

PEACE NEWSLETTER

Published for and by the Syracuse Peace Council
Alan B. Peabody, Editor \$1.00 per year

SPC 623
January 23, 1968

You are invited to the
32nd Annual Birthday Party of
Syracuse Peace Council
6:15, Tuesday, January 30, 1968
First Presbyterian Parish Hall
Speaker: Ross Flanagan
Dinner \$2:00



THIRD FORCE Thich Nhat Hanh, Buddhist Monk, Poet, and exiled leader of a Third Force in South Vietnam, expressed the anguish of his people and appealed to the consciences of the American people to bring to an end the sufferings and destruction in that country.

Thich Nhat Hanh sees three struggles going on simultaneously in South Vietnam. The first is a struggle between Communism and anti-Communism. This is not the most important aspect of the war. It involves only a minority of the people. The masses of the people know nothing of ideologies. They are interested in staying alive, being at peace, and finding independence. Indeed, they have striven for independence from the French and Japanese, and now from the Americans.

There is a second struggle, that for national independence. The National Liberation Front is made up mainly of non-Communist people. To be sure, there are Communist elements, especially in the leadership. However, the NLF claims to fight for national independence and not for Communism. The Anti-Communist elements in South Vietnam also claim to be seeking national independence but have largely failed. It is the NLF which has been able to virtually monopolize nationalism.

There is a third struggle, the international contest between the great powers. The great powers especially the U.S.A. and China, are "fighting out their fears of each other" in Vietnam. Both believe they are helping the Vietnamese people. In reality, the Vietnamese people

have become the victims of that struggle.

The U.S.A. has been surrounding China with military bases, creating a certain kind of mental attitude in China. The U.S. fear is based more on imagination than reality. It is argued that if the U.S. doesn't fight in Vietnam, it will have to fight later in California. Thus the sufferings of the Vietnamese people are largely the result of the fears the great powers have of each other. Thich Nhat Hanh referred to the long experience Vietnam has had as a neighbor of China, and feels that the Vietnamese better understand China than do the Americans. He suggested that a long peace for the world means getting rid of fear. Caricatures of China as a monster are extremely dangerous. What China will become in the future depends on the way the United States deals with China. China may become a monster—because the United States treats it as a monster.

The National Liberation Front has grown because of U.S. policy. Washington has to be firm and to control everything. This violates the right of the Vietnamese to make decisions for themselves. Moreover, U.S. soldiers know little of Vietnamese culture, and they can not distinguish guerrillas from peasants. All this helps the NLF appear to fight for National Self-determination.

Because of the suppression of political opposition by the Saigon regime, only the religious leaders are left to provide a viable alternative to both the Saigon regime and National Liberation Front. Buddhist and Roman Catholic leaders in the bombed rural villages, for example, must provide action to remove the sufferings of their people. The priests—Buddhist and Roman Catholic alike—know that their followers are inclined to join the NLF. But the religious leaders do not want their people to align themselves with a movement in which there are Communists. On the other hand, the religious leaders cannot urge their followers to support Saigon and Washington. They want to stop foreign intervention and keep the country non-Communist.

Between the two extremes there must be a Third Way. Presently the competition appears to be between the NLF and Saigon regime. But the objective should be the formation of a coalition government representing the NLF, the adherents of the Saigon regime, and the elements led by the religious leaders. Such a coalition government would ask the U.S. to stop the bombing and military operations without demanding its immediate withdrawal. Ending the military operations would produce in the Vietnamese population a sense of relief.

Such a government will be supported by the peasants and non-Communist elements in the National Liberation Front, and by others. Presently, for

example, the South Vietnamese Army doesn't fight because it has no good cause to fight for. "It will become a factor for peace if it has a government to serve. The NLF will be forced to cooperate, for if it keeps on fighting it will lose popular support, and it will prove that it fights for something other than the self-determination of South Vietnam.

In a moving statement, Thich Nhat Hanh said both Communism and Anti-Communism are producing the suffering of the Vietnamese people. Yet both want to save us. Communism wants to save us from Imperialism, and Anti-Communism wants to save us from Communism. "We need to be saved from salvation."

Both sides can save face. "We have suffered so much we know peace can not be established by the victory of either side." The Front can not be crushed. The Socialist bloc of nations can't let the NLF lose. But the NLF can't push the United States out, and the U.S. can't afford a defeat. One possibility is that Vietnam might be wiped out.

What Washington will do depends on the American people. The policy of Washington is a consequence of the way of thinking prevailing in the United States, one that says Communism is the greatest evil in the world.

At the practical level, Washington wants to talk to Hanoi only, assuming that if Hanoi leaves the NLF alone, the U.S. and Saigon forces can liquidate the front. But Hanoi can not do that, for its prestige will fall. The NLF must be recognized, but the Vietnamese must be allowed to arrange things themselves. The U.S. must abandon the idea of maintaining military bases in the South after the war is over.

Those who wish a fuller treatment of Thich Nhat Hanh's thoughts on the tragedy of his country will want to consult his book "Vietnam, Lotus in a Sea of Fire."

ANOTHER
POSSIBILITY "It is not generally known...but General Dayan has made
 an interesting offer to President Johnson. The Israeli
 army, now unemployed, will fight the Vietnam war for us
at cost plus ten percent. President Johnson's response is unknown...
Secretary McNamara was tempted, and Secretary Rusk was not...but it
apparently was negative since we are still plugging away there on our
own. We may not be an important military power like Israel, but we have
our pride. And let's not lose perspective. The Israelis didn't do it all
by themselves: since 1948, the American government has sent Israel
\$1,600,000,000 in foreign aid and the American Jewish community has
added another \$2,000,000,000. All this in only twenty years. You can

do a lot with three and a half billion dollars. Look at what we're getting for it in Vietnam every month."

Dwight MacDonald, "Politics"
Inquire, September, 1967

DID YOU
SEE THE
IMPLICATIONS?

One of our readers saw, what we did not see, in, of all places, Readers Digest, for December 1967, pp. 75 & 77.

"Nothing in the past experience or imagination of these university-graduated nurses (average age:28) can pre-condition them against the brutal mutilations of the Vietnam war. "The injuries they handle are unprecedented," says Major General Byron Ludwig Steger, the Army's Chief Surgeon in the Pacific, "because this is a war fought largely with small arms--booby traps, punji sticks, claymore mines, high velocity bullets. Nearly all inflict multiple wounds of the most viciously mutilating kind."

Senior Flight Nurse Major Lola Ball said, " I keep remembering a claymore casualty we flew home. He was just a kid really, and there was nothing much left of him--no arms, no legs, no eyes, just that big heart beating. Each time I checked to see how he was doing he whispered, "Just fine, ma'am, thank you kindly." Sometimes it hurts so much inside you just crawl back to quarters and have a quiet little cry."

A GLOBAL CONFLICT? "Even as American troops attempt to pacify hamlets in Vietnam, special Army teams are now touring scores of our cities, making contingency plans for their pacification next summer."

Richard Nixon, address to the National Association of Manufacturers, New York, December 18, 1967

Office News Help! Does anyone have or know of an adding machine sitting around and not in use? The Syracuse Peace Council office could sure use one!

Also-----Do you know we have an eager volunteer who comes in for a few hours every afternoon and gives of her time and energy? Her name is Debbie Young, a student at Nottingham High School. Abig thank you from all of us to Debbie!

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P. 4

PEACE NEWS LETTER

MAR 1 1968

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

\$1.00 per year

SFC 624

February 1968

THE ASIAN DEBACLE For many months we Americans have been informed by Ambassadors, Generals, Cabinet Secretaries and the President that progress was being made in Vietnam. Wrote former Ambassador Lodge: "Today, in Vietnam, it seems clear that the large enemy units are so split up and off-balance that they cannot divide the country or occupy any point against our will . . . Indeed, our military performance has been magnificent." "Military success is giving Vietnam a chance to evolve toward stability and constitutional government . . ." ". . . economic and social programs have advanced . . ." "The picture is thus one of solid achievements behind us . . ." ("We're Winning in Vietnam," Saturday Evening Post, July 29, 1967)

Events in the last week of January and early February belie the official optimism. The New York Times put it succinctly ("The Week in Review," Feb. 4, 1968):

"After five days of savage attacks by the Vietcong the length and breadth of Vietnam, only one thing seems certain. That is, that the facts of life about the war have finally been made unmistakably clear to everyone in the United States from President Johnson on down.

"Swept away in last week's hurricane of fire were the rising piles of glowing reports of progress in pacification, retraining of the South Vietnamese army, and destruction of the enemy's political and military forces."

Despite the solid achievements psychologically and militarily of a numerically smaller force of men with less available fire power (i.e. weapons and munitions), spokesmen for the American government continue to speak of the results as a defeat for the enemy, it being alleged that he did not achieve his objective. This reminds one of the two Australian newspaper men who, on their return hom from Vietnam, talked about the U.S. public information officers who turned battlefield defeats into victories at the mimeograph machine.

The fighting continues in many of the cities of South Vietnam as this is being written. The tremendous destruction of property and life staggers the imagination. The consequences of such destruction on the surviving civilian populations cannot be immediately assessed. Will the Vietcong be blamed for the immense suffering created by this new form of warfare? Or will the Saigon regime? Or the United States?

One headline in the Utica Daily Press (Feb. 8) was ominous: "Necessary to Destroy Town to Save It From V.C." U.S. military commanders decided "that regardless of civilian casualties" they had to destroy Ben Tre, a city of 35,000, in order to rout the Viet Cong. Lt. Col. James Dare said, "We will never know for sure the number of civilians who died." 45% of the city was destroyed, and the Lt. Col. said, "Many families are buried permanently under the rubble." With friends like these, who needs enemies?

Over a long period of time, it seems apparent that the United States -- if not seeking a military victory in Vietnam -- was at least trying to improve its military position so that it might negotiate from a position of strength. And yet, as many observers have suggested (including Harry Brandon in Saturday Review), whatever battlefield successes were obtained did not conceal the fact that the Saigon government was politically weak as compared with its adversaries, the Viet Cong. It has been the latter who have had the widest base of popular support in that unhappy land. Hence Saigon has not wanted to negotiate, even if the U.S. did.

Now recent events suggest that the United States and its Saigon allies are in a much weaker position relative to the adversaries than it was even a few weeks ago. Does this mean that the war will be prolonged with new escalation and more widespread terror and destruction for the people of Vietnam, north and south? Or does it mean that the United States will make a realistic estimate of its position and proceed to extricate itself from an untenable position?

The latter course might demand that some officials acknowledge mistakes. Thus, as Hans Morgenthau suggested some years ago, the problem of "face" which confronts the United States may not be a diminishing respect for the nation's power in the eyes of the world. It may be that some U.S. officials fear a loss of "face" with the American people, and fear the consequences of such admission on their chances of retaining public office.

24
THE FUEBLO The seizure of the U.S. electronic intelligence vessel by the North Koreans leaves many questions in the minds of people familiar with previous incursions into the airspace or coastal waters of other nations. Of one thing we can be grateful, that the United States chose to try to negotiate the release of the crew and, eventually, of the vessel.

We cannot be certain that the decision to negotiate rather than to try to recapture the vessel was based upon sound instincts of governmental officials, or upon a realistic assessment of the capabilities of the United States. Already one war was going badly. Could the United States afford to open up another front in Asia?

WHAT IT COSTS Prof. Channing B. Richardson, Prof. of International Affairs at Hamilton College has written of the costs and prospects of the Vietnam conflict in The Courier, a weekly paper published in Clinton, New York (Feb. 8). He calls Vietnam a "mad adventure."

"Mad is a strong word -- but what other word realistically describes an involvement which daily threatens us with global war, alienates us from every single one of our major allies, blocks possibilities of livable adjustments with Russia, maddens hundreds of millions of people in the Third World whom we need on our side, does the work of China for her at no cost to her, drives Vietnamese nationalism firmly into the arms of communism, stops our feeble-enough efforts to solve problems at home, and bids fair to brutalize our own society out of all recognition?"

Prof. Richardson explored several possible alternatives open to the United States, and concluded that it is quite probable that Ho Chi Minh "speaks for more Vietnamese than any other person or group."

"A united, highly nationalistic and communist Viet Nam -- probably pursuing a course of neutralism and independence -- is, again, a better risk than the ones we are now taking. The way to stop a 'war of national liberation' is not to destroy a country, not to visit violence on an entire nation, but rather to ally oneself to the hopes and needs of the people of that country. In Viet Nam we have allowed ourselves to appear to be against their nationalist revolution, their anti-colonial revolt, their demands for freedom. We have thus given communism its best weapon: nationalism. We have welded the two together -- a major political error. You do not stop ideas by napalm -- indeed, you sometimes defeat just those ideas and attitudes you hope to win.

LENA GRAY HONGRED The Syracuse Peace Council remembered its devoted servant of 25 years, Miss Lena Gray, on her retirement as office secretary. Lena will be missed by those accustomed to seeing her in the Peace Council office, but she will not be forgotten by those to whom she became synonymous with the Peace Council. Here is a letter which she sent:

"I wish to express my thanks and appreciation to the Syracuse Peace Council for its splendid gift to me on the occasion of its thirty-second Birthday party at First Presbyterian Parish House, last Tuesday evening, January 30, 1968.

"The AM-FM Panasonic radio which you presented to me at that time is lovely, and I am sure that I shall derive a great deal of pleasure from it. Its tone is beautiful, and one is afforded the opportunity of reaching many stations. I have always enjoyed music, and your present was a well-chosen one.

"I was surprised and delighted with the handsome symbidium orchid corsage for which I thank the Peace Council; also, many thanks for my dinner ticket.

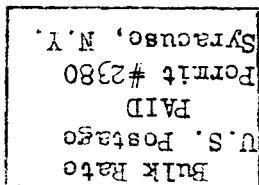
"May the Syracuse Peace Council continue to find its niche, and may its influence be wide-spread."

(signed)
Lena Gray

ANNUAL INSTITUTE Reserve the dates of April 5th and 6th for our 28th annual Institute of International Affairs. Our luncheon speaker will be Congressman John Dow.

PEACE STIPENDS The Peace Council has a modest sum of money in the Leslie West and Hans Handov Funds which is available for the study of peace. Further information may be obtained from the SPC office.

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3049 East Genesee Street
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PEACE NEWS LETTER

Published for and by the Syracuse Peace Council
Alan P. Riebody, Editor

\$1.00 per year

SPC 625

March 1968

CIVIL DISORDERS The complete text of the report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders is not yet available (as this is written on March 4). However, the official summary contains some insights of particular interest to peace makers.

The basic cause for the disorders is the persistent racism of American society. "Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white -- separate and unequal. . . . What white Americans have never fully understood -- but what the Negro can never forget -- is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions create it, white institutions maintain it and white society condones it."

In profiles of disorder in Newark and Detroit, it is apparent that much of the violence developed as a consequence of fear. National Guardsmen and Police were afraid. Sometimes they fired at "snipers" when in reality the shots heard were those of other guardsmen or police on neighboring streets, but out of sight.

The Police play a crucial role in our cities. "'Prior' incidents, which increased tensions and ultimately led to violence, were police action in almost half the cases; police actions were 'final' incidents before the outbreak of violence in 12 of the 24 surveyed disorders."

"The police are not merely a 'spark' factor. To some Negroes police have come to symbolize white power, white racism, and white repression. And the fact is that many police do reflect and express these white attitudes. The atmosphere of hostility and cynicism is reinforced by a widespread belief among Negroes in the existence of police brutality and in a 'double standard' of justice and protection -- one for Negroes and one for whites."

"The abrasive relationship between the police and the ghetto community has been a major -- and explosive -- source of grievance, tension and disorder. The blame must be shared by the total society."

Yet in the face of "an accumulation of unresolved grievances and by widespread dissatisfaction among Negroes," in many places "the principal official response has been to train and equip the police with more sophisticated weapons."

COMMUNITY
PEACE-KEEPING

Speaker at the 32nd Annual Birthday Party of the SPC
(Jan. 30) was Ross Flanagan, secretary of the Quaker
Project on Community Conflict.

"Peace-keeping is a job for the community and not just the police. We must be involved or otherwise we will have a police state." Flanagan continued, "I believe the police are one of the most critical institutions in American society today as to what happens to the country. I believe our police are unprepared to cope with social conflict and that an open attempt is being made by the right wing to seduce this group to their reactionary methods.

"If we don't open some important, cooperative efforts in the field of community peace-keeping, we'll find we have a domestic army full of recruits fresh back from the Vietnam War . . . Unless we can work with these men, who cannot handle social violence, we will have a militarized domestic army committed to keeping down social change."

Flanagan suggested that peace-makers can "help the rest of the community accommodate to the very real tensions and conflicts inevitably occurring in our time" by "debrutalizing the power institutions" and by insuring that "when conflict occurs it takes place in a climate where people can still talk and recognize each other's humanity."

The speaker urged his listeners to "organize into peace squads, undergo discipline," and thus, in a conflict situation, be able to contribute to the minimizing of human suffering.

-- Ramona B. Bowden
Syracuse Post Standard, 1/31/68

ALARMING PORTENTS Informed observers tell us that the Army has been sending people around in plain clothes to the major cities. Among other things, these representatives have been seeking places to store arms, hold prisoners, station tanks and machine guns, and so on. Menus have been planned, maps made of subway, sewer, water, and electrical systems, routes chosen into urban slums, assembly points located for troops, and plans made for housing the troops. (N.Y. Times, 2/16/68)

Esquire (March 1968) carries a major article by Garry Wills entitled "The Second Civil War." It indicates the elaborate preparations being made by numerous police agencies, the National Guard, and the Army to cope with urban unrest. The new weapons and training all suggest that a basic response to unrest is, as the National Advisory Commission suggested, in terms of repression rather than in terms of eliminating the basic causes of the unrest.

Writes Wills: "The danger is that white society cannot bear with patience the attritive ordeal (of confrontations between the urban minorities and white majorities) -- that private citizens will take arms; or that they will demand, of elected officials or of the police, that the confrontations be brought to an end. This possibility is a grim one. Just how grim, Richard Rovere told us last autumn: 'I can imagine the coming to power of an American deGaulle, or even of someone a lot more authoritarian than deGaulle. Much of the troublemaking in the months and years ahead will be the work of Negroes, and I can even imagine the imposition of a kind of American apartheid -- at least in the North, where Negroes are easily sealed off. If there should be the will to do it, it could be done quite "legally" and "constitutionally." There are enough smart lawyers around to figure out how.'

DOMESTIC Col. Robert Rigg, writing in Army Magazine (Jan. 1968),
GUERRILLA sees possibilities of "organized urban insurrection"
WARFARE which would make sections of major American cities
"scenes of destruction approaching those of Stalingrad in World War II." To be sure, "military firepower would be a poor solution," but "political efforts might prove not much better." In order to keep our cities from becoming battlegrounds, we need to expand police and military intelligence and "traditional FBI methods."

"Furthermore, there will also be needed among the well established political-tactical-military informants those who can help guide troops and police through the maze of buildings, stair-wells, streets, alleyways, tunnels, and sewers that may be the key to tactical success . . .

"Such cement-and-brick 'jungles' can offer better security to snipers and city guerrillas than the Viet Cong enjoy in their jungles, elephant grass and marshes. This suggests protracted warfare of a very new kind of city guerrilla forces become well organized by dissident and determined leaders . . . "

Inasmuch as riots are a means by which people relieve their frustrations, "violence in the future may even be by whites protesting against poverty and their environment . . . " People in congested city slums "could fight guerrilla fashion for their own local aims. They might not be fighting the federal government, but merely the city or the state. As in Vietnam today, the fighters by night could be workers by day

"From a military standpoint, successful warfare against urban based guerrillas in American cities could be as difficult and prolonged as the fighting in Vietnam if the insurrection is well organized."

VIETNAM President Johnson has suggested that Vietnam veterans could
AND very well be a source of new manpower for our city police
AMERICA forces. But, we recall, a cartoon in Saturday Review --
many weeks ago -- which showed two Black GI's in Vietnam,
one said to the other, "These techniques will sure help us when we
get back home!"

Reviewing In the Name of America (the newly published study of
American violations of international law), Don Luce concludes as
follows:

"In the Name of America makes many things clear. We are
committing atrocities in Vietnam, and these are being reported daily
in a wide selection of our news media. We are destroying the very
people whom we are in Southeast Asia to 'save.' The war does have
a dehumanizing effect on our own men. What was morally unacceptable
only a few months ago is commonplace now; the morally unthinkable
today will perhaps become the commonplace tomorrow"

The book "brings up questions of great legal and moral consequence
both at home and abroad. Ethics cannot be determined by geography,
and breaking domestic law in Milwaukee can only be consistently
condemned if breaking international law in Ben Suc is similarly
condemned. . . ."

ON THE
PROBLEM
OF FACE

The Noble Art of Losing Face
May one day save the human race
And turn into eternal merit
What weaker minds would call disgrace.
-- Heinrich Heine

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Published for and by the Syracuse Peace Council
Alan B. Peabody, Editor \$1.00 per year

SPC 626
April 1968

In Memoriam

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Jan. 15, 1929 - April 4, 1968

"I have a dream . . ."



On April 4, 1967, Dr. King spoke at Riverside Church, New York City, for Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam. In that address he said:

A time comes when silence is betrayal . . . The calling to speak is often a vocation of agony, but we must speak.

Told by many that peace and civil rights should not be mixed, Dr. King said those who say this

have not really known me, my commitments, or my calling. Indeed, they do not know the world in which they live.

As though anticipating the process of negotiation in which the United States may soon be engaged, he counselled:

Here is the true meaning and value of compassion and non-violence when it helps us to see the enemy's point of view, to hear his questions, to know his assessment of ourselves.

He saw that the war was no accidental delinquency:

The war in Vietnam is but a symptom of a far deeper malady within the American spirit . . ."

Dr. King also accused the United States of being

The Greatest Purveyor of Violence in the World Today.

Dr. King's death came one year later, almost to the hour. The Apostle of Nonviolence was himself the victim of violence.

* * * * *

When Dr. King said that the United States was the greatest purveyor of violence in the world, he was severely criticized. Yet the empirical evidence supported his words.

His death in the week before Holy Week had a strange and disquieting symbolism. It reminded us that Dr. King was a committed follower of Jesus Christ. Memphis was his Jerusalem; an assassin's bullet was his cross.

April 4, 1968 was a tragic day for America. The nation lost a true friend. Blinded by racism, many Americans have been unable to recognize what a real friend he was.

* * * * *

VIIENAM: This was the theme of the 28th Annual Institute of
CRISIS IN International Relations under the sponsorship of the
CONSCIENCE Syracuse Peace Council, April 5-6, 1968.

Stanley Peck, Associate Professor of Sociology at Case Western Reserve University, and peace activist in Ohio, gave the opening address under the shadow of the tragedy of Dr. King's untimely death.

Peck warned that President Johnson's renunciation of further Presidential aspirations does not mean that he has suddenly become a leader of the anti-war movement. When one reads his speech, one discovers that the rationale for American involvement in Vietnam is the same. We are involved to protect the vital national security of the United States in response to an international Communist conspiracy. The speech gives no indication that the United States intends to give up its "client states" in Asia, nor its military presence there, nor its efforts to contain China. The address signalled a tactical response to a profound military defeat and to rising domestic opposition to the war.

Peck insisted that the United States has been following a policy of "global militarism" in which it tries to function as the world's policeman. Thus U.S. involvement in Vietnam is not an error. The speech marked no break with that basic policy, and signalled an effort to achieve through negotiation what cannot be achieved on the battlefield. Such a "victory" is beyond reach. Indeed, all that there is to negotiate is terms for leaving Vietnam.

activists must resist the temptation to retreat into their own privacy at a time when it appears that mechanics for ending the war have been set in motion.

Mitchell Goodman, one of the five indicted in Boston for support of Draft Resistance (along with Dr. Spock, Rev. Coffin, Michael Ferber and Marcus Raskin), pointed out that the legal jargon of their indictment failed to acknowledge the very large size of the conspiracy. More than 3,000 persons had signed "A Call to Resist Illegitimate Authority," and other thousands have signed statements of support for the five. The Press, however, has sought to minimize the size and nature of the groups encouraging Resistance.

Goodman went on to discuss the quality of American government, suggesting that mediocre and deteriorated human beings, "debased human beings," are attempting to rule us, and this is a part of the contemporary American Crisis.

Congressman John Dow of Rockland County was the third member of the Institute faculty, and reaffirmed his own opposition to the war, stressing that there is growing antipathy to the war among Congressmen and Senators, and holding out hope for the political system as a means of inducing change.

THE
GOVERNMENT
HAS TOPPLED

Dr. Arthur Waskow, member of the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, addressing a conference co-sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee and Princeton University in early April said:

"For the first time in our history a Government has toppled."

It has toppled because of the military defeat in Vietnam, the gold crisis, and internal strains that were "hothouses for simmering change."

"Vietnam has proved that a real social revolution, as in Vietnam, can push one of the great world empires in world history to the edge of crisis. The war also has heated all those social strains and disaffected elements that in 1965 were only simmering.

"There are three major sources of the strains. Some elements of the American establishment, which owns the first permanent war machine in United States history and the most overwhelming in human history, are discovering that this war machine is useless -- cannot win political victories." Parts of the establishment "would like to move toward a nonmilitary way of managing the empire."

"Secondly, some elements of the 'new class' of the educated, which has been spawned by the multiversities, the bureaucracies and the national government, have turned against these sponsors.

"Third, the 'underclass,' especially its black elements, but also the Spanish speakers and the Appalachians, has begun to turn its desperation from a burden into a weapon."

STORM In recent months a number of occurrences indicate that
WARNINGS Latin America will be the coming center of great unrest.
 In Guatemala, the involvement of some Roman Catholic
missionary priests and sisters with the "underclass" resulted in their
being expelled from the country.

More recently it has become apparent that the Roman Catholic Church is in trouble in Argentina, and the trouble within the Church is related to the social and economic conditions in the country. One priest insists:

"The Roman Catholic Church in Argentina has about 15 years left.

"If, in that time, the church and the nation have not both undergone a deeply rooted social revolution, Argentina will become Marxist." (N. Y. Times, 4/21/68)

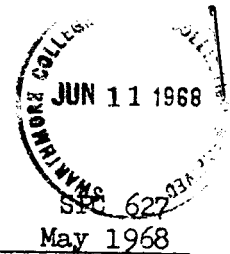
Will there be more Vietnams closer to home?

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NEW DEPARTURES
in UNITED STATES
FOREIGN POLICY

was the theme of the Hon. John G. Dow, Member
of Congress for the 27th New York District, at
the S.P.C. Institute of International Relations.

Congressman Dow advocates the development of a new foreign policy for the United States, one that takes "into consideration the aspirations of the two billion people who live in the undeveloped portion of the world." In Asia, Africa, and South America there "is the revolution of rising expectations" which means "that in the next fifty or one hundred years the world in those areas is going to be in tumult. It's going to be a period and era of rebellion and difficulty because of the efforts of these people to help themselves."

People in these areas "just want something a mite better for their children than what they have known today. . . .they have a notion that the world is better and there are possibilities for them beyond the limits of the villages and places where they live."

The U.S. has failed "to perceive this general fact about the world" and consequently has gotten into difficulties in Vietnam. Vietnam has desired to be free from colonial domination as have other countries in Asia. But it did not happen "and those who represented the nationalism of the Vietnamese were betrayed. . . . in a series of events in which the United States had a hand."

Congressman Dow briefly reviewed the tragic series of events by which Vietnamese nationalism was betrayed by the Western Powers, and noted that the Geneva Accords, designed to solve the problem of Vietnam, were denied by the SEATO treaty under which the U.S. came to "regard South Vietnam as a special area" for our protection and possible intervention.

The American involvement accelerated after 1960 although the Geneva Accords permit us to have only 685 military people in South Vietnam. "At the same time that we were increasing these troops -- which was in contravention of the Geneva Accord which we had agreed to uphold -- at the same time we were accusing the North

Vietnamese of aggression -- aggression from the North. . . . There were some hundreds of North Vietnamese coming down into South Vietnam from North Vietnam. But the accepted definition of aggression in the United Nations and . . . the SEATO treaty is armed attack. . . . The appearance of the infiltrators with small arms. . . was really not any more aggression than the addition of American troops and . . . advisors. . . to the original 685 provided under the Geneva Accord." Those accused of aggression were 50% South Vietnamese, at least. "They were people who had been born in the South and had been stranded in North Vietnam after the French departure and they came back to South Vietnam into their own country. . . ."

Today Vietnam is a land "that requires a political solution, . . . an economic solution, . . . a social solution, . . . a moral solution, and all that we have offered is a military solution and that has failed. . . ." There has been little land reform and "corruption has not been cured in South Vietnam." Meanwhile extensive "devastation" has occurred with some two or three million of the sixteen million South Vietnamese being refugees in their own country. "And the pacification program has failed. . . ."

The worst evil of all is that the South Vietnamese do not have "a government of their own choice" but "live under a puppet government" and "the great aspiration for national self-realization . . . has been denied. . . . They don't have the opportunity to exert or express or believe in their own nationalism. And that is still . . . one reason why the Vietcong fight so much harder than the . . . South Vietnamese Army."

What, asked Congressman Dow, can we learn from the dismal experience of Vietnam? "If only we can learn a lesson from this situation it will save us from countless repetitions of the same occurrences in other countries as they take place again and again in the next few years as other rebellions develop in Africa and in South America and in Asia."

Basic to our difficulty "has been the almost paranoic hatred that exists in this country against communism. . . . This terrible hatred and fear. . . has been instrumental in leading us to this situation we are in in Vietnam. This hatred and fear is so severe and fierce in some of our people that it seems to justify anything we do in Vietnam. . . that what we do there is not subject to the normal measures of right and wrong" because against communism anything goes.

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But Communism is not "a sure fire success." Many African states) have freed themselves without becoming Communist. "Moreover, the Communist world is divided. . . .And not all revolutionaries are Communists. . . .Not all the revolutions are communist and it may be. . . .that where the revolutions are more seriously opposed the people may turn to communism as a refuge." Unfortunately Americans assume that "every rebellion and every revolt and every effort of people on these three continents to do something to benefit themselves is colored with communism and we're obliged to stamp out communism. Then we're putting ourselves in the position of stamping out every rebellion, every revolution that is going to occur in the next century." This, suggested Congressman Dow, is impossible.

The few long range proposals for American foreign policy currently under discussion seem not to deal effectively with the roots of our problems. For example, the Navy has proposed a Fast Deployment Logistics vessels program which would facilitate supplying Marines airlifted to any part of the world to deal with outbreaks.

Moreover, the Gulf of Tonkin episode suggested that there was an "effort to generate trouble." If the Defense Department is capable of generating incidents, and has FDL vessels loaded with supplies, American intervention will be facilitated.

Positively, Congressman Dow offered three basic requisites for a new foreign policy. One, "we must find ways in all. . . .countries to by-pass the overlay of profiteers, absentee landlords and military autocrats who obviously manage the power. . . ." Presently the State Department maintains we must support "the authorized government," that is, "the people in power." A Bolivian scholar at Columbia pointed out to Congressman Dow that in supporting existing regimes we are intervening in other countries, but "'mostly on the wrong side'" and "'there's no reason why you shouldn't use that same ability and that same capacity to intervene on the side of the masses of people who need your help.'"

Second, Congressman Dow recommends that more American aid be channeled to other countries through international agencies. It is quite likely that much of our present aid, channeled directly to particular countries, is used to influence beneficiary countries to follow "a course that we would like them to." South Koreans and Filipinos are fighting in South Vietnam in all probability because of the aid which their countries get from the United States.

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Third, the United States should avoid getting entangled "in local situations overseas." Vietnam makes clear that such entanglements place the United States at the mercy of small powers. "We have placed our destiny in a large measure at the mercy of decisions by a small leader of a small country, namely Ho Chi Minh. Apparently the whole fabric of American society must be shaken to bits in order to establish that we have held our own with Ho Chi Minh. This is an example of the folly of involvement in situations of which the complexity is beyond our ability."

NEGOTIATIONS: In a speech delivered on the floor of the House on April 30th, Congressman Dow expressed his hopes for "American disengagement" and his feelings that the negotiations should not be vested with euphoria. Two painful issues exist. One has to do with the participation of the Vietcong at the conference table. A second has to do with "the footing upon which the Saigon government participates."

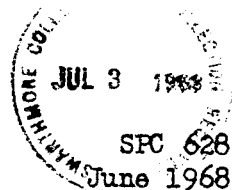
Congressman Dow noted that in April, General Hershey indicated "that the draft will rise in this present 1968 fiscal year from a projected 285,000 to 346,900. A comparable increase is projected for 1969. This poses the question: Does our American Government really put faith in the negotiations themselves?"

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PEACE NEWS LETTER



Published for and by the Syracuse Peace Council
Alan B. Peabody, Editor \$1.00 per year

INTERNATIONAL LAW AND THE USE OF FORCE Prof. Channing Richardson, Bristol Professor of International Relations at Hamilton College, addressed the Annual Meeting of SPC on June 4 at University Methodist Church, Syracuse. Dr. Richardson contended that a "major task of our time is to bring the conduct of governments under law."

History demonstrates that the centralization of power in emerging nations is dangerous, and that it was necessary to bring governments under law--to curb the power of governments to use force and violence in internal affairs. Just as internal restraints have been needed to curb governments in their exercise of power, so there is need now for international restraints.

There will always be disputes. The question is, how will they be handled? They cannot be wished away. Our objective must be to get governments to submit their conflicts to law.

International Law today, according to Phillip Jessup, are those practices, limitations, and rules, to which governments have found it expedient to submit. Its sources are treaties (self-limitations on sovereignty voluntarily accepted by the governments concerned), the customs of "civilized nations turned into usage and law," judicial decisions of existing international tribunals, and the writings of great "publicists" (men whose writings are statements of what the law probably is).

International law has several weaknesses. First, it is not a universal system. Developing nations are apprehensive about it because it is a reflection of the power of the white, western European sections of the world. They ask, what relevance does this have for "us"? Moreover, Communist nations have, in recent years, tended to stress absolute sovereignty while Western nations have moved in the direction of accepting limitations on their activity.

Second, "there is no enforcement." Governments limit themselves on minor issues. But when the chips are down, international law is "not enforceable against major governments." Great powers are no better or worse in this regard than little powers. All governments guard their sovereignty and decide for themselves on use of violence.

Third, the use of force is not prohibited and banned. It is legal in self-defense "as defined by the government involved." Indeed, "force has become. . .the ultimate act of sovereignty" for all powers.

Members of the Peace movement can find allies in unexpected places. Not the least has been the movement to soften and limit the use of force which has been underway from the Middle Ages or earlier when the Church sought to limit the days of the week in which fighting was permissible and to define non-combatants who ought to be protected. More recently have been the Red Cross Treaties (Geneva Conventions) pertaining to non-combatants, prisoners of war, open cities, hostages, etc. The Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 sought to control and limit the use of certain types of weapons. Currently Arms Control has proven "surprisingly successful," e.g. the Demilitarization of Antarctica, the Test Ban Treaty, the Controls on the Uses of Outer Space, and the Treaty on the non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

Our task as members of the peace movement is "to get our government to expand the categories of disputes and conflicts that it will submit to adjudication or arbitration. There are features of Berlin, Vietnam, and the Dominican Republic situations which could be adjudicated by international tribunals. Many significant disputes have been settled by adjudication, including a festering border dispute between the U.S. and Mexico over land at El Paso, Texas. The machinery and the experience are in existence, a body of law exists. Our job is to pressure our government to use the machinery and the law that exist.

Prof. Richardson pointed out that the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, taking a "hard-nosed" position, has been an ally of the peace movement. He also pointed out that the Permanent Court of Arbitration at the Hague was last used by the United States in the mid-1920's, and that the World Court is "conspicuously underused."

Dr. Richardson closed on a somewhat optimistic note. "The record is not all bad. Increasingly governments are involved in technical and functional cooperation," through a wide variety of international agencies such as the International Monetary Fund and the Universal Postal Union. Such cooperation involves "binding, legal obligations" into which governments enter because it is in their interests to do so. Reciprocity becomes the basis for enforcement of these arrangements.

The law grows, "not because of idealism but from necessity." Law is predictable and "international law is now a necessity. The true national interest of the U.S. is not in conflict with the interest of the international community."

ANOTHER The nation is again shocked and dismayed by the violent)
ASSASSINATION death of a second Kennedy in less than five years, and)
 the second major assassination in American society in a
two month period. There is an intrinsic and melancholy dimension to the
death of Robert F. Kennedy. There is the indescribable suffering of
his family, a family which has endured much tragedy.

But there is a social dimension to this tragedy which must not be
overlooked. One need not have agreed with Robert F. Kennedy and one
need not have wanted him to be President of the United States to recog-
nize that the political scene will be the poorer because he is gone.
"Bobby" had a way of identifying with the poor and the submerged minori-
ties in this country. He had become their spokesman on the national
scene. Who will now speak for them in the seats of the mighty? He was
opposed to the war, and spoke from a base of power that other opponents
of the war do not have. Who will now provide effective opposition to
policies which have been detrimental to this country? (This is not
meant to deprecate other candidates, but is an attempt to raise the
realistic question which peaceniks, like readers of PNL, may overlook.)

Already there seems to be a terrible irony developing. Either
McCarthy by himself, or McCarthy plus Kennedy together, have pulled far
more votes in Presidential preferential primaries than President Johnson
and Humphrey. But it appears as though the wishes of Democratic voters
will be ignored, and the Democratic candidate will be the one who stands
for what voters repudiated in states where party adherents had a say.

I. F. Stone, in his Weekly (June 10, 1968), raised still another
relevant consideration:

"Amid the shock over this one act of unorganized and insane violence,
we wish more people would stop a moment and think how conditioned we are
to take organized violence for granted. We are still human enough to be
shocked at one man's shooting. But preparations to kill millions are
part of our way of life, not only here in America but everywhere else in
the world. We spend \$80 billion a year to kill, maim, poison, burn and
asphyxiate other human beings at will; we train our healthiest youth for
murder and enlist our best scientists to devise new means of killing.
Giant corporations draw profit from the organization of means for
slaughter. We live in a huge human abattoir but our nostrils are so
conditioned to the stink that we no longer notice it. That man who just
fell into a ditch in South Vietnam with his guts torn out by a bullet
from an American helicopter also had children, perhaps ambitions,
certainly some spark of that wonder we call a soul."

MORE
VIETNAM'S?

Dr. Ralph Chandler, from the Office of International Affairs of the United Presbyterian Church, recently spoke in Utica at the First Presbyterian Church following his return from Guatemala.

Dr. Chandler described Guatemala as a country about the size of Tennessee where 75% of the people are affected by malnutrition, and where a feudal social structure continues to exist. It is also a country which is faced with guerrilla warfare. Dr. Chandler is convinced that a massive transformation of society is necessary in Guatemala and elsewhere in Latin America; this will require social surgery.

One question confronting the churches (Roman Catholic and Protestant) has to do with violence and revolution. Are there situations where revolutionary violence is preferable to the violence of the status quo? Dr. Chandler is convinced there are such situations. Indeed, in some places the only way change can be achieved is through violent opposition to the existing order.

Dr. Chandler sees Guatemala as at the place South Vietnam was some seven years ago. The United States is backing the "wrong horse" in Guatemala. He sees the Revolutionary forces, with which he spent some days, as composed of "beautiful people." Most of them are under thirty years of age, and they are fewer than 200 in number. A "lot will die in Guatemala affirming the dignity of man." The U.S. is standing in the way of revolution, having provided the funding for 1500 new policemen to help maintain the status quo, and the U.S. is hated in that land.

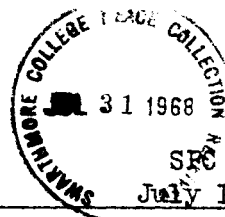
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PEACE NEWS LETTER

Published for and by the Syracuse Peace Council
Alan B. Peabody, Editor \$1.00 per year



THE "Most Americans assume that when and if the war in
INSATIABLE Vietnam can be brought to an end, the resultant reduc-
PENTAGON tion in military expenditures will make available tens
of billions of dollars for meeting the growing backlog
of urgent domestic needs.

"On the face of it, this seems a reasonable assumption. The war is currently gobbling up the nation's resources to the tune of approximately \$30 billion a year. One would suppose that if the war were ended, this sum could be applied to fighting poverty, rebuilding our cities, and scores of other constructive undertakings.

"Unhappily it isn't that simple. What the optimists tend to overlook is the grim fact that the military establishment in this country has become a Frankenstein's monster, with a voracious appetite beyond the ability of the executive and legislative branches to control.

"Joseph W. Barr, the Undersecretary of the Treasury, as much as acknowledged this in a speech delivered in California (June 26). Unless the diplomatic and military objectives of the United States are drastically revised, he declared, a settlement of the war in Vietnam will result in little if any reduction in Defense Department expenditures.

"There are several reasons for this gloomy forecast, which has been made in varying forms by a number of other fiscal experts in recent weeks. For one thing, there is little expectation of a Vietnamese settlement which would not entail the retention of large numbers of U.S. troops in Southeast Asia. For another, an end to the fighting would be accompanied by a huge surge in expenditures for other Pentagon activities which have been cut back because of Vietnam, particularly military construction and stockpiling programs. A third factor is the inexorable effects of the current inflation and projected military pay increases on the Defense Department budget.

"Compounding the problem is the fact that Congress, against the advice of ex-Secretary of Defense McNamara and leading scientists, has now voted to start work on an anti-missile defense system of exceedingly dubious value which is expected to reach an eventual cost of anywhere from \$40 billion to \$100 billion. The Johnson administration

is reluctantly going along with this for fear of being accused in the coming campaign of neglecting the nation's defenses. Congressmen favor it, in many instances, because billions more in military contracts is good for business in their constituencies.

"How," asks the New York Times editorially, "can a government that rashly wastes resources on such a perilous military boondoggle hope to persuade its own citizens and other nations to limit their arms acquisitions?" How indeed? The explanation is that Congress for two decades now has been an eager patsy of the military-industrial establishment, ever ready to hand over without question whatever vast sums are demanded.

"Until and unless this master-servant relationship is reversed, it will take more than a cease-fire in Vietnam to make enough money available for the domestic ills which cry out for treatment."

--Editorial in The Berkshire Eagle
Pittsfield, Mass., June 28, 1968

THE SENTINEL The Sentinel is the name assigned to the anti-ballistic missile system which the present administration in Washington has decided to build. Last September, when Secretary of Defense McNamara announced the decision, he made a convincing case against deploying an antimissile system against the U.S.S.R., pointing out that it would compensate for our system by building counter measures into their strategic offensive missile force, and by adding to their numbers of missiles, setting off a costly and wasteful new arms race.

Consequently the decision to build the Sentinel was made ostensibly as a defense against a potential threat from China. Dr. Jerome Weisner of Mass. Inst. of Technology, and a science adviser to President Kennedy, calls the system "senseless and totally unnecessary." He further comments: "I have always been baffled by the logic which acknowledges, on the one hand, that the United States strategic power is adequate to deter a Soviet missile attack, but, on the other hand, that it still makes sense to build a defense against a much weaker China." Moreover, he writes, "The questionable value of the Sentinel system is implicit in the puzzling Administration offer not to build this anti-Chinese system if the Soviet Union would agree not to build its (Anti-Ballistic Missile) system."

Dr. Weisner terms Sentinel as "already technically obsolete" in "the light of new radar and missile technology." But more important, "by the time a defensive system is supposedly perfected, the offense has long since developed a means of overcoming it." Thus Sentinel

will not work as intended, and will lead "to an expanded arms race at great cost and with no improvement to national security." Therefore "it is silly to waste a penny on it" when "we desperately need money to apply to badly neglected and more urgent problems at home." (Letter, New York Times, June 23, 1968)

On June 24th, the Senate, by a vote of 52-34, rejected a motion to eliminate \$227 million from a military construction authorization bill to start the \$5.5 billion Sentinel system. The Johnson Administration, while initially advancing the system as a defense against an emerging Chinese missile threat, plead with the Senators that Sentinel is a defensive move against the Soviet Union. Subsequently the President publicly urged that the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. needed to recognize the futility of Anti-ballistic missile systems. Premier Kosygin of the U.S.S.R. responded favorably in a speech, and the two nations will enter conversations looking to limitations on this form of weaponry which are expensive and of dubious utility. However, the questions will arise, can a government which succumbed to pressures to build a useless system resist pressures to continue its construction and its eventual expansion?

Why did the administration, last Fall, reverse a previous decision and decide to build Sentinel. Drew Pearson put it succinctly: "The answer is that the people who forged the decision were the defense contractors who stand to make a whopping profit out of it. They brought quiet pressure on Congressional friends who in turn brought pressure upon the administration.

"The great corporations primarily responsible were McDonnell, Douglas, the Martin Company, General Electric, Sperry Rand, Raytheon and Western Electric and Bell Telephone Laboratories. The following corporations also will get a piece of the \$5 billion pie: AVCO, Block Engineering, Burroughs, Brundy, Control Data, Cornell Aeronautical Laboratory, Hughes Aircraft, Radio Corporation of America, Sperry Gyroscope, TRW, and Wheeler Laboratories. All lobbied with their friends on Capitol Hill for the ABM system." (Clinton Courier, Oct. 12, 1967).

Congressional Quarterly, in a special study dated May 24, corroborates Pearson's allegations. More than 15,000 companies will benefit from Sentinel. Customers of one brokerage firm were told a year ago that when Congress approves the ABM, it "will shake the money tree for electronic companies." In the final quarter of 1967, following McNamara's announcement, some 75 mutual investment funds, according to Congressional Quarterly, "sold \$90 million in other stock holdings and invested the proceeds in electronics."

LOCAL NOTES

Hiroshima Vigil

The Syracuse Peace Council and the Women's International League for Peace - Syracuse Branch will co-sponsor a Hiroshima Day Memorial Vigil on Sunday, August 4, 1968, from 12: to 1: PM at Columbus Circle. You are urged to lend your support to this Memorial by your participation. Come - bring your family.

Fall Seminars

University College will offer two special six session seminars beginning in late September which may be of interest:

- A. Black and White Seminars on the Kerner Report will be held in High Schools throughout the area (Cazenovia, Fayetteville-Manlius, Nottingham, Henniger, West Genesee and Corcoran).
- B. A seminar on the 1968 elections - issues, candidates, platforms, commentary and analysis.

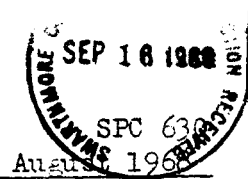
Details may be obtained from the Counseling Office at University College, Syracuse University.

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PEACE NEWS LETTER



Published for and by the Syracuse Peace Council
Alan B. Peabody, Editor \$1.00 per year

August 1968

PAX AMERICANA

Many books on U.S. Foreign Policy have appeared in recent years. Some are highly technical, too difficult for the layman. Others are popular and fail to do justice to the complexities of policy formulation and execution. Ronald Steele's Pax Americana lies between the extremes. The author, a former Foreign Service Officer, offers a significant critique of U.S. policy around the globe which can be read with profit by members of the peace movement.

Steel contends that the United States "as the most powerful" and richest nation on earth "has intervened massively in the affairs of other nations." Her noble impulses and generous motives have not prevented "much of the world" from viewing her as "a great imperial power" with "an empire of nominally independent client states."

American idealism has been the impetus for overseas intervention. U.S. military power since World War II has made such intervention possible. For twenty-five years the U.S. has "been pursuing a foreign policy designed to promulgate American values." This is what the crusade against Communism has really involved. The nation's goals have been unlimited; its means have been limited. Statesmen have not always discerned "which actions have a direct relation to the nation's security, and which merely represent wish-fulfillment on an international scale."

The U.S. is "an imperial power" which believes it to be her role "to make the world a happier, more orderly place, one more nearly reflecting our own image." Persuaded "of the universal validity of our institutions and of our obligation to help those threatened by disorder, aggression and poverty," it has assumed the role of "protector of Europe, the guardian of Latin America, the protector of weak and dependent nations released from the bondage of colonialism."

The U.S. did not acquire its empire for profit. Rather, it was acquired because "we believe we have a responsibility to defend nations everywhere against communism." Unfortunately the U.S. confused "communism as a social doctrine with communism as a form of Soviet imperialism," assuming "that any advance of communist doctrine anywhere was an automatic gain for the Soviet Union."

Over a period of years the U.S. has been confronted with changes in both the communist bloc and the free world which have undercut the

"obsession with communism as an ideology." Consequently there has been a detente with the Soviet Union, but "the obsession ... has now switched its roost to Asia, and the specter of a global conspiracy directed from Moscow has been replaced by the specter of one directed from Peking. The focal point has changed: the obsession remains the same . . . "

Steel stresses the intellectual problem which underlies American foreign policy: the tenacious grip of an ideology versus a realistic appraisal of trends in the affairs of men and nations.

The dogma has lingered on because it alone can justify a good many of our current involvements. Without the belief that popularly inspired revolutions are likely to fall into the hands of communists, how justify the intervention in Santo Domingo? Without the assumption that any communist government in Asia must automatically be subservient to Peking and manipulated by her, how justify the war in Vietnam? Without the dogma, how could there be public support for the policies of military intervention being pursued by the administration? Such policies are reasonable only if we assume that there is a universal communist conspiracy and that all revolutions are masterminded by the same malevolent source -- formerly Moscow, and now Peking

The empirical evidence indicates that old alliances are being shattered and that new political constellations are growing. The hegemony of the two nuclear giants seems to be numbered. While "each remains committed to its ideology," neither can enforce it on the other without risking nuclear war. Hence "dialogue, compromise, and even agreement" have resulted.

As previously indicated, peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union has not ended ideological conflict for the United States. Continents and enemies have been changed. "It is almost as though we were unable to view the world without demons -- as soon as one was put to rest, another immediately appeared."

Victims of our "self-imposed ignorance" and dogma concerning China's intentions toward us, we discover that the Chinese are victimized by their "insularity and rigidity." "The question of how to deal with China is the greatest foreign policy problem facing this country today..."

We seek our intervention in Asia as "divorced from national advantage," but

... to China's eyes, shaded by the spectacles of Marxist orthodoxy and of historical suspicion of the West, the United States is a threatening foe which nearly invaded Chinese territory in the Korean war, which uses her military power to prevent Formosa from being

returned to China, which has rimmed China with military bases from Pakistan to Japan, which has kept her out of the United Nations, which continues to participate in the Chinese civil war by supporting Chiang Kai-Shek, which is fighting a war with a communist ally on China's southern frontier, and which seeks to deny China her sphere of influence in Southeast Asia.

China, contrary to most American opinion, acknowledges that revolution cannot be exported. It has given its "ideological followers fair warning that they are on their own." While China applauds all revolutionary wars, it prudently abstains from participation. In reality it "conceals military caution behind verbal extravagance."

Presently U.S. policy in Asia "rests upon the belief that China can be contained through the maintenance of anti-communist states all along her frontiers." But mere anti-communism has not made strong men like Syngman Rhee, Chiang Kai-Shek, and Ngo Din Diem "valuable allies." Unable to command loyalty within their own countries, they depended upon the U.S. to keep them in power while the U.S. thought of them as "worth-while allies." In Vietnam, "we were in the sorry position of trying to create a state where none had existed, find a leader where there was nothing but rival gangs, and hold the line against a communist-led army that had already won its war and was waiting to unify the country as had been promised at Geneva."

Recalling the American experience with a changing Europe, Steele questions: "if communism in Eastern Europe is not a threat to the West, why is communism a threat in Southeast Asia? . . . The communist nations of Asia, like those of Eastern Europe, are just as eager to guard their independence as are nations that are non-communist . . ."

The reason we are supporting dictatorships such as those in South Korea, Taiwan, and South Vietnam is not that they are 'freedom loving democracies' (which they are not), but that we think they are a barrier to Chinese expansion. But why not, by the same token, support North Korea and North Vietnam as well? If it is China we are worried about, we should be aiding whatever nations are best capable of resisting her . . .

It was Fidel Castro who "brought the cold war into the western hemisphere, and whatever else his revolution may have accomplished, it revolutionized Washington's attitude toward Latin America." Money began flowing into Latin America, but Latin Americans see beyond American verbal pieties "the raw boot and the unsheathed bayonet of American military power." Indeed, they have often experienced its application -- sometimes contrary to America's pledged word!

Steele concludes that the U.S. is not "emulated as the model toward which the less fortunate members of the family of nations should aspire." It is often an object of resentment and calumny because "American power, to a degree not fully conceived of even by the American people in whose name it is exercised, has been turned into an instrument for the pursuit of an American ideology." That ideology goes beyond "defense of the nation and its institutions" towards "the establishment of a world order on the American plan. It is this desire to translate American ideals into a universal political system that lies at the core of the current crisis in American diplomacy."

A revision of U.S. policy will include an effort "to determine which involvements are crucial to American security and which are peripheral." The United States must also learn that power - especially military - has limits. It must "allow the new nations to work out their own destiny as they see fit within their own frontiers" and this means that "disturbance within a nation, however distasteful we may find them, must be the concern of that nation alone and cannot be the excuse for a military intervention designed to impose a form of government favored by the intervening power."

Steele concludes "Having failed to bring the world democracy, we may now attempt the more realistic ambition of making it safe for diversity. America's worth to the world will be measured not by the solutions she seeks to impose on others, but by the degree to which she achieves her own ideals at home . . ."

Ronald Steele, Pax Americana, New York: The Viking Press, 1967.
(Paperback edition, \$1.85)

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UNDERSTANDING CZECHOSLOVAKIA

It is popular for Americans to condemn the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the troops of the Soviet Union, East Germany, Holland, Hungary, and Bulgaria. It is vitally important that some effort be made to understand probable reasons why that small country was invaded. The real reasons are not necessarily those announced. For example, on August 18, two days before the invasion, Pravda spoke of the resumption of "Subversive activities by antisocialist forces" within Czechoslovakia, and charged that loyal Communists were subjected to "slandorous attacks," "vicious percecution," and "moral terror."

RUSSIA CONCERNED ABOUT DEFENSES "A quick look at a map of Europe explains better than a dozen Pravda editorials the causes of Soviet alarm over ultra-reformism in Czechoslovakia. Under friendly Communist rule, Czechoslovakia is a crucial element of the Soviet Union's defense shield against the West. Even in an age of intercontinental missiles, the Russians feel more secure with a buffer between them and the capitalistic West. Under an anti-Communist Government, Czechoslovakia would be a dagger thrusting from the feared West Germany to the Soviet Ukraine, piercing the defense shield and perilously outflanking East Germany and Poland.

"A loss of Czechoslovakia would tip the present balance of power in Europe against the Communists. Soviet concern over strategic security overrides questions of ideological revisionism and experiments with democratic reforms in Czechoslovakia, no matter how fierce the polemics in the Soviet press on these issues."

-- Raymond Anderson, "The Week in Review"
New York Times, July 21, 1968

Prof. Steven Muller, an East European expert, and Vice-President for Public Affairs at Cornell University, likewise has asserted that the major threat the Dubcek administration posed to Russia was military in nature. It must be remembered that the Russians are indelibly scarred by memories of nearly 10 million dead that their country has suffered from two invading German armies in this century. The collective scar contributes to a virtual paranoia about the possibilities of a third German invasion. Fear of the Germans is the main reason, suggested Professor Muller, why the Soviets are sensitive to any threat

to the strength of the Warsaw Pact. This military alliance is believed, by Russian military leaders, to be the main factor preventing future German aggression.

-- New Patriot, Sept. 1-14, 1968

Anrei A. Grechko, the Soviet Defense Minister, supported this analysis when he stated, "the Soviet Army considered the occupation [of Czechoslovakia] vital for the security of the Warsaw Pact Countries." -- New York Times, Sept. 29, 1968

IDEOLOGICAL FACTORS Dr. Albert Parry, head of Russian Studies at Colgate University, stresses ideological factors as the basis for intervention by other Warsaw Pact countries in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia. Soviet leaders feared the development of a multiparty system.

Within Czechoslovakia non-Communist political groups were gaining recognition and freedoms previously suppressed. It appeared that Czech leaders were, in practice, about to eulogize the martyred Rosa Luxemburg who censured one-party rule: "Freedom only for the supporters of the Government, only for the members of one party... is no freedom at all. Without general elections, without unrestricted freedom of press and assembly, without a free struggle of opinions, life dies out in every public institution." Such freedoms seemed to be coming to Czechoslovakia, and Soviet leaders saw a series of falling dominoes: Prague to Warsaw to Budapest to Bucharest to the Soviet Union itself. Said Parry, "The restless Soviet intellectuals would become yet more restless with such tempting examples before them, and the effect on the non-Russian national groups in the Soviet Union--especially the rebellious Ukrainians right next door to Czechoslovakia--was all too easily predictable. In the Soviet leadership's mind's eye, those Communist bodies of Budapest, 1956, dangled from the lampposts all over again--and this time all over Eastern Europe."

-- "Why Moscow Couldn't Stand
Prague's Deviation"
New York Times Magazine, Sept. 1, '68

I. F. Stone put it this way: The Soviet Union "is still ruled, as under Czarism, by a system of secret police, censorship and forced labor for dissidents. This kind of rule is wholly unsuited to the Czechs... But if there is freedom in Prague, how can one go on denying it in East Berlin, in Warsaw, in Kiev, in Moscow itself?"

This is the question the Russians have answered by their brutal occupation of Czechoslovakia. Perhaps the [Czechs] cannot hope for freedom until it has been won in Russia itself."

-- I. F. Stone's Weekly, Sept. 9, 1968

TECHNOLOGICAL In addition to the ideological factor mentioned
DISPARITY above, Stone seeks a "second disparity," "the tech-
AS A THREAT nological gap between the Germans and the Russians"
 behind the Czech occupation. Both Germany and the
Soviet Union continue as "rivals for the control of the lands be-
tween them."

Stone says, "The Czechs are badly in need of capital goods after two decades of exploitation by the Russians and mismanagement by the Communists. Russian industry is not yet advanced enough to provide the hard currency to obtain them elsewhere. The nearest and the easiest place to get the goods and the credits is in West Germany. The Russians fear more than anything else German influence penetrating the old cordon sanitaire. So the Czechs must share not only the political backwardness but the poverty of the Russians."

-- I. F. Stone's Weekly, Sept. 9, 1968

INTERNATIONAL A large group of people of "different professions
IMMORALITY and varying political philosophies" issued a public
 statement in which they raised their voices "against
the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia just as [they] have con-
demned the American war in Vietnam--and for the same reason. In
Czechoslovakia the Russian Government used the pretext that it had
been invited in by certain leaders to 'save socialism' just as in
Vietnam the U.S. argues that it has been invited in by Messrs. Diem,
Ky and Thieu to 'save freedom.' In both instances the true reason
for the use of military force has nothing to do either with social-
ism or freedom but geopolitical purposes.

"It is precisely because we have opposed the war in Vietnam so long that we now oppose the invasion of Czechoslovakia for in both instances a great power is trying to enforce its will on a weak nation for its own purposes. We are all the more saddened by this new crime against small states because we had hoped after the Soviet terror in Hungary in 1956 the leaders of the Kremlin would have learned a lesson. For 12 years indeed it seemed as if Hungary might never be repeated but to our great sorrow it has.

Moreover there seems to be a growing rhythm of international

immorality. Soviet leaders have invaded Hungary and Czechoslovakia so they can impose their type of 'socialism' while American leaders invade Vietnam and the Dominican Republic to impose their form of 'democracy.'

"One crime supplements the other and each one strengthens the precedent by which the strong try to dominate the weak.

"This precedent must be broken and the world brought to the realization that it can only avoid nuclear cataclysm if the great powers forswear the use of military power to resolve political issues.

"We salute the valiant people of Czechoslovakia whose nonviolent resistance has captured the imagination of people everywhere, not the least those who live in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union itself.

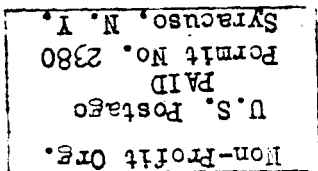
"And we urge Americans who almost unanimously challenge the Soviet right to place its tanks in Czechoslovakia to reassess their own position on Vietnam. Isn't this what our government has been doing? Haven't too many of us who are now critical of Mr. Brezhnev been tolerant of the same type of deception and crimes when practiced by our own leaders? By all means let us raise our voices against Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia. But let us even more make our voices ring with creditability and simultaneously challenge our own government for using terror and violence in Vietnam.

"We demand that the Russians leave Czechoslovakia forthwith and permit the 14 million people there to determine their own destiny. And we demand that the American government withdraw from Vietnam and permit the 32 million Vietnamese to decide for themselves how they want to be ruled."

-- Ad Hoc Committee for the Statement on
Czechoslovakia and Vietnam



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PEACE NEWS LETTER

Published by and for the Syracuse Peace Council

Alan P. Peabody, Editor

\$1.00

November



ON THE TRANSFER OF POWER "Four years ago, the cheering had not stopped. Through-
out that autumn Johnson savored the adoration and the
physical tumult of the crowds. He campaigned ebulliently
across the country, a Banyan-esque figure, rolling up 61
percent of the popular vote, the biggest majority in
history, against Barry Goldwater. He came in preaching consensus.
He goes out amid disunity, his personal popularity at a low ebb, the
nation divided by the most unpopular war in its history, half a
million men under arms in Vietnam, 28,000 dead and 180,000 wounded.
He is troubled by the fact that the pendulum is swinging to the right
--the liberal programs of the Johnson epoch may only have paved the
way for a new conservatism, for retrenchment and even repression."

--David Wise, "The Twilight of a President"
New York Times Magazine, Nov. 3, 1968

"Any examination of the problems facing President-elect Richard
M. Nixon yields at first, the obvious: Vietnam, the racial crisis,
the disengagement of youth from the traditional political process,
the budget, the arms race. Yet at the heart of the matter is some-
thing else.

"It is now clear to him and to those who are watching his de-
liberate, circumspect approach to this terribly delicate business of
transition that his chief problem--now, and for the next few years--
is to achieve for himself what the election denied him: the consent
of the governed; to fashion by force of personality and depth of
conviction what the people on Nov. 5 did not: a mandate to lead."

--Robert B Semple, Jr. "The Challenge
for Nixon....", New York Times,
Nov. 17, 1968

SELECTIVE
CONSCIENTIOUS
OBJECTION In recent months, the World Council of Churches
(at its assembly in Sweden), the United Church of
Christ, and the Christian Church (Disciples of
Christ) have been among those religious bodies which
have affirmed not only their support of those believers who object
to participation in or support of all war, but their support of
those believers who object to participation in particular wars.

Vatican Council II issued Schema XIII on "The Church and the Modern World." This document urges military men to follow their consciences in wartime situations and to refuse to carry out any orders that they consider to be violations of natural law. "The spirit of those who do not fear to oppose those who order such things is worthy of the highest praise."

The National Conference of Catholic Bishops which met in Washington during the second week of November joined several Protestant groups in urging revision of the Selective Service Law to provide for the principle of selective conscientious objection under which an individual would have the right to refrain from participating in some, though not necessarily in all wars, on grounds of conscience.

Lieut. Gen. Lewis P. Hershey, director of the Selective Service System, challenged that part of the Catholic Bishops' Pastoral Letter. He said,

"It's no longer a religious question, but a political one. If you say you object to all wars, I can't object to that. Religion is an individual thing.

"But what kind of religious belief have you got that causes you to reject some wars and not others? That doesn't seem to me to be a religious question but a political one."

Apparently Mr. Hershey, like others who have objected to pleas for legal recognition of Conscientious Objection, are not well acquainted with ecclesiastical history. There are basically three approaches which Christendom has followed with respect to war.

First, there has been the glorification of war, with war seen as a Crusade for righteousness. However, the church, which briefly adopted this view in the middle ages, early recognized the pervasiveness of sin and the dangers of self-righteousness. The mainstream of Christendom has traditionally rejected the notion that war is ever a Crusade.

Second, some segments of the church have been Pacifist. Indeed, perhaps for the first three hundred years, the bulk of Christians were pacifist. Pacifism has to be taken seriously in the church because of the teachings of Jesus as recorded in the New Testament.

Third, while the church in the main has abandoned Pacifism, it has not adopted the opposite notion that wars are positive goods. Rather, it has followed the concept of the Just War, of

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which Selective Conscientious Objection is the modern version. Traditionally, Just War theory has given believers certain criteria by which to evaluate particular circumstances in which he is called to act by his government.

Edward LeRoy Long, Jr. writes: "No particular way of stating these conditions has been officially codified, but the same criteria appear among different theologians with sufficient regularity to provide the following principles.

- "a. All other means to the morally just solution of a conflict must be exhausted before resort to arms can be regarded as legitimate.
- "b. War can be just only if employed to defend a stable order or morally preferable cause against threats of destruction or the rise of injustice.
- "c. A third criterion of the just war specifies that such a war must be carried out with the right attitudes, "e.g. "the intention to attain or restore a just and durable peace."
- "d. A just war must be explicitly declared by a legitimate authority.
- "e. A just war may be conducted only by military means that promise a reasonable attainment of the moral and political objectives being sought.
- "f. The just war theory has also entailed selective immunity for certain parts of the population, particularly for noncombatants."

(See Long's War and Conscience in America, Phila., Westminster Press, 1968, pp. 22-33.)

The selective Objector to War faces a difficult task, for he must give careful study to the issues at stake in every particular conflict. His objection, writes Alan Geyer, "should be the result of a serious intellectual exercise in seeking out, analysing, and interpreting the available data on the war in question...it involves... judging the competence and wisdom of the policy-makers themselves."

"The Just War and the Selective Objector,"
Social Action, April 1966, p. 17.

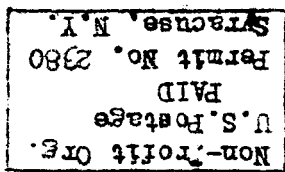
WHO WILL NEGOTIATE WHAT? Americans were under the impression that the halt in the bombing of North Vietnam was predicated upon an agreement among the powers concerned as to who would sit at the negotiating table and under what circumstances. Apparently this agreement broke down, at least insofar as the United States and its ally, South Vietnam is concerned.

Obviously there are four parties involved in the conflict: those already named, North Vietnam, and the National Liberation Front. But who is to be the senior negotiator on each side? Arnold P. Lay of the New York University School of Law notes:

"The South Vietnamese desire exclusive control of the negotiations because they are well aware of the fact that the nature of the struggle has always been and remains an internal conflict of the people of Vietnam. If it be an internal conflict and not international in scope, the United States must realize that we have no right to be negotiating for the South Vietnamese nor should we be fighting their internal conflict for them." (N.Y. Times, Nov. 17, 1968)

But where would the South Vietnamese government be but for the military power of the United States? Thus should the most powerful partner call the plays for "our" side, or should the partner which is allegedly sovereign in that part of Vietnam south of the 17th parallel?

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