

# PEACE NEWS LETTER

Published by and for the Syracuse Peace Council  
Robert L. Tenney, Editor \$1.00 per year

SPC 290  
January 29, 1965

## 25th ANNUAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

### CHINA - UNKNOWN QUARTER OF THE WORLD

**THE INSTITUTE:** March 19-21, 1965 at the Yates Hotel in Syracuse, New York.  
**THE SPEAKERS:** Allyn Rickett, teacher and lecturer who was imprisoned in China for four years. His topic will be "The Two China Dilemma."  
Colin Bell, Executive Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee, and Chairman of the Friends Ambulance Unit in China, speaking on "A Quaker Looks at China."  
Dr. Geoffrey Andrews, Executive Director of the Canadian Universities Foundation, a recent visitor to China, and a brilliant speaker, whose topic will be "China's Place in the World Today."  
A State Department expert has been invited to explain the present attitude of the U.S. government toward China.

**THE COST:** \$8.00 including registration fee (\$4.25) and Saturday luncheon at the Yates Hotel and Sunday dinner. **MAKE YOUR REGISTRATION NOW!**

**PUBLIC'S VIEW OF U.S. CHINA POLICY** The subject of this year's Institute of International Relations is especially pertinent in light of a recent survey prepared for the Council on Foreign Relations by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan. The survey showed that 28% of the American public is not even aware that mainland China is now ruled by a Communist government. (Incidentally the same percentage of the American people were unaware of the war in South Vietnam). This ignorance of the People's Republic of China is not surprising considering the almost complete blockade of information, international exchange, and trade between the U.S. and China. But this is no excuse for responsible citizens, seeking world peace, to refrain from actively seeking out those authorities that do exist for accurate and factual information about China.

The reality of mainland China - ominous, threatening, antagonistic - was recently recognized by Clare Booth Luce, an outspoken champion of Nationalist China. She recently told the graduates of St. John's University in Jamaica, N. Y. that "Long before the young men in this audience are old, China will account for half the population of the whole world. We must soon find ways of living at peace with half the human race, or your generation will know nothing but endless war in the orient." We cannot live at peace unless there is understanding; we cannot have understanding without knowledge; nor knowledge without contact and communication between the peoples of both countries.

A recent report of the World Trade Association of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce recommended that "Americans become better informed about China, reopen communications with the People's Republic of China, and that newsmen, businessmen, scientists, and cultural leaders," be enabled to travel to China. It went on to say "We must cease our current negative attitude and begin accenting the positive."

China is now a nuclear power and can no longer be ignored. What then should our policy be toward China? Roger Hilsman, former Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, has suggested "increase communications... lift of travel restrictions... examine trade policies ... and recognize Outer Mongolia." The Council on Foreign Relations survey also shows that of those who know about the Communist government "a majority ... favors dealing with the Communist government." These recommendations are indeed minimal, but they are a beginning.

The material listed in the BOOKS section of this Newsletter are valuable resources about China. At the Institute you will have an opportunity to hear and talk with experts on China. **PLAN TO ATTEND.**

**ARTHUR LALL SPEAKS AT PEACE COUNCIL'S 29th BIRTHDAY DINNER** Arthur Lall was the guest speaker at the 29th Birthday Dinner of the Syracuse Peace Council. The essence of his remarks was a plea for understanding and cooperation in Asia rather than blind commitment and folly. "Americans look on an Asia with a number of problems. But these problems are exaggerated in the eyes of the Asians." The small nations of Asia feel they are merely pawns in the struggle between the great powers. They are very sensitive about the arrogance of the great powers. The Asians want the large nations to respect their culture, traditions, and their people. But Lall emphasized that the U.S. cannot "pull out." U.S. influence can never be removed from Asia. We must stop the senseless fighting and ask "What can we do to help you develop your country the way you want?" He said above all "The great powers must have humility."

The Annual Peace Award was given to Adelaide Webster, Chairman of the Syracuse Peace Council.

The Peace Council received \$380 in cash and pledges toward its annual budget of \$6,000. We graciously thank those who have contributed and remind those who didn't have a chance to give, that continuing contributions are greatly appreciated.

**LOWER MEKONG - A CONSTRUCTIVE SOLUTION TO THE WAR IN VIETNAM** For twenty years a vicious and dehumanizing war has torn the Vietnamese people and their country. The United States is now playing a major part in that war, initiated by the French in 1945. The result is suffering, terror, a nation torn in two, and perhaps the seedbed for World War Three. Such a war "erodes humanitarian concern and compassion in a way which ultimately negates every major philosophy and every great faith."

The "LOWER MEKONG - A Proposal for a Peaceful and Honorable Resolution of the Conflict in South Vietnam" has been written by Gilbert White, chairman of the board of the American Friends Service Committee and an expert on the development of water resources. This is a plan for the development of the Lower Mekong river basin for constructive solutions to the social and economic problems of the area. The project has been going forward under the auspices of the U.N. Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (UNCAFE) since 1957. The countries directly involved - Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, and South Vietnam - have been cooperating in this venture, in spite of the fact that they don't cooperate in anything else.

The Netherlands, France, Canada, England, India, Israel, Pakistan, the U.S., and scores of other countries and international agencies have given technical assistance to the planning for the development of the natural resources of the region. Plans have been made for the construction of dams for flood control, irrigation, and hydroelectric power. Roads, credit, seeds, and other village improvements will also be needed. This plan holds forth the promise of greatly improved agricultural production and harnessing the power and resources of a majestic river for the benefit of twenty million people.

But more important it has shown what international cooperation can achieve. It can replace the present conflict with a struggle for a more abundant life. "This is a way of calling for international collaboration in advancing the economic welfare of peasants who long months ago had enough of terror in the night," states White. But the project cannot go forward in the midst of strife. The U.S. contribution to the project has cost less than three days of military aid in Vietnam, now reported to exceed \$2 million per day. This project is indeed a more honorable solution to the problems of Southeast Asia than the present course. But we must call for an immediate "cessation of military operations so that rehabilitation and development can be undertaken realistically."

Copies of Dr. White's report of a bold plan for peace in Vietnam can be obtained from the Syracuse Peace Council at the rate of 10¢ each or 12 for \$1.00

**VIETNAMESE TO COME TO SYRACUSE** VO-THAN-L-MINH, a humble but confident Vietnamese professor, will be in Syracuse on February 11, 1965 to discuss the past, present, and future of the war in his martyred country of Vietnam. He will speak at Grace Episcopal Church, 819 Madison Street, at 8:00 PM.

Dr. Vo came to the U.S. in November, 1963, to protest U.S. military action in his beloved country of Vietnam. He now lives on a barge in New York City and continues his appeal to the conscience of America. His family and country have been divided by the war. And yet he is not bitter, but compassionate and dedicated to the reunification of his country. He is a deeply spiritual man and one cannot help but be moved not only by the facts he presents but by his spirit of truth and love. His timely message must be heard by everyone for peace and brotherhood.

#### BOOKS ON CHINA

**CHINA, RUSSIA, and the U.S.A.**, Edgar Snow, \$2.35

This book consists of the final analytical section of THE OTHER SIDE OF THE RIVER, a massive study of contemporary China. "At once the most impressive job of reporting and the most controversial piece of interpretation on Red China that has appeared in many years" - Wall Street Journal.

**PRISONERS OF LIBERATION**, Allyn Rickett, \$3.75 (originally \$4.75).

The author will be a key speaker at the Institute, CHINA - UNKNOWN QUARTER OF THE WORLD. He is one of the most informed people on China in the U.S. today. The book is a report of life in present-day China and of his imprisonment in China for four years.

**THE NEW COLD WAR: MOSCOW vs. PEKING**, Edward Crankshaw, 65¢. This British correspondent brings new light to the conflict between the USSR and China. It is a deeply provocative and analytical account of the conflict. These books are available from the Syracuse Peace Council.

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# PEACE NEWS LETTER

Published by and for the Syracuse Peace Council      SPC 291  
Robert L. Tenney, Editor      \$1.00 per year      March 4, 1965

## WHAT'S ALL THIS COMMOTION ABOUT THE DRAFT?

Early last year an unprecedented barrage of criticism of the Draft began to appear in newspapers and magazines. President Johnson, aware of this growing public concern, initiated a year long study of the draft in April, 1964. The results of this study, to be released in April, 1965, will determine to a considerable extent the future of the Draft system, even though the present law does not expire until 1967.

The Pentagon study will probably present two alternative proposals; (1) continue the draft with modifications to make it more universal, and (2) replace the draft with a volunteer system. Needless to say public opinion is of the most importance at this time.

**ALTERNATIVES TO THE DRAFT** Over 25 Congressmen have introduced bills calling for re-evaluation of the draft and the creation of alternatives. One of the better bills (S 2960) was introduced by Senators Gaylord Nelson and George McGovern. In a Senate speech Nelson said "Our present draft system is outmoded. It should be terminated, in the interests of national security as well as justice." He went on to say the draft "is unjust and inequitable... creates countless personal problems... is militarily inefficient... wastes money... and is no longer necessary."

"Today we have a pool of men eligible for the draft which numbers 10.6 million. The pool of men of draft age grows by 1/3 every 6 or 7 years. Yet our military manpower needs remain the same." Only 90,000 men are drafted each year, less than 1/10 of those eligible. Only 58% of those theoretically eligible serve at all (draftees and enlisted men).

"PEACETIME CONSCRIPTION is repugnant to the spirit of democracy and the soul of republican institutions"  
-- Sen. Arthur Vandenberg

**THE COST** - Since 97% of the draftees leave the military as soon as possible, the money spent to train them is wasted. In 1960 the Draft cost \$31 million, in 1965 it will cost \$40 million. In other words, the less the draft is needed, the more it costs.

**PUBLIC OPINION MUST BE EXPRESSED NOW** In view of these facts, WILL THE DRAFT BE ENDED? The decision will be made in April when the Pentagon study is released. The decision has changed from a military one to a political one. **PUBLIC OPINION WILL BE THE DECISIVE FACTOR.** The draft will be ended if the move proves to be highly popular. Unlike so many social evils, it is within our power to end the evil of peacetime conscription. But do we care enough to work for it?

**CHINA EXPERTS AT THE SYRACUSE INSTITUTE** The 25th Annual Institute of International Relations, "CHINA - UNKNOWN QUARTER OF THE WORLD," will feature experts on Chinese history and culture as well as present-day China. Two films on China will also be shown at the Institute, including a biography of Mao Tse Tung.

The Faculty, including top flight scholars in the field of Chinese studies, will indeed lend great insight and enlightenment to our ignorance of Asia in general and China in particular. In addition to China's now being a member of the nuclear club, the Sino-Soviet conflict, and the great (and relatively unknown) progress made by the People's Republic of China, we cannot ignore the great importance of China in the future of Southeast Asia. China is indeed an interested party to what is happening now in Vietnam, just as we were interested in developments in Cuba. "No settlement in Vietnam is possible without the participation of China" (N.Y. Times ed., 2/11/65).

If the American people do not start to penetrate the "curtain of ignorance" around China, peace and understanding will be but a distant dream, and we "shall remain strangers shouting lies at each other across a sea of ignorance." **IF YOU HAVE NOT REGISTERED FOR THE CHINA INSTITUTE, DO IT NOW!**

**VIETNAM PROTESTS IN SYRACUSE** On February 19, 1965 the Ad Hoc Committee for Peace in Vietnam, a student group at Syracuse University, held a vigil on the University campus. The vigil called for an end to the war in South Vietnam and a negotiated settlement.

Professors Byron Fox and Justin Green spoke on the U.S. involvement in the war. The enclosed leaflet was distributed, and students were urged to express their opinion against the war through postcards to President Johnson and petitions which were available.

The Ad Hoc Committee in cooperation with the Syracuse Peace Council leafleted in the downtown Syracuse area, Saturday. Both demonstrations were part of a National protest against the war. More united actions such as these are needed.

**VO THANH MINH CALLS FOR  
NEUTRALIZED AND REUNI-  
FIED VIETNAM**

Vo Thanh Minh, a Vietnamese philosopher and poet, spoke to a crowd of 400 students at Syracuse University on February 11, 1965.

He said "the Vietnamese people are tired of more than 25 years of war. The only thing the Vietnamese people want is peace and freedom."

In response to a question about the possibility of a Chinese takeover in the event of a cease fire he replied, "The Vietnamese people have had a history of 4000 years of successful resistance to Chinese domination. (He believes this will continue.) Also, if China tried to take over Vietnam, then they too would be considered foreign aggressors and the people would resist them just as they have resisted France and the U.S." Dr. Vo believes the only just, realistic, and honorable solution to the conflict in South Vietnam is a cease fire, negotiations (with all parties included), and neutralization and reunification of North and South Vietnam. He stressed the absolute necessity of free elections under international control to create a stable and united Vietnamese government.

Vo Thanh Minh is in this country on a mission of peace to enlighten the American people about the truth in Vietnam. He is most anxious to answer any questions you might have. If you write to him about any such questions or problems he will answer you immediately. His address is Vomon, Pier II, East River, New York, New York.

**GROWING OPPOSITION TO  
THE WAR IN VIETNAM**

The U.S. government is persisting in continuing and expanding the unjust and inhumane war in South Vietnam in the face of growing opposition on the national and international level. UN Secretary General U Thant, Pope Paul VI, General DeGaulle, and many other world leaders have called on the U.S. to negotiate a peaceful settlement.

The enclosed leaflet lists some of the U.S. officials who oppose the U.S. involvement in Vietnam. There have been countless demonstrations by peace groups, student groups, and other groups not usually considered as peace oriented throughout the country. Thousands of others have written letters and editors and columnists have opposed the war.

In spite of this the U.S. is dangerously flirting with total escalation and nuclear war. It flagrantly continues open acts of aggression under the thin cloak of "retaliation." The White Paper on Vietnam issued by the State Department on February 27 is an apology for past and future acts of aggression against the people of Vietnam. This is a slap in the face of the very principles of freedom and democracy. The American people cannot support such action. This is a time for deep prayerful

concern and action by the people of the U.S.

LOWER MEKONG PROPOSAL WELL RECEIVED The AFSC has distributed over 20,000 copies of Gilbert White's proposal for a "peaceful and honorable solution of the conflict in Vietnam.

This proposal, which was sent with a covering letter to President Johnson and every member of Congress, has elicited hundreds of letters, including many from the Congress and the Administration. Nearly all are favorable and many express enthusiasm about "this exciting plan." (AFSC Information Service Bulletin)

Copies of the "Lower Mekong Proposal" are available for 10¢ each or 12 for \$1.00 from the Syracuse Peace Council.

RADICAL PROTEST TO THE WAR IN VIETNAM A NO TAX FOR WAR IN VIETNAM COMMITTEE has issued a call for people to refuse to pay for the war in Vietnam. Those of the signers who have taxes due will refuse to pay them, or some portion of them. "Whichever method one uses," the signers said, "we are determined to withdraw as far as possible our support from the war."

"Because so much of the tax paid the Federal Government goes for killing and torture, as in Vietnam, and for the development of even more horrible war methods to use in the future, I am not going to pay taxes on 1964 income"

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Send signed statements to:  
 NO TAX FOR WAR IN VIETNAM COMMITTEE, c/o Maurice McCrackin,  
 932 Dayton St., Cincinnati, Ohio  
 45214

LITERATURE

Memo on Vietnam, by Dave McReynolds and A. J. Muste, 10¢  
Algeria and Vietnam, Telltale of Disaster, reprint, 10¢  
Vietnam, Symptom of a World Malaise, reprint, 10¢  
 Letters of Vo Thanh Minh to U.S. officials, free.

An excellent newsletter, CAMPAIGN TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM, has been initiated. Write for samples. CAMPAIGN TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM 54 Spring Street, Apt. 17, New York, New York 10012

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# ACT NOW ON VIETNAM

1. WRITE TO YOUR SENATOR, CONGRESSMAN, AND THE PRESIDENT  
Address your letters as follows:

President \_\_\_\_\_  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Senator \_\_\_\_\_  
Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C.

Representative \_\_\_\_\_  
House Office Building  
Washington, D.C.

Dear President \_\_\_\_\_:

Dear Senator \_\_\_\_\_:

Dear Mr. \_\_\_\_\_:

In your letters: be brief, come to the point quickly and concisely, give facts, give reasons for your stand, and make your letter timely.

2. Invite your neighbors over for afternoon tea and discuss Vietnam. You can get literature for these meetings at the Peace Council office.
3. Attend the Vietnam Seminar to be held at Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y. on April 8-9, 1965. Write this office for further details.
4. MARCH ON WASHINGTON, APRIL 17th and VISIT YOUR CONGRESSMAN  
~~A national march on Washington is being coordinated by the Students for a Democratic Society. A number of other groups are supporting it including Women Strike for Peace, CNVA, WRL, the Student Peace Union, and others.~~

"Events will begin with a picket of the White House in the morning. In the early afternoon the marchers will assemble at the Sylvan Theatre below the Washington Monument to hear the speakers (Sen. Gruening, I.F. Stone, and others) From the theatre the March will proceed down the Mall to the Capitol. It will stop 500 feet from the Capitol Building and a delegation will be sent in to present petitions and statements to Congress." (from an SAS Memo on the March)

Some time that day could be used to personally visit your own Senator or Congressman. Write him for an appointment in late morning or early afternoon.

Buses to Washington will leave from Syracuse and Rochester. Contact Robert Tenney for further information.

A Friend recently back from talking to Congressmen in Washington felt "that nothing short of an outpouring of public concern such as took place in Selma with civil rights will influence government policy." MAKE YOUR VOICE HEARD.

5. Keep alert to the daily developments in Vietnam and let your conscience guide your actions.

## COMING EVENTS ON CHINA:

1. A NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA - Washington, D. C. Georgetown University and the School of International Service of the American University in cooperation with the AFSC is sponsoring the conference to be held April 29-30, 1965. The speakers will include John King Fairbank, East Asian Research Center, Sec. of State Dean Rusk (invited), Adlai Stevenson (invited) Sen. J. William Fulbright (invited), James Duncan, former chairman of the Canadian Board of Trade and a recent visitor to the People's Republic, Kenneth Young, former U.S. Ambassador to Thailand, Geoffrey Andrew, and Robert Scalipino, chm. of the Political Science Dept. of the University of California.

"The purpose of the Conference is to focus nationwide attention upon the problem of U.S.-China relations. Its aim is to provide information on the subject and to stimulate thought so as to prepare the public for a more intelligent grasp of the problems that divide the two nations."

The Conference promises to be a noteworthy event. Address inquiries to this office or to Cecil Thomas, 245 2nd Street N.E., Washington, D.C. 20006.

2. Vacation with a purpose - An Institute on CHINA TODAY to be held at Pocono Crest. The event is co-sponsored by the MAR and N.Y.C. Regional offices of the AFSC. The Institute will be held June 19-26, 1965 at a beautiful resort in the Pocono Mountains in Northern Pennsylvania. The Faculty will include O. Edmund Clubb, Amiya Chakravarty, Eugene Boardman, and Robert Barnett, all old China hands and experts in the field.

Among the topics for discussion will be: China's relations with the U.S., U.S.S.R, Vietnam, and India; the "two China" problem; membership in the U.N.; wars of Liberation; Chinese political, social, and economic structures; China and disarmament; and many others.

Plan now for a VACATION WITH A PURPOSE.

## L I T E R A T U R E

China Today, 80 pp, Essays from Political Quarterly, reprinted by AFSC.

Experts in several fields explore mainland China, and the changes which the Communist regime has brought into being. 75¢

The Tragedy of Vietnam, by Helen Lamb, 50pp.

This brilliant exposition of the history and the present conflict in Vietnam is a must for a thorough understanding of the problem. The author is a long time expert in Asian political and economic problems.

Peace on Earth, The Encyclical of Pope John XXIII, 160 pp.

"Shortly before his death Pope John XXIII issued his encyclical letter, Pacem in Terris, a message of monumental significance for all mankind. In this book its major points are interpreted with superb and sensitive pictures by 24 outstanding photographers." \$1.95.



# PEACE NEWS LETTER

Published by and for the Syracuse Peace Council SPC 292

Robert L. Tenney, Editor

\$1.00 per year March 31, 1965

EDITOR'S NOTE - The editor would like to invite subscribers of the Peace News Letter to submit articles or essays of their own for publication in Peace News Letter. Articles should be no longer than 300 words (one type-written page, double spaced.)

**PACEM IN TERRIS HOW?** Last month major religious leaders and others from around the world gathered in New York City to examine the implications of Pope John's Encyclical Pacem in Terris. The Convocation was addressed by such notables as U Thant, Adlai Stevenson, Hubert Humphrey, and others. The conference, sponsored by the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Center for the study of Democratic Institutions, was an attempt to bring world leaders together on the most pressing and critical problems of our times. There was great enthusiasm and seriousness on the part of the participants to dedicate themselves to "Peace on Earth."

A follow-up Convocation was held March 1-3 on "Peace on Earth, Moral and Technological Implications." It was an attempt to bring together two revolutionary documents of our age, "Pacem in Terris" and "The Triple Revolution." Its purpose: "to explore the role of man and his spiritual rootages in a technologically proficient and war-dominated age for which he is ill prepared." In an age of lightening-fast development in the areas of race, weapons and cybernetics, the threat to man is "the loss of the basic conditions that make life meaningful and purposeful." (Norman Cousins).

The underlying purpose of both of these conferences and other similar regional conferences to follow in the next year is expressed by Thomas Merton: "As long as you see your fellow-man as a being essentially to be feared, mistrusted, hated, and destroyed, there can be no peace on earth." "It is the attitude of openness prescribed by Pacem in Terris that must form our thinking as Christians in time of crisis, not the closed and fanatical myths of nationalistic or racial paranoia. Only if we remain open, detached, humble in the presence of objective truth shall we and our fellow-man be able to choose peace."

"... Therefore choose life, that thou mayest live, thou and thy seed."  
(Deut. 30:19)

#### GLIMPSES OF THE WAR IN VIETNAM

"Improved treatment of prisoners, now marked by brutality, is an objective of the United States" -- Homer Bigart, N.Y. Times, July 25, 1962

LINED UP AND SHOT "... A 25-year-old U.S. Army lieutenant described what he had seen one time when soldiers of the Vietnamese 7th Infantry Division captured prisoners. 'They had four, all suspected of being Vietcong--the first prisoners they had taken in a long time. They lined 'em up and shot the first man. Then they questioned the second. His answers were unsatisfactory, I guess, because they shot him too. The third man talked freely.'" -- Jonathan Kapstein, Nation Dec. 21, 1964.\*

WHEN SOLDIERS GET NERVOUS "... Maybe they were nervous--but there was a Vietnamese woman with three children. She grabbed one up, the Arvin (Army of Vietnam) shot the two older ones and the kid in her arms, and shot her in the belly." -- Richard Tregaskis, Vietnam Diary, 1963\*

VIETNAMESE MARINES ARE TOUGH "And they (Vietnamese Marines) waste no pity on recalcitrant civilians. Pointing to an officer, Martin said 'the other day he caught a V.C. woman lying to him. If he hadn't caught the lie, it would have killed several of our men. He made one gesture to his cowboy (bodyguard) and he blew her head off with a shotgun'" -- Interview with U.S. Marine Sergeant Frank Martin, Boston Herald\*

#### WHATEVER HAPPENED TO OUR OBJECTIVE OF "IMPROVED TREATMENT OF PRISONERS

GAS IN VIETNAM CALLED "HUMANE" Among the "experiments" being carried out in Vietnam today is the use of "non-lethal gas." McNamara described the gases used: "DM causes irritation of the eyes... sneezing, coughing, headache, tightness in the chest, nausea, and vomiting. CM induces irritation to the respiratory passages and the skin, CS causes severe irritation to eyes and nose, pains in the chest, choking and violent coughing." Ambassador Taylor called the gases used as "humane"! Webster defines humane as "having feelings and inclinations creditable to man, kind, benevolent."

Our abominable war in Vietnam not only involves the unprovoked bombing of schoolhouses and the brutal torture of innocent women and children, but the licentious escalation of attacks on North Vietnam. Do we value human

life so little as to allow this to continue? When they cry for bread, we give them guns and torture. When they seek freedom and democracy, we support unpopular totalitarian dictatorships. "The Vietnamese are supplied and paid by the U.S., and could not torture without us. There is no way around this--the prisoner crying out in agony is our prisoner." Arthur Miller, N.Y. Times Magazine, Jan. 3, 1965.\*

\*From a leaflet by Mass. PAX, 44 Brattle St./, Cambridge, Mass. (available free)

EDITORIAL VIEWS "What we face in Vietnam is the quite different problem OF THE WAR of an indigenous revolution, 25 years in the making, which has succeeded in ending French colonialism and withstanding 10 years of U.S. intervention... The truth is that Vietnam does not present a simple case of external aggression, direct or indirect, and a policy based on that false assumption is bound to fail, as ours has failed for 10 years." -- St. Louis Post Dispatch

"If Communist China should decide to take a hand in the fighting in Vietnam, the war will not be confined to Indochina. The tragic scenes which would result would permit no laughter and no surrender in any country." Asahi Shimbun, Tokyo.

FAST IN PENITENCE On March 16, 1965, Vo Thanh Minh began a fast of FOR VIETNAM "penitence and meditation" for his homeland, Vietnam. He is prepared to fast until peace is restored to his country, even unto death. He felt he could live for 6 weeks.

Lee Stern (FOR, Nyack) and Horace Champney (Yellow Springs, Ohio) are conducting a fast unrelated to Vo's, except in principle. In a press release Stern said "We can no longer bear the cries of the dying Vietnamese,... nor be isolated from the tragedy of villages burned down with our napalm, of poisons sprayed from the air, and of Buddhist monks burning themselves. We cannot be responsible for the sins of our enemy, but we are responsible before God for our own. We have started a fast ... until the U.S. government agrees to a cease fire and negotiations. We will spend our mealtimes in prayer... and send the money saved by fasting to the President, to help in a small way to (provide) a token of food and medicine for those whose lives we have irreversibly disrupted. We ask those who join with us - whether for one meal, one day, one week, or... to meditate and pray and send the resultant saving to the President." "We see this as our highest patriotic and religious duty... to follow mercy, compassion, truth, and love.

(Their addresses, Lee Stern, Box 271, Nyack, N.Y.; Vo Thanh Minh, c/o Chapel of All Faiths, First Unitarian Church, Pierrepont S. and 50

Monroe Place, Brooklyn Heights, N. Y.

**WOMAN BURNS SELF OVER VIETNAM** Mrs. Alice Herz, 82, attempted to give her life for peace in Vietnam by burning herself on a Detroit street corner on March 16th. This dramatic action for peace was in her words "not one of despair, but one of faith in the human spirit." She was following the actions of the Buddhists in Vietnam in a self-sacrifice for others - to move them to action.

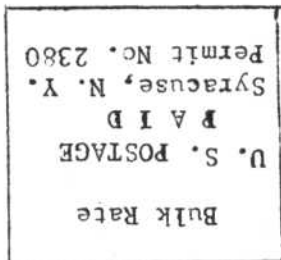
**WILL YOU ACT NOW!?** SEE THE ENCLOSURE

**CHINA INSTITUTE A SUCCESS** About 150 people attended the Syracuse Institute on China. In the opening address, Allyn Rickett pointed to the "Two China Dilemma" as a major factor in U.S. - China relations. "China sees the U.S. as a real threat to their security (our military presence in S, E. Asia and our support of reactionary governments)". China must preserve her territorial interests, her political stability, and assert her nationalism. China's extreme nationalism is caused by an historical cultural superiority and a present-day technological inferiority. This causes them to be hypersensitive.

R. Gavin Boyd proposed a "tightening of the embargo" on China. Geoffrey Andrew decried this as "inhumane," and went on to propose more contact with China. He urged cultural exchange and freedom of travel for journalists, businessmen, and university professors.

Colin Bell concluded the Institute, asking that we view the Chinese as human beings, and respect them as such. The problem is one of communication and reaching that divine spark that is in every man. We must urge our government to open channels of communication at all levels and prepare ourselves to live in a world in which all men are brothers.

Two films on China and an extraordinary film on the "Lower Meking" project were shown at the Institute.



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May 26, 1965

\* \* \* ANNUAL MEETING \* \* \*



The Annual Meeting of the Syracuse Peace Council

DATE: June 10, 1965

TIME: 6:15 p.m.

PLACE: May Memorial Church, 3800 E. Genesee St.

SPEAKER: Norman J. Whitney

TOPIC: Inside America With Norman Whitney

**ANNUAL MEETING** The Syracuse Peace Council is most pleased to welcome back Norman Whitney as the featured speaker at the Annual Meeting on Thursday, June 10th. For those newcomers to the peace movement, Norman Whitney was one of the founders of the Syracuse Peace Council and its chairman for 21 years. He was national Peace Education Secretary of the AFSC and is now a consultant in Peace Education for the AFSC.

Norman Whitney has travelled widely during the past few years, going back and forth across the country speaking and helping others set up "Peace Councils." At the 25th Annual Institute of International Affairs he said, "My one clear and deepening impression is, that during these weeks, the national temper has changed from a post-war attitude to a pre-war mood." Norman Whitney will elaborate on this and other impressions at the Annual Meeting.

Election of officers for the coming year will also be held. The supper is potluck, but everyone is urged to come. Please bring your favorite casserole, salad, rolls, or dessert. Bring a friend and let's make the Peace Council grow. Please make reservations now by calling HA 2-5316.

## NONVIOLENT RESISTANCE --- THE WAY TO PEACE IN VIETNAM?

When confronted with the question "What do you do in the case of armed aggression or attack?" the stock pacifist answer is "Nonviolent resistance." But is this realistic? Can it work in Vietnam?

In his book, Vietnam: Inside Story of a Guerilla War, Wilfred Burchett reports that nonviolent resistance was the official strategy of the Liberation Movement (later known as the National Liberation Front - NLF) against Ngo Dinh Diem.

"The 'line' up til the end of 1959 had been exclusively a legal, political, nonviolent form of struggle, but faced with the wholesale wiping out of all former resistance cadres, it changed at the end of 1959 to permit the use of arms, but in self-defense only.... The 'line' was set by our leadership the moment the Geneva Agreements were signed. Absolute strict respect for the Geneva Agreements was spelt out in detailed instructions to observe discipline; not to go beyond the bounds of legal, political struggle. We are revolutionaries. That was an instruction which our sense of revolutionary discipline does not permit us to violate. (pp. 112-114)

-- Quyet Thanh, former peasant and now an officer in the Liberation Army Burchett describes a number of nonviolent resistance demonstrations, all of which were remarkably effective. Imagination, careful planning, good organization, and a willingness to endure suffering without retaliation were characteristic.

Villagers of the Tranh Banh district of Tay Ninh province had been tipped off that troops were on their way to their village on a "mopping up" operation. The whole population left en masse, old people and children, everyone with all the belongings they could carry, driving their pigs and buffalo ahead of them and poured into the district center - with 800 buffalo. They occupied the whole town, paralyzed traffic and at the office of the district chief they said: "We heard troops are coming to destroy our village. We don't dare remain there. You are the government, you must protect us. Find a place for us to sleep. We must have rice and food for the children." The district chief, who always combines the functions of district military commander, had to call off the operation...

-- Nguyen Huu Tho, President of the NLF

From this spontaneous demonstration, similar actions began to take place in a more organized and scientific manner. These demonstrations tied up towns, prevented the military

from moving, confronted the government with legal demands, caused the defection of government troops to the NLF, prevented villages from being destroyed, and saved many thousands of lives.

**NONVIOLENCE IN VIETNAM** The demonstrations grew and sometimes involved more than 20,000 people in one demonstration. Women and children were always involved. They identified with the troops in the following manner:

"Sons, you could all be my children. My two lads are in your army." She would pull out a couple of photos of soldiers in Diemist uniforms. "They look just like you. If you shoot at us, it would be like shooting at your own mother."

In short, nonviolence has been tried successfully in Vietnam. It was discontinued because it faced massive and brutal violence, and also because there were pressures to change to guerilla warfare tactics. But "it is difficult to believe that the Diemist and subsequent government retaliation against nonviolent resistance forces would have been more savage than the campaigns of annihilation that have been waged against the armed guerillas."

This account in Burchett's book is the first indication of such a nonviolent resistance campaign. It is indeed strange that not one news story nor one picture of these events appeared in the Western press. If the resistance fighters had had contact with peace movements around the world there would have been a worldwide outcry against the terror, just as there was against the terror in Selma. It could not have continued and Vietnam might have its independence by now.

**NEW CHALLENGE MEANS NEW HOPE FOR FASTERS** A letter from Horace Champney indicates that Vo Thanh Minh and Lee Stern of the FOR have yielded to a new challenge. That challenge is a "two pronged pacifist mission going to Vietnam, one to the NLF and N. Vietnam, and the other to South Vietnam." It is a ray of hope that this "mission direct to the opposing sides in Vietnam, detouring around our fixated administration, a mission headed by Vo Thanh Minh and the interfaith conscience of America" can bring a moral force to bear on the forces for peace in Vietnam. Thus, they have ended their fasts to pursue this new opportunity for peace. But as Champney says "It is hard to consider terminating a fast of penitence when the very suffering which brought on our fast is steadily increasing by the hand of our own government."

**SELF-DELUSION IN VIETNAM** Hans Morgenthau, in an excellent article in the N.Y. Times Magazine of April 18th, states that our Vietnam policy is based on gross misconceptions.

He states "President Johnson's speech on April 7th is important for two reasons: (1) He has shown a way out of the impasse in Vietnam, (2) He reiterated the intellectual assumptions that brought us to that impasse and make it impossible to extricate ourselves." He goes on to point out that Johnson "started from the assumption that there are two Vietnamese nations" (a direct violation of the spirit of the 1954 Geneva Agreements) and, therefore, he is "willing to negotiate with China and North Vietnam but not the NLF" (the very group we are fighting).

"The policy of military containment of Communism was implicit in the Truman Doctrine of 1947, and continues today." But unlike the challenge of Communism in Europe (which was primarily military) the threat in Asia is political in nature.... Weak governments and societies provide opportunities for Communist subversion. Military containment is irrelevant to that threat and may even be counter productive.... The issue China poses is political and cultural predominance. The U.S. can no more contain Chinese influence in Asia by arming S. Vietnam and Thailand than China could contain U.S. influence in the Western Hemisphere by arming, say, Nicaragua and Costa Rica. China is largely immune to the specific types of power in which the superiority of the U.S. consists--i.e. nuclear, air, and naval power. Destruction of Chinese installations would not defeat China; it would only set her development back. To be defeated, China has to be conquered."

Morgenthau goes on to point out that the assumption that "by containing Vietnamese Communism we are containing Chinese Communism" is at odds with the historic experience." Ho Chi Minh may very well become an Asian Tito, and this would not affect the interests of the U.S.

He concludes by saying "One can only hope and pray that the vaunted pragmatism and common sense of the American mind... will act as a corrective upon those misconceptions before they lead us from the blind alley in which we find ourselves today to the rim of the abyss."

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# PEACE NEWS LETTER

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Robert Tenney, Editor

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July 7, 1965

*June?*

NORMAN WHITNEY SPEAKS AT ANNUAL MEETING The Annual Meeting of the Syracuse Peace Council was held June 10th at May Memorial Unitarian church. Norman Whitney, former chairman of the S.P.C., shared his experiences of 30,000 miles around America. He observes amongst the men in the street a shift from a post-war mood to a pre-war expectancy. There is a polarization of opinion today much as there was in the 30's, when the isolationists were in contrast with the anti-war men of peace. Today it is the extreme right vs. the peace forces.

There is substantial support of religious efforts for peace, academic discussions, rallies and vigils, and visitations to Congressmen. The Administration is particularly sensitive to the religious pronouncements. Much of the credit for the many voices of peace today must go to the peace education efforts over the last 20 years.

"Can 18th Century governmental machinery cope with the problems of today?" "Is our economic system compatible with a goal for peace?" These questions point out the depth to which discussions by peace-minded people must go today. He suggested Erich Fromm's Let Man Prevail as a pertinent resource.

Norman Whitney sees two clear foci for peace workers: (1) An urgent necessity to create political awareness of the issues, and (2) the same urgent necessity to stimulate the moral imagination of men.

The meeting was preceded by a delightful potluck dinner. Lena Gray reported that \$4189 have been received for this year and we have spent \$2951 for the first half of this year. But we have an annual budget of over \$6000, and only \$405 in outstanding pledges! Judge for yourself.

The Annual Report was given by Adelaide Webster, chairman. She asked for H E L P for the coming year for Hosting discussion groups; Educating by using and joining our Speakers' Bureau; Licking stamps in the office; and Phoning a list of 10. Additional H E L P ers please call Lena Gray, HA 2-5316.

Officers for the coming year are Chairman, Adelaide Webster, Vice-chairman, Benjamin Shove, Secretary, Harriet Scheehl, Treasurer, Lena Gray, new Executive Committee members, Robert Chapman, Bert Fowler, Mary Jane Hoffman, and Rev. Warren Odom.

THE U.S. AND SANTO DOMINGO In 1963 Juan Bosch, a social democrat, was elected president of the Dominican Republic in the first free election in 38 years. Seven months later, aided by the C.I.A., he was overthrown by a military coup.

On April 25, 1965 a revolt began to return Juan Bosch to office. The rest is history: April 29 - 4200 U.S. Troops; May 3 - 14,000 U.S. Troops. Why? The initial reason was "to protect U.S. citizens." But U.S. troops increased, even after all U.S. civilians had left. Then the reason was to "safeguard against communism."

This was clearly an example of unilateral military aggression by the U.S., in violation of the U.N. and O.A.S. charters, on behalf of an undemocratic regime whose sole virtue is strong "anti-communism." "U.S. Marines slaughtered hundreds of innocent Dominicans. ... The U.S. had become, unequivocally, the aggressor" (John Gerassi, Liberation, June 1965)

Our purpose as stated by President Johnson: "The American nations (whether they like it or not) cannot, must not, and will not permit the establishment of another Communist government in the Western hemisphere." This is the Johnson Doctrine or the "Johnson Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine." Indeed it is the basis of our policy in the Dominican Republic, Vietnam, and all over the world.

"Who decides what constitutes a 'Communist government'? By some Ambassador and Johnson himself. And by what criteria?" (John Gerassi)

Unilateral military intervention, support of unpopular dictatorships and, curbing the attempts of peoples to establish their own social democracies is the result of U.S. foreign policy being undertaken in the name of the people of America without their consent or advice. The election of 1964 was a clear rejection of such policies. It is time for the American people to reaffirm their decision in 1964 and DEMAND AN END TO WAR AND INTERVENTION.

Jean Daniel, noted French reporter and close friend of President Kennedy has said: "To break the peaceful coexistence, to lose all listeners in the Third World, to discredit Liberalism, to slow up the emancipation of the Communist states, to achieve the destruction of the Alliance for Progress, was not enough (for President Johnson). There had to be added

a Santo Domingo. It happened and it was perhaps on that day that President John F. Kennedy was truly assassinated."

WARBURG ON U.S. FOREIGN POLICY The thought-provoking foreign affairs writer James P. Warburg made some similar observations in a small ad in the N.Y. Times on June 11, 1965, "A CALL TO ACTION!"

Admiring Johnson's progressive domestic policy Warburg says in the field of foreign relations Johnson has: "reverted to the indiscriminating global anti-communist crusade of the 50's, increased the tensions which his predecessor sought to abate, violated the U.N. Charter by his actions in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic and has undermined rather than strengthened the U.N., undone much of what had been accomplished in 30 years of pursuing a 'Good Neighbor' policy, flouted the O.A.S. Charter, and all but destroyed the spirit of cooperative endeavor toward democratic reform and social and economic progress which had been kindled by the Alliance for Progress."

He goes on to say "If it is true that the President has violated international law and provoked international anarchy--if it is true he has created a 'solemn commitment' in Vietnam where none existed before and has taken us into undeclared war--if it is true we are on the road, not to peace, but toward a major war in Asia--and if it is true that a major war will destroy not only all hope of achieving the 'Great Society' here at home but very likely all forms of civilized life upon this planet--is it not time for plain speech?"

He concludes by asking concerned citizens to call on Congress to hold public hearings on foreign policy. The people of America must ask President Johnson to "do what he promised; namely to carry out a 'strategy of peace' based on the realization that this country is neither omniscient nor omnipotent, and that the road to peace can be found only through patient endeavor and not through the use of unilateral force."

**2 WANTON ACTS OF MURDER**

Last week the U.S. Puppet government of South Vietnam executed a Viet Cong soldier in the public square with the statement "We are ready to sacrifice 10,000 to save 14 million 'free' Vietnamese."

The National Liberation Front in retaliation executed a U.S. Army Sergeant. The U. S. Department condemned it as "A WANTON ACT OF MURDER."

Fear not your friends, for the most they can do is betray you.  
Fear not your enemies, for the most they can do is kill you.  
Fear rather the indifferent, for it is because of them that so much betrayal and so much killing is going on in the world."  
-- Jew in a German concentration camp.

A MONUMENT TO INDIFFERENCE The following is an excerpt from an article by John-Guenther Pescht of the AFSC in Portland, Ore.

"There are all too many monuments to indifference in recent history: suffering of Jews in Hitler's concentration camps--suffering of people in the so-called 'strategic hamlets of Malaysia and Vietnam--suffering of the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki--suffering of the residents of Dresden during the bombing-- suffering of an American family on learning that a father on assignment in Vietnam will not return--and the suffering of the people of Vietnam--."

Either we individually and collectively face the problem of living as brothers in a world of conflict "or it may well be that we face atomic disaster. If that were to happen then the earth, a cold, lifeless planet would be man's most tragic and final monument to indifference."

**COMING EVENTS**

- August 6 - Hiroshima Day - A vigil to PREVENT ANY MORE HIROSHIMAS and to call for AN END TO THE WAR IN VIETNAM.
- August 14-20 - AFSC Family Camp, Watson Homestead, Painted Post, N. Y. Resource Leader - Dave McReynolds of the War Resisters League.

**BOOK SHELF**

- The Roots of the Dominican Crisis, by Theodore Draper, 16pp 10¢.
- From Protest to Politics, the Future of the Civil Rights Movement, by Bayard Rustin, reprinted from Commentary, 10¢.
- "... Therefore Choose Life" - Essays by Norman Cousins, Thomas Merton and others produced in connection with the FOR Pacem in Terris Conference in New York City last February, 70pp, 60¢.
- Stanleyville-Saigon-Santo Domingo, by Dave McReynolds, FREE.

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# PEACE NEWSLETTER

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Robert Tenney, Editor \$1.00 per year July 30, 1965

## A SILENT VIGIL

TO MOURN FOR THE VICTIMS OF HIROSHIMA  
and to CALL FOR PEACE IN VIETNAM

DATE: August 6, 1965 - HIROSHIMA DAY  
PLACE: Columbus Circle, Syracuse, N. Y.  
TIME: 11:30 AM to 1:30 PM

This SILENT VIGIL will be a solemn reminder of the tragedy of Hiroshima 20 years ago, and will be an appeal for NO MORE HIROSHIMAS.

-- Sponsored by the WILPF in cooperation with the Syracuse Peace Council.

THE LARGER WAR There is no question now. The U.S. is vastly increasing war in Vietnam. People close to officials in Washington predict an increase of over 100,000 U.S. troops. Stewart Alsop has said that an increase of over 300,000 is not unrealistic. Officials are now talking of an increase in the draft and extending the tours of duty of servicemen in Vietnam.

Commenting on this fatal step in the escalation of the war, Walter Lippman wrote on July 22, 1965:

The buildup of American Forces does not decide the issue-- which is whether the troops are going ashore in order to affirm the U.S. presence during a negotiation for a political settlement, or whether they are the vanguard of a crusade to push communism back of the 17th parallel, to teach China a lesson, to prove that Americans always win their wars. This is the issue that has to be decided, and in a self-respecting free society it should now be soberly and gravely debated.

Lippman continues:

WE ARE NOW IN SIGHT OF A TOTAL WAR. We shall be much nearer the brink if we transform our intervention... into an American War against the Viet Cong and Hanoi. For with the crumbling of the Saigon Army, with the defeat of the Saigon government in almost

the whole territory of South Vietnam, with the corrosion and corruption of the government in Saigon itself, we are confronted with the proposal to replace the South Vietnamese with Americans, to replace our advisors, and to take command of the war, and--inevitably as a result--to establish an American military government in Saigon to rule the native politicians and the generals.

Can there be any serious question that such an expansion of American military power on the Asian mainland is likely to mean a war to the bitter end, not only against the Viet Cong and Hanoi, but against China as well?

President Johnson is now conferring with McNamara, Rusk, Bundy and other military advisors on the future of the war in Vietnam. The path he will take seems agonizingly clear. **ONLY YOUR OPINION CAN CHANGE THAT PATH. WRITE AND SEND TELEGRAMS NOW TO PRESIDENT JOHNSON.**

#### PEACE MISSIONS TO VIETNAM

**FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION** Twelve clergymen have gone to Vietnam under the sponsorship of the F.O.R. for the purpose of "making contact with the various religious groups in Vietnam, including the Buddhists, and assuring them of the concern of millions of Americans that peace be restored and the destruction of war repaired, and to find ways by which the whole concept of nonviolence and reconciliation may be introduced into the conflict."

In a prepared statement they state:

It is a fact of our time that the survival of civilization and perhaps of mankind itself depends upon the substitution of non-violent means of resolving conflict and war. It is not enough to make such a statement and then proceed to act as though it were true; it is the most relevant reality of our lives. In such a circumstance no man can rightfully abdicate (even to the government) his responsibility for peace..."

**WOMEN STRIKE FOR PEACE** A five-day meeting between 12 American Women and 6 women each from North and South Vietnam took place in Jakarta, Indonesia last week. They went to "reestablish avenues of communication... and to find some means of removing the activities of the warring nations to the conference table." Upon their return they will attempt to bring to the American people a better understanding of the human values of the tragic Vietnamese conflict.

AFSC Stephen Cary, Associate Executive Secretary of AFSC, Kenneth Morgan, Philosophy professor and expert on Buddhism at Colgate Univ. and others are in Vietnam investigating the possibilities of an American Friends Service Committee role in service and reconciliation in Vietnam. Many "alumni" of AFSC workcamps are now in Vietnam under the auspices of International Voluntary Service. They are conducting work camps, some in territory controlled by the National Liberation Front, working on reconstruction and rehabilitation in the war-torn villages in S. Vietnam. A full report of the AFSC Mission will be issued upon its return in the early Fall.

VO THANH Vo Thanh Minh and some volunteers from the U.S. and Canada  
MINH will leave shortly on a "very humble mission to North and South Vietnam and the National Liberation Front." Their purpose is simple: "To create a better climate for negotiations." Dr. Vo has many contacts on both sides of the conflict and the mission will attempt to talk to all sides and create an acceptance for negotiation and reconciliation.

Dr. Vo said, "We go where others have failed. But we go in the spirit of democracy and nonviolence. I may certainly die in this effort. But I must do it, there is no other way." He is truly "Speaking Truth to Power." (Contributions are needed for the success of this effort. If you wish to contribute, send checks to the Canadian Friends Service Committee, 60 Lowther Ave., Toronto 5, Ontario, Canada.

SANE RALLY Almost 18,000 people attended the "Emergency Rally on  
ON VIETNAM Vietnam." Speakers included Sen. Wayne Morse, Norman Thomas, Benjamin Spock, Harold Taylor, and others. The following are some statements by speakers at the Rally.

Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr.: "Ultimately there can be no justice without peace, and no peace without justice. The two great moral issues of our times, peace and human rights, are so closely related that we can say they are one and the same. For what doth it profit a nation to gain civil rights for all its citizens if there is no world in which to exercise these rights?"

Hans J. Morgenthau: "The war is an unjust war. The war is a war that cannot be won. And if it continues, it will have the exact opposite effects of those which our government intends it to have.... It is also a war which is going to affect the moral fiber of our own nation. It will brutalize us; get us impatient and hostile with a government which imposes upon us those sacrifices with no possible end, with no possible reason."

ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT      The United States is the biggest arms trader in the world. Sales of munitions to other countries have increased from \$350 million to \$1.5 billion a year, but the goal of the Pentagon is to increase the annual rate of sales to \$5.4 billion by 1967. At the same time Soviet arms sales abroad are \$400 million a year. (from New Republic, June 5, 1965.)

We now have enough nuclear materials to deliver the "equivalent of Hiroshima on each 100,000 people in all 2,000 cities of that size throughout the world, then come back and do so 125 times more."

-- Scripps Howard reporter, Henry J. Taylor.

David Rockefeller, President of Chase Manhattan Bank (America's second largest) recently advocated "... a heavy reduction in defense spending in the next few years (from 10% of the gross national product to 5%)."

#### IMPORTANT SOURCES OF INFORMATION ON VIETNAM.

Bi-weekly Information and Action Report, P.O. Box 7228, Detroit 2, Mich. Purpose: "To create a fast, open, flexible, decentralized communication network to promote and assist local... groups in organizing action and discussion on foreign policy issues." \$2/year. Send for free sample.

Viet-Report, An Emergency News Bulletin on Southeast Asian Affairs, 133 West 72nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10023, \$5/year. Send for sample. Viet-Report is "an independent news bulletin designed to meet the increasing demand in the U.S. for comprehensive reporting of the crisis in Vietnam." It is a documented fact-sheet and forum of analysis and opinion. It is a TOP RATE publication and a must for informed citizens.

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# PEACE NEWS LETTER

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Robert Tenney, Editor

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## THE ENEMY IS EVIL

The Christian Conscience Confronts Vietnam and the Dominican Republic

My people have committed two evils:  
they have forsaken me  
the fountain of living waters  
and hewed out cisterns for themselves,  
broken cisterns, that can hold no water.  
-- Jeremiah 2:13

Do not be conformed to this  
world but be transformed by  
the renewal of your mind, that  
you may prove what is the will  
of God.. Do not be overcome  
by evil, but overcome evil  
with good.

-- Romans 12:2, 21

These two passages were used as the basis for a Sermon given by Rev. Harold Fray, Jr. at the United Church of Christ in Newton, Mass. on June 20, 1965. He was talking about the failure of the Church and Christians in general in facing the agonizing dilemma of our time, power and violence as reflected in our policy in Vietnam and the Dom. Rep.

"In Germany the church stood silent and impotent before the monstrous evil of Nazism; and in America the church has remained essentially aloof from the monstrous evil of racism (and war). We have condemned the church in Germany; but we have been much less ready to recognize the failure of the church to meet the evil in our own midst.. if the Christian faith has anything to say about urgent social problems, now is the time to speak.

Rev. Fray sees the following insights of the Christian faith that can and must be applied by every individual to the problems we face:

1. "... the enemy we fight is evil, in whatever form or guise it may take. With our insistence upon military means as the way to oppose communism we have frustrated and destroyed basic human rights and needs, and in the eyes of many people in the world, there is no choice between the evil spawned by communism and the evil spawned by our opposition to communism."
2. "... America cannot play the role of God in Asia, S. America, or anywhere else in the world. If we should turn back the pages of history we would find that nations and people reached their lowest ebb when they engaged in 'Holy wars.' The things that have been done to the glory of God can only make us weep bitter tears of repentance, as we look at the Crusades, the Inquisitions, and the religious wars in Europe."

CHRISTIAN "Perhaps the most overpowering temptation facing the U.S.  
CONSCIENCE today is to imagine that we are engaged in a 'holy crusade'  
CONT'D against atheistic communism, and therefore anything we do  
in this struggle is somehow all right, even if it means the  
awful slaughter that is going on in Vietnam or setting aside the rules  
of international law as in the Dominican Republic. No nation is wise  
or innocent enough to be the saviour of the world...

"Today our nation faces problems of great magnitude... The church cannot  
abdicate its responsibility to speak to these situations... To say noth-  
is to abandon our mission under God."

SCORCHED "The insistent image of a S. Vietnamese village of 150 homes  
EARTH put to flame by the cigarette lighters and flame-throwers of a  
detachment of U.S. marines will be difficult to live with. It  
places before us vividly what this war has become.

"These villagers, unwarned of danger in a language they could understand  
and now homeless, are, after all, the people we are committed to protect  
from aggression. I have been listening to the President, and this is  
what he has been telling me. One wonders how they can be expected to  
recognize their protectors when they advance in this form.

....

"But what is to be dreaded above all is the likelihood that a year from  
now we private citizens may not even register shock at such a small epi-  
sode of inhumanity. Scorched-earth reprisals wherever sniper fire ex-  
ists, if pursued with official sanction, may become a regular portion of  
the day's news and we will be told that, unfortunate as it is, it is  
somehow bound up with our determination to liberate these people from  
their oppressors.

"And having accepted it once, twice and then weekly and daily, we will  
have lost our capacity to live at a level of human honesty. This one  
feels, is the most ominous of the many risks we run."

-- Joanne Kilpack, letter in N.Y. Times, 8/11/65

TRUTH IS THE FIRST VICTIM OF WAR---

Vice President Humphrey defended U.S. policy in Vietnam and answered a  
question about "American atrocities" by saying:

"Only the Vietcong has committed atrocities in Vietnam," Mr. Humphrey  
said. "The Vietcong has committed the most unbelievable acts of  
terrorism the world has ever known..."

-- N.Y. Times, May 14, 1965

GUEST Why is peace suspect? I wish someone would explain this to me.  
LETTER Why is peace something to be eyed with suspicion when sincere people attempt to share with their more complacent fellow citizens their concern for the future of mankind?

Some people feel, without necessarily ignoring the dangers of war, that COMMUNISM is the greatest danger confronting man. These people are eager to impress their fear on as many as can be induced to listen. That is their privilege.

Other people, however, feel, without ignoring the dangers of Communism, that WAR is the greatest danger confronting man. They too wish to impress their fear on as many people as possible, and that is also their privilege.

But why is it that the action of the first group is acceptable, whereas the action of the second group is suspect? Why are military parades patriotic, but peace marches controversial?

I know whereof I speak. I know life under a dictatorship, and life in war. I am about as close as possible to knowing both red and dead. Every horror story of life under Communism I can match with one of life in a cozy war with only conventional weapons. And every horror story of war I can match with one of life, for a Jew, in Nazi Germany. For good measure I am also a refugee from East Germany.

Never will I forget what life was like under a dictatorship, be it Nazi or Communist, but neither will I forget climbing out of the rubble of bomb shelters, over corpses into an ocean of flame.

I don't want my children to have to jump with fear whenever the doorbell rings, as I did, nor do I want them to have to carry gas masks to school, as I did too.

Every minute that I can spare I am trying to spend alerting my fellow citizens to the danger of both dictatorship and war. I am attempting to do what my parent's generation should have done thirty years ago in Germany: To fight apathy, to speak up before it is too late!

-- Margret Hoffman  
610 Cardinal Lane  
Austin, Texas

**EDITORS NOTE:** PNL readers are invited and encouraged to submit short ~~statements~~ of views and comments on peace issues for possible publication in the Peace Newsletter.

A NAVAL OFFICER SPEAKS OUT On June 16th CNVA conducted a precedent shattering demonstration at the Pentagon. Over 200 participants held a "Speak-Out" on the steps and inside the corridors of the largest military establishment in the world. Speakers called for an immediate reversal of U.S. policies in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, asked young men to refuse to serve in the armed services, and some people indicated their open and complete withdrawal of support for the U.S. actions in Vietnam. Over 50,000 leaflets were distributed. There were no arrests.

The words and ideas did not fall on deaf ears. The following letter was sent to A. J. Muste by a Pentagon employee, a naval officer.

"... It has taken 10 years as a naval officer to reach the same conclusion that you expressed yesterday. I was particularly impressed with the thoughts spoken by Prof. (Staughton) Lynd.

"I would appreciate it if you would convey my thanks to all of those people who helped you. They must not become discouraged by the apathetic reaction of we Pentagonians. You were asking us to give up our 'bread and butter' as well as our parochial views and, alas, very few of us are apt to do this. Most of the people here are either unable or unwilling to look past the end of their nose. I am convinced that you must keep trying to make them see what it is you are talking about, however, and then perhaps on a clear day, some will be able to see the future consequences of their current actions.

"As for myself, my resignation was submitted in March and has yet to be acted upon. My stated reason was to 'provide a more stable home life for my family.' Until yesterday I was considering staying on as a civil servant with the Department of Defense. I doubt that my conscience will let me do that now.

"I would be interested in learning more about your organization. Could you put me on your mailing list?"

Sincerely,

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# PEACE NEWS LETTER

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Robert Tenney, Editor \$1.00 per year September 21, 1965

"Let us not be overwhelmed nor discouraged by the smallness of our numbers in this country. When we speak out against U.S. policy in Vietnam or the Dominican Republic, we speak for the greater part of mankind everywhere. Nor can we easily be defeated. So long as a single man anywhere protests all injustice, in any country, we can say that we are not defeated, that the future may yet belong to mankind and not to the machinery of death. -- Dave McReynolds

## THE DRAFT AND VIETNAM

American men do not want to fight in Vietnam. They do not want to kill and be killed in an illegal and immoral war that they do not understand.

- There are over 700 men in the armed forces currently seeking discharge on the grounds of conscientious objection.
- There are now 17 men in prison for non-cooperation with the draft, and 9 others who are being prosecuted.
- A recent article in the Newsletter of the Miss. Freedom Democratic Party said: "Negro boys should not honor the draft in Miss... No one has the right to ask us to risk our lives and kill other colored people in Santo Domingo and Vietnam so that the white American can grow richer."

## WARS WILL CEASE WHEN MEN REFUSE TO FIGHT

These and countless other incidents are the result of increased draft calls announced by Johnson on July 28, and a growing awareness by young men of the implications of fighting in Vietnam. DRAFT CALLS: August, 17,000; September, 27,400; October, 33,600; and November, 35,000. It is expected to remain at 35,000 for at least 6 months.

Johnson's revocation of the exemption for married men resulted in a scramble by thousands of men to get married before the deadline. In response, Gen. Hershey, National Selective Service Director, said: "We'll get most of them in 4 or 5 months."

BUT MOST MEN DO NOT KNOW ABOUT THE ALTERNATIVE TO THE MILITARY! YOU

CAN HELP TO INFORM THEM BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE. GIVE THEM LITERATURE ON CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION. REFER THEM TO QUALIFIED COUNSELORS. MAKE SURE THAT C.O.M. MATERIALS ARE IN THE HANDS OF HIGH SCHOOL COUNSELORS.

IN THE NAME OF DEMOCRACY

Johnson told an audience of U.S. students that he "would like to see them develop as much fanaticism about the U.S. political system as young Nazis did about their system..."

-- N.Y. Times, 2/6-65

"At his daughter's secondary school graduation Johnson said, 'In a democracy the people have to do what must be done.'

"That sentence expresses a philosophy of politics that scares all those who read Spengler's 'Decline of the West'... before the Nazi take-over in Germany and remember that he wound up... by asserting that 'We have not the freedom to

reach this or that, but the freedom to do the necessary or to do nothing. And a task that historic necessity has set will be accomplished with the individual or against him.

"It also brings to mind the statement made by a number of thoughtful students of government of the people, by the people, and for the people--democracy--that when facism comes to the U.S it will come in the guise of democracy.

"The idea expressed in Johnson's speech is fantastic. It means that someone decides what must be done and leaves the people no alternative. And who decides what must be done? Why Caesar of course, a Fuehrer-Hitler... The Germans got Caesar first and we saw what happened. Are we to be next on the list?

\* \* \*

"Once the premise is accepted that in a democracy the people have to do what must be done, the cause of free government is in dire danger. For who is to decide what must be done. Certainly not the people who have to do so and so. That leaves those who do not have to do so and so and that means Caesar, or oligarchs or monarchs or dictators or autocrats or totalitarians.

"No that is not democracy. By accepting any such definition of democracy as that we the people have to do what must be done we are surrendering our rights as sovereigns and introducing government by fiat and decree by some all powerful unwise ambitious tyrant who becomes by virtue of his influence politically the only mind capable of knowing truth.

"Maybe you think Hitler didn't have any such ability and learning. But

the Germans did, or at least enough of them did, to entrust to him the Fuehrer--magic word in itself--pure reason which becomes real truth."

-- Editorial from the York Gazette and Daily  
6/29/65

"People ask me who my heroes are. I have only one--Hitler. I admire Hitler because he pulled his country together when it was in a terrible state in the early 30's. But the situation here is so desperate now that one man would not be enough. We need 4 or 5 Hitlers in Vietnam." -- Premier Nguyen Cao Ky, London Sunday Mirror, 7/4/65

THE CASUALTIES OF THE COLD WAR The cold war "has already inflicted on us a tremendous moral and psychological injury which is intangible but equally destructive (as a physical holocaust would be). The long, uneasy cold war has destroyed and mutilated not only our bodies, but our minds. Its weapons are the myths and legends of propaganda.

"It has often been said that in war the first casualty is truth. The cold war is also capable of inflicting the same casualty. The weapons designed and utilized to crush and mutilate the human mind are as potent as any of the weapons designed for physical destruction. The weapons of the cold war contaminate our moral fiber, warp our thinking processes and afflict us with pathological obsessions. These are the invisible but, nevertheless, the most devastating effects of the cold war on humanity."  
-- U. Thant, 7/19/65

TO RESCUE TRUTH Nat Hentoff continues from the statement by U. Thant above:  
"Our job (is) to rescue truth, to expose and transfix the myths and legends of propaganda. To show the naked lunch at the end of LBJ's fork. To convince as many Americans as we can that we are murderers. That our taxes become transmogrified into ways to kill. Argue all you like about the murdering of the other side and who's responsible for starting it. The plain, brutalizing fact is that we murder and we are our responsibility. Americans must be made to know this viscerally. LBJ--with his--rhetoric about our 'national honor'--is not going to feel viscerally responsible for the death of either a Viet Cong or an American. But many Americans can still be awakened to what they are permitting to be done in their names.

"And our corollary job is to focus on how little time is left. 'We are in sight of total war,' Walter Lippmann wrote on July 22. But who knows that? Who feels that? Look around you in the streets.

Except among some of the young, there is none of that gnawing tension, that muffled sense of horror that drove millions of Americans to listen to radio news in 1938 and 1939. We are slipping into the crematorium as if we were Jews, told by those in authority that we are being led into this new place only in order to take a shower. The difference this time, of course, is that along with us all the others--not being asked, not being told why, not even being considered--will die. Everywhere."

Our voices are only whispers. But we must speak out, "again and again until this beginning whisper, joined by other voices, is as audible and inescapable as the cry of a desperate man."

A NEWS BROAD-  
CAST FROM OVERSEAS

"AND NOW THE LATEST NEWS FROM OVERSEAS..."

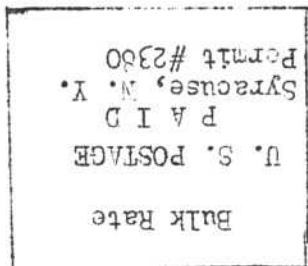
"Fighting continues tonight in New York's Harlem. The government of the United States has filed a strong protest with the government of Ghana, claiming that it acted illegally in dispatching 2000 marines to protect the Hotel Theresa and other strategic points in the community.

"In the meantime the government of Israel has announced plans to drop 1000 paratroops into the Boroughs of Brooklyn and Bronx to protect houses of worship.

"In further developments French paratroops have refused to withdraw their occupation of 50 French restaurants on the Island of Manhattan until all personnel are evacuated.

"President Johnson continues to insist that New York is an internal problem and that if foreign troops do not withdraw immediately American troops will force them out--just as soon as they get back from Vietnam, Japan, Thailand, Laos, Taiwan, the Congo, Guantanamo, Guatemala, and the Dominican Republic."

-- from a Jules Feiffer cartoon, 6/9/65



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Robert Tenney, Editor

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## GERM WARFARE IN VIETNAM?

After the world outcry against the use of gas by U.S. forces in Vietnam the Defense Dept. put a ban on its use in Vietnam. On Sept. 6 a Marine sergeant used gas to flush "suspected Viet Cong from a tunnel. He said, "I didn't know about the ban."

\* \* \*

The U.S. has been using chemical warfare in Vietnam for some time. Sprays designed to kill crops are used to prevent the Viet Cong (and innocent villagers) from obtaining food. These sprays also kill animals and people, especially children, if used in large quantities.

\* \* \*

Drew Pearson commented on germ warfare in Vietnam on August 27th: We have developed new virus and rickettsia strains against which the world has no immunity. This has been accomplished by using chemicals, ultraviolet light and other agents to produce bacteriological freaks or mutants.

"Some are so deadly that universities in the vicinity of the Army's Pine Bluff, Ariz. laboratories have been given secret contracts to test the wild life constantly for the slightest sign of escaped virus. Elaborate precautions are taken, of course, to confine the bizarre germs to the labs. (One virus is so deadly that 8½ oz., properly distributed, could kill the entire population of the world.)

"A Boston group, called Physicians for Social Responsibility, is circulating a report that 'government officials at high policy-making levels are advocating use of biological weapons in Vietnam' and that 'a contract has been assigned to a New England concern for a rush program to adapt biological agents for use in Vietnam.'

"Inquiring Senators learned that the... contract was supposed to have been granted to Travelers Research, Inc. of Hartford, Conn. However, Pentagon spokesmen emphatically denied any intention of using biological warfare in Vietnam. The government, they added, also has no germ warfare contract with Travellers Research.

"This column was told a different story, however, by Dr. Robert Ellis, who is directing germ warfare studies for Travellers Research.

## LEWIS MUMFORD SPEAKS OUT

Mr. President:

The time has come for someone to speak out on behalf of the great body of your countrymen who regard with abhorrence the course to which you are committing the U.S. in Vietnam. As a holder of the Presidential Medal of Freedom, I have a duty to say plainly, and in public, what millions of... fellow citizens are saying in the privacy of their homes. Namely that the course you are now following affronts both our practical judgment and our moral sense...

From the beginning, the presence of U.S. forces in V.N., without the authority of the U.N., was in defiance of our own solemn commitment... Our steady involvement with the military dictators who are waging civil war in S. V.N., with our extravagant financial support and underhanded military co-operation, is as indefensible as our Government's original refusal to permit a popular election to be held in V.N., lest communism should be installed by popular vote. Your attempt now to pin the whole blame on N. V.N. deceives no one except those whose wishful thinking originally committed us to our high-handed intervention: the same set of agencies and intelligences that inveigled us into the Bay of Pigs disaster.

Instead of using your well-known political adroitness to rescue our country from the military miscalculations and political blunders that created our impossible position in V.N., you now, casting all caution to the winds, propose to increase the area of senseless destruction and extermination, without having any other visible ends in view than to conceal our political impotence. In taking this unreasonable course you not merely show a lack of 'decent respect for the opinions of mankind,' but you likewise mock and betray all our country's humane traditions.

This betrayal is all the more sinister because you are now... obstinately committing us to the very military policy your countrymen rejected when they so overwhelmingly defeated the Republican candidate.

Before you go further, let us tell you clearly: your professed aims are emptied of meaning by your totalitarian tactics and your nihilistic strategy. We are shamed by your actions, and revolted by your dishonest excuses and pretexts. What is worse, we are horrified by the immediate prospect of having our country's fate in the hands of leaders who, time and again, have shown their inability to think straight, to correct their errors, or to get out of a bad situation without creating a worse one.

"The government has forfeited our confidence; and we will oppose, with every means available within the law, the execution of impractical, and above all, morally indefensible policy. There is only one way in which you can remove our opposition or regain our confidence; and that is to turn back from the course you have taken and seek a human way out."

DO NOT KEEP THIS NEWSLETTER!

Give it to a friend. Help us to increase the circulation of Peace Newsletter. Help to make peace visible. Send us the names of people who might like to receive Peace Newsletter. Sample copies free.

OCTOBER EVENTS

- OCT. 15-16 INTERNATIONAL DAYS OF PROTEST - Demonstrations in 25 U.S. cities and in many other countries.  
IN SYRACUSE - Demonstration sponsored by the Syracuse Committee to End the War in Vietnam: Oct. 15, 3:00 Open Forum on Vietnam at Syracuse Univ., 4:30 March from the campus to Clinton Sq., All-night Vigil in Clinton Sq.  
LET US JOIN TOGETHER AND MAKE OUR VOICES HEARD!
- OCT. 18 FOR REGIONAL MEETING - Philip Berrigan will be the speaker and Al Hassler, a member of the FOR team that went to Vietnam, may be there. Tickets \$2. Contact the SPC.
- OCT. 23 ROUND-UP OF PEACE WORKERS - Steve Cary, Assoc. Exec. Sec. of AFSC, just back from Vietnam, will speak. Be sure to come and bring a friend.
- OCT. 26 TEACH-IN ON CHINA at Syracuse University. Noted experts on China will speak. For more information contact the Syracuse Peace Council.

WE NEED HELP !!!

ASIA AND THE WEST Walter Lippman ended his column on Sept. 14th with the following observations:

"No one of us... has as yet been able to comprehend how much (Asian-Western) relations have changed in the 25 years since W.W. II. Virtually the whole structure of power, as it existed in 1940, has been destroyed, and there is as yet no new equilibrium of power to replace

it.

"Our Vietnamese war is a result of an attempt to find a basis of order in S.E. Asia to replace the French imperial system. The horrendous Pakistan-India war marks the crumbling of what the British were able to leave behind them in the subcontinent. The dissolution of Malaysia is still another case of the breakdown of a replacement for the old imperial system.

"It must be evident now that the U.S. cannot alone, with its own resources and its own stock of intelligence and wisdom, provide a replacement for the old system of law and order which has collapsed. The dominoes are falling. We are obviously not the policeman of mankind. The size and complexity and inscrutability of the problems of Asia are great, and they will tempt us to look for some simple "surgical remedy.

"There is no such simple remedy. For we are confronted with what is almost certainly the greatest human upheaval in the history of mankind. We cannot deal with it like a bull rushing at a red flag, our heads down, snorting, with our eyes closed. We shall have to think out a new order of human relationship between the Asian and the Western world, and that will compel us to think about a lot of things which politicians generally today regard as unthinkable."

MONEY HELPS !!!

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TOO MANY MARTYRS ...

There have been more than 300,000 killed and 700,000 made homeless, and thousands more injured and tortured since 1961 in Vietnam.

Norman Morrison, who burned himself to death in front of the Pentagon to express his horror at U.S. military actions in Vietnam was a Quaker, a pacifist, a husband and father, a man trained in the Christian ministry. He was a gentle, loving man who believed deeply in the sanctity of human life and in his personal responsibility for his fellow human beings.

Many Americans are shocked at his action. Are they equally shocked at the slaughter and suffering of hundreds, thousands of Vietnamese men, women and children every day the war continues? Perhaps Norman Morrison was trying to say to us Americans, and to human beings everywhere: "This is the way I must choose to plead with you to stop the killing, stop the hatred, stop the destruction." Perhaps in bringing his small daughter with him to the Pentagon (carefully laying her aside before he burned himself), he was saying to us all: "Look upon this child, and upon all the children of the earth, and learn to live in love that these children may have a decent peaceful world in which to grow up."

We are grateful to the military men who tried to save him. We will be equally as grateful if all Americans, military and civilian and all Vietnamese, and all Chinese, and all men everywhere will heed Norman Morrison's plea, so that his sacrifice will not be in vain. Norman Morrison, a pacifist, gave his life in the hope that others will not have to kill or die.

-- Statement by N.E. Committee for  
Nonviolent Action

"WHY I AM BURNING MY DRAFT CARD"

"Protests against U.S. involvement in Vietnam have been carried on with increasing intensity in recent months, dramatically disproving the President's claim for a consensus for his foreign policy. Still

the war continues to escalate. Each day innocent peasants are being burned to death by napalm, their crops are destroyed and their hopes dashed. American men are giving their lives, American families are being shattered, to pursue a war that cannot be won, a war it was shameful for us to enter, a war we must use all our moral energy to halt, so that we might set about building the conditions of peace.

"Americans have written to their Congressmen. They have marched upon our nation's capital. As C.O.'s they have refused to serve in the armed forces. They have demanded that our nation address itself to the real problems that beset critical areas. Yet the war in Vietnam rages on and the seeds of war continue to proliferate and grow in Latin America and elsewhere.

"To intimidate and stifle the expression of protest and dissent, the Congress passed a bill--without debate--making it a criminal offense to burn one's draft card, providing a 5 year prison penalty and a \$10,000 fine. On August 30, the President signed the bill into law.

"GIVE UNTO CAESAR... AND UNTO GOD WHAT IS GOD'S" "In the words of Karl Meyer of the Catholic Worker in Chicago, explaining to his draft board why he destroyed his card, 'If the penalty for damaging a paper card is so harsh, then the possession of the card becomes the universal act of fealty--incense on the altar of Caesar.' The grave crime we are told is not the destruction of life but the destruction of a piece of paper.

"We cannot let this draconian law stand. Not only is the penalty provided outrageously disproportionate, but the very concept of the law indicates that the U.S. Government, albeit accidentally and in a moment of frenzy, has taken upon itself to consecrate a piece of paper, invest it with a quality it cannot have, and exact obeisance for that piece of paper. I can no longer carry that card."

-- Thomas C. Cornell

Tom Cornell was formerly managing editor of the Catholic Worker and is currently working with the Catholic Peace Fellowship. This statement was made at a demonstration on Nov. 6 in New York City.

WORLD WAR! "The U.S. has sought at least token military representation in S. Vietnam from some nations in Western Europe, Asia, and Latin America..."

"We would like to see more help from other countries," Rusk said at his news conference. He went on to complain pointedly: "Unfortunately

for many countries Vietnam seems a long way away. So was Manchuria in 1931. So was Ethiopia. All free world countries have a stake in the outcome of the situation in Vietnam.'

"Another official said the failure of other countries to contribute more was 'due to the fact that they don't realize that it is a world war' (italics added). They have no identification with the problem.' To an important degree it is just because this identification does not exist in many countries that the response has been slow."

-- N.Y. Times, 12/9/65

"The Ambassador said that he would know when the war was won in Vietnam 'when one morning the young man who's been in the Vietcong, wakes up and says, "I am not going back today and the reason I'm not going back is (a) I think I'll get killed and (b) I look around me and I see the rice and fish and the ducks and coconuts, the pineapples, American aid coming in and life looks pretty good right here"'. -- Henry Cabot Lodge, N.Y. Times September 7, 1965.

UNCONDITIONAL A very high official in the Administration has said  
NEGOTIATIONS ? that the doctrine of unconditional negotiations is  
about to be replaced by the doctrine of unconditional  
victory. This is very plausible indeed when Gen Maxwell Taylor said  
recently that "negotiations may not be needed after all," and there are  
reports of increased construction on heavy bomber bases in Thailand.

Not only has the Administration rejected peace feelers by Hanoi, USSR, Hungary and other nations, but a recent report in the Wall Street Journal throws more light on the problem:

"The negotiation chant served the Administration designs quite well. It helped quiet criticism, both domestic and foreign, about our 'militaristic' policy in Vietnam. And, at a time when we were launching a mammoth buildup of combat forces, constant talk of negotiations also served to allay the fears of Hanoi, Peking and Moscow about an ultimate U.S. invasion of the North and a forced reunification of Vietnam.

"For such benefits as these, some lip service to negotiation ought to continue. Indeed, officials say we would be willing to confer, although our position would be a lot tougher than before. But, by and large, Administration authorities no longer look to negotiations as the most

likely way to end the war."

-- by William Beecher after conferring privately with Washington officials.

#### PRISONERS FOR PEACE

This is a list of men who will be in prison at Christmas and New Year as a result of anti-war activities. They are often the forgotten, but they are witnessing and suffering for us. Remember them. Cards of greeting should bear only the sender's name and address: no other message may be included.

Donald Hoffman, Federal prison Camp, Allenwood, Pa.

William Hicks, Dennis Weeks, Jon Jost, Federal Reformatory, Chillicothe, Ohio.

Peter Harris, William McMillen, Federal Correctional Institution, Danbury, Conn.

Robert Anderson, Federal Reformatory, Comstock, California.

Russell Goddard, Gene Keyes, Medical Center for Federal Prisoners, Springfield, Missouri.

Jefferson Keith, Jay Moss, Federal Reformatory, Petersburg, Va.

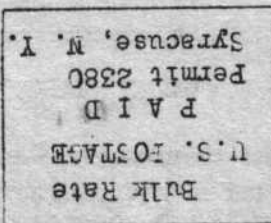
Robert Switzer, Federal Correctional Inst., Sandstone, Minnesota.

#### LITERATURE

What to do About Vietnam, by Henry David Thoreau, 5¢. This shows the timeliness of Thoreau's pamphlet on "Civil Disobedience."

Two Reprints on China: "The U.S. and China; Policy or Obsession?" and "China From Within," 5¢ each.

Oct. Issue of Viet-Report, 10¢, includes "An Eyewitness in the North."



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