

NO COMMENT DEPARTMENT "Experiments are costly. The Defense Department conceded...that in the past 15 years, the United States spent \$8.8 billion on 67 big military contracts that were subsequently canceled. The ill-fated B-70 bomber, which cost \$1.468 billion before it was dropped...stands as the biggest loser--next to the U.S. taxpayer, of course.

"Interestingly enough, when it comes to military spending, people view such waste of resources with relative calm and aplomb. But spend a small portion of that sum on unsuccessful projects to create jobs, education, housing or better health for the nation's white and black poor and a chorus of cries pours out against 'waste' and 'creeping socialism.'"

--"Let's Be Human" by Harry Fleischman  
American Jewish Committee, Institute of  
Human Relations.

THE BENIGN INFLUENCE "The bad effects of the military presence in Thailand occur on the social and economic level where undesirable institutions, in the opinion of the Thai, are created which are not accepted or wanted by Thai society. The increase of prostitution, bars, and general places of ill-repute, public display of affection between U.S. military personnel and local girls, and the open use of the dollar in apparent disregard of the local currency are the main complaints of the average person.

"'Red-haired' babies, as the Amerasian children are called...are increasing in number....Only about 2 per cent receive good care and less than 3 per cent are receiving any financial aid from the fathers. The legal situation of the children is complicated by the fact that the mothers are often embarrassed to register them, which makes them ineligible for public education.

"Another problem of concern...is the evidence of racial discrimination against Negro tenants in housing in Bangkok....The situation has been largely created and continues to be aggravated by some white tenants who have repeatedly threatened to vacate if a Negro is allowed to live in their building.

"....It seems ironic that the seed of the American race problem is being brought to Thailand by prejudiced Americans. Negroes, themselves, fear that their outspoken concern would jeopardize their jobs and advancements in American service organizations.

"The economic effects of the U.S. presence in Thailand indicate that the good outweighs any bad effects, although the latter is given more emphasis. Thailand has clearly benefited, most people say, from having both U.S. military and administrative personnel in the country. There is a marked increase in employment and income in shops, hotels, restaurants and tourist-associated entertainment industries."

--Ruth Cadwallader, Information Secretary  
East Asian Christian Conference, Bangkok

WILL THE BUBBLE BURST? The U.S. spent about \$500 million to construct six major air bases in Thailand to mount the 44-month air war against North Vietnam. 80% of the air strikes against the North, were flown from Thailand, only 40 minutes from Hanoi. But the bases may no longer be needed by the United States.

Closing them and withdrawing American military personnel, about 35,000 in number, "would have a shattering impact on the Thai economy, just as their construction and the presence of the men has worked profound changes in the economic and cultural patterns in rural Thailand."

Will the bases be retained because of their proximity to China? Or will they be given up? Will Thailand continue to orient its foreign policy towards the United States, or will it move in a neutralist direction? (N.Y. Times, Jan. 5, 1969)

AN EX COLONY RECONSIDERS The new Foreign Secretary of the Philippines, Carlos P. Romulo, has made it clear that his country would seek to reduce the present 25 year tenure of U.S. military bases in the islands and will review its military alliance with the United States. It may be that the Philippines will want to seek closer ties with its Asian neighbors.

POLITICAL PRISONERS The Fellowship of Reconciliation recently reminded Americans that Eugene McCarthy, an opponent of the war in Vietnam, is not in prison. Yet, in South Vietnam, there are untold numbers of opponents of the war who are in prison. The most prominent of them was a Presidential candidate in the last "election."

Thirty persons from Syracuse attended the anti-war demonstration in Washington, D.C. at the time of President Nixon's inauguration. The following article was written by one of those participants.

### COUNTER-INAUGURATION 1969

by Publius of Concord

A fine drizzle fell throughout the trip Saturday, from Syracuse to Washington. Jim, Dave and I ate sandwiches and drank coke on the way, saving the litter for Mr. Agnew's Maryland, as we drove through.

Upon arrival in our noble capital, at about 2:30, we proceeded to Hawthorne, a private liberal school which had been commandeered by the demonstrators. "End the war in Viet Nam" and "Abolish the Draft" banners hung boldly from the front of the school. The inside was packed with protestors creating a communion in the spirit of peace.

After obtaining housing facilities for the night, we browsed among various tables sponsored by such groups as American Friends Service Committee, The California grape strikers, the NLF victory committee and Afro-American book sales. There were seminars on everything from "Resistance within the Army" to "Communal Living." We viewed underground movies on the war, The Black Panthers and domestic student police confrontations.

At about midnight we drove to a small two room apartment in Georgetown where we talked, ate more sandwiches that had mysteriously appeared in the night and settled down with ten other friends for the evening.

Early Sunday morning, we loaded the car with people, stopped for breakfast and then headed for the assembling site of the Anti-Inaugural march; a monstrous tent behind the Washington monument. After listening to David Dellinger and two Viet Nam veterans speak, among others and Phil Ochs sing, the march was underway, down Pennsylvania Avenue in the opposite direction of the Inaugural Parade.

GI's led the march with a casket as a foreboding reminder of all the dead in the atrocity ex-King Lyndon calls a conflict. Approximately eight thousand people chanted, "Peace Now," "Revolution Now," and "Ho Ho Ho Chi Minh the NLF is going to win." There were responses both pro and con from passing motorists and onlookers. The atmosphere was friendly even with the police who smiled condescendingly. Two men on the seventh floor of a nearby building gave us the thumbs down and the chant arose, "Jump, jump, jump." The march disbanded at a federal building where a brief argument initiated over whether or not to lower the stars and stripes. "And the flag was still there" when we returned to the tent to await the start of the Anti-Inaugural ball.

Ridgidly crammed inside the tent eight thousand people heard the "Earth Girtch," "The Fallen Angels," and Phil Ochs send out melodies that rocked Washington. Judy Collins was ill but telegraphed expressing a union of her spirit with ours for peace.

We left early on Monday, missing only the rhetorical generalities of tricky Dick but finding a fresh breath of a sincerely human atmosphere. This atmosphere alone, made it all worthwhile. Though there were different factions among us, there was solidarity for peace. Though there was little outward effectiveness for change, there was an inward affect on one's soul; a reminder that there are many who truly love humanity, a reminder and a rededication to purpose and lastly a reminder of Tennyson's words, "That which we are, we are. One equal temper of heroic hearts made weak by time and fate but strong in will to strive to seek to find and not to yield."

January 1969

ARAB           The tensions between Israel and her Arab neighbors have  
ISRAELI       recently escalated. The attack on the El-Al Airliner at Athens  
TENSIONS      was followed by the Israeli retaliation raid on the Beirut air-  
port. Christian and civil leaders have come under attack from  
Jewish leaders in the United States for applying a double standard of  
judgment to the violence.

Leaders of the three major branches of Judaism in the United States issued a statement on January 1st pointing out that the Pope and other world leaders ( e.g. U.N. Security Council ) were quick to condemn the raid on Beirut but said nothing about the attack on the airliner at Athens. The leaders said:

"Men of goodwill can differ honestly in their assessment of the appropriateness of any given action, and we do not ascribe ill will to those who do not share our judgment." However, "we resent very deeply the application of a double standard by world political and religious leaders in their dealings with Israel and with the Arab countries." Such duality and "one-sidedness does not speak of justice or morality but of the self-serving interests of men and nations." Moreover, "it serves only to encourage enlarged Arab terrorism and violence."

--N.Y. Times, Jan. 2, 1969

ANOTHER       Christian leaders in the United States see other dimensions  
FACET         to the Arab-Israeli dispute. Margaret R. Blenker of the United  
EXISTS        Church Board for World Ministries says, Arab Christians are be-  
ginning to question the relevance of their faith because of  
alleged Christian support of the Israeli government. "Churchmen repre-  
senting about four million Christians in the Near East have voiced dis-  
appointment and disillusionment that Christians of the West, especially  
of the United States, have not been more vigorous in pursuit of justice."

Recently leaders of the Coptic Orthodox Church, the Coptic Catholic Church, and the Coptic Evangelical Church in Egypt sent a letter to the National Council of Churches. It said, in part:

"We are afraid that war is about to break out again between Israel and those bordering Arab countries, part of whose territory Israel occupies. If war comes, it will bring further suffering among the innocent of both sides and probable disaster to the nations of the Middle East. It may bring confrontation between the great powers and explode into a world conflict.

"We believe that even worse than the continuing threat of violence is the deepening sense of injustice and the growing conviction that

there is no solution outside war." The statement refers to the refugee camps and the attendant hopelessness, sorrow, and despair, the anger and the hatred that have grown.

The Church leaders then refer to a U.N. Security Council resolution adopted in 1967 which was accepted by Jordan and the United Arab Republic as a basis for a settlement. They say: "We believe that Israel, too, should accept and implement this resolution and that it would be in the interests of all the people of the area to secure a just and peaceful resolution...."

"So, we turn to you, our fellow Christians, believing that, under God's guidance, men can find a way of justice and peace. We urge you to urge your government to press the United Nations with the awful seriousness of this situation and make the great effort to arrange a settlement based on justice."

WASHINGTON  
FEB. 3,4,5

Clergy and Laymen Concerned about Vietnam have prepared an excellent Conference to be held in Washington, February 3,4,5. For further information regarding transportation and program contact the Peace Council office. 446-5656

**VIETNAM VIEWPOINTS** In the February issue of The Progressive, Margaret Hofmann complains that many copies of her recent book, Vietnam Viewpoints, are not arriving at their destinations. Although "packed properly, addressed correctly," with return postage guaranteed, "They vanish" in Uncle Sam's mails.

Subtitled "A Handbook for Concerned Citizens," Vietnam Viewpoints is an unusual volume. Its author writes:

"So much has already been written about Vietnam... But.....It appeared to me that there is still a need for an authoritative reference work, one which presents the opinions of very many well known and respected sources....."

The volume is actually a 186 page compilation of quotations from speeches, magazine articles, books, and official governmental documents on Vietnam. The book went "to press on the day of the opening of the peace talks in Paris." Margaret Hofmann says that nothing would please her "more than to learn that the book has become superfluous even before it is published."

In the light of its publication date, two things can be noted:

- 1) the material is up to date through the spring of 1968, and
- 2) as the Paris peace talks drag on, there will be a continuing need for citizens to familiarize themselves again with the background of the war, its effects on the United States and on the Vietnamese people, the conduct of the war (bombing, chemicals, torture, napalm, etc.), and the outlook for the future. Mrs. Hofmann deals with the questions: "Are We Containing Communism?" "What Are our Aims in Asia?" and "Is Anti-Communism Always Synonymous with Freedom?" She does not overlook China, the Munich Analogy, nor the Domino Theory.

Mrs. Hofmann deals with a variety of questions and topics by a balanced and judicious selection of quotations, many of them lengthy, which are very well organized and integrated into a grand design.

That the war was a consequence of gross miscalculation is demonstrated in the familiar series of quotes from Secretary of Defense, Robert McNamara:

"Progress in the last eight to ten weeks has been great. The government/of South Vietnam/ has asked only for logistical support." --May 1962.

file 79

"The corner has been definitely turned toward victory in South Vietnam." -- May 1963.

"The major part of the U.S. military task can be completed by the end of 1965, although there may be a continuing requirement for a limited number of U.S. military personnel." -- October 1963.

"We have every reason to believe that /U.S. military/ plans will be successful in 1964." --Dec. 1963.

"The U.S. hopes to withdraw most of its troops from South Vietnam before the end of 1965." --Feb.19, 1964.

"It will be a long war." -- December 1965.

One of the most interesting sections of the book bears the title, "Reversing the Arguments." In it, Margaret Hoffman demonstrates her own imaginative capacities, and helps us see the limitations of official rationalizations for American involvement.

A Chinese infantryman participated in a landing at Charleston, South Carolina, to protect "the poor exploited minorities" from "war mongers from North Carolina," many of whom infiltrated into the South via the Dan K. Moore (Governor of N.C. at the time) trail through Georgia. If South Carolina is not protected, there is danger that Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee might fall.

Unfortunately the natives of South Carolina do not fully appreciate the civilized blessings being brought them by the rapidly increasing troop concentrations from China and its allies. Moreover, Liang and his cohorts are confused:

"The line between enemy and friend isn't clearly drawn. The general gave us a big lecture.., and he clarified things ...a little: Our friends, that is clear, are the poor colored people of South Carolina. Our enemies are those who exploit them. But those Negroes, who make common cause with the whites, are also our enemies, while some whites, who truly try to help the blacks, are our friends. The problem is: How to tell one from the other?...."

This reviewer once had a letter from a ranking Texas Congressman in early 1965 in which he said that the problem was, we couldn't distinguish our enemies from our allies in Vietnam. But just as soon as we could, the war would progress nicely

As one born in Nazi Germany (now a naturalized U.S. citizen), Mrs. Hofmann says,

"Whatever faults our society may have, I will never cease to marvel at the readiness with which...the hearings of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee are held and even televised, how openly films from North Vietnam are presented, and how any number of speeches critical of our policies may be made! And I know that I may publish this book without fear of imprisonment."

The second part of her book, "The Loyal Opposition," begins with "The Philosophy of Constructive Criticism." This four page section alone is worthwhile with quotes from President Kennedy, The Progressive, Prof. Henry Steele Commager, and Norman Cousins. It will help members of the peace movement recognize that theirs is a valuable role in a democratic society. Mrs. Hofmann follows this with quotations from military figures, Congressmen, and other critics of the war, and with a sampling of the petitions--too long ignored--to the Government requesting steps to end the war. (One is reminded of Hubert Humphrey's statement to the effect that people have a right to petition, but those petitioned have a right not to listen. That attitude may be one reason that Mr. Nixon, rather than Mr. Humphrey, now occupies The White House.)

There may be a bit of irony in Mrs. Hoffman's quoting of Isaiah 1:18-20. A famous Texan, who has returned to his native state after more than three decades in Washington, was fond of quoting the first part, "Come now, let us reason together," but neglected the stern warning, "If you are willing and obedient, you shall eat the good of the land; But if you refuse and rebel, you shall be devoured by the sword...." There is a sense in which that famous Texan was devoured by the sword, for Vietnam proved to be his nemesis.

Mrs. Hofmann earlier wrote a widely circulated pamphlet based on her experiences in Germany during the heavy allied bombing raids when she was one of the intended victims. She alludes to those experiences in her conclusion:

"In spite of all my honest efforts to remain objective, I seem to have compiled a 'Doves' Handbook .....One explanation may be a feeling of a greater responsibility for the action of my own government, rather than for the actions of others inasmuch as I am convinced that one side cannot excuse its excesses by pointing to the wrongful acts of the other side, nor can individuals excuse crimes by saying they were



only carrying out orders. Here again, my background and the lessons learned from the Nuremberg Trials are guiding factors."

She rightly asks:

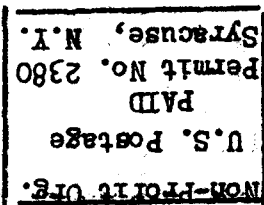
"what happened to the meaning of the word 'mission?' How could we allow it to change from being identified with the bringing of hope, to meaning the inflicting of misery? A 'successful mission' once meant the establishment of schools, hospitals, and houses of worship. A mission was synonymous with the bringing of life. Today, in Vietnam, the term has come to mean the opposite. This seems to me symbolic of the changes in our moral values during wartime."

If there is any criticism of the volume, it is that of the scholar who wishes that every quotation had been fully documented as to its source. There is an unevenness about this which, however, should not disturb the general reader at all.

The volume may be ordered in paperback either from the author, or from the Syracuse Peace Council.

Margaret Hofmann, Vietnam Viewpoints, Austin, Texas (610 Cardinal Lane, Zip 78704), 1969. \$1.50.

\*\*\* Friends may appreciate reading this Newsletter. If you wish an extra copy, please contact the Peace Council office.



Syracuse Peace Council  
3019 East Genesee St.  
Syracuse, N.Y. 13224

PEACE NEWS LETTER

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

MAR 31 1969

SPC 636

March-1969

NEW PRESIDENT--NEW POLICY?

by Dr. Alan B. Peabody

Executive Director, Council of Churches of the Mohawk Valley Area, Inc., and  
member of the Associate Faculty, Utica College.

Presented to the Torch Club of Utica, February 17, 1969.

The scope of this presentation is limited to an examination of the prospects for world peace which may flow from the new presidential administration of Richard M. Nixon. There are several preliminary considerations necessary to set the new administration in its domestic political context, for its ability to plow new ground may be quite limited by the situation in which it finds itself.

The Republican Party on the national level is still a minority party. Despite its impressive gains in the South in the last decade, the Republican Party can claim about 30% of the voter registration in the country as against something like 50% for the Democratic Party. By no stretch of the imagination can the Eisenhower victories of 1952 and 1956 be construed as victories for the party. Rather, they must be viewed as personal victories of a popular military leader. It is doubtful that the Nixon victory of 1968 can be seen as a party victory. Indeed, Mr. Nixon was unable to serve as a catalyst for sufficient Republican victories in House and Senatorial contests to insure that even one house would be dominated by his party.

Harry Ashmore has observed that only "in a technical sense" might it be said that there was "any winner at all" in the recent Presidential sweepstakes.

Richard Nixon enters the White House on the basis of only 43.5 per cent of the popular vote, and he carries with him a sobering memory of those moments when the American people in their balloting came perilously close to leaving the issue unresolved and precipitating as grave a Constitutional crisis as any we have known.

Moreover,

Mr. Nixon has recognized that his actual situation is even worse than this dismal arithmetic would indicate. After sixteen years of exposure to the national electorate there is evidence that his personal support accounted for no more than half of his plurality: only twenty-two per cent of the voters rated him as their first choice in a Harris Poll taken well along in the campaign. The others, presumably, were performing a perfunctory act of party loyalty, or choosing the lesser of the available evils.<sup>1</sup>

Would Mr. Nixon have been the winner apart from the disarray of the Democratic Party? Suppose that Robert Kennedy had not been assassinated, and that either he or Senator McCarthy had been the nominee, perhaps as a consequence of a coalition between them? Suppose that the combined Kennedy and McCarthy forces could have prevented President Johnson from writing the Vietnam plank of the Democratic platform, would Mr. Nixon have likely been the winner?

Certainly the campaign was not one calculated to enlighten the voters on the stance that the successful candidate intended to take on key issues, and especially on the one issue that apparently divided the country more than any other--Vietnam. As Jules Witcover puts it, "he would end the war in Vietnam (without ever saying how)"<sup>2</sup> and Ashmore noted:

Mr. Nixon's media campaign did pass the single most difficult test for which it was designed: it carried him all the way to the White House without requiring<sup>3</sup> him to take any position at all on the critically divisive issue of Vietnam.

Recall, too, that Republicans in Congress had by and large supported President Johnson's disastrous policy adventure in Vietnam, while the most vociferous criticism of that policy came from members of the President's own party in the Senate.

Perhaps the most significant insight we got during the campaign into the thinking of Mr. Nixon on foreign policy came in a speech he made on October 24th at Hazelton, Penna. Mr. Nixon warned that "the present state of our defenses is too close to peril point and our future prospects are in some respects downright alarming." He charged the Kennedy and Johnson administrations with responsibility for fostering "a gravely serious security

Nixon rejected "the peculiar, unprecedented doctrine called 'parity,'" the theory we need strength equal only to that of potential adversaries, because "this parity concept means superiority for potential enemies." To allow the Soviet Union, "a weaker but basically expansionist nation (to) achieve parity indicates an erosion of our commitment and will."

Nixon faulted Robert McNamara's management of the Pentagon and promised to "correct its overcentralization" and to "root out the 'whiz kid' approach" while restoring "ready access of our top military professionals to the President of the United States."

The candidate stressed stronger armaments and opposition to the immediate ratification of the thermonuclear non-proliferation treaty. Nixon listed several fields in which he said the Soviet Union had nearly caught, had caught, or had overtaken the United States: intercontinental ballistics missiles, manned bombers, nuclear submarines, tactical aircraft and stockpiles of strategic material. Since 1960, he said, "our country has followed policies which now threaten to make America second best both in numbers and quality of major weapons."

"The Soviets have vigorously advanced their military effort as we put ours in second gear," declared the candidate. Without stating that he would try to give the United States superiority over the Soviets in every category of weapons, Mr. Nixon made clear that he was interested in "the aggregate that constitutes real superiority rather than in competition weapon by weapon." Mr. Nixon called the intercontinental missile "the crucial weapon" and seemed to deplore the fact that as of last February (i.e., 1968), according to the Defense Department, we only had a slight numerical superiority.

It was in this same speech that Mr. Nixon charged "a near breakdown" in policy making procedures under the Kennedy and Johnson administrations which, among other things, flowed from an abandonment of the National Security Council as a policy tool in favor of more informal procedures. He said, "I attribute most of our serious reverses abroad since 1960 to the inability or disinclination of President Eisenhower's successors to make use of this important council." Elsewhere, Mr. Nixon called for an all volunteer army. <sup>4</sup>

Since Mr. Nixon won the election, he has talked of "nuclear sufficiency" rather than "superiority," "sufficiency" may really be another term for "parity." In any event, the toning down of the rhetoric may be quite significant. Also, since the election, Mr. Nixon has called for a revival of the National Security Council as basic to an overhaul of the nation's foreign policy machinery. It will meet at least every two weeks to discuss an agenda prepared by Henry Kissinger, his national security advisor. <sup>5</sup> It is also interesting to note that a part of the overhaul of foreign policy has meant the introduction of non-professionals as William P. Rogers as the Secretary of State and Elliott B. Richardson as Under-Secretary. Many career Foreign Service Officers apparently welcome the change on grounds that specialists like John Foster Dulles and Dean Rusk did not solve policy problems, that under them there was a steady deterioration of morale and the influence of the professional diplomats. One Foreign Service Officer is reported to have said, "maybe it's worth letting some generalists try." <sup>6</sup>

It is also interesting to note that President Johnson's proposed budget for fiscal 1970 postulates a small reduction in the cost of the war in Vietnam, but proposes a \$600 million increase in the military budget over that of the current fiscal year. Among the new programs projected is the first deployment of multiple independently guided warheads for the Minuteman 3 and Poseidon missiles. It is proposed that funds for the Sentinel Anti-Ballistics Missile system be doubled, that new naval warships be built, that advanced military jet aircraft be developed, and that long deferred (because of Vietnam) military construction projects be launched. These budgetary proposals coincide with the desires of military leaders. To be sure, the Nixon administration will have opportunities to review the proposals and suggest changes, but this is considered unlikely "because the new programs and emphasis in the outgoing Administration's budget seem to accomplish much of what Mr. Nixon was advocating" in his campaign. <sup>7</sup>

What Mr. Nixon seemed to advocate in his speech of October 24th, and what has been budgeted, suggest that we will be confronted with an escalation of the arms race after a period when it seems to have been slowed down by the sober calculations of responsible officials in the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A.

The immediate issue of Vietnam seems to be headed towards a conclusion, it being reported that the incoming administration let the Saigon regime know that it joined the Johnson administration in backing compromise on the seating arrangements at Paris.

Moreover, in testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Mr. Rogers let it be

known that the Nixon administration proposed to bring the talks in Paris to an honorable and early conclusion. That this appears to be the posture of the incoming administration on the particular issue is encouraging, but may illustrate little more than the reputation Mr. Nixon has for sensing the public mood, and getting out in front. The long term implications of the policy stance of Mr. Nixon and his associates will be more significant for the peace of the world.

In an editorial on "The Johnson Era," The New York Times observed, "the men that a President chooses to advise him are one measure of his capacity."<sup>9</sup> They may also be some indication of the direction in which his administration will move.

Most characterizations of the upper echelon appointments to the Cabinet and White House staff suggest that the appointees are "a team of moderates," that the Cabinet "is in the middle of the road," that it may be a bit "right of center," or that the White Anglo-Saxon Protestants are returning to Washington.

We have already mentioned the appointees to the two top posts in the State Department, Mr. Rogers and Mr. Richardson. Without prior experience in diplomacy and foreign affairs, nevertheless these two men may make a significant contribution because they are not tied to old policies and because, as lawyers, they bring with them an understanding of the processes of negotiating solutions to disputes.

That vociferous and learned critic of the war in Vietnam, the Senator who has warned us against The Arrogance of Power, Senator William J. Fulbright, apparently had an open mind with regard to Mr. Rogers. Following hearings on his confirmation, Mr. Fulbright said

I have the impression that Mr. Rogers is a broadgauged man. He's not a doctrinaire. He isn't committed to the dogmas of the past. He's willing to adapt himself to changing conditions. He hasn't made up his mind that the United States has got to run the world, that we're the only good people in the world, or that we can't negotiate with Communist countries. <sup>10</sup>

Mr. Lodge, appointed to the post in Paris, has a reputation for being a hard liner. He served two terms in Vietnam, but this may not be sufficient to establish his credentials. Some time ago, in The Saturday Evening Post, Lodge suggested that we were winning in Vietnam, an assertion which is interesting in the light of the ability of our adversaries to sustain the Tet offensive of February, 1968. While his appointment was welcomed by the Saigon regime and deprecated by our adversaries, it has been suggested that a tough negotiating stance on our part may be necessary to secure a reasonable compromise with another set of tough negotiators.

Since the Air War over North Vietnam has been abandoned, the Air War in the South has been intensified, as it has over Laos. It would appear that the continued large-scale ground military operations of the U.S. and Saigon forces may have as its object the improvement of the negotiating position in Paris through military victories. Such victories appear to be aimed at increasing the amount of territory under the control of the Saigon regime. The effect of this effort may be to prolong the war with a continued loss of life. It is suggested by some that the eventual U.S. position may not be a complete withdrawal of troops from South Vietnam, but rather the maintenance of military forces there on a reduced scale for some years to come--a force size and scale of activity which will not arouse the active opposition of large numbers of people here at home. The recent announcement that the Agency for International Development will seek funding for a ten year program aimed at land reform in South Vietnam lends credence to the view that there may be a long term U.S. Military presence in Vietnam. <sup>11</sup>

Perhaps the most disturbing figure in the new administration is Melvin Laird, the Secretary of Defense. He is reputed to have views on the nation's defense posture which are close to those of the President. The real question about Mr. Laird is, does he adhere to the views expressed in his book, A House Divided: America's Security Gap. <sup>12</sup> which was written in 1962. On page 51, for example, we read:

Present deterrence rests squarely on American nuclear superiority. On the day that the Soviet Union feels there is, indeed, a balance of power, it will move forward aggressively at multiples of her present pace. On that day, nuclear war will become not only thinkable but in all likelihood inevitable. On that day we will not be losing the so-called cold war; we will have lost it. Hot wars will lie ahead, negotiated surrender to Soviet expansion.

Just as our superiority today gives us, in a realistic view, the shield behind which to press the cause of freedom, Soviet superiority or even parity tomorrow would give them the ultimate shield behind which to press the cause of the world's communization. We can rest assured that the Communists, given such a shield, would not look upon nuclear war as suicidal or as an exercise in blind mass destruction. They would look upon it first as a means to advance Communism, and finally as the way of opening the last stage in destruction of freedom--military occupation of the United States.

On pages 176 and 177, we read:

We must accept the moral responsibility to use our power constructively to prevent Communism from destroying the heritage of our world civilization. In terms of military strategy, this means closing the strategy gap by taking the initiative in all areas. While we have the power we must aim at confronting the enemy directly. We can win every such confrontation.

On page 178, Mr. Laird points out that a "growing economy is essential to our sustained military effort in the cold war," that "it is essential to establish economic priorities to win the cold war, to give first priorities to the national security budget ...." Then Mr. Laird suggests that as a nation we should "spend on non-defense only amounts which will not injure the stability of the dollar. This is a sacrifice the American people must be willing to make."

Like Mr. Rogers in his sessions with the Foreign Relations Committee, Mr. Laird, before the Senate Armed Services Committee, "sounded," in the words of reporter Hedrick Smith "the soothing Nixon theme that this will be an era of negotiation, not confrontation with the Communist world." The Defense Secretary-designate stated that "conditions have changed--I would hope that all Americans would favor moving into a period of negotiations" with the Soviet Union. However, Laird did affirm his belief in the necessity of maintaining U.S. military superiority over the Soviet Union in order to permit negotiations from a position of strength. <sup>13</sup>

The left of center I.F. Stone, who expressed hope that pro-peace Senators would fight Laird's confirmation, <sup>14</sup> saw David Packard, then designated as Deputy Secretary of Defense, as a more hopeful sign because, on December 31st, Packard publicly stated that arms reduction would be "advantageous" both to the United States and the Soviet Union. Slowing down the arms race would "maintain stability" in the world and decrease their enormous expenditures for weapons. In a press conference, Packard suggested that the two top powers must maintain a basic balance of power, which suggests the notion of parity advanced by defense planners in the Johnson administration. Moreover, Packard, who helped create the Urban Coalition in Palo Alto, California, apparently sees the need to maintain a balance between military spending and spending for other national problems. <sup>15</sup>

The other very important post in government pertaining to foreign policy and national security is that of Henry A. Kissinger who will be President Nixon's National Security Advisor. Kissinger is associated with the hard liners in developing policies with regard to the use of nuclear weapons although he recognizes the need to liquidate the Vietnam adventure as soon as possible. His appointment was widely hailed in university and intellectual circles. His critics suggest that he shares the world outlook of his predecessors such as McGeorge Bundy and Walt Rostow whose performance with regard to Vietnam can not inspire confidence.

Of one thing we can be certain, the appointments of Laird and Kissinger have been hailed by those who will profit by military spending. Aviation Week and Space Technology <sup>16</sup> makes the following comments:

On questions of national defense policy, REP: LAIRD IS BASICALLY IN AGREEMENT WITH THE STRONG-DEFENSE, STRONG-OFFENSE IDEAS OF PROF. HENRY A. KISSINGER, named by Nixon as chief national security advisor. Rep. Laird's views also tend to coincide with those of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. But Congressional sources say that he will be a stickler for maintaining strict civilian control over the military....

Rep. Laird's presence in the Nixon cabinet will affect the future of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. He favors a FAR BIGGER MILITARY ROLE IN SPACE, EMPHASIZING MANNED MISSIONS, WITH FUNDING TO BE TAKEN FROM NASA'S CIVILIAN SPACE PROGRAM IF NECESSARY....

The President of the Navy League, Charles F. Duchein, had this to say about Melvin Laird's designation:

(Laird's) selection to be the civilian defense leader is fortuitous, for out of

the election of 1968 and beyond Vietnam, the U.S. must adopt a new grand strategy that will assure our supremacy for the century ahead...the new Secretary of Defense understands the true significance of strength. His constant reminder of the necessity for strategic initiative bears out this thesis.<sup>17</sup>

Many of us were momentarily encouraged by news that construction of the Sentinel Anti-Ballistics Missile System had been suspended by Mr. Laird. I purposely used the word "momentarily," because there is no reason to suppose that those who will profit from its construction, or those who seek a new toy to play with, will forlong relinquish their objective. The decision may have been no more than a strategic retreat to allow the cries of the protestors and their Congressional allies to die down.<sup>18</sup>

It is really too early to know just how the Nixon administration will turn out with regard to the issues of war and peace. We can not be certain as to what Congress might do in reviewing proposals to increase military spending. We do not know how the weight of responsibility for the world's future will weigh in upon the new President and his close associates. We can not be certain as to the future of the peace movement generated by the morass of Vietnam. Will it take new shape and form, maintaining opposition to policies which it regards as dangerous in design?

Perhaps the most encouraging thing has been said by Theodore H. White, now working on The Making of the President, 1968. In an interview with Israel Shenker of The New York Times, White suggests that Nixon is not the reactionary White thought he was in 1960. Thus White's new view is more sympathetic than the view he held in 1960. Says White:

It's Nixon who has changed. He was the guy who accused Dean Acheson and Harry Truman of 20 years of treason. He's the guy who, when John Foster Dulles took office, said that finally America had a Secretary of State who would stand up to the Russians. Not a single phrase of this period would occur even in the privacy of Nixon's own thoughts today.<sup>19</sup>

While it is probable that "Mr. Nixon's entire political life...bears witness to his belief in American military power as the most vital element in establishing world peace,"<sup>20</sup> it is also true that the new President seems "to have grown well beyond the rather limited anti-Communism which...was the first basis of his political career." In a speech delivered before the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia, Nixon suggested that the "'era of confrontation' was giving way to an 'era of negotiation.'"<sup>21</sup> Thus, as Tom Wicker has suggested, an "advance estimate" can be nothing more than an advance estimate. Mr. Nixon is not an ordinary man, but one of extraordinary experience, and "he will not occupy an ordinary office." Thus, "on the eve of his plunge into history...surely Richard Nixon deserves of us at least open minds and willing hearts."<sup>22</sup>

Many will hope that Nixon, the man who became President because of the disarray of the opposition and the toppling of a President from office because of opposition to the Vietnam war, is not the Nixon who was a Congressman and Senator from California. However, there is an overriding reality which will impose limits on Nixon, regardless of his disposition, and which would have imposed limits on any successful Democratic contender for the Presidency, no matter what his personal commitments might be on issues of war and peace.

Since President Eisenhower warned the nation of a military industrial complex acquiring undue power and influence, there is abundant reason to believe that what he feared is more true than we like to admit. So pervasive has become the influence of the military, and so corrosive is its power, that some writers are now referring to the military-industrial-academic complex, justifiably noting that many academics have become the architects or and rationalizers for policies which are hardly based on the values of a humane and liberal education. An Englishman, F.J.P. Veale, calls ours an Advance to Barbarism. Fred J. Cook has called our The Warfare State. Sober analysis by Terence McCarthy of Columbia University suggests that we live in "The Garrison Economy." He writes:

In the real world of today, the central purpose of a civilian economy is the maintenance and growth of social standards; the art of civil government is to facilitate what the citizen can accomplish for himself and his society. A war economy denies this purpose; it subordinates civilian aims to the single objective of gaining victory in battle over a specific enemy in a specific situation. The civilian sector is required to facilitate what it is the purpose of the government to accomplish--a total, though temporary, inversion of the relation between state and citizen.

The garrison economy differs crucially from both. It is that permanent economic

ordering of the nation-state responsive to the view that what is foreign is threat; that this threat is not ultimate but immediate, not specific but universal; and the magnitude of this threat increases as technical, industrial and social advance occurs abroad, whatever the technical, industrial and social advance occurring at home.

In the garrison economy, the size and character of military spending in part determine the qualities of the economy as a whole. Born out of the allocation of existing resources, the garrison economy evolves toward greater though not total control over future resource allocation. Interpenetration of the military and civilian sectors of the economy proceeds so far that significant demarcation between them becomes impossible. At that point--which has been reached in the United States, as in the Soviet Union--military appropriations, with their effects upon income and capital creation, become the most stabilizing factors in the economy.<sup>23</sup>

Mr. Nixon and his administration, as are all of us, are prisoners of our recent past. Social patterns and thought patterns are intertwined, and the precarious nature of our existence really requires a fundamental restructuring of our thought, of our society, and of the family of nations. It may be possible that the Nixon administration will surprise us by giving the requisite leadership. But if it does not, might that not reflect our unwillingness to face the agony of rethinking the whole gamut of social relationships in our world and the uncertainty of trying new ways?

John Cogley reminds us of the stark truth:

It is clear that whatever we have been doing must have been wrong, or we would not be the unhappy, contentious, bitterly divided, almost hopeless, largely friendless people we have become....

And then, suggests Cogley, "There is something wrong with our ideas of freedom and democracy when so much of the world fears that in their name we may 'save' it with our clanging arms."<sup>24</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Electoral Reform," The Center Magazine (II), Jan., 1969, 2.
2. "Richard Nixon: The Man Nobody Knows," The Progressive(XXXIII), Jan., 1969, 13.
3. Op.Cit., 7-8.
4. The New York Times, Oct. 25, 1968.
5. Ibid., Jan. 1, 1969.
6. Ibid., Jan. 2, 1969.
7. William M. Beecher, ibid., Jan. 16, 1969.
8. Hedrick Smith, ibid., Jan. 17, 1969.
9. Ibid., Jan. 12, 1969.
10. Ibid., Jan. 19, 1969.
11. Ibid., Feb. 16, 1969.
12. Henry Regnery, Chicago, 1962.
13. The New York Times, Jan. 19, 1969.
14. I.F. Stone's Weekly, (XVI), Dec. 30, 1968, 1-4.
15. Ibid., (XVII), Jan. 13, 1969, 3.
16. Dec. 16, 1968.
17. Navy, Jan. 1969 (Organ of the Navy League).
18. Defense Secretary Laird subsequently made clear that construction on the Sentinel system would proceed, but that some sites might be relocated to meet public and Congressional criticism.
19. The New York Times, Jan. 2, 1969.
20. Tom Wicker, "Number 37 is Ready," The New York Times Magazine, Jan. 19, 1969, 84
21. Ibid., 86.
22. Ibid., 96.
23. Columbia University Forum, Fall, 1966, 29-30.
24. "Memos For The New President," The Center Magazine (II), Jan., 1969, 43.





**MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX** "Until the latest of our world conflicts, the United States had no armaments industry. American makers of plowshares could, with time and as required, make swords as well.

"But we can no longer risk emergency improvisation of national defense. We have been compelled to create a permanent armaments industry of vast proportions. Added to this, three and a half million men and women are directly engaged in the defense establishment. We annually spend on military security alone more than the net income of all United States corporations.

"Now this conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. The total influence--economic, political, even spiritual--is felt in every city, every state house, every office of the Federal government. We recognize the imperative need for this development. Yet we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. Our toil, resources and livelihood are all involved; so is the very structure of our society.

"In the councils of Government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist.

"We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes. We should take nothing for granted. Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals, so that security and liberty may prosper together."

---Dwight David Eisenhower, January 17, 1961

Excerpts from his farewell address as President to the American people.

**THE NEW AMERICAN MILITARISM** "America has become a militaristic and aggressive nation...we have numerous contingency plans involving large joint Air Force-Army-Navy-Marine task forces to defend U.S. interests and to safeguard our allies wherever and whenever we suspect Communist aggression. We maintain more than 1,517,000 Americans in uniform overseas in 119 countries. We have 8 treaties to help defend 48 nations if they ask us to--or if we choose to intervene in their affairs. We have an immense and expensive military establishment, fueled by a gigantic defense industry, and millions of proud, patriotic, and frequently bellicose and militaristic citizens. How did this militarist culture evolve? How did this militarism steer us into the tragic military and political morass of Vietnam?"

Before World War II, attitudes "were typically isolationist, pacifist, and generally anti-military." But "America's vastly expanded world role after World War II hinged upon military power. The voices and views of the professional military people became increasingly prominent...distinguished military leaders from the war years filled many top positions in government. Generals Marshall, Eisenhower, MacArthur, Taylor, Ridgeway, LeMay, and others were not only popular heroes but respected opinion-makers. It was a time of international readjustment; military minds offered the benefits of firm views and problem-solving experience to the management of the nation's affairs. Military procedures--including the general staff system, briefings, estimates of the situation, and the organizational and operational techniques of the highly schooled, confident military professionals--spread throughout American culture."

World War II saw millions of men mature, become educated, and achieve "rank and stature during their years in uniform. In spite of themselves, many returned to civilian life as indoctrinated, combat-experienced military professionals...In 1968 the total living veterans...numbered...about 20 per-cent of the adult population.

"Today most middle-aged men, most business, government, civic, and professional leaders, have served some time in uniform. Whether they liked it or not, their military training and experience have affected them for the creeds and attitudes of the armed forces are powerful medicine, and can become habit-forming. The military codes include all the virtues and beliefs used to motivate men of high principle: patriotism, duty and service to country, honor among fellowmen, courage in the face of danger, loyalty to organization and leaders, self-sacrifice for comrades, leadership, discipline, and physical fitness. For many veterans the military's efforts to train and indoctrinate them may well be the most impressive and influential experience they have ever had--especially so for the young and less well educated."



"Closely related to the attitudes and influence of America's millions of veterans is the past and powerful complex of the defense industries....The relationship between the defense industry and U.S. military establishment is closer than many citizens realize. Together they form a powerful public opinion lobby. The several military service associations provide both a forum and a meeting ground for the military and its industries. The associations also provide each of the armed forces with a means of fostering their respective roles, objectives, and propaganda."

\* \* \* \*

"It is this influential nucleus of aggressive, ambitious professional military leaders who are the root of America's evolving militarism. There are over 410,000 commissioned officers on active duty in the four armed services. Of these, well over half are junior ranking reserve officers on temporary active duty. Of the 150,000 or so regular career officers, only a portion are senior ranking colonels, generals, and admirals, but it is they who constitute the elite core of the military establishment...."

"...the professional military, as a group, is probably one of the best organized and most influential of the various segments of the American scene....mostly service academy graduates....the top military leaders are top-caliber men."

"Their education....stresses doctrines, traditions, and codes of the military trade. It produces technicians and disciples, not philosophers." Those "who rise to the top of the military hierarchy have...demonstrated...effectiveness as leaders, planners, and organization managers....but most of all they have demonstrated their loyalty as proponents of their own service's doctrine and their dedication to the defense establishment...."

The tragedy of Vietnam, among other reasons, is a consequence of inter-service rivalry. "The punitive air strikes...following the Tonkin Gulf incident...revealed the readiness of naval air forces to bomb North Vietnam....So by early 1965 the Navy carrier people and the Air Force initiated a contest of comparative strikes, sorties, tonnages dropped...."

"...top-ranking Army officers...wanted to project Army groundcombat units into...Vietnam...to test plans and new equipment, to test the new air-mobile theories and tactics, to try the tactics and techniques of counterinsurgency, and to gain combat experience for young officers and noncommissioned officers...."

"The Marines had somewhat similar motivations, the least of which was any real concern about the political or social problems of the Vietnamese people." Short terms in Vietnam provided "'on-the-job-training'" for Okinawa based Marines.

"In 1964 there were changes in the composition of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and in a matter of a few months the Johnson Administration, encouraged by the aggressive military, hastened into what has become the quagmire of Vietnam. The intention at the time was that the war effort be kept small and 'limited.' But as the momentum and involvement built up, the military leaders rationalized a case that this was not a limited-objective exercise, but was a proper war in defense of the United States against 'Communist aggression' and in honor of our area commitments."

\* \* \* \*

"Somewhat like a religion, the basic appeals of anti-Communism, national defense, and patriotism provide the foundation for a powerful creed upon which the defense establishment can build, grow, and justify its cost. More so than many large bureaucratic organizations, the defense establishment now devotes a large share of its efforts to self-perpetuation, to justifying its organizations, to preaching its doctrines, and to self-maintenance and management...."

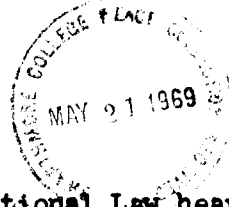
---General David M. Shoup, Marine Corps Commandant, 1959-1963  
The Atlantic - April, 1969

Syracuse Peace Council  
3049 East Genesee St.  
Syracuse, N.Y. 13224

Peace Collection  
Swarthmore College  
Swarthmore, Penna. 19081

Non Profit Org.
U.S. Postage
PAID
Permit #2380
Syracuse, N.Y.

April 1969

ELECTRONIC  
•SNOOPING

Recently, the American Society of International Law heard a panel argue that North Korea and other small countries might be justified in acting to protect themselves from electronic reconnaissance by great powers. William E. Butler, research associate at Harvard Law School, suggested that "the established law of the high seas has been outmoded by the advent of electronic intelligence." Modern monitoring devices "penetrate to the heart of a country's defenses" and thus call into question the immunity claimed by reconnaissance vessels on the high seas.

George H. Aldrich, assistant legal advisor to the U.S. State Department, contended that under established international law, "the Pueblo, as a foreign man-of-war, was entitled to absolute immunity from seizure by the North Koreans." Mr. Butler countered by suggesting that established law might be changing under the influence of technological developments. "Coastal states cannot be blamed if they view offshore electronic intelligence operations as a substantially new phenomenon in international life." Moreover, suggested Butler, great powers with superior wealth and technology take advantage of small, poorer countries unable to afford their own reconnaissance systems. Great powers engage in espionage by claiming an immunity of the high seas intended primarily to protect navigation.

Mr. Butler's views were not supported by all members of the panel. However, Mr. Butler's position suggests an explanation for the seizure of the Pueblo and the downing of a reconnaissance aircraft off North Korea.

--New York Times, April 25, 1969

U.S.S.R.  
& U.S.A.  
EQUATED

Andreas Papandreou, son of the former Greek premier George Papandreou, and himself a political exile, charged, in a recent address at Colgate University, that the Russians did no more in Czechoslovakia than the United States did in the Greek coup of 1967.

Papandreou bitterly charged the Greek intelligence agency (KYP) with being "little more than an extension of the American CIA," and that the two engineered the military coup in Greece. The coup took place shortly before the scheduled elections of May 28, 1967, when it was expected that the Center Union Party of the Papandreous would score heavily at the polls.

The speaker contended that the CIA feared a "non-existent" threat of Communist takeover and engineered the coup with the KYP because of a "security psychosis" in the NATO command. "Democracy must die in the interests of security."

Papandreou compared American "participation" in the Greek coup with the recent Soviet-endorsed deposition of liberal Czech leader Alexander Dubcek. In both cases the attempt was "to assure the country's safety within its bloc."

--Utica Observer-Dispatch, April 25, 1969

A.B.M.  
DEBATE

While the Senate of the United States debates the Anti-Ballistic Missile System, the real and more fundamental issue under debate is the size of the Defense Department's budget. Now pegged by the Nixon administration at \$79.4 billion, there are those in the Senate, such as Mike Mansfield, who believe that it can be cut by 5 billion dollars.

Mansfield points out that the Defense Department for the third time is seeking funds (\$187 million this year) for fast-deployment logistics ships to carry helicopters, Marines, and supplies. These ships would be constantly stationed on the high seas, ready to move at an instant's notice. Twice Congress has deleted funds for such construction from previous budgets, fearing that the availability of quick response forces might increase U.S. involvement in situations elsewhere without adequate consideration of its wisdom.

Mansfield notes that the United States now has 429 major bases and 2,297 minor bases occupying 1,000 square miles of land in some 30 foreign countries. There is a move to curtail U.S. bases and military missions to other countries. In these, and other ways, Mansfield suggests that there is a growing desire in Congress "to recognize the realities of the day, to recognize...that we cannot police the world, that we cannot go into every area which is in difficulties, that we do not have unlimited resources or unlimited power..."

--New York Times April 27, 1969

SOCIAL  
UNREST  
REACHING  
MILITARY

Recently the press has been taking note of dissent within the military forces, particularly the Army. The Case of the Presidio 27 is one of the more dramatic, a dispute aimed at conditions in a military prison. More alarming to the military is the growing disenchantment among GI's with the war in Vietnam. Some men have been forcibly placed on planes to Vietnam. The military is receiving increased numbers of applications for release from military service by those who claim to have become conscientious objectors. There is a rising rate of desertion. It has now passed the Korean War peak of 28 for each 1,000 men and is expected to rise. There are anti-war GI coffee houses at Columbia, S.C., near Fort Jackson; Kileen, Texas, near Fort Hood; and Tacoma, Washington, at Fort Lewis. Elsewhere there are underground newspapers.

DEFENSE '68  
DARK  
CORNER

Recently Congressman Richard D. McCarthy of upstate New York has assumed leadership in Congress of those forces challenging the chemical-biological warfare programs of the Pentagon. In a recent analysis, McCarthy pointed out that the Defense Department justifies the use of tear gas in Vietnam as a humane effort to minimize casualties, yet news reports suggest that the tear gas has been used to drive enemy forces out of fortified positions as a prelude to B-52 bombing and artillery attacks. Herbicides, the Pentagon admits, are being used in a "carefully limited operation in South Vietnam to disrupt the enemy's food supply." All told, the Pentagon spends \$350 million per year on chemical and biological research, although employment of such materials in combat is precluded by the principles of Geneva protocols to which the U.S. adheres.

In an editorial, the New York Times, April 23, called on the nation to abandon "all chemical and biological warfare research. Experience in Vietnam has already demonstrated the dangerous temptation to erode the difference between this country's official policy of never using such weapons first and its actual employment of chemical weapons in marginal ways."

WAR AND  
INFLATION

Senator Barry Goldwater says that the American people should "thank heaven" for the military-industrial complex. The intertwined military-industrial structure, he says, is "the bubble under which our nation thrives and prospers." --Weekly Newscript, Mass. Council of Churches.

Dr. Walter Heller, economic advisor to our last three presidents, says, "I would say the biggest single thing in fighting inflation would be to end the war in Vietnam. But that's only going to help us if we re-direct some of those resources both to our civilian uses and to cutting down or ending the surtax."

--Night Call.

FERMENT IN  
LATIN  
AMERICA

Bishop Helder Camara of Brasil hopes to break up the close relations between the military and the rich minority in his country in order to win changes in the social order there. Bishop Camara told a recent press conference in London that he is trying to form a movement of "moral liberation" to persuade Brasil's military of the danger of their anti-communism fixation. "If the army will withdraw its support from the rich, we will then succeed in changing the social order." In other lands, it is the lower clergy who summon both church and government to do something about the deepening human crises in the hemisphere. Recent United Nations economic and social studies of Latin America indicate that the area is poorer internally and more heavily exploited from abroad now than was the case eight years ago when the so-called Alliance for Progress was set up by President Kennedy. Bishop Camara told reporters that one sign of hope is what he called "progressive American (that is, U.S.) youth." The social order in industrial nations, Camara explained, must change before change can take place in undeveloped Latin America.

--Newscript, April 23, 1969

POPULARITY  
OF U.S.A.

When he recently appeared on NightCall (a nation-wide call-in radio program), Gunnar Myrdal was asked if the nations of the world look on the United States in any positive way. He replied, "No. They are not prepared to want America to police the world, and as far as the U.S. feeding the world is concerned you must remember U.S. aid is petering down to almost nothing, and a third of it goes to Vietnam which none of us consider as foreign aid."

## STAFF REPORT

April 9-May 5, 1969

### Fund Raising

Many of you have been or will soon be contacted by a member of the Peace Council asking you to increase your contribution to the Peace Council. This personal solicitation campaign is underway and although progressing slowly some progress is being made. At the present time expenditures are being made at a greater rate than contributions are being received. Unless this campaign is successful, the Peace Council will be in real financial trouble.

### Tax Day

On April 15th, 2,000 leaflets were handed out downtown pointing out the fact that high taxes are caused by Warfare rather than Welfare spending.

### High School

April 28 through May 2 was Black armband week. Over 150 students in six high schools wore black arm bands to mourn the dead in Vietnam and to protest the continuation of the war. This project was organized by the high school committee of the Peace Council.

### Upstate Conference

Considerable planning has gone into preparation for a conference for upstate New York Peace Organizations to be held in Syracuse May 17. This conference is co-sponsored by the Peace Council and the AFSC. The response to recruiting efforts has been enthusiastic. The conference should put the Peace Council in close communication with other groups and because of new ideas and co-ordinated actions should greatly increase the effectiveness of the Peace Council.

### DRAFT

We have continued to have one or two persons in the office each day seeking draft counseling. In addition a sub-committee has been planning a draft program centered on Central High School. A meeting on alternatives to the draft is being planned for high school students. After the meeting there will be counselors available at least one day a week for several weeks.

### Speakers

We have begun to get speakers out into the community. However, to expand this service it is important that Peace Council members work to get Peace Council speakers before the groups they belong to. Dale Tussing spoke to the North Syracuse Lions Club; Mary Jane Hoffman spoke to the Association of Baptist Women; Sam Feld spoke to the Adult Discussion Group of St. Albans Episcopal Church; Harry Weintraub, Steve Ludwig and Tom and Carol Schur led workshops at a Central New York Youth Conference of the Methodist Church.

### Welfare

The Peace Council sponsored a meeting at the Church Center of persons concerned about cuts in Welfare. This meeting resulted in a rally the next night sponsored by another group attended by 350 persons, which in turn planned demonstrations against the welfare cuts. By doing this we were able to point out the connections between Warfare spending and a lack of Welfare spending.

### Peace Fellowship Supper

Fifty persons attended a pot luck supper sponsored by the Peace Council April 23. After our meal we broke down into smaller discussion groups to plan Peace Council activities. After these discussions an excellent film on Chemical and Biological Warfare, "A Plague on Your Children," was shown. People attending this function seemed to feel that we need more such opportunities to get to know each other.

### Office

The office was busy this month with the usual paper work and work on an expanded filing system. The mimeo machine was also put to a great deal of use by the LeMoyné College Committee Against White Racism, which has been conducting a campaign to urge LeMoyné College to see that black people were hired by the Unions working on LeMoyné building construction. We are also grateful for Larry Knickerbocker's assistance with office work during Mary Jane's absence.

Notice of Important Events

**ABM TEACH-IN**  
 May 12, 1969 8:00 P.M.  
 Gifford Auditorium, Syracuse University Campus

**Speakers:**  
 Congressman Jonathan Bingham (founder of the Ad Hoc Committee of New Yorkers against the ABM)  
 Dr. Jay Orear (Physicist at Cornell and Past President of the Federation of American Scientists)  
 A representative of the Department of Defense

**Sponsored by:** Faculty Concerned about War and Peace and Citizens Committee on the ABM

May 12

**UPSTATE CONFERENCE ON COMMUNITY PEACE ORGANIZING**  
 Saturday, May 17, 1969 9:30-5:00 P.M.  
 The Church Center  
 3049 East Genesee St., Syracuse  
 \$1.50 for lunch and registration

.....an opportunity for peace activists from upstate cities to get together and share experience. If you are interested in attending this conference, call the Peace Council office, 446-5656, for further details.

May 17

**ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SYRACUSE PEACE COUNCIL**  
 .....another opportunity for you to become involved in the work of the Peace Council. Make plans now to attend this important annual meeting. Make plans also to bring friends who might become interested in the work of the Peace Council.

**Date:** June 12, 1969  
**Time:** 6:00 P.M.  
**Place:** The Church Center, 3049 East Genesee St.  
**Cost:** \$2.00 for Dinner  
**Speaker:** Ron Clark, former Executive Secretary of the World Without War Council of Northern California  
**Topic:** "The Peace Council, A Vision."  
**Parking:** At rear of building.

June 12

ABM

A committee has been meeting to plan a letter writing campaign against the ABM. Next week Peace Council members will be called and strongly urged to write several of these very important letters.

Syracuse Peace Council  
3049 East Genesee St.  
Syracuse, N.Y. 13224

Non Profit Org. U.S. Postage
PAID
Permit #2380 Syracuse, N.Y.

Peace Collection  
Swarthmore College  
Swarthmore, Pa. 19081

The following is a statement by Larry Knickerbocker to his local draft board as to why he was going to refuse induction into the military. Unable to get the Selective Service System to recognize his claim as a conscientious objector, Larry refused induction at the Syracuse induction center on May 19, 1969. During the period before his refusal and now, as he is awaiting arrest, he is working in the Peace Council office. Previously he was a high school teacher and a yard man at a used car lot. Larry's wife, Marcia, is a kindergarten teacher in North Syracuse.

## WHY I RESIST: A PERSONAL MANIFESTO

(I have prepared the following statement in the hope that it may serve to explain, at least in part, the reasons for my contemplated refusal to serve in the armed forces of the United States of America.)

For all of the twenty-four years of my life, I have been a citizen of the United States of America. I was born in this country in 1944, the son of an American soldier stationed in Europe with the Army Corps of Engineers. By right of birth, therefore, and by reason of my upbringing, the course of my life has been committed, from its beginning, to the life and fortunes of this nation.

Inherent in this commitment is what I feel to be my personal responsibility in the social and political affairs of this nation. I am an American and this is my nation; whatever is done in the name of this nation and the people of this nation is done in my name as well.

In terms of the long-standing traditions of human society, the relationship thus defined - between citizenship and individual responsibility - seems well established. Moreover, in terms of a modern legal precedent, it is the principle established by the war trials at Nuremberg, a principle of international relations which was both recognized and sanctioned by the United States through its co-sponsorship of those trials.

On the basis of these criteria, it seems imperative that individual human beings recognize a kind of dual citizenship, a double responsibility, thrust upon them by reason of their very existence at this juncture in human history. The traditional relationship between the individual citizen and his nation-state is now explicitly paralleled by the wider responsibilities incumbent upon him as a member of the human race. In fact, in seeking to define the limitations - and call to recognition the perils - of uncritical loyalty to national self-interests, the previously mentioned war trials served to indicate that the first claim on individual loyalty is the mutually shared responsibility for humanity-at-large.

It is within the context of this definition, and in recognition of the responsibility which it entails, that I feel compelled to repudiate the recent conduct of this nation's foreign affairs, particularly with reference to our present involvement in Vietnam. Therefore, to the end that I may fulfill my responsibility as a member of the race of Man, I declare that I will not serve as a member of the armed forces of the United States and that I will henceforth seek to do all within my power to secure the end of that nation's involvement in Vietnam and in all like enterprises which reasonably seem to be to the detriment of the human race.

If the consequence of my refusal to serve the limited and selfish interests of this nation is to be the relinquishment of my liberties as a citizen, then it may serve the broader interests of humanity for me to accept those consequences and not be deterred from acknowledging the solemn responsibilities that human life and human perception have thrust upon me. Perhaps, in serving first the interests of humanity, I may ultimately be serving the most crucial needs of this nation. That, at least, is my hope.

To reiterate, I do not mean to imply that the sole basis of my present position is the assumption suggested by the Nuremberg trials. The concept of humanitarian responsibility is much older, and much more widely sanctioned in our own society than the present example would in itself suggest.

In two important respects, however, it provides an historically objectified standard by which we may judge the validity of our own commitments. First, as mentioned above, the Nuremberg tribunal represents a direct attempt, on the part of the United States and her allies, to broaden the scope of individual responsibility beyond simple loyalty to nation and to re-define that responsibility in terms of international law. Secondly, and in a very real sense, it follows that the dilemma of the German people during World War II may find a significant parallel in that which faces Americans of conscience today.

In this regard, it is one of the chilling ironies of our position in Vietnam that in the person of Vice-President Ky we are asked to support the policies and political assumptions of a man whose avowed hero in history is none other than Adolph Hitler. I firmly believe that there is good reason to suggest that this unwholesome affinity of Mr. Ky's has more widely characterized the policy-making and military tactics of our Saigon allies than our own government would like to admit and that we, as a nation, are therefore liable to an equal guilt by association,

Be that as it may, we as Americans, citizens of a powerful and democratic nation, have many reasons - more, perhaps, than any other people in history - to repudiate violence as an accepted means of dealing with our problems in the world at large.

We, as Americans, have the responsibility to see that the power derived from the consent of the people is not used to the detriment of others.

--Lawrence P. Knickerbocker  
May 6, 1969

Syracuse Peace Council  
3049 East Genesee Street  
Syracuse, New York 13224

Non-Profit Org. U.S. Postage PAID Permit #2380 Syracuse, N.Y.
---------------------------------------------------------------------------

If you want to work for Peace, it is not enough to sit and wait for someone from the Executive Committee or Peace Council staff to telephone you and ask you to work. They are busy people and may or may not find time to call you this month. It is your responsibility to call the Peace Council office, 446-5656 and ask what you can do. If you have an idea and want to know additional persons who can work with you by all means call the office. If you want to work but don't know what to do, call the office and David Easter or Mary Jane Hoffman will be glad to work out with you a task that interests you.

Coming Event: Hiroshima Vigil, August 6, at noon  
Co-sponsored with Women's International League for Peace

New Publication: "The ABM And A World Without War" by Robert Pickus (a co-author of Speak Truth to Power)  
Published by A World Without War Council  
Available from our literature rack at 95¢  
..... This book Challenges the assumptions of ABM proponents and many opponents  
Defines the role of non-expert citizens bewildered by the complexity of the technical debate;  
Places the ABM debate in the context of work for a world without war;  
Offers a strategy of American peace initiatives capable of confronting and changing present reliance on national military power for security.

ACTION CALL NOW

The issue of deployment of a costly and unproven anti-ballistic system has far too grave consequences to all mankind to be decided on the basis of narrow political interests. Write your local newspaper. Wire or write your representatives in Congress. Tell them to vote NO on the ABM. Tell them to vote for life.

Wire or write these uncommitted Senators:

Senator Warren G. Magnuson  
Senator John J. Williams  
Senator Thomas J. McIntyre  
Senator Mike Gravel  
Senator Clinton P. Anderson  
(all at Senate Office Bldg., Washington, D.C.)  
( Public Opinion Cable - 15 words - 95¢

Syracuse Peace Council  
3049 East Genesee Street  
Syracuse, New York 13224  
446-5656

Non-Profit Org.  
U.S. Postage  
PAID  
Permit # 2380  
Syracuse, N.Y.



Syracuse Peace Council  
Staff Report  
June 3 - July 15, 1969

ANNUAL MEETING

The Annual Meeting of the Syracuse Peace Council was held on June 12, 1969. Over 60 persons were present for dinner. The following members were elected to the Executive Committee for the coming year: Chairman, Rev. Harvey Bates, and Rev. Ron Clark, Mrs. Pat Dargin, Allen Miller and Dale Tussing. Many thanks are extended to retiring members: co-chairmen Julian Friedman and Norman Kelm and Norman Balabanian, Jerome Berrigan, Ralph Cooper and Isabel Cowan. The speaker of the evening, Ron Clark talked about trends within the peace movement.

PEACEMOBILE

The greatest amount of staff time during this period has been spent preparing for and maintaining the Syracuse Peace Council's Peacemobile. The Peacemobile is an experiment in reaching out into the community. Nearly every day during July a team of 6 persons has traveled in a car or Bus with a sign on top to a shopping center, church, ball game or other public gathering. At their destination they have handed out leaflets on the draft or on MIRV or some other peace topic. When possible the leafleters have engaged passersby in conversation. The response so far has been varied. A number of persons have returned the tear sheets at the bottom of the leaflets indicating they would like to work for peace. Sooner or later in about half the trips, a manager of a store has come out to inform the team that leafleting is not allowed. At present we are investigating the possibility of a suit asking for a declaratory judgment through the courts stating our right to pass out literature at shopping centers. There have been several other cases in other cities indicating that we would win such a suit. Additional persons to man the Peacemobile are needed. Suggestions as to how to refine and make the Peacemobile more effective are wanted.

STATE FAIR

The Peace Council is going to have a booth in the Harriet May Mills Building at the State Fair. Mary Jane Hoffman and Ada Carter had successful conversations with Fair managers who reduced the rental fee for a small booth from \$275 to free space. A committee has been meeting weekly to design the booth. Current plans call for a continuous peace Questionnaire to be projected on a screen so that questions can be asked and immediately answered. Plans also call for the distribution of peace literature as well as handing out helium filled balloons bearing a peace message. Members of the Peace Council will be called by phone and asked to work on this booth. Don't wait to be drafted: instead phone the Peace Council office and volunteer. The Fair is August 26 through September 1.

HIGH SCHOOL

The high school committee carried out two events during this period. One was a potluck supper at the home of Jane Whitney. The other was a Vietnam teach-in led by Oliver Clubb held at the Church Center.

DRAFT COUNSELING

Draft counseling has taken an excessive amount of staff time this past month. Two or three persons have been in nearly every day. Additional counselors are being trained but at present a workable system for distributing the counseling load has yet to be worked out.

FILM

The film "A Plague On Your Children," which is about Chemical and Biological Warfare produced by the BBC was shown on July 10 for persons working in the Church Center and interested visitors including representatives of the United Presbyterian Church, Church Women United, and W.I.L. In addition, that same day the film was shown in one of the dormitories at Syracuse University.

OFFICE

A mailing was sent to the 100 persons who participated in the Memorial Day Roll Call of the Vietnam war dead who were not previously on our mailing list. A similar mailing including a leaflet on the ABM was sent to attenders of the ABM teach-in at Syracuse University last spring. Through the Presbytery office, a leaflet on Violence in our Society was mailed out to 60 Presbyterian churches in the Cayuga-Syracuse Presbytery. So far one church has requested enough leaflets to distribute in the Church bulletin.

During the month 10,000 leaflets have been prepared for the Peacemobile.

Tapes made of speeches given at the China Institute have been given to the Methodist Film library as a supplemental aid to the Friendship Press material for next year's mission study on China by the Protestant churches.

CHANGING HAWKS "Hawk-type political leaders are fond of telling war objectors that if they could know what the leaders know they would understand the need to continue the fighting in Vietnam. And yet, especially of late as with former Defense Secretary Clark Clifford, those same leaders are discovering that it was they, the 'practical' men, who were wrong.

"How can it be that these politicians are only now learning what they might have read five years or more ago in The Eagle, The New Republic or many another 'liberal' publication? How can it be that the college students have known for years what the politicians are learning only today? The intellectual process does give better answers after all; and we must re-establish faith in the method of study and thought which has been almost universally maligned by the militarists.

"It follows that we should be considering other points that the 'eggheads' are hammering at now. They are saying that the billions we have been spending for war in Vietnam should not be diverted merely to other military and semi-military projects like the ABM and space, but rather to the elimination of poverty before it eliminates us.

"If we put a man on the moon, surely we can take a child out of a slum."

Arthur B. Phinny of Lenox, Massachusetts  
Letter in The Berkshire Eagle, June 30, 1969

MILITARY INFLUENCE "The military's influence in administrative decision making is climbing in the wake of Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird's efforts to loosen the intensive Pentagon centralization imposed during the McNamara years."

Whereas, during the McNamara years, the President and civilian secretaries often made decisions without consulting military leaders and gave commanders in Vietnam "guidance" suggestions and outright orders," the situation has been altered under Laird. "Every member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff has been invited at one time or another to sit in on consultations of the National Security Council, President Nixon's top policy-making body" and the Systems Analysis Office which "had the power of life and death over key weapons and other programs" has been downgraded. Meanwhile military commanders and administrators are left much room to operate within broad outlines of administration policy.

Fred S. Hoffman, Associated Press  
dispatch published June 30th, 1969

ABM & MIRV In a review of ABM ("An Evaluation of the Decision to Deploy an Antiballistic Missile System" edited by Abram Chayes and Jerome B. Wiesner) J.P. Ruina, Vice President for Special Laboratories at M.I.T., says:

"In the minds of the Nixon Administration, the ABM has developed virtues beyond purely anti-Chinese defense. To increase public acceptance, the Executive Branch has smoothed the rough edges and lightly repackaged Sentinel and renamed it Safeguard...

"It has taken considerable agility to follow the ever-changing justifications for an ABM deployment. Is it to protect our people from a purposeful Soviet attack? An accidental attack? A small and suicidal Chinese attack? Is it intended to protect our strategic forces? Is it to be an educational exercise in preparation for a possible deployment of a much bigger ABM system? Or is it useful to have so it can be bargained away at arms limitation talks? The fact that different reasons are used to justify the system is not in itself a cause for concern, but each purpose requires a different system configuration and has different costs. The varying justifications have created skepticism about ABM and an unfortunate (sic.) loss of confidence in our military and civilian defense leaders."

Soviet deployment of a new Intercontinental Missile, the SS-9, and fear that it will carry MIRV's (Multiple independent reentry vehicles) provides a new justification for our ABM. But if Melvin Laird's apprehensions are justified, Safeguard will not be adequate to protect our missiles, for there will not be enough ABM's to handle all the potential MIRV's.

"The arms race is now being escalated by these developments: United States and Soviet ABM deployment, Soviet build-up of a large SS-9 force and United States and Soviet MIRV development. SS-9 and ABM represent serious problems only if there is a large deployment and we will know the scale of their deployment. MIRV is another matter. If MIRV develop-

ment and testing programs continue we may be unable to discover the extent to which the Soviets put MIRV's on their missiles or how well their MIRV's work. Since each Soviet missile with MIRV's can potentially destroy not one but perhaps three, four, or more of our land-based ICBM's, we will be forced to react to this substantial Soviet threat.

"The issue, therefore, becomes one of stopping MIRV development and testing before the technology reaches the point where deployment of a reliable system is possible. The effect of progress in MIRV technology is therefore not gradual nor readily capable of reversal or reduction...."

-- New York Times Book Review, June 29, 1969

**VIETNAM** It has gone almost unnoticed, but in the recent Senate Appropriations hearings on the Second Supplemental Appropriations bill for 1969, it was revealed that the United States plans to spend \$6.2 billion per year for the next five years on the South Vietnamese Army. I.F. Stone (Weekly, June 30) says "This may not be enough to enable Thieu on his own to win the war but it will certainly give him the firepower to maintain his dictatorship. The long-range plan is for long-range involvement. The strategy is still--as one Pentagon official explained privately earlier--to reduce the number of U.S. combat troops and the fighting to a level the U.S. public will tolerate for a long pull. Even Clifford suggests leaving air-lift and air support forces in Vietnam after combat troops have left."

**LATIN AMERICA** The recent series of trips to Latin America by Nelson Rockefeller were ostensibly to get facts for President Nixon. The trips were frequently greeted with violence. Why? Could it be that a wealthy American with heavy investments in Venezuela and other Latin American countries is regarded as a symbol of the economic exploitation of Latin America by the North American colossus? As knowledgeable as Governor Rockefeller might be about Latin America, and as fluent as he may be in Spanish, is it possible to gather facts when one's conversations are limited, primarily, to the ruling oligarchs? Perhaps the impression one comes away with, when his talks have been with a limited circle, are distorted." There may be a lot more facts and views that need to be put into the mix of mental computers if the United States is to develop a better policy to that unhappy continent.

**MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX** Never before has the Military-Industrial Complex come under such scathing attack as in recent months. Numerous magazines and newspapers have been raising serious questions, often because of the sheer waste involved in military procurement to say nothing of the influence of the military on policy formulation.

Something of the sensitivity of the military to criticism is afforded by Arthur Ernest Fitzgerald, described by Barbara Newman in The Washington Monthly (July, 1969) as "The Pentagon's Loneliest Man." His career "is in jeopardy. His sin: zeal and honesty... as a high-ranking Air Force management expert." Industry rewards those "who ferret out waste and sloppiness" but in the Pentagon, if one tells the truth to Congress, he may "come upon hard times."

It was Fitzgerald who revealed that the giant C-5A military cargo plane being built by Lockheed would cost almost \$2 billion more than the original contract price. "The C-5A is the largest plane ever built...almost as long as a football field." The story of bidding on the plane suggests that military contractors, under "total package" procurement may take a lesson the research and development phase of the contract, and possibly on the production of the first batch of weapons. But on the second batch of weapons (in this case C-5B's), repricing would permit the contractor to recoup losses on the first phase or two of the contract. On this particular contract, there is no repricing formula in the original published contracts, and certain records have disappeared from files. But, "For telling it like it is, A.E. Fitzgerald has been stripped of his duties and assigned to investigate the cost overrun on a 20-lane bowling alley in Thailand...Whether the Nixon Administration restores him to effectiveness by re-involving him in cost and performance studies of major weapons systems will indicate the depth of Secretary Laird's public assertion that he intends to get tough with contractors and cut costs. Fitzgerald has done more than any man in Washington to encourage a close look at waste in the Pentagon budget...."

**THE POWER OF THE PENTAGON** is the theme of the June special issue of Progressive. It is a report of a Congressional Study Conference on that theme held in March. Indispensable for a quick look at the problem. Single copies, \$1 each. Quantity rates from  
The Progressive, Madison, Wisconsin 53703.

Syracuse Peace Council  
Staff Report  
June 3 - July 15, 1969

ANNUAL MEETING

The Annual Meeting of the Syracuse Peace Council was held on June 12, 1969. Over 60 persons were present for dinner. The following members were elected to the Executive Committee for the coming year: Chairman, Rev. Harvey Bates, and Rev. Ron Clark, Mrs. Pat Durgin, Allen Miller and Dale Tussing. Many thanks are extended to retiring members: co-chairmen Julian Friedman and Norman Keim and Norman Balabanian, Jerome Berrigan, Ralph Cooper and Isabel Cowan. The speaker of the evening, Ron Clark talked about trends within the peace movement.

PEACEMOBILE

The greatest amount of staff time during this period has been spent preparing for and maintaining the Syracuse Peace Council's Peacemobile. The Peacemobile is an experiment in reaching out into the community. Nearly every day during July a team of 6 persons has traveled in a car or Bus with a sign on top to a shopping center, church, ball game or other public gathering. At their destination they have handed out leaflets on the draft or on MIRV or some other peace topic. When possible the leafleters have engaged passersby in conversation. The response so far has been varied. A number of persons have returned the tear sheets at the bottom of the leaflets indicating they would like to work for peace. Sooner or later in about half the trips, a manager of a store has come out to inform the team that leafleting is not allowed. At present we are investigating the possibility of a suit asking for a declaratory judgment through the courts stating our right to pass out literature at shopping centers. There have been several other cases in other cities indicating that we would win such a suit. Additional persons to man the Peacemobile are needed. Suggestions as to how to refine and make the Peacemobile more effective are wanted.

STATE FAIR

The Peace Council is going to have a booth in the Harriet May Mills Building at the State Fair. Mary Jane Hoffman and Ada Carter had successful conversations with Fair managers who reduced the rental fee for a small booth from \$275 to free space. A committee has been meeting weekly to design the booth. Current plans call for a continuous peace Questionnaire to be projected on a screen so that questions can be asked and immediately answered. Plans also call for the distribution of peace literature as well as handing out helium filled balloons bearing a peace message. Members of the Peace Council will be called by phone and asked to work on this booth. Don't wait to be drafted: instead phone the Peace Council office and volunteer. The Fair is August 26 through September 1.

HIGH SCHOOL

The high school committee carried out two events during this period. One was a potluck supper at the home of Jane Whitney. The other was a Vietnam teach-in led by Oliver Clubb held at the Church Center.

DRAFT COUNSELING

Draft counseling has taken an excessive amount of staff time this past month. Two or three persons have been in nearly every day. Additional counselors are being trained but at present a workable system for distributing the counseling load has yet to be worked out.

FILM

The film "A Plague On Your Children," which is about Chemical and Biological Warfare produced by the BBC was shown on July 10 for persons working in the Church Center and interested visitors including representatives of the United Presbyterian Church, Church Women United, and W.I.E. In addition, that same day the film was shown in one of the dormitories at Syracuse University.

OFFICE

A mailing was sent to the 100 persons who participated in the Memorial Day Roll Call of the Vietnam war dead who were not previously on our mailing list. A similar mailing including a leaflet on the ABM was sent to attenders of the ABM teach-in at Syracuse University last spring. Through the Presbytery office, a leaflet on Violence in our Society was mailed out to 60 Presbyterian churches in the Cayuga-Syracuse Presbytery. So far one church has requested enough leaflets to distribute in the Church bulletin.

During the month 10,000 leaflets have been prepared for the Peacemobile.

Tapes made of speeches given at the China Institute have been given to the Methodist Film library as a supplemental aid to the Friendship Press material for next year's mission study on China by the Protestant churches.

If you want to work for Peace, it is not enough to sit and wait for someone from the Executive Committee or Peace Council staff to telephone you and ask you to work. They are busy people and may or may not find time to call you this month. It is your responsibility to call the Peace Council office, 446-5656 and ask what you can do. If you have an idea and want to know additional persons who can work with you by all means call the office. If you want to work but don't know what to do, call the office and David Easter or Mary Jane Hoffman will be glad to work out with you a task that interests you.

Coming Event: Hiroshima Vigil, August 6, at noon  
Co-sponsored with Women's International League for Peace

New Publication: "The ABM And A World Without War" by Robert Pickus (a co-author of Speak Truth to Power)

Published by A World Without War Council  
Available from our literature rack at 95¢

- ..... This book Challenges the assumptions of ABM proponents and many opponents  
Defines the role of non-expert citizens bewildered by the complexity of the technical debate;  
Places the ABM debate in the context of work for a world without war;  
Offers a strategy of American peace initiatives capable of confronting and changing present reliance on national military power for security.

ACTION CALL NOW

The issue of deployment of a costly and unproven anti-ballistic system has far too grave consequences to all mankind to be decided on the basis of narrow political interests. Write your local newspaper. Wire or write your representatives in Congress. Tell them to vote NO on the ABM. Tell them to vote for life.

Wire or write these uncommitted Senators:

Senator Warren G. Magnuson  
Senator John J. Williams  
Senator Thomas J. McIntyre  
Senator Mike Gravel  
Senator Clinton P. Anderson  
(all at Senate Office Bldg., Washington, D.C.)  
( Public Opinion Cable - 15 words - 95¢

Syracuse Peace Council  
1049 East Genesee Street  
Syracuse, New York 13224  
446-5656

Non-Profit Org.  
U.S. Postage  
PAID  
Permit # 2380  
Syracuse, N.Y.

OMINOUS? Concluding extemporaneous remarks made in Bangkok, Thailand, on July 28th, President Nixon said:

"We have been together in the past, we are together at the present, and the United States will stand proudly with Thailand against those who might threaten it from abroad or from within." (Emphasis supplied)

Do those concluding words suggest a commitment to defend a government against revolution? Is it possible that a revolution represents the erosion of public confidence in an existing regime? Is it possible for an outside power to prop up a regime that has lost the confidence of those it purports to govern over an extended period of time?

WORLD POLICEMAN? Business International, the voice of the multinational corporation, cautioned in 1967:

"Despite its continually growing affluence, the U.S. faces a series of economic and political tensions... Internationally, the tensions result mainly from the determination of the U.S. government to be the world's policeman even at the risk of a steadily weakening dollar.

"This conflict will not end with the cessation of hostilities in Vietnam, whenever that may be; it will end only if the U.S. government stops maintaining semi-permanent U.S. legions that are ready to march into every area of political chaos in the world."

SENSE OF THE SENATE By a vote of 70 to 16, the U.S. Senate approved a National Commitments Resolution which declares it to be "the sense of the Senate" that American military forces or financial resources can be committed to a foreign country only after "affirmative action taken by the legislative and executive branches of the United States government by means of a treaty, statute, or concurrent resolution of both houses of Congress specifically providing for such commitment."

The resolution does not have the force of law and nothing in it assures that there will be no recurrence of "such outrageous adventures initiated by the Executive as the Bay of Pigs or the Dominican intervention... or the war in Vietnam..." However, the resolution is evidence that many Senators "may have learned an important lesson from the follies and tragedies of recent years...."

Progressive, August, 1969.

BUT THERE WAS PATHFINDER! Flora Lewis, the columnist, recently reported that twice in the past two years U.S. forces in Spain, which number 10,000, practiced the crushing of a theoretical revolt against the Franco regime. Known as Pathfinder Express I and II, the exercises came to light only when Miss Lewis obtained information from a sub-committee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Recently the Senate, after assurance of no secret commitment to the Franco regime, approved the extension of a military agreement with Spain over air and naval bases. We give Franco \$50 millions worth of weapons for the use of the bases, and--apparently--assurance of assistance should his people suddenly decide that they would like a new government.

NERVE GASES A recent accident on Okinawa subjected twenty-four Army men to a whiff of deadly nerve gas, from which they recovered. The accident revealed what had not been known previously, that the Army has located nerve weapons outside the continental limits of the United States.

In 1925, world-wide reaction to the uses of gases in World War I led to the Geneva protocol prohibiting the use of gases. While the United States has professed that it would not initiate the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons, it has never signed the protocol.

Secretary of Defense (read War) Laird insists that chemical and biological weapons are necessary for the United States to maintain a deterrent to the Soviet Union which has "much greater" capabilities in such weapons. "As much as we deplore this kind of a weapon, if we want to make sure this weapon is never used, we must have the capability to use it."

N.Y. Times, July 29

THE  
DEATH  
of ALL  
CHILDREN

Is the title of an article by Dr. Ernest J. Sternglass, Professor of Radiation Physics at the University of Pittsburgh. It appears in the September issue of Esquire. Dr. Sternglass says, in part:

"Proponents of the A.B.M. system argue that it is necessary to prevent the destruction of our deterrent forces by a massive first strike of Russian SS-9 missiles carrying thousands of multiple warheads. But the threat of such an attack loses all credibility against our present knowledge that the vast amounts of long-lived strontium 90 necessarily released into the world's rapidly circulating atmosphere could lead to the death of all Russian infants born in the next generation, thus ending the existence of the Russian people, together with that of all mankind."

Evidence suggests that infant mortality increased in stated downwind from nuclear testing centers in New Mexico and Nevada. An ABM detonation in the atmosphere would release vast quantities of radioactive material multiplied by the number of such weapons detonated plus the detonation of nuclear weapons being knocked out.

"Thus, even if anti-missile systems were to work with ideal perfection on both sides, preserving every home, every school, and every factory from destruction, the release of long-lived radioactive materials would produce more than a hundred times as much radioactive poison as during all the years of peacetime testing. Based on the excess mortality observed during the period of testing, this would most likely be sufficient to insure that few if any children anywhere in the world would grow to maturity to give rise to another generation."

THE  
NERVE  
of  
MIRV

"If a new arms race takes place in the strategic offensive missiles that multiply nuclear delivery vehicles fivefold, an important share of the responsibility will have to be shouldered by President Nixon. The dangerous expensive and totally unnecessary prospect that development of MIRV multiple warhead missiles could pass a point of no return was known to Mr. Nixon last November when he moved to discourage Soviet acceptance of a Johnson administration proposal to open missile-curb talks. Mr. Nixon has since delayed the strategic arms-limitation talks (SALT) with Moscow nine months, has permitted MIRV flight testing to proceed apace and has rejected repeated suggestions that he propose a moratorium to the Kremlin."

From an editorial, New York Times, July 29.

MISSED  
OPPORTUNITIES

Norman Cousins has revealed his personal knowledge of three occasions when possible negotiations to end the Vietnam conflict might have been opened before the Paris talks began.

The first involved efforts by U Thant to arrange for secret negotiations. Adlai Stevenson carried news of Hanoi acceptance to Dean Rusk. For some reason, President Johnson never learned of this 1964-5 opportunity until he and Dean Rusk had a meeting with U Thant on October 7, 1966. It was in 1965 that the systematic bombing of North Vietnam began, ostensibly "to persuade Hanoi to come to the peace table."

In December, 1965, Cousins became involved in an effort to arrange talks through the Polish ambassador to the United Nations. A bombing pause in January 1966 seemed to offer assurances to the other side that the United States sincerely wanted to negotiate. The sign of Hanoi's willingness to meet came late, and already orders had gone out to resume the bombing. No one wished to countermand them.

In 1966, the Polish representative on the International Control Commission in Vietnam met with Ambassador Lodge in Saigon to begin talks looking to a way to begin serious conversations with Hanoi. Unfortunately the outskirts of Hanoi were bombed when the delicate negotiations seemed fruitful. Cousins asks, "Who made the decision to bomb Hanoi-- despite statements by the United States that it had no intention of bombing the cities?" Apparently "Washington was not in complete control. The American military was able to make a field decision carrying the most profound consequences for U.S. foreign policy."

Saturday Review, July 26, 1969.

BLAME  
for  
INFLATION

Nathan Spero in Monthly Review (June 1969) shows that the wave of contemporary inflation coincides with the escalation of the Vietnam war commencing in 1965, that higher wages have been accompanied by a slight decrease in purchasing power for workers, that productivity per man hour in industry has increased, and that corporate profits have been climbing.



### Why a Critical Financial Situation?

Summer has been a busy time for the Syracuse Peace Council. The Peacemobile went out nearly every day in July. We co-sponsored a vigil with WJL on Hiroshima day. The past month has seen four or five draft counseling inquiries each day. During the month of August we have planned many activities such as the high school rally, August 16, the peace picnic August 22, Training session for Projectionists August 24, and a booth at the State Fair for the week of August 26 through September 1st. In addition, a great deal of ground work has been done so that we are very well set up for an effective program this fall.

The financial campaign has been in progress and is continuing to provide some assistance to help us meet our bills and carry out all this increased activity. BUT, ADDITIONAL MONEY IS URGENTLY NEEDED.

### Hiroshima Day Vigil

Nearly 40 persons attended the Vigil, August 6th. The mass media coverage was very good. Sam Feld acted as spokesman. Hundreds of leaflets were distributed both at Columbus Circle and Mcny Plaza.

### Vacations

Dave and Maud Easter are taking a much needed vacation until September 1st. In Dave's absence, Mark Benton is assisting in the office and doing draft counseling.

### COMING EVENTS

#### Peacemobile Evaluation Meeting

All peacemobilers are invited to attend an evaluation meeting August 19, at the Church Center at 7:30 p.m. conducted by Harvey Bates.

#### Peace Picnik?

August 22, 6-8 p.m. at Whitney's, 512 East Manlius St., Fayetteville

Don't forget to make your reservation for the Peace Picnik by Tuesday, Aug. 19. Just bring your friends and a salad or cold dish of some sort and some money to buy additional food and drink. Enjoy the stimulation of meeting with other Peace enthusiasts and help our critical financial situation at the same time. This is the only fund-raising event other than the Birthday Party - so try to do your part to make it a success so we can devote our full energy to program outreach and direct peace activities.

#### Would you like to volunteer for a Projection Squad for SEC?

If you would like to take instruction in running a movie projector and at the same time see an AFSC film, call Jean Waldron, 468-7368 or the office, 446-5656 and arrange to attend the session set for August 24, (Sunday) at the Church Center at 7:30 p.m. This training will assist in program outreach this fall if we have persons who can be called to perform this function.

#### Would you like to volunteer to man the State Fair Exhibit?

The Syracuse Peace Council exhibit is located in the Harriet May Mills Memorial Building, on the second floor, next to the New York State Division of Youth. If you can devote any time during the week of August 26 through September 1st, from 10 a.m. until 10 p.m. please call the office. Courtesy entrance tickets to the Fair are being distributed to those who man the booth but parking will be 75¢. Volunteers will operate the A-V equipment and hand out various materials as well as take a questionnaire survey of issues. There will be a short instruction meeting for workers, Monday evening, August 25, at the Church Center at 8 p.m.

#### High School Rally

On Saturday, August 16, students from local high schools will meet at the home of Larry and Marcella Knickerhacker on Lake Onondaga from 10 a.m. until 8 p.m. to meet with speakers and hear a film. The speakers will be...



VIETNAM  
AS SEEN  
FROM  
WASHINGTON

Holmes Brown has written a perceptive and discouraging analysis of U.S. policy dated August 28th, for the Bulletin of the QUAKER Information Center in Washington. Written before the death of Ho Chi Minh, Brown's observations may give insight into the reasons why that death has not brought any dramatic and sustained moves on the part of the United States to reduce the scale of fighting, and why administration officials seem not to be disturbed by Ho's death. (There are private observers who feel that Ho had the personal prestige to persuade his countrymen to accept a peace settlement with terms not entirely satisfactory from North Vietnam's point of view.)

"Conversations with a variety of military and diplomatic sources indicate that the following assumptions provide the basis for future U. S. Policy in Vietnam.

- A. The Saigon Government is achieving increasing popularity with the South Vietnamese people.
- B. The army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN) is improving and can soon replace American troops in combating the NLF insurgency.
- C. Given a few more years of American support, South Vietnam will become a stable and prosperous non-communist state.

"The course of action which follows from acceptance of the above propositions precludes any meaningful negotiations by Saigon or the U.S. Since the defeat or dissolution of the NLF is expected within the next few years, the war is seen as concluding not by means of a negotiated or electoral redistribution of political power in South Vietnam but rather by military pressure which causes the insurgency 'to fade away'. Under these circumstances concessions need not and have not been offered. Though President Nixon has attempted to interpret the withdrawals of U.S. troops as a major step towards peace, it is rather a guarded vote of confidence in the South Vietnamese army. Senator Dirksen...'/called/ the President's policy one of replacement....' because South Vietnamese troops will replace ours.' Those who, viewing the Thieu regime as the major obstacle to progress in Paris, recommend its replacement are dismissed by Administration spokesmen as defeatist, since the Saigon Government is expected to provide continuity for future U.S. Vietnam policy. The prospect of eventual military success persists in Washington, and it is doubtful that any conciliatory diplomatic initiative will be forth-coming from the current Administration. The United States, like the NLF, has come to Paris to ratify the defeat of its opponent." (Emphasis here and elsewhere is supplied by the editor.)

The foregoing scenario is attractive to U.S. officials because "it allows for U.S. military disengagement from Vietnam while still achieving long-standing U.S. objectives. Though in implementation and effect the plan differs little from those of previous years, its rhetorical emphasis on disengagement is imagined to be more palatable to the mood of the country: Since many members of both Congress and the Administration foresee eventual victory, even as the U.S. extricates its troops from Vietnam, it is well to examine some of the difficulties which attend projected U.S. policy."

Brown suggests that the Saigon regime can compete with the NLF only through "immediate and pervasive land reform," an end of corruption, a cessation of military operations "destructive to peasant life and property," aid to refugees, and an end of "religious and political suppression." But "the Thieu Government consists of those elements of South Vietnamese society which have the least talent and inclination to implement a program of reform." How can the U.S. withdraw troops and expect Thieu to retain power?

Some suggest that "Nixon's fulsome praise of...Thieu as a guise to cover a U.S. disengagement." But disengagement and withdrawal imperils the Saigon regime which could collapse. "President Nixon would then be faced with the unpleasant choice of either fighting on with no sponsoring Vietnamese ally or else precipitously withdrawing the remaining U.S. troops...."

Others suggest that Nixon's statements in Vietnam "are an accurate, though exaggerated, reflection of U.S. appraisals of Thieu's competence and South Vietnam's stability." Hence troop withdrawals will be cautious "based on a calculated confidence in Saigon's capabilities rather than an unalterable urge to get out."

There are two complicating factors. "The first is the military capability of the combined armies of the NLF and the North Vietnamese; the second is the force and direction of U.S. public opinion. Since the interrelationship between these two contingencies will

COMING EVENTS

U.N. DAY LUNCHEON

Speaker: The Honorable Arthur Goldberg  
Topic: "The Future of the U.N."  
Time: Thursday, October 23, 1969 - 12:00 noon  
Place: Ball Room Hotel Syracuse  
Cost: \$1.00 (Incl. grat.)  
Reservations: U.N. Association  
433 South Salina, Syracuse, Phone 422-1605  
Deadline - Friday, October 17

U.N. SEMINARS

In addition there will be two seminars at 10:00 A.M. to be held on the 10th floor of the Hotel Syracuse. One seminar is entitled "Controlling Conflicts in the 1970's" and the other "Population Growth and Our Children's Future." Cost \$1.00 per person (students free) Again, reservations should be made through the U.N. Association.

THE VIETNAM MORATORIUM October 15, 1969

THE WASHINGTON MOBILIZATION November 13-15, 1969

Address Correction Requested

Syracuse Peace Council  
3049 East Genesee Street  
Syracuse, New York 13221  
446-5656

Non-Profit Org.  
U.S. Postage  
PAID  
Permit # 2380  
Syracuse, N.Y.

Syracuse Peace Council  
Staff Report

August 15 - September 30, 1969

A great deal has happened for the Peace Council since the mailing of the last Peace Newsletter. In August the High School Rally was held during which a great deal of enthusiasm was generated for the high school program during the fall. Sixty persons were present for a very enjoyable Peace Picnic held at Jane and Waldo Whitney's. More than sixty persons manned our booth at the State Fair where over 1600 Peace Questionnaires were completed. Those participating in the State Fair booth felt that it was an extremely valuable project. Not only were we able to get a peace message to people we don't normally reach, but also we found many new Peace Council members.

The past month has been spent laying groundwork for program during the year ahead. Two new Peace Council committees are in the process of formation: a committee to work with the mass media and a college committee with representatives from Syracuse University, LeMoyne and Onondaga Community College. In addition the Peacemobile is ready to go out again.

The most staff effort has gone into preparation for the October 15 Vietnam Moratorium and the November 13-15 Washington Mobilization. On September 16 a meeting called by the Peace Council was held at the Church Center attended by fifty persons representing many groups in the Syracuse Area. Douglas Dowd and Gerhard Elston, both members of the Steering Committee of the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam spoke convincingly as to the great need for both of these efforts. A Syracuse New Mobilization committee was formed and has since met three times.

Finally, it has taken a great deal of time to get the office itself prepared for the program year ahead. The mailing list was out of date and has been reworked and completely typed again. Literature has been ordered and new pamphlets written.

Staff Change

Mary Jane Hoffman has decided to leave her position as a staff person for the Peace Council. Responsibilities brought on by the death of her Mother, an extremely long commutation, course work at the University and preparation for travel were all factors in her decision. The Syracuse Peace Council is extremely grateful for the work that she has done. Her attention to detail kept the office running smoothly. Her knowledge of the city of Syracuse and the people and organizations in it has helped us expand our program out into the city a great deal.

Fortunately for the Peace Council, Jean Waldron has agreed to start working for us October 1.

IN THE OFFICE

Is It Yours? A Stainless Serving Spoon left at Whitney's after the picnic.

For Sale: Notepaper Packets (10 sheets, 10 env.) \$1.00 each.  
On cover, "War is not Healthy for Children and other living things."

ROTC During the 1968-69 academic year, Reserve Officer Training Corps programs came under attack at a number of leading colleges and universities across the country. Not only did student groups question the propriety of such units on campus, but in a number of significant cases, faculty raised questions as well. Recently a special Defense Department study team released its report calling for the continuance of ROTC on the grounds that, among other things, ROTC insures that military and naval officers will not have all been molded in the same sort of collegiate experience, most notably the experience of one of the "service" academies. Dr. William B. Watson, Professor of History at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, made an independent study of ROTC at his institution. The following are excerpts from Prof. Watson's report as circulated to the student body last spring.

"The real command over ROTC is exercised by the military services according to their own standards and for their own objectives. These objectives have very little to do with the general purposes of this institution; they have a great deal to do with the largest standing army in the world and the largest peacetime army in the history of this country. They also have a direct bearing on the war in Vietnam, the deployment of strategic bases throughout the world, and the relation of the military-industrial establishment to the quality of American life. To say they don't is to ignore what ROTC actually does and is."

Dr. Watson then questioned efforts to make ROTC PROGRAMS "more academic," arguing that this does not alter the purposes of ROTC, nor really alter the autonomy which ROTC has had on the campus "to run its own affairs largely as it sees fit." "ROTC is quite simply a recruiting agency of the Armed Forces maintained and operated by the military as a permanent installation on more than 300 American university campuses."

An Air Force ROTC officer pointed out that "ROTC should be regarded as only one of three methods of officer procurement. The Military Academies, the ROTC, and Officers Candidate School (OCS) are three parts of the same program...in getting a spectrum of officer material..."

The ROTC program "represents a compromise between two conflicting interests... In order to carry out its recruiting mission, the military must remain on the college campus, and in order to remain on campus it must make some effort (more now that ROTC is under attack) to offer subjects that will meet, at least in part, the minimum educational standards of the universities. Yet the ROTC program must also justify itself in terms of its military objectives... in practical military subjects..."

Major Gamache of the Air Force is quoted as follows: "The changing role of the military indicates a need for a re-evaluation of the role. Politics and the military sciences now overlap; the military no longer simply takes over where politics leave off. The military officer has to be aware of the political considerations involved in his actions. The officer is involved in much more than the management of violence. His primary expertise is still this, but his responsibilities go much beyond that now... Because the responsibilities of the officer have been extended, we need the ROTC program to get this wider background. The advantage of the ROTC program is that while the student is in the program he is constantly reviewing his other education in light of his military courses. The program helps the student to integrate his studies into the whole of his military preparation."

Dr. Watson interprets the foregoing remarks to mean that "the principal value of the ROTC curriculum and the main purpose of its instruction is to orient students to the military. The student learns... not so much specific skills that will make him an efficient 'manager of violence'... but something much more important--he learns how to think from the military perspective, how to accept its values and objectives, and how to integrate his own technical skills and experience into the general requirements of the military establishment. He does this while he is in school, while he is receiving an education, while he is developing his views of the world and of his own place in it."

While "the military like to see itself as a partner in the process of education... many university faculties do not consider what they are doing as "educational" but rather as indoctrination. An unpopular war has precipitated an examination of ROTC, just as it "has opened a lot of people's eyes, and what they see goes much beyond the war itself. What they see and fear is the growing power of the military. As the commanders of the ROTC themselves recognize, the role of the military has changed in Amer-



evidence to demonstrate that its views take precedence over all others in the making of foreign policy and the enormous demands it makes on the reserves of this country are the single most important factor in determining the social and political priorities of American society. It is in this context that the criticism of ROTC has been raised.

"What the critics of American militarism object to in the ROTC curriculum... is not so much the lack of educational value... They see something much more pernicious. They see education being used--more precisely, exploited--by a special interest group whose conduct and position in American society can no longer be equated with our national interest. They see the armed forces being given the extraordinary privilege of setting themselves up on campus as an instructional organization, and they ask why the military should be favored over all other national agencies. They see the armed forces channeling students not only into military careers, but through the military into big industry and big business, and become convinced that the ties between industry and the military are not temporary and accidental but are being institutionalized as a permanent alliance of vested interests. And within the university they see, because the contradictions are so obvious they cannot be ignored, that the presence of the ROTC on campus represents a fundamental contradiction of the functions and character of the University."

Dr. Watson concludes: "The principal interest of ROTC is to recruit college students into the armed forces through an instructional program that seeks not so much to train these students as to indoctrinate them with the perspectives and values of the military. This is what ROTC is all about, and this...is the way the military really views the ROTC, though it seldom says so in public. It is for this reason that one can properly speak of the ROTC as a military installation."

---

THE ABM DEBATE "One of the longest and most dramatic Senate debates in recent memory was ended on August 6 when the Senate voted 51-49 against the Cooper-Hart Amendment which would have halted deployment of a U.S. anti-ballistic missile system...."

Allen M. Parrent, (Department of International Affairs of the National Council of Churches) says "the debate is far from over...". The "new political reality is the continually growing awareness, both in Washington and in the national at large, that both the real security of this nation, and to some degree, the well-being of all of us on "spaceship earth", require some major changes in our national priorities and in our care and use of our national substance." Questions are being raised about national priorities as represented in a national budget, some "two-thirds of which goes for military purposes... The 29-day ABM debate was the first major effort to reshape and re-define those priorities in the light of the political realities of 1969, both at home and abroad. To the extent that such an effort has become a permanent factor in our political decision-making process, and it appears to be here to stay, the ABM fight was a major success, the 51-49 vote notwithstanding."

" In short, the ABM debate can be credited not only with spearheading the first major effort toward controlling military policy and spending, but also in some measure with (1) broadening the public understanding of what constitutes national security, (2) restoring the somewhat eroded independence and authority of the legislative branch, (3) revealing, through some of the related congressional hearings, the colossal waste involved in our military expenditures, (4) pointing out the misuse sometimes made of selective declassification of secret information, and (5) creating an atmosphere in which it is no longer somewhat unpatriotic to question military requests and the military policies on which such requests are based. A final positive...is revealed in the fact that among the 50 oldest senators the vote was 32-18 in favor of ABM (1203 among those born before 1900) while among the 50 youngest senators the vote was 31-19 against ABM (12-3 among those born since 1924). Time itself may therefore be a factor in accentuating the trend and mood change referred to above."

Parrant cautions against unbounded optimism because new weapons systems seem to be in prospect in the U.S.A., and also in the Soviet Union as a consequence of the Congressional decision. Moreover, "the period of relative nuclear stability in which fruitful /arms control/ talks can take place is rapidly coming to an end." American defensive weapons may appear to our adversary as provocative. "It would be", he concludes, "ironic if American hawks and Soviet hawks, who appear to hold joint membership in a mutual agitation society, were to take us in record time from Mr. Nixon's era of (potential) negotiation back to a new era of confrontation."



# OCTOBER 15 VIETNAM MORATORIUM

The television station said that 10,000 people marched to end the War in Vietnam. The lines of persons carrying candles stretched farther than anyone could see. This march on October 15 occurred not in New York City or Washington, D.C., but in Syracuse.

What did it feel like to Peace Council members who over the years had stood and marched in Anti-war vigils and parades numbering from 25 up to 100 people? It felt great. Great to be among so many people, young and old, who believed that the United States must get out of Vietnam now. It felt shocking also. Those of us who had grown used to a minority psychology, thinking of ourselves as the virtuous few, had to admit that we had greatly underestimated the potential for anti-war organizing in Syracuse. We had assumed that the apathetic middle almost by necessity would remain the apathetic middle. We felt also dismay at all of the work we still had to do. How many of the 10,000 had a clear understanding of the causes of the war, the nature and power of the U.S. military, or saw the need for a radical change in our entire foreign policy? The students present were not around during the teach-ins of three or four years back. Many community people had an understanding that went no farther than "We don't want any more boys to die." But above all we had a tremendous sense of a new beginning. The events of the day, many of which are listed below, had begun the work that lay ahead:

## DOOR TO DOOR CANVASSING

After a brief rally that completely over-flowed University Methodist Church, over 2,000 people in teams of six persons each spread out over Syracuse and the surrounding communities to do door-to-door canvassing. Canvassers carried fact sheets on Vietnam, as well as a petition calling for withdrawal from Vietnam and supporting Senator Goodell's Vietnam Disengagement Act. During the morning and afternoon over 15,000 signatures were collected. The response in the neighborhoods was much more favorable than had been anticipated. To be sure, some doors were slammed and some people were called communists, but in a surprising number of homes people said, "I believe in what you are doing" or "I want the boys home too." Many, many teams found a majority of persons interviewed willing to sign the petition. Conservative Syracuse is very ready to discuss Vietnam and the desperate need to end the war.

## LEAFLETING IN SHOPPING AREAS

Over 1000 people went downtown and to the major shopping centers of Syracuse to distribute leaflets on withdrawal from Vietnam and ways to work for peace. The largest problem was that we didn't have enough leaflets. The Peace Council office alone had run over 200 reams of paper in preparation for the Moratorium but that was not sufficient. Posters were hastily made for persons to carry who didn't have leaflets. In this way the Moratorium was highly visible in Syracuse.

## SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

The Student Government at Syracuse University was responsible for a great deal of the organizing work for the moratorium. The largest bulk of participants for the day came from the University.

A Teach-in for training Canvassers was held in Hendricks Chapel the night of the 14th, which completely filled and overflowed the Chapel. The Teach-in included talks by Alan Campbell, Dean of the Maxwell School, and Professor Oliver Clubb. In a very significant move, the Maxwell School endorsed the Moratorium. The University Senate voted to urge a withdrawal from Vietnam.

## ONONDAC COMMUNITY COLLEGE

There had been very little successful anti-war organizing done in the past. With the help of the Peace Council, a committee was organized which planned a number of activities, including a reading of the names of the war dead, a Teach-in on the day of the Moratorium that completely jammed the auditorium holding 500 students and faculty (addressed by Jerry Berrigan), and a candle light march of 200 persons to join in Walnut area the main march downtown to Lincoln Auditorium.

## LEMOYNE COLLEGE

At the urging of the Peace Council a Committee was formed at Lemoyne which was very successful in its organizing. There were speakers the week before the Moratorium. Over 200 people stayed up all night before the Moratorium to read the names of the war dead. Over 280 persons marched by candlelight from Lemoyne to Walnut Park to join the main march downtown. (The speakers at that rally downtown were: Ron Young of the New Mobilization Committee, Congressman Jonathan Einhorn, Karen DeGrow, Liberal Candidate for

### HIGH SCHOOLS

High school students from many schools worked very hard to make the Moratorium a success. 170 students attended a day-long teach-in at May Memorial Unitarian Church, organized by David Horwitz. Speakers, films, and workshops made up the early part of the day. Later the group went downtown to do leafleting. 350 students stayed away from school at Nottingham because of the Moratorium. Prior to the Moratorium 250 students at Jamesville-Dewitt High School circulated a petition asking for a school assembly on the war. A teach-in was held after school. Students from J-D took over primary responsibility for canvassing large parts of Dewitt. 400 students stayed away from Corcoran. A march from Corcoran to University Methodist Church was conducted in connection with Moratorium Day, and three classes had speakers for the entire day. 15 students were expelled from Bishop Ludden for participating in Moratorium Day activities.

### S. U. SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

People from the School of Social Work and the Ad Hoc Committee of Social Workers participated in a teach-in held at BYUS which was attended by about 400.

### S. U. LAW SCHOOL

People from the Law School organized and marched as a unit in the candlelight parade.

### MEDICAL COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

and

### UPSTATE MEDICAL CENTER

900 signatures were obtained on petitions for withdrawal from Vietnam, and 250 participated in a march (interns in white jackets) to City Hall to deliver the petitions to the Mayor. Afterwards they held a reading of the Vietnam war dead on City Hall steps.

### MENTAL HEALTH WORKERS

A small group canvassed for the Moratorium and marched together under a banner in the candlelight parade.

### MARTIN LUTHER KING SCHOOL

A meeting was held prior to October 15 to discuss how the teachers could participate in Moratorium Day in their classrooms.

### CHURCHES

Bulletins describing Moratorium Day were passed out in fifteen churches, many sermons were preached, and special Masses said in some Roman Catholic churches on October 15. The N. Y. Baptist Convention meeting in the city interrupted the afternoon session to march in a body from the First Baptist Church to the Courthouse to signify their approval of the Moratorium. Bishop Foery endorsed Senator Goddell's bill on withdrawal from Vietnam.

### BUSINESSES

120 signatures were gathered on a petition at Mohawk Airlines, over 30 at Crouse-Hinds. The Peace and Freedom Party leafletted Allied Chemical and several other factories.

## WHAT'S HAPPENING NEXT

A steering committee of the Syracuse New Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam has been formed with David Easter as Chairman. The committee consists of representatives from the following groups: Syracuse Peace Council, American Friends Service Committee, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Democratic Coalition, the Liberal Party, the Medical Committee for Human Rights, the S. U. School of Social Work, the Ad Hoc Committee of Social Workers, the S.U. Student Government, Lemoyne College, Onondaga Community College, the High School Student Union, the Syracuse Committee of Returned Volunteers.

This committee is now working on plans for the November 13-15 Mobilization in Washington, as well as local activities. Syracuse Peace Council is selling bus tickets for the Washington Mobilization - \$15.00 round trip. Deadline for buying these tickets is November 6. Peace Council members who wish to work on plans for the Mobilization are urged to contact the SPC office, as the scope of the work to be done in the time remaining does not allow for as smoothly coordinated an effort as would be desired. Therefore, if you can help, please take the responsibility for letting the office know.



## THE VIETNAM MORATORIUM October 15

The Vietnam Moratorium is an effort to maximize public pressure to end the war by encouraging a broad cross section of Americans to work against the war. The method is a recurring moratorium on "business as usual" to allow concerned citizens to spend that day participating in anti-war programs in their local community. The first day of the moratorium is scheduled for October 15, and the work of that day will be directed towards building an enlarged and lengthened moratorium for November. The idea is to take the day off from work or school and get down to the more important work of ending the war. Those who can not take the whole day off, could contribute the day's wages to the November Mobilization.

There will be a rally of all concerned citizens during the day and also several projects and activities so that everyone will have a place to do the work most meaningful to him. All of the activities will have one thing in common, for they are saying 'End this terrible war NOW!'

## THE WASHINGTON MOBILIZATION November 13 - 15

The two part program of activities, including a solemn 36 hour memorial death march beginning at midnight, November 13, and a massive march and rally on Saturday, November 15, will be a nation wide effort.

The March Against Death will be a single file solemn procession of 43,000 to 45,000 persons ( a number from each state equivalent to the number of Americans from each state who have been killed in Vietnam) moving past the White House. Each member will carry the name of one American who has died and that name will be called out by him as he passes a given point in front of the White House. In addition the names of Vietnamese towns which have been bulldozed, bombed, or burned out of existence by U.S. forces in Vietnam will be carried and read out. The March Against Death will begin at Arlington National Cemetery and end at the Capital, where the name placards of those who have died will be placed in caskets and later carried to the White House.

The Mass March and Rally will assemble on Saturday morning, November 15, with persons from all over the country in attendance. Before the march embarks, there will be a brief memorial service in the area of the conclusion of the Death March. At 11 A.M. the march will begin. A special contingent of GI's and participants in the Death March will lead the mass march on Pennsylvania Avenue to the White House, where a delegation will present our demands and the caskets containing the names of the Vietnamese towns that have been bombed. From the White House the masses will move to the ellipse area where a rally will begin at 2 P.M. There will be an assertion of Life. Speakers and entertainment will culminate the day's activities. On Saturday evening there will be meetings organized by various groups to discuss possible activities in Washington during the following days.

### What are we saying?

When a doctor is treating a patient and he learns that the medicine he is using is harmful to that patient, he doesn't continue using the same medicine in smaller doses -- he immediately stops the use of that medicine.

That's where we are in Vietnam now - The American people now realize that American military might was the wrong medicine to use to solve an internal political situation in Vietnam. Yet, we're still there - the killing continues. So we're accusing President Nixon and the Pentagon of malpractice, and we're saying,

STOP THE WAR - BRING ALL THE TROOPS HOME NOW.

Now is the time to attack the real diseases of our society.



Stop the war! Bring all the troops home now! Stop all the bombing and dismantle the bases!

Stop the war machine! End the arms race, the extension of American control over other countries and the militarization of our own society now!

Stop the destruction of our society! Americans die of hunger; nobody calls it violence. Americans die of rat-bites; nobody calls it violence. Americans die of a shortage of doctors and a scarcity of hospitals; nobody calls it violence. Americans die of Black Lung; and nobody calls it violence. Americans die of cancer from polluted air; nobody calls it violence. Americans die of automobile crashes; nobody calls it violence. Americans die of ulcers from the strain of driving or riding to work; nobody calls it violence. Americans die from the butchery of illegal and expensive abortion operations and from the lack of adequate birth-control devices; nobody calls it violence.

We call it violence.

American society has become a death machine - not only for the poor, the Black, the Brown, the coal miner, but also for the lawyer who drives to the suburbs, and the housewife who smokes cigarettes.

This death machine is not a gigantic accident -- it has drivers and they make a profit. They make a profit from not making safe automobiles, not ending air pollution, not feeding the poor, not cleaning up the coal mines.

There is rising in America an alternate culture and politics committed to life -- not just the new youth culture, but also a sense among older people of the need for neighborhood, and for neighborhoods to have the power to govern themselves; a sense of the need for protecting the land, air, and water, and for the people to have the power to do that protecting themselves. But unless we stop the death machine, the bare beginnings of new life will be crushed.

We must rescue the nation from the warmakers or there will be no hope of preventing more and more Vietnams; of ending the racist controls over Black and Brown communities; of ending the poisoning of our planet; and worse still, no hope of preventing all-out nuclear war.

The immediate objective of our action is to terminate hostilities in Vietnam, but we know that this is only a small part of a long-term effort to create a society committed to Life and Freedom.

---

#### BUS TICKETS

Round trip bus tickets to Washington are available in the Peace Council office at a cost of \$15.00

#### CONTRIBUTIONS

Contributions to finance the Mobilization are very much needed. Checks can be made out to: The New Mobilization Committee and sent to the Syracuse Peace Council, 3409 East Genesee St., Syracuse 13224

#### RECRUITERS NEEDED

If you would like to work for recruiting people to go to Washington please get in touch with the office 446-5656.

Dec 1969

What is the truth? "Over the past three years a Senate Judiciary subcommittee  
Perhaps this? headed by Edward Kennedy has been building a file on civilian  
casualties and refugees in South Vietnam. These investigations  
show that American military policy has been aimed at wiping out large sections of the  
civilian population. . . .

"The reports show that last year there were at least 300,000 civilian war casualties  
in South Vietnam, nearly double the number in 1967. Since 1965, one million civilians  
have been wounded in the war. A quarter of that number died. . . These are conser-  
vative estimates.

"At least four million other South Vietnamese, a quarter of the country's popu-  
lation, are refugees. . . .

"There are about 50,000 South Vietnamese formally locked up as political prisoners.

"Testimony. . . indicates the civilian war casualties were clearly the result of  
U.S. military directives to 'search and destroy' and policies which established 'free  
fire zones.' So-called 'h & i' (harassment and interdiction) fire killed or wounded  
many of the civilians. . . .

"Search and destroy has given way to 'cordon and search.' Under the new policy,  
villagers are rounded up, loaded on helicopters, and taken to a temporary concen-  
tration camp. The U.S. troops then burn out their villages; then the soldiers return  
them to ravaged villages to build new huts."

--Hard Times, December 8-16, 1969

The American

Way of Death "Nations, like families, reveal themselves through budgets. No personal  
document tells more about a man's values or his hopes and fears than the  
family budget. Similarly, the way to size up a nation is to examine the national bud-  
get. But the real cost of America's search for security through armaments cannot be  
adequately measured in money. Ordinary mortals, even rich mortals and the Congress-  
men who vote the appropriations, cannot understand what a trillion dollars is. (The  
amount spent for national security since 1946.) To comprehend the magnitude of our  
investment in killing power, we need to look at what we have sacrificed for it.  
The Economy of Life in America has been starved to feed the Economy of Death."

Want more ammunition? Then read Richard J. Barnet's The Economy of Death, an  
Atheneum paperback. It is "a hard look at the defense budget, the military-indus-  
trial complex, and what you can do about them."

"If we say, 'We are  
without any sin,' we  
are deceiving ourselves,  
and there is no truth in  
our hearts."--I John 1:8  
(Goodspeed translation)

Said Mrs. Meadlo in New Goshen, Indiana, "I sent them a  
good boy and they made him a murderer." Paul Meadlo was  
one of the American soldiers involved in the sweep at  
My Lai in South Vietnam.

Wrote Russell Baker, "It will not be surprising if. . . the  
massacre. . . is rationalized to the satisfaction of the  
political majority. . . .

"The explanations and justifications that will be made may be flimsy, but they are  
likely to serve the purpose, for Americans, like all other nations, are not going to  
tolerate a sustained attack against faith in their own excellence.

"Nations, like people, . . live by their illusions. . . .

"Nations. . . [have] some illusions they will not surrender, and they may destroy  
those who try to take them away. One such illusion, fundamental to nearly all great  
states, is the notion of moral excellence."

A day after it printed Russell Baker's column, The New York Times printed a letter  
from a lady on Long Island which confirmed Baker's wisdom. The letter said of the  
Times, for reporting the story: What is tragic "is what you and a once great paper are  
doing to us and to our image throughout the world. . . [by] deliberately taking unfor-  
tunate and isolated events and using them to downgrade the war and America. . . without  
first ascertaining its truth or provocation. . . .

"Nowhere. . . do we read either one article or editorial balancing this unfortunate  
incident against the great heroism and dedication of the great majority of our service  
people."

Other teams will go door to door in apartment buildings to circulate the Vietnam Pledge Cards.

All persons willing to take the day off-- first call the Peace Council and then attend the 9:30 meeting.

If you are able to circulate the Pledge Cards in your neighborhood, office, church or club, please pick them up at the Peace Council.

Saturday December 13-- All day Conference on Chemical and Biological Warfare, sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee. Call AFSC for reservations.

Wednesday December 24-- An anti-war Christmas Eve Service being planned by area clergy.

MANY ADDITIONAL ACTIVITIES ARE BEING PLANNED FOR THE MONTH.

The Peace Council is urging that money and gifts be sent to men in Canada and Sweden who are draft exiles. See enclosed brochure.

The School of Social Work and Ad Hoc Committee of Social Workers are planning neighborhood discussion groups on the war for the weekend of December 12-14. Call Len Shotland at the School of Social Work of Syracuse University if you want to participate.

Scientists and Engineers for Peace, a new group being formed which among other plans may run an ad in the paper during December. If you wish to join--call the Peace Council office.

Physicians for Peace, another group being formed which is also considering running an ad. If you wish to join--call the Peace Council.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, is considering a Christmas Eve vigil of women and children to dramatize the loss of civilian lives in Vietnam.

Syracuse University Student Government is holding a mass meeting December 5 to discuss how to educate people on the need to end the war. December 6 there are workshops on specific action proposals.

December 12-14 is a three day fast for Peace. December 14 there will be a leafletting of all churches in Syracuse. In addition Anti-war Christmas Cards are for sale on the campus. If you wish to participate in any of these activities call the office of Student Government at Syracuse University.

Dec '69

# EVENTS OF LAST MONTH

## WASHINGTON MOBILIZATION

A week before the November 15 Washington Mobilization, Mobilization organizers in Syracuse learned that eight out of fourteen buses for Syracuse had been cancelled. A spokesman for the Canadian firm through which the buses had been reserved said that no buses were available. He said that a member of the Canadian Parliament had put pressure on the company not to send buses to Washington. The MP in turn was responding to a letter from the Nixon administration arguing that no buses from Canada be sent because the Mobilization was against administration policy.

Despite this roadblock, a record number of people from Syracuse, over 2,000, went to Washington to demand an immediate withdrawal from Vietnam. We joined with up to 800,000 people in the largest demonstration Washington had ever seen.

The large number of persons was impressive and beautiful for three reasons: 1) People came despite the fact that moderate leaders across the country, made scared by Nixon's attempt to make the Mobilization appear violent, refused to support the Mobilization. The extremely large turn out should give courage to those "leaders". More important is the fact that it became clear that the movement is not going to be intimidated, which after all is the best protection against another McCarthy period. 2) People listened to the speeches at the rally which could not have helped but have an educational effect on most participants; changing the emphasis of the anti-war movement to a demand for immediate withdrawal. 3) People left Washington with a feeling that their work was just beginning.

## LOCAL NOVEMBER ACTIVITIES

In Syracuse on Friday November 14 over seventy people handed out leaflets downtown rebutting Nixon's November 3 speech. That evening in a very cold rain, 400 persons marched from Walnut Park to Clinton Square in a single file March Against Death. Each person carried the name of one of the men killed in Vietnam. This demonstration was the third largest peace demonstration in history of Syracuse. The fact that this many people would come out on a miserable night even after 2,000 persons had left for Washington is added testimony to the potential of THE NEW PEACE MOVEMENT IN SYRACUSE. The Syracuse movement now has the numbers to make itself felt.

There are several immediate tasks to be undertaken. First, peace people must find ways to sustain their will to continue to demand an end to war. The movement hasn't yet sufficient strength to end the Vietnam war, let alone all war. Nixon has the will to continue the Vietnam war, perhaps for years to come. The movement must not become discouraged.

Second, it is essential to come up with creative new ideas to carry on the protest. Anyone getting an idea should share it--call the Peace Council.

Finally, the new movement in Syracuse needs to become much better organized. It is essential to decentralize leadership. Committees must be formed to fully utilize the peace leadership talent that now exists. To see the direction that this dividing of responsibility can take, read carefully the following list of events.

## DECEMBER MORATORIUM

# WHAT IS HAPPENING NEXT

December 12, 13 and 24 have been set aside by the National Moratorium Committee as DAYS OFF FROM BUSINESS AS USUAL TO WORK FOR PEACE.

Friday December 12-- 9:30 AM there will be a meeting at Hendrics Chapel on the Syracuse University campus. Training and assignments for circulation of Vietnam Pledge Cards will take place.

During the day teams of three persons each will spread through downtown and shopping centers on this busiest of shopping days. One will hold a silk screened replica of the Vietnam Pledge Card. One will hand out leaflets on the destruction of Vietnam and the need for withdrawal. The third will gather signatures on the cards.

"How blest are the peacemakers;  
they shall be called the sons of God"(Mt. 5:9)

The war in Vietnam is not over. The immediate future does not look promising. As Catholic priests and members of the religious community, we cannot allow our consciences to become dulled nor our voices to remain silent. We unite our minds and hearts with Pope Paul VI, the Catholic Bishops of the world and the Catholic Bishops of the United States, in begging for an end to the war in Vietnam.

#### Pope Paul VI

"Let all those responsible strive to bring about those necessary conditions which will lead all men to lay down their arms at last, before it becomes too late to do so. . . . A settlement should be reached now, even at the expense of some inconvenience or loss, for it may have to be made later in the train of bitter slaughter and involve great loss." (Encyclical Letter, Christi Matri Rosarii, September 15, 1966)

#### Second Vatican Council

"This most holy Synod makes its own the condemnations of total war already pronounced by recent Popes and issues the following declaration:

'Any act of war aimed indiscriminately at the destruction of entire cities or of extensive areas along with their population is a crime against God and man himself. It merits unequivocal and unhesitating condemnation.'"

(Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, December 7, 1965)

#### United States Bishops

"We call upon American Catholics to evaluate war with that 'entirely new attitude' for which the Council appealed and which may rightly be expected of all, who call themselves Christians, proclaim their identity with the Prince of Peace. We share with all men of good will the conviction that a more humane society will not come 'unless each person devotes himself with renewed determination to the cause of peace.'" (U.S. Catholic Bishops' Pastoral Letter, November 15, 1968)

In conscience with the tradition of our Church, in sympathy with those who have given their loved ones, in union with all men concerned for world peace, we make the following proposals:

\*We decry the attitude of divisiveness and polarization and call upon all men of good will, especially our fellow Catholics, to unite in determined, courageous efforts to bring this war to an end.

\*We express our deep concern for the young who bear the burden of war, those who are engaged in the armed services and those who refuse to engage in wars which they judge unjust. We pledge ourselves to support the decisions of conscience of all of them.

\*We ask that the United Nations be formally requested to intervene in the conflict and act as the designated mediator in charting a course for an independent Vietnam according to the plan of the 1954 Geneva Agreements.

\*We ask that all the war-participating nations recognize their responsibility to restore a ravaged country, guarantee stable political and social structures and provide sufficient aid to the victims of the war to insure their overall well-being.

\*Finally, we call upon all concerned citizens to put an end to war that all men will be able to live together as brothers.

\* \* \* \* \*

The foregoing statement was signed by 34 Roman Catholic priests and members of religious orders, men primarily from the Utica/Rome area. The statement was then printed as a paid advertisement in the two Utica daily papers in November.

# YOU ARE NEEDED CHRISTMAS EVE

## TO PARTICIPATE IN CHRISTMAS EVE PEACE CAROLING

"Peace on Earth, Good Will to Men" means nothing as long as the Vietnam war rages on. The peace community needs to take every opportunity to continue to face citizens at large with that contradiction: that you cannot make peace through war!

This Christmas Eve, in an act of community and fellowship, we are going to make that point in a gentle way. We are going to go Christmas caroling in groups of ten or twelve. Each group will carry the Peace Symbol on a staff, travel door-to-door in a neighborhood singing traditional carols, and, when leaving each house, sing "Give Peace a Chance."

We hope to have, at a minimum, twenty groups of carolers. The only way we can possibly recruit a large number of persons is if individual persons will take the responsibility to form groups. Please think over the persons you know and get on the phone today to form a group. Call the Peace Council office and say you can form a group. Call also if you wish to participate in a group.

We are suggesting that groups may wish to return afterwards to someone's home to warm up and to continue to share part of Christmas Eve together.

Groups may decide what time they wish to go out; however, it would be good to keep in mind that an early start--about 7:00p.m., would permit families to participate.

### GIVE THE PEACE COUNCIL A CHRISTMAS GIFT

The average American family spends over \$500.00 on Christmas. The Peace Council is the only Community Peace Organization in Syracuse with a full year round program. If you have not yet answered the November appeal for funds, take the time to do it now.

### WORK FOR PEACE

The Peace Council has formed a Mass Media Committee. The tasks of this committee are many: to work out a system of making press releases; to get to know persons on the press so that we can better articulate our position; to work to create stories and programs that the mass media can use.

If you would like to work on this committee, please call the Peace Council office.