

PEACE NEWS LETTER

Published by and for the New York State Peace Council
Rev. Alan B. Peabody, Editor

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January 23, 1964

THE PANAMANIAN CRISIS

The current dispute with Panama of the Canal has captured the attention of the American people, most of whom have been woefully unprepared for it. Its background lies in the period of American Imperialism at the turn of the century.

A French company, operating under a concession from Colombia (of which Panama was then a part), began work on the Panama Canal in 1880. That year, President Hayes told Congress that "the policy of this country is a canal under American control." However, American interests bought into the French company which collapsed in 1888.

With the Canal incomplete, the United States, pursuing its interest in a canal, sought to clear the way for construction and operation of a canal by: 1) concluding the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty with Great Britain in 1901 which abrogated an earlier treaty, thus giving the United States government a right to pursue construction without the partnership of Great Britain; 2) passing of the Spooner Act of June 28, 1902, which authorized the President of the United States to undertake construction of the canal; 3) signing of an agreement with the French company to purchase its rights for \$40 million; and 4) signing of the Hay-Herran Treaty with Colombia in January 1903.

Under the Hay-Herran Treaty, Colombia would have authorized the French company to sell its rights to the United States; would have given the U.S.A. use of a ten kilometer wide zone; would have received \$10 million and a payment of \$250,000 per year starting nine years after treaty ratification. The Colombian Congress, hoping for more favorable terms, refused to ratify the treaty.

Philippe Bunau-Varilla, an engineer attached to the French Canal Company, is credited with promoting and financing a revolt against Colombia which broke out in Panama City on November 3, 1903. Dana Gardner Munro writes: "It was never proved that the United States Government instigated the revolt, but its conduct unquestionably prevented Colombia from suppressing it." Shortly before the revolt started, the U.S.S. Nashville had been dispatched to Colon, ostensibly to protect American nationals in transit across the Isthmus. This time, acting on instructions from Washington, forces from the Nashville prevented a Colombian force from crossing the Isthmus to suppress the revolt. Four days later the U.S.A. recognized the Republic of Panama, and on November 18, entered into a treaty with the new republic. Again, writes Munro, "the American Government's acts were severely criticized both in Latin America and the United States, and they seemed difficult to justify in view of the American guarantee of Colombia's sovereignty over the Isthmus." Some years later the United States paid Colombia an indemnity of \$25 million.

The Treaty signed with Panama gave the United States greater privileges than that rejected by the Colombian Congress. The U.S.A. received perpetual "use, occupation, and control" of a ten mile wide zone across the Isthmus with the right to additional lands which might be needed for construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation, and protection of the canal. The cities of Panama and Colon were excluded from the Zone. The United States was conceded the right to intervene if necessary to maintain public order in them. Panama received \$10 million with annual payments of \$250,000 to begin nine years after the treaty went into effect.

"The United States resorted to armed intervention until 1918 and since then has tried diplomatic pressure" to influence political decisions in the Republic, writes Lewis Hanke. In 1936, annual lease payments for the Canal were raised to \$430,000, and since 1955 the figure has risen to \$1.9 million. In 1959, anger over U.S. control of the Zone led to an agreement that the Panamanian flag be flown beside the U.S. flag in the Zone as "visual evidence" of Panamanian "titular" sovereignty, and this at one site, the U.S. Canal Zone Building.

About a year ago, the two nations agreed that both flags could be flown together throughout the Canal Zone. "But," records the New York Times (1/12/64), "if this placated the Panamenians it infuriated a group of Americans." As we now know, American high school students, encouraged by their parents, opposed this decision. In December, Zone officials ordered no flags be flown before the schools, a situation which set the stage for the current disturbances.

As this is written (January 18th), it is reported that most American diplomatic personnel have retreated into the Canal Zone, and that the United States and Panama have agreed to negotiate on three issues: 1) a raise in annual payments to Panama; 2) returning to Panamanian control Zonal lands not in use; and 3) reduction in American personnel with an increase in Panamanian personnel.

Writing in 1959, Hanke introduced his treatment of Panama (in Mexico and the Caribbean) in this fashion:

"This small country with about a million people, the geographic center of the Americas, has as its principal crop the revenues it derives from the Canal Zone. Politics, and economics revolve around this single topic. In spite of widespread anti-Yankee feeling and resentment against racist and domineering attitudes displayed by U.S. officials and citizens in the Zone, communism has not found fertile soil in Panama. Waves of nationalism break over the country periodically: political passions are nowhere more intense or divisive. All the classic problems of Central American republics are present: a one-crop export (bananas), illiteracy, poverty, housing deficiencies, insufficient electric power, and unstable political institutions."

Both The New York Times and The Christian Science Monitor have commented in editorials on the Imperialist attitudes of many Americans connected with the Canal. There is no question but what the ill-advised actions of students, supported by their parents, led to the immediate crisis. Had they not raised the flag, and had no riots occurred, we should not suppose, however, that relations would have remained harmonious.

Now the explanations are being offered for the unhappy events which have a measure of truth in them but which may be used by some to excuse the United States and to exempt our nation from reformulating its relationships to Panama. The first of these has to do with the nature of the Power Elite in Panama itself. There is reason to believe that a few powerful families--described by one Congressman as a ruling oligarchy--have controlled political decisions in Panama, and that little has been done to produce real economic and social reform in Panama. The ruling groups, therefore, can use hostility towards the United States to divert attention of the populace from their own iniquities.

The second, and more popular group on whom to pin the blame is the Communists. Without doubt there were Communists, whether of the Moscow or Havana or Peiping variety, ready to provide leadership for the discontented Panamanians. But would it be possible for a few Communists to exploit a mob for their own ends but for the fact that participants in the mob are discontented? As the Monitor suggests, to blame the Communists would mean that Americans will "miss the main point and comfortably evade their responsibility." (1/15/64).

There will be those voices in the United States which will urge maintenance of the status quo: let's not be pushed around. But, whether we like it or not, winds of change are blowing throughout Panama and all Latin America. To refuse to recognize these changes; to refuse any accommodation, will only serve to exacerbate the grievances--whether real or imagined--which are directed against the United States. To recognize that adjustments must be made and to sincerely pursue new agreements may be the harbinger of a new day in relations between the United States and Latin America.

We do not envy the position of President Johnson and his associates in the government. To accommodate will subject them to the full fury of these Americans who are unwilling to see the nation "pushed around"; to refuse accommodation risks not only our position in Panama, but throughout Latin America. Less than a year before elections, the policy makers of our government are in an uncomfortable position. To appear to give too much may mean the loss of an election; not to give enough may intensify long-standing grievances and cost the United States influence on events South of the Rio Grande.

Sources other than current periodicals used in preparation of this essay were the following:

- Dana Gardner Munro, The Latin American Republics New York, Appleton-Century-Crafts, Inc., 1950
Lewis Hanke, Mexico and the Caribbean, Princeton, N. J., D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1959.

The Hanke volume, and its companion, Latin America are brief paper-backs which are highly recommended to readers desiring brief but responsible surveys of Latin American history. Selected documents in each volume permit one to become acquainted with Latin American thinking on numerous problems.

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SEVERAL IMPORTANT NATIONAL AND WORLD FIGURES will be in Syracuse during May. Mark these visits on your calendar:

SENATOR QUENTIN BURDICK OF NORTH DAKOTA will discuss "PROSPECTS FOR CONTROLLING THE ARMS RACE" Tuesday, May 5, at 8 p.m. in Gifford Auditorium, Huntington B. Crouse Building, on the Syracuse University campus. The visit by Senator Burdick is being held under the auspices of the Council for a Livable World, founded by Dr. Leo Szilard, nuclear physicist and molecular biologist. Senator Burdick's topic is one which should draw all Peace Council members.

MRS. DOROTHY HUTCHINSON, NATIONAL PRESIDENT of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, will be luncheon speaker May 12 at 12:30 at the Yates Hotel, in a meeting sponsored by the local WILPF. Mrs. Hutchinson will have recently completed a visit with a WILPF delegation to Moscow, returning a similar visit by a group of Russian women to the Bryn Mawr conference of several years ago. Luncheon tickets, \$2 each, can be reserved by calling Mrs. Morris Budin, 446-8318. Because of the special interest Mrs. Hutchinson's visit has, the luncheon is open to the public.

A team of HIROSHIMA SURVIVORS will be in Syracuse sometime around May 20 as part of a PEACE PILGRIMAGE being prepared by Mrs. Earle Reynolds. (It is Mrs. Reynolds' husband who was jailed when their boat The Phoenix was sailed into nuclear test waters.) THE GOOD WILL AMBASSADORS are part of a HIROSHIMA-NAGASAKI WORLD PEACE STUDY MISSION. Some 30 people, 23 survivors and seven staff members, including translators, will tour the United States; probably three will visit Syracuse. Dewey Webster, son of Adelaide and Fred Webster, has been working with the Pilgrimage members in preparation for their visit; he is in Japan this year to study as part of his program at Antioch College. Watch the next newsletter for further information on the visit.

* * *

OTHER DATES TO REMEMBER:

The WORLD AFFAIRS FORUM will feature DR. JULIAN FRIEDMAN in an address April 18 at 8 p.m., High School Auditorium, Fay Road, North Syracuse. Dr. Friedman will discuss "The Impact of World Responsibility on the American Political System."

On May 6 DR. IRVING SWERDLOW, also from the Maxwell School at Syracuse University, will discuss "The Impact of World Responsibility on the American Economic System," as part of the same series.

* * *

!!! URGENT !!!

Have you written SENATORS KEATING AND JAVITS in support of the civil rights bill?

While you are writing, also let PRESIDENT JOHNSON know your thinking on the necessity for a negotiated settlement in VIET NAM. Walter Lippmann has pointed out that diplomatic bargaining must be undertaken in Viet Nam unless we wish to be faced with the "intolerable choice between a humiliating withdrawal or engaging in a large war."

The PEACE COUNCIL now is making plans for a local television program on Viet Nam late in April. The show will be one of Channel 9's "TARGET: TRUTH" presentations. Watch the local papers for more information.

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"What would be a human culture? It would not be oriented toward material fulfillment. Nevertheless, economic security is a precondition to a human culture. Berdyaev, the great Russian theologian, pointed out that Christians are always terrified of providing bread to people, because they really are secretly afraid the Communists are correct when the Communists argue that religion is the opiate of the masses to subdue their yearning and hunger for social justice.

"Berdyaev said, 'Let the Christians take heart. Give the people bread. Bread is a religious need for people who have no bread. There is no gospel higher than bread to the man that is starving. And having given him bread, then you will see whether or not God is a reality.' And you will never find out until he has bread. If having bread, he can rise no higher, then we made a mistake on the human race. We are only animals. If having bread, he is driven still to constructing temples, if he is still driven to constructing symphonies, poems, dances, and all the things that make up a civilization, then we had put a good bet on the human race. We were right, it had potentialities. But we will never discover those potentialities until we begin to lay the foundations for a human culture.

"The foundations are social justice, economic justice, and to test the proposition of whether you and I can live without enemies. Now, I know that all of us here, being peace people, can live without hating Chinese Communists. I wonder if we can live without hating General Walker. I wonder if we can live without hating Ross Barnett. I wonder if we can live without hating Governor Wallace. I wonder if we really fundamentally, peace loving as we are, can live without hating.

"I am not talking about giving up a struggle, for I am all for a struggle. I am talking about whether the struggle is conducted against things and principalities, or against men. There is a vast difference between being angry at injustice or being angry at men."

* * * *

"There is a line in the poetry of Kenneth Patchen which goes something to the effect that:

'Genius is an enormous littleness.'

That is one of those lines that at first glance doesn't make any sense, and that line has always bothered me, because Patchen rarely says anything that does not have some deep content some place. And I have discovered, I think, that human affairs are comprehensible. Even the greatest of events are made by individual men and women, acting often in very small, comprehensible ways.

"Now it is true that there is not much we can do, because the bulk of the future has been dictated entirely by the past. Tomorrow is already. Tomorrow was made by seven thousand years of history, and almost nothing about tomorrow can now be changed. But the day after tomorrow is not quite as inevitable as tomorrow. And the day following that is still less inevitable. There are lines of probability fanning out from 'NOW' in all directions. You can't push far at any given moment, you can only push a little bit. 'Genius is an enormous littleness.' But you can push. History is not inevitable. History is not inevitable. History is a compound of material factors and of human will.

"Now I ask all you, particularly the young people here, to be committed; and to be committed even though being committed means that you will be broken. The cold war can be ended, of course. This one is already over, but we can prevent a new one from starting. We can change human history. But it requires that you be committed. And to be committed requires that you take the risk of being broken.

"All of this is a long way off from the politics that I began with. And you must forgive me for having begun with a political analysis and closed with an existential statement. But I would say in closing to the entire group, particularly to the young people, that there will not be a new politics which is not based on this kind of existential commitment, on this willingness to be broken, on this recognition that we can discover ourselves only by risking, by losing ourselves.

"We are living, particularly the younger people, in that unique moment of history -- that ledge of fire -- between possible annihilation and the founding of a human culture. Yes, we can end the cold war, it has been ended. What are we going to use this period for, now?

"Do we think the problems have been solved? Don't we know that they are going to repeat themselves again and again until we come to grips with them? Shall we now float on this period of detente that we have? Shall we allow the powers that be to hold on to their power unchanged? Or shall we not now in this period when we have a greater freedom to speak than we had a year ago, and far more freedom to speak than we had two years ago -- speak truth to power and demand that we not repeat the cold war in Asia, that we feed Asia instead; that we not repeat the stupid follies of the last fifteen years; that we use our breathing space now to walk that ledge of fire into the future."

PEACE NEWS LETTER

Published by and for the New York State Peace Council
Guest Editor

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SPC 283, No. 64-151
March - April, 1964

REPORT ON THE 1964 INSTITUTE Last weekend the 24th annual Syracuse Institute of International Relations was held at the Yates Hotel under the joint sponsorship of the American Friends Service Committee and the Syracuse Peace Council. Assembled under the able guidance of "Dean" Norman Whitney, a distinguished international "faculty" considered the crucial topic "Can the Cold War Be Ended?" This "faculty" consisted of one professor, two government officials (one Yugoslavian and one American), and two representatives of what was referred to more than once as "that government in exile, namely the pacifist movement."

Dr. Reza Arasteh, an authority on conflict resolution, opened the Institute on Friday evening by emphasizing the following point. "Many liberals believe the problem of conflict resolution can be solved by law, but they neglect the psychological point that conflict must be resolved through trust. Reason and law alone become weak when irrational forces strike men." A change of attitude, not a change in law is what is required. Peace must be first in the hierarchy of values. Man is not a system in conflict, rather he is a system of potential harmony. Conflict, according to Charles Osgood, is an acquired characteristic. We are not born with conflict, we learn it. Finally, Dr. Arasteh stressed the fact that peace is not the absence of war. Peace is a positive force which brings men together.

On Saturday morning we were treated to a film festival -- three of the best peace films produced during the past couple of years. "The Walk" is an impressive picture description of the San Francisco to Moscow peace walk, sponsored by the Committee for Non-Violent Action in 1961. Following this, an entertaining cartoon "The Hole" was shown. It has some of the finest drawings ever used for a cartoon, and it is also an effective satire on nuclear war. The concluding film, "The Magician," deals in a compelling way with the process of conditioning our children to participation in war.

For the Saturday luncheon program there was a panel discussion opened by Dr. Egon Toms, correspondent at the United Nations for the Yugoslavian radio and television network. Throughout his talk, Dr. Toms explored the increasingly important role of the non-aligned nations. He discussed the Belgrade conference of non-aligned nations held in 1961. "Although the idea of non-alignment has been attacked by both sides, the small countries have something important to say to the world today. They can be very useful in helping the big powers find areas of understanding."

Dr. Toms also described Yugoslavia's difficult relations with its neighbors. Seven countries border Yugoslavia. Can you name them without consulting a map? Ten years ago Italy and Yugoslavia threatened to go to war over Trieste. This question was solved peacefully, and today Italy is Yugoslavia's most important commercial partner. Yugoslavia has also attacked the difficult question of national minorities living within its borders.

Dimitrios Roussopoulos, a leader in the Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in Canada, was the next panelist. He discussed the events leading to the change in government in Canada in 1963 from the Conservative Party to the Liberal Party. Paradoxically, the Conservatives are the real liberals in foreign and defense policies, according to Roussopoulos. The great Conservative Foreign Minister, Howard Green, championed this liberal foreign policy. After the Cuban missile crisis of 1962 began the chain of events which led, ultimately, last April to the election of the Liberal Party and the introduction of nuclear weapons to Canadian soil.

Roussopoulos urged us to take account of the great and growing crisis between English and French Canadians. This cleavage is evident in each of the four political parties in Canada, and it permeates the social structure of the entire country. Roussopoulos raised the possibility that this cleavage may erupt into violence and even civil war. The French Canadian community contains many people who want complete separation from English Canada.

David McReynolds, Field Secretary for the War Resisters League, stressed the unique role of the peace movement in small nations like Canada. "The question of unilateral disarmament really only exists for the United States and Russia. We and the Soviets are prepared to defend certain countries whether or not they wish such defense. A disarmed Canada would not be attacked because of the United States. We would defend Canada whether or not she had weapons, whether or not she is allied with us, whether or not she wants us to defend her. This gives Canada a unique opportunity to unilaterally disarm. She can opt out of the arms race, knowing Russia will not attack. The same situation holds for England.

"In this country the pacifist movement is politically irrelevant when it raises the demand for unilateral disarmament. Morally it is very relevant. This question is politically relevant for Canada and Britain. It is also politically relevant for Poland and other countries in Eastern Europe. If Poland disarms, we would not attack it. Neither would West Germany. To attack Poland automatically brings Russia to its defense, whether or not Poland has weapons.

"De Gaulle has gained tremendous political power through his break with Washington. The fact that he has nuclear weapons is irrelevant. He would have twice as much power if he gave up these nuclear weapons. But even so, he has become an important political force in Latin America, Southeast Asia, and in Africa simply because he decided to become independent of American policy.

"We in the pacifist movement should encourage countries like Britain and France to break with us, because as such countries break with us, we shall find a new freedom of movement ourselves."

One observer, commenting after the panel had finished, remarked, "I have never heard three men give one speech before."

The Saturday evening speaker was John McKnight, Agency Planning Officer for the United States Information Agency. Mr. McKnight opened his remarks by saying that the United States, through the Information Agency, was consciously engaged in propaganda. "Why should we propagandize?" he asked. "In recent years there has been a revolution in diplomacy. Public opinion is increasingly important in formulating policy. Nuclear war has made it necessary for diplomacy to be peaceful. War by word is replacing war by weapon." Propaganda is like advertising. If one believes in something, he should try to sell it to others. Thus propaganda has become an instrument of national policy for all nations. Mr. McKnight emphasized the advantage to mankind in having international conflicts waged by radio waves rather than by weapons.

During the question period, Mr. McKnight was asked if he, through the USIA, had ever knowingly made a false statement. His answer was that he had not. He went on to say that the false information given out by the USIA about the U-2 overflight in 1960 was given in good faith. The USIA was not informed of the facts until later. Needless to say, the USIA was considerably embarrassed by this. Mr. McKnight stated that our naval base at Guantanamo was not useful as a military base, but that it would be politically disastrous for us to leave it at this time.

The closing address of the Institute was given by David McReynolds after Sunday dinner. In answer to the question "Can the Cold War Be Ended?," David McReynolds replied that it has ended, and that both Russia and the United States had lost the cold war.

"A. The danger of war. Loss of human life does not prevent a nation from going to war. States respond only to threats to their own existence. War now for the first time threatens to annihilate not only people but the state system as we know it. Both great powers are backing away from war. Both powers dare not win or lose the cold war. If either power thought it was losing, it would attack the other. Both governments dare not win the cold war either, for if one gave evidence of winning, the other would not hesitate to attack its heartland.

"B. Overwhelming military power has resulted in a stalemate which has paralyzed both powers and left them unable to respond effectively to new situations in the world.

"C. The efforts of the peace movement. Just as it is a mistake to overestimate the influence of the peace movement, so also is it a mistake to underestimate its influence. The test ban treaty is partly the result of world opinion against nuclear testing, and the peace movement helped shape that opinion."

David McReynolds continued by pointing out that a detente is not peace. He then asked the audience, "Do we want to really pursue peace or do we want to choose new enemies, such as China? Are we prepared as a society for the conflicts that peace will bring? Are we prepared as individuals to form a human culture? To live without enemies?"

"Russia and the United States have enforced a certain measure of stability in parts of the world, and if both were to disarm this stabilizing force would be taken away, leading to chaos and conflict. Are we prepared for the chaos and conflict that peace means? Are we prepared for the breaking out of conflicts in Latin America that have been repressed by the arms race? Are we prepared for the changes required within our own society? Are we prepared for the necessary economic changes that peace would bring?

"Can we find identity without an enemy? Can we know who we are if we only know who we are not? We are, all of us here today, barbarians. How then can we lay the foundation for a human culture if we ourselves do not know that we are lacking yet?

PEACE NEWS LETTER

Published by and for the New York State Peace Council
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SPC 284, No. 64-152
May 7, 1964

It is hard for anyone who has been through the bombing to believe that any good can come out of it. But the one thing the people have hoped for is that the rest of the world might learn a little from what happened here. This is happening in medicine and it gives us some satisfaction. And we are hopeful that the political lessons may be even more instructive.

-- Dr. Tomin Harada, one of the Japanese physicians who participated in the Hiroshima Maidens project, quoted in Saturday Review, April 18, 1964

FOUR MEMBERS OF THE WORLD PEACE STUDY MISSION TOURING THE UNITED STATES

will be in Syracuse May 20. These survivors of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima will speak at H. W. Smith Junior High School at 8 p.m. The school is located at 1130 Salt Springs Road; the meeting is open to all interested persons.

The four members of the delegation are Saturo Fujimoto, worker and union leader; Miss Miyoko Matsubara, teacher in an orphanage for blind children; Zenshi Murakami, teacher; and Miss Tazu Shibama, owner of the Hiroshima School of Typing and English.

The public meeting is being planned by the Syracuse Peace Council with the co-sponsorship of the local branches of the National Association of Social Workers and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and with the support of the United Church Women and the Syracuse Area Council of Churches.

The survivors will be in the United States from April 21 to June 7, traveling from west to east in three teams, by plane and auto caravan, equipped with films and exhibits. They will continue on to Britain, France, West and East Berlin, the USSR, and possibly mainland China, and may serve as a pilot project for International Cooperation Year, set for 1965 by the United Nations.

Honorary sponsors of the trip include Norman Cousins, Bishop Gerald Kennedy, Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, Norman Whitney, Clarence Pickett, the Rev. James A. Pike, David Riesman, Bertrand Russell, Rod Serling, Norman Thomas, Carl Sandburg, and Rafer Johnson.

The estimated cost for the Study Mission is almost \$100,000. Because no contributions will be collected at the public meeting, we hope Peace Council members will help in expenses by sending in a donation to our office in the University Building.

The World Peace Study Mission will also visit other upstate New York cities; Buffalo on May 17 and 18, Rochester on May 19, Utica on May 21, and Albany on May 22 and 23. For information about the particular events in these cities, please contact:

For BUFFALO - Corwin Matlock, 143 Mill Street, Williamsville

For ROCHESTER - Mary Grooms, 159 Burkedale Cres., Rochester

For UTICA - Rev. Paul Walenta, Genesee and Pearl Streets, New Hartford

For ALBANY - Rev. Jordan Cole, 582 Brunswick Road, Troy

TWO MORE DATES TO MARK ON YOUR CALENDAR:

MAY 12 --- MRS. DOROTHY HUTCHINSON, National President of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, will be luncheon speaker at 12:15 at the Mizpah Hotel, in a meeting sponsored by the local WILPF. Mrs. Hutchinson will have recently completed a visit with a WILPF delegation to Moscow, returning a similar visit by a group of Russian women to the Bryn Mawr conference of several years ago. Luncheon tickets, \$2 each, can be reserved by calling Mrs. Morris Budin, 446-8318. Because of the special interest Mrs. Hutchinson's visit has, the luncheon is open to the public. There will be an evening meeting for those unable to attend the luncheon at the home of Adelaide Webster. Call her at HO 8-6173 for information.

JUNE 3 --- THE PEACE COUNCIL ANNUAL MEETING. Watch for details in our next Newsletter.

HELP END CIVIL
DEFENSE IN
SYRACUSE

The appropriation for civil defense in Onondaga County for 1964 is currently before the County Board of Supervisors. Dr. Harold Frediani, Supervisor from the Town of Pompey, has introduced a resolution calling for a substantial reduction in the proposed civil defense budget of over \$100,000. Several witnesses have already testified in favor of civil defense and against the Frediani resolution. Professor Nahmin Horwitz of the Syracuse University Physics Department is scheduled to testify in favor of the Frediani resolution in the near future.

Why should one oppose civil defense? What is wrong with trying to protect ourselves in case of nuclear attack? Nothing. However, civil defense and fallout shelters are simply unable to do this. In a report prepared for Congressman Robert Kastenmeier of Wisconsin, the following facts are presented about the destructive power of nuclear weapons:

1. A twenty megaton bomb (not as large as the sixty megaton bomb the Soviet Union tested in 1961) would make a crater in the ground 1600 feet in diameter and 300 feet deep.
2. A twenty megaton bomb would shatter a concrete wall at a distance of six miles, a brick wall seven miles distant, and seriously damage structures twelve miles from ground zero.
3. First degree burns would occur to exposed persons up to seventeen miles away.
4. The burst would be so bright that blindness would be caused in people up to 300 miles from ground zero. The speed of light is such that one would not even have time to close his eyes before the flash arrived.
5. A lethal dose of fallout is 600 to 800 r (r is a unit of measure for radiation). A one megaton burst would produce fallout generating 1000 r per hour near the center of the explosion. In two weeks the radiation level would have dropped to 1 r per hour. Since the effect of radiation is cumulative, one cannot expose himself indefinitely even to a radiation level of 1 r per hour.

A fallout shelter, as the name suggests, offers protection only against fallout, not against blast, heat, and light. Properly stocked with supplies, it could offer protection only to people who are far enough away from ground zero to escape the other effects of an explosion. But suppose one did survive a nuclear attack. He would emerge from his shelter to find the farmlands contaminated, the forests wiped out, and severe erosion already in progress. He would also find over 100 million of his fellow Americans dead and his civilization pretty well ruined. In such a situation, the survivors would likely envy the dead.

Letters in support of the Frediani resolution are urgently needed. State in your own words why you want the 1964 civil defense budget for Onondaga County reduced or eliminated altogether. Write to Ephraim Shapero, Chairman of the County Board of Supervisors, 407 Court House, Syracuse, New York, 13202. Also, write to your own Supervisor. You can obtain his name and address, if you do not already know it, from the League of Women Voters or from the Court House itself. At the present moment, the Frediani resolution is before the Committee of Public Safety. Its chairman is Leo F. Kane, Oswego Road, RD, Liverpool.

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Alan Peabody, former Chairman of the New York State Peace Council, retires from the editorship of the Peace News Letter. This has represented a tremendous service to the Syracuse Peace Council; we thank him many times over for his able writing. When he left DeRuyter, New York, for Waco, Texas (Paul Quinn College), leaving the ministry for teaching, he took the task of writing the Newsletter with him. For four years it has been composed at this distance. His successor is Bert Fowler who has the assistance of Lydia Blanchard, our local reporter. Peace News Letter continues in capable hands.

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PEACE NEWS LETTER

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Bert Fowler, editor \$1.00 per year

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June 18, 1964

The loss of Jawaharlal Nehru will be deeply felt not only in India but throughout the world, for this was a man who went far beyond the normal narrow role of a national leader. His greatest accomplishments were of international significance. "He was a revolutionary in international councils, and a successful one, in that he was the first to prove that a nation without military might could and would be heard by the militarily mighty." His leadership provided a beacon for the emerging nations. The principle of nonalignment has successfully changed the nature of the Cold War. As a disciple of Gandhi during the non-violent struggle for independence, Nehru helped develop a new way of conflict resolution which will have increasing relevance in the years ahead.

New York Times, editorial, May 28, 1964

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In the months since the death of our founding member, Miss M. Lesley West, the Syracuse Peace Council has been considering ways of establishing a fitting memorial to her, both as a token of our indebtedness to her inspiring leadership and as a means of carrying forward those concerns in which she was especially interested.

Accordingly, the Syracuse Peace Council announces its intention of creating an M. Lesley West Memorial Fund, the income from which will be used as scholarship aid for attenders of American Friends Service Committee Camps and Institutes. You are sincerely invited to contribute to this fund.

ATOM BOMB SURVIVORS IN SYRACUSE May 20th was the day when the hibakusha came to Syracuse. Those who were at H. W. Smith School that night will not easily forget the four wonderful visitors from Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Tazu Shibama and Satoru Fujimoto told us what had happened to them on that August morning nearly 19 years ago. The life of a hibakusha is not easy even today. He still has scars, both physical and psychological. It is difficult to find employment, because of prejudice and because many hibakusha are weak and subject to frequent illnesses. They do not know whether to get married, because the incidence of birth defects among children of hibakusha is considerably above the average for a normal population. Satoru Fujimoto told us that, although he is in good health now, he knows that leukemia could strike him at any moment without warning. 19 years after the bomb, the incidence of leukemia among hibakusha remains very high.

To some it may seem that the hibakusha dwell too long on their plight. But their plight is our problem; the moral burden of the only nation ever to use atomic weapons on human populations; and the knowledge that ours is a world with the potential for instantaneous self-destruction, by either accident or design.

But life continues for the hibakusha. Their visit to Syracuse is a testimony to the strength of the human spirit. For them joy and happiness are still real and genuine. They are not resentful about the past. They are dedicated to the task of creating a future.

GENOCIDE IN ANGOLA Dr. F. Ian Gilchrist is one of three doctors who is trying to care for over one million refugees from Angola in the Congo. He has been sent on a tour of this country by the American Committee on Africa to make known to the American people the plight of these refugees and their less fortunate brethren in Angola who still face Portuguese bombs.

When Dr. Gilchrist was in Syracuse in April, he told us how Portugal is engaged in a systematic campaign to eliminate large numbers of the Angolan people. The Portuguese are replacing these departed Angolans by importing thousands of peasants from Portugal. Where a labor shortage still exists on the plantations, Angolan women and children are sent out in chains to toil in the fields.

In 1961 a rebellion of Angolans broke out on a plantation which set off a wave of violence against the Portuguese people by the Angolans. As a result, vigilante gangs of Portuguese roamed the land and killed thousands of Angolans. Dr. Gilchrist says they were soon replaced by the Portuguese army, equipped mainly with American weapons obtained through NATO. Northern Angola, the area of the rebellion, has been sealed off from the rest of Angola by the Portuguese, and planes and helicopters are being used to eliminate its people.

Dr. Gilchrist asked American officials why the Portuguese are allowed to use American weapons against the Angolans. He was told that the Americans have protested to Portugal about this, but that America does not have the power to prevent Portugal

from using NATO weapons in Angola, just as America did not have the power to prevent Pakistan from using American weapons to build up its army against India in Kashmir. Dr. Gilchrist asks which is more important; Portuguese participation in the NATO alliance or the survival of the Angolan people? Independence for Angola is not just a matter of political and social freedom for the Angolans, it is simply a matter of survival.

ANNUAL MEETING The Annual Meeting of the Syracuse Peace Council was held this year on June 1st at Danforth United Church. The film "The Walk," describing the San Francisco to Moscow Peace Walk, was shown; and Jerry Lehmann and Peter Lens answered questions afterward. Both had been participants on the Walk. This project marked the first time that an international group of pacifists had been able to demonstrate against both Soviet and American weapons on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

Prior to the film was the annual business meeting of the Syracuse Peace Council. We are including some of the items of business in this Newsletter, because they are of general interest. First, Chairman Adelaide Webster announced that the proposed American Friends Service Committee area peace office for Syracuse and upstate New York would not be established this year as planned, due to lack of funds.

Statement of Income and Expense, January 1, 1964 to June 1, 1964

INCOME		EXPENSE	
Contributions	2765.80	Literature	40.88
" foreign, NYS	347.00	Misc.	.55
Interest	37.17	Contributions to	
Mimeo Service	13.23	other organiza-	
FNL	6.00	tions	10.00
Pur. Dis.	1.59	Office Supplies	188.26
AFSC Grant	787.50	Postage	261.62
SPECTATOR	<u>21.00</u>	Rent & Elec.	268.06
Total Receipts	3979.29	Soc. Sec. Exp.	65.50
		Salaries	1806.89
		SPC meetings	21.75
		Tel & Tel	<u>114.76</u>
			3979.29
		Total Disbursements	<u>2778.27</u>
			1201.02
		Income over Expense	
		Outstanding Pledges:	\$274.00

Alan Peabody, presently on the faculty at Paul Quinn College in Waco, Texas, is retiring as editor of the Peace Newsletter. Lydia Blanchard is moving with her husband to Washington, D. C. this summer and will also be retiring from her position as local editor. The Peace Council deeply appreciates the fine job that they have done as editors. In the meantime, Bert Fowler has accepted responsibility for the Newsletter.

We welcome Olga Diamond, Jean Young, Sam Feld and Byron Fox to the Peace Council Executive Committee, and we would like to thank the retiring members of the Committee for their work and helpful guidance of Peace Council activities. The retiring "executives" are Lydia Blanchard, Rachael Fallik, Emery Pesko, Norton Putter and Edith Schmitz. The Peace Council officers for the coming year are: Adelaide Webster, chairman; Benjamin Shove, vice-chairman; Harriet Scheehl, secretary; and Lena Gray, treasurer.

Planning future program really demands the thoughtful consideration of all of us, and anyone who has imaginative or useful ideas should not hesitate to bring them forward. For instance, we are seriously considering making our annual Syracuse Institute on International Relations a one-day institute instead of a week end program. People attending from out of town tell us that it is impossible to come for an entire week end, but that they can come on Saturday. Our program committee for the coming year will be Hugh Miller, Chairman; Sam Feld, Anna Foliterik, Julian Friedman, Raj Nanavati, and Emery Pesko.

COMING EVENTS OCTOBER 3rd - FALL ROUND-UP. Clarence Jordan from Koinonia, an interracial community near Americus Georgia, will be the main speaker. (Saturday)

JANUARY 13th, 1965 - BIRTHDAY DINNER. Arthur Lall, formerly Indian Ambassador to Vienna and to the United Nations, will be the speaker. Arthur Lall is now on the faculty at Cornell University.

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ARE YOU TIRED?

"I know many people say they get tired of hearing about Algeria. But when I see undernourished, TB-infected children and babies brought to our clinics, children who are little more than wrinkled skin stretched over a bony frame, I know we can't let ourselves 'get tired'. We have no right to 'get tired' of such human suffering.".....(William Channel, director of Overseas Refugee Programs, American Friends Service Committee)

**• Please continue to send SOAP, BLANKETS, & CLOTHING to
American Friends Service Committee Warehouse, 23rd and Arch Sts., Phila., Pa. 19103**

PEACE NEWS LETTER

Published by and for the New York State Peace Council
Bert Fowler, Editor \$1.00 per year

SPC 286a, No. 64-153
July 17, 1964

MILITARY BUILD-UP IN SOUTHEAST ASIA The growing crisis in Southeast Asia is rapidly becoming a matter of urgent concern. There are persistent reports that we may become involved in a war with China itself over Southeast Asia. United States "reconnaissance" flights over Laos have been announced recently. One begins to wonder whether Prince Souvanna Phouma is still the real leader in Laos or whether the United States is actually operating independently of him. War with China today will be a far more serious business than it was ten years ago in Korea. We cannot win such a war, and we will find a trip to the brink with China over Southeast Asia far more dangerous than the trip to the brink with the Soviet Union two years ago over Cuba.

To us a neutral Southeast Asia under appropriate international guarantees is the only solution. Such an agreement will not be easy to obtain, but let us make the effort. This is why the recent statement by Senator Gruening of Alaska was so encouraging.

"It is becoming increasingly evident that the undeclared war in Vietnam can and will ultimately be settled only at the conference table. If that is the case then the sooner the U.S. takes the initiative in the U.N. to obtain a cease-fire the better." -- from Senate speech of June 3.

Other voices in the Senate, particularly Senator Morse, have also spoken out against our Vietnam policy. Furthermore, the Christian Century in its editorial of June 3 urged a change in our Southeast Asia policy.

"Nevertheless the [Southeast Asia] problem belongs to the U.N. This world body was established precisely for the purpose of settling thorny and perilous international disputes. We have too long by-passed it in this matter. Whether or not through the U.N. the United States achieves its whole purpose in Southeast Asia, the problem should be solved through the U.N., not by the unilateral actions of the United States or Communist China."

We must realize that our policy is frequently resented by the people, while the communist revolutionaries (our term for them) are often regarded by local peasants as true national liberators. Former President Eisenhower recognized this situation at the time he was in office, as reflected in his comment in Mandate for a Change (p. 372).

"I am convinced that the French could not win the war because the internal political situation in Vietnam, weak and confused, badly weakened their military position. I have never talked or corresponded with a person knowledgeable in Indochinese affairs who did not agree that had elections been held at the time of the fighting [1954] possibly 80 per cent of the population would have voted for the Communist Ho Chi Minh as their leader rather than Chief of State Bao Dai."

Even a military man such as Eisenhower recognizes that military methods are not capable of solving political problems. Both South Vietnam and Laos are in a state of political chaos. Strategic hamlets and defoliating chemicals are no remedy, but rather a moral burden which no nation can afford to carry.

REACTION IN BRAZIL Some months ago a military coup-d'etat overthrew the government of Brazil, headed by Joao Goulart. Goulart may not have been the most competent of national leaders, but he inherited a difficult situation after taking office when President Janio Quadros resigned. The United States supported the coup-d'etat by recognizing the government headed by General Humberto Castelo Branco. The reason? Brazil will now vote with us against Cuba in the Organization of American States.

Castelo Branco, since coming to office, has arrested scores of people for "political" reasons, including some elected members of Brazil's legislature. He has followed this up by suspending the political rights of former Presidents Quadros and Kubitschek. Kubitschek was a likely candidate for office in the elections to be held next year, and he had a good chance of winning. For further details you might want to look at the June 22 issue of The Nation.

* * * * *

TEACHER -- "What is the difference between the words 'mishap' and 'catastrophe'?"
LITTLE BOY -- "When you're hit by an American missile, it's a mishap; when you're hit by a Russian missile, it's a catastrophe."

AND YE SHALL KNOW THE TRUTH AND THE TRUTH SHALL MAKE YOU FREE -- JOHN VIII-XXXII

This inscription appears in stone on a wall at the CIA headquarters in Virginia. Look magazine has run articles by David Wise and Thomas B. Ross, called "The Invisible Government," and the opening article (June 16) is especially significant. It shows how deeply the CIA has burrowed, not only into policy formation, but into the very fabric of American life. Tourists to Russia and Eastern Europe have been used for intelligence missions. Universities have obtained research grants in return for helping the CIA recruit personnel on their campuses.

"An informed citizen might come to suspect that the foreign policy of the United States often works publicly in one direction, and covertly, through the Invisible Government, in just the opposite direction." -- Look, 6-16, p. 37

According to Wise and Ross, the CIA is only one organization that is part of the Invisible Government. Others include the FBI, the AEC, the National Security Council, the Defense Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency, Air Force Intelligence, Navy Intelligence, Army Intelligence, and the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research. Over 200,000 people are employed by these organizations.

If the Invisible Government is allowed to grow during the next ten years the way it has grown during the past decade, real policy will be formed only within a secret inner circle, and our public policy will become a hollow and meaningless issue for debate.

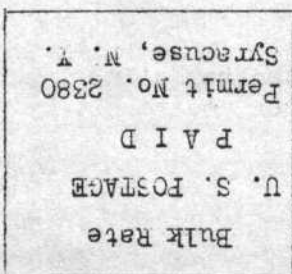
In addition to the Look article, Wise and Ross have written a book entitled The Invisible Government. There is a book by Haynes Johnson, Bay of Pigs, in which the author describes the CIA role in the Bay of Pigs invasion as seen by the Cuban refugees. Fred Cook has an article in the June 22 issue of The Nation on the CIA. With all this ammunition available, we have the opportunity and responsibility to circulate it among our friends.

DOES EGYPT HAVE NUCLEAR WEAPONS? One of the greatest concerns in our nuclear age is to discourage the spread of nuclear weapons to other countries. The proposed Multi-lateral Force for NATO is a subtle means of adding to the number of fingers on the nuclear trigger. In addition, Egypt may be developing radioactive weapons in her arms race with Israel.

It is no secret that Egypt has been using West German scientists to aid her in developing rockets. It seems quite possible that Egypt (officially called the United Arab Republic) may be using radioactive waste from nuclear reactors in the warheads for these rockets. While these are not technically nuclear weapons, their radioactive material would have much the same effect as fallout. One needs only to mention the implications of radioactive weapons in warfare between Israel and the Arab countries on the world situation.

SUPREME COURT DECISIONS Certainly the Supreme Court has made a number of crucial decisions this spring which go far to advancing the cause of freedom and democracy. Probably the decision to order state legislatures to reapportion themselves to conform to the "one man, one vote" dictum of Chief Justice Warren was the most important. There has been the decision to outlaw compulsory school prayers, the decision to order Prince Edward County in Virginia to reopen its public schools on a desegregated basis, the decision making it impossible to refuse to issue passports to people simply because they are members of the Communist Party.

These decisions are bound to cause bitterness in some quarters. There have been hysterical cries of "Impeach Earl Warren!"; but more important, there have been constitutional amendments submitted which would overturn the Court's decisions or limit the Court's authority. The Becker Amendment in the question of school prayers is one example. You might want to read Martin Marty's fine editorial in the Christian Century (June 3), in which he discusses the hearings held by the House Judiciary Committee on the Becker Amendment.



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PEACE NEWS LETTER

Published by and for the New York State Peace Council
Bert Fowler, Editor

SPC 286b, No. 64-154
August 18, 1964

CRISIS OVER VIETNAM

PRESIDENT JOHNSON IN SYRACUSE From the steps of the beautiful new Samuel Newhouse Communications Center at Syracuse University came the words

"Aggression -- deliberate, willful, and systematic aggression -- has unmasked its face to the entire world. The world remembers, the world must never forget that aggression unchallenged is aggression unleashed."

President Johnson, the speaker of these words, was in town last week, and he chose the dedication of a school for the training of professional workers in the news media to make this major public statement on the Vietnam crisis. It is not often that a President comes to Syracuse, so Lena and I escaped from the office long enough to see the motorcade -- but not the President, for he went by too fast -- along with thousands of others who lined the downtown route. The crowd was large but quietly curious. As the car approached, people did break through police lines, hopeful of a close look.

We were not on hand a short time later when Johnson spoke at the University, but those who saw the rebroadcast of the speech reported that the words "Aggression -- deliberate, willful, and systematic aggression" evoked only restrained applause, no stampede of emotional nationalism.

Perhaps calls for an expanded war in Vietnam result in public apathy not public enthusiasm. If so, we have a real opportunity to appeal for an end to this terrible war which has continued for nineteen years.

WHY DID NORTH VIETNAM ATTACK? Why did the North Vietnamese patrol boats attack American destroyers on two separate occasions? Aren't we rather presumptuous to assume that this is "deliberate, willful, systematic aggression"? If one looks on the map, the Gulf of Tonkin is a long, narrow bay with North Vietnam to the west and China to the east. The mere presence of the American navy would cause profound jitters along both shores. Can one imagine what the reaction would be here if the Soviet navy cruised up and down the Long Island Sound?

Nevertheless, it may have been a deliberate, unprovoked attack. North Vietnam is involved in the Vietnamese war, and her tactics do include terror of the most extreme kind. But the attack may have been made to create a crisis which would demand and get a negotiated settlement of the whole Vietnamese war. Or it may have been in reprisal for South Vietnamese raids on North Vietnam. Senator Morse has suggested that our navy in the Gulf of Tonkin may have been used as cover for these South Vietnamese raids on North Vietnam, and North Vietnam could not leave such "cover" unchallenged.

In any case, a small number of torpedo boats attacked but did not damage two American destroyers. The destroyers fired on the boats and planes were sent from a nearby aircraft carrier to attack the boats as well. Did this warrant the bombing of four harbors and an oil storage depot?

GOLDWATER'S "PEACEMONGERING" If one says that President Johnson used force where force was not needed, one must also recognize that he used less force than others in his position might have used. Politically, the Vietnam crisis has helped Johnson in his election campaign. The relatively mild verbal response from both China and the Soviet Union to this incident may be due at least in part to the American elections.

Now that the crisis has eased a little, Senator Goldwater feels free to proceed with his ideas about Vietnam. For him "devotion to preparedness is devotion to peace," and "to insist upon strength, let me impress you, is not warmongering. It is peacemongering -- the only kind that has ever worked in the whole history of the world."

LET US NOT FEAR TO NEGOTIATE How will we be able to proceed toward a solution of the conflict in Vietnam? War is definitely no solution. The Vietnamese have been involved in war since 1945, and the situation has grown progressively worse for them. The Great Powers (France, United States, Soviet Union, and China) have also become involved, and, together with the Vietnamese, will have to sit down and work out a settlement. North Vietnam was invited to appear before the United Nations Security Council to explain its position, but it refused, presumably due to Chinese influence. This raises the old issue of Chinese representation at the United Nations. But the pressure of world opinion is being increasingly brought to bear upon us for our refusal to consider reopening the Geneva conference on Southeast Asia. Negotiation may not be easy, but let us at least begin.

SOUTH VIETNAMESE RAIDS ON NORTH VIETNAM It is not likely that we will make an effort to end the war in Vietnam before November. But there is a particularly vexing symptom in the war where immediate action could be taken. This is the problem of South Vietnamese raids on North Vietnam. In increasingly shrill tones South Vietnamese General Nguyen Khanh has been urging that the war be carried to North Vietnam. Raids on North Vietnam are occurring on land, through the air (paratroop drops), and at sea (naval attacks on coastal installations). General Khanh has broadcast appeals urging the North Vietnamese people to revolt and "exterminate the traitors." Finally, a state of siege has been declared in South Vietnam. Under this Khanh has assumed emergency powers which enable him to 1) search private homes without limit, 2) ban strikes and meetings "considered harmful to public order, 3) censor all public information media except for dispatches to foreign countries, 4) control travel and food distribution.

There is a similarity between this and Formosa during the early 1950's. Chiang Kai-shek urged us to cooperate with him on raids along the coast of the Chinese mainland. But President Truman specifically prohibited the use of American weapons as well as the cover of the Seventh Fleet for such raids. James Reston of the New York Times suggests that such an arrangement be used for General Khanh. President Johnson should formally and publicly declare that the South Vietnamese shall not use American weapons in raids on North Vietnam. Nor will we use our fleet as cover for such raids. It is very likely, whether intended or not, our fleet has been used to cover raids. If we make it clear to General Khanh that we will not cooperate with him in carrying the war to the north, we will ease and perhaps remove one of the most dangerous symptoms of the war. If this is not done, we may become involved in other serious incidents as happened last week, whether we wish to or not.

SUPPORT FOR SENATOR MORSE Senator Morse was joined only by Senator Gruening of Alaska in voting against the Congressional resolution authorizing President Johnson "to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force, to assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty requesting assistance in the defense of its freedom." Under this resolution, the President could intervene in other Southeast Asia countries without prior Congressional approval. Senator Morse called it "a predated declaration of war power."

Despite the 88-2 vote in the Senate (416 to 0 in the House), there were some who were not happy with the resolution but felt they had no alternative except to vote in its favor. Senator Aiken of Vermont was in that category. "I felt that it [expansion of the war] shouldn't occur, but the decision wasn't mine." Senator Nelson of Wisconsin felt that the resolution wasn't clear and could be interpreted as authorizing the President to carry the war to North Vietnam.

Both Senator Morse and Senator Gruening deserve our thanks and written support for their forthright stand in voting against this resolution.

* * * * *

PROFITS FROM WEAPONS Weapons production continues to grow more specialized and concentrated within a few large corporations. For example, a recent article by Otto Feinstein disclosed that the 25 largest defense contractors hold 50% of the total prime contract. This amounts to nearly 13 billion dollars.

Last year the figures for the five leading contractors were as follows:

Lockheed	\$1,419.5	million
General Dynamics	1,196.6	million
Boeing	1,132.8	million
North American Aviation	1,032.5	million
General Electric	975.9	million

New York Times, 8/16/63

The General Electric figure is a significant factor in the Syracuse economy, and we have good reason to ask whether GE is taking any steps to prepare for the changes that reductions in defense spending would bring.

REMEMBER THE FALL SYRACUSE ROUND-UP TO BE HELD ON SATURDAY, OCTOBER 3rd. Clarence Jordan of Koinonia Farm, Americus Georgia, will be the featured speaker; and Lawrence Apsley of the New York Yearly Meeting of Friends (Quakers) will lead a training workshop on the theory and practice of nonviolence.

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PEACE NEWS LETTER

Published by and for the New York State Peace Council
Bert Fowler, Editor

SPC 287, No. 64-155
\$1.00 per year September 18, 1964

SYRACUSE ROUND-UP What was it like to live and work in Mississippi this summer? Is it possible to build a truly interracial community in the South? How can nonviolence be effective in direct action projects for peace and civil rights in the local community?

Can the peace movement and the civil rights movement become united in a common enterprise?

What can we learn from the civil rights movement? What can they learn from us?

These are some of the questions which will be discussed at the Syracuse Round-up of Peace Workers on Saturday, October 3rd from 9 AM to 5:30 PM. The theme this year is "Peace and Civil Rights: The Connection." Lunch (\$1.50 including morning coffee) is the only cost; and the Round-up will be held at Bethany Baptist Church, 601 Irving Avenue, which is only a few blocks from Syracuse University. The Round-up is under the joint sponsorship of the Syracuse Peace Council and the American Friends Service Committee (A.F.S.C.).

As resource leaders we plan to have the chairman of Syracuse CORE, who has led the nonviolent struggle for equal rights in Syracuse and this summer went to Mississippi; we plan to have the founder and director of an interracial community in rural Georgia, who has been active in the nonviolent struggle for both peace and civil rights; and we plan to have a team trained to lead a workshop on the use of nonviolence in the local community for both peace and civil rights. This workshop will consist both of discussions and role playing sociodramas in which the audience will participate. A brief outline of the day's program follows.

9:30 REPORT FROM MISSISSIPPI - by Bruce Thomas of Syracuse CORE.
10:30 ADDRESS by Clarence Jordan of Koinonia Community,
1:30 - 5:30 TRAINING WORKSHOP ON NONVIOLENCE, led by Ross Flanagan and Lawrence Apsey from the Committee on Training in Nonviolence of the New York Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends.

Special effort is being made to attract high school students to the Round-up, for we think this program will be of great interest to them as well. Nancy O'Neill, who directs the High School Seminar program for the Middle Atlantic Region of AFSC, will be on hand to guide the high school discussions. Of course, the students will want to hear both morning talks and take part in the role-playing demonstrations in the afternoon.

RELIGIOUS STRIFE IN VIETNAM Among the confusion of Vietnamese politics, which resembles a merry-go-round more than a government, one influence clearly predominates. That is the religious issue. The South Vietnamese are more concerned with the threat of religious persecution than with the threat of communism.

The Catholic minority had established Catholicism in a preferred position under former President Diem. Everyone remembers the Buddhist demonstrations and fiery suicides of last autumn that preceded the coup-d'etat from which Buddhist General Khanh eventually emerged as the dominant figure in the Vietnamese government. So this summer it was the Catholics turn to complain, and there were Catholic demonstrations.

Certainly, the religious issue is not so clearly defined as the preceding paragraph might suggest. But it is undeniable that strong feelings and deep suspicions exist between these two religious groups. Many people now regard a strong government as a threat to religious freedom, and there is no national figure of sufficient stature to unite the country and put aside these suspicions.

Naturally, this situation is frustrating in the extreme to our generals and diplomats who put such emphasis on efficiency and organization. But people's fears are not relieved on drawing boards, nor can computers eliminate religious persecution. One cannot pull a name out of a hat and force a nation to accept him as its leader, as we seem to be doing with General Khanh.

We have seen conflicts break out this year all over the world; conflicts which are based on centuries of fear and mistrust. The rioting of the Chinese in Singapore, the uprisings of Moslems and Hindus in Pakistan and India, the hatred between Greek and Turk on Cyprus, the tribal unrest in the Congo, apartheid in South Africa, genocide in Angola, and the Arab-Israeli conflict in the Middle East -- all of these will test the wisdom and understanding of our national policymakers in the years immediately ahead. The technical knowhow and organizational expertise at our command will not do the job. The world needs tolerance, patience and understanding of the kind that has molded our people into one nation, based on a myriad of cultures and backgrounds. But these same qualities are also desperately needed in our South, in our large cities, and in the increasingly bitter ideological strife which is our election campaign of 1964.

TRADE WITH THE SOVIET UNION "Have we lost our faith in the economic interdependence of all countries as one pillar of world order?" Harold J. Berman asks that question in concluding one of the best articles on our trade policy with the Soviet Union that I have seen. (article in July 8th issue of Harvard Business Review)

One needs a detailed guidebook to determine what goods can be imported from Russia. For example, crabmeat is "tainted" because it is claimed to be a product of forced labor. But caviar is all right. Soviet ermine, fox, mink, and muskrat are banned; but sable, squirrel, and Persian lamb are permissible.

A more important barrier to trade is the cumbersome licensing procedure that exporters must undergo. Generally an exporting firm cannot apply for a license until he has a solid contract. But it costs money to negotiate a contract, and potential exporters are naturally reluctant to initiate export deals.

The Soviet Union tried in 1958 to negotiate a bilateral trade agreement with us, but it was turned down with the explanation that private firms were already free to negotiate trade contracts with Russia, and that a formal trade agreement was therefore unnecessary. But England, France, Germany, Argentina, Brazil, and Nigeria already use such agreements.

Furthermore, it is objected that a government agency has direct charge of all Soviet international trade, and how can one force the Soviet government to abide by the customary procedures of international commerce? The Soviet export-import agency is a government bureau. But it appears as a legal entity, with capacity to enter into contracts, sue, and be sued. It is willing to adapt itself to international trade custom and law, including submitting disputes to arbitration. Moreover, the Soviet Union uses gold or Western currencies, not the overvalued ruble, as payment for goods. The Soviet Union has limited reserves of gold and Western currencies, and it does not use these reserves rashly. For example, it costs her \$60-65 to mine an ounce of gold, whereas the world market price for gold is fixed at \$35 an ounce.

Mr. Berman suggests that we negotiate bilateral agreements in the following manner. We would promise to grant export licenses for certain types and amounts of goods, and the Soviet Union would agree to return either money or other goods as its half of the deal. But a firm would need to be able to guarantee credit, and it was credit troubles that almost wrecked the wheat sale last year. A further stumbling block is the extra high tariffs that are charged on Soviet goods, frequently three times the rate for the same goods from other European countries.

The major point in Mr. Berman's article is one of policy, not procedure. Trade in itself promotes understanding and peace. It is the beginning of a true world community of nations. Already the pressure of international events is forcing us to reevaluate our trade policy, and, hopefully, the wheat deal may be a prelude to further enterprises. There is an expanding market for Western products in both the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe, and already England and West Germany are taking advantage of this opportunity. Is the wealthiest country in the world afraid that its businessmen will be outsmarted at the trading post by Russia?

UNRECOGNIZED VICTORY FOR CIVIL RIGHTS When does the civil rights movement, or any other reforming group for that matter, feel that its case has been sufficiently recognized so that it can usefully take part in the already organized political processes? At Atlantic City last month the Freedom Democrats from Mississippi won the right to two seats at the Democratic National Convention. In addition, the regular Democrats from Alabama and Mississippi were asked to pledge support to the national ticket as a condition for being seated, and the state organizations were asked to open their membership to Negroes by 1968. It remains to be seen whether the call to integrate the party in the South will be enforced effectively.

When the Freedom Democrats rejected this proposal, they were saying, in effect: "We are still excluded from participation in American political life, and your offer does not change this basic fact. Therefore, we cannot accept." The bombings, brutality, and hatred that they must continually endure speak louder than invitations or promises from a political convention.

Yet their story was dramatized throughout the nation by television. And no political organization where only votes count has so fully recognized the moral force of these men from Mississippi. Theirs was a remarkable achievement, but it was not unqualified recognition.

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PEACE NEWS LETTER

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Bert Fowler, Editor

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SPC 288, No. 64-156
October 19, 1964

DOES DETERRENCE WORK? It is a common belief among peace workers that the existence and the threat of nuclear weapons may do serious psychological damage to people. We question whether the world's populations and its leaders can remain calm and rational during times of serious international crisis. We take serious issue with the assumption behind deterrence that increased fear produces reason and prevents war. Sometimes we even dare to ask the deeper question, "Is human nature capable of living in a world without war?" However, it is difficult to find material relevant to these questions from the behavioral sciences in a form which the average layman can understand.

WEAPONS AND PSYCHOLOGY Last month a significant new report was released which deals with both the psychological effects of nuclear weapons and possible ways of preventing nuclear war. Entitled "Psychiatric Aspects of the Prevention of Nuclear War," this report was formulated by the Committee on Social Issues of the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry. It does not contain new research, but rather is an attempt to digest and compile material already available. For those who want to probe into actual studies, an extensive bibliography of source material is included. This Newsletter will describe some of the highlights of the report. For those who want the full story, the report may be obtained from the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry (104 East 25th St., New York, N. Y. 10010) for \$1.50.

IS NONVIOLENCE AGAINST HUMAN NATURE? The report opens by stating that war is a social institution, not "the sum total of countless individual human aggressions." As a social institution it requires an advanced degree of technology and organization. Such a structure can be both modified or eliminated by man. Then the report deals decisively with the claim that the use of nonviolence in solving conflicts is against human nature.

"In spite of man's proclivity for resorting to violence to solve problems or resolve conflicts, there is nothing in what we know about the nature of man that would prevent his learning to substitute nonviolent force for violent force in such matters. Indeed, the survival of humanity in the nuclear age may well depend on man's capacity to find and employ techniques less destructive than war in the conduct of international conflict."

As for the effects of fear on human behavior, the report recognizes that fear can cause constructive behavior. But excessive fear is clearly destructive. It causes people to rely on habitual responses rather than to search for helpful alternatives. Fear can even make people cease activity entirely. People try to ward off the threat by immediate action, regardless of its long-term consequences.

An easy way to fend off a threat is to deny that it exists. Or, one can create the myth that "it can't happen here." More subtle is the inadequacy of language to describe nuclear devastation. How can we picture a 20-megaton explosion in words? Old words like "defense" and "national security" lose their traditional meanings, and new words like "overkill" avoid strong emotional responses, dulling our perception of the danger.

THE ESCAPE OF "DEHUMANIZATION" Such impersonal use of language, though sometimes unavoidable, is part of a new phenomenon of the nuclear age which the report calls "dehumanization." It describes "dehumanization" as a new defense mechanism by which people are able to put aside fear, guilt, or personal discomfort. Stereotyped groups are created which leave out essential human characteristics. Real people thus become "sub-human," "bad-human," "super-human," or "non-human." No longer is it necessary to identify with them. Identification can also be excused by the increasing bureaucratization of our society. One is powerless to act effectively, and so one is excused from acting at all.

DETERRENCE: RATIONAL OR IRRATIONAL? Two aspects of nuclear strategy are examined by the report, because they are obviously relevant to psychological analysis. Deterrence assumes that the leaders of the nuclear powers will act rationally in times of severe international crisis. But, as stated earlier, people tend to become impulsive and irrational in times of great tension. Furthermore, as the nuclear arsenals grow, more individuals must be responsible for handling the weapons. Flexibility has to be maintained so that a unit can act even if the President is killed or if it becomes completely isolated. Despite the most careful screening, it is impossible to weed out all the paranoid individuals from the most sensitive posts.

CIVIL DEFENSE: SHELTER OR TRAP? Civil defense, although it will undoubtedly protect some people from nuclear devastation, raises some disquieting questions. Because of the cost of civil defense, some people will get more protection than

others. This involves making choices of who is "expendable." When the emphasis was placed on private shelters, those who built shelters were encouraged to arm themselves with weapons to keep out their neighbors. Special agreements were sometimes made with building contractors to conceal the fact that a shelter was being built. Rather than building a community of mutual trust, the shelter program tended to breed mutual suspicion. After a person has built a shelter, he may welcome a nuclear war in order to vindicate his foresight. He may even support policies which make war more likely. Finally, the report suggests that an intensive shelter program may be viewed by the Russians as evidence that we plan to start a war, increasing rather than reducing tensions.

THE HOPE OF NONVIOLENCE In its concluding section, the report explores the possibility of managing conflict without violence. Much emphasis is placed on the need for measures and policies which bring mutual trust, and the avoidance of policies which breed mistrust. Also stressed is the importance of communication and the avoidance of distortion. Without mutual trust and accurate communication, conflict resolution is very difficult. Examples of the successful uses of nonviolence are given, but the report admits that the immediate prospects for the use of nonviolence in international conflict are not encouraging. More significantly, however, the report finds nonviolence has demonstrated that group standards can be created which will enable ordinary people to maintain nonviolent discipline under extreme provocation. Nonviolence may be able to overcome feelings of weakness and helplessness which are major causes of war.

THE SYRACUSE ROUND-UP was a real inspiration to those of us who attended it this year. The turnout was somewhat larger this year than last, but what delighted us most was the large number of new young faces. About half of the attenders were high school and college students. The warm hospitality of Bethany Baptist Church was very gratefully appreciated.

Bruce Thomas of Syracuse CORE opened the Round-up with a moving account of what it was like to be in Mississippi this summer. The freedom songs woven through the tales of Mississippi terror made one feel a real part of the civil rights movement. From Mississippi we traveled with Clarence Jordan to rural Georgia. His vivid manner of speaking and use of humor added great depth to the story of that little band which set out to build an oasis of integration in a desert of race hatred. The highlight of Clarence Jordan's address was the moving account of the four years spent by his daughter Jan at Americus High. Words cannot recreate the power of this man's witness.

In the afternoon we were all participants in a training workshop in nonviolence. Lawrence Apsey, Ross Flanagan, and Walter South guided us through a series of carefully planned role-playing sociodramas. Though these were not real situations, they were sufficiently vivid that we felt as if we were confronting actual hostility and tension. Training in nonviolent methods is helpful in preparing people to take part in nonviolent direct action projects. Unforeseen events may occur which the participant is not prepared to handle. People who feel unable to take part in such projects may, with training, be encouraged to try.

UNITED NATIONS DAY comes this year on Wednesday, October 21st. On that day the United Nations Association of Central New York will hold a luncheon at the Persian Terrace at Hotel Syracuse beginning at 12 Noon. Mr. David Owen, chairman of the UN Technical Assistance Board will speak on "Peace and the Expanding World Economy." Reservations for the luncheon should be made by calling the United Nations Office (422-1605) or Mrs. Biorn-Hansen (446-5548) by October 19. The charge of \$2.50 for the luncheon includes the gratuity. For those who would like to explore UN peace efforts in Asia, Africa, and Latin America through the eyes of three faculty members of the Maxwell School, there will be a morning Institute, also at the Persian Terrace, beginning at 9:30. Registration for the morning program is \$1.00

"UNITED NATIONS -- Justice for All" is the title of an address to be given by Mr. Stanwood Cobb at the Everson Museum on Sunday, October 25th at 3:00 p.m. Mr. Cobb is a well known author and lecturer who has traveled widely through Europe and the Middle East. His visit here is sponsored by the Syracuse Baha'is. Refreshments will be served and there is no admission charge.

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PEACE NEWS LETTER

Published by and for the New York State Peace Council
Bert Fowler, Editor

SPC 288, No. 64-156
November 20, 1964
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THE 1964 ELECTION: WILL IT BRING PEACE?

Certainly the major fact of this election was the resounding defeat of Goldwater and the repudiation of his policies by the American electorate. It seems quite possible now that the Republican Party will turn away from the neo-Fascist right that Goldwater represents. Nevertheless, over 25 million people voted for this man, and the vast energy and financial resources of the extreme right will be marshalled to defend the base established in the Republican Party.

But what of President Johnson? He received a thundering mandate and now has tremendous power to move the country where he will. When he succeeded Kennedy as President a year ago, Johnson was obligated to press for the enactment of the Kennedy program, a job which he accomplished with great skill. Now Johnson is on his own. Being subject to streaks of vanity, he may forget that this election was more a repudiation of Goldwater than an endorsement of Johnson.

Such a situation presents both an opportunity and a problem. Though having more power than any single individual ought to have, Johnson has a chance to make real initiatives both in foreign and domestic policy. He can intensify the war in Vietnam or he can negotiate a settlement. He can insist on the NATO nuclear surface fleet or he can listen to the advice of the vast majority of European countries and drop the whole idea. He can insist that Taiwan retain control of China's seat in the United Nations, or he can step aside and accept the mandate of the UN General Assembly on this question. Flexible handling of the tricky question of Russia's nonpayment of UN peace keeping funds is of vital importance to the preservation of that world organization. On domestic issues, he has a golden opportunity to combine an intensified program against poverty with large scale conversion of defense industries to civilian production.

We have a role to play in shaping the responses which Lyndon Johnson makes to these questions. Too many people will be content simply with Johnson's election. If any President is to move forward on questions of relaxing international tensions and a comprehensive program to eliminate poverty, he must have strong expressions of support from the American people. In 1962 when five Quakers visited Kennedy to encourage him to reach a test ban agreement with the Russians, he replied, "I do not want to be another Woodrow Wilson. When Wilson failed to get the Senate to ratify the establishment of the League of Nations, his administration lost much of its power. No President can afford to be too far ahead of his people and still be an effective leader."

This election also produced a dramatic shift in the balance of power between liberals and conservatives in the House of Representatives. Johnson carried many liberal Democrats to victory who normally would have had no chance of winning. Nowhere was this more dramatically illustrated than in Onondaga County, which went to the Democrats for only the third time since the Congressional district was formed in 1842. Many of these men stand to lose their seats in 1966, but for the next two years Johnson has a Congress which will go far, if asked, in enacting meaningful social legislation. Also, Congress will offer a minimum of harassment over new initiatives to reduce international tensions. We must see that this opportunity is not lost, for it may not come again soon. YOUR LETTERS ARE NEEDED NOW.

* * * * *

TOYS OF VIOLENCE FOR OUR CHILDREN AT CHRISTMAS? With this issue of the NEWSLETTER we are enclosing a copy of a leaflet calling attention to the quantities of toys offered for sale during this Christmas season which condition our children to accept violence. Is this how we commemorate the birth of Jesus of Nazareth who gave his life that we might find the path to peace?

The Syracuse Peace Council, and the Syracuse chapters of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and CORE are cooperating in launching an educational program against toys of violence. This project involves an inventory of toy stores to determine both the extent of toys of violence and of creative alternatives. Store managers are being asked to emphasize creative toys in their window displays and not to order toys of violence next year. Efforts to reach manufacturers and toy companies will be made.

Readers of the NEWSLETTER can help us on this project in a number of ways:

1. Distribute the enclosed leaflet to church groups or organizations to which you belong. Write us for a supply of leaflets.
2. Express your concern to the managers of toy stores. Commend them (where possible) for displays of creative toys.
3. Write letters to the editor.
4. Tear out and send back pages of toys of violence to mail order houses, with an explanatory letter.

5. Express your concern in letters to toy manufacturers. We will be happy to furnish you with addresses.
6. Show the film THE MAGICIAN to your group. Those of you who saw this film at last year's Institute will remember the power of its message on precisely the subject of toys of violence. THE MAGICIAN will be available from November 23rd to 29th.

PEACE MARCHERS ATTEMPT TRAVEL TO CUBA IN BOAT On October 27th five team members of the Quebec-Washington-Guantanamo Walk for Peace left Miami for Cuba in a 24-foot motor launch called "Spirit of Freedom." The boat was seized after a half-hour journey, due to the State Department ban on travel to Cuba.

"Spirit of Freedom" was towed to the Coast Guard station at Miami. The Miami police were asked to arrest the crew but they refused, saying that the crew was on Federal property. The boat was held overnight, and the next day the five crew members were carried off the boat and out of the Coast Guard base. At the present time the Coast Guard still has possession of "Spirit of Freedom."

Some of you may have seen or participated in the Walk when it was in upstate New York in June and July of 1963. The Walk reached Miami several months ago, and it made an intensive but unsuccessful effort to persuade the State Department to reverse its ruling against their right to travel to Cuba. Thus the mission of the Walk has been twofold. First, it has called for a reconciliation between the United States and Cuba. Second, it has made a stand for the principle of freedom of travel. Our letters to the State Department are needed in support of the Walk's efforts to reach Cuba.

SUGGESTIONS FOR YOUR CHRISTMAS BOOK LIST PEACE AGITATOR - The Story of A. J. Muste, by Nat Hentoff, Macmillan, \$5.95. Born into a conservative Dutch family, entered the ministry of the Presbyterian Church, became one of the first to apply the principles of nonviolent resistance to labor struggles, a revolutionary in the truest sense of the word, A.J. has played a key role in worldwide peace movements. PEACE AGITATOR is the story of a man that has faced many trials and temptations, but who has found a guiding light deep within the human personality. But it is more than the inspiring biography of a man of conviction, it is the history of an ideal--of peace, freedom, and human brotherhood. It is indeed the history of the growing influence of the radical pacifist movement on the fabric of twentieth-century life.

WHAT CAN A MAN DO?, by Milton Mayer, University of Chicago Press, \$5.00. This book presents some of Mayer's best articles in the last three decades. Commentaries on race, peace, war, government, education, and biographical sketches. "Without any doubt [Milton Mayer] is an eminent and remarkable analyst of enduring influence... He is as controversial as anyone would be who asks his question, 'What can a man do in order to be human?'" -- Pastor Martin Niemoeller.

Both books are available from the American Friends Service Committee, Middle Atlantic Region, 1500 Race Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102.

A 24-HOUR THANKSGIVING FAST AND VIGIL FOR PEACE will be held beginning at Noon on November 25th. Called by a committee of concerned individuals, the Thanksgiving project will emphasize the millions spent daily on weapons of war and the thousands of people who starve to death each day.

THE 29TH BIRTHDAY DINNER OF THE SYRACUSE PEACE COUNCIL will be held on Wednesday, January 13th at First Presbyterian Parish House. The speaker will be Arthur Lall of Cornell University, former delegate to the United Nations from India.

CHINA -- THE UNKNOWN QUARTER OF THE WORLD will be the theme of the annual Syracuse Institute of International Relations to be held at the Yates Hotel on the week end of March 19-21.

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PEACE NEWS LETTER

Published by and for the New York State Peace Council
Bert Fowler, Editor \$1.00 per year

SPC 289, No. 64-157
December 18, 1964

SYRACUSE PEACE COUNCIL BIRTHDAY PARTY

Wednesday, January 13, 1965, First Presbyterian Parish House. Dinner 6:15 p.m., \$1.75
Speaker:

ARTHUR LALL

Head of the Indian delegation to the Geneva Disarmament Conference. Reservations by
January 11, to HA 2-5316

TWENTY-FOUR HOUR THANKSGIVING VIGIL ON CLINTON SQUARE

Beginning at noon on Wednesday, November 25th and continuing through noon on Thanksgiving Day, the Syracuse Peace Council held a vigil in front of the Christmas tree on Clinton Square. Three points were stressed in our leaflet and on our posters: first, that while the United States spends millions of dollars a day on armaments, thousands of people are starving to death daily around the world; second, that Thanksgiving in Mississippi means over forty churches bombed, the right to vote denied to most Negroes, and basic human needs such as shelter, clothing, and education tragically neglected; third, that while the war in Vietnam continues, the basic human needs in Mississippi and around the world will not be met.

Perhaps the real significance of the vigil lies not in what it said on its signs or in its leaflet; rather it lies in the way the vigil expressed itself to those who opposed it both by sound truck and by physical assault. In the early evening a group of five men appeared in a red and white jeep. They expressed their dislike for us by picketing (for only a half-hour until their signs got wet) and by playing martial music and right wing tapes over their loudspeakers for five hours. The speeches in the tapes mainly tried to link the civil rights movement (principally Eleanor Roosevelt, the NAACP, Martin Luther King, Bayard Rustin, and CORE) with the Communist Party, but there was also a tribute to General MacArthur and a speech by General Walker asking the US to get out of the UN.

We were not able to determine the organization behind the five men in the jeep, though we tried four different ways. The final effort brought about a surprising result. When one of our vigilers went to take a photograph of them, they packed up their belongings and drove off - in extreme haste.

Around 10:30 an event of a rather different order occurred, apparently not connected in any way with the sound truck. A single man appeared ripped apart the vigil posters, threw them in the street, and both shoved and punched three vigilers. The damage was limited to several posters and a pair of glasses. But the eight people on the line at the time demonstrated a strong commitment to creative nonviolence - there was no physical resistance and one vigiler was even able to shake hands with this attacker. Furthermore, when the man gave his name and address and asked the Vigil to have him arrested, the people on the line refused. Jail seldom speaks to the condition of a troubled spirit.

In sum, the vigil had three primary accomplishments. First, it tested our commitment to the redemptive power of nonviolence. Second, it attracted new people to take part in our work. Fully half of the nearly fifty different participants were relatively or completely new to Peace Council projects. Many of them were from civil rights groups, particularly CORE, marking a step toward a much needed working relationship of peace and civil rights groups. Finally, the vigil made the peace concern visible to a large number of people in Syracuse. Too often we talk about reaching for a new constituency, but end up like a social club, with the same faces at every event. It is not easy to win new people, but the vigil was a step in that direction.

DECISION ON NATO MULTILATERAL FORCE Last week British Prime Minister Harold Wilson was in Washington for discussions which may decide the existence or character of the proposed Multilateral Force. Ostensibly, MLF is a plan to reunify NATO and give everybody a share in how its nuclear weapons are used. But if one looks behind the smokescreen, MLF turns out to be a move toward German-American nuclear partnership. Our diplomats defend this by saying that Germany will eventually get nuclear weapons anyway, but that our partnership will restrain Germany from rash measures.

Actually, MLF is a grave threat to world peace, and Charles de Gaulle and Harold Wilson are not involved in a minor skirmish in their opposition to MLF. The ultimate stakes in this struggle may be whether or not the world becomes involved in nuclear war.

How could MLF lead to nuclear war?

1. West Germany lays territorial claim to not only East Germany but parts of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and even the Soviet Union. If she had nuclear weapons she could be counted on to threaten their use to support her claims.
2. One need not have a crystal ball to predict the reaction of the Soviet Union to West German nuclear weapons. Russia has been invaded twice by Germany with the loss of millions of her citizens. Former Nazi generals hold high position in NATO. MLF would lead to Russian nervousness, increasing world tensions and making further steps towards disarmament less likely.

3. Accidental war would be more likely in a climate of increasing hostility. Also, since the nuclear surface ships of MLF would be manned by crews of mixed nationalities, there could easily be uncertainty over exactly who is in command of the ships.

4. By giving several non-nuclear countries a policy voice in MLF, at least one new nuclear power is created, namely the MLF itself. Though MLF would be influenced and possibly controlled by the United States, it would remain distinct as a separate nuclear power.

Finally, though MLF is a very complex idea, both the fact and the danger of its giving increased influence and perhaps ultimate control of nuclear weapons to West Germany is clear. Forty-two United States Congressmen, twenty-four Democrats and eighteen Republicans led by Robert Kastenmeier of Wisconsin have spoken out against MLF. Will you support them?

HOUSE COMMITTEE CALLS WOMEN AGAIN On December 7th the House Un-American Activities Committee subcommittee indicted two leaders of the Women's Strike for Peace on a contempt of Congress charge. The two women, Dagmar Wilson and Donna Allen, protested against the Committee's questioning of them in closed hearings and pointed out that the Committee was vague about whether the hearings affected the national security.

By simply appealing to the State Department for a visa to admit Kaori Yasui, dean of the Law School of Hosei University in Japan and leader of a Japanese organization opposing nuclear weapons, the women incurred the wrath of HUAC. Apparently, HUAC assumes that to oppose nuclear weapons makes one a Communist, and that it must take over from the State Department the function of granting visas. Remember that the appropriations for HUAC come before the House for a vote on January 4th, and it is important to let your Congressman know as soon as possible your opposition to the HUAC budget.

HELP END THE WAR IN VIETNAM BY LEAFLETING IN SYRACUSE December 19th is the day when thousands of people in this country and abroad will join forces in appealing to the conscience of America to end the shameful war in Vietnam.

This activity is being spearheaded by a committee led by Dorothy Day, Bayard Rustin, Glenn Smiley, A. J. Muste, Paul Goodman, and many others.

This appeal will call for the convening of an international conference, including both mainland China and the United States. This conference would establish machinery to bring economic and medical relief to the war ravaged people of South Vietnam. It would attempt to secure an independent and neutral South Vietnam through free elections. It would insure that countries of Laos, Cambodia, North and South Vietnam will be free from military intervention from the United States, China, the Soviet Union, or any other nation.

Such a coordinated effort to reach the conscience of America is of vital importance, as the decision on whether to expand the war depends considerably on public opinion. The Syracuse Peace Council will distribute leaflets about Vietnam on Salina Street from 12 noon to 3 PM on December 19th. Will you come and help us pass out the leaflets?

ROBERT TENNEY, THE NEW PEACE INTERNE IN SYRACUSE, will become editor of the Peace Newsletter beginning with the next issue. Robert has already made a significant contribution to the Syracuse Peace Council since his arrival in October, a fact that need not be mentioned to the many Peace Newsletter readers who know him well. Bob is a chemist who has decided that scientists have a social responsibility to work for disarmament and social change in an age of crisis.

Bob has worked with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in Georgia, has participated in an overseas work camp through the American Friends Service Committee in both East and West Germany, and did research and lobbying for the Appalachian Committee for Full Employment in Washington, D. C. We are most fortunate to have Bob as our editor in the months ahead. Bert Fowler has much enjoyed the opportunity to serve as editor for the past few months. He will complete his work with the Peace Council early next month and plans to attend the School of Library Science at Syracuse University.

THE M. LESLEY WEST MEMORIAL FUND, established to provide scholarships for young people to American Friends Service Committee conferences and projects, still welcomes your contributions. What better tribute to our beloved founding member than to provide the opportunity for young people to share in the vital experience of an AFSC project? We ask you to please send in your contributions by December 31st, when we plan to close the fund.

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