

FELLOWSHIP

THE MAGAZINE OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION



Tributes to Martin Luther King from Glenn Smiley, Bayard Rustin and Edward Gottlieb; Resistance: a Spreading Concept by Allan Brick; Peace in the Streets by Ross Flanagan; Christianity in the Crunch by Frank C. Laubach; Disobedience: Civil and Criminal by John Mecartney and Ron Conrad; The Nicest Jail I've Ever Been In by Virgie Hortenstine; Poets for Peace; Religious Leaders Tour the World in Search of Peace by Herman Will Jr.; FBI Harassments of CO's; War on the Ghettos; the Militarization of the Police.

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A MEMORIAL**

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Our dearly loved and greatly honored member Martin Luther King is dead. No words are adequate to express the grief and shock we share with his fellow Afro-Americans. All the platitudes that are spoken at a time like this, of great loss to the nation and the world, are true.

It will be said by some that his death demonstrated the failure of nonviolence, and disclosed beyond doubt that a kind of war exists between black and white Americans. Only violence, some will argue, will be enough to persuade "white" to assent to justice; only separation into two communities will provide blacks with the dignity they deserve.

Death is not the defeat of nonviolence. Death is what every man faces who sets himself to confront injustice and conflict, whether he chooses violence or nonviolence as his means. The nonviolent man simply believes, as did Martin Luther King, that adding more hatred to the immense burden under which mankind already staggers does not achieve justice, but only perpetuates the fear and ignorance on which injustice thrives.

Martin King recognized the dangers he faced, but he did not allow them to deflect him from the course he had chosen, or from the hope that his people could combine determination with compassion, the struggle for justice with the struggle for reconciliation. His words will not be forgotten by those who loved him.

But it is white America that is brought fully to confront itself in Memphis. It was probably a single sick man, and certainly not the white community, that murdered Martin King, but like the act that snuffed out President Kennedy's life in 1963, the murder reflects the sickness of violence that permeates our society.

It is not enough to say, as the President said, that Americans must not succumb to "senseless violence," or to see an unexplainable paradox, as did Vice-President Humphrey, in the fact that the apostle of nonviolence was struck down by violence.

As people we have become numbered

to violence and murder; as a society we condone and defend it. Murder by gunfire marches across our television screens, week after tedious week, enlisted by American business because it sells goods.

Violence and killing are glorified with every military parade, with every presentation of medals, with every governmental ceremony that has its honor guard of soldiers, sailors or marines.

Killing is condoned with every appropriation of funds for lethal weapons to deal with potential city uprisings, with every mobilization of vigilantes in white communities.

Killing is sanctioned by the draft, and by those who defend the country's right to demand that every young man set aside whatever he considers to be important in life in order to murder strangers to order.

Above all, we set our seal of approval on murder in Vietnam, where for objectives held to be good by men sitting in Washington tens of thousands of helpless civilians are killed and a whole country laid waste.

Millions of Americans, black and white, like millions in other countries, have become deeply disturbed about all this. History has brought us to the point, as Martin Luther King once said, where the choice is between coexistence and nonexistence, and violence can lead us only to the second.

We are in this together, all races, all nations, but also all individuals. How shall we act?

The shock of assassination moved Congress to quick passage of the civil rights bill, and the New York State legislature to approval of a significant program for rebuilding the slums of New York City. But much more is needed; it is the responsibility of all Americans, and white Americans particularly, to insist that Congress begin at once to appropriate the billions of dollars needed to rebuild the cities, provide education and jobs, guarantee an annual income to all, and take the other actions the President's Commission suggested. (President Johnson is reported to have said that such a program would cost \$80 billion dollars and that he could not hope to get such amounts. But a country that can spend \$30 billion a year for the Vietnamese

COVER AND ART: Photo of Martin Luther King Jr. by John Goodwin. Other photos of King, p. 5 by Wide World and Ernest Withers; Poets for Peace photos p. 15 by John Goodwin; p. 19 by Goodwin; photos in India p. 25, 26 & 27 by Studio Vale, New Delhi; others by Robert Mowlds.

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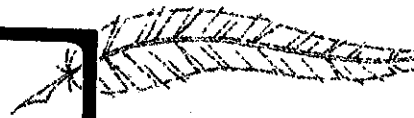
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war can afford such money, and it must.)

White Americans in every American city should undertake a program of education of police and public officials, and a direct and reconciling approach to the fear-ridden neighbors who are accumulating guns and training themselves in their use.

Above all we must withdraw our sanction from war. We believe that young men should refuse to lend themselves to the business of murder; we believe that the nation as a whole must insist that the promising new moves toward peace be strengthened and speeded up, and make clear that it will not tolerate a continuation of the war.

Only such actions will constitute an adequate memorial to Martin Luther King; only they will mean that his death can serve the cause of reconciliation and peace to which he dedicated his life.

GANDHI AND KING

In October 1969 the world will celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Mohandas K. Gandhi; already in India a National Committee for the Gandhi Centenary is making elaborate plans to ensure that no corner of the so-called civilized world shall be unaware of the life and teachings of India's Great Soul. And yet India today honors those teachings much more vividly in the breach than in the observance. Nonviolence as a political doctrine, as a method of social change, as an instrument of foreign policy cannot be honestly claimed to be an actuality. Its preservation—like a rare art form or a dying craft—is left to a small coterie of true believers who issue monographs, a really excellent small journal *Gandhi Marg*, and keep the community Sarva Seva Sang, a school of Gandhian thought and action, alive. Most Indians who wish to continue to exercise the amazing dynamism of the Gandhi spirit are involved in the Gramdan movement, under which the leadership of Vinoba Bhave goes about "looting landlords with love"—persuading them to give up their land holdings to the poor.

On the campus of Morehouse College in Atlanta, where nearly 150,000 people from all parts of the nation

gathered in an unprecedented outpouring of grief for any American not in public life, there will shortly rise a marble mausoleum around the remains of Martin Luther King. On p. 25 may be seen a group of world religious leaders paying their "respects" before the tomb of Gandhi.

Is it to be the fate of Martin Luther King too—his living words cut and embalmed in stone a few short years after they moved masses to rise and claim their birthright of liberty? A whole generation has moved up since Gandhi's life like a dancing flame moved millions to shake off the oppressor's yoke and yet not to hate and destroy him. They wrote the history books; they set up the exhibit of his last few material things; they steer the curious crowd around those who come on pilgrimage; they stimulate premiers and patriarchs to repeat the words of obeisance to a departed leader and "what he stood for." Will it soon be the same with King?

We of the Fellowship don't think so. Those who today take on the burden of the unfinished revolution: Coretta King, Ralph Abernathy, Andrew Young, James Bevel, James Lawson and hundreds more are equal to the legacy of the last best hope of earth—nonviolence. They won't let the marble slabs hold down the spirit of Martin Luther King—it is destined for greatness not so much because of the manner in which it was lived on earth, but because it is the very essence of humanity for everyone who will turn to it.

DEPARTMENT OF QUALIFIED OPTIMISM

Peace in Vietnam at last seems to be in sight. There is hardly more one can say that is not in danger of being hopelessly outpaced by history between typewriter and printing press, but it is much more than we have been able to say for a long while.

Reactions in the peace movement to the startling news by President Johnson were mixed. Distrust and disbelief have become so ingrained that for many the immediate reaction was "trick." Others, weighing the extent of the multiple crises of war, riots and currency, felt cautiously optimistic, recognizing the existence of many ob-

stacles but convinced that at last we have changed direction.

Left temporarily floundering were apocalyptic types who have decided that there is little worth salvaging in this country anyway and who had begun to develop the thesis that Kennedy and McCarthy are more dangerous enemies than Johnson because they could "co-opt" the peace issue and draw attention away from the need for entirely new political structures, of a so-far unnamed variety. While there are strong opinions about what to do next, nobody really quite knows.

The Establishment upset us some more with its behavior on the stock market. So many of us have known that the American economy was depending on continuation of the war and that each "peace scare" was followed by a drop on the market, and then the biggest peace scare of all produced the biggest boom in the history of the stock market. What is there left to believe in if even big business wants peace?

Optimism, a little more than cautious, prevails in this corner. Enormous dangers of reckless, tired or angry behavior remain to threaten the moves toward peace; almost incalculable difficulties will confront us after peace is made, which will come in any case only after tedious, bickering, lengthy negotiations. But there is a new awareness in large segments of the American population that some large-scale changes in attitudes and policies are overdue. There is a sophistication about communism, and nationalism, and revolution, that will at least give us a chance of avoiding new Vietnams and of helping to move man toward a slightly more decent society.

There is an awareness, deeper than ever, of our domestic problems, too: not only the ghettos and the shattering burden of restitution the country carries vis-a-vis its non-white citizens, but such more esoteric items as the need to control the powers of the presidency while creating national and international machinery to deal with problems that cannot be handled by small political units.

What is the pacifist role? Still, it seems here, to insist on the rejection of war for any purpose, and to recog-

"The two main news items" might have been the main of the week this issue ever to press—a week that began with President Johnson's withdrawal as a candidate for the office, moved to a clear break in the Vietnam hard line, and ended with the shocking assassination of Martin Luther King. In such a flux in the affairs of men, how can such a magazine as FELLOWSHIP remain relevant?

Yet somehow this issue strikes a rough balance between new hopes and the old fears that mirror a kind of multi-generational tendency in our society just now. Has our overburdened President, focus of so much disillusionment and object of so much hate, been negotiating secrets of the peace movement just by his presence as adversary and an "evil" against which good may be measured? On the other end of the spectrum, have we loaded all our guilt of dead hopes and unfulfilled dreams onto a "good" man Martin Luther King, who can no more fulfill them in death than in life, when we are unwilling to work and sacrifice for nonviolence?

The phenomenon of resistance—a steady youth growing into some kind of maturity but without accepting its threat and power—is weighed and analyzed by Alan Brink. Is pacifism going the way? Not altogether, notes Ben Flanagan, who muses and worries about what might have happened had plans by the "Flippies" and other anti-war types gone through to fill the streets of Chicago and put the Democratic Convention "out of business." Soberly John Macarney and Ray Conrad carefully separate out two types of civil disobedience and find quite a percentage socially and politically beneficial and others marching and shouting is still far from a working option. In Vietnam, the further discussions and responses of Robert Fickus and David McReynolds are to the point.

How the wanted "power structure" works in a small southern town is made vivid by Virgie Horfentine's account of her punishment for being a white woman in a black man's world. Finally we recall our links with the recent past in the work and witness of Frank Laubach, a man we can memorialize while he lives. Warnings of special note are the accounts of a round-the-world trip and conviction of religious leaders for peace—especially the pictures. There are pictures, too, of peace for peace. And here the article on CO rights against the FBI and the militarization of urban police.

nize that, as always, the biggest changes needed are in the minds and attitudes of men. But also to become aware of so much that is relevant to peace that does not fit into our old concepts of moral and political protest, and to become agents of healing the mobilization of man's new resources for man's good. And perhaps above all, to refuse, as Erik Erikson wrote of Gandhi, "to let moralistic condemnation aggravate guilt feelings; as if he knew (what we know as therapists) that it is never safe to ally yourself with your opponent's sufferings. He refused . . . to permit that cumulative aggravation of bad conscience, negative identity and hypocritical moralism which characterizes the division of men into pseudo-species."

APOCALYPSE

One of the most virulent and feared poison gasses which attacks the central nervous system has killed seven thousand sheep in Utah. It was followed by a series of increasingly disingenuous lies by the Defense Department which, ultimately faced with the evidence, had to admit it probably was the nerve gas

residue from a nearby testing area falling on the snow and licked by the sheep which killed them. When the gas is released full power it kills in a moment or two, not only by inhalation but through the skin.

In 1966, it was discovered that a special plant in Newport, Indiana, had been going 24 hours a day for more than three years, stockpiling nerve gas. At the same time, it was revealed that minor earthquakes in the Denver area were the result of deadly waste from nerve gas produced by the Rocky Mountain Arsenal there, and pumped into a two-mile-deep well. Before that, the contaminated material had been buried in containers, but they had leaked, causing the deaths of animals for miles around.

Many questions cry for answers: how fast is the Defense Department stockpiling gas—and for what? What happens if a gas plant blows up? Why do they have to continue making tests? And what is a nerve gas test? Why was no one worried about the presence of about 50 Indians and others in the Skull Valley area where the sheep were killed? And what about the ultimate victims for which the gas is intended?

Senator Frank Moss of Utah has called upon the army to investigate itself. But how much credence can be placed in their "findings" in view of their defensive pattern of lying?

Golgotha, "the place of the skull." Earthquakes and the veiling of the moon (from pollution?) "All we like sheep, etc." Apocalyptic images aside, it almost does make us seem like a nation of sheep, as William Lederer called us. When will we become men and ask our agencies to behave in a human and humane manner?

LATE BULLETIN

A new branch of the FOR's "Compassionate Arts" — Composers and Musicians for Peace" will present its first concert on May 24 at Carnegie Hall as a musical tribute to Martin Luther King.

Aaron Copland and Elie Siegmeister will conduct their own works, the latter a world premier "The Face of War" set to the poetry of Langston Hughes, starring William Warfield, bass. Hugh Ross, founder of the Schola Cantorum will conduct the chorus. Nine contemporary composers have given permission for their works to be presented that evening. Members of the New York Philharmonic are donating their services as a special chamber symphony orchestra.

The Voice That Will Not Be Silenced

by GLENN SMILEY

While it is too soon for me to speak easily of grief at the loss of leader, idol and personal friend, I reflect that the sound of the shot that killed Martin Luther King reverberated in the inner ears of millions and more millions of the earth's peoples. Probably only the reactions to the assassinations of Gandhi and Kennedy were as close to that deep, retching sickness that surged up in us at the word that this unique man of the century had been struck down at the age of 39.

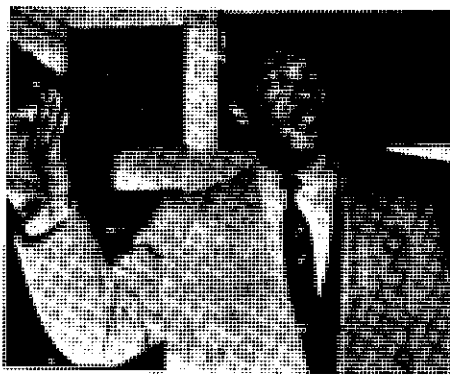
I was just beginning a two-hour workshop on nonviolence for the Southern Conference for Christian Leadership's Poor People's Campaign in Washington, when word of his death came. We were all stunned and immobilized, and only when someone suggested that we sing were we able to drag ourselves back from the brink of despair through the familiar words of "We Shall Overcome."

At 10 p.m. the workshop concluded and I drove immediately to the SCLC office at 14th and U Streets, arriving in the middle of the first real looting that I had ever seen. Our office was crowded with staff and friends of the movement. A state of shock prevailed as grown men as well as women wept openly.

The drama being enacted on the streets however was not one of sorrow but of relief of pent-up anger and resentment. What connection did it have with Dr. King? Little, if any, on the surface at least. The looting was carried on in a festive mood, with much laughing and shouting. My safe arrival at the office that night may well have been due to the fact that as the looters made their way down the street a traffic light turned red against their progress, and with the light in my favor I proceeded across U Street to park in front of our building. When it did change, however, the crowd pressed across the street to wreck a liquor store on the further corner.

This looting was scarcely a memorial to Dr. King or in appreciation of his devotion to nonviolence. In material terms it is meaningless.

The rat-infested tenements burned to the ground in a spell of instant slum clearance will probably be replaced with better housing for the poor inhabitants. The actual looting was handled



Twelve Years that Shook the World

Can it be that Martin Luther King made his total impact on American society and stirred the world with his vision in 12 short years? Here are pictures taken at the beginning and at the end of his public life, the one above on the porch of his home in Montgomery, Alabama in January 1956 after it had been bombed in retaliation to the nonviolent bus boycott he launched there. The one below is of his last public appearance, April 3, 1968, in Memphis, the eve of his martyrdom. Introducing him to the municipal workers of Memphis is his associate during all that time, Ralph Abernathy. Over his head is a banner reading "Not by might, nor by power but by my spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts."

In 1956 Glenn Smiley, the FOR's director of field work, spent much of his time with Martin Luther King, Jr. in Montgomery where a great pilot program in nonviolent direct action was worked out with the Negro community. In April 1968, Bayard Rustin, another FOR stalwart as race relations secretary in the forties, was in Memphis when King was assassinated, having come to exercise his great and needed talent of working behind the scenes. Somewhat earlier, he spent 5 years with King as secretary, adviser and organizer, being chiefly responsible for the throng that greeted his historic address "I Have a Dream" in the summer 1963 before the Lincoln Memorial. We are favored to have articles touching on the personal reaction to King by both men.



with an unusual and becoming restraint on the part of police and army, and even loss of life was minimal. But yet the white community must come to realize that while a restrained police force means public law and order for the dominant group, to the black community it still spells "Occupation."

The more significant anger in the Negro community at Dr. King's assassination comes from the more sophisticated and educated portion of the black community, especially large in Washington. Stokely Carmichael states it most clearly when he says that his own assassination might have made sense, but not the killing of a man of gentleness and compassion who was the Negro's last hope for peaceful change. On the other hand, Whitney Young of the Urban League reminded his hearers in no uncertain terms that he and other Negro leaders have been turned into angry militants by this act.

The reaction in the white community in the USA appears to be predominantly one of guilt, for no intelligent person can really be convinced that a conspiracy was not involved in the assassination and that he, whether black or white, has participated in the conspiracy to the degree that he had not lent himself more vigorously to the creation of what Dr. King called "the beloved community" in the eradication of racial and economic imbalance and injustice.

But if blacks merely tear their hair and burn their cities in resentment and anger, and if whites even drown themselves in a sea of guilt for things not done, there is no hope for the poor family of man. The fruits of repentance must be the willingness to forsake evil and do good—make the crooked places straight and the rough places plain. The energizing effect of anger must be channeled into the struggle through nonviolence for a world in which both black and white can be "freed at last, thank God Almighty freed at last."

And what of the future? Are we without a leader? Did all hopes of nonviolence die with Martin Luther King? Are we doomed, in his words, to have only "the legacy of the long dark night of bitterness?" When word was brought to me of Martin's death my mind almost immediately recalled an incident from Ignazio Silone's *Bread and Wine*, in which a girl questions the priest about why people are

"... the historic fact (is) that we are living through the closing chapters of the established and traditional way of life. We are in the early beginnings of a struggle, which will probably last for generations, to remake our civilization. It is not a good time for politicians. It is a time for prophets and leaders and explorers and inventors and pioneers, and for those who are willing to plant trees for their children to sit under..."

—WALTER LIPPMAN

made to suffer when someone criticized the Fascists in Italy? The puzzled priest attempted to answer her by saying that he thought it was because in the land of unanimity public order was disturbed when someone said "No." The girl then asked, "What if it is a good man who says no?" "It would be the same," said the priest. "And what if they should kill him?" asked the girl in tears. Then, "suddenly made glad," Silone writes, the priest replied, "It would be the same, except more so. For it is especially dangerous to kill a good man, for even the corpse might continue to say 'no' with an insistency that only certain corpses are capable of achieving."

And then I remembered Socrates and Jesus and Gandhi. And then my heart was lifted up, for from Martin Luther King's "mountain top" I hear again the new commandment to love one another and I know that Martin Luther King speaks with this "insistency that only certain corpses are capable of achieving." And he shall not be silenced, or God himself will shake the world.

A Silent Tragedy by BAYARD RUSTIN

The murder of Dr Martin Luther King Jr. was a tragedy for the freedom movement and a blow to the prospects for a just and civil society. Perhaps only once in a century do the ideas of a man and the needs of his time meet in such a dramatic way.

Historically, Dr. King's death marked the end of one stage of the Negro struggle and the beginning of another. As his leadership of the Mont-

From South Vietnam

THE SCHOOL OF YOUTH FOR SOCIAL SERVICE OF THE UNITED BUDDHIST CONGREGATION OF VIETNAM AND ITS NON-VIOLENT MOVEMENT RESPECTFULLY SENDS ITS CONDOLENCE TO THE NON-VIOLENT MOVEMENT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND WORLD PEACE IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN UNIVERSAL MOURNING FOR THE REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING, IN THE NAME OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE WHO HAVE BEEN LOSING THE RIGHT TO LIVE IN THIS WAR WE SEND OUR RESPECT AND GRATITUDE TO THE REVEREND KING FOR HIS CONTRIBUTION TO THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE IN VIETNAM AND HUMAN EXISTENCE. WE PRAY THAT HIS DEATH WILL GIVE RISE TO MANY OTHER KINGS WHO WILL CONTINUE TO STRUGGLE NONVIOLENTLY FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND WORLD PEACE.

gomery bus boycott ushered in the struggle for desegregated public accommodations and voting rights, so his entry into Memphis opened the basic struggle for economic justice on which all other dignities are ultimately based.

The national tributes paid to him were richly deserved, but they are by no means enough. Flags were flown at half mast; the President proclaimed a national day of mourning; the mass media devoted unprecedented coverage to his death and funeral; and the 150,000 people, black and white, who marched through the streets of Atlanta were the largest crowd to ever attend a private funeral in this country.

But there is a silent tragedy in all this adulation and respect. What Dr. King would have wanted, and what he did not get, was a national commitment to the human rights and the social and economic programs for which he fought and for which he died.

Thousands who only yesterday rejected his principles of nonviolent struggle are today the ones who shed the most tears: And yet they still do not commit themselves to the achievement tomorrow of integration, non-violence and the democratic society for which Dr. King stood.

For example, politicians from all over the land gathered at his funeral. But with few possible exceptions they did not run back to their legislatures to demand the programs that will solve the major problems which Dr. King struggled to solve. This proves that respect and honor are not enough.

Dr. King's death forced millions of Americans who have been practicing racism and discrimination to confront the implications of these practices. His death seemed to have awakened in these millions a desire for repentance. But merely having memorial services or issuing public eulogies is not sufficient repentance. Repentance consists in two acts: 1) Acknowledging one's guilt and expressing one's sorrow; and 2) dedicating and committing one's self to better conduct in the future. What I am fearful of, and what in fact seems evident, is that most people, while taking the first step, will stop short of the second.

True repentance is reflected in the new policy announced by Levitt and Sons in its full-page ad in the *New York Times* the day after Dr. King's funeral. It said in part: "As a tribute to Dr. King, this Company has adopted a new policy—effective at once—

eliminating segregation in any place it builds—whether in the U.S. or any other country in the world. We ask all our colleagues to adopt a similar policy without delay. The forces of bigotry and prejudice must not be permitted to prevail any longer, and we urge all builders—large and small alike—to do their part in making America once again the ideal of the world."

When such a policy is endorsed by all institutions and segments of this society, Dr. King's tragic death will be easier for Negro Americans, especially the youth, to understand and to bear.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

We count our Progress
On the fingers of our
Martyrs
Each Generation wants
A Crucifixion or
Two
To let men know
What Men can Be
or Do
a Single one
Might well have spared
Gomorrah or Sodom
but Abraham found
None
And the Lord had to save his Seed
for Stations of the Cross
Each Crucifixion
Makes a Bridge
between the Resolution
and the Man of Sorrows

EDWARD P. GOTTLIEB

From the American Friends Service Committee

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON
WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

MARTIN LUTHER KING'S MURDER DEMANDS THAT YOU THIS DAY TAKE INITIATIVE IN LEADING CONGRESS TO MAJOR ACTION ON JOBS, INCOME AND EQUALITY. ONLY AS WE DEAL WITH THE CRIMES OF POVERTY AND EXCLUSION CAN WE GIVE MEANING TO THE DEATH OF DR. KING. EULOGIES WITHOUT ACTION ARE MOCKERY. FEARFUL PLANNING TO CONTAIN THE UNDERSTANDABLE ANGER OF MANY AMERICANS IS AN INADEQUATE AND DANGEROUS RESPONSE TO THIS MOMENT. WE URGE YOU TO GO BEFORE CONGRESS WITH A CALL FOR MASSIVE ACTION AND BEFORE THE NATION WITH A CALL TO CAST OUT RACISM.

STEPHEN G. CARY
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

RESISTANCE:

A Spreading Concept

by ALLAN BRICK

LAST OCTOBER 21 over 100,000 persons marched on the Pentagon; some 30,000 surrounded it; 10,000 or so committed in-effect civil disobedience, invading its forbidden areas; perhaps 5,000 performed their civil disobedience consciously and in acceptance of considerable danger as they moved through tear gas to sit in against the troop protected doorways; and some 600 persons accepted arrest, including, in many cases, injurious beatings.

Though portrayed by officials and much of the press as wild disorder, what had emerged was a spontaneously disciplined people's siege of the seats of militarist power. What did it add up to? On the spot, the remarkable discovery that the resisters and many of the nervous young soldiers who guarded them were brothers who could communicate with each other. In the longer run, it added up to a resistance movement in which the thousands of participants went back to campus and urban centers to organize. To organize, first for the youth and adult draft resistance of December 4, of April 3, including the Spock-Coffin advocacy actions and the swelling RESIST activities of adults.

With this, as with any actual movement that comes from a potential mass, has come much upset. For the most part, this upset has been welcome and necessary in the sense that emotions must surge up, even violently, in order then to deepen into new-found channels of power. Also, there has come the McCarthy enthusiasm, now far beyond any imagined bounds. Of course, it should be recognized that this authentic peace candidate has not come directly from the resistance actions. Rather, he comes from the long-gathering indignation of normal and, in the true sense, conservative Americans—Americans who, endlessly (often pathetically) optimistic about their democratic institutions, are finally rising to insist, as one FOR resistance spokesman has said, that "the real America please stand up." But the emotion for all of this, the explosive power, has been undoubtedly set off by the range

of resistance actions: nonviolent, violent, disciplined, and sloppy, it has been the whole range. It is crucial that we recognize this, for now keeping up the resistance is even more necessary than it was last fall. Otherwise, when the McCarthy movement is over, there will be not enough clear peace expression left. Not enough, when we consider that, if civilization is to survive, we need far more than "stop the bombing and negotiate." Not enough, when we consider how fundamental must be the changes in the entire international and domestic "containment" structure.

Resistance Becomes News

A day or so after the amazing New Hampshire primary a TV newsman called the office of the Philadelphia Area Vietnam Committee, where he spoke to Tony Avirgan, whose peace activities include his organizing of The Resistance in Philadelphia. Tony, who for many days had been working 'round-the-clock on meetings with students, clergy, and draft counsellors, all aimed at April 3, then the next target-date of The Resistance, said "Okay," and hung up. He shouted to his co-worker: "Run out and get an *Inquirer*. It seems McCarthy won in New Hampshire and then Kennedy said *he'd* run and now McCarthy has made a statement. This TV guy is coming over in fifteen minutes to interview us about it."

Obviously, from Tony's point of view, McCarthy was not where it's at. His job was to double the number of noncooperators in The Resistance for April 3, and, beyond that, to raise the number ten-fold, aiming at tens of thousands of reluctantly awakening college graduates and graduate students who will be top-priority for the draft in June. Many of these have said "we won't go." The job now, as Tony sees it, is to educate them: to show them that they can't hide, that they shouldn't (though they certainly have the moral right to) emigrate, and that they can stay here and fight for their country. Which, from his point of view, means fight the real way: open noncooperation and union in a campaign to raise

this question with many other men.

Tunnel vision or not, Tony well knows from whence the pull for McCarthy has come and from whence it must keep coming. From: not a hundred now, but thousands of fairly upper-class young men ready to do their years of service in the federal penitentiary. And with them their girls and, in increasing numbers, adults, some from the resisters' families and many others from the peace movement and from the religious community—adults who don't see themselves simply as over-age supporters, but as resisters who will take clear actions of advocacy that will strengthen the youth movement by providing that adults also have something to fight for. These adult actions show that there is still in American society a respectable adult role, a manhood, that youth can aspire to; perhaps you don't have to junk it all for Canada. They also show that draft resistance is not any flouting of the law, but rather is a "holy disobedience," indeed is founded on a deep respect for true law in a nation where the state's law has become a device for monstrous inhumanity.

A New Kind of "Resistance"

Suddenly, this need for a truly adult resistance that reaches down to religious traditions is recognized by many clergymen. College chaplains, like Fr. Dave Connor and Fr. Dan Berrigan at Cornell, have led the way with Rev. Bill Coffin for other campus-based clergy and seminarians and now, increasingly, for community churchmen. Added to this has been their impetus from the blood-pouring ceremony at the draft board performed by two clergymen and two laymen in Baltimore. In the consequent hearings and, now, the trial for that action of "conspiracy" and "destruction of government property," these four men, through their willingness to face potentially long prison sentences, have dramatized how this nation's youth have become simply government property in

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the form of draft board records and the uniformed bodies that the records produced.

At a recent meeting of a dozen clergymen from the Council of Churches in an upper New York State city, one man after another expressed his horror at what this nation had become in fighting the Vietnam war. They were not talking about pacifism. This was right after the Tet offensive and the rude awakening experienced by so many Americans who couldn't escape what was shown on their television screens. A few actually were "pacifists," and most clearly were of the theologically "non-pacifist" majority; but all of this had not the slightest relevance to their discussion.

What they were talking about was Christianity. What must they who were responsible for the Christian church do that would be an appropriate and creative response to the horror that engulfed them? Three or four began to talk about the acts of advocacy and/or draft-card burning in their churches before their congregations. Strangely enough, it actually became necessary for a professional peace organizer from outside to ask the "effectiveness" questions about what such actions would communicate in their parishes and what would result. It was not for any lack of Christian courage that the discussion moved to their goal of setting up a draft-counselling center in their city; rather, they had opted for daily, non-glamorous, hard work.

Advocacy in a Context

Since then, a month has passed and the counselling center is underway, doing a constant stream of business from college and high school students in the area. The acts of advocacy may still be forthcoming, but they would occur in this *organizing* context where general information about the draft and about religious C.O. positions of legal "alternative service" becomes the threshold for actual resistance. These religious counselling-center organizers are now learning what many campus-based and urban draft-resistance groups have long since discovered: that it is obsolete to do "objective" draft counselling in the old sense of simply presenting all the alternatives of: (1) military "service" (as if it is somehow decent and a respectable option to do what is called "fight for your country"), (2) noncombatant military service, (3) religious conscientious objection as government-sanctioned "alter-

native service," and (4) "non-cooperation" and prison. They are learning that counselling and resistance must go hand in hand. Shocking as this sounds to those of us who come from the fair-minded give-the-government-its-due past, it is the only way today to approach a counselling that services the individual and that achieves any kind of objectivity. (Today, any honest counsellor should know, and should admit at the outset of a counselling session, that he is thoroughly biased against the war and against anyone serving in it.)

This is not to say that today's resistance-minded counsellors do not service individuals who want deferments and who are looking for "outs" (legal or non-legal—what, after all, is the difference in light of the monstrous criminality of this war?). But, increasingly, they have not much time, or stomach, for individuals who simply want to take care of themselves rather than oppose the war. And, in this vein, many of them see a simply I-O position where the individual believes his moral duty is fully discharged by "alternative service" as every bit as much a contribution to the war system as the position of someone whose misguided patriotism sends him into the Army as a volunteer. Some say it is a greater contribution, for it lets the government define the "religious" basis for excusing one from weaponry, and it portrays this government as one which "protects conscience." It bears repeating that only in an open and honest atmosphere where counsellors admit to such views if they have them can they do counselling that is fair to the individual.

Universities Deeply Implicated

If in urban religious communities the resistance emphasis has moved toward counselling, on campuses, in addition to that, it has moved toward actions which dramatize the university's complicity in the war system. Most notorious have been the blocking actions against recruiters from the military and from the Dow Corporation. While very shocking to administrators, most professors, and other community adults—and even to many of the anti-war people in these groups—these actions have unmistakably pointed to the basic role of our universities as servitors of the government and industry rather than as free and independent academies. Many liberal commentators, while "sympathizing" with the students' protests, have decried the blocking for its denial

of free speech. All should be heard, even spokesmen from the devil, has been the usual "civil libertarian" criticism.

And, in fact, this criticism has gained such power that these actions have stopped, as students have sought a more effective organizing strategy. In course, in the rush to new methods, first of the student resisters had the time, much less the platform, that would allow them to raise the real civil-libertarian point that gives moral validity to the blocking: When, in the academic arena, opponents will stand and defend and expose themselves after the manner of academic discourse, then, as Mill has argued, all must be heard—but militantly men and men in their corporation uniforms who produce napalm are presented under false colors if they are posed as men who argue or stand up for a "point of view"; they don't. They are closed, under orders, automated; they simply don't belong there. However misunderstood, the blocking actions have penetrated to basic issues and thus have stirred the atmosphere for subsequent actions.

They have helped lay emotional groundwork for the SDS dorm tear-ins which are being carried out widely on a large number of campuses. The goal here is to reach every student on campus with information about the war, to engage him in questions about the draft, and to return for follow-up meetings week after week. All of this will pay into two activities. First, campus McCarthy enthusiasm, and second, activities aimed at "Vietnam Graduation" ceremonies. In the latter area, there will be seminars and classes on many campuses throughout the spring period (classes on themes like "what is the relationship between discipline—say, physics—and the nation's pursuit of the Vietnam War" and draft-counselling sessions, all leading up to graduation exercises which coming in the June period, will "parallel" the official graduations. But these graduations will be for those who are turning in their draft cards to professors (or even deans) as a symbol of their authentic emergence into and responsibility for their society; perhaps "resistance" sheepskins will be demanded back in return, and the professors will journey to Washington, where meeting representatives from other campuses, they will present the case of their 1968 class to the Justice Department.

During the summer, the resisters

movement will be paralleling, and thus augmenting, the peace politics movement in many ways. Hopefully, one result will be the injection of real peace education and real confrontation of issues into the campaigning. Insofar as the McCarthy campaign becomes successful and professional, to that degree, of course, will its managers at all levels argue for united-front "effectiveness" and against efforts on voters' doorsteps to ask them how they feel about the draft and their sons being sent to the war. And if (probably, *when*) the whole peace thing becomes a drive for Kennedy, this tendency to mute issues that would divide and to move toward moderate, establishment positions will be much greater. If manipulation and escalation make it a choice between Johnson and Nixon after all, the need for full-scale resistance will be absolute. This need may be absolute even sooner, for the pressures on Johnson to escalate the war and thus silence political opposition are now very great.

Another result of the summer resistance movement may be the mounting of a huge "people's convention" at Soldier's Field in Chicago. This would be a kind of mock convention that would run while the "real" one was being held by the Democrats. The purpose would be to dramatize, with large numbers of people, the point that Americans have had years of fine words from regular-party candidates and what it has got them has been this War, a shaky economic system, disguised unemployment, and spreading poverty: Which convention really will address itself to the real needs of America? This action, along with perhaps more extreme, even violent, actions by other anti-war people in Chicago, will continue to deepen the resistance movement and will importantly affect the major political scene. If planning and discipline are such that a great number of resistance-minded Americans can confidently give their support, the effects of such pressure could be very great indeed.

Now, as the hopeful political solutions are wafted, revved up, advertised; now, as being practical and getting haircuts is the watchword; now is the time to focus clearly on just how much change this society needs and how much sacrifice it will take. Basic to this will be the resistance movement. Founded in personal dedication, it must be envisioned as a majority expression for mankind's needs.

"PEACE" In The Streets

by ROSS FLANAGAN

Something of a great debate on the role of pacifists in coalition anti-war protest is coming to the fore among believers in nonviolence across the country. It is a particularly crucial discussion because, although it may not have much effect on the disposition and direction of "The Movement," it can and probably will have a considerable influence on the future role, relevance and interrelationship of several pacifist groups in American society. The rising tide of violence and increasing frustration among the ranks of the non-violent make it all the more important that we give this matter our serious attention now.

There appears to be a growing assumption among pacifists and other peace-minded persons that practically any mass protest against the war is a "good thing," if only by virtue of its "massness." It follows that no-one in the movement should publicly criticize any other segment or action of the movement. Well, I don't know. I feel obliged to dissuade and oppose individuals from undertaking personally destructive acts such as self-immolation. Should I not feel the same obligation to challenge and oppose socially destructive group activity?

I would agree that the democratic process has broken down and that radical action is needed to restore or revolutionize it. But I am not sure I understand how a violent, unviolent, or non-violent demonstration outside the Democratic National Convention in Chicago with 500,000 or one million people will contribute very much to the correction of the situation. It has been said that we must demonstrate the irrelevance and insignificance of what is going on inside the Convention. But *is* that shown by mobs of people clamoring at the walls outside?

Surely what is at stake at the convention, as in the election, is not simply the solution of one or several topical issues (Vietnam, poverty, the racial crisis, etc.), but, as Hans Morgenthau has suggested (*New Republic*, October 28, 1967), the very life and death of the democratic process itself. To reduce this struggle for the survival of democracy to a shouting and shoving match,

while ignoring the numerous other options for political and social struggle available in a presidential election year, is to cripple fatefully the forces of peace and freedom. To opt for street protest to challenge the way things are going at a time when the public clearly dislikes *both* the way things are going *and* street protest would appear to be something of a gift to Mr. Johnson, who will surely lose no time capitalizing on the confrontation.

At this point then I should like to ask: how is it that the movement got into this bag, anyway? Who decided when that coalition anti-war activity should become synonymous with sporadic single-shot blasts like the Pentagon and Chicago? Far more vital to a coalition strategy of revolutionary change is the steady, routine organization of a coordinated network of widely-scattered groups engaged in complementary, diverse activity. Why isn't draft-resistance given priority as far more critical and effective coalition activity, and what about still other coordinated but widely-scattered action such as a major campaign for massive aid to Vietnam war victims?

How Does "The System" Retaliate?

Those who try to corral a great geographical and ideological scattering of groups and individuals into a small and easily observable and manageable area under meaningless banners like "Close the Pentagon" and "Shut down the Convention" for the rather non-strategic aim of letting off steam against "the system" are playing right into the hands of our adversaries in the government and the right-wing. Surely there can be no doubt that by mobilizing rage we permit the government to concentrate intelligence and enforcement forces in a counter-strategy. In short, for all intents and purposes, we deliver our people and prestige into their far more resourceful and manipulative hands.

Frankly, I find this preoccupation with coalition mass-protest very dis-

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turbing, both because I remain convinced that it is unsound and misguided and because I have come to realize that revolutionary struggle requires very much more than demonstrative crunch activity. If there was one insight I brought back from last fall's Bratislava* meetings with the DRV and the Front, it was that those who fight our government in Vietnam have developed a fantastic concept of and capacity for total struggle—in which a highly-sophisticated and well-coordinated mix of political, social, economic, psychological, diplomatic and military strategies are employed to wear down, gradually and effectively, the adversary's options for combative action until he has no alternative but withdrawal.

When I hear of plans for a domestic Dien Bien Phu at the Convention, I cannot help but wonder if somehow the message wasn't missed in Bratislava. The notion that the movement is somehow going to accomplish in the streets what it failed to attain at the New Politics Convention, namely the shotgun marriage of the antiwar and black liberation movements, is to my mind ridiculous. For the fact is, of course, that black-white, violent-nonviolent relationships are now, and, for the foreseeable future, will be, stretched to the breaking point as the violent militants go underground.

The Fear of Nonviolence Being "Buried"

It has been suggested that unless pacifist groups participate in coalition street protest activity the nonviolent forces will be either suppressed or irrelevant. Analogies are drawn with the fate of Buddhists in Saigon and the Jews in Nazi Germany. But this isn't South Vietnam or Nazi Germany. America has its own unique traditions and myths of democratic and humanitarian idealism. To accept the Nazi analogy and ignore the opportunities to hold this country up to the best of its progressive values would be to sacrifice one of our few remaining levers for reaching what's left of the American conscience. Anti-American street protest and rage activity only serves further to brutalize this society's capacity to recall and respond to its own best instincts and stated values. I believe that the Vietnamese revolutionaries with whom I spoke in Bratislava

* A conference between peace and radical leaders in the USA and representatives of Vietnam "popular" forces at Bratislava, Czechoslovakia.

last fall appreciate the importance of such attempts to restrict and inhibit America's use of its destructive power. Indeed, the Vietnamese, better than any other group of people in modern history, have shown a proficiency and capacity for such struggle against the greatest military power on earth.

By far the most critical of the arguments being advanced in favor of pacifist participation in coalition street protest is that the coalition very much needs pacifist groups to carry the burden of interpreting plans for Chicago and other mass protest to the middle-class community in hopes of persuading them to go and lend their financial and personal support. The question for us as pacifists, however, is whether this is the particular contribution we wish to make to the peace movement at this time.

Pacifists Have a More Fundamental Role

Now, I believe that pacifists have a role to play in anti-war coalition activity. I believe that there are times and circumstances when pacifists should make common cause and undertake cooperative action with groups of differing ideological perspectives. I do not believe, however, that the time, circumstances, and present dispositions of the anti-war and black-liberation movements are such as to recommend our participation in mass street demonstrations as a positive and productive program.

I am convinced that there are other more fundamental and creative roles for pacifists to play. As I see it, what the movement urgently needs at this time is *not* a respectable front for some of the more alienated and demonstrative forms of street protest, but a mystique of faith which can permeate, inspire, and sustain a wide diversity of movement people and activity. "God is dead," and communism has lost its appeal so far as most movement people are concerned. A new belief is required. The concepts of "beloved community," "inner light," and yes, even pacifism could be positive contributions toward the emergence of one. It is precisely because I believe we of the pacifist camp have something important and relevant to offer at this level that I should hate to see us squander and discredit the little confidence and hope we do inspire in order to promote unmanageably volatile single-shot events.

No doubt some will feel I exaggerate

the problems and uncertainties inherent in mass street protest at this time. However, one cannot help but notice the marked shift in aim, tone, and style of many of the coalition groups since the October 21st Mobilization at the Pentagon. As I see it, this shift involves far more than the much-heralded, much-needed tactical escalation "from dissent to resistance." Rather, it would appear to represent a change in movement strategy and direction from 1) US violence in Vietnam to police brutality and official repression here at home; 2) focussed protest to "total disruption"; 3) an anti-war to anti-American emphasis. It is my contention that this strategic shift constitutes a brutalization of the anti-war movement, indulging rage and despair, substituting targets for levers of social change, imperiling the survival of the Vietnamese, and calling forth the worst in the American people. I am resolutely opposed to feeding people into such a brutalization process.

I shall not help to mobilize and recruit persons for coalition street protest so long as I am convinced that there are groups operative in the coalition who intend to use the occasion of such protest to "educate" both participants and public alike to the brutality of America. America has no corner on violence, and I see no future in further eroding people's faith in themselves and hope for a better society.

Sometimes Pacifists Are "Used"

Already there have been a number of coalition demonstrations across the country in which pacifists and pacifist groups have been intimidated into participation and confrontation with the authorities and then "used" to accentuate the contrast between official brutality and movement restraint. Pacifists are urged to fill the front ranks in order to keep the demonstration "unviolent," and then persons in the rear precipitate an incident by throwing things over their heads at the authorities or by pushing the pacifists into the ranks of the police from behind, etc. etc. Are we to go on lending our good auspices and presence to the brutalizing strategies of those whose only agenda is to show how rotten things are or isn't there some more distinctive and exemplary witness we can make to help inspire people to do something besides rage and weep at the war?

The pacifist camp is being asked to help provide "water" for the revolutionary "fish" to swim in. Before we so

HOW DO YOU STAND ON WAR?

Not just the Vietnam war. Anybody can be against that, and most people are.

But how do you stand on war—the institution, the technique?

Pacifists stand against war. Not because the Bible says they should. Not because they are not concerned about injustice. Not because they are non-revolutionary or counter-revolutionary.

They stand against war because they believe in the wholeness of the human family. Because they believe in the interdependence of men. Because they believe that killing people doesn't solve problems but only makes them worse.

Pacifists stand for change—deep-going social change. Pacifists work for “a social order that will utilize the resources of human ingenuity and wisdom for the benefit of all men, and in which no individual or group will be exploited or oppressed for the profit or pleasure of others.” You can't get much more radical than that.

Pacifists believe in finding nonviolent ways of effecting social change, but they define nonviolent as referring to attitudes as well as actions. Sometimes their position seems irrelevant, even to them—but in those situations violence is worse than irrelevant, and mankind has to sweat out its bloody dilemmas. But pacifists see not only the immediate injustice crying out to be corrected, but the whole tragic state of man, needing to be wrought into a single community, world wide and interdependent.

That's why pacifists not only oppose the Vietnam war, but war in general. That's why pacifists refuse to fight in the Vietnam war—or in any war. Not because refusing is an end in itself, but because killing stands in the way of the healing and binding that needs to be done.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation was formed by that kind of pacifist 52 years ago, and is made up of 17,000 of that kind of pacifist today.

Should you be in it? How do you stand on war?

Note: The FOR isn't a youth movement, though it has several thousand student-age members. It isn't church-related, though it has a religious—interreligious—base and history. Some of its members seem stuffy and old-fashioned to others; some of its members seem dangerously radical to others. But underneath the differences and disagreements there runs a deep strain of common conviction. Perhaps it's what you've been looking for.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

provide, we should do well to find out a lot more about these fish, specifically their feeding and breeding habits. Personally, it makes a difference to me whether the “fish” I'm giving a home are trout or piranha. For the pacifist must concern himself with the welfare of all, and clearly the revolutionaries are not the only fish in the pond. Thus, I must know more about such fish before accommodating them. Providing them a refuge from “The Fisherman” is one thing: feeding my friends to them is another.

I have tried to offer some reasons why I believe those of us in the pacifist community should not make coalition street protest the primary focus of our energies for the next nine months. Perhaps, after the November elections we shall find ourselves with no other option. However, for the present and foreseeable future I am convinced that political action and moral resistance offer us far greater leverage for meaningful change and the recapture of hope in America.

NATIONAL COUNCIL VOTES ON PROGRAM, BUDGET

With a record attendance (46 present plus staff) this year's National Council of the FOR put in a busy three days:

- *passing a budget that broke the \$400,000 mark for the first time*
- *cutting its own membership in half and calling a return to semi-annual meetings, starting with November 20-22*
- *making an executive committee more representative of all parts of the country and cutting down somewhat in its size*
- *asking for special attention be given by staff to broadening draft resistance in such a way as to draw in “moderates” and older people, and geared into a program to abolish peacetime conscription as well, should the Vietnam war come to a close.*
- *adopting a committee on structure's report for streamlining committees and the work of the council, through amendment of the by-laws*
- *implementing the tasks of the Poor People's Campaign in Washington and local communities this summer*
- *sending a message of condolence to Coretta King*
- *sending messages for recovery and health to Charles R. Lawrence, Emily Parker Simon, Nevin Sayre and Norman Thomas*
- *hearing a debate on integration between Bayard Rustin and W. H. Ferry*
- *electing Thich Nhat Hanh a vice-chairman*
- *debating coalition, racism, and withdrawal from Vietnam but adopting no resolutions on these subjects*

In the long haul of history, it is only since yesterday that Americans have had to bear the stigmata of ugly, self-preserving and exploitative "imperialists." Before that it was customary to praise us for our open-handed bounty to the less fortunate, for our inventive skill and very often for our altruism. Thus it is no accident that three of the great missionary spirits of the twentieth century—John R. Mott, E. Stanley Jones and Frank C. Laubach—were also pacifists. Now of those "world Christians" who excited and impelled generations: Kagawa, Grenfell, Schweitzer, etc., only Laubach remains.

Not only "remains" but persists. When we wrote his son and manager of Laubach Literacy, Inc. about him, he replied, "My father, who has always been a great friend of the FOR, is traveling overseas right now, but he'll soon be home again."

Americans who get things done, who shake off parochialism, who challenge set thinking and fixed ideas and who are therefore generally idealistic, are also likely to be great phrase makers. (Something there is that doesn't like a cliché, but can't avoid trying to state it anyway). Laubach was and is one. Witness:

"The silent billion speak"

"Each one teach one"

"Wake up or blow up"

"The world is learning compassion"

"War of amazing love"

They may sound dated against an iconoclasm that shoots down such frankly missionary-derived ideas as Point Four, AID and Peace Corps, but try them against that tragic old chestnut "The world for Christ in this generation" that began this century.

Frank Laubach was only hitting his stride in mid-career when Robert Rice in his *New Yorker* profile called him "perhaps the most ambitious and indefatigable pedagogue of his time." This "bald, unassuming, warmhearted, short-legged, rock-jawed, godly man" was only 67 then; today he is 83 and he hasn't slowed down a great deal. "Retired" no more than A. J. Muste could be "retired," he mails out hundreds of Laubach Literacy teaching

materials each day, and, between himself and his co-workers in Laubach Literacy, still honors every request for "just one more" training program for literacy workers. In a recent book (he says he lost count of whether he has written 35 or 40), *War of Amazing Love*, published in 1965, he scolded generals, needled philanthropists, instructed anthropologists and economists and (aside from his old-fashioned evangelical terminology) provided spiritual ammunition for all but the most jaded Peace Corpsman.

Laubach Literacy, Inc., Box 131, Syracuse, N. Y. 13210, is the non-profit organization perpetuating Dr. Laubach's ideal of love through the service of teaching adults to read and write. Contributions to Laubach Literacy enable Dr. Laubach and hundreds of colleagues in our nation and abroad to train teachers and conduct volunteer teaching programs. Literacy is one of the great battles in the "War of Amazing Love."

Laubach begs men and money for his great passion to teach all men to read ("The Chaplain" credits him with "bringing literacy and new dignity to more than 60 million adults"). But he sees mere reading ability as almost worse than the ignorance it displaces unless linked to a long list of basics: mass education, population control, land reform, a nutrition explosion, and of course limitation of arms and banning the bomb. But the world to do these things must learn compassion and he covets for America—braggart, careless and all that—the role of teacher. "Catch up spiritually with our scientific knowledge," he quotes the nuclear scientists, "or we shall all perish." "You are paying 60 percent of your income tax for atomic war, but do you want what you are buying?" he asks us. "If not, buy what God wants! Use your great influence to show America the way to lasting peace."

Why shouldn't Norman Cousins have called Frank Laubach "one of the noblest human beings of our time"? Or *Presbyterian Life* "one of modern Christendom's greatest missionaries"?

—JAMES S. BEST



CHRISTIANITY IN THE CRUNCH

Christianity American-style must change to meet the inroads of Communism according to a great missionary

BEFORE me is a map of the world, and beside it are two large circles. One shows the world population, the other the world's wealth. Asia has 54% of the world's population, but only 14% of the world's wealth. Africa, with 10% of the world's people, has 2% of the world's wealth. The affluent nations, with 27% of the world's population, have 70% of the world's wealth.

These figures shout eloquently at us that violence, revolution, communism over the world are due to this enormous imbalance of the things people need. For the underprivileged nations are hungry, desperate, writhing, bitterly unhappy. All economists agree that if we desired, we could relieve this hunger. There is enough and more than enough to meet the needs of the world's population—if we desired. But alas we are trying to police and fight those who revolt against hunger. When we seek peace we usually mean that those starving multitudes should behave and starve peacefully. We do not like to face up to this truth, and many of us think that anybody who tells the truth is a "communist."

But an ever increasing part of the "have-nots" have made up their minds that the "have" nations will not help them, nor even help them to help themselves by educating them for profitable employment. They are coming to believe that Karl Marx was right, that the "haves" will not let go of what they have, nor will they stop exploiting the poverty of the poor. There is no way to restore the balance of the world, said Marx, but to take it away from the "haves" and strive for a just distribution over the world of what men need. The revolts and riots and acts of terrorism, whether communist or not, are carried on by those who have reached the conclusion that they can never get what they need by peaceful means.

The Obvious Condemns Us All

This is simple and obvious, but we resent hearing it in plain words because it condemns us all, unless we are as individuals doing all we can to help the underprivileged.

We in our Literacy program are in a position to test the attitude of the "haves." A few weeks ago I was able

"You speak about my old fights on communism. That is the way I felt in those days. Now I feel differently. I think that Mao in China is coming nearer to Christianity than capitalism is. He is trying to urge every Chinese to eliminate selfishness from his life and live for the emancipation of the common man, the poor; and I think that Ho Chi Minh is more noble and admirable than the corrupt crowd we are defending in Saigon.

"As one who tries to follow the teachings and life of Jesus, I am totally against murder and violence whether it is communist guerrilla warfare or capitalist bombings. Both are contrary to the life and teachings of him who said 'Put up thy sword.'

"Maybe a pure Christianity will emerge some of these days, better than what we have in this era where capitalism is trying to find a way to make selfishness and greed work."

—from a letter to Alfred D. Moore
March 26, 1968

to get the ear of one of the wealthiest people in America. I told him that our organization believes in educating people to earn what they need. The millionaire replied: "I haven't the slightest interest in your program. You may as well not waste your breath." I hope he does not represent the majority. But the "have-nots" are rebelling because they believe most of us will never help them voluntarily.

There are two levels of "haves." Many of us have enough to live, but are afraid to give away much for fear

we will lose our social security and die in poverty. Then a much smaller group in the millionaire class have far more than they need, but find that it gives them power, and are unwilling to lose that power in order to help others. They insulate themselves from appeals like ours. Many others think that the government with its billions should shoulder the responsibility.

The war in Vietnam is exhibit A of the effort of our "affluent" society to protect our enormous inequality from the communist threat. We are trying to stop communism in Asia, so that we will not need to fight it in America. This is our real policy. One of the captains in Vietnam reported—I heard him on TV—"We could see no way to save this town excepting to destroy it, so we did." That may become a classic statement. Are we willing to destroy Vietnam, if it proves necessary, in order to protect America?

A Titanic Expenditure

If this titanic expenditure, running into hundreds of billions of dollars for that war, could be spent to lift the world out of its misery the entire human race would be singing our praises and communism would be stopped dead. We are spending enough on this war to save the world.

In *Life* magazine Arnold Toynbee made one of the most damning condemnations of the human race that was ever penned. He said that as one studies history he finds that nations would rather fight one another to suppress rebellions than to meet their legitimate demands for better conditions. He thinks this is a trait in human nature! If so, we are lost.

Perhaps the saddest aspect of war is that neither side dare tell the truth. The same thing applies to those we fear. If we were fair right now we would say that there are remarkably fine points in the effort of Mao Tse Tung to trans-

form China. I do not want anybody to think that I approve the philosophy which he got from Karl Marx, that the affluent society must have its wealth taken from it by force, and if it resists should be put under the ground. That is the wicked aspect of the program of Mao Tse Tung. Unfortunately we are practicing this philosophy against the communists right now.

But on another point Mao Tse Tung has taken a lofty viewpoint which is almost unparalleled in the history of the world save in the teachings of Jesus and in those who imitate him. Mao says that the one big sin is selfishness. He is trying to train the people of China to forget self and live for their cause, for the emancipation of mankind from oppression. This noble aim cannot easily be matched anywhere else in the world. Who else has seen so clearly and said so uncompromisingly that the greatest sin in the world is greed and selfishness. Mao did not get *that* from Marx but from Jesus Christ.

Communism and Militarism Wrong

I suppose that giving Mao credit for this Christlike purpose will cause some people to think I am a communist. But I abhor both communism and militarism, both for the same reason. They are both resorting to force to bring about the transformation (or at least the control) of the human race, while Jesus said only love would do this.

I am with the Fellowship of Reconciliation because it believes that *enough* love and compassion for need practiced by enough who call themselves Christian can save the world. This is what Jesus said, but it is not what the great majority believe. They in effect say "Trust God but keep your powder dry." Which means we do not really believe Jesus. Too many Christians trust that his blood on the cross paid the price for their sins, so they can continue to be greedy and selfish, and at the judgment they will be saved by his merits. They can believe this only by ignoring what Jesus himself said. He has forgiven which we cannot help, but it is horrible to suppose that he paid for the selfishness and greed which we intend to continue to the very door of the judgment.

Nobody will be able to carry selfishness and greed into the Kingdom of Heaven, for if anybody were there like that it would not be perfect. It can only be perfect if the citizens of that Kingdom are perfect in love. So Jesus told us "Be ye therefore perfect (in

love) as your heavenly Father is perfect."

The Human Race Threatened

But not only are greed and selfishness impossible in heaven, they are proving to be impossible on this earth, and right now with the hydrogen bomb hanging over our heads like Damocles' sword, they threaten to exterminate the human race. The chances that this will happen may be more than fifty/fifty right now.

But that will not mean the defeat of the Kingdom of God, for it is being built in eternity, where it cannot be defeated or corrupted.

I say this with some sadness and reluctance. For at least 75 years of my life I lived in the hope that the world would grow better as we became better educated and had more churches. I still "hope so." But in the year 1968 it looks as though this human race would be wrecked on its two greatest sins, selfishness and greed.

Editor's note: It may be well to allow Frank Laubach in his summation, to quote himself in retrospect from key passages from an important book published in 1957 "Wake Up or Blow Up"!

The technicians we send abroad must be more than technicians. They must have the quality of personality which the Church at its best produces. They must have warm hearts, democratic freedom from snobbery (which diplomats often lack), a great love of their fellow men, total color blindness so that they will reveal not the slightest awareness of racial prejudice, a Christlike longing to help. They must have integrity and frank honest character, they must be lovable because they love everybody, seeing the best in people and knowing how to show them appreciation. They must not only help people but also win their love. They must have the spirit of the missionary at his best, who works among the masses because he passionately longs to serve men and to help his world, and not because he is getting a fat salary.

Where are such men and women? They are in the churches. I have come to believe that they are in American churches by the hundreds of thousands. This is why the Christian Church ought to assume the major rôle for finding and supplying men and women to lift the world out of its misery.

The Church *alone* cannot save the world in the present crisis. It will re-

Preparations Begin for Gandhi Centenary Year

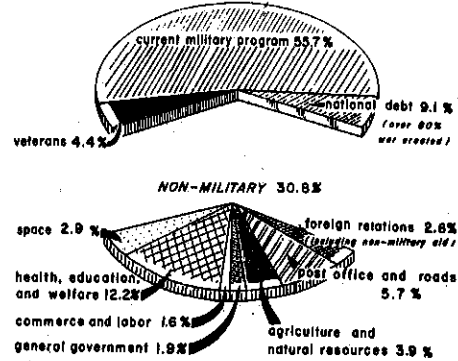
Two Indian peace workers are currently on a six months tour of their country to initiate and to develop activities for the Gandhi Centenary year. On October 2, 1969 one hundred years will have passed since Gandhi was born in 1869. October 2, 1968 to October 2, 1969 has been designated Gandhi Centenary Year.

The main emphases of the Year's activities in India will be on Gramdan (the donation of all property to a community-owned village), Shanti-Sena (peace army) and village industry. The Gandhian movement in India has set itself the goal of raising by 1969 the number of Gramdan villages up to fifty percent of all villages in India—to get fresh drinking water into every Indian village, to tackle the question of untouchability, and to develop village oriented industry. Other activities will include international conferences, seminars, exhibitions on Gandhi, a bibliography of all his publications, films, plays etc.

For more information on the Gandhi Centenary Year write: War Resisters International, Lansbury House, 88 Park Ave., Enfield, Middlesex, England.

68.2% Goes for War in 1967

Of the \$157 billion voted by Congress in 1967, \$108,845,799,840 went for military and defense related activities—or 69.2% of the total U.S. budget. See charts below for breakdown. This is to be compared with 58.4% of the total budget in 1966 and 50.24% in 1965.



quire the assistance of many agencies, public and private. But, on the other hand, all our efforts will fall flat unless the Church discovers and sends forth an army of technically skilled men and women with the flaming love and the glorious integrity of Christ. Our technical skills must be matched by a higher type of integrity and love and character than the world now has. We are not safe with more power until we have more character. It is that Christian character that the Church can and must contribute in the technicians we send abroad.



Mark Van Doren



W. D. Snodgrass



Robert Lowell



Gloria Foster and Marian Seldes, actresses who read from the poetry of Owen Dodson and Nelly Sachs



John Hall Wheelock



Arthur Miller

POETS FOR PEACE

Louis Berrigan	Louise Bogan	Mark Van Doren	Helen Gahagan Douglas
Richard Eberhart	Abbie Huston Evans	Gloria Foster	Ann Fremantle
Paul Goodman	Ned O'Connor	Thich Nhat Hanh	Barbara Howes
Galway Kinnell	Stanley Kunitz	Robert Lowell	Arthur Miller
Bl'k Nat'l	Marian Seldes	W. D. Snodgrass	John Hall Wheelock
Richard Wilbur	Marguerite Young		Anais Nin

Presented by Arthur Lane Kleis

spoken arts

Produced under the auspices of The Compassionate Arts of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.



Paul Goodman



Helen Gahagan Douglas, mistress of ceremonies at Town Hall, and poets Richard Eberhart and Stanley Kunitz



Barbara Howes and Galway Kinnell

When twenty of America's leading poets at Town Hall read their own poems for peace. A long-playing record by Spoken Arts, Inc. Produced by the Compassionate Arts of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; regular price: \$5.95; special price to FOR members: \$3.95.



Thich Nhat Hanh, Daniel Berrigan, Anais Nin and Marguerite Young



Tax Refuser Sentenced

Neil Haworth, 38-year-old Quaker pacifist and printer from New London, Conn., was sentenced to 60 days in jail last month following his refusal to pay income taxes for the years 1963-1966. The District Attorney for the prosecution had urged an indefinite sentence until Haworth turned up the money. The judge settled, however, for a 2-month sentence.

Prior to the trial Haworth sent a letter to the judge in which he stated: "... It has been estimated that the cost to the United States for the war in Vietnam is \$1000 per second. IRS has demanded that I pay enough to finance the war for approximately 2 seconds. I simply cannot pay for those two seconds of death and terror. . . ."

Asserting that he was well aware he would be sent to prison, Haworth concluded: "I do not in any way relish the prospect of losing my freedom. But if the only choice is to face prison or to buy bombs to be used against my fellow human beings, I prefer prison."

Haworth is currently with the Grindstone Press, a pacifist printing organization in New London, Conn. He was formerly national secretary of the Committee for Nonviolent Action and a crew member of *Everyman III* which sailed to Leningrad in 1962 to protest Russian nuclear testing.

Anti-Draft Leaders Face Up to Fifty Years

Seven young men who were leaders of the Oakland, Calif. draft demonstration last October have been indicted for "conspiracy" and face sentences reportedly up to fifty years in prison and \$50,000 if convicted on each count.

"Technically a hundred or even a thousand of the demonstrators could have been indicted for their actions," the District Attorney said, "but we simply don't have enough courts, so we have to take the most militant leaders."

The indictments are considered part of an attempt by the government to intimidate and stop the anti-war movement.

Persons wishing to help raise defense funds for the group should write to: Stop the Draft Week Defense Funds, 6468 Benvenue Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94618.

Indian Self-Determination Bill Before Congress

A resolution currently before the U. S. Senate would greatly aid the self-determination and development of the American Indians, according to the American Friends Service Committee and the Friends Committee on National Legislation, which have submitted support for the bill.

The Senate resolution would provide "continuing recognition of the distinctive status of Indian communities" and "a definition of a policy of self-determination" for the Indian people.

U. S. Indian policy in the past, the Quaker groups observe, has almost always been based on the premise that "Indian tribes and reservations are anachronisms which should cease to exist at the earliest possible date."

The FCNL is also urging the extension and strengthening of Public Law 480, the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act, which promotes the distribution of food to needy countries around the world.

Published figures, FCNL says, indicate that in the past five years the U. S. "has cut back expenditures for food shipments to the hungry nations by twenty-seven percent, and this at a time when the per capita food in the less developed countries has been declining."

Tufts Medical School Provides for Mississippians

A project just begun by Tufts University Medical School in Boston is providing medical services for 12,000 residents of Upper Bolivar County, Mississippi—a severely depressed area.

Seven physicians and about eighty other persons including nurses, welfare workers, laboratory technicians, etc. are participating in the Tufts Delta Health Center in Mound Bayou, Miss. The project is being supported by a \$1.6 million grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity, while poverty program funds are also being used to build a \$900,000 clinical center.

Malnutrition among children is widespread in the area. Hundreds of Negro children there are destined to grow up stunted in body and mind as a result of acute poverty. The Tufts Project is a first step in attempting to alleviate this situation.

Ivy League Graduate Schools to Re-Admit Jailed Draft Foes

The Princeton Graduate School dean announced last month that he would re-admit all those students who, based on sincere moral convictions, protested the draft by going to jail. Similar statements were made by the dean of Columbia and the trustees of Yale.

Commenting on their stands, Fred Hechinger of the *New York Times* asserted they were "without precedent" in the academic community and that they were an indication of a "rift between Washington and academia" which has become "so serious that any delay in healing it may affect the country's intellectual destiny for years."

The decision by the universities came on the heels of the recent new draft policy announcing the abolition of draft deferments for most graduate students. An expected 70 percent of college men entering graduate schools next fall will be affected by the law, a national survey indicates.

At Columbia, some 239 members of the school's faculty signed a statement last month supporting "those Columbia students who decide to refuse cooperation with Selective Service because they consider our war in Vietnam unjust and immoral. We take this stand even though the possibility cannot be excluded that our support will be interpreted in ways that subject us to indictment and prosecution."

13,000 Draft Foes Emigrate

According to the Toronto Anti-Draft Program, the Ottawa Department of Immigration reported 13,000 draft-age American males immigrated to Canada in 1967.

Persons thinking of going to England instead of Canada or jail may obtain an informative pamphlet on the subject by writing to: Stop It Committee, 8 Rosslyn Hill, London N.W. 3, England.

DATE

Aug. 17-Sept. 1, 1968 Peacemaker Orientation Program in Nonviolence at the Heathcote School of Living Center, Free-land, Md. For application or information write: Wally Nelson, 3810 Hamilton St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19104

"This Is Your FBI"**Anatomy of an Inquisition**

by Diane Leonetti

One Monday morning last October, FBI agents turned up on the campus at Yale to interrogate members of the student body, faculty and staff who had returned their draft cards. Although no one, under the Supreme Court *Miranda* ruling, was required to answer a single question, most of the 21 people questioned talked a great deal. Why? An interesting article in the December 1967 *Yale Law Journal* gives the results of the Journal's inquiry into this question.

First, it was learned that even though the men questioned had superior educations, they did not know their rights under *Miranda*. Those who were aware that some such rights existed had never thought of them as applying to *themselves*, and could not, therefore, readily apply them at the moment they were needed. Under *Miranda*, which is usually applied to police interrogations after an arrest, the suspect has 1) the right to remain silent, 2) the right to know that anything he says can be used against him, 3) the right to a lawyer during all of the questioning, and 4) the right to halt questioning at any time and get a lawyer.

The first big advantage the agents had was one of their mainstays: surprise. They arrived early in the morning—a favorite time for interrogators and arresting police is 3 or 4 a.m. when resistance is low and thought processes slowed—and worked in pairs, confronting separate individuals who were part of the previously disorganized anti-war movement at Yale. Prior to the FBI visits, the men involved had not given any thought to their rights or the possibility of FBI interrogation. This was immediately remedied; a meeting to discuss their rights was held that first evening. Notices were posted, and the Dean of the Divinity School announced that beginning Tuesday, October 24, no agent of the FBI had his permission to interview students on campus. Yet interrogations continued there through Friday.

They followed a format which works very well. The suspect is questioned alone (wife or anyone else present is asked to leave), with one agent asking the questions, another writing down answers. He is given a waiver of his *Miranda* rights

to sign in a manner implying that it is routine, usually with a terse explanation that it simply lists his constitutional rights. The FBI agents at Yale were not scrupulous about following the *Miranda* requirement to halt questioning whenever the suspect "indicates in any manner . . . that he wishes to remain silent." Without exception, those suspects who indicated that they did not wish to answer were forced to repeat it several times to convince the agents. Some agents tried to frighten the suspects with grave statements like "We will have to report that you refused." One told a suspect who asked him to come back when he had a lawyer that as they were dealing with a "Federal crime," matters couldn't be dragged out. Some waivers were given late, after certain questions had been asked and answered.

There were several reasons why men who might have been expected to know better talked so much in a situation which could only aid their adversaries. Some didn't see the reasons for remaining silent. Some saw it as a moral rather than a legal confrontation; they saw silence as refusal to state their beliefs. As they did not consider themselves criminals, and were acting on moral grounds, why not talk? Some hoped to persuade the agents with their arguments, and perhaps even the Justice Department in the end.

Most were extremely nervous. Anticipating some reaction to their first act in defiance of law, they saw the interrogations as the beginning of punishment. It was a "crisis-laden situation" in which the agent counts on the suspect's nervousness, his isolation, and the fact he is outnumbered. Even those men who were half-aware of their rights had trouble remaining calm and using their best judgment.

Much of the talking that was done after the suspects learned their rights on Monday night grew out of a desire *not to be rude*. For middle class suspects, the *Law Journal* points out, interrogation becomes a social situation. The agents know this. They assume an engaging and informal manner. When a suspect refuses to answer a question, they make small talk—comment on the cat or a piece of

Major Victory for Rights Seen in Highlander Case

The U. S. District Court in Nashville, Tenn. has prohibited a committee of the Tennessee Legislature from probing into affairs of the Highlander Educational and Research Center in Knoxville. The decision is considered a major victory for civil rights.

The court acted on a suit brought by Highlander officials with the aid of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Judge William E. Miller held that the legislature's resolution ordering the investigation "of subversive activity by Highlander and persons and organizations associated with it" would have a "chilling effect on freedom of speech and association guaranteed by the U. S. Constitution."

Highlander Center and its forerunner Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tenn. have helped to train activists in the struggle against war, poverty, and racism for 35 years. The State of Tennessee was able to close the operation at Monteagle in 1961 but the school immediately reopened in Knoxville.

sculpture. They talk about their families and emphasize that they are only doing a job. The suspect soon feels socially obliged to answer *some* questions, a fatal error. "I had come to feel very uncooperative and nasty," said one Yale man in explanation.

Those suspects who made out best, and who felt afterward that they had stood up to the FBI, all assumed the offensive at the beginning by refusing to talk at all. One, upon learning who the agents were, simply said: "In that case, gentlemen, I have nothing to say to you." Although they were as ignorant and nervous as the others, they avoided the social situation and the impossible legal judgements that become necessary when the unsuspecting layman tries to answer some questions and refuse others. Those who talked to the agents all felt like failures afterward.

The Journal concludes that even bright people who understand their rights are likely to feel pressure and give in to interrogators. This is just as true in situations where the interrogator is polite and working in the suspect's home as it is in the police station; he still has most of the advantages. To enjoy the full protection of *Miranda*, the suspect needs a lawyer at his side the whole time.

WAR ON THE GHETTOS

by DIANE
LEONETTI

Early this year, Miami's chief of police, Walter Headley, "declared war" on law-breakers in the ghetto. Angered by a wave of violence over Christmas, Headley warned on TV: "They haven't seen anything yet. . . . We're going to use shotguns and dogs. . . . Felons will learn that they can't be bonded out of the morgue." Under Miami's "stop and frisk" law, he sent his men to ghetto bars and street corners where they searched everybody in sight in a one-night show of force that caused great resentment and increased tension among Negroes. Headley's answer to riots is: "when the looting starts, the shooting starts."

Police chiefs in many U. S. cities seem to have no better answer as they nervously prepare for ghetto uprisings with new chemical weapons and armored vehicles. The unhappy relationship between ghetto residents and police, who are not their protectors but the protectors of property against them, emerges from the words of the Detroit Police Commissioner explaining why he will not reveal his new tactics and weaponry: "In a war, you do not show the enemy what you are doing." The enemy is the people. The white community is almost wholly ignorant of one central fact of Negro life: the police do not like to answer calls for help from inside the ghetto. When they do, the person who put in the call may quickly become the suspect. Men are stopped and questioned rudely and with suspicion, simply because they are black. And it is hard to measure the frustration of a black man who is unable to convince a policeman that what he is doing in the doorway of a ghetto building at 11 p.m. is *entering his own home*. (This incident was related by a Negro minister in Bedford-Stuyvesant).

Many police have frozen attitudes toward neighborhoods, even where color is not a factor. A New York Times Magazine editor discovered this fact returning to his home in the heart of Greenwich Village one night. He dropped his wife and daughter at the apartment; his son accompanied him to the garage a few blocks away. Walking home, they were accosted by a policeman who held the deep conviction that a man accompanied by a young boy in Greenwich Village after midnight had to be homosexual. A visit to the man's apartment, where he met the wife and daughter, failed to convince the young policeman, who left in the apparent belief he had been tricked. It was not possible for him to accept that the heart of Greenwich Village, a mecca for homosexuals, also housed ordinary middle class families.

Between Negroes and police, the chasm

looms even larger. A few police departments are trying to bridge it through appointments of more members of minority groups to the force, and dialogues in which ghetto residents can voice some of the grievances of the law-abiding citizen who resents being told to "move on" and "break it up" when he is talking to friends. But most are stockpiling or considering the vast array of new "riot control" weapons American industry has ready for them. Riots are big business.

Enthusiastic salesmen for the new weapons are presenting them as substitutes for bullets, "humane" weapons which won't cause permanent injury. Most controversial of these is Mace, which causes dreadful burning of the skin, tearing of the eyes, nausea, and total disability for at least 20 minutes. It is now in use in thousands of police departments. Early reports indicate that Mace is being used less in situations where a gun might have been used than in retaliation, *after* a citizen has not responded quickly to police orders. A woman reporter in San Francisco who resisted being put into a police van during a demonstration reported that *after* several cops had her firmly in hand, another sprayed Mace in her face. A teenage girl in York, Pa., was told by an officer to move on. When she tried to explain that she was waiting for a friend, he sprayed her with Mace.

Nor are the effects of Mace as transitory as its manufacturers would have the public believe. Ann Arbor, Mich. police suspended its use after learning that it cuts away the skin's fatty layer and burns nerve endings.

Mace, which is fast becoming standard police equipment, is only a foot in the door for the chemical industry. In March, at Fort Gordon, Georgia, police and National Guard officers watched a demonstration of riot tactics and weapons, including the Army's favorite Vietnam gas, CS. CS causes extreme burning and tearing of eyes, difficulty in breathing, tightness of chest, running nose, dizziness, and, in heavy concentrations, nausea and vomiting. Dr. J. Howland Auchincloss, of the Medical Committee for Human Rights, has alerted doctors to the "growing use of chemical agents by police," and suggested that if we don't like chemicals in warfare, "we shouldn't like them used against suspects or crowds." Dr. Alvin Poussaint, psychiatry professor at Tufts University Medical Center, has questioned the manufacturer's claim that Mace disables without causing permanent injury. He has petitioned the Food and Drug Administration to have Mace

barred from use against the public until it has been adequately tested. Although it has no authority over substances distributed for police use, the FDA has been flooded with inquiries about Mace, some from congressmen.

The government's lack of control in this area is unfortunate indeed. The arsenal of new "riot control" weapons being offered to police includes a device that emits a noise which is intolerable to the human ear. What happens to the victims of this unbearable sound? Do they run away, screaming, or stand still and go mad? No one has said, if indeed anyone knows. Yet this weapon is mentioned in every article dealing with new weapons, along with a chemical for dusting on streets, which, when hosed down, makes a surface ten times more slippery than ice.

Most popular with police next to Mace are huge armored vehicles like tanks for use as mobile pill boxes and communications centers. The Virginia State Police has bought six of these, at \$30,000 each. Philadelphia and Detroit wanted them; but the city councils voted them down. Los Angeles and Oakland county police have them. Some armored police vehicles are equipped with machine guns, chemicals, gas grenade launchers, water cannon, and high voltage electricity to protect police inside from the people outside.

In Detroit, police also sought the Stoner rifle, which takes a dum dum type bullet that churns a four-inch hole in its victim, but civil rights groups rose up in protest and the city council turned it down. Following a pattern which is becoming familiar around the country, in which outlying districts take a harder line than the cities, Detroit suburbs have acquired Stoners. Among other weapons being considered by police are two that were formerly reserved for use against animals: tranquilizer darts, and dye markers, the latter used on cattle. The dye is shot at a fleeing suspect to mark him for later capture.

Manufacturers of new weapons are pressing them on already jittery police with great success in many quarters, but not all police chiefs are enthusiastic. Atlanta Chief Herbert Jenkins said he has been approached personally and through the mails by manufacturers of armored vehicles and other new weapons, several even suggesting that Atlanta would need half a dozen tanks in the months ahead.

Jenkins, who maintains peace with a minimum of force, does not agree. "A lot of companies seem to be trying to come up with a secret weapon that is going to solve all our problems, but such a weapon does not exist," he said.

Disobedience

by JOHN MECARTNEY and RON CONRAD



Civil Criminal

✿ DISOBEDIENCE to the law comes in many shapes: purse-snatching, sniping from city housetops, exaggerating income tax deductions, resisting conscription, charging the Pentagon, and staging an announced sit-in with expectation of arrest. Which of these are antisocial? Most would agree that theft, murder and insurrection are such. But the other cases are not as clear.

The *Detroit Free Press* of March 14, 1965 criticized civil rights leaders for saying that "there are times when one must proceed on the basis of conscience even when the letter of the law seems to be against them." It concluded that if all Americans did this, a government of laws "could not long survive."

By contrast, in his famous letter from Birmingham jail, Martin Luther King wrote: "I submit that an individual who breaks a law that conscience tells him is unjust and willingly accepts the penalty by staying in jail to arouse the conscience of the community over its injustice, is in reality expressing the very highest respect for law."

Perhaps what is needed is a guideline for comparison. This discussion is offered as one.

First of all, Robert Merton (in *Contemporary Social Problems*) has told the sociologist that he should study deviant behavior from more than what he calls the "aberrant" perspective. What he terms the "non-conforming" can be differentiated from the "aberrant" by contrasting the bank robber and the civil rights demonstrator, both of whom break a law. (1) The demonstrator announces his proposed law-breaking publicly while the bank robber wishes secrecy for his act. (2) The demonstrator challenges the legitimacy of social norms or their application to a specific situation. The robber accepts the norms in theory, but still violates some of them. (3) The demonstrator

wishes to change the norms, while the robber seeks only to escape being caught. (4) The demonstrator is usually thought to be disinterested, while the robber serves his own ends. (5) The demonstrator justifies his actions by appeal to higher values, often to the laws of God in contrast to those of man. The robber has no higher craving than to line his own pockets.

Don't Ignore Criminal Disobedience

Merton's bank robber practices *criminal disobedience*, in contrast to the *civil disobedience* of the civil rights worker. But there is another type of disobedience to the law, which can be called neither criminal nor civil. It is used by the idealistic non-conformist who is *not* willing to accept punishment for his lawbreaking, because he does not believe—at least not very much—in government. He is an anarchist, and his lawbreaking is *anarchistic disobedience*. Thoreau partook of this trait, for he was unwilling to submit to a law which he believed unjust, yet was also reluctant to uphold the system of law by accepting punishment for breaking the law. The confusion between civil and anarchistic disobedience may have begun when a later publisher changed the title of Thoreau's essay on "Resistance to Civil Government" to "Civil Disobedience." The essay seems a bit more anarchistic by the fact that it was written as a rebuttal to Paley's "Duty of Submission to Civil Government."

An attempt at disorganizing one state to create another may or may not be anarchistic. Gandhi's approach of revolutionary non-violence was not, for he advocated accepting legal punishment and filling the jails. In *Direct Action*, by contrast, April Carter does seem anarchistic, for she does not mention acceptance of punishment.

If a person who does not accept punishment for his violations of law is anarchistic, does it follow that peo-

ple who *do* accept this punishment not cause anarchy? A further question must be made to distinguish a person who is a supporter of order from one who is not: the disobedient distinguishes himself from the anarchistic disobedient by violating the law only when grievous wrongs strongly violate his conscience. Such violations would not happen often. (Bayart mentions this in the 1966 collection of essays on *Civil Disobedience* at the Center for the Study of Democracy and Institutions.) If a person with a sensitive conscience which causes many violations of law were to accept punishment, his actions would still tend to be anarchistic, and imprisonment might prevent further recurrences.

In *Conquest By Suffering*, Seifert points out that "demonstrations, filling jails are an improvement over riots, but they are still costly interruptions of the ongoing process of social change. For one thing, if it becomes customary for too many people to go to jail, often, the whole system of law, including wise statutes and procedures in courts, may be expected to lose some of its effectiveness. In occasional campaigns this does not significantly lower. . . ."

An example might help clarify alternatives for lawbreaking. The 1960s freedom riders purposely violated laws to secure U.S. Supreme Court rulings. The riders were certain that the Supreme Court would declare the

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laws unconstitutional, which was done. They felt that the way to test a law was to violate it in orderly fashion. And according to Paul Ramsey, Princeton's ethical philosopher, "such litigation is an important part of the Anglo-American jurisprudence and of the relation of people to law" (*The Sit-Ins and Christian Ethics*). The lawbreakers were pleased with the Supreme Court decision. But if the decision had gone against them, would they have been willing to accept punishment under the local laws they violated? Willingness to suffer penalty when a law is declared legal separates the anarchistic from those who uphold the system of law itself.

Socrates had violated the law in his educating—or "subverting," as the Greek fathers put it—the youth. His punishment was the hemlock. His friends offered him a chance to escape. Instead, he drank the deadly hemlock to uphold the *system* of law, although he had felt the need to violate an individual unjust law.

How to Classify Disobedience

The 1964 Free Speech Movement at Berkeley would be classified by Merton as non-conformist. But since the students charged with lawbreaking were not willing to accept punishment, their actions were *anarchistic disobedience*. Police cars taking the violators to jail were blocked. A strike was called to protest the arrest of the lawbreakers.

On his salt march to the sea, Gandhi insisted upon being arrested for violation of the law. His method was *civil disobedience* in other ways as well, such as in his very careful and sparing use of law violation.

When the Amish refuse to pay taxes or to send their children to school beyond the eighth grade, they show *anarchistic disobedience*. They do not uphold the system of law by expecting punishment. And they defy the law as frequently as it violates their consciences.

A slum-dweller battling police has reason to change the laws of a majority that suppresses him. But he usually practices *anarchistic disobedience*, for he does not respect the system of law, and does not accept punishment willingly. Those who pilfer goods from buildings in the area of chaos descend to *criminal disobedience*, for their interest is selfish. In this case, the one helps produce the other.

In Support of the Civil Kind

The responsible and socially constructive nature of civil disobedience has been pointed out by more than a few people who should know.

Fr. Drinan, Boston Law School dean, claims the lawyer's right to counsel civil disobedience:

"If an individual or a group secretly or violently sought to overthrow a law, such conduct would be disloyalty to the idea of law itself. But when citizens openly disobey a law that they hold to be unjust and ask for the penalty, they are saying in effect that they would rather be in jail than live freely in a society which tolerates such a law. . . . Construing these two provisions of Canon 32 (of the American Bar Association's Code of Professional Ethics) together, it appears to be reasonably clear that a lawyer can and indeed sometimes would be required to counsel his client not to obey a particular statute because the lawyer "conscientiously" doubted its "validity" and because, moreover, compliance with such a statute might be contrary to the "strictest principles of the moral law."

The world's best-known practitioner of civil disobedience, another lawyer named Gandhi, stated the issue precisely:

"When a person quarrels both with the rule and the sanction of its breach, he ceases to be civil and lends himself to the precipitation of chaos and anarchy. A civil resister is, if one may be permitted such a claim for him, a philanthropist and a friend of the State. An anarchist is an enemy of the State and is, therefore, a misanthrope. . . . I hold the opinion firmly that civil disobedience is the purest type of constitutional agitation."

The question is sometimes raised as to whether civil disobedience can be used by segregationists as well as civil rights advocates. Thurgood Marshall, who, as a Supreme Court justice, is the highest-ranking Negro in the government, has stated on television that:

"If the Supreme Court should declare that the sit-in is unlawful and a violation of personal rights, and if there is going to be a moral problem, that is an individual's moral problem. Any individual has the right to feel that he considers it to be morally incorrect and for him to personally obey it would be to interfere with his own morals and his conscience. He has a perfect right to disobey it and he also has the right to go to jail for disobeying it. And that is my answer to the

Southerner who says he has a right to oppose the Supreme Court decision. He has the right to oppose and he has the right to do any act he cares to do to oppose it but with the full understanding that he pays the penalty of going to jail for his opposition."

The Nuremberg Trials will certainly be seen as a landmark in the history of ideas, for they set a strong precedent for the principle that bad laws should be disobeyed. Eichmann, in trying to escape the responsibility of his part in the genocide, said at his trial: "It was not I who persecuted the Jews; this was done by the government. I accuse the rulers of abusing my obedience. Obedience has always been praised as a virtue."

Michael A. Musmanno, a Pennsylvania Supreme Court justice who served at the Nuremberg and Auschwitz trials, has held that sometimes soldiers need not obey orders:

"For decades this myth has continued because murderers used it as a cover-up for their criminal deeds. . . . Instead of being compelled to obey an obviously criminal order, a soldier is required, even by the strictest military discipline, to disobey it. Suppose the captain of a company orders his men to surrender to three soldiers of the enemy holding no military advantage. The men should disobey that order because it violates even greater superior orders of loyalty to one's country. If a soldier is ordered to machine gun or throw into ovens helpless children, he has an order from God to disobey that order."

Last but not least, long-time director of Selective Service, General Lewis B. Hershey, was asked after a speech at the Yale Law School what he would do if he were of draft age and found himself forced into military acts he "found morally impossible to support." The General responded that "in order to maintain your dignity, you'd have to go to the penitentiary." (*New York Times*, Oct. 4, 1966.)

A society that descends to anarchy may find little freedom, for anarchy is usually followed by the rule of the weak by the strong and ruthless. Few injustices warrant drastic change that might destroy the fabric of society.

When it is alleged, however, that civil disobedience leads to this anarchy, one might do well to define civil disobedience. For, as illustrated here in the opinions and in the lives of its major practitioners, this disobedience upholds law and order.

The Nicest Jail I've Ever Been In

by VIRGIE HORTENSTINE

JUDGE SUMMERS was sitting behind a desk on a raised platform as Square Morman and I entered the courtroom of Fayette County, southwest Tennessee.

"Nigger-lover," I heard somebody say, just loud enough. At least not "nigger-whore," the usual to any white woman with a Negro man. I haven't yet heard it applied to a literacy teacher.

As I looked at the judge's large, pink face, I recognized him as the same judge who had sentenced me, a Cincinnati, to jail there in February; this was November. Something within me said, "Speak to his mind. He is an intelligent man."

The courtroom benches were full of the usual crowd of white men in khaki or overalls, their sleeves appearing a trifle short over large, awkward wrists and hands there seemed no logical place for. On the bench next to them now sat Square Morman, dark-skinned, 250 pounds, a heartening smile with large, even, white teeth. He turned his face upward to the judge and fixed his gaze on him earnestly, with that look of trust he has.

It was the look of trust I had seen on the faces of Fayette County Negroes six years before when with my husband and daughter I saw Fayette County for the first time. "Piety, pathos and courage," E. M. Forster had called it, describing another people. Negroes huddling in the dark, oily shelters of Tent City told me their story then. Seven hundred Negro sharecropper families in Fayette and neighboring Haywood Counties had been given eviction notices when they registered to vote. They were boycotted against obtaining food, gasoline, medicine, crop loans. Yet they were quietly determined to stay.

I saw the faces. They were willing, as one of them said, "to divide even a crumb." \$2-\$3-a-day sharecroppers, Negroes, people with the least possible hope of achieving a revolution. I could not leave.

I travelled to Fayette and Haywood Counties as often as I could, our children being away at school. Now I was sitting with Square Morman, contrary to Fayette County custom. On short notice nobody but Square had offered to

go; I was staying with the Morman family while teaching. It should be a simple matter to convince the judge that since I lived in Cincinnati, Ohio, I didn't need a Fayette County, Tennessee, Wheel Tax Sticker. It was for not having this sticker that the constable had arrested me the night before.

It would be simple to prove I didn't live in Fayette County. But Judge Summers did not ask me whether I lived in Fayette County. Instead he asked me what I was *doing* there. "A visitor—" he began; but I said I was working here, doing volunteer work. It was without pay, but it was work, bringing college students and conducting workcamps.

"You mean Communist workcamps?" he asked.

I could not help laughing. I said, "No, we work to help the people. We're having Freedom Schools and local untrained Negroes are doing the teaching. We're studying Negro history. We are training local people to teach literacy." I gave him a brochure that describes the project that has now become an organization, Fayette-Haywood Workcamps. I watched him read the list of officers: myself, a Quaker, as coordinator; a white member of the Church of the Brethren; a Negro Baptist minister; a Jewish rabbi, a Catholic priest. He saw the list of sponsors, a number of Quaker groups and Negro ministers' groups. He looked at the photographs of local Negroes building their own community center along with white students from outside of Fayette County.

He said, "What about our school teachers here in the county, white and colored? You're starting schools—are you saying they're not doing a good job?"

"These are adult schools," I said. "There are a lot of people in Fayette County who can't read."

I mentioned our work with voter registration, and the building of the Negro-owned community center. "You've probably been at the Community Center," I said.

He replied very firmly that he had not been at the Community Center. He said that when someone from one place went somewhere else and got mixed up in what was going on there, he called that meddling.

"I'm going to interpret the Wheel Tax Law and fine you \$25 and costs," he said.

I asked him to state the Wheel Tax Law. He said there were 32,000 laws in the State of Tennessee and he didn't have time to look it up.

I asked him how he could convict me on a law without being able to state it.

He said, "Who's runnin' this courtroom, me or you?"

Square Morman and I left the courtroom. The constable turned his face away as we went out the door.

I had not recognized the constable as an officer the night before when he came up and began to talk to me. I had just come from the hardware store, where I had gone to pick up a floor sander to sand the floor of one of our Freedom Schools. It met in an old church hall near the Mississippi Border.

The young white clerk and the Negro helper at the hardware store had been friendly, looking into my face in almost a conspiring way, as if they understood. They had the floor sander loaded which I had engaged, when the manager, a stocky, elderly white man, saw the Ohio license plate on my car. He asked where I was from and what I was going to do with the sander. When I told him he said he didn't want to rent his sander to outside people or to those jackleg workers down there who didn't know how to use it. He ordered the employees to take it out of my car.

"This isn't my doin'," the white clerk said to me regretfully.

I drove on down the road to the next small town, and was occupied with loading literacy materials into our 1954



VIRGIE HORTENSTINE is coordinator of the Fayette-Haywood Workcamps in those two rural Tennessee counties, where a local school desegregation order has resulted in numerous burnings of homes of Negroes who have sought their civil rights.

station wagon when the constable came up to me. He was tall and gaunt, like a hill-country man. He drove a Ford pickup around his district, looking for trouble, wearing a cap and a star. I didn't ask him what a Wheel Tax Sticker was but he told me anyway.

"I don't live here," I said.

"Yes you do," he said. "I've seen you more in Fayette County than anywhere else."

"I pay taxes in Cincinnati, where I live."

"You come up to the courthouse tomorrow morning at 10:00 and tell the judge about it." With a pencil stub he formed a few letters on a pad such as policeman carry, tore off the official sheet and handed it to me.

Now he looked the other way as we went into the clerk's office and learned that the fine and costs came to \$40.50 or 20 days in jail. It was obviously not right to pay an unjust fine; so I went to jail. I went tearfully; twenty days seemed a very long time.

As soon as I caught sight of Sheriff Bowling, I introduced myself. "I met you at the Harrises," I said. The Harrises are local Negroes. John Harris had helped campaign for Sheriff Bowling that year. Bowling is about 40 and had been an insurance agent. Insurance agents frequently enter the houses of Negroes and sit on their chairs.

I wanted to telephone my husband before I went to the cell. Mr. Bowling opened the door of the sheriff's office for me to use his phone. He must have caught my husband's surprise and reassurance and offer of money and then his final capitulation: "Well if that's what you want to do I suppose that's what you'll have to do."

Bowling's manner was leisurely and sympathetic. I relaxed into comfortable conversation, sharing my dilemma. "Twenty days is a long time," I said.

He, too, set back and talked confidentially. He gave Negroes credit for having elected him. He said that Paul Summers is a "good boy" and told of a case where the judge had even embarrassed him by giving the Negro the benefit of the doubt when he was in court for selling whiskey. This, however, was a case where a Negro had been degrading other Negroes and the judge had let him get away with it.

"He's just got a sore spot about 'outside agitators,'" I said. "I can understand that." The sheriff admitted that possibility.

The sheriff said he and the judge had looked up the law after I had gone to jail and found that if a car is in Fayette County for as many as 45 days a year it is required to have the tax sticker.

"This car has not been in Fayette

County that long," I said. "I haven't broken the law at all." I asked the sheriff if I could buy a sticker and have the charges dropped since I had had no chance in court to answer to this law. The sheriff phoned the judge; but the judge refused, saying I would have to take it to the Attorney General.

Later Baxton Bryant of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations contacted the Attorney General, who said the matter was entirely in the judge's jurisdiction and not his.

"I think you would be better off paying the fine," said the sheriff, "but I don't want you to get the idea that you're not welcome here."

For these unexpected words I felt grateful.

I was put into the same cell I had occupied in February. In February I had been arrested after my car ran into a ditch. The brakes had failed suddenly because of a hole in the brake lining. The state patrol arrested me for improper brakes. Judge Summers find me \$5.00 and costs, which I intended to pay until I learned that the costs were \$14.75. This seemed exorbitant in the fourth poorest county in the nation, where the annual income averages only \$470 per person; so I went to jail and stayed 6 days of a 10-day term.

Being the only woman in the jail I had a cell to myself. There are two double-deck bunks in this cell, with steel slabs on which a pad is laid. On the floor was a pile of brown mattress pads, some leaking their grey-white cotton stuffing, mostly dirty. The turnkey said I could sleep on one pad and cover up with another one. He then left and turned the key in the lock.

High above the jail, over the water tower, shone the lighted cross, the landmark of Somerville and of Christianity. This cross was there when Tent City was set up in 1959. In those days an over-worn record in John McFerren's store scratched out Pete Seeger's voice:

"Born in Fayette County—
Here's where I'll stay
And it will take more than hunger
To drive us away!"

Now the water tower was draped with red and green Christmas lights. And in the evenings someone would play haltingly on the piano, "Christ the Savior is born, Christ the Savior is born."

Six local Negroes appeared the next day, which was Sunday and visiting day. Baxton Bryant had contacted a lawyer, who thought I should appeal. But the appearance of these visitors convinced me that more could be said by serving the term. There need be no words to explain to Negroes that a white person has gone to jail for them. The Interdenominational Ministers Alliance, a Negro group

of Cincinnati, sent the money to pay my fine, but I did not use it.

On the second visiting day, Wednesday, the crowd and the gifts of food they brought made the cell look like Christmas. There was a whole barbecued chicken, a whole cake, bags of oranges, apples, grapes, carrots, cans of juice and fruit, milk, candy and chewing gum, as well as stamps, paper, envelopes, soap, books, packages of Christmas cards for mailing.

The first visitor was a local white woman, a member of the staff of the Office of Economic Opportunity. As I talked through the bars with an educated woman who works for equal rights I lost for a moment the feeling that had long disturbed me, of being one of a kind in an alien culture. For a moment I belonged; I was justified. I longed to know these white people better, this woman, Sheriff Bowling, even Paul Summers.

When the visitors had gone, I put the food behind the bars on the window ledge. Someone had made a Christmas mobile, which I attached to the bars. The sheriff had brought me a new sheet and two blankets. The turnkey said the cell looked homey.

Meals were jail meals. At 7:00 A.M. a Negro trusty would bring a tin tray. On it was always the same, a pile of biscuits, sorghum and two fish cakes. At 4:00 P.M. there would be a large pile of pinto beans and a chunk or two of cornbread, sometimes applesauce.

How to fill time was the problem. Maneuvering to do the laundry helped. I had compartmented tin food trays 1½ inches deep, a small washbowl without a stopper, and warm water in the shower. For a clothes line I had a broom, a belt and a piece of rubber hose. I kept remembering the remark of a conscientious objector friend: "In prison you learn to do without the essentials."

Life in the men's cells, one Negro and one white, behind mine and on the other side of a wall, sounded much different from my solitary life. The evenings sounded like a party: people laughed all evening. The white men seemed to make all the noise. Once in a while someone would let out a hyena-like whoop, or suddenly bawl out something like "Fresh EGGS!" The deputies went in and out, their new cars pulling up to the front door, and people locked each other up and let each other out and gave each other money.

One day a white man yelled out, "Hey Virgie!" I answered. He said he had been here 40 days for passing bad checks. We mentioned the inevitable beans. He said he didn't eat 'em. He lived on coffee. I sent over some apples and carrots to both the Negro and the white cells with the turnkey. The man, whose name

was Bill, said he had a hot plate and would make me some coffee.

A couple of days later he called, "Hey Virgie. My money is on its way." Two days later they took him over to the court again. Somebody had wired him \$300. The turnkey said the court got the \$300 and he was out.

"Money talks," said the turnkey. "Yours ain't talkin' though."

"No, mine's pretty quiet," I said.

About the only person I could ever talk with was the turnkey and occasionally the four Negro trustees. The turnkey was an elderly white man with long eyelashes. He always had a smile and a mild sort of joke and a mild sort of tolerance of everybody. He would put his head to the small barred window in my door at 6:00 P.M. and say, "You goin' to bed?" or at mealtime, "You hungry?" Always courteous, always asking these half-funny questions.

Then there was the window. Every time a car stopped or a car door slammed, I would run to the window. I suppose I did this 40 times every evening and as many every day. I would often see Sheriff Bowling going out and in. On one visiting day John Harris told me about the young sheriff's plans for changing the old "tough sheriff" image. Bowling had told him he was going to wear a business suit and not a uniform and not carry a gun. This was the way Bowling always dressed; he went in and out like a business man.

One of the men came to my door one evening and pushed a package in between the bars. It was a half-gallon ice cream box, about ¼ full.

"Who's that from?" I asked.

"Me," he said. "Only don't tell nobody but I brought it t'ye."

Maybe it was because they didn't happen often that events meant more. And maybe getting used to jail is just a matter of getting used to things not happening as often.

After McFerren had left the cell in back, a voice from the Negro cell took up the call one day, "Hey Virgie!" I was surprised that a strange Negro would call me by my first name.

He said he wanted some apples, but I said I was out of apples. Then he told me that John McFerren was outside. "Look out your window."

John McFerren had established his reputation as president of the Original Fayette County Civic and Welfare League six years ago. His organization had set up the Tent City after \$2000 had been raised to get him killed. I looked out just in time to see him and Houston Malone leaving. I yelled at them.

"Wrong day," they said. "Right time but the wrong day." Our voices could not help carrying into the office.

I called out the window, "Come back on Wednesday."

John said, "I called Rev. McCrackin. And Carl Braden. Carl Braden's coming down. And Baxton Bryant's staying around."

I said, "I wish somebody'd call Louis Lucas."

"Justice Department knows it," John said.

Just then up drove a deputy sheriff and almost ran his car into them as their backs were turned. They jumped. This was Buck, the one who never smiled or looked me in the face. He had half a block of parking space and he had to park right there. I wondered what would happen if Buck would be walking into John McFerren's store and John would play like he was going to run him over with his truck.

Then I could see what the officials thought of John McFerren and what it meant to them to have a visit from him. John Harris, yes. His skin was light; he was a landowner; he met white people with casual self-confidence. He could bring in package after package to my cell. Even Square Morman, though he puzzled them some. But not John McFerren, who considers it a compromise to come up to the courthouse for "talks" with the white power structure.

The Negro man in the back cell never called me again. The part about the apples was just a cover-up to get my attention. His real message was that John McFerren was outside. "Virgie" was the only name he knew.

Wednesday was the twelfth day. That morning I received a letter from Annie Lois Jackson, the courageous Negro woman in neighboring Haywood County who had run for the office of magistrate. Her house had been burned to the ground a few months before, one of 13 that summer, in an apparent attempt by the Ku Klux Klan on the lives of her whole family.

"Just to let you know how sorry I am for what happened to you and it worry me because I can't do nothing for you. I want to come to see you but I don't have no way. These people up here are scarey and afraid to come down but I am going to keep asking. I know how you feel. . . . I have job now working it don't pay much just \$15.00 a week I hope I can get a better job. . . ."

This was visiting day. That day I learned that Buck had threatened some of the visitors. And someone had been caught trying to put sugar in Square Morman's gas tank; Square had been bringing carloads to the jail to visit. They would drive up in a car that always looked like it would never make it home again.

There was still no mail from Cin-

cinnati, where the officers of our project lived. I wanted to leave with Square in the rattletrap car loaded with people.

"No," said Square. "You stay till Saturday. They might get up a protest at the meeting tonight. Or there might still be one from Cincinnati."

He promised to bring me a note to the jail.

"Tonight?" I begged.

"Not tonight. Late at night, after the meeting? You crazy, girl? I'll bring it tomorrow."

It was hard to watch the carload rattle away from the jail.

The next day was warm and summery. Christmas was only 17 days off. Square had not come or left a note. I sat down at the typewriter.

Then, suddenly, it began to rain. It became darker outside, and the rows of washing I had hanging in my cell took on the appearance of draperies to shut out the storm. The rain was a great sweep of comfort, coming over me, telling me to be satisfied here, telling me to be comforted.

I gathered momentum for a letter. Yet I could not write. I ran to the window. Outdoors it had cleared and the air was warm again. The next thing I remember was that I was face down on my cot, crying.

Then I heard footsteps coming up the stair. The barred window in my cell door opened. It was the turnkey.

"You sleepin'?" he asked.

"Just feeling sorry for myself," I said.

"Oh don't feel so bad about it," he said kindly and went away.

I went to the window again. The turnkey was outside, merely standing there, a very ordinary-looking man. He looked a little bored, too. In a few minutes he was back in the hall, and came over to ask why I didn't leave the jail.

I had explained to him in the days past how I felt about race relations and that I was serving the term because I did not believe in paying money to an unjust system. After he thought it all over he said he agreed. He had some criticisms of the system, too; and never once did I see him slight a Negro by word or tone or action.

I said I would leave the jail if I had a way to leave. He said maybe that man who was here yesterday would come by and leave a note.

"Square? Did he tell you, too, that he was going to come by and leave a note?"

"He said he was," said the turnkey.

"He said he was." The thought comforted me. Then Square had part of the responsibility. Even the turnkey had some. I felt better.

The next morning, the 14th day, three letters arrived. One from Cincinnati, so long anticipated, indicated little protest action. The second was from John Heidbrink of the Fellowship of Reconciliation:

"Bless the water tower and may the cross consume it. I compliment you on being in jail. It's good for us all. We each take our turn. . . ."

The third letter was from Ernest Bromley, editor of The Peacemaker:

"... from all standpoints it was a wise thing to do rather than pay the fine that was fixed on such a charge, indictment and conviction.

"If it weren't 500 miles from here, I might get the cymbals, bells, pots and pans and whatever all together and make the biggest pandemonium ever—to see if the walls of that place would come tumbling down. I understand they did once. One thing I forget is how many times I'd have to walk around the place. . . ."

Ernie"

I sat down at the typewriter to answer his letter:

"Dear Ernie,

"You are persuading me to stay in jail a little longer, maybe till Thursday, in spite of Christmas. If you were really coming down with your cymbals and pots and pans. . . ."

I heard a pounding at my door. It was Square Morman. This was not visiting day. But he has been given five minutes to talk to me. He said they hadn't even discussed any protest on Wednesday night. He had walked out of the meeting early. So had John Harris.

"Come on," he said. "It's time to go."

"But—" I said. One foot was pointing toward my unfinished letter in the typewriter and the other foot was pointing toward him and the door.

I was packing when John Harris appeared. He had come to the same conclusion, that I should leave that morning. In spite of threats from Buck, he came straight to the jail.

When I was ready to leave the cell, deputy Bobbitt, a friendly-looking man, was at the door as the turnkey unlocked it. He was quoting the Wheel Tax Law to me so I could buy a wheel tax sticker.

"Well! Here's somebody who knows the law!" I said. "They ought to make you the judge."

He laughed like a schoolboy.

I had to go from the jail to the courthouse to pay the remaining \$12.50 of the fine. And Bobbitt, instead of taking me himself, placed me in the custody of John Harris!

I was to learn the next day that the local Negro group had not been as lacking in interest as it had appeared.

The four deserters from the U.S. air craft carrier Intrepid, who are now in Sweden, have issued the following "Appeal to Fellow-Americans and Fellow-Servicemen."

An Appeal to Fellow-Americans and Fellow-Servicemen

We were among the ever growing thousands of young Americans serving in the U.S. Armed Forces who are shocked and angered by the conduct of our government and military in Vietnam, but unlike our fellow-servicemen we could no longer participate in the crime of silence. Therefore we left our service on board the air-craft carrier Intrepid.

In the name of liberty, justice and democracy, our nation which is the mightiest military power in history is trying to impose its will on a small people. In the name of peace, the U.S. is using the most brutal weapons of war against the people of Vietnam. The U.S. is burning and mutilating the land, the homes, the mothers, the old and the children; the U.S. is bombing and poisoning crops and livestock—in short the U.S. is destroying that country and its people.

The U.S. is committing these acts against the Vietnamese people in violation of the Geneva Accords of 1954, the Charter of the United Nations and our own Federal Constitution and as war grows, the U.S. risks starting World War III which would probably destroy the human civilization and most of mankind.

In addition, this war is only doing damage to our own country and its position in the family of nations. We four

There had been disagreement over method, John McFerrer feeling that a protest was too much like begging; he wanted to see me sue them for false arrest. Also in next day's mail was a copy of an appeal that had gone out from Fred Shuttlesworth of Cincinnati, president of Southern Conference Educational Fund. I consoled myself that by the time any action would be taken now I would have been out anyway. Yet I felt I had let down the professionals, the conscientious objectors, the men like Ernest Bromley and Maurice McCrackin, who would have fasted, would have sat it out till the last day, impervious, obdurate in protest. I felt that I was not altogether of their school.

At the clerk's office in the courthouse, the girl behind the desk counted my change very carefully, to show she was not cheating me. John Harris stood nearby; I was still in his custody. I forgot

have seen how respect for the U. S. A. among even friendly nations is being replaced by shock, disgust and open opposition.

Therefore, because we believe this war to be immoral and illegal, we have chosen to exert every effort to end it. We have chosen to obey our moral conscience rather than obey our government's immoral orders that we participate in crimes against humanity.

Our protest against the war in Vietnam is a moral protest, our desertion is a moral desertion, we have followed the dictates of our consciences. We appeal to you—

- Do all you can to stop this war, stop the killing, the burning, the poisoning. . . .
- Stop these immoral acts dictated by an immoral authority,
- Help us build a better world, a world of peace, without wars,
- Help us change the role of the United States from one of war-maker to one of peace-maker in the service of humanity.

CRAIG ANDERSON
RICHARD BAILEY
JOHN BARILLA
MICHAEL LINDNER

What should a man do who has been called upon for military service—that is, called upon to kill or to prepare himself to kill? For a person who understands the true meaning of military service and who wants to be moral, there is only one clear and incontrovertible answer: such a person must refuse to take part in military service no matter what consequences this refusal may have.

LEO TOLSTOY
April 7, 1899

to ask him if the deputy had given him a gun. Square Morman stood nearby also, although he had not been given a part in the play. The faces of the Negroes did not betray the fact that only a couple of years ago a Negro could scarcely enter the courthouse without endangering his life.

The sheriff was sitting at his desk. I shook hands with him and said, "I had a nice time in your jail, Mr. Bowling. It's the nicest jail I've ever been in."

Without hesitating an instant, he rose and answered, "Thank you. We enjoyed having you. Come back again."

"I probably will," I answered. I got into the bulging car from the Stinson Chapel community and we clattered down the road.

A week later John Harris, on his own, rented the same sander from the hardware store and sanded the floor at Stinson Chapel Hall.

RELIGIOUS LEADERS TOUR THE WORLD IN SEARCH OF PEACE:

A Report by Herman Will

The issues raised by the war in Vietnam have aroused religious leaders in the United States to take strong positions and dramatic action through the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Clergy and Laymen Concerned, certain denominational social action agencies, and secular peace groups.

At the same time, cooperation among Catholics, Protestants and Jews on international questions has progressed, more rapidly on the unofficial level than through official interdenominational channels. Out of the personal friendship of several clergymen, reinforced by the experience of participation in the civil rights movement, has grown the U.S. Inter-Religious Committee on Peace. This ad hoc group has held an interfaith consultation on peace at the Church Center for the United Nations (1965), an inter-religious conference of more than 400 leaders in Washington (1966) which produced a report in paperback form, and in January 1968 an international, inter-religious symposium in New Delhi in cooperation with the Gandhi Peace Foundation.

The U.S. Inter-Religious Committee on Peace seems to have struck upon an effective combination of key leaders working together informally with ready access to official channels and resources. Part of its success rests upon the six churchmen who serve as co-chairmen: Rabbi Maurice Eisendrath of the Union of Ameri-

can Hebrew Congregations, Dr. Dana Greeley of the Unitarian Universalist Association, Bishop John E. Hines of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Archbishop Iakovos of the Greek Orthodox Church, Bishop John Wesley Lord of the Methodist Church, and Bishop John J. Wright of the Roman Catholic Church.

Because of the stature of this leadership, the Committee has been able to enlist the support of important lay and clerical figures and to secure the assistance and cooperation of the staffs of official religious social action agencies. Much of the organizational work has been done by such staff people with the approval of their employing boards or commissions.

Consultation With International Religious Leaders

After the 1966 National Inter-Religious Conference on Peace urged that efforts be made to hold a world inter-religious conference, the officers of the U.S. Committee dispatched Homer Jack of the Unitarian-Universalist Association and Herschel Halbert, the Episcopal Secretary for International Affairs, on a scouting expedition to explore with leaders of world religions and centers of religious study the possibilities of holding such a conference. The U.S. Committee was keenly aware that a genuinely international conference would not be a simple matter to arrange, and that significant

participation in sponsorship, planning, and execution would be just as important as representative attendance.

Consultation with religious leaders, particularly in India and Japan, led to a decision to co-sponsor an international, inter-religious "symposium" in New Delhi with Indian and U.S. delegations of about fifteen each with about the same number of invitees from religious groups in other countries. The Symposium, it was agreed, should be co-sponsored and co-financed by the Gandhi Peace Foundation and the U.S. Inter-Religious Committee on Peace. In addition, Japanese leaders requested a one-day consultation in Kyoto at which future co-operation could be explored.

A team of some fifteen religious leaders, clerical and lay, plus a few staff to handle travel and public information detail, was selected in consultation with official bodies. None formally represented his communion, but included were Roman Catholic, Unitarian, Jewish, Quaker and about a half dozen Protestant leaders. There were four bishops, one Catholic, two Methodist, and one Episcopalian, Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; former American Baptist president, Harold Stas-

HERMAN WILL JR. is with the Division of Peace and World Order of the General Board of Christian Social Concerns of the Methodist Church.

View of the delegates, observers, and staff of the Symposium at the International Conference Center, New Delhi.





Top: Buddhist monks greeting Mme. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, with U.S. delegates Greeley, Eisen-drath, and Stassen in background.

President Husain of India greeting delegates.

Opening session of the Symposium. Back row, Homer Jack, Shri Ramachandran—co-secretariat of the Symposium; President Husain of India, Shri R. R. Diwakar, M.P., of the Gandhi Peace Foundation.

Bottom: Greek Orthodox Patriarch, Athenagoras, greeting U.S. delegation outside his headquarters in Istanbul.

sen, with valuable experience and international contacts; and the Presbyterian Vietnam committee chairman, retired Major General Leroy Anderson with four years of experience as a congressman from Montana.

En route to the New Delhi Symposium, the inter-religious team met with Dr. Eugene Carson Blake and World Council of Churches staff at Geneva. Here they were properly cautioned about the widespread identification of traveling Americans with U.S. policy in Vietnam. They were also warned about the danger of syncretism in the kind of inter-religious venture on which they were embarked.

In Rome, the team was greeted warmly by Cardinal Cicognani, the Vatican Secretary of State, and by representatives of the Vatican Commissions on Unity, on Justice and Peace, and on Non-Christian Religions. It was interesting to note that the Roman Catholic Church, historically sensitive to the danger of syncretism, today has a Commission on relations with Non-Christian Religions and its representatives expressed interest in and support for the type of inter-religious effort in which the U.S. group was engaged.

A brief stop in Istanbul was highlighted by a visit with the Ecumenical Patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church. His greeting was warm, and his interest in the mission of the group was genuine though necessarily general and non-political because of the difficult international situation in that area of the world. The Muslim chief mufti in Istanbul was both surprised and pleased when the team paid him a visit with only a few hours of advance notice.

In Jerusalem, the group met with a leading professor at Hebrew University, had a briefing from Foreign Minister Abba Eban on the Middle East situation, and conferred with the Minister for Religious Affairs. Visits to certain of the holy places were also worked into the schedule.

An International Symposium

The gathering in New Delhi was based at the International Conference Center. The meeting was not large, perhaps sixty persons including observers and staff, but it included leaders from twelve religions in nine countries. The Buddhists were strongly represented with key figures from Ceylon, Thailand, Japan, India, and even the Soviet Union present. The presence of two Buddhists from the U.S.S.R. was fortuitous, for the Symposium happened to coincide with a trip they were making through India, and their attendance was arranged only a few days ahead. Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Jains, Parsees, Jews and Christians were also well represented and played an active role in the proceedings.

The addresses dealt with the contributions or sanctions provided by the world's religions for international peace. There was no attempt to find any common elements of belief, though certainly some were present. The participants wisely concentrated their attention on international issues, with three work groups functioning, each small enough to permit effective participation with no serious difficulties because of language. These groups, one dealing with world development, another with human rights, and the third with peacemaking and peacekeeping, produced written reports revealing a remarkable degree of consensus.

The conference agreed that the holding of a world interreligious conference on peace was feasible and desirable. A temporary continuation committee was appointed which suggested a date early in 1970. This would coincide with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the end of World War II and the founding of the United Nations and would also come at the close of the 100th anniversary of Gandhi's birth. A more representative permanent committee to continue the planning for a world conference is being established through careful consultation.

The team spent a day in Kyoto, Japan, with some 20 Shinto, Buddhist, and Christian leaders, discussing the idea of the world conference. The group was agreeable, but not as far along in its thinking on the subject as the group in India. In the meantime, it was agreed that plans should go forward for a 1969 Japanese-American religious consultation on peace which would consider questions arising from the expiration and possible renewal of the security treaty between the two countries.

Four Days in Saigon

A wide variety of contacts and experiences were packed tightly into a brief visit in Vietnam. In addition to seeing the Foreign Minister of the Saigon Government, the Roman Catholic archbishop and apostolic delegate, General Westmoreland, Ambassador Bunker and U.S. AID officials, the group talked with representatives of voluntary service agencies, several American newsmen, and an American military chaplain. Meetings with leading monks at the Buddhist Youth Institute in the An Quang pagoda exposed the group to the views of the several leaders in the Buddhist Church.

Contacts with representatives of the voluntary agencies, particularly International Voluntary Services, led to discussions with young Catholics and Buddhists, liberal Catholic priests, and Au Truong Thanh, a former economics minister in the Ky government who was barred from running in the election because of his peace platform. At the time of this writing he is under arrest in Saigon.

I shall attempt to state only a few of my own conclusions, though these were shared by most of the team, if not all. Perhaps the strongest criticism was directed at the support given by the U.S. to the Thieu-Ky regime. The elections are generally believed to have been unfair for several reasons, including the banning of certain candidates and the frequent furnishing of several ballots to soldiers. The Thieu-Ky leadership persists in intimidating and harassing the democratic, non-communist opposition through threat or arrest. While we were in Vietnam several labor leaders were arrested and then freed; earlier a group of students had been under arrest. As a result the Saigon government has little popular support and the U.S. faces mounting anti-Americanism.

Many people expressed the view that there should be a halt to the bombing of North Vietnam, a de-escalation of U.S. military action in South Vietnam, and negotiations with the National Liberation Front as well as Hanoi.

It is my personal conclusion that one of the greatest obstacles to negotiation is the weakness of the Saigon government and its consequent unwillingness to negotiate, especially with the National Liberation Front. Thieu and Ky know they have virtually no popular support with which to offset the strength of the NLF at the negotiating table. As a result, Saigon has been vetoing any really strong U.S. efforts to get negotiations started, while the U.S. has been reluctant to have a show-down with so weak a government.

In Retrospect

Many highlights can be sighted as one reviews the group experience. One of the most interesting sessions was with General Westmoreland. After the Vietnam commander's initial presentation, General Anderson, Presbyterian member of the team, proceeded to warn that at Khe Sanh the U.S. had stationed its troops in a position difficult to defend with extended lines of communication, supply and reinforcement and at the same time had spread its forces so thin that they were also exposed to attack in rear areas. The Tet offensive that began ten days later demonstrated the prophetic nature of his words.

The openness and ecumenical spirit manifested by most of the religious leaders the group encountered deserve special mention. A new day of hope and co-operation among the world's religious forces may lie ahead if we but have the imagination and initiative to move into it.

Top: Consultation at Kyoto.

Interreligious Service at Gandhi memorial, Rajghat, Delhi.

Bottom: Shri Ramchandran, secretary of the Gandhi Peace Foundation and co-secretary of the Symposium, addressing delegates.



LETTERS



WITHDRAWAL AGAIN



LETTER TO THE EDITOR

From Robert Pickus

Both the spirit and substance of David McReynold's polemic against the position I outlined in my rebuttal of General LeMay (FELLOWSHIP, March 1968) are, I believe, obstacles to the development of a sound pacifist perspective: a perspective which expresses the values David and I share and confronts the currently popular just war positions which reject those values.

We cannot even begin to formulate such a pacifist perspective, one wholly different from the morality and politics of either Hanoi's or Washington's war, until we reject the idea that the mass violence of war, wherever it occurs, is "none of our business"; until we face, instead of attempt to withdraw from, the bitter facts of power in international politics; until we reject Hanoi's and the various Communist half-truths as vigorously as we do Washington's.

Immediate American withdrawal is in my view clearly preferable to a continuation of present U.S. policy. But it is an alternative, and as such must be compared to other alternatives, not simply to present policy. One cannot even make the comparison in the face of the confusion and animus that dominate David's critique.

I proposed a policy that would, in my view, maximize the chances of ending the killing without compromising the best values each party to the conflict maintains justifies their continuation of the war. David in the spirit of today's "peace" coalition analogized my proposal to the Nazis in 1942.

But for David's analogy to be accurate, the Nazis would not only have had to unilaterally cease making war and open negotiations, they would have had to agree to immediate internationally supervised elections by which the people of the countries under Nazi occupation would choose their government and determine whether they wanted the Nazis to leave.

The Nazis would have had to agree to arrangements for their armies' withdrawal.

Under such conditions who would reject such a policy, preferring to continue the war to drive them out? Only those, to return to Vietnam, who do not want the central political question there resolved by the people of South Vietnam. For the central political question in the war is: How is it to be determined who will govern South Vietnam? Hanoi and the N.L.F. seek to impose their will by violence. The U.S., with greater violence and less justification, seeks to impose its will. The choice should be made by the people of South Vietnam, an orderly political process in which all political forces in South Vietnam, including Communist forces, participate.

But David opposes such a course. He sees the immorality of Washington's policy and wants America therefore to suffer a defeat. He sees little else. And so he leads us from one war camp into another. David believes America's military action in Vietnam is "bloody and obscene." It is. But it is not an unexpected response from national rulers in the twentieth century. What is startling is a pacifist arguing eloquently for those in Hanoi and the N.L.F., who, putting pistols to the heads of sixteen year olds, lead them away, in David's phrase, "to die for freedom." "Kill for freedom" would have been the correction of a pre-Vietnam David McReynolds. But no; David now explains that the people of South Vietnam really prefer that the death and destruction continue.

Both Sides Wish to Impose Their Will

Some clearly do. They do not want to subject their political vision, their conception of justice, to the judgment of the Vietnamese people. They want to impose it. But why does David speak for such men in the face of every night's screening of those mute suffering figures who are most of the people of South Vietnam? Why does David reject Thich Nhat Hanh's clear statement that "*more than anything else* the Vietnamese people want peace," and his judgment that "the idea of unilateral withdrawal that has become so popular with some segments of the American peace movement is not the way to achieve it"? What won David to the side of those who legitimize murder in the name of *their* abstraction?

The sickness of this war reaches everywhere.

It is not only David's unreason and, as I see it, his confusion of values that I reject, it is his mistaken picture of the political reality of South Vietnam. David treats the N.L.F. as the voice of the people in South Vietnam confronting a military clique in Saigon. But Ralph Abernathy, recently returned from a peace

mission to South Vietnam, was, as he put it: "shaken and confused by militant Buddhist (and Catholic) leaders who oppose the South Vietnamese government, yet do not think the U.S. forces ought to withdraw." (*New York Times* 1/18)

Why "shaken and confused"? Because the war is not, as David describes it, simply "a struggle of Vietnamese nationalists against foreign domination" and a corrupt Saigon regime. That is Hanoi's view of the war and, given present leadership, it is common fare in many sections of the American peace movement. But such a view ignores those nationalists who oppose foreign domination but *also* oppose the N.L.F. It ignores those forces in South Vietnam committed to self-determination, to progressive change and, most of all, to an end to the killing.

Rabbi Eisendrath, President of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, another member of the same recent peace mission, after wide discussion with non-N.L.F. leaders who are radically opposed to present U.S. policy, has also reported that "none" he talked to want immediate U.S. withdrawal. These genuine peace forces in Buddhist, Catholic, trade union and other circles in South Vietnam represent—if I read the last two Vietnamese elections (*even* those elections) right—the dominant wishes of the people of South Vietnam. It is incredible that David McReynolds should seek to present Hanoi's policy as theirs. In any case, whether he or I read the wishes of the people of Vietnam correctly can be tested non-violently in the policy I proposed.

Pacifists Should Reject Isolationism

David's argument is based on nationalistic, isolationist judgments which pacifists should reject. The war in Vietnam is *not* the business of the Vietnamese people alone. It threatens the future of all men. Far from the international community having no right to determine how the conflict of power in Vietnam is resolved, such a resolution is the most urgent business of the international community. The international community has to develop nonviolent processes for resolving conflict. Even if the mass violence involved is primarily a reaction to internal forces. Might cannot today make right. Legitimate demands for change must neither simply be repressed nor allowed to develop into civil wars, for, given the realities of power, such also threaten the security of all men. The policy proposals I summarized offer one essential element in developing such a process: a way to separate those leaders who prefer to impose their will by violence from the people who will be destroyed by following them.

It is to these ends that similar policy proposals of the "National Citizens Com-

mittee for a Political Settlement of the War" (Negotiation Now) are directed. If pursuing such goals is "social work," I stand guilty. A negotiated settlement of the war based on genuinely free elections, initiated by a U.S. cease-fire and international engagement of the problem along the lines of my KTLA-TV proposal (FELLOWSHIP 3/68) or of Thich Nhat Hanh's is in the interest of the people of Vietnam, the people of this country, and is essential if we wish to move in the direction of a world without war.

More is at stake in this discussion than the question of which comes first, negotiation or withdrawal. We are in serious trouble in the American pacifist movement. The trouble shows in Jo Graham's resignation as Executive Director of the WILPF; it shows in Charles Bloomstein's resignation as Vice-Chairman of the War Resisters League. It shows in response when James Forman speaks of his personal assassination list and shouts to a Berkeley audience: "Are you ready to kill?" Dr. Spock, also on the platform, applauds, and not one of the 3,000 people at an antiwar meeting answers no. It shows in the 17-year-old shrieking: "What are you going to do with the thousands of us who want to burn this country down?", as she explained what she'd learned in the "anti-war" movement. It shows in almost every line of David's argument. His points are not difficult to handle, but the reasons why so many pacifists are vulnerable to his arguments are.

Pacifists May Form a "Cover"

In community after community, I see some pacifists providing a cover for genuine moral indignation for activity that strengthens the very evils they would resist: hatred, violence, the resolution of conflict by the contest of alternate armed camps, each seeking to kill its way to power. Opposed to the war, and conditioned by arguments like David's, such pacifists adopt the slogans and lies of one side of the war and follow leadership committed to that side's victory, thereby failing to provide what so many seek: sound leadership for peace.

It is not surprising that American liberals of past popular front experience, or that people new to politics and rightly reacting to the horror of present U.S. policy, should take this course. But it is deeply depressing when it is taken by experienced pacifists.

In this setting, celebrating "America's loss of the war," in the wake of Hanoi's escalation of the war into the cities of South Vietnam, as David does in the current *New America* (3/15), is terribly misadvised. This election year does give us an opportunity to spell out the terms for a negotiated settlement of the war: negotiations over questions like, how is it to

be decided who rules in South Vietnam; what is the role of the international community in the war's end and in reconstruction; what will be the future status of South Vietnam in international politics; how and when will non-South Vietnamese troops be withdrawn. American peace initiatives to maximize the chances for such negotiations could draw majority support in this election. Calls for immediate American withdrawal set in the context described above won't help.

More, as I say, than Vietnam policy is at stake in this discussion. I hope I can in a future issue of FELLOWSHIP put aside my depression and anger and help in defining the choices that distinguish a pacifist's responsibility, from the confusion and anger that have made some pacifists collaborators in the spread of the values they first organized to resist.

Our chance to persuade a generation of the possibility of applying pacifist values to politics is fast fading. Fading, perhaps, because such an application is not possible; fading *fast* because so many in the pacifist camp no longer recognize when they have in fact abandoned the effort and accepted one or another of the current justifications for war.

When Moses threw the wand into the Red Sea, the sea, quite contrary to the expected miracle, did not divide itself to leave a dry passage for the Jews. Not until the first Jew had entered the sea did the promised miracle happen and the waves recede.

David McReynolds' Reply

It is hard to know quite where to begin in commenting on Robert Pickus' letter. It seems to me that Pickus has failed to understand the points made by radical pacifists and his answers, unhappily, bear little relationship to what we are saying or to the real world in which this discussion is taking place.

Again and again Pickus accuses me of being an apologist for Hanoi and the NLF and for their violence. I want, therefore, to quote at length from a leaflet issued by the WRL, a leaflet which I wrote, and a leaflet which we have circulated widely for nearly two years. And I ask if Pickus has, at any time, been as outspoken in his denunciation of American violence as, in the following passage, I am of the violence of the NLF.

"... Finally, think of the tragedy of the revolutionary movement in South Vietnam—the 'Viet Cong'—which sought to liberate their country from all foreign influence and to bring land reform and education and medical care to their people. They, the victims of U.S. military intervention, have been forced into the role of executioners. Their terror bombings of Saigon destroy innocent chil-

dren as well as American troops. When the 'Viet Cong' shoot down the troops of Saigon they are firing on terrified young draftees who have been conscripted and do not want to fight. Agents of the 'Viet Cong' murder village officials loyal to Saigon and excuse these murders by saying the officials are corrupt. But a genuine revolutionist knows that even the corrupt official is a victim of an evil social system. The genuine revolutionary seeks to liberate all of his society and to redeem even the thief and the criminal—not to murder them. Given a violent conflict the tactics of the 'Viet Cong' must be violent, but that violence eats away at the decent human values of the revolutionary movement. The 'Viet Cong' and the Americans are caught in the same trap of murder and of terror. Those human values of decency, compassion and love can find no shelter beneath either the American flag or the 'Viet Cong' flag. Both flags are stained now with the blood of the innocent. This is a war in which both sides are willing to kill children. The guilt and the responsibility for this tragedy lie primarily with the Americans, but that does not change the fact that all sides in Vietnam are caught up in the destruction of human values. We are not interested in victory for one side or another in Vietnam. . . . To the 'Viet Cong' we would say that the only decent revolution is one which does not kill children. But we can have little effect on the policies of the 'Viet Cong,' for we are not Vietnamese. It is to our own government that we have the primary responsibility, for we are Americans. And to our own government we say *Get the Troops Out of Vietnam Now*. We know this will not solve all the problems of Vietnam, but we also know those problems must be solved by the Vietnamese and not by us."

This is a position I've stated hundreds of times before audiences across this nation—and often to audiences that were pro-NLF. I do not mind Pickus disagreeing with my position but I must ask him not to mis-state it, for his confusion about where pacifists stand is not only bad for the movement but it is bad also for Pickus himself, since it leaves the impression that he is poorly informed.

Hanoi's Violence Followed Ours

Pickus argues that Hanoi and the NLF seek to impose their will by violence—which is true—while Pickus seeks only to make it possible for the people of South Vietnam to make their choice in an orderly and democratic way. But

what Pickus conveniently forgets is that Hanoi turned to violence—and the NLF itself was formed—only after the people of South Vietnam were denied the chance to make their choice in an orderly and democratic way. This does *not* justify the violence, but it does present a very different picture from the one Pickus gives, in which we seem to confront nothing more or less than “naked communist aggression.” It was the United States which installed Diem, which assisted in the murder of thousands upon thousands of Vietnamese who opposed Diem, which counseled the suppression of all political parties other than those supporting Diem, and which prevented the free elections scheduled for 1956.

Let me make it absolutely clear I am for free elections—not only in South but also in North Vietnam, and in Taiwan and in Spain and in Russia. But—and this is the pacifist position—I am not prepared to *impose free elections by military intervention.*

Pickus quotes Thich Nhat Hanh in such a way as to suggest that my own position runs directly contrary to that of Thich Nhat Hanh and the Buddhists. I do not believe this is the case and in fact base my position in large part on the information made available by Thich Nhat Hanh. Rather than quote Thich Nhat Hanh out of context (as Pickus did) I urge readers to write the F.O.R. for the complete transcript of his talk on December 15th at the Center for Democratic Studies in Santa Barbara (March Fellowship). If Pickus will also read through this transcript he will find grounds, hopefully, for reconsidering his own position.

Pickus is deeply concerned about the need to find some way to settle the Vietnamese conflict through international agreement, thus setting a precedent for future conflicts. In his words “Far from the international community having no right to determine how the conflict in Vietnam is resolved, such a resolution is the most urgent business of the international community. The international community has to develop nonviolent processes for resolving conflict.”

In a general sense Pickus is correct—the international community must substitute nonviolent methods for violent ones. What I don’t think he grasps is that since the U.S. is the sole aggressor in Vietnam, those who speak of ways for the international community making itself felt are speaking basically about ways of curbing the immediate actions of this nation in Vietnam. But, worthy as the concept of international action may be, since this nation unilaterally started the trouble is there not a clear logic in our unilaterally getting out without waiting for the international community to act? Further, the international community

The huge Paris peace demonstration against the war in Vietnam

A MESSAGE TO THE
PEACE FORCES IN THE UNITED STATES

On the occasion of a march organized by the Paris Peace Movement at the Paris City Hall, presided over by Pastor Rognon, and where some 10,000 persons had assembled, Daniel Parker, a militant member of the FOR in Britain, gave a speech in the name of the MCAA, from which the following is excerpted:

“On March 15, 16 & 17 large-scale, popular demonstrations of support for the struggle of the Vietnamese people against American aggression will take place all over France.

“This evening, March 15, Parisians are assembled at the Paris City Hall to affirm that their demonstration was not directed against the people of the United

cannot act in unison on Vietnam. That would require agreements that would have to include this nation, China, and the Soviet Union. No such agreements are even vaguely likely at the present time. China is happy to let us remain involved in Vietnam and she is, in fact, “willing to fight to the last Vietnamese,” for China is risking very little while we are being bled seriously. Russia dare not act in concert with us to end this war, lest China attack her for such an open alliance.

Again and again as I read over Pickus’ reply I wished he had taken the trouble to answer my arguments rather than to say he had answered them. I wished he had confronted the position I *do* hold rather than inventing a position I *do not* hold and assigning it to me.

In this regard it was unhappily typical of him to link together an internal fight in W.I.L.P.F., the resignation of one of the W.R.L.’s Vice-Chairman, the position of James Forman, Dr. Spock, and some anonymous 17 year old girl and to suggest, without explaining how, that my position was typical of this odd collection of events. I do not for the life of me know what James Forman’s position has to do with mine or how the two of us even got into the same paragraph. I am appalled at Forman’s having an “assassination list.” I am appalled that he should shout to a Berkeley audience “Are you ready to kill?” and have no one answer “No!”—but what in the name of heaven does this have to do with my position on Vietnam? I don’t know Forman, I have never met him, I disagree profoundly with what I understand his position to be, and I despair of being able to conduct a serious dialogue with Pickus when one

States but against the war politics of the Johnson administration.

“We address our brothers and American peace forces who are struggling against the Vietnam war. We add our voices to theirs which are being heard by Americans everywhere.

“Assembled here in the heart of Paris this evening, we cannot forget the magnificent demonstration of last October 21 in Washington and we salute those courageously denouncing the U.S. for its crimes against the rights, liberty and life of the Vietnamese people.

“We have been confronted with these same problems and we understand your struggle well.

“Your effort gives honor to the United States. We are one with you and we hope that our parallel actions will help to bring about final success in our common struggle for the independence, liberty and unity of the Vietnamese people.”

is literally forced to get side-tracked into dealing with unrelated charges of this kind.

Let me close by repeating that the conflict in Vietnam is a civil war, that the present tragedy is the result of unilateral U.S. action, that the tragedy can in large part be ended by our withdrawal, and, finally, that I repeat that question with which I closed my piece in the March FELLOWSHIP and which, strangely enough, Pickus left unanswered: “I have one question for Bob. If we declare a ceasefire and the Vietnamese continue to fight us, does he favor our remaining and fighting or would he then, finally, favor unconditional withdrawal?”

In Time for Spring A New Printing of THERE IS A SPIRIT The Nayler Sonnets by KENNETH BOULDING

This ever-popular devotional classic is available again. The sonnets, Gerald Heard says, are “beautifully made ‘spiritual exercises’ ” wrought with “skilled and fitting phrases—sentences so well shaped that they will bear much repetition and carry intellectual and emotional sense.” They make an ideal gift—suitable for this season of renewal. \$1.75 each.

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BOOKS

IN THE NAME OF AMERICA, a study commissioned and published by Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam, 530 pages, published by the Committee, paper: \$2.95.

This compact compilation of the case against our land *could* be a bundle of dynamite of considerably greater impact than the whole Bertrand Russell tribunal. It is a curious production in some respects: putting together the damning press reports of the US's acts in the Vietnam war alongside relevant quotations from the Hague and the Geneva Conventions, international court decisions, international treaties, and the very U.S. Army Field Manual on "The Law of Land Warfare"! Seymour Melman and an excellent team of research experts have combed the press for just the reports that demonstrate the kind of war we are waging in Vietnam. To these 400 pages of grisly and heartbreaking reading, a special committee of clergy led by Robert McAfee Brown, Rabbi Arthur Lelyveld and Fr. John Sherrin have penned an eloquent 1000-word critique "The Erosion of Moral Constraint in Vietnam" signed by 26 other distinguished clerics. Melman and his assistants have produced a moral and legal "brief" that is unanswerable. Our military behavior in Vietnam as compared even to the laws of war is just unbelievable. David Schoenbrun understates it when he says "This report of what has been done 'in the name of America' discloses an American crisis and issues that must be faced by every responsible citizen." You can't brush this one aside, the way the press did with the weighted Russell tribunal.

Let's hope it gets out and into the hands of all the voters this election year.

Additional note: Senator Ernest Gruening and his administrative assistant Herbert W. Beaser have authored a most impressive book **VIETNAM FOLLY**, which sells for \$8.95. Look for a full length review of **VIETNAM FOLLY** in the July issue. J.S.B.

ISSEI AND NISEI, The Internment Years, by Daisuke Kitagawa, The Seabury Press, New York, 1967, \$5.95.

In this definitive book concerning the removing and detaining of "all persons of Japanese ancestry" from the United States West Coast following the Pearl Harbor attack, Dr. Kitagawa has made a significant contribution to the study of race relations by pointing out that segregation, whatever its cause, always creates more problems than it solves, the end result being that the individual and the group to which he belongs tend to become completely demoralized.

Because the history of the evacuation and its underlying causes is essentially the history of the Japanese in the United States, the author paints a picture broad enough to include this necessary back-

ground. He then accompanies the evacuees through their grim, futile, and frustrating years in the far-flung desert camps, to their timid but ultimately triumphant re-entry into the main stream of American life with first class citizenship to which they had aspired so long.

Out of this composite experience of a misunderstood and persecuted people, Dr. Kitagawa draws inferences that are pertinent and thought provoking, stressing that although the evacuation and internment were costly and needless mistakes, nevertheless the United States Supreme Court declared them constitutionally justifiable in an historic decision that remains unchanged. Thus in the opinion of this reviewer, it behooves none of us to "ask for whom the bell tolls," for the day may not be far distant when it will toll the loss of our own rights as American citizens, since most of us belong to a minority of one kind or another, be it political, ethnic, economic, or religious, that may prove quite as vulnerable as that constituted by "persons of Japanese ancestry" in the year 1942.

"Internment is an extreme form of segregation," Dr. Kitagawa points out. The experience of the Japanese evacuees, he states, conclusively proved the ineffectiveness of segregation in solving the dilemma created by a so-called *problem people*. His advice is well taken "that whenever a group . . . is believed to be a problem people, one had better suspect that the problem may very well lie within the part of the society that so believes."

A clergyman of the Episcopal church, Dr. Kitagawa was educated in Tokyo, the United States, and Switzerland, and has served parishes in California and the mid-west. By birth and culture, he is an Issei, but in age and viewpoint, he is a contemporary of the Nisei. Thus he is uniquely qualified to interpret one generation to the other, and to interpret both to his readers. His service, first as internee chaplain in the evacuation camps, and later as field representative of government and church during the period of relocation, enabled him to gain an over-all view of this whole unhappy chapter in American history such as few others were privileged to have. At present he is chairman of the Advisory Committee on Racial and Ethnic Relations of the World Council of Churches.

—GRACE N. PEARSON

PAMPHLETS

STALEMATE IN VIETNAM—Report to the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate by Senator Joseph S. Clark. U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968, 24 pp.

GOING ABROAD published by Church World Service, 1968, 42 pp., 10¢

ISRAEL & PALESTINE by Bill Hillier, Housmans, 1968, 32 pp., 35¢

BOOKS RECEIVED

(some of these will be reviewed)

ALARMS AND VISIONS—Churches and the American Crisis by Stephen C. Rose. Association Press, 1967, 135 pp., paper \$1.95

TO BELIEVE IN GOD by Joseph Pintauro and Sister Corita. Harper & Row, 1968, \$3.95

THE BIBLE SPEAKS TO OUR TIMES by Alan Redpath. Fleming H. Revell, 1968, 124 pp., \$3.50

THE BLACK BOOK OF HUNGER by Josue de Castro. Funk and Wagnalls, 1967, 161 pp., \$3.95

BLACK POWER REVOLT edited by Floyd Barbour. Porter Sargent, 287 pp., paper: \$2.95

THE CHURCH AND THE SECOND SEX by Mary Daly. Harper & Row, 1968, 187 pp., \$4.95

COLONEL OF THE BLACK REGIMENT by Howard N. Meyer. Norton, 1968, 346 pp., \$5.50

THE DRAFT? prepared for the Peace Education Division of the American Friends Service Committee. Hill & Wang, Inc., 1968, 112 pp., paper: \$1.25

DUSK OF DAWN by W. E. B. Du Bois. Schocken, 1968, 334 pp., \$2.45

EPISODES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR by Ernesto Che Guevara. New World, 1968, 144 pp., paper: \$1.65

FROM ARROW TO ATOM BOMB by Stanton A. Coblentz. A. S. Barnes, 1967, 539 pp., paper: \$2.45

HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS IN YOUR COMMUNITY by Stanley I. Stuber. Association Press, 1968, 128 pp., paper: 95¢

JUSTICE IN JERUSALEM by Gideon Hausner. Schocken, 1968, 128 pp., paper: \$1.75

THE LOGIC OF COLLECTIVE ACTION by Mancur Olson Jr. Schocken, 1968, 176 pp., paper: \$1.95

THE MEANS IS THE END IN VIETNAM by Malcolm Monroe. Murlagan Press, 1968, 124 pp., paper: \$1.95

THE NEW INDIANS by Stan Steiner. Harper & Row, 1968, 348 pp., \$7.95

PAID SERVANT by E. R. Braithwaite. McGraw-Hill, 1968, 219 pp., \$4.95

POPES FROM THE GHETTO by Joachim Prinz. Schocken, 1968, 256 pp., paper: \$1.95

THE SELECTIVE SERVICE ACT—A Case Study of the Governmental Process by Clyde E. Jacobs and John Gallagher. Dodd, Mead & Co., 1968, 219 pp., \$4.95

TREAT ME COOL LORD by Carl F. Burke. Association Press, 1968, 128 pp., paper: \$1.75

VIETNAM FOLLY by Senator Ernest Gruening and Herbert W. Beaser. National Press, 1968, 664 pp., \$8.95

WORLD EDUCATION by Morris R. Mitchell. Pageant, 1967, 315 pp., \$4.00



THAT MEN MAY LIVE...in peace together

We who are tried and tested friends of America are aware that the Vietnam war is not only bringing unbearable sufferings to the Vietnamese people . . . but we know also that the war, the longer it goes on, is inflicting grave damage to America itself—indeed damage to America's soul, damage that cannot be accounted for in terms of dollars or lives lost or bodies lacerated.

GUNNAR MYRDAL

It can hardly be questioned that the moral revulsion toward the Vietnam war is reaching a "mass" proportion . . . Moral rejection of war is in the air and it will do nothing but increase; it will continue to find diverse and experimental forms of expression, until, finally, a true culture of peace gains the maturity and self-confidence which come from continued testing in the fires of experience.

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