. More research would indicate just how completely but it would appear that the local boards and appeal boards would be fantastically overburdened; that the whole FBI investigation process would be swamped; that induction lines would be thrown into disarray in parts of the country.

The next step would be to hold meetings of all of those in a certain area who have decided to apply for CO. There could be discussion of how best to fill out the form; what rights you have; what type of speeches could and should be given to the boards and appeal boards; to delay the whole process; the war and why people must be drafted; the

war and what it points out about the involvement of the US in the rest of the world and the impact of the war machine on the domestic scene.

At some point or points the selective service guys would be forced to take some sort of action to cut off the CO escape clause. I would think that first they would attempt to tighten up the regulations to the extent that it is possible without going to Congress. This could be countered and fought nationally, as could the eventual request to Congress to change the laws themselves. By this time you should have

thousands or rather tens of thousands

of college and high school kids throughout the country who have a vested interest in the retention of the present regulations and who have been talking

for weeks or months about what they are doing and how they can counter congressional action. The possibilities for political action at this time is fantastic. There would also be good support from the rest of the peace community. It is at this point that it might be important that the initial leaflet was basically apolitical even though others were not and the discussion-action groups certainly weren't. (Important also in terms of court action) There might be strong opposition from the pacifist groups if the initial pitch was one that was using CO solely as a political gimmick. Also I would think that you would lose a number of potential applicants if the leaflet was political and loaded with opposition to the war and the warlords.

The final step would probably be federal court action against the organization for subverting the war effort and impeding the draft and harming the morale of the fighting men. This might be the best forum for trying the US govt for its actions in Vietnam and would probably be one that would gain fantastic popular support. Here too the tens of thousands of CO applicants would be in the front line of the protest.

I would appreciate comments and sug-

gestions as soon as possible.

Ken McKeldowny

Reply to Ken McKeldowny

First, a brief response to Kenny's memo on offering C.O. application to street (non-student) guys as an alternative or at least a stall to the draft. Apologies, Kenny, I was flashed your memo in a flurry at the N.O. and didn't have the chance to investigate it closely. But as I told Booth, this seems to me one of the best programs, maybe the best. I also told him I was skeptical about the effects; I doubted whether ordinary kids would find the alternative a reasonable one if conscientious objection is a concept foreign to their experience. While I'm delighted if Oakland experience proves my reservation reactionary, I still have questions about that experience. (Here I should insert the fact that I'm still excited that the notion is being tested that the notion is being tested and that there has been the interest Booth indicates; all the more reason to hone our approach to the finest point of efficacy.)

I've little doubt that when guys say they're actually asking for form 150 that they've either done so or intend to do so or wish in their heart of hearts that they had the guts to do so. Question is, how can you snowball those individualized requests or wishful thoughts into a communal stall that can be publicly known and, more important, known by other kids you're trying to get to do the same thing? I think we need some kind of registration system. You station yourselves at both the entrance to and exit from the examination process. At the entrance, you do what you guys are doing: pose the alternative, give out information on C.O. At the exit, you ask guys who asked for (and got) form 150 to signify by signing a list. You are then in a position to (1) publicize the numbers of guys who got forms, (2) have names for follow-up, which is to me an obvious necessity: you will want to keep in touch

with them to offer legal advice, call

on them for leafletting, (in accordance with the principle that approaches to kids are best made by people who are either congenitally invulnerable to the draft or no less vulnerable than the kids themselves. Kids might be reluctant to sign a list but this should be ascertained, not just guessed at. I would think that they would want to keep in touch with you and that this imperative would outweigh the privatization impulse, but I might be wrong. In any case, numbers should be kept. Certainly an analysis of what you guys are doing should be written and circulated (ERAP Newsletter, Vietnam Newsletter). Also recommend Locker's idea of researching the draft board and telling guys who these bastards are who're trying to get their heads blown off. If the C.O. alternative isn't an unadulterated success, you'll want to maintain a battery of alternatives that guys can choose from. Drawing that up is one of the jobs of the Bloomington meeting.

Organizing students: Booth asked me what I thought. Originally I was more excited about rallying ordinary kids. Then Locker read me an interview with the head of Michigan Selective Service. This worthy gentleman pointed out that there were 76,000 students in Michigan (presumably this includes Michigan (presumably this includes part-timers, kids in junior and community colleges, etc.) and that 20,000 of the lousy brats would be drafted. If such is the case, the campus should be fertile soil for an anti-draft movement. The advantage is that /students /male could, I suspect, be more effective organizers on the campus than off. I think we could tip over some campuses if we push the thing hard. Note: you can get at some deep (non-bread-and-butter) campus issues. e.g., a system that ranks kids for outside purposes (employment, draft-exemption). Steve, I wish you would try this at Cal. (And by the way: I was fully in agreement with your letter on civil disobedience, and a few days later read--in the Dallas Morning News-- that you'd been snatched in a hotel. An accident?)

The point would be to have kids demand (1) forms 150 (2) end to the rank system (none of us here is goin') (3) alternate service building hospitals, say in N. Vietnam, etc.

Todd Gitlin
Chicago S.D.S.

THE DRAFT—A SUCCESS STORY

by

PIETER ROMAYN CLARK

THURSDAY, JUNE 24, 1965, I was ordered for induction into the armed forces of the United States. Having passed my pre-induction physical more than a year previously and been classified 1A, I was quite resigned to going in. Many friends gave their advice as to how I could avoid the draft. Some suggested pretending to be insane or homosexual or stupid. Some suggested that I claim C.O. status on religious, pacifist or humanist grounds. Others suggested that I just simply refuse to go and thus serve a jail sentence. All of these suggestions made me think.

I could not claim insanity or homosexuality since I am neither insane nor a homosexual and to do so would be unprincipled and cowardly. Also I couldn't claim to be a conscientious objector since I am a materialist and don't believe in a religion or a god. Besides, not being a pacifist, I certainly do believe that it is sometimes necessary to defend one's self to the point of killing. The fact is that if this country were being invaded by some fascist or foreign force, as Vietnam is now being invaded by the U.S., I would willingly fight to resist the aggressors. But, since the U.S. is carrying out a completely unjust and aggressive war against the people of Vietnam, I could never support such a war, but I would never refuse on pacifist grounds.

Hence, I had two alternatives: (1) refuse to go in and thus serve a prison term or, (2) allow myself to be drafted and do my best against U.S. foreign policy from within the armed forces. Since I feel there is, to a great degree, a more derelict, criminal and in general bad element of our society within our prisons, I decided to allow myself to be inducted. At least in the Army, especially among the young draftees, there are a lot of good and honest young men, many of whom are nominally against the war and the whole military system. And as I found out later, most of the draftees are drafted unwillingly. Many of these young men are forced to leave their families, girl friends and in many cases their jobs. So, on Thursday, June 24, 1965—at 6:30 in the morning—I reported for induction as ordered by my local board.

AS SOON AS I ARRIVED at the central induction center I began to distribute about 200 SDS leaflets against the Vietnam war which I had brought with me. It seems that my act of leaflet distribution was so bold that it did not attract the attention of the military

personnel who were present. They all seemed to think I was authorized to do whatever I was doing (many times young inductees are given little things to do—such as carrying a bunch of papers from one office or floor to another).

In fact the military personnel never discovered what I was really doing until an officer inadvertently picked up one of the leaflets and began reading it. Of course

I was stopped and my leaflets were confiscated from all the young draftees to whom I had distributed them, but only after I had given out all I had. I was then taken to a fairly large room with a few other people and left to sit.

Little by little the room began to fill up with inductees. Then for some reason the sergeant and the other military personnel left the room. By this time there were about 75 youths quietly sitting in this room all by themselves. So, then I got the idea of asking for signatures on an anti-Vietnam war petition. Having a large brown envelope with me which was given with a lot of other things by the military to be filled out at the proper time—I used this as the paper for my petition.

On the top of the envelope I wrote in pencil: "A PETITION TO THE ARMY." Then I began to go from person to person asking for signatures. Some refused, but after a short explanation that we have no cause

to fight for in either Vietnam or Santo Domingo, most of those approached signed. Many of the youths were Negroes who, with little coaxing, willingly signed. After I had got about 21 signatures the military personnel returned and I was immediately stopped. One of the sergeants began to shout at me and I began to shout back, which sort of surprised him and the inductees. The sergeant was so surprised that he quieted down. Taking advantage of the silence and attention I began to give a loud talk on how unjust the aggressive war is in Vietnam and if young Americans really want to fight for freedom then they should fight for the right to vote in the South or join the current picket line around city hall for equality in Chicago.

AT ONE POINT a white kid told me to shut up but as soon as he did several Negroes said, "Let him talk, man," and one even jumped up with raised fists to defend my right to talk. Naturally, when the military personnel recovered from their shock, they seized me and isolated me and even placed a young sailor to guard me. After a short wait they rushed me through some tests and had me fill out some papers. I refused to sign the loyalty oath, which has all kinds of peace, civil rights and progressive groups listed as subversive, besides the Nazi Party and the KKK. On all previous occasions, such as my pre-induction physical, I had refused to sign.

When finished with the test and all papers were filled out (except the loyalty oath) I was rushed through the physical, all the time being accompanied by this sailor guard. As I went through the physical some of the guys, both black and white, asked how I was and in general greeted me warmly. In other words, there was little hostility toward me for what I had done. Admittedly I was quite frightened at how I would be received by the other guys when I decided to make a stand. Not only did the other inductees receive my action well, but the young sailor placed to guard me was exceedingly friendly.

Finally I was sent to the security officer, who told me that I needed a security clearance and would not now be drafted. I then told him that he could not keep me out of the Army because of my politics even though I do refuse to fight in Vietnam. I was told that they would call me and for me not to call them, and that I should go home—which I did.

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Letters

today i and 50 other people tried to stop a troop train of soldiers on their way to vietnam. it didn't stop.

for the first time i know the nature of the enemy in my gut--- a mindless, grinding machine that a human being builds and runs.

it was ten feet tall and didn't stop.

we stood brave and excited and human and it just kept coming and plowed through us.

it had people trapped inside--trapped inside tan shirts to kill people and be happy about it

ten miles an hour through fields, by rivers and flowers and through people never even noticing.

how---how to stop it? we weren't strong enough

can we hope?

for peace, freedom, and red balloons for kids
Bill Vandercook

Ramblings Through Mexico And Guatamala

Guatemala City
16 de Agosto de 1965

Dear Veep,

Lest I forget, observe the fine patriot on the 6 centavo stamp, Castillo Armas, who nipped communism in the bud in 1954 and prevented the spread of literacy which has held at a constant 25% since then.

Well, I finally made it to Guatemala, which is really surprisingly different from Mexico, not so much in the poor areas, but in the Westernized commercial areas. One is left with little doubt that this is a good colony of the United States. Situation here is quite interesting, with upcoming elections scheduled for Oct. first. Of course no communists or socialists are allowed on the ballot. To even get on the ballot it's necessary to have 5% of the literate population of the country sign a notarized statement saying they belong to the party. Surprisingly 3 parties made it, but word is that if you think right you don't need to bother with the petition. At least that is what the two Monthly Review articles said. Articles were quite interesting, even if not exactly impartial. They came in a big envelope from pioneer publishers (clearly marked). They ended up at a pension here with some other Americans, who started borrowing them to read. They left them in my mailbox to pick up, the hotel staff saw them, and they have borrowed them now. I hope they're on the right side.

Guatemala City is really a nice town, surrounded by mountains, cool, 4900 ft. altitude, and if you live in the right third, very modern and pretty. But it has sure got some bitchy slums. Situation here would be pretty bleak even without military governments. Even nationalizing United Fruit and the like would be by no means an answer, since the majority of the population are Indians living in the mountains. Even the Marxist idea of progression from capitalism to communism isn't applicable, because they haven't even gotten to capitalism yet. I was thinking the same thing about Mexico: What do you do about an illiterate farmer with a two acre patch of worn-out corn field? Here the problem is even worse since the two acre patch is in the hard to get at mountain regions, and Indian is often monolingual (not Spanish) and his culture strongly resists outside change. God, I'd like to go to Cuba to see what they've been able to do with the campesios there, but from what I hear you can't even go there to play chess now.

At least there seems to be a strong student movement here which is pretty far left. A couple of days ago they had a traffic stall-in in five places in the city, demanding some freedoms.

Just around here you don't see or hear much of Guerillas (MR-13) except that you see lots of soldiers with submachine guns guarding things like the US embassy. As a matter of fact, when I went to get the mail, I found the embassy. I just walked down the street in the direction of it saw a couple of guys with tommy guns, said this must be it, and sure enough it was.

Really haven't seen much of the

country except the capital yet. Tomorrow I'm leaving and heading for the coast and pass right by the Sierra de las Minas (Sierra Maestro of Guatemala). A couple of weeks ago they got a United Fruit helicopter, yuk. yuk. and I hear that every once in a while they stop busses on the highway. hope hope. From there I'm going to Puerto Barrios on Atlantic, cross over to Honduras, to El Salvador back to Guatemala, wander around a little and get back here about August 30 and then start wandering northward.

Didn't make very good progress coming down, time-wise that is. I walked into a little village in Michocan which only has roads in the dry season. Local priest had been there over 4 years, and said he hadn't seen a gringo. He put me up and fed me. and was almost insulted when I left after spending only a week in town. Flew out in the bi-weekly Cessna flight. since I didn't want to repeat the 50 km. walk to get back out. I felt like Pied Piper since little kids would follow me around, never having seen a gringo before. One time I was sitting in the plaza just after school let out and I counted 41 of them just standing around me. I thought such a place would be quite apolitical. but no. Local doctor who is sent in to do 6 months of backwoods residency was a real revolutionary and was all ready for another revolution. And surprisingly enough most popular magazine in town was mag of Russian embassy (like USSR mag). quite a few subscribed to it (perhaps because subscriptions are gratis) and seemed to be in agreement with it. It was really pretty interesting to see various Russian policies worked into mag, especially peace-

ful coexistence. One interesting article was about Russian absorption of Balkan States. I thought they would just as soon forget about that, sort of like the Hungarian revolution, but no. I copied the first part of the article: "The people obtained true liberty only after 1940, when the power of the landlord and the capitalist were overthrown, and they became parts of the USSR as independent federal republics..."

The people certainly treated me nicely, but the isolation sort of got to me. Mail is brought in twice a week by pack train, and no newspapers of any sort are available. Viet-Nam and Dom. Rep. sure seemed a long ways away.

After that went to see the volcano Paricutin, which came up in 1943. It was especially interesting to see how the plants are slowly beginning to gain a foothold on the new lava beds.

Then stopped by U. of Michocan (in Morelia) on the way to Mexico City. Revolutionary doctor was from there, and he told me it was pretty far left, but I was a little surprised at how far they were. Each class room was named for a famous person. Only American to make it was Einstein. Two other notables who had class rooms: Marx and Lenin. Main bulletin board had a denouncement of OAS role in Dominican Republic, and Mexico's in OAS; a call for peoples to support the good guys in Viet-Nam: and a big pictorial display of clippings commemorating defeat of guasanos at Bay of Pigs. I copied down a few of the statements:

"The people of the Dominican Republic, like so many other peoples, have been aggrieved by the Marines of Yankee imperialism. Later, in order to give this in-

tervention a "legal" character, the imperialists had one of their tentacles, the OAS, form a multi-lateral army to intervene in the Affairs of the Dominican Republic. Nations have the right to give themselves the form of government most convenient to them and to elect freely all their officials. In such conditions, Mexico not only should oppose the formation of a "peace" army, but should withdraw from the OAS. Mexico's remaining in this appendage of imperialism, the OAS, is incompatible with the principles of non-intervention and self-determination.

Part of Bay of Pigs display:

"In order to know the ideals that the invaders came to defend, it is sufficient to examine the composition of the brigade and itemize the property they intended to recover with the defeat of the revolution"

- 100 latifundistas
- 24 large property owners
- 67 building owners
- 112 larger retailers
- 194 ex-batista militarists
- 179 landlords
- 35 Industrial magnates
- 112 lumpen proletariat

(it then went on to itemize property held by the people.) Not exactly the kind of displays they put up on the bulletin boards at Texas U. of the first class, is it? A whole bunch of people gathered around me and we started talking, and it was quite evident that they were sort of hostile to me, even after I whipped out the good old NFL button. That is the only place in Mexico where I felt they were hostile at me rather than US policies. Range of reactions to US in general has been quite wide. In one little city south of Guadalajara. I saw more

anti-American slogans than I've seen in all of the rest of Mexico. They were plastered all over the place on walls. Some of them didn't seem to show too much political acumen, as one which said, "Yanks get out of Viet-Nam, del Norte," or maybe they were predicting the future? Hotel operators in Chiapias were quite far left, and borrowed some of my literature. One of them told me that "Guatemala was just a US colony, and that what Mexico needed was a man with three balls instead of two to get the country going like Castro." On the other hand, I've had Mexicans object when I used the word gringo because they don't think it showed the proper respect.

Questions rural Mexicans ask are interesting. Most popular is how is the job situation there. A close second is what kind of military obligation is there. When I tell them they get you full-time for two years they are surprised, since Mexicans are only obligated for one year of National Guard type duty. But when I tell them that when you're an imperialist power you need a big army, and they understand.

In case you're interested in salvation, I got the good word from a Iglesia de Dios minister I sat by on the bus. After he informed me I was going to hell because I didn't believe in Christ, he told me that even if you believed in Christ, you still went to hell if you smoked, drank, cursed, or fornicated. At least there's no problem with over-population in heaven.

The anti-Viet-Nam demonstration got good coverage in Mexican papers. Even front page in the "Sol of Chiapias" which considering it has only four pages, is pretty

good. "Sol" also said all hell might break loose here in Guatemala within two weeks. At least if it does, I can scream "Yankee, go home" at the marines as they come marching in.

"Yankee, go home" reminds me. I read a sort of pathetic story in a Mexican paper. Caamano forces in Santo Domingo celebrated the national holiday which falls on July 12. Why a holiday then? To commemorate the withdrawal of the US marines July 12, 1924. From another Mexican paper: the majority of Dominican exports are composed of one item: sugar. The US owns 1/3 of all Dominican sugar lands. What other country does that remind you of?

Seems to be a fair number of Negroes living here in Guatemala City, perhaps 1%, which would make about 4000 living in town. I'm going to try to find out what the scene is with them here. And speaking of such thing, in that little village I stayed in in Mexico, all the teenage kids were very hung up on light skinned girls, and they even had a special word to describe them, "guero", and they used their light skin as a fetish just like red-blooded Americans use mammary glands or something. Considering their isolation, that really surprised me maybe they aren't so isolated after all.

Local attitude on British Honduras (Belice) is interesting. All local maps show it as part of Guatemala, and you would never suspect anything, except that all the maps with detailed info have a blank in Belice with a little note: "information for this area is not now available."

; Arriba EL MOVIMIENTO REVOLU-

TIONARY 13 DE NOVIEMBRE!

fitun fil
(Philip Russell)

Witchunt Predicted

To the Editor:

I am fearful that after we lose the war in Vietnam there will be a witchhunt which will make the McCarthy period seem like the 1930's. We should try to do as much as possible before it is too late.

Yours truly,
Robert Feinstein
New York City

San Francisco New School Affiliates With SDS

Following is a letter from Carolyn Craven who is currently working in San Francisco with the SDS New School.

I am writing to let you know in detail the work I have been doing with the New School. Perhaps the discussion on the free university can benefit from this.

I will start with the history. The New School was founded in January of 1964 by a group of radical intellectuals and professionals in the Bay Area. Some of the people involved are Saul Landau, Alvin Duskin (former president of Emerson College), Paul Jacobs, Carl Werthman (a sociologist from Cal), Ronnie Davis (a playwright and director of an acting troupe here), Mike Miller (from SNCC), and Bob Scheer. All

of the people had formed a group here called the San Francisco Opposition and as such started the New School. The stated purpose of the school was to engage man and women in a radical dialogue. They felt that by holding courses which were radical in content, they could begin a really radical dialogue which would lead to action in San Francisco. The courses offered included: American History and the Growth of Empire, Dream Politics and the Cold War, Greek Political Theory and Greek Society, and Problems of the City in Contemporary America. The classes met on Wednesday nights and were followed by forums which were attended by faculty and students at which they had such guest speakers as I.F. Stone, Susan Sontag, the late Paul Beran, Paul Sweezy, Paul Krasner, and Lawrence Ferlinghetti. The School as such lasted for one year in which they involved some 100 students from Berkeley, secretaries who had nothing better to do on Wednesdays, old lefties, union guys, etc. Last January this era of the New School ended. The guys who had been involved were tired and it took more work to run the school than they were willing to put into it. There was also the feeling that while the courses had been interesting, most of them had nothing to do with what was going on in the real world - had nothing to do with the movement. They decided that if the school was to exist again, that someone was going to have to come in and do it.

For the past six weeks I have been in San Francisco trying to get some idea as to what should happen with the New School. The first thing that happened was

that it affiliated with SDS, whatever that means. I have spent a lot of time trying to figure out what the school should look like, to whom it should address itself, of what value, if any, are courses, to what problems in the movement should the New School address itself. In trying to answer some of these questions, I have found that probably the best way to answer them is to try different things and to later find out which ones work. The New School, then, is going to have several faces which I shall try to describe.

Research, writing and publications are areas in which we will be attempting to do a lot of work. There is a dearth of theoretical, analytical, and journalistic writing by people in or close to the movement. Paul Cowan expressed the problem well:

"None of us--not SNCC, not SDS, not FSM, not the Peace Movement - have deepened our insights into sustained analyses. We all feel --and can assert--that there is some relationship between the oppressors in the South, the military-industrial complex in the Federal Government, the power structure in towns like Newark and Chicago, the Board of Regents at Berkeley. But we have not yet diagnosed what those relationships are, or what kind of attitudes lie at their source. In fact, the analyses that exist have not even been adequately communicated to the full membership, and debated among them. As a result, when we plan national actions more imaginative than a march, more removed from long-term processes than the conventional challenge, we are operating within a context we don't

fully understand. The symbols we create, then, tend to assert a reality which we haven't fully described."

Hopefully the New School will begin to address itself to this problem. We are trying to raise money to provide research grants for people who are willing to involve themselves in long-term research projects. Bob Scheer, who is most interested in this in the old New School group, is interested in setting up something in the Bay Area which is similar to the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington. This would mean getting enough funds to pay a full-time and part-time staff of young professionals and intellectuals to do writing and research in specific areas related to the movement or needed by it. (For example, an analysis of the bases of American foreign policy, problems of social change and the university, etc.) Seminars would also be conducted in various problem areas which would involve people in the Bay Area. The New School would then submit these papers (or books) to SDS or national publications. Thoughts in this area are embryonic and a lot more will have to go into it before anything becomes anywhere near real. I have just talked to Art Waskow from IPS who had some interesting suggestions and hopefully I will communicate with other people around the country who have other suggestions or criticisms.

We have decided to resume courses in the fall. It is as yet unclear of what value courses can be. One course will be taught by Franz Schurmann, a China scholar from Berkeley, on China, the U.S., and Southeast Asia. The value of this course is the knowledge that

can be gained. Other courses will be offered which hopefully will begin to involve professionals and intellectuals in the movement as intellectuals and professionals, such as a course specifically designed for scientists. There will also be seminars which are designed to give a better understanding of what we are doing in community organizing, Vietnam activity, campus work, etc. and which hopefully will give some direction and lead to the development of a strategy. For example Saul Landau and Ken McEldowcey are starting now a seminar of community organizers and Vietnam people and other SDS people based on such readings as the debate in the last issue of Studies.

Hopefully we will be able to discover some things by having the courses and seminars. One way to find out what a good educational experience in a classroom is is by trying different experiences in a classroom. Some of the courses will be open to the general public while others will be restricted to people involved in the movement. Some of them will have an instructor while others will be discussions in which everyone will participate as equals. The audiences to which courses and seminars are directed will alter also, some for students, some for intellectuals, some for poor people, and some not directed at any particular audience. We will attempt to constantly evaluate ourselves and the experiences and will be open enough to alter and innovate as often as possible.

What do we hope to accomplish? There is a vast amount of energy and talent in the Bay Area, and the rest of the country for that

matter. There is a vast amount of work that needs to be done for the movement which could be done by professionals and intellectuals operating in their own fields. The movement can also give these people the relevance they need in their lives. Hopefully through the New School, the courses and seminars, we will be able to involve and bring together different people and help them to find alternatives in their lives as well as contribute to the movement.

Carolyn Craven

Carl Oglesby On Viet Nam

Dear Eric,

I hope you got my card from Saigon. This is the long letter which the card promised.

What I discovered in Saigon was that a great many fine men --Vietnamese-- are tearing themselves apart to maintain their illusions about the present and the future. I emphasize that there is nobody there with a respectable mind who who likes Americans. In the way of political opinion, as I think I remarked in the card, one has expected a solid bloc of pro-American anti-Communism. One finds that the case is by no means so simple. The case against the Communists (and everyone in Saigon views the Front as Red and is against the Front) is most often that they betrayed the revolution (familiar?), that they opiate the people with the promises of social change that they fail to keep, and that they practice terror. One then risks asking a few indelicate questions, delicately

put: about betraying the revolution--are you keeping faith with it, then, in your air-conditioned Saigon office, in your de facto cooperation with the collaborators. No answer. About breaking promises--how does one keep a promise of social change in a village at least fortnightly obliterated by American bombs? No answer. About terror--if that alone, if terror indiscriminately applies, is the way to win the peasants to one's side, then why are we not winning, why have we not won long since, why indeed was there ever a war to begin with? No answer.

The case against the Communists becomes a kind of wheeze or moan, variably articulate, a death-rattle of long words amounting finally to just this: that if only the Reds would stop the war and let us do now with the people what we now understand we should have done 10 years ago, then everything would be all right, there would be peace, plenty, social revolution. EVERY RIGHT-WINGER IN SAIGON IS A SOCIALIST! Corollary: the rhetoric of the Front has annihilated all other rhetorics. When Gen. Nguyen Coa Ky speaks of Viet Nam's need for "not one Hitler but four," he only humiliates himself and his seconds the more deeply. Objection to Ho? Hanoi is "a gray city." If the anti-Communism of the Saigon intellectuals is a shambles, then what of the pro-Americanism? A greater shambles, Nguyen Tran Huyin, former Viet Minh cadre, imprisoned after '54 for opposing Diem's "personalism", an anti-Communist who later came to favor and helped train Diem's guerrillas for infiltrating into North Viet Nam in 1959: "Viet Nam has just two problems, indepen-

dence and development. No government that does not supply the one will be able to supply the other." Less theoretically one Colonel Xin the RVN army after expounding at length on the horrors of communism and urging greater American military commitment: "The Americans are murdering Viet Nam." This in a burst of passion. From one TTT, important intellectual of Saigon: "The Americans should either fight a big war against their real enemy, China, or get out of Viet Nam." And this with unequaled bitterness: "Say what you will about Diem's strategic hamlets. Call them concentration camps. At least the people were not being killed. Now they are moved back to their villages. The VC appear there and the Americans send their bombers. They victoriously announce 200, 300 dead, all Viet Cong. Maybe 10 are Viet Cong. The remaining bodies are those of ordinary villagers whose freedom the Americans have arisen to defend." And from Tich Tam Chau, one of the ranking Buddhists and an extremely sinister person: "The Americans must develop a new plan for fighting the war. The plan must allow them to win, to beat the Communists; but it must also be such a plan that they will no longer ruin our country. What such a plan could be, I one who knows nothing of the military do not know."

Hue was a much more beautiful city. My three days there were days in which I met my brothers. In Saigon, one says: "You say you cannot tolerate the Americans because they are murdering you and you cannot tolerate the Communists because they will oppress (or execute or exile) you. What are you going to do?" And in Sai-

gon one hears as an answer "It is a very difficult situation." In Hue the same question; but the answer in Hue: "One chooses."

But also in Saigon we heard first the theme that grew clearer and became dominant in the north: "ANY VIETNAMESE SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF VIET NAM IS SUPERIOR TO ANY NON-VIETNAMESE SOLUTION."

At all costs, that war must be stopped. Those people are beautiful. Confirming what I heard from you in Paris about the Front's willingness to negotiate, our very first night in Saigon we heard a specific Front proposal for a way in which negotiations could commence without "humilitating" America, that Great Power--namely and essentially, that the US can maintain its military presence at present levels throughout a cease-fire period in which current territorial lines are frozen and each side begins political reconstruction in the zones it occupies. As the cease-fire period lengthens and each side accumulates proof of the other's sincerity, the American presence is gradually removed in favor of an international presence that would have already made its first appearance at the time of the cease-fire. The international body then has two tasks: maintaining order and guaranteeing honest elections in the south. The problem of the south is to be solved independently of the north. When the south has acquired political stability, it can then proceed, in its own voice, to negotiate reunification with the north--which in any case is the business of Viet Nam.

That is, one of the two major stumbling blocks to negotiations and immediate US withdrawal has

been removed. The other--America's refusal to recognize the Front as a separate voice in negotiations--would now be removed by Washington if what Washington wanted was

a just peace for Viet Nam. But that seems unlikely.

Peace,
Carl Oglesby



Other Voices

Morse Assails Viet War

VIETNAM

(Cong. Record, Senate, Aug. 10, 1965)

Mr. MORSE: Mr. President, yesterday, the White House sponsored another of its attempts to disguise the war in Vietnam to make it palatable to Members of Congress. All the same old dogmas were repeated, just as though nothing had changed since Mr. McNamara went over to Vietnam in October of 1963, and told us when he returned that things looked so good that the boys would all be home by 1965.

Ambassador Taylor went through his customary ritual of evading the entire issue of why and how the United States has flopped completely in the Taylor-inspired enterprise of aiding and advising the Vietnamese in a guerrilla war. The Taylor concept of fighting insurgencies has totally failed in Vietnam, under his guidance and direction.

He has proved that the United States cannot win guerrilla wars, at least not under the guidance of a Taylor. All we do is what we have done in South Vietnam, and that is to drop all pretense of helping one side, and making the war a western-style affair with large conventional American forces, including use of the Strategic Air Command....

The recitation of how things are improving in Vietnam is a depressing thing to hear when a comparison with a year ago, or 2 years ago, or 4 years ago, or 10 years ago, shows only that the American position and the position of South Vietnam Government have steadily eroded and deteriorated. It is a remarkable thing to be able to go up to the White House periodically and hear how things are improving when each visit is occasioned by a new step the United States has had to take in order to stabilize a deteriorating situation. It is an Alice-in-Wonderland exhibition of how the unpleasant can be evaded and the failures ignored.

POLITICAL FRAMEWORK OF WAR EFFORT BEING IGNORED

In light of this most recent exhibition, I have no hope or confidence whatever that the conventional war we are now undertaking in Vietnam under the same men who failed to win a guerrilla war will have any more favorable result. For another element in the so-called briefings of the administration is a total vacuity on the political surroundings of the struggle itself.

It has been the ignorance of the politics of war that has brought us into this situation. But the same ignorance continues at the highest levels, and one need only report that no mention was made of the collapse of Malaysia at the White House briefings until the question was raised by a Senator.

To the Administration, the war in Vietnam is a matter of military tactics. This is the sad but plain truth. We have based our policy there on nothing more than military tactics and we have been losing. We are continuing to base our policy there on military tactics and we are going to continue to lose.

Look at the map of Asia, at the famous dominoes. If the dominoes are falling, they are all falling on top of the United States. The Malaysian federation is collapsing. The American effort to hold up Vietnam as a bulwark against Communist expansion has been completely out-flanked. All that were left of the dominoes on the Asian continent were Thailand, South Vietnam, and Malaysia. Now, it appears to be only matter of weeks before the only one will be Thailand and South Vietnam.

Press reports today indicate not only that Singapore expects to establish trade and diplomatic relations with Indonesia and China, but that other non-contiguous areas of Malaysia may very likely break away also. The disposition of the large British military installations in Singapore is in total abeyance, and there is already talk that Britain may abandon those installations and reestablish its defenses on Australia.

The implications of the dissolution of Malaysia brings into question the entire purpose of the American war in

Vietnam. The ramifications are truly far reaching. Malaysia is still held up as a model of how guerrilla war can be fought and won. I have no quarrel with the model. But it is obviously no model for how a victory over guerrillas can be consolidated. It leaves totally unsolved the question of how a Western nation -- be it Britain or the United States -- can arrange to leave behind it an Asian political organization of its own choosing.

I do not suppose that the Malay peninsula itself will again become battleground of a Communist insurgency. I pray it will not. But the failure of the various ethnic and widely scattered states to make a go of nationhood is not simply a victory for China or Indonesia, but a total defeat for the Western concept that governments of Asians can be controlled and manipulated to serve Western purposes.

Malaysia was an artificial state, created by Britain to serve British interests. In that respect, it was the Jordan of the Far East. Now, its wealthiest element is gone, and the racial balance that held the country together this long is destroyed. Indonesia, which is totally anti-West and pro-Chinese, has scored an undeniable political victory. Anyone who thinks that Sukarno is not going to be vastly more influential in Asian affairs as a result of these events is whistling past the graveyard. And anyone who thinks that the war in Vietnam is unaffected by these events, not to mention the events that may yet flow from them, is deluding himself.

Yet all this caused not an eyebrow to be raised down at the State Department. The Secretary of State did not even see fit to mention it in his turn at the briefing yesterday. When asked about it, he dismissed the whole affair as relatively insignificant. Obviously, the State Department, too, sees the war in Vietnam as one of military tactics. Its virtual resignation from its duties is a major reason why no large nation anywhere in the world has joined us in Vietnam. The Secretary of State is gratified that Thailand and the Ivory Coast are expressing verbal support for us. He is delighted that 36 flags are

"with us" in Vietnam, although he neglects to mention that they do not fly over much more than 36 flagpoles.

Mr. President, he talks about some contribution from Australia. But, by and large, when the State Department talks about 36 flags flying in South Vietnam, the manpower those flags represents is insignificant.

I find no sense of feeling that we are getting any allied support by way of token support.

Let the American people also recognize that a vast propaganda drive has been directed toward those nations by the Government of the United States.

Let the American people understand that the Government of the United States has been putting great pressure upon government after government to give us at least some symbolic support in South Vietnam so that the Secretary of State can make the statement that we have so many flags there, that now there are 36 and it may very well go up to a larger number. But, the test so far as the mothers and fathers of America are concerned, is how much manpower, muscle, and blood those flag poles represent in South Vietnam.

I am not going to be hoodwinked by State Department and Defense Department propaganda. Nor am I ever going to be silenced as a result of the deception of the State Department and the Defense Department in regard to their propaganda, short of a declaration of war. Only when that war is made constitutional and the President and the Congress live up to their constitutional obligations by putting before the American people the issue as to whether or not we shall go to war, by way of a declaration of war and such a declaration is passed by Congress, will the lips of the senior Senator from Oregon ever be silenced in the continual plea for peaceful approaches to this threat of a third world war.

We are making history. I want my country to write a different chapter of history than it is writing now in respect to its absolutely inexcusable and illegal course of action in Asia. We stand not only in violation of the Constitution of the United States, but, in open violation of the Charter of the

United Nations.

One must ask the administration, Where are India, Pakistan, Japan, and Indonesia?

These are five great non-Communist powers that will dominate Asia for decades and decades to come. They oppose U. S. intervention in Asian affairs, and I include Japan because her people oppose it. I would have the American people remember my warning again today that if we continue this policy, no matter how many decades it takes for them to drive us out of Asia, they will eventually drive us out of Asia. We shall finally end reaching the negotiated settlement that we ought to seek to reach now without the sacrificing of thousands of American whom we are on the way to sacrificing in the months ahead, unless American people say to this administration, "Halt your war in southeast Asia." Only the American people are the remaining power that can stop this tramp, tramp, tramp to world war III, being led primarily by the United States....

CONGRESS MUST REMAIN IN SESSION

I restate to the American people today that they must make clear to the Members of Congress that it is their job to stay on the job until January 1, when the 2d session of the 89th Congress is to convene.

The administration is presenting us with sophistries and excuses for the prosecution of the war.

The only conclusion that can be drawn from the briefing given Congress yesterday is that the war will continue as before for some time. The President has already counted the days that Congress will be out of Washington, assuming that the war be prosecuted at existing levels during that time, which we give U Thant a chance to persuade North Vietnam to negotiate.

We do not plan to make the job any easier by halting the bombing or by easing our own war effort. But we would give U Thant 116 days to make a peace in Vietnam....

Under the best possible circumstances, the use of a million or so U.S. troops could suppress the Vietcong. That assumes that North Vietnam does no more than she is doing now to help them, and it assumes that neither China nor Rus-

sia steps up their aid to the Vietcong. These are assumptions that are a million-to-one shot. I do not believe for a minute that North Vietnam, China, or Russia will limit their aid to the Viet Cong to current levels when we increase participation.

I warn the American people that they and their Congress are being prepared for an all-out war in Asia. That is what it will be, if third parties do not succeed in achieving negotiations before the end of this year. We are being prepared for the sending of hundreds of thousands of our forces into southeast Asia, where they will die like flies unless China and North Vietnam and Russia do us the favor of staying out of a war that is being fought on their doorstep.

Even if they do stay out, what are the prospects for the future? What are the chances that South Vietnam can ever maintain itself as an independent nation? The example of Malaysia darkens what was already a very dim outlook. Malaysia was an artificial creation, just as South Vietnam is an artificial creation. I do not believe that the United States will do any better with its handiwork than Britain has done. Eventually, we, too, will be faced with the necessity of drawing our military outposts back out of the Asian mainland to areas where our way of life not only is better understood and received than it is on the mainland of Asia, but also where it is politically and militarily more defensible....

Joan Baez on Responsibility

"With God on Our Side"

Before singing at the SANE emergency Rally on Vietnam in Madison Square Garden on June 8, 1965, Joan Baez made the following comments:

I would like to say one thing. This is mainly to the young people here, but really to everybody, and that is that ultimately you can listen to only one thing, and that is not your President, not your many misguided leaders, save a few, and not the Communists or the

Socialists or the Republicans or the Democrats. But you must listen to your own heart, and do what it dictates. Because your heart is the only thing which can tell you what is right and what is wrong. And after you have found out what you think is right and what is wrong, then you must know that you can say yes to what is right and not to what is wrong. And that you young men, for instance, if you feel that to kill is wrong and to go to war is wrong, you have to say no to the draft. And if you young ladies think it is wrong to kill, and war is wrong, you can say yes to the young men who say no to the draft. Because it is not the leaders and the dictators, it is not God who is going to get us out of the bloody mess we are in. It is only you and only me.

SDS Under Attack

WASHINGTON (AP, Aug. 5) -- The House moved Thursday to counter a reported threat of mass burning of draft cards in the capitol to protest U.S. actions in South Vietnam.

Rep. L. Mendel Rivers, D-S.C., chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, introduced a bill calling for a 5-year prison term or a \$5,000 fine or both for anyone who knowingly destroys or mutilates a draft card. The measure would be an amendment to the Selective Service Act.

The bill is understood to have been drafted after consultation with representatives of the Justice Department and the Selective Service.

Rep. Edwin E. Willis, D-La., chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, told the house Wednesday that an organization he called the Students for a Democratic Society planned "a mass burning of draft cards."

There was no immediate reaction from the student group which Willis described as a "youth group of the League for Industrial Democracy."

Willis said the information received by his committee was that the card burning was scheduled Friday.

Republican House Leader Gerald R. Ford said Thursday a group accused of plan-

ning to invade the U.S. House "intend to disrupt the orderly processes of government."

Congress Responds to SDS Rumor

PROHIBITION OF DESTRUCTION OR MUTILATION OF DRAFT CARDS

(Cong. Record, House, August 10, 1965)

Mr. RIVERS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union be discharged from further consideration of the bill (H.R. 10306) to amend the Universal Military Training and Service Act of 1951, as amended, and for its immediate consideration.

Mr. Speaker, the bill, H.R. 10306, amends the Universal Military Training and Service Act to establish a clear statutory provision against a person knowingly destroying or knowingly mutilating a draft card. Existing law provides a penalty for anyone forging or altering a draft card, but there is no specific prohibition against destroying or mutilating a draft card. The purpose of the bill is clear. It merely amends the draft law by adding the words "knowingly destroys and knowingly mutilates" draft cards. A person who is convicted would be subject to a fine up to \$10,000 or imprisonment up to 5 years. It is a straightforward clear answer to those who would make a mockery of our efforts in South Vietnam by engaging in the mass destruction of draft cards.

We do not want to make it illegal to mutilate or destroy a card per se, because sometimes this can happen by accident. But if it can be proved that a person knowingly destroyed or mutilated his draft card, then under the committee proposal, he can be sent to prison where he belongs. This is the least we can do for our men in South Vietnam fighting to preserve freedom, while a vocal minority in this country thumb their noses at their own government.

Mr. Bray. The need of this legislation is clear. Beatniks and so-called "cam-

pus-cults" have been publicly burning their draft cards to demonstrate their contempt for the United States and our resistance to Communist takeovers. Such actions have been suggested and led by college professors -- professors supported by tax-payers' money.

At Rutgers University, Prof. Eugene Geonese, who prides himself on being a Marxist, publicly said that he "welcomed a Communist Vietcong victory." The board of governors refused to dismiss him.

Just yesterday such a mob attacking the United States and praising the Vietcong attempted to march on the Capitol but were prevented by the police from forcibly moving into our Chambers. They were led by a Yale University professor. They were generally a filthy, sleazy beatnik gang; but the question which they pose to America is quite serious.

These so-called "student" mobs at home and abroad make demands and threats; they hurl rocks and ink bottles at Americal buildings; they publicly mutilate or burn their draft cards; they even desecrate the American flag. Chanting and screaming vile epithets, these mobs of so-called "students" and Communist "stooges" attempt to create fear and destroy self-confidence in our country and its citizens and to downgrade the United States in the eyes of the world.

Such organized "student" groups in the United States have sent congratulations and money to Ho Chi Minh and have made anonymous and insulting calls to families of our servicemen killed in Vietnam.

Tolerance ceases to be a virtue when it condones evil. Governmental tolerance ceases to be a virtue when it allows mob violence on the law-abiding members of its society -- when it winks at unlawful disrespect to its institutions and the flag. This is true whether this tolerance is the result of apathy, a maudlin sympathy, or a fear of the opinions of enemies.

When the mob once learns that its actions will lead to granting of its demands and its actions are condoned, there is a multiplication both of its demonstrations, riots, and wanton destruction and of its demands.

If these "revolutionaries" are permitted to deface and destroy their draft cards, our entire Selective Service System is dealt a serious blow.

The question was taken; and there were -- yeas 393, nays 1, not voting 40, as follows:

(Nays) Smith, N.Y.

Loyal Mississippi Democrat Awarded Judgeship

NOMINATION OF JAMES P. COLEMAN
(Cong. Record, Senate, July 26, 1965)

Mr. MORSE: Mr. President, last Thursday I respectfully asked the Senate to withhold the vote on the Coleman nomination to the Federal bench until today. My request was cooperatively and graciously granted. I made the request because I wanted time in which to read the hearing record. I have read the record....

Mr. President, Coleman's nomination can be challenged on grounds either of character or of what might be called an emotional conflict of interest, depending on whether he believed all the things he said about Negro Americans, or said them merely because it was the politically expedient thing to do in Mississippi. This relates to his competency so far as possessing a judicial temperament is concerned.

As the Record will show, starting with the vote to confirm the Wallace nomination in 1945, I have followed four major historic criteria that I believe are binding upon me under the advise and consent clause; and in this instance, I believe the Coleman nomination falls short on the grounds both of competency and of character.

If Coleman's record of opposition to Negro rights was pure expedience, his character does not measure up to the high standards needed in a Federal judgeship. If he believes that Negroes should not vote, that segregation should be maintained, and that his legal talents should be put to work to perpetuate segregation, as he often implied in his campaign oratory, he harbors a hostility to a basic right of

large numbers of our people that will make it impossible for him to exercise sound judgment in cases affecting Negroes.

When Coleman ran for Governor again in 1963 -- and lost in the primary -- he based much of his campaign on the contention that he had been "successful" in staving off integration in Mississippi and could do better than his opponent because he was not a "hothead," as he put it. He advertised himself as giving Mississippi a better chance of avoiding integration because he was a smart lawyer and could fight it with better legal tactics.

If all this was offered to the voters of Mississippi merely because one had to talk segregation in order to have a chance to win, the man lacks character. It may be true that only a segregationist could be elected Governor of Mississippi, but that man did not have to be James Coleman. In my many years as a Member of the Senate, I have heard the argument of expediency used in connection with Southern politicians being elected to Congress and to other offices on the ground: "If we did not follow that course of action, we could not be elected to Congress." My answer is, "So what?" Better that they not be elected on the basis of such an argument of expediency. So far as the senior senator from Oregon is concerned, it is not important that anyone be elected to Congress or re-elected to Congress. It is important that so long as we sit here, we never bend our knee at such an altar of political expediency. In my judgment, we cannot read the record of this man without recognizing time and again he has paid tribute at the altar of political expediency. If expediency was his excuse then how can we know that expediency will not control his decisions as a judge, too? An individual does not change his morals or his standards when he switches from one job to another. He takes them along with him, and we cannot escape the conclusion that an expedient politician will be an expedient judge. One cannot read the record of this man's demagoguery, as set forth in his public statements, without finding that he has attacked the Supreme Court of

the United States, has attacked the Department of Justice, has attacked the Attorney General, has attacked the President. His blanket-type attacks on Negro rights disqualify him ever to sit in judicial judgment. His attacks show the temperament of a biased advocate, which is so foreign to judicial impartiality.

Mr. President, it is argued, "Where would you go in Mississippi to get someone better?" I would not accept the innuendo or the implication of that argument. But if it is true that the President could not find anyone in the legal profession in all of Mississippi who is free of the shocking demagoguery of this nominee, the answer is, "Do not appoint someone from Mississippi. There is nothing in the law that requires that this particular judicial position must be filled with someone from Mississippi."

But I deny that implication. On the record of this man's demagoguery, I do not consider him, either from the standpoint of competency or of character, fit to assume the robes he will have to put on if his nomination is confirmed, for I think his body and his mind will desecrate those robes....

Reported Statements of J.P. Coleman on Racial Question

October 26, 1965: "Coleman said recently, 'I do not now favor the Negro voting in Mississippi. He is wholly unprepared to assume this responsibility.'"

February 22, 1956: "Gov. J.P. Coleman declared Tuesday that if a Negro succeeds in entering any institution of higher learning or any common school in Mississippi, the seat of learning would be immediately abolished.

"Not only would the legislature refuse to appropriate funds to operate an interracial institution,' he cited, 'but lawmakers would insist on the immediate cessation of teaching activity there.'"

August 31, 1957: "Gov. J. P. Coleman said Friday he will call Mississippi's State Sovereignty Commission into session at the earliest possible time to consider the situation growing out of civil rights legislation. He also out-

lined plans for a statewide committee of lawyers, one from each of Mississippi's 82 counties, to study this civil rights bill in all its implications and what we've got to do to protect ourselves against it.

June 30, 1959: (The following is taken from a television speech made by Coleman) "When I was sworn in as Governor, many people fearfully but frankly told me in private that they thought I had made a promise that I could not keep. You see, however, that I have kept that promise to the last letter, and I know that I shall go out of office on the 19th day of next January with racial separation still intact in Mississippi. I ask you, the people of Mississippi, could those who attack me in the newspapers have done a better job than your Governor has done? Your answer would be that they could not, because the situation has been perfect insofar as we are concerned. And Mississippi is the only State which enjoys such conditions."

Mr. KENNEDY of New York: Mr. President, I shall vote to confirm the nomination of Governor Coleman. Inasmuch as this matter has been embroiled in controversy, I wish to make clear the reasons why I shall do so.

I have had considerable personal experience with Governor Coleman over the past 7 or 8 years, and particularly over the period of the past 4 years. We have often not agreed, but Governor Coleman is a man of his word and, in my judgment, a man of high character. He has gone before the Senate Judiciary Committee and has said that, to the best of his ability, he will uphold his oath of office and in good faith will apply the law as laid down by the Supreme Court of the United States and Congress.

Mr. President, I believe that Governor Coleman will keep that pledge.

Attorney General Katzenbach went into the record at some length in his testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee and on the basis of this record and my own personal knowledge, I intend to support President Johnson's nomination of Governor Coleman as a judge of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.

My best judgment is that Governor Coleman will uphold his oath of office. Therefore, Mr. President, I shall not withhold my advice and consent to his nomination, but I shall vote for the confirmation of his nomination....

The result was announced -- yeas 76, nays 8, as follows:

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Morse	Douglas	Javits
	Nelson	Proxmire

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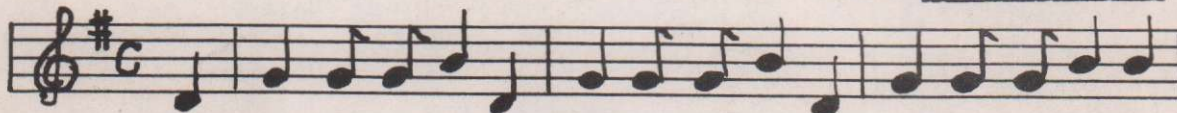
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McNAMARA IN VIETNAM

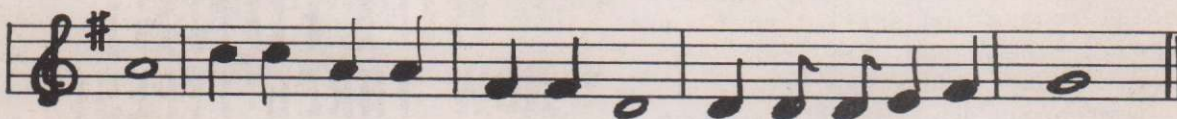
We were visiting a school in Saigon in 1957, the Ecole Superieure De Pedagogie. Students in a second year chemistry class were putting questions to us about the United States, and a boy asked, "Why does the United States send only engineers to visit Vietnam, never poets?" I asked, "How many of you would go to hear an American poet?" Three hands went up in a class of 29. "How many would attend a lecture on chemistry by an American engineer?" Sixteen hands up. We all had a good laugh. I dedicate the verses below to the three Vietnamese students -wherever they may be - who wanted to hear from an American poet, of sorts.

-WL

Tune: Ain't Gonna Rain



Oh! Mc - Na - ma - ra is my name I lead a famous



band, L. B. Johnson is my boss He put me in command.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. Oh! McNamara is my name
I lead a famous band,
L. B. Johnson is my boss
He put me in command;</p> <p>2. Of rockets and jets and napalm bombs
The noise is somethin' grand,
Just let a red stick up his head
In North or South Vee Nam.</p> <p>3. The rockets go swish and the bombs go boom
And the choppers beat the air,
'Tis McNamara and his band
You hear a-playin' there.</p> <p>4. With rat-ta-ta-tat and plenty of brass
And never a sour note,
We're in this war without a score
And without a congressional vote.</p> <p>5. My hardware goes across the sea
But please don't take offense,
It's all in one day's work for me
As secretary of defense.</p> <p>6. I used to work in automobiles
But L. B. says to me,
"I need you Mac in Washington
To keep me company."</p> | <p>7. "So blow your horn and rattle the drums
For enterprise that's free,
We've got the cash to buy the guns
That win security."</p> <p>8. The rockets go swish and the bombs go boom
And the choppers beat the air,
Jungles and paddies are filled with laddies
Who don't know why they're there.</p> <p>9. So we toot a tune on the old bassoon
It makes the lads feel grand,
Wherever a red pops up his head,
Especially in Vee Nam.
(Slow tempo)</p> <p>10. 'Tis McNamara you're lookin' at
He is a used up man,
They took away his rockets and bombs
They hired another band.
(with spirit)</p> <p>11. It plays a score for no more war
Disarmament and peace,
The soldiers come from many lands
They're called UN police.</p> |
|---|---|

Words(e) Walter Ludwig 1965

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