

PEACE NEWS LETTER

Published by and for the Syracuse Peace Council

SPC 312

Alan B. Peabody, Editor

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HOPES The first few days of February were filled with speculation
DASHED that a possibility for peace negotiations was at hand.

Hopes mounted that two press conferences on February 9th would be the long hoped for break in the stalemate between the United States and North Vietnam.

Soviet Premier Kosygin, in London, urged that the United States end the bombing of North Vietnam unconditionally in return for peace talks with Hanoi.

Later, the same day, Secretary of State Dean Rusk made it clear that the United States was demanding a promise of reciprocal military action, and not merely negotiations, as a precondition to end the bombing. John Finney (N. Y. Times, 2/10/67) said that Rusk's statement "reflected a hardening of the Administration's terms for an end of the bombing of North Vietnam."

In an editorial, the Times said:

"The flatness of the Rusk declaration and the certainty that he spoke for President Johnson was a chilling response to an atmosphere of faint hopes and a worldwide buzz of speculation over possible peace feelers by Hanoi.

"Mr. Rusk went out of his way to emphasize that the United States... is not yielding an inch in its determination to order no unilateral halt in bombing of the North..."

The Times urged that it would be wise for the United States to take the risk of cessation of the bombing because "the deadlock that exists today cannot, on the basis of existing knowledge and opinion, be broken by the inflexible policy that Secretary Rusk expounded..."

SECRET A few days earlier, Pauline Frederick, Diplomatic Cor-
TALKS respondent for NBC, revealed that in early December,
SABOTAGED Poland had succeeded in persuading both Hanoi and Wash-
 ington to send emissaries to a secret meeting in the hopes
that negotiations might soon begin. But, on December 13, Hanoi was
bombed, and North Vietnam refused to send a representative. Wash-
ington lamely explained that the bombings had been "programmed well
in advance."

OVERVIEW Writing on "The Crisis in American World Leadership"
 OF THE (Journal of Politics, May 1966), Prof. Charles O. Lerche
 MALAISE asserts that since 1947, the United States "has been all
 but unanimous" in believing that upon it "there has de-
 scended... a unique responsibility for the peace, security, and well-
 being of the entire world." This 20th century mission has authentic
 roots in American history. Thus the U. S. is "the major adversary
 of Communist aggression" and leader of the free world coalition.

Certain assumptions underlie American policy and action:

- "1. The threat to the United States and all free men posed by communism is unified in conception and execution, and is directed from a single center of world revolution /the U.S.S.R./
- "2. The conflict between freedom and communism is the single dominating and orienting factor in world politics.
- "3. The major danger against which the free world must guard is a direct military assault by Communist power directed against weak spots in the non-Communist world.
- "4. The only effective way to meet and turn back the Communist threat, unified and persistent as it is, is by a free-world response equally unified and permanent.
- "5. The United States, as the critical element in the free-world coalition and as the partner bearing the greatest load of danger and responsibility, has a uniquely broad task of decision-making and policy formulation to perform.
- "6. All important members of the free world agree with the United States on the above assumptions and are content to take their appropriate places and to perform their allotted tasks in the common effort under United States leadership and direction."

Policy based on the foregoing assumptions went well for a number of years, and led to American self-congratulation. But since the mid-50's, the mood has changed. By the mid-60's, U.S. leadership had eroded. Dreams of cold-war victory were abandoned and the Alliance system was in constant crisis.

Most devastating was non-alignment. "The framework of national mission erected by the United States after 1947 left no moral or intellectual room for neutrality in the cold war." Yet more and more new nations escaped alignment with either super-power. Mistakenly, the United States saw most of those nations as pro-West, an invalid premise.

Increasingly the United States is faced with hostile reactions to its unilateral initiatives in such places as the Dominican Republic and Vietnam. Puzzled, the U. S. is confronted with involuntary near isolation because it doesn't understand the requirements and implications of leadership:

1. All joint action demands substantial agreement on goals.
2. All must broadly share in defining a problem.
3. All must broadly agree on elements in an action program.

Unfortunately, after the mid-50's, "the United States had fallen into the habit of considering its allies as instruments of American power, a set of tools of varied effectiveness to be used more or less at will for American purposes." Egotism has led to damage, which is symbolized by the balance of payments crisis, the emergence of competitive and rival trading blocs, the independence of France, and the erosion of American leadership elsewhere.

The decline in the centrality of the Soviet threat has been at the root of much disaffection--and this decline is a product of success. "Long justifying its own stewardship on the grounds of the magnitude of the threat from Moscow, Americans today find themselves with little else to offer their allies."

The U. S. argues "that optimistic analyses of Communist intentions and policy made by recalcitrant allies" is faulty, "and that the threat remains as unified and dangerous as ever." Thus continued American leadership is required. Europeans, however, note that the U. S. seeks new approaches to the U.S.S.R., and therefore think that the U. S. "invokes the psychology of crisis only as a method of perpetuating its outworn hegemony."

Lerche concludes that U. S. policy needs adjustment to the needs and realities "of a new age." He warns that one certainty exists: "The present posture of the United States--protesting its dedication to a common cause while acting increasingly to alienate voluntary support from its putative followers--has at its end only the repudiation of American leadership by any ally with the power to strike out on its own."

FOOTNOTE
TO LERCHE At the last meeting of the NATO Council, U. S. leaders continued to warn of the dangers from the Communist world while Europeans talked of detente!

WHEN IS ENOUGH ENOUGH? The United States has six times as many intercontinental missiles as the U.S.S.R., and six times as many bombers capable of carrying nuclear weapons. This great force can deliver the equivalent of six tons of TNT for every man, woman, and child on the planet--which would seem sufficient. Yet the stockpile grows.

ESCALATING MILITARY BUDGETS In late 1966, Russia announced a hike in defense spending, interpreted by some analysts as a warning to the United States "that the escalating war in Vietnam is not without possible military peril."

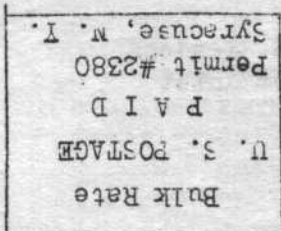
Increases called for by President Johnson in U. S. military spending, when seen alongside Soviet intentions, may be portents of a new round in the arms race.

VIGIL

Every Wednesday from 12 to 12:45 p.m., a vigil is being held at the corner of South Salina and Washington Streets in Syracuse. The participants stand silently along the curb with but one sign: "Silent Vigil to Protest the War in Vietnam."

This is one of more than 50 such Wednesday noon vigils being maintained around the United States. Their purpose is to maintain a visible witness against the particular war which will be noticed by other citizens.

Any person protesting the Vietnam War, and willing to accept the discipline of silence, is welcomed to participate whenever he can.



Syracuse Peace Council
841 University Building
Syracuse, N. Y. 13202

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March 20, 1967

27th Annual Institute of International Relations

Yates Hotel, Syracuse

April 21-22

Speakers:

Dr. John C. Bennett, President of Union
Theological Seminary

David McReynolds, War Resisters League

Barbara Deming, Editorial Board of Lib-
eration

Save the dates! Watch for more informa-
tion!

MISSION OF AMERICA Mrs. Jill Conway, Department of History of the University of Toronto, gave a series of seven talks over the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's FM and AM networks in the Spring of 1966. One of her talks is titled: "The Myth of Historic Mission in American History."

Miss Conway points out that "the conviction that one's people or society is somehow specially chosen to perform some great task in a providential plan is very common in western societies." Deriving from the Jewish tradition that God has a chosen people to whom will come a Messiah, and through whom the Kingdom of God will come, we now discover "two great societies of messianic conviction in the western world today, the United States and the U.S.S.R."

For the United States, the sense of mission traces from the formation of Massachusetts Bay Colony, "a society which would conform

to a divine plan." Although the passage of time, and the growing strength of the unregenerate seems to have dissipated the religious fervor, "the idea of mission and of a special place in history remained, to be reaffirmed and restated at the time of the Revolution" in secular garb. The ideals of the American Revolution were believed to have universal import. There was an assumption "that the whole of mankind was 'created equal,' or to put it another way, that all men were capable of Americanisation."

The ideals of American democracy were severely tested during the Reconstruction period, when a segregated society developed in the South, and during the great influx of European immigrants to America, particularly the new immigration from Southern and Central Europe which began in the 1880's. Despite the racism which developed in both North and South, the concept of mission came to the fore again "in the formation of an American Empire in the Pacific and the Caribbean, where the benefits of the American experience in history could be extended to lesser and subject peoples."

World War I "opened the way for a reassertion of the American mission, now quite overtly stated as making the world fit and safe for democracy." The failure of this mission was followed by the rejection of Wilson as "a false Messiah" and by the lost moorings of the writers of the 1920's. The sense of mission was reasserted after the trauma of the depression when Franklin D. Roosevelt galvanized people with "the effort to create a just society."

World War II reasserted the American concept of a special role in history. The United States "was to defend democracy against the forces of Fascism and Naziism, and also to do away with outmoded political structures like the British and French Empires. By 1948, the mission "had been redefined again when the enemy of democracy became communism, and the Truman Doctrine committed the United States to an international struggle to defend the 'free world' and contain communist expansion. This," concluded Miss Conway, "is a role perfectly suited to the descendants of Puritan New England. To be engaged in a cosmic struggle with the powers of darkness in the world and to be the beacon of hope for mankind is something which goes back to 1629 and which accords perfectly with the self imagery of American society since the foundation of the colony at Massachusetts Bay."

COMMAGER
CORROBORATES

Henry Steele Commager, the Amherst Historian
reiterated the foregoing theme in testimony before
the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on February

20, 1967.

"The notion of an international Communist conspiracy, which a good many Americans still cling to, fits neatly into this shibboleth of Old World wickedness and New World virtue which was announced by Thomas Jefferson in his first inaugural address. . . And so, too, our habit of throwing a mantle of morality over our own wars. We do tend, perhaps, more than most other people to transform our wars into crusades. The Mexican War was part of manifest destiny. The Spanish-American War was a crusade to free Cuba from Spanish tyranny. The First World War was a crusade to make the world safe for democracy. The Second World War did indeed have moral purposes, more clearly, I think than almost any war of modern times. Our current involvement in Vietnam is cast, increasingly, into a moral mold; it is, quite simply, a war to halt Communist aggression. Indeed, by a kind of circular argument this provides and embraces the 'vital interest' which we have in that area, for on closer examination our 'vital interest' is precisely the interest in halting communism.

* * * * *

"When other nations expanded they did so on practical and selfish grounds, but when we expanded our conduct was not only practical but highly moral. The notion of mission has permeated much of American thinking about territorial expansion; it has colored our conception of the meaning of the Monroe Doctrine; it has conditioned our relations with Europe and, more recently with Asia.....

"Now nations that are self-righteous and powerful are almost irresistibly prone to creating, or accepting, a double standard of conduct.... We do think that we are better than other nations and doubtless we really are in many respects...."

Commager suggests that it is "in the realm of foreign relations where we instinctively take for granted... the justice of our foreign policies" and where "we exhibit most markedly traces of a double standard.... "

THE

DOUBLE
STANDARD
AFFLIED

Writes Senator J. William Fulbright in his The Arrogance of Power (pages 107-8): "The view of communism as an evil philosophy is a distorting prism through which we see projections of our own minds rather than what is actually there. Looking through the prism, we see the Viet Cong who cut the throats of village chiefs as savage murderers but American flyers who incinerate unseen women and children with napalm as valiant fighters for freedom; we see Viet Cong defections as the rejection of communism but the much greater number of defections from the Saigon Army as expressions of a simple desire to return to the farm; we see the puritan discipline of life in Hanoi as enslavement but the chaos and corruption of life in Saigon as liberty; we see Ho Chi Minh as a hated tyrant but Nguyen Cao Ky as the defender of freedom; we see the Viet Cong as Hanoi's puppet and Hanoi as China's puppet but we see the Saigon government as America's stalwart ally; and finally, we see China, with no troops in South Vietnam, as the real aggression while we, with hundreds of thousands of men, are resisting foreign intervention.

"These perceptions are not patently wrong but they are distorted and exaggerated..."

* * * * *

SPRING MOBILIZATION, APRIL 15, 1967, NEW YORK CITY

There is a good possibility that a chartered flight will be available to those interested in participating in the Spring Mobilization. It is expected that the flight will leave on the morning of the 15th, returning the same evening. All interested people are urged to contact Mr. Lawrence McGinn, 446-1911 between 7:00 and 11:00 p.m.

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WHAT DO THEY WANT? "A survey of public opinion in South Vietnam from a population sampling the pollsters admit had to be sharply restricted, reported... that 81% of those questioned want peace above all else. Only 4% listed victory over communism, 2% reunification of North and South, and 45% independence as aims preferable to quick peace. The poll was organized by the Opinion Research Corporation of Princeton and conducted by the Center for Vietnamese Studies in Saigon, for the Columbia Broadcasting System... CBS said it was the first independent opinion survey ever taken in South Vietnam... Organizers of the survey said it was held only among persons living in secured areas controlled by the allies... Interviewers... took into account reluctance of those questioned to get themselves in trouble with the authorities."

-- Associated Press in York, Pa. Gazette & Daily, 3/22/67

PEACE DRIVE FROM SOUTH? Dr. Phan Khac Suu, Speaker of the South Vietnamese Constituent Assembly predicted that "some sort of settlement" of the war by "all parties concerned" will follow the South Vietnamese national elections scheduled for next fall.

Dr. Suu did not foresee quick reunification of the country because many Southern leaders, himself included, are opposed to Communism. Dr. Suu is expected to be one of several civilian candidates for the Presidency of South Vietnam.

-- N. Y. Times, 3/30/67

CIVILIAN OR MILITARY PRESIDENT? U. S. President Johnson feels that the national elections for a new South Vietnamese government will be "as important as any of the military operations we shall conduct in the months ahead."

The U. S. hopes that a broadly based, legitimate government--responsive to the needs and desires of the people--will offer a real alternative to the Vietcong.

Comments Tom Wicker: "The trouble is that, outside the [National Liberation Front], only the South Vietnamese officer corps now has any organized and cohesive political power. Therefore, it is highly likely that either General Thieu or Marshall Ky, the present leaders,

will be elected to the powerful presidency the new constitution establishes.

-- N. Y. Times, 3/21/67

PRESIDENTIAL It is widely conceded that the exchange of correspond-
CORRESPONDENCE ence between President Lyndon B. Johnson and President Ho Chi Minh resulted in a propaganda victory for the former. Johnson's letter was conciliatory in tone, while the reply from Ho appeared accusative, quarrelsome, and negative. A closer examination of the correspondence was provided by James Reston.

"If President Johnson accepted Ho's terms for negotiations, the United States would have to end all the bombing pressure on the North and all other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam," while North Vietnam would be free to continue sending men and supplies into the South to maintain the military pressure on South Vietnam.

"On the other hand, if Ho Chi Minh accepted President Johnson's terms for negotiations, North Vietnam would be obliged to stop infiltrating men and supplies into the South and the United States, with half a million men and powerful air and naval forces in the area would be free to hunt and destroy an enemy cut off from his supplies in the North."

In short, each President proposed "terms for talking that would give its forces a military advantage that they do not now enjoy." The U. S., wrote Reston, demanded "prior proof that all infiltration from the North had stopped before we would agree to stop bombing the North and augmenting U. S. forces in the South."

Ho, on the other hand, demanded not only the cessation of the air bombing of the North, but an end to all acts of aggression against North Vietnam, "an awkward point" because the North has troops in the South and it might be regarded as an act of aggression if U. S. forces fired at them in self-defense.

-- N. Y. Times, 3/22/67

WIDER Senator John Stennis of Mississippi and Senator Stuart Symington
AIR of Missouri have both been quoted recently as advocating wider
WAR air raids on North Vietnam. The former wants additional attacks on power plants, cement factories, and ports including Haiphong. The latter wants to see permission granted to attack the airfields around Hanoi, among other targets.

Joseph C. Harsch long time diplomatic correspondent for The National Broadcasting Company and the Christian Science Monitor calls the cry of the Senators "The Frontier Syndrome."

There are, Harsch notes, cogent reasons for limiting the targets being attacked in North Vietnam. "In this particular case... the United States is fighting the ally and dependency of two other great powers. North Vietnam is a sovereign state, recognized in international law and by treaties signed not only by Communist countries but also by Great Britain and by France.

"North Vietnam is protected by treaties binding both Russia and China to come to its assistance.

"If the United States were to declare war on North Vietnam and wage unlimited war against it, then both Moscow and Peking would be bound by formal obligations to do even more than they are now. This is why there is no formal declaration of war, and only limited military action."

--CHRISTIAN Science Monitor, 3/31/67

GLOOMY Headlines on March 27 focussed on Senator Symington's recommendation that wider air raids be conducted on North Vietnam.
NOT
PRINTED Even the New York Times neglected his gloomy assessment of the political and military outlook in Vietnam as found in the following from his report:

"There is now less certainty in my mind than there was a year ago that the present government in South Vietnam speaks for a majority of the South Vietnamese people. It is clear that the current composition of the government exacerbates religious and political differences.

"Much of the victory obtained by U. S. and South Vietnamese forces in the daytime is lost at night, primarily because we do not seem to be able to obtain a handle on the problem of the guerrillas.

* * * * *

"It is our understanding South Vietnam's army has been assigned primary responsibility for conducting the vital 'pacification' operations in those limited areas of their country controlled by their own army and ours. This is a job which the U. S. military, regardless of the degree of our investment, cannot do for this war-torn and harassed nation.

"If the South Vietnamese do not achieve this pacification, there is no point in this country continuing to pour out lives and treasure in order to protect a government that can neither consolidate nor control what has been taken from them by their own citizens and the North Vietnamese.

"If the United States decides to become the major factor in this pacification program as well as in the fighting of the war, it can only become an extended war of the white man against the Asians on the mainland of Asia."

--I. F. Stone's Weekly, April 3, 1967

FLOATING SUPPLY DEPOTS The Senate Armed Forces Committee deleted from a defense authorization bill an appropriation of \$301 million to build seven fast deployment logistic ships.

These ships were to be floating supply depots to be filled with equipment and supplies for two army divisions for 15 days of operations. The idea was to station these ships at strategic points around the world so that in the event of U. S. intervention in a crisis, troops flown to the scene could be quickly supplied.

Senator Richard Russell of Georgia said that the existence of such ships might be construed as "an intimidation" by other nations and that "if it is easy for us to go anywhere and do anything, we will always be going somewhere and doing something."

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS INSTITUTE
YATES HOTEL, SYRACUSE
April 21-22, 1967

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Mrs. George Stafford

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SYRACUSE PEACE COUNCIL

Annual Meeting
Potluck Supper



Time: Thursday, June 8, 1967, 6:15 p.m.

Place: St. Andrew The Apostle Church, 124 Alden Street
near the Vincent Apartments

Speaker: REV. JOHN J. McNEILL, S. J.

Assistant Professor of Philosophy at LeMoyne

"The Catholic Community and Peace"

Bring a dish (Casserole, Salad or Dessert to serve 6-8)

Bachelors: Rolls and Butter

R.S.V.P to 422-5316, please

PEACE NEWS LETTER

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Echoes from the 21st Annual International Relations Institute sponsored by the Syracuse Peace Council, Syracuse, New York, April 21-22, 1967

DR. JOHN C. BENNETT, President of Union Theological Seminary in New York City, pointed out that U. S. policy in Vietnam "is based on certain convictions clearly held by at least some of the makers of the policy" which are "mistaken convictions." It is important for critics of U. S. policy to examine its presuppositions because "our present leaders are [not] likely to find another way until they become less sure of their present presuppositions" or unless there develop "sufficient internal political threats to force them to find another way."

Six presuppositions can be identified which are held by policy makers pretending to have superior knowledge. Their information is of little use if "what appear to be facts" are seen "through the lens created by certain presuppositions that are wrong." The challenged

assumptions are:

1. "That the United States must always oppose Communism" which, it is assumed is worse than all other fates that might befall a nation. Thus the United States must not risk a compromise settlement in Vietnam because this would run the risk of a Communist regime in the future.

2. That "this is a test case of aggression." If, in Vietnam, we can prove that aggression does not pay, we can contribute to an ordered world. The U. S. must punish aggression with allies if possible, and without them if necessary. The stress on aggression does not do justice to two aspects of civil war in Vietnam; between a North and South temporarily divided, and within the South. It is an oversimplification to call this a war of aggression.

3. That this is "the test case of wars of liberation." There is a strong American tendency to generalize without recognizing that every revolutionary situation must be understood in its own national context. There are differences in the internal health of countries, the strength of existing governments, and the "extent to which some kind of liberation is needed from the present situation." In South Vietnam one finds a weak country, a weak government, and a people in need of some kind of liberation. The corollary of this assumption seems to be "that the United States must be a counterrevolutionary power opposed to all wars of liberation in Asia and Latin America" and this "is one of the wild ideas that is set forth with surprising calmness by some of our own leaders." It implies that if the United States tries hard enough to prevent Communism, that somehow democracy will emerge. Trying hard enough may mean the application of sufficient military force.

4. That Vietnam is analogous to Europe at the time of Hitler's ascendancy. First, it is amazing that American leaders are prone to compare Hitler's aggression to the power of Ho Chi Minh within one nation. Second, Hitler's threat was primarily military. The Communist threat is primarily political in Asia and Latin America, and cannot be successfully met by military means. Third, in supporting Western European nations against Hitler (and later Stalin) we were giving help to nations with long traditions and substance, and with a capacity to solve many of their own problems. A revolution was not necessary in Europe, and the United States did not assume a counter-revolutionary stance in Europe.

5. That there are no limits to American Power. The Englishman, Dennis Brogan, speaks of "the illusion of American omnipotence."

That is a useful phrase indicating "a habit of mind that somehow the United States can do almost anything if it sets its mind to it." Retired Ambassador Reischauer has pointed out that when we take the initiative in sponsoring internal changes in Asian lands, our influence can be so preponderant as to produce frictions between our well-meaning efforts and their nationalisms.

6. That "a substantial military success, not necessarily total victory... is important as a brake on the power of China." Here the spectre is raised: if we do not defeat the Communists in Vietnam, we must fight them in Hawaii or Seattle. To believe this requires one to believe in a monolithic, universal Communism. China itself represents an enigma. She now seems weak. Her words may be harsh but her acts are mild. The destruction of the stamina of Vietnam itself is to lose a real brake on Chinese power. Moreover, American power close to the borders of China will accentuate the paranoiac elements in the Chinese outlook on the world.

The war in Vietnam must be viewed in moral perspective. There are three elements to be considered.

First is "the inherent evil in what we are now doing." The ferocity of the warfare in both North and South is causing much dislocation of the populations. What must come next in order to insure victory before the 1968 Presidential elections? Must we bomb the dikes of North Vietnam? Must we succumb to the advice of the "wild men in Washington"--fortunately not now in policy making positions--who suggest that we must bomb Vietnam back into the Stone Age?

Second is the "cumulative effect of what we have been doing together with what we are likely to do if the war doesn't end soon." What effects will two more or five more years of this war have on the people of Vietnam? The effects will be all out of proportion to the evil that we are trying to prevent. To impose on others what we believe is good for them is a misuse of the loyalty and heroism of American men. General Westmoreland has said that he sees no end in sight; rather, we will keep on bleeding the other side. Who are we to be doing this? Must many generations hence suffer from our bleeding them?

Third is "to see how self-defeating it is. Not only does this have a bad effect upon the people... but we can't do by this method what we seek to do." Gunner Myrdal has reminded us that success in overrunning Vietnam will be the beginning of our hell. The Vietnamese will have the sympathy of the entire world in trying to rid their coun-

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THE ARAB-ISRAELI WAR The rapid development of the Middle Eastern crisis is reputed to have surprised many American policy makers, as it did many ordinary citizens, because of the preoccupation with Vietnam. Yet in the Middle East American commitments to Israel (to safeguard her territorial integrity) were more precise and much older than American "commitments" to South Vietnam. Moreover, American interests in the Middle East are much more pronounced and vital than those in Southeast Asia. One has only to recall the tremendous American investments in Oil throughout the Middle East, to say nothing of religious, educational, and cultural ties which have flourished for a long time. Indeed, one suspects that American policy makers were impaled on the horns of a dilemma. On the one hand, our commitments to Israel were clear; on the other hand, our heavy investments in the Arab countries were highly visible. To have been bold in upholding the former might have seriously jeopardized the latter.

The amazing and swift victory of the Israeli forces over the much larger Arab forces reminds one of the Biblical story of David and Goliath. Whether or not Arab leaders intended hostilities to be the outcome of closing the straits of Tiran to Israeli shipping is a matter of conjecture. James Reston, writing from Cairo on June 4th, said: "An alarming fatalism seems to be settling on this city. Cairo does not want war and it is certainly not ready for war. But it has already accepted the possibility, even the likelihood, of war, as if it had lost control of the situation."

Not only did the Arab nations suffer their third, bitter defeat at the hands of the Israelis (1948, 1956, 1967), but the Soviet Union likewise suffered. It had furnished major quantities of arms to the Egyptian army, only to see planes destroyed on the ground and its tanks destroyed--once more--by American Patton tanks. Egypt, Jordan, and Syria have seen segments of their territory occupied by determined Israeli troops, and have heard Israeli leaders suggest an intent to keep control of at least some of the territory seized.

But when all is said and done about the brilliant military successes of the Israelis, he is forced to consider the wise statement of James Reston written from Tel Aviv on June 6th: "The irony of

Israel's courage and success in the Middle Eastern conflict--as so often in the history of the Jewish people--is that military victory does not produce peace."

"Nasser set out to remove the humiliation of past defeats and has led the whole Arab world into the most humiliating defeat of all." Victory for the Israelis has brought promises of revenge from Arab leaders. The Arabs have the power of numbers and geography on their side, but without a will to fight, these advantages are illusory. The time may come, however, when Israel will face a different kind of opponent--unless some ways can be found to overcome the barriers which have existed in order that understanding among neighbors, and mutual helpfulness might exist.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES saw the Middle East as an opportunity for the United States to liquidate its costly adventure in Vietnam. On June 1st its General Board adopted parallel resolutions on the Middle East and on Vietnam, urging that both disputes be referred to "international judgment and action" through the United Nations. Dr. Arthur S. Fleming, president of the National Council, said "Our nation faces a moral obligation to demonstrate readiness to take risks for an internationally established peace." The implication of National Council of Churches action was obvious. The moral position of the United States in seeking effective UN action in the Middle East would be enhanced by its willingness to submit the issues in its own dispute to "international collective counsel and decision."

THE CATHOLIC COMMUNITY AND PEACE: The Rev. John McNeill, Assitant Professor of Philosophy at LeMoyn College, addressed the Annual Meeting of SPC. He cited the documents of Vatican II, Pope John XXIII's encyclical, Pacem in Terris, the statement of Pope Paul VI to the United Nations and subsequent statements about Vietnam, and a recent statement of the American Bishops as establishing the basic premises for a Roman Catholic approach to problems of peace and world order. Father McNeill noted the following principles which might guide Catholics in their approach to the international scene:

1. Vatican II praised non-violent resistance as an alternative to war and insisted that every Roman Catholic can be a Conscientious Objector.
2. The concept of blind obedience to the nation was condemned. Catholics were admonished to take their stand on the basis

of conscience rather than what the rulers direct.

3. Total War was condemned. Moderation in the conduct of war was commended.
4. The arms race is condemned. Pope Paul has suggested that all nations take a small percentage of their defense budgets and devote them to constructive, humanistic purposes.
5. A call has been issued for an evolutionary process leading to the abandonment of war. Conditions making war possible must be eliminated. Effective international organization (world government) is necessary. World-wide economic justice is to be a goal.

Not only has the Roman Catholic church taken a progressive approach in theory, but certain deeds of leaders lends substance to the effort to relate theory to concrete situations. Few people are aware that Pope Paul has made a large contribution of money to North Vietnam as well as to South Vietnam for relief. Few are aware that on Hiroshima Day, in a message to the Japanese, he condemned the nuclear bombing. Moreover, the Pope has repeatedly called for the cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam.

Father McNeill pointed out that the actual situation in the Roman Catholic Community does not reflect quick and ready acceptance of the principles outlined above. There are John Birch style Catholics, but there are also growing numbers of Catholic Conscientious Objectors and Catholics who are relating to the Peace Movement.

Father McNeill suggested that the liberal community may be expecting too much too soon from those trying to reform the Roman Catholic Church, and he cautioned that diplomacy is needed to lead people along in the directions outlined for them by leadership.

VIETNAM SUMMER: As part of a nationwide effort to utilize the summer vacations of college students to reach citizens opposed to the war in Vietnam, a Syracuse office has been organized. Mail may be sent to P. O. Box 165, University Station, Syracuse, N. Y. 13210. If you want more information, or wish to volunteer time, services, or money, call Dale Tussing (476-3968) or Mich Lewis (463-6472).

ANNUAL MEETING JOTTINGS: The 31st annual meeting of the Syracuse Peace Council was held on Thursday, June 8th at St. Andrew The Apostle Church in Syracuse. Lena Gray, Treasurer, reported receipts totaling \$4258.59 and expenses totaling \$2996.19. The SPC ended the first five months with a balance of \$1282.40. ----- Outstanding events of the past year included the Hiroshima Day Vigil, the presentation of Norman Thomas and David Crook to attentive audiences, the Birthday Party in January with Norman Whitney, the Spring Mobilization in New York, the International Relations Institute in April sponsored entirely by the SPC, and the move of the SPC office from downtown to the Protestant Center at 3049 East Genesee Street, Syracuse, N. Y. 13224. ----- It was pointed out that the SPC will no longer have the financial assistance received from the AFSC in return for providing office space for the Peace Interne. This means that it is necessary for the local people to assume a somewhat larger financial responsibility in the future. ----- Sam Feld is assuming the chairmanship of the SPC for the coming year, replacing the system of rotating chairmen used in the past year.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH: Norman Balabanian attempted to secure billboard space in order to advertise for peace. The proposed ad included the picture of a child burned by Napalm with the text: "These are our brothers whom we kill. Stop this senseless war." The local outdoor advertising firm, a monopoly, refused the ad because it is "too controversial." An approach was then made to the agency handling advertising for the transit company. A contract was signed and a check sent in payment for cards to appear on the busses. Subsequently a letter was received stating that the copy "does not meet with approval" and indicating that the subject is too controversial.

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PEACE NEWS LETTER

Published for and by the Syracuse Peace Council SPC 621
Alan B. Peabody, Editor \$1.00 per year November 20, 1967

THE IMPACT OF THE DRAFT ON AMERICAN SOCIETY The Selective Service Law was passed by adults to use the bodies of the young for adult purposes without consulting the young. It has, therefore, created a tremendous gap between generations, as was illustrated when parents in Pueblo, Colorado, had their son committed to a mental institution when he applied for status as a Conscientious Objector to war. No one claims that the draft is good for the young people, a claim that can justifiably be made for compulsory education, another area in which the youth are not consulted about decisions affecting them.

With this opening, Arlo Tatum, Executive Secretary of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, gave a major address at the conclusion of an all day training session for Draft counselors, on Saturday, November 4th. The Session, sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee, and organized by David Easter, Peace Interne, was held at May Memorial Unitarian Church in Syracuse.

Tatum continued by suggesting that the purpose of the draft has never been sold to youth, and the existence of the law gives youth no reason for confidence in adults.

Moreover, the draft is divisive with regard to the underprivileged. 70% of white youths pass the preliminary physical exam, but only 18% of that group of whites is drafted. Only 50% of Negro youth pass the preliminary physical, but 30% of that group is drafted. Those not taking the preinduction physical are almost exclusively white. Only 1.5% of draft board members are Negroes.

One effect of the draft is to siphon off potential leadership in the ghettos at a time when it is increasingly apparent that the problems of the ghettos of America can be solved only by leadership indigenous to the ghetto. Consequently, the drain of indigenous leadership will mean that the anti-poverty programs will fail.

The brunt of the draft falls most heavily on those segments of American society already deprived of their rights. Most deferments are given to the already privileged members of society. For example, Negro ministers are seldom eligible for the 4-D classification because most of them have to work at "secular" occupations, in order to make a living. The law requires that clergymen devote full time to their profession to be eligible for the professional deferment. Tatum pointed out that a lottery would destroy the relevance of the elaborate system of deferments, and that would mean that white youth would have the same chance of being drafted as Negro youth.

The purposes of the draft are really two-fold. The first and obvious function is to get young men into the Armed Forces. A second, and not readily recognized purpose, is to control and direct the activities of young men not being drafted.

Thus the draft directs many youths to pursue scientific and technological studies because these may bring deferments, whereas humanities and social sciences may not help one escape military activity. Tatum predicted that the National Science Council will make recommendations to the Selective Service System in January which will expand the list of technical specialties for which young men may be deferred, and he pointed out that Hitler's Germany which forsook cultural contributions in favor of pursuits directly related to military adventures, has not yet recovered from the damage done. The United States, he declared, will take a long time recovering from the damage already done as a consequence of the draft and its channeling of youth into a limited range of pursuits.

There is often tragedy involved in a young man's handling of his confrontation with or avoidance of the draft. 4-F's may have difficulty in finding employment because of the implication that classification carries that the men have physical, mental, or moral defects adverse to the interests of the employer. Frequently employers will not hire youth liable for the draft, especially when the job requires training. Therefore a 1-A classification becomes a liability to youth.

The men who go to Canada find a "permanent solution to a temporary problem!" Their presence in Canada means a loss to the United States—a brain drain and a loss of morally sensitive individuals whose leadership potential is needed in the U.S. Thus the Selective Service system includes the power to determine the country a man will live in.

Many other personal decisions are based on the draft. Thus the decision to go to college, to get married, to have children, may be based on a calculation that one might avoid being drafted rather than based on what the individual young man would really like to do at that moment in his life.

The existing Selective Service Law and Selective Service Regulations provides the functional basis of a totalitarian society in the United States. Paragraph 1641.7-a of the Selective Service Regulations makes it "the duty of every classified registrant to keep his local board informed of his occupational, marital, family dependency, and military status, of his physical condition, of his home address, and of his receipt of any professional degree in a medical, dental, or allied specialist category." Such notification is to be made in writing within ten days after the change occurs. Tatum pointed out that this provision of the law, applicable to registrants now over 35, has not been enforced. When he testified before the Marshall Commission which made recommendations leading to the revised law of 1967, Tatum suggested that there be an exit from the draft system for American males, as is presently true in other countries with draft laws. Members of the Commission suggested that it means nothing. The question arises, if it means nothing, why is it continued in the law?

The Draft, insisted Tatum, is vicious in the conservative effect it has on American foreign policy. Before 1965 (and the escalation of American effort in Vietnam) it was most difficult to justify the draft. Indeed, a Pentagon study was the possibility of elimination of the draft and substituting a voluntary system. There were 1.8 million men in the system at a time when only 300,000 draftees were needed. The escalation in Vietnam revived interest in the draft. Thus, in a time of crisis, and with many men in the system, there is a temptation to use them.

Tatum suggested that the draft permits 2 or 3 Vietnams at a time and that if the war ends in Vietnam, and the draft continues, there will likely be another Vietnam.

SEMINAR The Episcopal Diocese of Central New York is sponsoring
ON a study Conference on Vietnam, December 1-3, at the Thornfield
VIETNAM Conference Center, Cazenovia. Its purpose is to study in
 depth issues surrounding the war. Speakers include Professor
George McT. Kahin, Director, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell; Congressman
John Dow, 27th District, N.Y.; and Thich Nhat Hanh, Vietnamese Buddhist

monk. Attendants will play a war game on Saturday afternoon, and time will be spent in small group discussions of the moral and ethical implications of the war in Vietnam, and, under the leadership of Professor Charles Willie, of Syracuse University, attention will be given to what we can do about it."

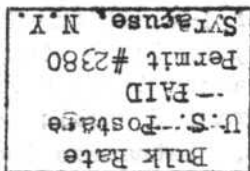
Registration, room, and board cost \$18 from Friday p.m. to Sunday noon, and must be made at the Thornfield Conference Center, Box 38, Cazenovia, N.Y. 13035.

FROM DISSENT TO RESISTANCE

The rash of efforts to keep military recruiters and recruiters for Dow Chemical (manufactures of Napalm) from college campuses coupled with the Washington Mobilization of October 21st, has brought provoked criticism of the peace movement in newspaper editorials, columns, and from the President. The mood of one segment of the peace movement is revealed in the letter of a student from the University of Michigan published in the New York Times, October 26, 1967.

"this demonstration initiated a mass movement whose aims is not ...to make a persuasive appeal to 'the nation's mind and conscience,' but rather to state forthrightly to the warmakers themselves that we not only oppose their war by words of dissent, but will oppose their war by actions of restance to their commands that we become accomplices in this obscene war.

"Therefore it is not correct to measure the effectiveness of this demonstration by the same terms used to judge the effectiveness of protest marches or moral witness. We are no longer trying to tell the people of this country that this war is wrong...We are telling the Administration that we will defy its laws and policies when to obey those laws would make us criminals."



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SPC 620

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\$1.00 per year

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The letter writers were concerned because Western nations were not adequately represented at the Seminar. After talking with many of the delegates, the writers expressed fear "that the bonds of mutual respect and common humanity which hold together the Third World and the West are now strained to breaking point."

Moreover, they fear that "the battle with racialism and colonialism in Southern Africa, i.e. Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and the Republic of South Africa, has now reached stalemate. Such an attitude [on the part of Western powers] is deplorable, playing right into the hands of those who contend that the time for negotiations and non-violent resistance is over and that the only effective solution now remaining is the propagation of force and the escalation of violence."

DOMESTIC RACISM All of us have been shocked by the long, hot summers in the U.S.A. Daniel P. Moynihan, director of the Joint Center for Urban Studies of the Mass. Institute of Technology and Harvard University, warned recently: Not only is it likely that violence at home may continue along with a worsening of the war in Vietnam, but "a new set of signs tells us something that is painful, even hateful to hear--namely, that we must prepare for the onset of terrorism" here at home. (N. Y. Times, 9/24/67).

Governor Rockefeller stated recently that there could be direct violence between Negroes and Whites in years to come if slum problems are not dealt with effectively. Governor Romney has foreseen the possibility of revolution. John McCone, former director of CIA and chairman of a group that studied Watts for the state of California has made similar, ominous statements.

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"The Caucasian minority has a majority psychology. Either in ignorance of his minority world status, or in spite of it, the Caucasian feels that he owns the world and all the 'lesser' peoples in it. He has thrown the girdles of commerce and trade around the globe, planted outposts of financial and political empire (with necessary military backing) in its remotest quarters, and built the cultural outposts which, supported by power politics and a show of military strength, have given him a position of dominance from which he looks down upon the subjugated peoples in much the same manner as a feudal lord was accustomed to survey his vassals from the castle tower.

"But the rising tide of resentment and antagonism among the pigmented peoples can no longer be overlooked or laughed away... The colored peoples of the world aspire to a position of freedom from white control and to acceptance in a position of equality. They will endure white domination as long as it is physically necessary to do so, and not one moment longer.

"There is yet time to act. But that time is rapidly running out. If we wish to live on a basis of equality with the pigmented peoples of the world, that decision must be translated into immediate action. Tomorrow will be too late. For if we wait a few years before striking a position of equality of the races throughout the world, the continued arrogant attitudes of the dominant white promise to be the stimulant of a counter assertion of the non-white. Frustration breeds aggression: a few more years of white domination will make it impossible to satisfy the aspirations of the darker peoples with anything short of subjugation of the whites. If we emerge into that period, with the lines drawn between the white and non-white peoples of the world, and an increasing tension stored up behind the dams of prejudice, the opening of the flood gates or the breaking of the dams may plunge the world into that final orgy of bestiality, a race war on global lines."

* * * *

" If the policies of white supremacy continue to force the darker races into a common bond of hatred toward the lighter, the issue will eventually be joined in a horrendous struggle for world dominance in which the first and second world wars will be mere curtain raisers. The war will begin where the last one left off--or considerably in advance of it, with the robot bomb, carrying atomic warheads and guided by radar and television, being only the beginning of the end. Quite apart from the possible outcomes of such a conflict, the stupidity of any policy which is calculated to increase the probability of the joining of the race issue in global war is beyond debate."

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Harper & Bros., 1946

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The answers came as follows: 1. If your government had not sent help, our government would have collapsed. Thank you for your help. 2. There is a lot of truth to those reports. Our army has poor leadership and poor training. It suffers from corruption and it is weary from many years of war. (Your soldiers spend only one year in our country.) 3. The other army has a lot of stamina and resilience. It has good leadership gained from fighting the French, and it has the advantages of guerrilla operations.

Howard Tuckner, an NBC correspondent, came back from Vietnam a few days ago. He appeared on the Today program, October 2. Tuckner reported that the South Vietnamese forces are not fighting effectively. Many U. S. soldiers and officers would rather not have the South Vietnamese around when they are fighting.

Tuckner believes that there will be an amphibious invasion of North Vietnam by land forces, a short distance above the Demilitarized Zone. However, he feels that the invasion force will not turn North, but will turn South to eliminate the artillery which is now creating so much agony for the U.S. Marines just south of the Demilitarized

FROM The National Council of Churches in the U.S.A. received a
DUTCH letter from the President and the Secretary of the Nether-
CHURCHMEN lands Reformed Church, sent at the direction of the General
Synod which met in June. The heart of the message is in
the following:

"It is this commitment [to Jesus Christ] that makes us, while we know and appreciate all you have done so far in this respect, wish to urge you to continue to do everything in your power... to induce your people and their government to end the calamitous war in Vietnam as soon as possible even if this would ostensibly result in the United States losing influence and prestige. Hostilities in Vietnam have reached such proportions that the United States Government's professed aim, viz. to stop the advance of communist influence in South East Asia and to establish a democratic regime in Vietnam, seems remoter than ever before. This is all the more alarming since the nation in whose behalf the war is supposedly being fought is being slowly but surely brought to ruin by the subtlety of the chemical and conventional weapons used and by the complete social, cultural and spiritual dissolution with which it is threatened. A nation's 'liberation' is sealing its doom. If the United States really has the well-being of the people of Vietnam at heart, we are prompted to ask whether there is any point at all in continuing this war. Besides, the danger of the war spreading to other countries is constantly increasing. Thailand and Laos are already involved and if the air attacks on North Vietnam, which are becoming ever more intensive, are not stopped immediately, the possibility of worldwide escalation is by no means inconceivable. We would therefore earnestly entreat you to do all you possibly can to induce your people and your Government to create a basis for negotiations by discontinuing the air raids on North and South Vietnam and submitting proposals for a cease-fire. We feel amply justified in making a particularly urgent appeal to you, since it is upon the American people as one of the mightiest nations, and perhaps the mightiest in the world, that great responsibility rests in the struggle for freedom, justice, and humanity."

Since the letter arrived, the war has escalated in Vietnam. But so has the opposition to the war in the United States."

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PEACE NEWS LETTER

Published by and for the Syracuse Peace Council
Alan B. Peabody, Editor

SPC 517

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July 26, 1967

ON REVOLUTION "It is difficult for most of us in the United States to view revolutions with equanimity, much less with sympathy; indeed, we have a deep-seated dread of revolutions. Our own revolution occurred so long ago that it is no longer an integral part of our contemporary ideology. This puts us at a tremendous disadvantage in understanding and in providing leadership for the many countries that are now or that will soon be living through their revolutions."

-- Oscar Lewis, Pedro Martinez, p. xxx

"The United States, once a revolutionary force in a world of conservatism, is now a conservative force in a world of revolutionism. In our day we have witnessed the Communist revolution; the revolution in Asia and Africa against colonialism, imperialism, and racism; and the Revolution of Rising Expectations everywhere. All of these pressures are hoisting storm warnings. By 1965 the American people, with 6 per cent of the World's population, were enjoying about 50% of its wealth. A global 'share the wealth movement' is gaining terrifying momentum. The submerged masses of the world are not going to be content to ride forever in ox carts while a privileged few speed by in Cadillacs. Men are not going to live in harmony as long as two-thirds of them have to struggle to live at all."

-- Thomas A. Bailey, The American Pageant, 3rd. ed. pp 996-997

"Christians find themselves swept along by a seething eruption of social ferment. They are searching desperately for a theological perspective which will make sense of their convulsive continent. But/ the American Christians' dilemma differs very little from the one now faced by the whole Christian church. The nations of North America and Europe are no exception. We are all trying to live in an age of accelerating change with a static theology. Since the phrase rapid social change serves often merely as a euphemism for revolution, the issue could be put even more bluntly: we are trying to live in a period of revolution without a theology of revolution."

-- Harvey Cox, The Secular City, p. 107

AN APPROACH TO REVOLUTION was made by the National Council of Chile's ruling Christian Democratic Party. It declared that guerrilla warfare against governments that "ignore the people's rights and offer no electoral solutions" is a legitimate course of action in Latin America. It pointed out that guerrilla warfare existed before Fidel Castro for varied reasons. "In certain cases the subversion is directed and carried on by forward-looking Christians." The statement, which reportedly disturbed American diplomats, repudiates resort to violence by defeated candidates in elections but is vague in defining when an electoral method is a failure.

-- Bernard L. Collier, New York Times, July 14, 1967

ESCALATION IN VIETNAM. "After a year of what has been billed as CONTINUES steady military progress--with 460,000 American troops in Vietnam plus 700,000 South Vietnamese, and 55,000 other Allied soldiers--the generals in charge of the war were demanding still more men from all three sources." (The foregoing figures apparently do not include American men in Thailand, a "privileged sanctuary" from which the U. S. conducts air attacks on Vietnam, nor the men of the Seventh Fleet which conducts attacks by air and by navel gunfire against coastal areas.)

The Generals will not get all the men they requested--at least for the present. The President is holding down the number of men to be sent for domestic political reasons. Mobilization of reserves would disrupt domestic life; the budget deficit must be held down; larger draft calls and higher taxes "would vastly increase the nation's discomfort with the war, stiffen Congressional opposition to his tactics and probably injure still further his principal and politically most valuable domestic programs...."

The Generals will get perhaps 35,000 more men from the United States this year. Efforts will be made to decrease the proportion of support troops and thereby increase the number of combat troops in the field in Vietnam.

-- "The Week in Review," N. Y. Times, July 16, 1967

INEFFECTIVENESS OF ESCALATION "In 1960, the Vietcong were credited with 5,000 full-and part-time fighting men by American intelligence. According to the Allied forces' own figures, 200,000 enemy troops have been killed in action in the last seven years, and at least that many more have been lost to disease, desertion and wounds. And yet, last week, the enemy--again by American reckoning--had

295,000 men in the field in the South."

While the foregoing figures are "a kind of rational guess," the picture is clear. "The North Vietnamese and the Vietcong have matched each American escalation, and the United States has matched each enemy escalation. The purpose of the exercise is to raise the level of the war so that the other side cannot match you, but that has not happened."

-- "The Week in Review, N. Y. Times, July 9, 1967

INTERESTINGLY, "in 1964, the North Vietnamese had no divisions in South Vietnam. Now they have seven in and near the South, and the Viet Cong have two."

(Readers will remember that the United States did not begin serious escalation until 1964, and it turned a flood tide in 1965.)

-- Christian Science Monitor, July 11, 1967

REPUBLICANS have been seeking a stance on Vietnam which differs from that of the Democrats. But in a country with no tradition of party discipline and binding party positions, this has been difficult. Some Republicans are obviously "hawks," and some are at least "dovish."

Eight Republican representatives have offered a proposal for "de-escalation" of the war. They have suggested that the bombing be stopped gradually, for two month periods, in parts of North Vietnam. They would start with the most heavily populated Northern regions and continue, every two months, to extend the area not being bombed provided that the other side made reciprocal military gestures. Ultimately, in the South, the U. S. and its "allies" would control populated, readily defended areas, and await negotiations.

The Text of the Controversial Republican White Paper, THE WAR IN VIETNAM, prepared by the Staff of the Senate Republican Policy Committee, has been published by Public Affairs Press, Washington, D. C. (Cost, \$1.00). The study, distributed to 36 Republican Senators on April 26, was revealed to the press two days later. After a flurry of publicity, this important document passed out of public attention.

After a review of the history of American intervention, the Republican White Paper offers some conclusions, among which are the following:

"The West divides good and evil, and thinks that evil can be conquered. Yet in Asia, a man is generally capable of believing that

something is simultaneously good and bad, right and wrong, black and white, in such a manner as to render most difficult real understanding by the western mentality.

"Just as difficult to comprehend are the 'politics' of the Buddhists, or the meaning of their proposals for a peaceful, independent Vietnam; we dismiss them as visionary or unrealistic, yet they may be more acceptable and understandable to the South Vietnamese--after 27 years of warfare--than anything we propose in our Western political terminology.

"In short, we Americans cannot simply go to Asia, wipe the slate clean, and say to them, 'This is how it shall be.' The Vietnamese have their own view of nationalism, quite different from ours, the Vietnamese Communists identify with it, and it renders our involvement immeasurably difficult."

The Report raises an interesting question about the role of an opposition party in a democratic society: "Does the Republican Party serve America best by saying that politics stops at the water's edge? That we must rally behind the President? Does bipartisanship mean that Democratic mistakes are Republican responsibilities?"

It further asks: "What precisely is our national interest in Thailand, Cambodia, Vietnam, and Laos?" And "To what further lengths are we prepared to go in support of this interest?"

The Answer is partly in, insofar as Republicans have either by their vocal support or by their silence accepted more escalation.

VIGIL Sunday, August 6, 1967, 11:30 - 12:30, Columbus Circle. Won't you plan to attend?

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VIETNAM Recently your editor participated in a panel on Vietnam, and directed the following questions to a spokesman from South Vietnam: 1. What would have happened to your government if the United States had not sent troops and equipment? 2. What truth is there to reports that the Army of the Republic of South Vietnam is not fighting effectively? 3. Why is it that a numerically inferior force with less equipment is fighting so effectively?

The answers came as follows: 1. If your government had not sent help, our government would have collapsed. Thank you for your help. 2. There is a lot of truth to those reports. Our army has poor leadership and poor training. It suffers from corruption and it is weary from many years of war. (Your soldiers spend only one year in our country.) 3. The other army has a lot of stamina and resilience. It has good leadership gained from fighting the French, and it has the advantages of guerrilla operations.

Howard Tuckner, an NBC correspondent, came back from Vietnam a few days ago. He appeared on the Today program, October 2. Tuckner reported that the South Vietnamese forces are not fighting effectively. Many U. S. soldiers and officers would rather not have the South Vietnamese around when they are fighting.

Tuckner believes that there will be an amphibious invasion of North Vietnam by land forces, a short distance above the Demilitarized Zone. However, he feels that the invasion force will not turn North, but will turn South to eliminate the artillery which is now creating so much agony for the U.S. Marines just south of the Demilitarized

Zones

1964

1964

FROM The National Council of Churches in the U.S.A. received a
DUTCH letter from the President and the Secretary of the Nether-
CHURCHMEN lands Reformed Church, sent at the direction of the General
Synod which met in June. The heart of the message is in
the following:

"It is this commitment [to Jesus Christ] that makes us, while we know and appreciate all you have done so far in this respect, wish to urge you to continue to do everything in your power... to induce your people and their government to end the calamitous war in Vietnam as soon as possible even if this would ostensibly result in the United States losing influence and prestige. Hostilities in Vietnam have reached such proportions that the United States Government's professed aim, viz. to stop the advance of communist influence in South East Asia and to establish a democratic regime in Vietnam, seems remoter than ever before. This is all the more alarming since the nation in whose behalf the war is supposedly being fought is being slowly but surely brought to ruin by the subtlety of the chemical and conventional weapons used and by the complete social, cultural and spiritual dissolution with which it is threatened. A nation's 'liberation' is sealing its doom. If the United States really has the well-being of the people of Vietnam at heart, we are prompted to ask whether there is any point at all in continuing this war. Besides, the danger of the war spreading to other countries is constantly increasing. Thailand and Laos are already involved and if the air attacks on North Vietnam, which are becoming ever more intensive, are not stopped immediately, the possibility of world-wide escalation is by no means inconceivable. We would therefore earnestly entreat you to do all you possibly can to induce your people and your Government to create a basis for negotiations by discontinuing the air raids on North and South Vietnam and submitting proposals for a cease-fire. We feel amply justified in making a particularly urgent appeal to you, since it is upon the American people as one of the mightiest nations, and perhaps the mightiest in the world, that great responsibility rests in the struggle for freedom, justice, and humanity."

Since the letter arrived, the war has escalated in Vietnam. But so has the opposition to the war in the United States."

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PEACE NEWS LETTER

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Alan B. Peabody, Editor \$1.00 per year November 20, 1967

THE IMPACT OF THE DRAFT ON AMERICAN SOCIETY The Selective Service Law was passed by adults to use the bodies of the young for adult purposes without consulting the young. It has, therefore, created a tremendous gap between generations, as was illustrated when parents in Pueblo, Colorado, had their son committed to a mental institution when he applied for status as a Conscientious Objector to war. No one claims that the draft is good for the young people, a claim that can justifiably be made for compulsory education, another area in which the youth are not consulted about decisions affecting them.

With this opening, Arlo Tatum, Executive Secretary of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, gave a major address at the conclusion of an all day training session for Draft counselors, on Saturday, November 4th. The Session, sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee, and organized by David Easter, Peace Interne, was held at May Memorial Unitarian Church in Syracuse.

Tatum continued by suggesting that the purpose of the draft has never been sold to youth, and the existence of the law gives youth no reason for confidence in adults.

Moreover, the draft is divisive with regard to the underprivileged. 70% of white youths pass the preliminary physical exam, but only 18% of that group of whites is drafted. Only 50% of Negro youth pass the preliminary physical, but 30% of that group is drafted. Those not taking the preinduction physical are almost exclusively white. Only 1.5% of draft board members are Negroes.

One effect of the draft is to siphon off potential leadership in the ghettos at a time when it is increasingly apparent that the problems of the ghettos of America can be solved only by leadership indigenous to the ghetto. Consequently, the drain of indigenous leadership will mean that the anti-poverty programs will fail.

The brunt of the draft falls most heavily on those segments of American society already deprived of their rights. Most deferments are given to the already privileged members of society. For example, Negro ministers are seldom eligible for the 4-D classification because most of them have to work at "secular" occupations, in order to make a living. The law requires that clergymen devote full time to their profession to be eligible for the professional deferment. Tatum pointed out that a lottery would destroy the relevance of the elaborate system of deferments, and that would mean that white youth would have the same chance of being drafted as Negro youth.

The purposes of the draft are really two-fold. The first and obvious function is to get young men into the Armed Forces. A second, and not readily recognized purpose, is to control and direct the activities of young men not being drafted.

Thus the draft directs many youths to pursue scientific and technological studies because these may bring deferments, whereas humanities and social sciences may not help one escape military activity. Tatum predicted that the National Science Council will make recommendations to the Selective Service System in January which will expand the list of technical specialties for which young men may be deferred, and he pointed out that Hitler's Germany which forsook cultural contributions in favor of pursuits directly related to military adventures, has not yet recovered from the damage done. The United States, he declared, will take a long time recovering from the damage already done as a consequence of the draft and its channeling of youth into a limited range of pursuits.

There is often tragedy involved in a young man's handling of his confrontation with or avoidance of the draft. 4-F's may have difficulty in finding employment because of the implication that classification carries that the men have physical, mental, or moral defects adverse to the interests of the employer. Frequently employers will not hire youth liable for the draft, especially when the job requires training. Therefore a 1-A classification becomes a liability to youth.

The men who go to Canada find a "permanent solution to a temporary problem!" Their presence in Canada means a loss to the United States—a brain drain and a loss of morally sensitive individuals whose leadership potential is needed in the U.S. Thus the Selective Service system includes the power to determine the country a man will live in.

Many other personal decisions are based on the draft. Thus the decision to go to college, to get married, to have children, may be based on a calculation that one might avoid being drafted rather than based on what the individual young man would really like to do at that moment in his life.

The existing Selective Service Law and Selective Service Regulations provides the functional basis of a totalitarian society in the United States. Paragraph 1641.7-a of the Selective Service Regulations makes it "the duty of every classified registrant to keep his local board informed of his occupational, marital, family dependency, and military status, of his physical condition, of his home address, and of his receipt of any professional degree in a medical, dental, or allied specialist category." Such notification is to be made in writing within ten days after the change occurs. Tatum pointed out that this provision of the law, applicable to registrants now over 35, has not been enforced. When he testified before the Marshall Commission which made recommendations leading to the revised law of 1967, Tatum suggested that there be an exit from the draft system for American males, as is presently true in other countries with draft laws. Members of the Commission suggested that it means nothing. The question arises, if it means nothing, why is it continued in the law?

The Draft, insisted Tatum, is vicious in the conservative effect it has on American foreign policy. Before 1965 (and the escalation of American effort in Vietnam) it was most difficult to justify the draft. Indeed, a Pentagon study was the possibility of elimination of the draft and substituting a voluntary system. There were 1.8 million men in the system at a time when only 300,000 draftees were needed. The escalation in Vietnam revived interest in the draft. Thus, in a time of crisis, and with many men in the system, there is a temptation to use them.

Tatum suggested that the draft permits 2 or 3 Vietnams at a time and that if the war ends in Vietnam, and the draft continues, there will likely be another Vietnam.

SEMINAR The Episcopal Diocese of Central New York is sponsoring
ON a study Conference on Vietnam, December 1-3, at the Thornfield
VIETNAM Conference Center, Cazenovia. Its purpose is to study in
 depth issues surrounding the war. Speakers include Professor
George McT. Kahin, Director, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell; Congressman
John Dow, 27th District, N.Y.; and Thich Nhat Hanh, Vietnamese Buddhist

monk. Attendants will play a war game on Saturday afternoon, and time will be spent in small group discussions of the moral and ethical implications of the war in Vietnam, and, under the leadership of Professor Charles Willie, of Syracuse University, attention will be given to what we can do about it."

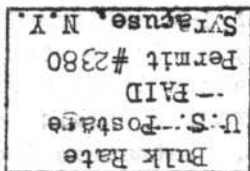
Registration, room, and board cost \$18 from Friday p.m. to Sunday noon, and must be made at the Thornfield Conference Center, Box 38, Cazenovia, N.Y. 13035.

FROM DISSENT TO RESISTANCE

The rash of efforts to keep military recruiters and recruiters for Dow Chemical (manufactures of Napalm) from college campuses coupled with the Washington Mobilization of October 21st, has brought provoked criticism of the peace movement in newspaper editorials, columns, and from the President. The mood of one segment of the peace movement is revealed in the letter of a student from the University of Michigan published in the New York Times, October 26, 1967.

"this demonstration initiated a mass movement whose aims is not ...to make a persuasive appeal to 'the nation's mind and conscience,' but rather to state forthrightly to the warmakers themselves that we not only oppose their war by words of dissent, but will oppose their war by actions of restance to their commands that we become accomplices in this obscene war.

"Therefore it is not correct to measure the effectiveness of this demonstration by the same terms used to judge the effectiveness of protest marches or moral witness. We are no longer trying to tell the people of this country that this war is wrong...We are telling the Administration that we will defy its laws and policies when to obey those laws would make us criminals."



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