

PEACE NEWS LETTER

Published by and for the Syracuse Peace Council SPC 300
Robert Tenney, Editor \$1.00 per year January 15, 1966

Sample Copy

JAN. 31, 1966 -- THE FIRST DAY OF WORLD WAR III

This dire prediction was carried on a sign in a Vigil in Syracuse to protest the resumption of bombing of N. Vietnam

ESCALATION OF THE WAR "The decision to renew the air strikes foreshadows a steady increase in U.S. firepower and manpower on the battlefield." *

"While there is no peace, those men (the U.S. expeditionary force in Vietnam) are entitled to the full support of American strength and American determination. And we will give both." -- Johnson.

"What the President has said, in effect, is that the objective of the American force in Vietnam is to break the fighting will and power of the enemy, and even the most conservative general officers here think the U.S. force in Vietnam will have to go well above the $\frac{1}{2}$ million if the strategy... is even to have a chance, let alone succeed." *

In addition the present plans are to double or treble the bombing of "Vietcong strongholds" in 1966. Does the "full support" the President talks about also mean nuclear weapons?

The Statement released by the Syracuse Vigil stated in part: that the resumption of bombing will and must inevitably lead to:

1. The utter and complete desolation and destruction of Hanoi, Haiphong, and ultimately China.
2. An expansion and escalation of the war resulting in the needless and senseless rise in deaths of hundreds of American young men and the wholesale slaughter of tens of thousands of Vietnamese people.
3. The brutalization and ruination of Vietnam resulting in the increasing deadening of the American conscience.

"As we allow violence and murder to be committed in our names abroad so we will become accustomed to violence, cruelty, and inhumanity as the final solution to all difficult and complex social problems.

"The only lasting peace, the only salvation for the American conscience is to refuse to recognize the U.S. government as our voice. We must speak for ourselves and call for an immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Vietnam."

* James Reston, N.Y. Times 2/1/66

On Jan. 23 the International Committee of Conscience on Vietnam published a 2-full page ad in the N.Y. Times. It said in part:

WE ADDRESS OURSELVES TO THE RULERS OF NATIONS, AND TO THOSE ASSOCIATED WITH THEM:
LYNDON JOHNSON, NGUYEN CAO KY, HO CHI MINH, MAO TSE TUNG

Continuation of the war will not prove which side is right and which wrong. It will only increasingly force both sides to commit such atrocities as will mock all their claims. It will draw both sides farther and farther into a maelstrom of destruction in which mankind as a whole may finally be engulfed

You--each of you--has the opportunity at least to try to reverse this dreadful course, and each of you has the responsibility. We plead with you to accept it--now--today--in the interest of all humanity.

TO THE PEOPLE AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

The horrors that your planes and massive firepower are inflicting on the people of Vietnam are beyond any moral or political justification. The destruction of whole villages and the murder of masses of non-combatants which are the consequences of your policies cannot be excused on any grounds whatever. We believe that there is wrong on both sides, but that, as the only one of the world's major powers directly involved, you bear the heaviest responsibility for the initiation of peace moves. We call on you:

-- to stop the air attacks in both N. and S. Vietnam, at once, unilaterally, not simply as a political move in the direction of negotiations, but because those attacks are an affront to human decency and unworthy of a great people;

-- to express a clear intention to withdraw all U.S. military forces from Vietnam, consistent with the 1954 Geneva Agreements, to take effect immediately on conclusion of satisfactory arrangements to assure the Vietnamese people a free choice of government;

-- to state unequivocally your readiness to negotiate an end to the war on the basis of the 1954 Agreements, with the National Liberation Front as one of the principles in the negotiation.

The International Committee is associated with the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y. Write for more information.

30th ANNIVERSARY - SYRACUSE PEACE COUNCIL

KEN MORGAN ON VIETNAM Ken Morgan, Chaplain at Colgate University and a member of the AFSC team that visited Vietnam last summer, gave the major address at the 30th Anniversary dinner of the Syracuse Peace Council.

He related in great detail the various aspects of the Buddhists in Vietnam, especially "engaged Buddhism" or "socially conscious Buddhism." A book entitled "Engaged Buddhism" was published last year and sold 5000 copies in 3 weeks. The symbol of this new vitality is the burning monk. The self immolation by a monk is a great act of courage and hope, not despair and inaction. The manifestation of this new vitality is Buddhist activity in relief, educational, and social service activities.

After speaking of the tragedy of Vietnam, Morgan said there is no easy solution - either way people die because of our decisions. But he said we must understand the thinking and experience of the Asian people. Until W.W. II Asia was in the grip of Colonialism. There was a great movement to get the western white people out... and now we are back with more guns. When white people come with guns, Asians are exploited and die. The U.S. is saying "We are back to stay" and the Asians reply, "You can't keep armed white people in Asia again. We will bleed you to death." Neo-colonialism has real meaning for the Asians, and this basic issue is not negotiable.

PEACE AWARD TO DAVE MILLER The Annual Peace Citation of the SPC was given to David Miller for his contribution to peace. It was received by his mother and the following statement by Dave was read in absentia, since Dave is confined to New York City:

"Moral judgments must be made and brought to bear on issues of war and peace, Vietnam being the most immediate. I am convinced that people should and can live by their high ideals in concrete cases. As a matter of fact, there is no meaning in religion and morality except in the context of human moral decisions. I am convinced further that solutions to complex problems of war and peace lie essentially in the application of moral and religious values rather than in political power and manipulation. What I am finally interested in is a value judgment which sees the killing of a fellow brother as incompatible with the life of a peacemaker.

Peace in Christ, David Miller

HOW CRAZY CAN YOU GET DEPT.

"The main administration arguments for renewing the bombing in the North - that the pause was enabling the enemy to improve his position and would in the end result in the loss of more lives - are fiercely contested here.

"Actually, the pause took place while there was a severe supply problem on our side, with dozens of tankers, ammunition ships and other cargo vessels tied up off S. Vietnam. This was not only greatly relieved during the pause, but our own official estimates also indicate that the U.S. & S. Vietnam brought in more supplies during the pause than did the enemy.

"The official reply to this is that we need far more supplies and that ours are legal, while the communist supplies are illegal." -- James Reston, N.Y. Times, 2/1/66

DEBATE IN CONGRESS?

Johnson has asked for \$12.7 billion to escalate the war. This provides for:

- 113,000 men increase in U.S. forces.
- more than 2000 helicopters
- more than 900 airplanes
- 4830 tactical missiles
- \$2.1 billion of ammunition
- \$1.2 billion to build ports, etc.

The magnitude of this sum is sufficient to allow the U.S. to bomb Hanoi and Haiphong, to send U.S. troops into Cambodia and Laos, and to begin to engage in a war with China.

It is also more than 8 times the estimated gross national product of N. Vietnam in 1964, and equals the combined sums given last year to the U.S. Dept. of State, Justice, Commerce, Interior, Labor, and Health, Education and Welfare.

DOES THIS MATTER TO YOU?

Well, Sec. of "Defense" McNamara won't tell YOU about it. On Feb. 4 he declined an invitation to testify before the Senate Foreign Relations

Committee's PUBLIC Hearings on Vietnam saying:

"It is NOT IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST to appear in PUBLIC SESSION..."

DO YOU THINK THIS IS FAIR TO US, THE PEOPLE AND THE SOLDIERS? IT IS MOST IMPORTANT THAT YOU COMMUNICATE WITH YOUR SENATORS AND CONGRESSMEN NOW - urge them to vote against the \$12.7 billion against further escalation and for an END TO THE WAR IN VIETNAM NOW.

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PEACE NEWS LETTER

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Robert Tenney, Editor \$1.00 per year March 2, 1966

A VISIT TO HANOI

A TALK BY TOM HAYDEN

8:00 PM, Friday

March 11

PARK CENTRAL PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
504 E. Fayette St.
Syracuse, N.Y.

TOM HAYDEN is a founder of the Students for a Democratic Society. He is presently the Director of the SDS-sponsored Newark Community Union Project. He worked in Miss. and is a key person in the New Left in America. Together with Prof. Staughton Lynd and Dr. Herbert Aptheker he visited Hanoi, Peking, Moscow and Prague between Dec. 19, 1965 - Jan. 9, 1966.

GA. LEGISLATURE REFUSES TO SEAT FREEDOM WORKER On Jan. 10 the Georgia House of Representatives made a mockery of democracy by refusing to seat Negro Representative-elect Julian

Bond because he had expressed opposition to U.S. policy in Vietnam. Bond, Communications Director for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, was elected by a landslide vote in his district in Atlanta.

In Washington, 23 House Democrats and 8 Republicans protested the action taken against Bond because of "the unpopularity of his political views on one of the great issues of our time." Bond said, "I have promised my constituents that I shall not relinquish the struggle for human dignity. I intend to keep that promise."

The action came after Bond supported a statement by SNCC on the war that charged that the U.S. has "never guaranteed the freedom of oppressed citizens" and said U.S. policy in Vietnam is "deceptive" and "hypocritical." It expressed support for those "unwilling to respond to the military draft," and asked, "Where is the draft for the Freedom fight in the U.S.?"

PACIFYING OR POLICYFYING

"Freedom at home was never more widely shared nor aggression abroad wisely resisted than under his leadership of the Nation"

This citation was given to LBJ by Freedom House in N.Y. City on Feb. 23.

FREEDOM AT HOME?

Where was the President when in the last 13 months 20 Americans have been murdered in the civil rights struggle at home? Civil Rights Leader Julian Bond has been refused a seat in the Georgia legislature because of his opposition to the war in Vietnam. Where was the voice of the President in protesting this infringement of the democratic process?

AGGRESSION ABROAD?

The only foreign troops in Vietnam are the Allies'. Even the Pentagon claims only 20,000 N. Vietnamese troops in S. Vietnam while there are 200,000 U.S. troops there and talk of 600,000

"Judging by experience, this new 'pacification' program (in the Honolulu Declaration) is liable to end up by driving more of the S. Vietnamese into the arms of the N.L.F. There has been one common feature in the various 'pacification' programs of the past, from Diem's 'agrovilles' and 'New Life Hamlets' to our 'Operation Sunrise.' This has been to herd people into compounds where they can be kept under surveillance. The promised dawn of social reform has always turned into another nightmare of police repression. Ky's pacification scheme, as outlined in a Charles Mohr dispatch from Saigon to the N.Y. Times Jan. 21 is very much in this pattern. The pacification teams, Mohr reveals, have been trained under the aegis of that splendid force for democracy, our CIA. They will begin by subjecting every villager to private interrogation to weed out suspected subversives. We may be sure few villagers will have a lawyer at hand or an open tele-

phone to the ACIU. The best way for a villager to pacify his pacifiers will be to tell all he knows about his relatives and neighbors. The teams will then organize the cowed villagers into a network of organizations so as to bring them, as Mohr was told, 'under some discipline and control.' It's not surprising that one official confessed to Mohr, 'It's a little bit totalitarian.' The idea as this official explained it, 'is to tie each person to some kind of a controlled organization.' We can think of a large West European country which had the misfortune to be 'pacified' just this way only a few decades ago. Ky wasn't making a silly slip when he told the London Sunday Mirror last July 4, 'people ask me who my heroes are. I have only one--Hitler.' When Ky said 'I admire Hitler because he pulled his country together when it was in a terrible state in the early 30's., Ky knew what he meant. For Hitler 'pacified' the German people by a similar

system of block surveillance, and mass organizations, all under government control, so that everyone was locked firmly into a giant goose-step. The New Democracy in prospect for S. Vietnam looks like the Old Fascism."

"We could easily disprove this, of course, by one swift step forward. We could force Ky to allow freedom of the press in S. Vietnam. But what we fear is that if the gag were removed, the first agonized cry would be for neutralism and peace. And peace is not what--in this peculiar language--we mean by pacification."

I. F. Stone's Weekly, 2/21/66

"Why of course the people don't want war. Why should some poor slob on a farm want to risk his life in a war when the best he can get out of it is to come back to his farm in one piece? Naturally the common people don't want war: neither in Russia, nor in England, nor in America, nor, for that matter, in Germany. That is understood. But after all, it is the leaders of the country who determine policy, and it is always a simple matter to drag people along, whether it is a democracy, or a fascist dictatorship, or a parliament, or a communist dictatorship.

Voice or no voice, the people can always be brought to the bidding of the leaders. That is easy. All you have to do is to tell them they are being attacked and denounce the pacifists for lack of patriotism and exposing the country to danger. It works the same in any country.

-- Hermann Goering at the Nuremberg Trials

CHINA RECOMMENDATIONS BY NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

The National Council of Churches, representing 30 major Protestant and Eastern Orthodox denominations in the U.S. urged that the U.S.:

- Christian churches seek every opportunity for communication and contact with Christian churches in China and arrange for exchange visits of churchmen as soon as possible.
- publicly and unilaterally take steps toward free travel to China.
- regularize diplomatic communication with China and seek diplomatic recognition as soon as possible.
- permit sale of food and other nonstrategic goods to China through commercial channels.
- be alert to possibilities of student and cultural exchange with China.
- involve China in talks on disarmament, nuclear proliferation, etc.
- demonstrate its concern for the Chinese people by suggesting areas of technical cooperation, e.g. food production, birth control, irrigation.
- open the way for China's entry to the U.N.

WHEN NAME--CALLING STRIVES HOME

"We have wondered how it would feel to hear your father or brother called a murderer and, knowing the accusation to be true, not to be able to answer back in his defense. An experience somewhat akin to this came to us in Jan. in reading a recent "Letter From China by Anna Louise Strong (Quaker living in Peking).

"In glancing through one of her Letters From China we found our eyes abruptly caught by this sentence: 'The last week in November the U.S. warlord, McNamara, made his seventh flight to Saigon to plan a ruthless escalation of the Vietnam war.'

"'The U.S. warlord, McNamara!' For years we have been accustomed to mocking and discounting all those pet phrases about 'imperialist war-mongers' and so forth that fall so repetitively from communist lips. But now suddenly we realized that we no longer could mock--that this phrase, reminiscent though it may be of party-line parroting, was too painfully close to the truth to be funny. We read it on the very evening that President Johnson told the joint session of Congress that unless Hanoi acceded to his terms of peace the U.S. would continue for years to make war in Asia--on that very day the newspapers announced 'U.S. Outlines Plans to Wipe Out Reds In Vietnam Villages.'

"When the boy next door proclaims that your father is a murderer, and you know to your own deep shame and sorrow that he is a murderer, what do you do? Do you heatedly deny the charge and, by joining your father in his next offense, compound the crime? Or do you, against every instinct of filial loyalty in which you have been indoctrinated all your life, screw up your courage to admit the truth about your parent and show him, if possible, the error of his ways?

"It is not an easy choice to make, but thousands of Americans each day are using it..."

Editorial in Friends Journal, 2/1/66

BY OUR SILENCE WE JOIN WITH THE OFFENDER AND COMPOUND THE CRIME!

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Robert Tenney, Editor

SPC 303

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YOUTH AND WAR -- 26th Annual Institute on International Affairs

The focus was on Youth; their attitudes, perspectives and actions, at the Annual Institute in Syracuse on April 22-23. The emergence of student groups, Catholics and others was noted and analyzed. The role of the middle class in a radical movement for social change was discussed.

The highlight of the Conference was a talk by Jim Haviland, a high school student from Rochester. He spoke from his own experience and his deepest convictions about the oppressiveness of our society, our government and our world. He made a very eloquent appeal for The Truth, believing that this would free the individual to create the "beloved community." (Copies of Jim Haviland's talk are available from the Syracuse Peace Council for 10¢ each.)

AMERICAN INDIFFERENCE TO ATROCITIES ON OUR SIDE The Society for the Psychological Study of Social issues poses the question: "Why have so many Americans been complacently unaware of the atrocities on our side of the conflict (in Vietnam)-- or if they have been to some extent aware, why have they been only mildly disturbed? Why are they not appalled by the torturing of prisoners and prisoner's families that has been widely practiced by our S. Vietnamese allies? And by our own use of that hideous weapon, napalm?"

There have been reports of "water torture, electric current torture and other inquisitorial techniques" in the news media. But many Americans have been shielded from reports such as that of Anthony Carthew in the London Sun:

"I have also seen a napalm victim. This man caught the full ferocity of the napalm bomb's liquid fire. His body was awash with the stuff. From his scalp to the soles of his feet, his skin was peeling as if from an obscene suntan. Yet he survived. That is, perhaps, the most horrible thing about napalm and white phosphorus: though the body is virtually drowned in flame, the victim tends to live."

"Our own military men have taken the position that... torture serves no military purpose."

THE MILK OF HUMAN KINDNESS The Society then attempts to answer their question: "There appears to be a kind of voluntary self-censorship by most of the U.S. correspondents in Saigon; they apparently believe that patriotism requires them to set a limit to their reporting of the facts that might seem to cast discredit on us."

"A more important reason for the unawareness in American minds... is our strong emotional resistance to full perception of facts that are profoundly contradictory to our conception of what America stands for. ... The crucial question is what happens then in our minds?... First we become acutely uncomfortable. It seems painfully incongruous that our own peaceful, humane America could be associated with this sort of thing. Then we discover some acceptable or seemingly acceptable reason for absolving ourselves from further answers. We tell ourselves 'This is a new kind of war in which such atrocities on both sides are inevitable.' Or 'The Viet Cong's atrocities are just as bad--and, because they aren't friendly to Western cameramen, we don't get to see pictures of theirs.' Or 'This kind of thing always occurs in war; if we accept and support the war we must accept these things as part of it.' Or--an uglier thought that we seldom even admit to consciousness-- 'Since those Vietnamese are natives with yellow skins, they don't really count.'"

"No doubt the ordinary American citizen, vaguely and fragmentarily aware of the cruelties on our side, defends himself by making the vague assumption that if cruelties occur they must be necessary. The psychologically spectacular fact is that he has not had enough of the milk of human kindness... to check on this assumption and try to find out whether it is actually true."

(A remarkably complete account of this topic is contained in the article "American Atrocities in Vietnam" by Eric Norden, reprinted from Liberation. It is accompanied by an article by Dave Dellinger entitled "Political Realism and Moral Disaster," and is available from the Syracuse Peace Council for 25¢ each or 7 for \$1.50.)

VACATION WITH A PURPOSE

There are many opportunities to vacation in beautiful surroundings and still discuss and exchange ideas on the vital issues of our times. Some of these opportunities are listed below:

- + AFSC SUMMER INSTITUTE, Pocono Crest, Pa., June 18-25.
Theme: "Our Role in a Revolutionary World-Focus Southeast Asia."
While the war in Vietnam will inevitably command attention, the

institute will explore the wider context of the struggle. Emphasis will be placed not only on governmental response, but also on what the implications may be for private groups and individuals. Resource people include: John Everton, former U.S. ambassador to Burma; Russel Johnson, former director of the AFSC Southeast Asia Conference program; Norman Wilson, former Quaker International Affairs Representative in Japan; Vu Van Thai, S. Vietnamese ambassador to the U.S.; and Norman Whitney from Friends World College.

- + FAMILY CAMP, Watson Homestead, Painted Post, N.Y., August 13-19. Theme: "The Nonviolent Family in a Violent Age". The concerned family in today's world faces many dilemmas of commitment, involvement, etc. These problems will be discussed from the psychological, sociological and historical perspective.

For more information or registration for either or both of the above write to the AFSC, 15 Rutherford Place, New York, N.Y. The AFSC also has other institutes and events across the country. Write to the AFSC, 160 North 15th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19102 for information on other institutes.

- + The Canadian Friends Service Committee conducts a full summer program at Grindstone Island, a Quaker Conference Center in Southern Ontario. Some of the events include:
 - High School Workshop, June 27 - July 4.
 - Inter-Faith Seminar, July 8 - 15.
 - Seminar on Latin America, July 17 - 24.
 - Training Institute in Nonviolence, July 26 - August 7.
 - UNESCO International Seminar, August 12 - 25.

For a brochure and registration form write the Syracuse Peace Council.

- + The AFSC also sponsors a number of summer projects for college students, including workcamps, seminars, institutional service units, etc. For information write to Charles Walker, College Secretary, AFSC Middle Atlantic Region, 1500 Race Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

REPORT FROM VIETNAM ON EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION

Two very excellent films have been released by the Canadian Broadcasting Company for showing on the National Educational Television Network. Both programs were produced in Canada and will be shown on the special program, REPORT FROM VIETNAM. They are:

"MILLS OF THE GODS" - A 54-minute Canadian documentary on the Vietnam war followed by a panel with Bernard Fall, General S.L.A. Marshall, and Max Frankel. The film concentrates on lives of Vietnamese peasants and American soldiers. It is an unflinching look at the ugly reality of war. It concentrates on the attitudes of individual combatants, and the plight of the peasants who are caught in the middle -- harrassed by both the Americans and the Viet-Cong. The program lasts 1½ hours.

"WESTERN EYEWITNESS IN THE NORTH OF VIETNAM" - Consists of a 3-minute film by British Journalist James Cameron on his trip last year to N. Vietnam. The documentary shows glimpses of life in N. Vietnam, mainly N. Vietnamese carrying on everyday activities under the constant threat of American bombing attacks. Following the film is a panel discussion. The program lasts one hour.

INVITE YOUR FRIENDS OVER FOR A "TELEVISION PARTY." USE THESE PROGRAMS AS THE BEGINNING OF A STUDY AND DISCUSSION GROUP ON VIETNAM. The new AFSC book, Peace in Vietnam, would be a good follow-up to these two extraordinary programs.

DATES: In Syracuse (WCNY), Schenectady (WMHT) and Buffalo (WNED):
"Mills of the Gods" on May 16

"Western Eyewitness in the North of Vietnam" on May 23

Consult program guides for exact times. In other cities with educational television stations call your local station for dates and times. If they are not planning to carry the program urge them to do so. If they are not being shown in your town they are well worth a short trip to a nearby locality to see them.

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LITERATURE ON
CHINA

Available from Syracuse Peace
Council and the American Friends
Service Committee
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1. A NEW CHINA POLICY: SOME QUAKER PROPOSALS, by AFSC, 68pp.
The book begins with the origins of the present impasse and concludes with a chapter on security in East Asia. Speaks essentially from a Quaker point of view. The authors believe that questions of policy must be considered in terms of ethical and human values as well as in terms of economic interest and political power. VERY GOOD BOOK. 95¢
2. LET'S TALK ABOUT CHINA TODAY, reprinted by AFSC, 80pp.
This collection of five essays from the Political Quarterly, a British journal, is reprinted for distribution in the U.S. by the AFSC. The essays were written by world renown Chinese scholars and deal with historical and philosophical background, the party, and the system of government, communes, family life and the Sino-Soviet dispute. 75¢
3. THE CHINA PROBLEM, Jan. 1965 issue of Intercom, 72pp.
Intercom is published by the Foreign Policy Association. The "special feature" of this issue is The China Problem. It deals with U.S. Government policy; the thorny question of U.N. representation; American attitudes, as shown in public opinion polls and group programs; and adds a 12-page descriptive and classified bibliography. \$1.00
4. WHAT IS OUR ROLE IN EAST ASIA? by D. F. Flemming, 13pp.
Reprint from Western Political Quarterly, March, 1965. An excellent historical and political analysis by Dr. D. F. Flemming of Vanderbilt University, distinguished historian and author of the monumental "The Cold War and Its Origins, 1917-1960." 20¢
5. WHAT ABOUT MAINLAND CHINA? reprint from Christian Century, 11pp.
An excellent and provocative article by David M. Stowe, executive secretary of the National Council of Churches, Division of Foreign Missions, together with three other special reports.
6. COMMUNIST CHINA TODAY, by James Duncan, 10pp.
Reprinted from the Progressive. A report by one of Canada's leading businessmen upon his return in 1965 from a 5-week 14,000 mile journey through mainland China; his second visit to that country. James Duncan was former governor of the University of Toronto and director of Atomic Energy of Canada 10¢
7. THE SAME CLOTHES WILL NOT ALWAYS SERVE, AFSC Discussion Packet
A special discussion packet containing all of the above items in addition to a special discussion guide for A New China Policy. \$3.95
8. KEY FACTORS OF ASIAN CRISES, by Norman Wilson, 4pp.
Reprinted from Social Education, a national periodical for social studies teachers. This was an address given at the Annual Meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies, Nov. 1965. Norman Wilson was the Quaker International Affairs representative in Japan and is now Peace Education Director in the New York City Office of the AFSC. 5¢
9. THE CHINA QUESTION, Syracuse University faculty and students, 120pp.
This book was prepared for an Open Hearing on China held at Syracuse University in Dec. 1965. It contains an extraordinary number of excellent quotes from a wide variety of sources on the China Question. It is a very good manual and resource book. 50¢

10. ON DEALING WITH THE COMMUNIST WORLD, George F. Kennan, 57pp.
 In this book, George F. Kennan, the leading expert on U.S. relations with world communism offers a stimulating and challenging summary of his own thinking on the special difficulties facing our country as it confronts a rapidly changing Communist world. \$1.45
11. THE U.S. AND CHINA: POLICY OR OBSESSION? reprinted from Newsweek, 3pp.
 This article effectively deals with the problems and results of the American policy of isolation and containment of mainland China in a rapidly changing and expanding world. 5¢
12. CHINA FROM WITHIN, by Charles Taylor, 5pp.
 Reprint from the Nation. Charles Taylor is completing an 18-month assignment as correspondent in China for the Globe and Mail of Toronto. This is his report of how the People's Republic of China views current U.S. policy. A very revealing report. 5¢
13. * * * * *
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Robert Tenney, Editor \$1.00 per year June 6, 1966

PEACE ACTION IN SAIGON

On April 11, 6 pacifists, members and supporters of the Committee for Nonviolent Action, left the U.S. for Saigon. Their intention was to witness against that bloody annihilative war by a public, radical pacifist demonstration at the site of violence. They hoped to speak directly to the people of Vietnam, to humanly express our sympathy for their suffering, to ask forgiveness for the terrible injuries done by our government, even to share the suffering and injury that has become the common lot of the Vietnamese.

The group was headed by CNVA chairman A. J. Muste and included Bill Davidon, professor of physics at Haverford College; writer Barbara Deming; Brad Lyttle, leader of the San Francisco to Moscow Walk for Peace and other CNVA projects; Karl Meyer, Catholic Worker and CNVA activist; and Sherry Thurber, a former SCIC worker.

The group was able to remain in Saigon for only 7 days. Not only were their applications for longer term visas refused, but they were deported for publicly expressing their opposition to U.S. military activity in Vietnam.

"Men are not our enemies
If we kill men, with whom shall we live?"

The above lines are from a popular song in Vietnam that expresses the overwhelming desire for peace. The CNVA team talked to a number of people, many of whom are leaders for peace in Vietnam. The following poem written by a young priest expresses the yearning for peace that is stifled by the government:

"This morning when I woke A friend brought me the news My brother is dead But by this time a flower still blooms I still live, I still eat, I still breathe But when can I say directly What I aspire to?"	The second major concern of the Vietnamese is for independence. The people don't hate Americans, They want to be our "allies for peace." When will we give them that chance?
--	--

For a more complete report of the project write to the CNVA, 5 Beekmen Street, New York, N. Y. 10038.

"A RELIGIOUS PERSON IN A WORLD OF VIOLENCE"

"All I ask is that, in the midst of a murderous world, we agree to reflect on murder and to make a choice. After that, we can distinguish those who accept the consequences of being murderers, and those who refuse to do so with all their force and being."

-- Albert Camus

Albert Camus says that every decision to comply with modern society is a decision to commit murder. Thus he suggests that questions of social activity and even those of personal expression may no longer be posed in terms of simple choices between violence and nonviolence. These questions must be asked in terms of what society and the socialized personality of each of us, society's members, have become. In a modern world of violence and dehumanization, is it possible to know a personal life that is not determined by the chaos of the outward world? Is it possible to find a personal self and an active community that come together?

In this time of political and social agony it becomes increasingly difficult for people to understand themselves and to act in positive and meaningful ways. Self-exploration which allows persons to see themselves as 'whole' rather than as either 'religious' or 'political' is one of the purposes of the Interfaith Seminar to be held at Grindstone Island, July 8-15. It is hoped that individuals can work with each other, and through individual meditation, toward developing a religious faith that speaks out vitally to the political and social demands of the times. And, in terms of self-exploration, the techniques of examination and analysis and their relevance to enacting social change will be considered.

For these objectives the basic hypothesis is that the greatest power lies in persons as individuals discovering what they want in relation to what they, as individuals, really are. A brochure, application form and resource packet for the seminar is available from the Syracuse Peace Council. Bring this to the attention of your minister and your friends.

ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING OF THE SYRACUSE PEACE COUNCIL

Potluck supper at May Memorial Unitarian Church, 3800 E. Genesee St., Tuesday evening, June 14, 1966 at 6:00 p.m. with

NORMAN J. WHITNEY

As We Go Marching: 1966-1984

Please bring either a casserole, salad, rolls, dessert to serve 6-8 people.

ADVICE FROM THE PENTAGON "An unconfirmed rumor has come to my attention that our FBI is well prepared for a World War III in which our major enemy will be China. Detention camps have been secretly prepared in which will be 'relocated' all the Chinese in the U.S. so that they may be screened, and prevented from sabotaging the war effort and from signaling Peking with short-wave radios.

"If that is true, the concern of the FBI is understandable. The thought of enemy agents in our laundries and restaurants is a demoralizing one. War with China will require some orientation on the part of Americans. To ready myself for it I have referred again to the booklet on China prepared by the Pentagon in 1944. The dilemma is how are we to distinguish between the Japanese (our friends) and the Chinese (our enemies)?

"It is really very simple. A Japanese has buck teeth, needs a shave, and 'is very unhappy about the whole thing.' He squints and is not to be trusted, and when he walks he 'shuffles.' The Chinese on the other hand, 'smiles easily,' and when he walks he 'strides.' On the home front, then, watch out for these striders.

"Other sections of this booklet, prepared in Washington by our military authorities, are very helpful in evaluating our future enemy. It will be a tough war, because the Chinese 'is a good soldier' who has 'plain common guts.' Not only that but 'he speaks softly and smiles easily.'

That smiling act wouldn't fool our GIs in the field any more than it will the FBI at home. But our boys over there will have to be on their guard because, 'of all of the peoples of Asia, the Chinese are most like Americans. We are both humorous people. They like a joke just as well as we do, and they laugh at the same sort of thing... they believe in having a good time on earth while they are alive. They are better than we are, perhaps, at human relationships. They value these above all else, and have learned to get along with people through centuries of getting along with each other.'

The Pentagon is trying to tell us something there, and I believe they mean to point out the weakness of the Chinese way of life. Human relationships are all right up to a point. But to value them 'above all else' smacks of a foreign ideology. We would be fighting to prevent the spread of such a notion throughout S.E. Asia. According to the domino theory, one country falls to human relationships, toppling the next, and the next and so on.

"The booklet I have been quoting from was published by the Pentagon in 1942 and was handed to me when I was on my way to the Orient. It says 'the first thing you should learn to say in China is 'I am an American.' 'It is the best passport you can have.' It is apparent what our China experts mean by this. The Chinese, as we have been told, smile easily and laugh at our humor. When our boys bring up the matter of Americans and passports to China, the enemy will think it is a huge joke and will easily be won over to our way of life."

--- Jerome Beatty, Jr. in the
Saturday Review

WAR RESISTANCE

"The state can get along quite well on its own terms even though few of its citizens are pacifists, theologians, lawyers or Marxists. But society is in bad trouble unless the great bulk of its citizens have the common decency to take a lot of agony without killing one another. The simple unwillingness of some to go to Vietnam to kill Vietnamese is a token of this wider decency that makes civilization possible. As a token of its own awareness of where the treasure of human society really lies, if for no other reason, the state should not refuse to exempt those who simply and apart from all rationalization, doctrine, and ideology, refuse to go and kill." (from "Resistance to the Draft" by Stewart Meacham in Liberation. Reprint available.)

"I also know what for me was the moral trap. I, too, had got onto an escalator. I can put the result in one sentence: I was coming to hide behind the institution; I was losing the power to say no."

"... Only a very bold man, when he is a member of an organized society, can keep the power to say no." (from "The Moral Un-neutrality of Science, by C. P. Snow.)

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PEACE NEWS LETTER

Published by and for the Syracuse Peace Council SPC 305
Robert Tenney, Editor \$1.00 per year July 13, 1966

SYRACUSE PEACE COUNCIL ANNUAL MEETING REPORT The 1966 Annual Meeting of the Syracuse Peace Council was held on June 14 at the May Memorial Unitarian Church. Norman Whitney delivered a very moving and inspirational message with the emphasis on the future of the Peace Movement in the U.S. and the Peace Council in Syracuse.

The Peace Council will be moving ahead with an active and expanded program of peace action and peace education. The war in Vietnam leaves us no alternative but to greatly increase our witness for peace. But this can only be done with your help. At times like this we must all speak out with our whole lives.

Four new names were added to the SPC Executive Committee:
Dr. Jack Apter, Rev. Harvey Bates, Rev. Norman Keim, and Monroe Guisbond.

The following members of the Executive Committee have resigned due to moving from the Syracuse area: Robert Chapman, Olga Diamond, Bert Fowler, Byron Fox and James Hunt. The Executive Committee will act as a committee of the whole.

The Peace Council will not receive the financial help from the AFSC that it has had in the past. Thus, it is incumbent upon us to take much more of a personal responsibility to insure an adequate income for our program. This can only come from YOU and YOUR HELP to expand and improve our local activities.

ACTION FOR PEACE

ACTION FOR PEACE

SILENT VIGIL ON HIROSHIMA DAY

Columbus Circle in Syracuse

August 6

In Memory of the Victims of Hiroshima and an Appeal
to End the War in Vietnam Now

Co-sponsored by the Women's International League for
Peace and Freedom and the Syracuse Peace Council

PEACE AND POLITICS

"The American people cannot go on with 'business as usual' in this time of crisis. This campaign is undertaken to regain for the U.S. its humanitarian and libertarian ideals. I shall concern myself with the most basic issues of the integrity of the American government and the morality of its actions. I shall discuss... a program for maintaining and expanding an open society with maximum political democracy, social democracy and economic democracy for all people."

The above quote was the closing remark of Norman Balabanian, a "Peace Candidate" for Congress in the 34th Congressional District (Onondaga County). Norm Balabanian is only one of over 50 candidates running for Congress on a Peace In Vietnam platform. They are giving the people of the U.S. a chance to reassert their vote for peace in 1964 that has been so brutally betrayed by Lyndon Johnson.

In their platform, Citizens for Balabanian, a rapidly growing group of concerned citizens, state that they stand for:

- an immediate and permanent end to bombing and all other aggressive military actions by the U.S. in Vietnam.
- right of the Vietnamese people to choose their own form of government.
- negotiation with all concerned parties, including the N.L.F.
- immediate application of the Geneva Agreements of 1954, including withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnam
dismantling of all foreign military bases
safeguarding of unprotected minority groups in Vietnam
use of an effective international commission and inspection team
- extension of foreign aid, if requested, to help the Vietnamese repair their country and make a start toward a better life.

The campaign is largely an educational one. It is an effort to inform the citizens of Onondaga County on the facts of the war and to provide an alternative to Johnson's policies at the polls.

You can help. Invite your friends and neighbors into your home for an evening of discussion on Vietnam. Work actively for peace and for Norman Balabanian. In August petitions will be circulated to get Norm Balabanian on the ballot. If you will sign the petition and help to circulate it, please contact the Syracuse Peace Council or

CITIZENS FOR BALABANIAN FOR CONGRESS

P. O. Box 117

Syracuse, N. Y. 13214

WHAT SHOULD WE DO? "Whether we live in Vietnam or America, we are caught with a problem. We are identified, whether or not we want to be, with the atrocities committed by American troops, allies, and planes." This is a great moral anguish. "We are against this war, and yet we are all a part of it. We want to cry out for peace, but we don't know how to say it clearly enough. We are still groping for an adequate Christian response to this war."

One thing we can all do is become more informed. Read and discuss factual books on the war and Vietnamese history. The Peace Council has a wide selection of books available.

"These, of course, are the first things to do. But considering Vietnam, this can hardly be called adequate. 'If one disagrees with the use of torture, the forceful movement of people into hamlets, the burning of men, women and children by napalm, and the bombing of N. Vietnam, then some extreme expression of dissent is called for. Any mild protest would be... child's play in a man's world.'" (William Keeney, chairman of the peace section of the Mennonite Central Comm.)

"In April a group of Quakers tried to send medical supplies to the Red Cross in N. Vietnam and to schools that have been bombed by U.S. planes. The N.Y. post office refused to send the parcels because a Federal regulation forbids sending packages to N. Vietnam. Why did the Quakers try it? Because, said Ross Flanagan, they wanted to extend humanitarian relief to all who suffer in war, regardless of their national allegiance or political sympathies."

"Brewster Kneen, a Christian pacifist, used another means of witness. He refused to pay \$72.22 in taxes he owed last year. Instead, he sent a letter to the Director of Internal Revenue saying, 'The war in Vietnam is a blatant contradiction of the ideals of freedom... our country was founded upon... As a Christian and an American, I must dissociate myself from this criminal behavior... I see no alternative to withholding my tax due as a form of resistance and protest.' He sent the money to a relief group instead.

"Tom Rodd, a 19-year old Quaker is now in prison. Two years ago he decided he couldn't conscientiously cooperate with the draft in any way. He refused to register for the draft, received a 2-year suspended sentence, and was put on probation. Last December he took part in a non-violent protest at the Vertol Helicopter Plant in Philadelphia, a violation of his probation. At his trial last January, Tom Rodd explained why he did it.

"I am forced by my conscience to stand as a representative of the suffering millions of Vietnam. I am forced to stand for the girl child burned to death in Bien Hoa, for the refugee cold and hungry in a camp on the outskirts of Saigon, for the weary guerilla fighter, for the Buddhist monk who is now a handful of ashes, for the thousands with no legs, thousands more with no eyes, yes, even for the U.S. Marine now slowly dying in a Philadelphia hospital... I stand for them.' The Judge sentenced him to 4 years in the federal prison.

"In April a group of pacifists sponsored by the Committee for Nonviolent Action went to Saigon. Before being deported they talked to Vietnamese students, workers, Buddhists, and intellectuals. 'If you talk of peace' one Buddhist told them, 'you are condemned as a communist. Almost all the people in Vietnam want peace. They are afraid. They are intimidated by the government and the police.' Another middle-aged man thanked the pacifists for coming. It had helped the Vietnamese, he said, 'to know the difference between the American government and the American people.'

"If a small minority of Christians would make this much effort to let the world know the difference between the American government and the church, Christianity would have a brighter future in Asia. All this is not to deny the Christian's duty to work for the redemption of men's souls. But this may be done on the picket line as well as on a church bench.

"Some will object to the instances cited because they involve civil disobedience, a matter never to be taken lightly. But the higher law of God claims first allegiance. Let these instances serve us, if not as examples, then as incentives. Our own witness can only be as strong as our insight and courage."

-- by Loren Lind, from The Companion, a Mennonite Youth magazine

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PEACE NEWS LETTER

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THE WAY OF COURAGE

All the bleak choices (in Vietnam) rather inexorably dissolve toward one. As a wise and sympathetic statesman of S. E. Asia stated to me: "You are going to leave Vietnam. You are not going to be routed or humiliated: Your armadas and your bombers make you the greatest power even in the S. Pacific. But you are going to leave because the earth-bound politics of Vietnam cannot be solved by the airborne cavalry of America.

"You now have probably a last decision to make. You may try to smother all forces in Vietnam seeking compromise and peace--thus pitting them all against you. Or you may try to work with the best of these forces in their confused attempts at negotiation, so that the very imperfect end of it all still will allow you to leave with dignity. Your last choice then is clear: Either you will one day withdraw because you shrewdly appear to want to--or because it plainly appears you have to. Is this really so hard a choice?"

"It may not seem a hard choice in abstract logic, but it is a stern choice in American politics. It would require of Washington almost a convulsion of candor and a revolution of courage. This means the courage to concede, after all, that the present hope of history for Vietnam has never been more, in truth, than a nation dealing with Peking much as Poland deals with Moscow. It means the resolve to ignore all zealots who still shout their preposterous prescription that a little more military medicine can cure political sickness. And it means the wisdom to sense that American repute in Asia is not dignified, but diminished by untiring war for the unattainable victory... and American honor is not tarnished but brightened when so great a power can say, with quiet assurance: we have judged poorly, fought splendidly, and survive confidently.

"I can think of no other way that the leaders of the U.S. might match the courage of the soldiers they have dispatched."

-- Emmet John Hughes
Newsweek, May 30, 1966

THE FORT HOOD THREE

The U.S. Army in Vietnam is short by three men--the GIs, known as the Fort Hood Three, who on July 14 refused to obey an order to travel to Vietnam, declaring they believed the war illegal, immoral and unjust.

They were arrested on July 7, just $\frac{1}{2}$ hour before they were to speak to a public meeting in New York City to explain the legal proceedings which they have instituted against the Vietnam war. They are being held under tight restrictions at Fort Dix, N. J.

They became friends in training and found that they all felt the war in Vietnam was wrong. "Now all we had discussed and thought was real. It was time for us to quit talking and decide. Go to Vietnam and ignore the truth or stand and fight for what we know is right. We have been told that many times we may face a Vietnamese woman or child and that we will have to kill them. We will never go there--to do that--for Ky!... We have made our decision. We will not be a part of this unjust, immoral and illegal war. We want no part of a war of extermination. We oppose the criminal waste of American lives and resources. We refuse to go to Vietnam!"

Since their announcement the soldiers and their families have been intimidated and harassed. They have been supported in their stand by civil rights leaders and the anti-war movement.

In a prepared statement, Pvt. David Semas, one of the three, said: "The G.I. should be reached somehow. He doesn't want to fight. He has no reasons to risk his life. He doesn't realize that the peace movement is dedicated to his safety. Give the G.I. something to believe in and he will fight for that belief. Let them know in Vietnam that you want them home, let them know that you are concerned about their lives also. Tell them you want them to live, not die. Bring home our men in Vietnam!"

"The war in Vietnam cannot be stopped just by legal action. The war can only be stopped by the efforts of the movement with the sympathy of the public... In the end we depend entirely upon the public. We have placed ourselves in the hands of the people of the U.S., and all of our hopes lie with them. We win or lose depending upon how people respond. We risk our futures and maybe our lives on the hopes of the American public. We need your help."

(Contact the Fort Hood 3 Defense Committee, 5 Beekman St., 10th floor, New York, N. Y. 10038)

RACISM IN WAR "The great outcry in this country over the possible trial and punishment of American prisoners of war in N. Vietnam makes the implicit racism involved in the war clearer.

"Sen. Richard Russell threatens that we will make N. Vietnam a desert if American prisoners are executed. But we are already bombing both N. and S. Vietnam back into the Stone Age and no one knows how many innocent people are being killed.

"Does any observer believe that all these roads and installations and suspected Vietcong strongholds are being bombed without the slaughter of uncounted thousands? (See Bernard Fall's article in the N.Y. Times Magazine, July 10).

"Where is the outcry by our distinguished Senators over all these Vietnamese being killed every day? The Senator's revulsion over the possible execution of 100 or so Americans (horrible as this would be) makes clear that to most Americans the lives of their countrymen are dear, Asian lives are cheap.

"In 1964 in a small village in E. Pakistan a rickshaw puller told me, 'America is making enemies of all the Asians.' We will continue to understand this to our sorrow in the years and decades ahead unless we learn to see the war through Asian eyes as well as through our own limited, white, Western nationalist view." (Letter in N.Y. Times, 7/22/66, Leonard Gordon, Indian Civilization Program, University of Chicago.)

BLACK POWER "SNCC (and CORE) have emphasized 'black power.' This is not a magic charm of a promised land; it is a strategy for social change and a mode of organization. Both the strategy and the mode become clear if the U.S. is understood as an essentially racist culture. Yet at the same time Negroes have been an exploited caste, they have been taught to seek their salvation in integration--i.e. in an accommodation to the dominant social values, under white leadership."

Many people, liberal included, have criticized this development.

"They are now denouncing SNCC'S 'black consciousness' as 'racism in reverse.'" We doubt these critics would find themselves so upset if SNCC sought to accept the major premises of American life; it is precisely because SNCC is revolutionary--because it is trying to bring about a fundamental rearrangement of power in America--that they shrink in horror.

(From a statement by Students for a Democratic Society, June 18, 1966. There will be more on "Black Power" in the next Peace Newsletter.)

AMERICA AND (The following is a portion of the comments of Sen. J. W.
REVOLUTION Fulbright on the Dominican Republic crisis, reprinted from
the Congressional Record, Sept. 15, 1965.)

"We misread prevailing tendencies in Latin America by overlooking or ignoring the fact that any reform movement is likely to attract Communist support. We thus (fail) to perceive that if we are automatically to oppose any reform movement that Communists adhere to, WE ARE LIKELY TO END UP OPPOSING EVERY REFORM MOVEMENT, making ourselves the prisoners of reactionaries who wish to preserve the status quo--and the status quo in many countries is not good enough. ... We are not, as we like to claim in Fourth of July speeches, the most truly revolutionary country on earth; WE ARE, ON THE CONTRARY, MUCH CLOSER TO BEING THE MOST UNREVOLUTIONARY COUNTRY ON EARTH. We are sober and satisfied and comfortable and rich... Our heritage of stability and conservatism is a great blessing, BUT IT ALSO HAS THE EFFECT OF LIMITING OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE CHARACTER OF SOCIAL REVOLUTION AND SOMETIMES AS WELL OF THE INJUSTICES THAT SPAWN THEM."

(The following from "America in an Age of Revolution" by Sen. Fulbright in Feb. 1966 Progressive.)

"We delude ourselves when we suppose that our own Revolution has any real relevance to the profound social upheavals that are taking place today in Asia, Africa and Latin America. We delude ourselves further if we suppose that the forces of change in the emerging nations are likely to be consummated everywhere without violence and profound social dislocation. ... The social revolutions of the 20th Century (are)... angry movements by people who have always been poor to acquire the national dignity and social justice they have never known. These are total revolutions... Whether our own domestic values are to be conserved in the world or are to be swept away in a tide of violent upheaval is likely to be determined by America's own ability and willingness to support social revolution."

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PEACE NEWS LETTER

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Robert Tenney, Editor \$1.00 per year September 22, 1966

THE "WEED KILLERS" - CHEMICAL WARFARE IN VIETNAM

In a carefully prepared report, Viet-Report editor, Carol Brightman has brought to light the widespread use of chemical and biological weapons by U.S. forces in Vietnam. Although the government denies that it is using anything more harmful than "weed-killer and some harmless tear gas," the Viet-Report findings lead to the following specific charges:

1. Civilian casualties are not an accidental by-product of the tactical employment of gases and defoliants. On the contrary, these civilian casualties are a deliberately chosen strategic means to weaken and destroy the N.L.F. military effort.
2. These chemical attacks are predictably far more harmful to civilians--the very old, the very young, pregnant and nursing mothers, the ill--than to Vietcong soldiers.
3. Lethal gases are being used in Vietnam in many ways calculated to maximize their lethal effect.
4. Though its use has not been "authorized" (i.e. acknowledged), at least one nerve gas, BZ, has been used in Vietnam.
5. The Director of Projects SPICERACK and SUMMIT at the Univ. of Pa. has acknowledged that University scientists are carrying out operations field research on the effectiveness of Chemical Warfare in Vietnam.
6. There is probative evidence that the U.S. Government has planned, and may still be planning, to induce an epidemic of tularemia in South Vietnam. (Tularemia is an acute infectious disease with a high fatality rate.

The Viet-Report findings are summarized in charts which describe the qualities and effects of chemical agents which, first, have been officially authorized for use in Vietnam, or second, have been developed for use in Vietnam but not yet officially "authorized." Sources of that data are carefully documented with press references, interviews, scientific reports, or official military reports.

****SPECIAL****

The Special issue of VIET-REPORT containing the article on CHEMICAL WARFARE IN VIETNAM is available for 10¢ each or 12/\$1.

Back issues of the magazine also available for the same price.
Order from the Syracuse Peace Council

HEAR NORMAN THOMAS speaking on
"VIETNAM: THE WAY OUT"

Thursday, Sept. 29, 1966 8:15 PM University Methodist Church
Admission Free 1085 E. Genesee St.
Syracuse, N. Y.
Sponsored by the Syracuse Peace Council

PFACE Norman Thomas has endorsed the candidacy of Norman Bala-
CANDIDATES banian, Peace Candidate from Onondaga County. But more
than just endorsements are needed if the campaign of the
Citizens Peace Party is to be successful. "Volunteers," says a Demo-
cratic Campaign booklet, "are the life blood of a campaign."

We all want to see an end to the war in Vietnam. It is one of the most
barbarous wars in history and everyday the potential for total esca-
lation to nuclear war increases. One of the criticisms raised against
citizens who want to see an end to the war and initiation of construc-
tive foreign policy is that "they like to talk, but they don't like to
work for what they say they believe in."

The primary objective of the Peace Campaign in Syracuse is to honestly
and forthrightly raise the issue of Vietnam and give the voters an al-
ternative. To do this we **NEED YOUR HELP**. You can help by:

- inviting your friends and neighbors in to your home for an evening of discussion on Vietnam with Norman Balabanian.
- holding a fund raising party at your home
- circulating petitions to put the Citizens peace party on the ballot
- doing volunteer work at the office or in your home
- raising the issue of Vietnam and the Peace candidate with your minister, friends, etc.

If you would like to work or want more information, stop in or call the Citizens Peace Party, 165 E. Onondaga, Syracuse, 422-1444.

THE U.S. WAR IN THAILAND Last year it was announced that the U.S. was building larger air bases in Thailand. It has long been known that Thailand is a major area from which air attacks on No. Vietnam are launched. Just 2 days after that announcement there was news of guerilla activity in the N.E. provinces of Thailand.

"On Meet the Press, Sept 4, 1966, Wm. Bundy, the ex-CIA man who is now Assistant Sec. of State for Far Eastern Affairs, tried to belittle the danger of direct U.S. combat against the guerillas operating in N.W. Thailand. He claimed that our role was limited to equipment and training. But then Phillip Geylin, the foreign policy expert of the Wall Street Journal, wanted to know, 'Hasn't the Embassy out there asked us to go a little beyond that role?' Mr. Bundy's reply was evasive, 'Well, I wouldn't want to comment on possibilities that may have been suggested within the Government but I repeat our major role (but not the only role?) is in equipment and training.' Next morning Marquis Childs reported in the Washington Post that the Thai government is pressing for U.S. helicopters and U.S. crews to help 'put down the communist guerillas in N. Thailand.'

"Mr. Bundy admitted publicly for the first time that our 'basic strength' in Thailand is now 'about 25,000.' That figure, it is disturbing to recall, is at least 5,000 more than the number we had in S. Vietnam at this time 2 years ago. It was reassuring when Mr. Bundy said the insurgency in Thailand 'is on a very limited scale... on a scale that on the Vietnamese benchmark would be perhaps the level of '59 or '60.' That is when Diem began to call for help. This is a good time to recall that Thailand is more than three times the size of S. Vietnam and has twice as many people. If 300,000 men are too few to subdue the guerillas in S. Vietnam, several times as many may not be enough in Thailand." (From I. F. Stone's Weekly, Sept. 13, 1966)

Paragraph 2 of the Tonkin Bay resolution, the resolution Johnson uses to justify the illegal and unlimited escalation of the war in Vietnam, states that the U.S. is prepared "as the President determines" to use its armed forces in aid of any member of SEATO "requesting assistance in defense of its freedom." Thailand is a member of SEATO. Using this clause Johnson can send U.S. troops to Thailand and engage in perhaps an even more monstrous war than in Vietnam without resorting to our "constitutional process." This blank check for trouble is what we were warned against by Morse and Gruening, the only 2 members of Congress who voted against the resolution.

War in Thailand will increase if we allow it. It is clear that we must not only analyze and criticize the war in Vietnam but also the entire foreign policy of the U.S. WE MUST ACT NOW TO STOP THE WAR IN THAILAND.

IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENTS

JULIAN Julian Bond, the SNCC worker elected to the Georgia House of Representatives last year and then denied his seat, will be speaking in 2 cities in N.Y. State.

Oct. 9 **ROCHESTER**, 8:00 PM, Sponsored by Voters for Peace. For place and more information contact David John, 156 Lattimore Rd., Rochester, BR 1-7387.

Oct. 10 **SYRACUSE**, 8:00 PM, Sponsored by the Citizens Peace Party. For more information contact the Citizens Peace Party, 165 E. Onondaga St., Syracuse 422-1444.

JOHN MENDELSON John Mendelson is a British Labor Member of Parliament. He is vigorously opposed to the war in Vietnam and introduced the "Vietnam Manifesto" opposing the war signed by 72 members of the Labour Party in England. He is speaking:

Sept. 24 Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y. in the afternoon. Contact the Inter-University Committee, 107 Dryden Rd., 273-7158
Utica, N.Y., contact the AFSC in Syracuse, 422-5316

Sept. 25 LeMoyne College, Syracuse, 1:00 PM, contact the AFSC.
Rochester, N. Y., 8:00 PM, Unitarian Church, 220 Winton Rd., Rochester.

IAN HENDERSON Ian Henderson, a history professor from England who was expelled from his teaching position at the University of Southern Rhodesia by the illegal Smith government, will be available for speaking engagements on Oct. 17-19. If you are interested in having him speak to your group, please contact the AFSC, 841 University Building, Syracuse, N. Y. 422-5316.

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PEACE NEWSLETTER

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Robert Tenney, Editor \$1.00 per year October 17, 1966

VIETNAM ELECTIONS A FRAUD

The large turnout for the elections in Vietnam last month was hailed in all American newspapers as a triumph for democracy and proof of the loyalty of the S. Vietnamese people to the Saigon regime. However, the opposite impression is gained from an article in the Sept. 12, 1966 London Daily Mail, a highly conservative paper:

"The high poll in today's S. Vietnamese elections was a success for Premier Ky, and an organisational triumph for the political police. The government wanted a heavy vote as proof of public confidence. It achieved this by a mixture of propaganda, patriotic appeals and sheer blackmail.

"The last was easy to see at the polling booth. Each citizen of voting age had been given an election card which he presented at the polling station. After voting he gave the card to another official who stamped it, clipped off a corner ear and handed the card back. Both the card and the corner-ear had been numbered. Every citizen may now have to show his stamped card as proof that he obeyed the Government by voting. Moreover, the police can see from the corner-ears exactly who went to the polls.

"Since the Communists and the militant Buddhists both called for a boycott of the polls, anyone who did not vote is suspected of anti-Government sympathies.

"The electoral officer at the Minh Phung primary school polling station in Cholon said frankly: 'We have the number on the card so that we can check who has done his duty to the country by voting.' It is necessary to know who supports the government and who is Viet Cong. This proof will be necessary for anyone who wants to move from one district to another... Those who did not vote will find themselves in continual trouble. That is why even some strong opponents of Ky said they would go to the polls rather than stand on principle."

IS THIS DEMOCRACY? YES, SOUTH VIETNAMESE STYLE!

APPEAL TO THE AMERICAN CONSCIENCE

"I Appeal to You, citizens of America, as a person concerned with liberty and social justice. Many of you will feel that your country has served these ideals and, indeed the U.S. possesses a revolutionary tradition which, in its origins, was true to the struggle for human liberty and for social equality. It is this tradition which has been traduced by the few who rule the U.S. today. Many of you may not be fully aware of the extent to which your country is controlled by industrialists who depend for their power partly upon great economic holdings in all parts of the world. The U.S. today controls over 60% of the world's natural resources, although it contains only 6% of the world's population... I ask you to consider the words of your own leaders:

'Indo-China is a prize worth a large gamble. In the North are exportable tin, tungsten, manganese, coal, lumber and rice; rubber, tea, pepper and hides. Even before W.W. II Indo-China yielded dividends estimated at \$300 million/year.'

-- N.Y. Times, 2/12/50

"A year later, an advisor to the U.S. Department of State said:

'We have only partially exploited S.E. Asia's resources. Nevertheless, S.E. Asia supplied 90% of the world's crude rubber, 60% of its tin and 80% of its copra and coconut oil. It has sizeable quantities of sugar, tea, coffee, tobacco, sisal, fruits, spices, natural resins and gums, petroleum, iron ore and bauxite.'

"And in 1953, while the French were still in Vietnam fighting with American backing, President Eisenhower stated:

'Now let us assume we lost Indo-China. If Indo-China goes, the tin and tungsten we so greatly value would cease coming. We are after the cheapest way to prevent the occurrence of something terrible--the loss of our ability to get what we want from the riches of Indo-Chinese territory in S.E. Asia.'

"This makes clear that the war in Vietnam is a war like that waged by the Germans in Eastern Europe. It is a war designed to protect the continued control over the wealth of the region... The truth is that the Vietnamese popular resistance is just like the American revolutionary resistance to the British... It is like the resistance of the French Maquis, the Yugoslav partisans and the guerillas of Norway and Denmark to Nazi occupation. That is why a small peasant people is able to hold down a vast army of the most powerful industrial nation on earth."

-- From a Statement by Bertrand Russell

NEW AFSC PEACE INTERNE Robert Tenney has finished his 2 years' alternative service with the AFSC. A new peace interne has replaced him. He is David Easter. He is a graduate of Drake University and spent a year at Union Theological Seminary. He is married. He and his wife are veterans of several AFSC projects. Dave is an active, experienced and enthusiastic man. He is very interested in working with high school students. He will continue to work closely with peace concerned people in upstate New York.

Robert Tenney will continue working in the peace movement in New York state as an organizer with the Niagara Regional Coordinating Committee.

LITERATURE ITEMS

APPEAL TO THE AMERICAN CONSCIENCE, by Bertrand Russell, 10¢

The complete text of Bertrand Russell's appeal to the American people in which he announces the convening of the International War Crimes Tribunal and the justification for it.

A DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, by Milton Mayer, free.

A forthright statement of independence from the U.S. Government "whenever that government commands us against our consciences." It was read at a demonstration at Independence Hall in Philadelphia on July 4, 1966.

VIETNAM! VIETNAM!, by Felix Greene, \$2.95

This new book by the well-known author and China specialist, Felix Greene, is "arresting, moving and factually devastating." The combination of photographs and text make it the most persuasive case against the war yet published.

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WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL Bertrand Russell continues, "I appeal to you to consider what has been done to the people of Vietnam by the U.S. Government. Can you, in your hearts, justify the use of poison chemicals and gas, the saturation bombing of the entire country with jelly-gasoline and phosphorus? Although the American press lies about this, the documentary evidence concerning the nature of these gases and chemicals is overwhelming. They are poisonous and they are fatal. Napalm and phosphorus burn until the victim is reduced to a bubbling mass. The U.S. has also used weapons like the lazy dog, which is a bomb containing 10,000 slivers of razor-sharp steel. These razor darts slice to ribbons the villagers upon whom these weapons of sheer evil are constantly used. In province of N. Vietnam, the most densely populated, 100,000,000 slivers of razor-sharp steel have fallen in a period of 13 months."

"I have called on intellectuals and eminent independent men and women from all parts of the world to join in an International War Crimes Tribunal which will hear evidence concerning the crimes of the U.S. Government in Vietnam."

The War Crimes Tribunal will meet in Paris early in November. It will hear witnesses and examine evidence of all of the violations of international law being committed by the U.S. in Vietnam today. The U.S. government has been asked to send representatives for the defense.

NATIONWIDE BOYCOTT OF SARAN WRAP Napalm, a most vicious and horrifying weapon, is very widely used in Vietnam. Its effects are known (and are described above.) One of the major producers of napalm in this country is the Dow Chemical Co. The Dow Chemical Co. has just received a new several million dollar contract for the expanded production of napalm. Another product of Dow Chemical is Saran Wrap, a common household item. To protest the manufacture of napalm and put pressure on Dow Chemical a nation-wide boycott of Saran Wrap is taking place. DON'T BUY SARAN WRAP. ASK YOUR FRIENDS NOT TO BUY IT. ASK YOUR GROCER TO TAKE IT OFF THE SHELVES. DON'T SUPPORT THE PRODUCTION OF NAPALM!

COMING TO CANADA? Men of draft age who are opposed to the Vietnam war, but who are not opposed to all war have a difficult choice to make. They cannot apply for a conscientious objector classification. They must either compromise their principles and be inducted into the army or face a prison sentence. Some men, in order to avoid either of these consequences have chosen to immigrate to Canada. Canada does not have a draft law and will not extradite such men. For more information on this option contact the Peace Council.

PEACE NEWS LETTER

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SPC 309

Alan B. Peabody, Editor

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November 16, 1966

MANILA The meeting of the chief political officials of the seven nations involved in fighting the Viet Cong and the Hanoi regime is now history. The Communique signed on October 25 is most interesting because it appears to set a date for the withdrawal of allied military forces. Relevant portions of Section 28 follow:

"... The people of South Vietnam ask only that the aggression that threatens their independence and the externally supported terror that threatens their freedom be halted...

"The people of South Vietnam are defending their own territory against those seeking to obtain by force and terror what they have been unable to accomplish by peaceful means...

* * * * *

"The people of South Vietnam will ask their allies to remove their forces and evacuate their installations as the military and subversive forces of North Vietnam are withdrawn, infiltration ceases, and the level of violence thus subsides.

* * * * *

"In particular, /the other participating governments/ declared that allied forces are in the Republic of Vietnam because that country is the object of aggression and its Government requested support in the resistance of its people to aggression. They shall be withdrawn after close consultation as the other side withdraws its forces to the North, ceases infiltration, and the level of violence thus subsides..."

Aside from the obvious acceptance by the high government officials of the view that the fighting in South Vietnam is a product of aggression from the North, rather than a consequence of civil war, and the implication that an independent South Vietnam is the goal of the combatants, the question remains, what is meant by withdrawal of the adversary to the North, the cessation of infiltration, and the subsiding of violence in the South?

ALLIED Charles Mohr, writing from Manila (N. Y. Times, 10/26/66)
TROOP suggests that the troop withdrawal offer is based on a
REMOVAL questionable assumption. "This premise is that if North
Vietnam withdraws its troops the insurgency in the South
will collapse quickly and that the army can deal with South Vietna-
mese purely indigenous rebels without outside help." Certainly "the
violence would probably subside if the Northern troops were withdrawn,
but would the war end, and would it end favorably if both North Viet-
nam and the United States withdrew?"

Mohr quotes an unidentified American official as saying that the
communique implies the withdrawal of infiltrated leadership personnel
as well as regular North Vietnamese army units. But then the same
official said that the offer of an allied withdrawal was conditional
upon withdrawal of "elements introduced from the North .. the in-
digenous Southern forces are a different situation." The same
official said the allied side could risk leaving South Vietnam to
deal with purely local guerrilla forces.

The phrase in the communique, "the other side," Mohr suggests,
"might mean that the local Vietcong units that had embraced the Com-
munist cause might have to be withdrawn along with regular North
Vietnamese troops. If so, the idea might be impractical politically
if safe militarily."

AMBIGUITY It should be obvious that at best the Manila Communique
contains ambiguous language. There are those observers
such as I.F. Stone (Weekly 10/31/66) who see in the Manila conference
and in the rhetoric of American officials a demand that our adversar-
ies simply surrender. It is no wonder that papers like the Berkshire
Eagle (Pittsfield, Mass. 11/2/66) and the New York Times (11/3/66)
question the value of President Johnson's trip in lead editorials.

James Reston (New York Times, 11/2/66) sees only prospects "for
a more savage fight for victory" and "for a larger and longer United
States commitment to secure the freedom of South Vietnam and the rest
of free Asia."

Reston continues: "The concessions in the peace aims of the
Manila Conference communique rest on a premise that is clearly un-
acceptable to the enemy. 'Our sole demand on the leaders of North
Vietnam,' the Manila communique said, 'is that they abandon their
aggression.' The rest of the communique suggests a willingness on the
part of the allies to be generous, but the whole of it says to Hanoi:

'Give up and we will be fair.'" This was viewed by the Communist world as a demand for "unconditional surrender." Reston feels that Manila has made even more difficult any possibility of compromise between the two sides, especially in view of President Johnson's exhortation to the troops, "'bring back that coonskin on the wall.'"

THE VIEW FROM NORTH VIETNAM Felix Greene recently spent five weeks in China and three weeks in North Vietnam, and tries to answer some questions: "Why does North Vietnam not accept President Johnson's offer of 'unconditional discussions'? Why does President Ho Chi Minh refuse to come to the conference table?"

In the first place, the North Vietnamese are "both defiant and confident." The bombing has made them defiant. They are also confident that Vietnam will win in the sense "that the United States will withdraw its military forces from the country and leave them to decide their own future." Moreover, the Vietnamese see their particular war as a fight "for all the underdeveloped countries in the world that are trying to rid themselves of some form of colonial restraint." They believe the U. S. wants to prove in Vietnam "that national liberation struggles cannot succeed" while the Vietnamese "are determined to prove that they can succeed even against an enemy of vast military superiority."

In the second place, North Vietnamese leaders are not convinced that President Johnson's offer is genuine. For one thing "the National Liberation Front... who represent the main enemy against which the United States is fighting, is not to be considered the primary representative at such discussions, but must be represented by the Government in North Vietnam." This condition is unacceptable to either the Liberation Front or Hanoi.

Moreover, the Vietnamese are looking for "some credible indication that the U.S. leaders have decided to remove their forces from Vietnam. ... they judge intent not by words but by actions. When Johnson says his intention is peace, but at the same time orders an increase in the U.S. forces in Vietnam--it is the action and not the words that they judge him by." Greene then points out how actions have vitiated words. During the Christmas bombing pause, 10,000 troops were added to the forces in South Vietnam. When Rusk says the U.S. seeks no permanent bases in South Vietnam, the Vietnamese adversaries note the construction of "huge, permanent harbors, air-fields, barracks and so on." The point is that "the leaders in Vietnam will believe the actions and not the words. As long as our words and our actions are in contradiction, the Vietnamese will not believe our words." (Fact, Sept.-Oct. 1966)

CHINA 334 members of the 89th Congress (51 Senators and 283 Con-
POLICY gressmen) signed a full page advertisement which appeared
FROZEN in the New York Times on October 31st. The ad, sponsored
by a unit of the amorphouse collection of interest groups
known as the China Lobby, namely, The Committee of One Million
Against the Admission of Communist China to the United Nations.
Called "A Message to the Delegates to the Twenty-First Session of
the General Assembly of the United Nations," the key points were as
follows:

"We are opposed to the admission of Communist China to the United Nations.

"We are opposed to granting United States diplomatic recognition to the Peiping regime.

"We are opposed to trade relations between the United States and Communist China.

"We are opposed to any policy of accommodation which might be interpreted as U.S. acquiescence in, or approval of, Communist China's aggression, direct or indirect, against her neighbors."

The following from New York signed the statement: Senator Jacob J. Javits, and Congressmen Joseph P. Addabbo, Hugh L. Carey, James J. Delaney, Thaddeus J. Dulski, Paul A. Fino, James R. Grover, Seymour Halpern, James M. Hanley, Frank J. Horton, Edna F. Kelly, Eugene J. Keough, David S. King, Abraham J. Multer, William T. Murphy, Leo W. O'Brien, Alexander Pirnie, Howard W. Robison, John J. Rooney, and Samuel S. Stratton.

* * * * *

With this issue the Peace News Letter has a new editor: No, not really "new," but an editor returned. The Peace Council welcomes back Alan Peabody who taught for several years at Paul Quinn College in Waco, Texas, and who is now teaching at Mohawk Valley Community College in Utica. The Executive Committee is very grateful to Alan Peabody for resuming the editorship of Peace News Letter.

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PEACE NEWS LETTER

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WHY VIETNAM? is the title of a film prepared by the United States Department of Defense. Intended to instruct military personnel, the film is available for viewing by civilian groups. It seeks to justify the rapid increase in American involvement in South Vietnam and to lay the groundwork for the American bombing of North Vietnam which began in February, 1965.

At the outset the viewer is reminded of the false promises of Munich in 1938 when nothing was done to frustrate aggression. Says President Johnson, "Aggression unchallenged is aggression unleashed."

For the Communists, South Vietnam is a "rich prize." It is the rice bowl of Vietnam, contains natural rubber, and has such minerals as zinc and manganese. By 1960 all of South Vietnam had become a combat zone, and the South called for help. The United States promptly responded with economic and humanitarian aid, military assistance, and training cadres. As the North increased its aggression, the United States increased the scale of its response. South Vietnamese soldiers, according to the film, quickly learned counter-insurgency tactics and the combat capability of the South grew.

But the infiltration did not cease and the aggressors used Chinese weapons. The United States was determined, said President Johnson at Johns Hopkins University, that "The people of South Vietnam shall have the right of choice" and "shall not have any government forced on them" by terror. The United States "will not surrender and we will not retreat." Guerrilla warfare is merely a new form of Communist aggression, and this puts freedom in the balance. Continued President Johnson, "We do not choose to be the guardian at the gate. But there is no one else." Three Presidents have committed the United States to the defense of South Vietnam, and we can't abandon her people to repression, terror, and murder.

In summary, the film stresses that Vietnam is a fight in which the United States seeks to help a free people retain their sovereignty against Communist aggression from North Vietnam. Viewers aware of the history of Vietnam will necessarily feel that the film presents a selective portrayal of events and their meaning, and are apt, once more, to raise the question, Why Vietnam?

IS VIETNAM ABOUT VIETNAM? Edgar Snow asserts: "The United States is at war with China - a proxy war now, but perhaps a war of irreversible expansion." (New Republic, July 30, 1966)

A prominent Washington columnist, recently in Vietnam, is reported to have said, "I don't give a damn about the Vietnamese--we're fighting a war against China. Nobody worried about the Alsations during the battle of Alsace-Lorraine."

Reports Howard Moffett from Saigon (correspondent for the Collegiate Press Service, Nov. 11, 1966), the foregoing statement would be accepted by many Vietnamese "as an accurate appraisal of what is happening in and to their country.

"However Americans view the war in Vietnam, many Southeast Asians see it primarily as a struggle between the U.S. and China for power, influence and the vindication of ideology. It is the tragic fate of the Vietnamese that they live in a rich and politically strategic border and between areas dominated by these two great powers."

CONTAINING CHINA? Commentary (May, 1966) devoted major space to a round-table discussion of that question. It involved its editor, Norman Podhoretz, Prof. Bernard Fall (Howard University), Richard Goodwin (former Presidential assistant), Senator George McGovern (South Dakota), and Prof. John Roche (Brandeis University).

At the outset Podhoretz suggested that Vietnam is viewed by the Johnson administration "as a tactical element within an overall strategy. For despite all the official talk about preserving the freedom of South Vietnam, one gathers that what the United States actually thinks it is doing in Vietnam is containing China in Asia, much as it contained the Soviet Union in Europe from 1947 on."

Podhoretz quoted Adlai Stevenson who, shortly before his death, interpreted American policy as follows:

"The period from 1947 to 1962 was largely occupied in fixing the postwar line with the Soviet Union....

"We have no such line with the Chinese... it may be more difficult to establish one...

"The line inherited by the Democratic administration is the 17th Parallel... So far the new Communist 'dynasty' has

been very aggressive... I do not think the idea of Chinese expansionism is so fanciful that the effort to check it is irrational.

"And if one argues that it should not be checked, then I believe you set us off on the old, old route whereby expansive powers push at more and more doors, believing they will open until, at the ultimate door, resistance is unavoidable and major war breaks out... My hope in Vietnam is that relatively small-scale resistance now may establish the fact that changes in Asia are not to be precipitated by outside force. This was the point of the Korean War. This is the point of the conflict in Vietnam. I believe Asia will be more stable if the outcome is the same in both--a negotiated line and a negotiated peace..."

Goodwing pointed out that U.S. policy has a number of elements. First, "we don't want to allow people to be conquered by other people when ours is the only power that can prevent it... Secondly, a Chinese conquest of Asia would enormously strengthen elements hostile to the United States" and "would immeasurably strengthen a country which is already a nuclear power" and which will, within five years, have intercontinental missiles.

Fall referred to Secretary McNamara's warning to the NATO foreign ministers of hordes of Chinese posed to overrun portions of the world and his insistence that Europeans be alert to responsibilities in Southeast Asia. Moreover, the Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, William Bundy, has publicly asserted that the Chinese are the real danger and must be stopped. Commented Fall. "If there is anyone in the whole world who actually believes that the Chinese are likely to overrun Asia militarily, it's Washington."

McGovern asked an unnamed high U.S. official "whether we were [in Vietnam] to prevent an internal Communist take over in Saigon, or whether we were concerned about Chinese military and political aggression in that area." McGovern summarized his reply: "if not for China, we would not be involved in Vietnam at all; we are there because if we don't hold the line against China's technique of 'national liberation' in S. Vietnam, we will have to face the same Chinese inspired activity in Laos, in Thailand, Cambodia, and so on, until eventually the threat becomes so great that we are confronted with World War III."

Trumbull Higgins, a military historian, suggested to the Commentary panelists in a question that "the U.S., having blundered into

the war in Vietnam. . now must engender a Chinese hostility in order to justify the ever growing war."

Senator McGovern agreed: "As more and more American forces were committed, and the results of those efforts proved more and more disappointing and more and more frustrating, our policy makers began to depict a larger threat in the form of China as the reason for our heavy involvement."

WHAT DO'S THIS ADD UP TO? If Vietnam is not really about Vietnam and if Vietnam is really about China, then the heavy investment of U.S. manpower and materials can be explained militarily, if not politically. It would appear that there are those who fear that the United States and China will collide in the 1970's, "when it is supposed that China will have a nuclear establishment big enough to represent a threat to Japan and Australia, if not (as yet) to the United States." Moreover, General Maxwell Taylor made it clear in last February's Senatorial hearings that a prime objective of American policy is to secure the "independence" of South Vietnam. Last January the Manchester Guardian remarked that "it does not look as though the Americans are going to withdraw from Vietnam in the foreseeable future, peace or no peace; too much has been invested, politically and even economically." But more ominously, the United States has developed Camranh Bay into a major naval fortress, and has been building permanent type barracks and runways in Vietnam and Thailand. (George Lichtheim, "Pax Russo-Americana?", Commentary, April, 1966.)

Corroboration for the foregoing is found in an article by Col. Robert D. Heinl, Jr. (U.S. Marine Corps, Retired) in United States Naval Institute Proceedings, July, 1966. Col. Heinl believes that Hong Kong can be defended as an advance base of major importance which is related to San Francisco-Pearl Harbor-Guam and Subic Bay in the Philippines. Camranh Bay in Vietnam complements rather than obviates Hong Kong, and is a part of a complex of bases and alliances which will be used to contain China. Consequently the Communists insist that the U.S. leave Vietnam, but "How such a demand can be reconciled with the long-range development of Camranh Bay... and whether the United States can afford the neutralization of that place, as well as Hong Kong, remain to be seen."

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