

# FELLOWSHIP

THE MAGAZINE OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION



## WHERE HAVE ALL THE FLOWERS GONE

some meditative thoughts on RESISTANCE: REBELLION  
OR REFORM? ... CONSCIENCE AND THE JUST WAR  
negroes, gandhi and nonviolence  
AID FOR VIETNAMESE WAR VICTIMS  
REQUIEM FOR THE THIRD CAMP? ... BAD DAY  
AT THE FERMI PLANT ... THE OBLITERATION  
OF BEN SUC ... a story "firebird" by BRADFORD  
SMITH ... Reportage: THE FORT HOOD REVOLT  
LILLIAN SMITH · THOMAS MERTON · JOHN COURTNEY  
MURRAY · JONATHAN MIRSKY · MARTIN OPPENHEIMER  
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COVER AND ART: Two participants in the October Pentagon "confrontation" rest beside the Potomac, photo by John Goodwin, cover design by James H. Forest; p. 7 photo by Goodwin, p. 9 drawings by Barry Martin, p. 18 "Firebird" drawing by Howard Bernstein; p. 21 Chi Rho, symbol of Christ, sculpture in scrap metal by Glenn Smiley, photo by Sidney Moritz; p. 25 photo from UPI, drawing by Paul Peabody.

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OUR "THING": LOVE

The choice these days is between being philosophical and going mad. Some of the world's worst problems are coming home to roost, and to most of them there are no quick and easy solutions; violent or nonviolent, reformist or revolutionary. Indeed to some there may be no solutions at all, but that does not bear thinking on, so it gets set aside.

Pacifism has its ups and downs. The growth of the FOR in membership and activity has been modestly spectacular for the past few years, probably because the FOR was out there opposing the Vietnam war before opposing the VN war was the popular thing to do. The next few months or years may quite possibly be a time of decline as the Fellowship fails to identify "anti-war" with "pro-violence," even when the violent are obviously the victimized.

Pacifism is no place for the man who demands results in a hurry. Nonviolence sometimes produces quick successes, as in the earlier days of the civil rights movement, but it works only sometimes, and anyway pacifism is not synonymous with nonviolence. Nonviolence is basically a tactic; pacifism is a view of life and there is a difference.

Nonviolence is pacifism's effort to produce an immediately relevant means of dealing with an unacceptable situation without resorting to violence. Since most people dislike violence, it can be and frequently is taken up by a lot of people who are attracted to it for pragmatic rather than philosophical (which includes religious) reasons. But since it demands patience and a willingness to endure injustices for an intolerable period in the interests of redeeming a society, it is abandoned by those who understandably see no reason to be patient or to endure.

The pacifist says things that are hard to accept, even for himself. He has a hunch about man and history, which sees man trapped and miserable and history a record of his convulsive attempts to improve things by "taking arms against a sea of troubles"—a record that seems to lead to deeper and deeper entrapment in violence with a

catastrophic end in sight. Sometimes his hunch gets started in theological language, which means few people pay much attention to it; sometimes it's expressed in action, as in raising money to buy medical aid for the victims of war on both sides, but always it comes out to the poet's warning, as put by Nhat Hanh, that "man cannot be the enemy."

Being human, we sometimes find ourselves making that point somewhat shrilly, only to discover belatedly that the target of our righteous wrath is also "man." But we keep trying.

Pacifism is our thing—the long view. The concern for man, the insistence on "humanizing the enemy." Love is our thing; though we use the word embarrassedly because of the sentimentality surrounding it and because we catch ourselves being pretty unloving ourselves sometimes, and because, to paraphrase A. J. Muste, we can't love at all if we can't love Lyndon Johnson, and that is mighty hard, brother.

We are not simpletons, believing, as one writer put it exasperatedly, "the single-minded notion that everything would be all right if we could do away with war." We know that a lot of things would still be wrong, but we also know that the time for solving any of them will run out *unless* we do away with war.

Dear Editors:

I have just received a folder describing your attractive new Christmas cards. I am sure that you are not aware that the statement on one of the cards:

"There is No Way to Peace:  
 Peace is the Way"

is mistakenly ascribed to the late A. J. Muste. You probably found it in one of his speeches, unmarked by accident as a quotation.

This phrase happens to be widely known among pacifists here and abroad as the often-quoted statement of a remarkable and well-known peace militant, the late Mrs. Caroline F. Urie of Yellow Springs, Ohio, a Quaker and a pioneer war-tax refuser, and a longtime friend of both Mr. Muste and the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

MARY HAYS WEIK  
 Brooklyn, N. Y.

Ed's Note: The Fellowship very much regrets this error and will remedy it as soon as we can reprint the cards.



**SPUTNIK**

Dialectical materialism's answer to *Reader's Digest* is well-named *Sputnik*, especially in view of the latest orbital laboratory to land on the planet Venus. Alas for literature and its stimulus to thought, this one makes such a soft landing that you would hardly notice it. (In case you have not seen the announcements, *Sputnik* is a magazine published in English in the USSR for American readers.)

Who objects to cheesecake — even the nourishing Russian kind? Or jokes? Or cartoons? Or even “filler” such as “Did you know . . . that the postal services of the world handle an average of five million letters a minute?”

*Sputnik*, like Willie Loman, wants to be well-liked, so why stir up the masses? Russians have fashion shows in furs with models just as twiggy as Paris'. They serve “exciting” dishes on plastic place mats. They love quizzes, pictures with “what's missing?” They also would like to purchase a chrome-encrusted Moskvich-408—“your best buy”—that looks about the same fore and aft a la American style. A back cover offers first- and tourist-class flights (ah there, Messrs. Marx and Lenin) direct from Moscow to New York, with the finest caviar and vodka thrown in. Sorry about no in-flight motion pictures!

Pardon us, but can this be one of the end products for which the toiling masses fought and died to bring in a better society? *Sputnik* makes the New Age seem not golden at all, but a tired chrome-plated replica of “Made in America.”

**JUST ONE DOLLAR BILL. . .**  
 and the names and addresses of three friends...will get as many sample copies of this issue of FELLOWSHIP off to them.  
 Check if you wish us to include your name.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_  
 ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_  
 CITY \_\_\_\_\_  
 STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

**NONVIOLENT DEMONSTRATIONS: A MAP**

The “best minds” and the purest intentions in the peace movement really cannot be blamed if they fail to extract significance from the events of a warm, exciting day and a cold, disheartening night in October before the Pentagon. But that hasn't kept them from trying, since this event called out the biggest anti-war outpouring America has seen to date. The day had its moments and the night had a few, but the “encounter” was far from clear cut and conclusive. Read any of the dozen or more versions and get a dozen pictures.

What, fortunately, is much more instructive to the use of unarmed force against the steel of troops and deputies occurred earlier in the week in Oakland, California. The contrast was remarkable, to take the accounts the leaders of each day have supplied. Both were demonstrations and mass actions before the Army Induction Center there. Here are some basic contrasts:

	MONDAY	TUESDAY
<b>Leadership</b>	Civil Action Day Committee: led by the War Resisters League and Committee for Nonviolent Action	Stop the Draft Week Committee, largely organized by Students for a Democratic Society, aided by SNCC and Maoist elements
<b>Involved</b>	About 1,500 people	An estimated 4,000 people
<b>Aim</b>	To shut down the Center and stop induction that day and to call public attention to the draft system	To “disrupt the Northern California war machine” through action at the Oakland Center after a huge rally at nearby Berkeley the night before
<b>Strategy</b>	To peacefully picket the Center from across the street, to block the doorways and to submit to arrest in the process	To surround and storm the Center, to resist arrest and to prevent by mass action inductees from reaching or leaving the building
<b>What happened</b>	The center was shut down for three hours and 123 people were arrested	The police dispersed the crowd violently using the new chemical mace and tear gas, seriously injured 50, and arrested over 50
<b>Aftermath</b>	Most of the 123 refused bail, stayed in jail for 10 days, organized seminars with the prisoners, made a number of converts, received an ovation (from the prisoners) when they left	The following Friday, 10,000 returned to the streets around the center with signs “Che Lives”; “Free Oakland,” “Resist,” etc., and set up street barricades from seized cars, potted trees, and benches. A call-out of the National Guard was threatened

This is of course a very sketchy description, needful of more analysis. It is not cited to "prove" that discipline pays off, that huge mass action is uniformly bad.

But much nonsense has emerged from the "movement's" reporting and study of that fateful week, mixed with much very sober and objective thought. Among them is a paper hastily turned out by Arthur I. Waskow, privately a political strategist and activist and publicly an official of the Institute for Policy Studies. He titles it "The Fusion of Gandhi and Guerrilla." We would like to raise some quite essential questions with Mr. Waskow in what follows.

Now for many militant (and by no means anti- or even unpacifist) leaders that week in October marked the July 4, 1776 of their Movement—the week in which what some are now calling "the American Resistance" was born. Mr. Waskow feels that the Pentagon confrontation was an effort "to restore representative democracy" and that those who participated in the "siege" are now being seen for the first time as patriots too, just as valid as those who withstood the British on Bunker Hill.

May be, may be. That there is on the rise today a new spirit of non-acceptance, rebellion and resistance to American war politics and the whole apparatus of compulsion and regimentation can't be denied. Why should not the readers of Frantz Fanon, Regis Debray, Che Guevara and General Giap be elated and dream dreams of glory? Danton, Robespierre, Trotsky, Gandhi and A. J. Muste—they should be living at this hour!

But hold on, there. We too must have been carried away by the rhetoric of revolution. Let us back up a moment and suspend the last two names. A. J. was a moral teacher, a prophet, a sometime tactician, but never a strategist. He had no battle maps for social change. Gandhi, yes, he was a revolutionist in the truest sense. But this kind of revolution?

Nowhere did this Great Soul and consummate politician and strategist use the word "guerrilla" or even the concepts and stratagems behind it. He used masses but used them sparingly and only when well drilled and disciplined and when the setting—both politically and psychologically—was right. He used surprise and seldom

revealed his hand prematurely but always dealt in openness, keeping wary of traps for either party.

Although Waskow or Dellinger do not do so, a number of the New Left writers are suggesting today that "moderate" and "controlled" violence may on occasion be necessary in preventing greater violence. As to provoking violence, Waskow's paper is forthright: "We will force you to use violence on us in order to keep the Pentagon going—just as you use on the Vietnamese.

"We believe that, confronted with such a direct challenge from ever-growing numbers (though a minority) of Americans, the majority will decide to stop, will decide that if killing Vietnamese requires beating and arresting Americans, the killing of Vietnamese should end."

But doesn't Waskow miss the point? It was the *unmerited* and self-chosen suffering that the Indians endured at Bombay in 1930 that finally made the British soldiers and their commanders and eventually the whole British *raj* pull back and leave the field to the triumphant practitioners of *satyagraha*. And it took decades.

Of course cultures and historical eras are not transferable. It may even be a distortion to point out the cases of sheriffs who turned their faces away at Albany, Ga., of riot police who wept at Birmingham. Then let us not use the names of the Teachers carelessly.

But if we think that Gandhianism is applicable to war resistance in the year 1968 (and this writer does), let us read it aright and transfer that which is most clearly relevant to this situation today. For example:

"Nonviolence that merely offers civil resistance to the authorities and goes no further scarcely deserves the name *ahimsa*. You may, if you like, call it unarmed resistance . . . To quell riots nonviolently there must be true *ahimsa* in one's heart, an *ahimsa* that takes even the erring hooligan in its warm embrace. Such an attitude cannot be cultivated. It can only come as a prolonged and patient effort which must be made during peaceful times. The would-be member of a peace brigade should come into close touch and cultivate acquaintance with the so-called *goonda* (hooligan) element in his vicinity. He should know and be known to all and win the hearts of all by his living and selfless service."

"Sabotage is a form of violence.

People have realized the futility of physical violence but some people apparently think that it may be successfully practiced in its modified form as sabotage. It is my conviction that the whole mass of people would not have risen to the height of courage and fearlessness that they have but for the working of full nonviolence. How it works we do not yet fully know. But the fact remains that under nonviolence we have progressed from strength to strength even through our apparent failures and setbacks. On the other hand terrorism resulted in demoralization. Haste leads to waste."

It may be well that young American militants are really not ready or "tuned in" to organized nonviolent resistance. Their gifts of improvisation are great, their powers of endurance on occasion (thousands demonstrated and resisted for four full days in California) enormous, their sense of incongruity, powers of satire inexhaustible. But the weight of the political-military-industrial Establishment is crushing, its cruelties and crudities a constant goad to wilder and wilder acts of defiance. Not too much time remains.

Let the disciples of Timothy Leary and Satchi vananda turn from incense, strobe lights, ritual dances and orgies to something really transcendental and which has almost infinite potential power to alter the human condition—*ahimsa*. Here East can meet West on the level of genuine effectiveness. Much better than elevating and "purging" the Pentagon, it has at least a fighting chance of purging us all from the darkening menace of war.

J. S. B.

### TOP STUDENTS CHOOSE SOCIAL, PEACE FIELDS OVER BUSINESS

Top-ranking students in colleges and universities across the country are choosing jobs in social, teaching and peace fields rather than business according to recent studies of the subject.

During a summer seminar at Harvard where student leaders could voice their complaints about business the most common one was that "business remains insensitive to social issues." Top students reportedly want to tackle such problems as air and water pollution, urban decay, deteriorating educational and hospital facilities, international dilemmas relating to peace, etc.

A recent ad run by the Olin corporation in the *Saturday Review* contained the headline: "Unfortunately, college kids don't even dislike American business. They just ignore it."

Graduates who accept business offers are usually the second-raters scholastically, said a recent issue of the *Wall Street Journal*.



Not all peace people dedicated to direct action are convinced that dissent must move to "resistance," because, among other reasons, "resistance" has not been adequately defined for them. Martin Oppenheimer attempts this definition.

by MARTIN OPPENHEIMER

## RESISTANCE: Rebellion or Reform ?

**T**O DISOBEY THE LAW because government and society are intolerable, and then expect that intolerable system to allow it, is nonsense. Those who disobey the law in an organized way are in rebellion, and in general expect the state, the armed instrument of oppression, to protect the system by executing punishment against the rebels, whether they are violent, a-violent, or civilly disobedient (nonviolent).

The issue, then, for the anti-war movement is: shall there be rebellion, here, now? And if so, in what form? And what shall be the objective of the rebels, the reform of the system (which was the objective of the civil rights movement), or revolution? And finally, should not form (tactics) and objective (strategy) be linked?

These questions, although rarely stated in this form, are the assumptions which underlie the various factions of the left-wing, student, and anti-war movements of today. The relative unity of yesterday, in the civil rights movement of the early '60's and in the peace movement of the pre-Vietnam period, could not help but be shattered on the twin rocks of increasing urban unrest and Black protest, and the Vietnam war, both of which confronted our movements with radical issues. These issues are being fought out now, even though not very consciously, and ac-

count for the rather confused picture of tactics and strategy which we see before us on the political landscape.

Our movements, then, are deeply divided. The left is divided not only generationally (Old, those who "graduated" before 1948; Middle, the classes of '48 to '60; New, since '60;) but also in basic perspective and orientation — Russia, China, Social-Democrats, Independent Third-Campers. The student movement overlaps the left, encompasses anti-war elements as well as student government reformers, and includes segments of the hippie and drug camp. The anti-war movement includes all of these plus many otherwise unaffiliated — trade unionists, suburban housewives, professional people, elements of the Black protest movement, and a range of pacifists, both Old and New. Then there is the Black movement, which has its own divisions and problems, and which I shall not discuss in this essay, primarily for space reasons, but also because it has, for now, perhaps wisely chosen a somewhat separate course. Small wonder that confusion and crisis characterize "the movement."

Perhaps the fundamental division within each of the three movements — left, student, and anti-war — under discussion is the attitude every person holds towards the American system in

general, middle-class modes of thinking more specifically, and bourgeois modes of political behavior in particular. These are the issues which decide, for all of us, how we respond to the questions posed in the second paragraph. There are those, particularly "over 30," who are bound by the traditions of linear, rational thinking which involves a concern for the *consequences* of actions, no matter how moral actions may seem in themselves. There are others for whom action, love, feeling, expression are important in themselves, a kind of existential reaction to an overly rationalized and technological society. There are those who hold that the American system is going to be viable for some time to come, despite myriads of malfunctions.

There are others who foresee cataclysm, and therefore prepare for revolution. There are those who believe that a coalition of pressure groups can affect the system and improve it, and there are those who hold that the elite will not succumb to that kind of pressure so that only some kind of sabotage will change the course of events. Then there are those who look at political action

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Martin Oppenheimer is assistant professor of sociology at Vassar College. Co-author with George Lahey of *A MANUAL FOR DIRECT ACTION*, he is writing a book on the sociology of black protest.

(including direct action) as a communicative device for organizing change, while others view political action as futile, and accept direct action as being the last moral stance available in a fundamentally immoral, totalitarian, and otherwise unchangeable society.

### Issue Simplifies to Reform vs. Revolution

I think it can be seen that there are convergences in these divisions, even though they are perhaps overdrawn for the purpose of emphasis. Today, in each of the three movements, the "over-30" (even though this includes some under-30 students) optimists seem to be divided from the under-30 pessimists. It is a traditional division — reform versus revolution, minimalism versus maximalism, even though in each camp there are further differences which occasionally put people from different camps together on a specific tactic. An example is the "mobilization scene," or "The Day" syndrome. The over-30 camp views "Days" as horrors because the way in which most of them are carried out fails to communicate with segments of the American public seen as potential allies; but some under-30 maximalists also are fed up by them because they interfere with "grass-roots," community-level organizing by drawing energy away.

It is time for our movements to confront these questions squarely, and confronting questions is square to a degree because questions imply discourse, the hang-ups of politics, hence of qualifications. (1. Who, among us, ever heard of unqualifiedly endorsing *anything*, much less every "national independence movement" anywhere? 2. Who, among us, ever heard of uniformed guards threatening potentially dissenting speakers at a convention dedicated to "New Politics"? Well, we have heard of it—we who were politically educated by the victims of Fascist and Stalinist thugs, and that kind of movement is not our trip, baby.)

My own examination of our society suggests that there will not be a revolution here for some time to come, if at all in our lifetimes, despite recurring crises of one kind or another. Combining this prognosis with a deep antipathy for war and a war-producing system, I am forced to conclude that change must come through the mobilization of masses of the population, including white collar and middle-class elements, and in fact I am glad that it is so, because changes by a vanguard elite are destructive of the kind of so-

ciety which I would like to see some day. Consequently I am for a strategy which tries to accumulate majorities in favor of political changes needed to end the war, even though these changes will not necessarily undermine the systematic preconditions for other wars.

The analogy is that of civil rights: the nonviolent movement, profoundly moral and American in its image, succeeded in achieving that which could be achieved within the American system — it failed when it confronted those reforms which could not be achieved without a real revolution, but it could not make that fundamental confrontation without first passing through the reform stage. Black revolution, by itself helpless, now awaits our passage through the same process; but it is a process which cannot be leaped over because it requires first an alliance with sectors of the middle-class that now oppose us. These sectors cannot be brought to that more fundamental confrontation, later on, as our allies, unless they have first been made our allies in the easier struggle.

### Majorities Must Be Created

If the strategy is to be the creation of majorities, then the tactics must be appropriate. They must be tactics that will create an image of the peace movement somewhat like that of the nonviolent civil rights movement: moral, hence above all avowedly nonviolent. We must avoid, as for many years the civil rights movement consciously avoided, handing the middle-class a cop-out by surrounding our tactics with emotionally-laden symbols. Tragically, precisely because it is under-30, new, a-historical, deeply frustrated and angry, and therefore anti-bourgeois in every sense (including anti-bourgeois in their form of political struggle, while the civil rights movement was only *selectively* anti-bourgeois), much of the movement today is laden with the kinds of emotional garbage which strikes at the hearts of middle-class hang-ups. This may have revolutionary implications; but right now it has reactionary consequences because it isolates our movement from precisely those who are nearest to us in terms of those goals which we must achieve *first* in order to proceed to more radical change later.

For that reason, when it comes to civil disobedience, it seems to me that the resistance of *interposition* makes less sense than the resistance of *non-cooperation* (withdrawal). Interposition (e.g. blocking induction stations)

involves people in direct action who cannot easily, if at all, given the present state of the movement, be subjected to the discipline of nonviolence. Their a-violence degenerates into what is gladly perceived by the media as violence, even when begun by the police.

### Has Resistance a Politics?

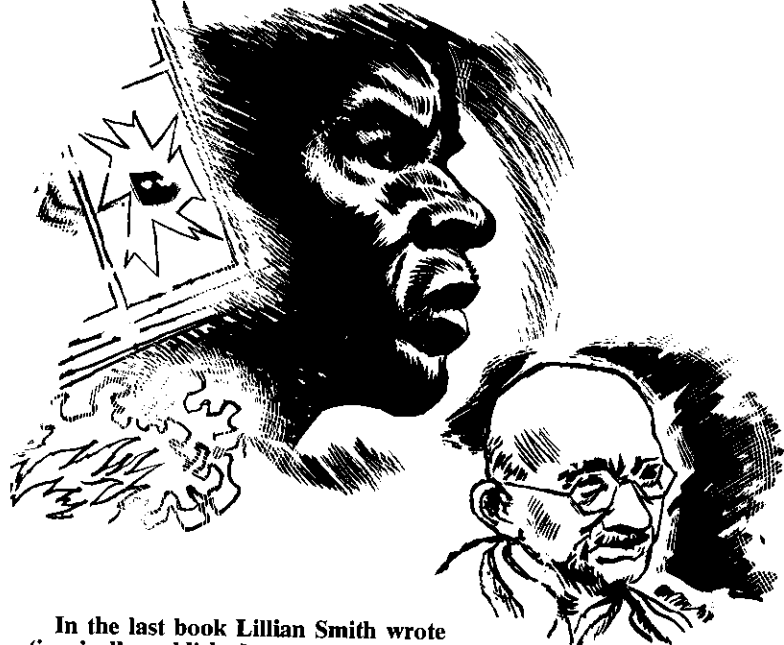
In addition to a *political* (that is: strategically-thought-out and tactically appropriate) resistance, there must be a *politics* of resistance. It has to be "grass-roots," and multi-issue, including direct action as a communicative tactic. The politics of resistance must be a politics of involvement in community problems, attempting to link these in a sophisticated way with those of national and international issues. It must be peace politics which presents a real threat to local and national political power structures. It must be based on an understanding that it will take time — a very hard thing, given the frustration of events, and the urgency of the issue. But there just is no other way. It means voter registration, primaries, committee meetings, caucuses, door-to-door canvassing, coffee-klatches, the whole conventional political bag. It also means a lot of educating (both for us and for those we seek to reach) and it means losing elections for the sake of talking to people. I won't try to prescribe any particular brand of community politics, though I wouldn't exclude working in any party. Local independent candidates also have merit — it all depends, as they say, on circumstances. But the national third-party ticket is a bit too much like the "Mobilization" bag, at least for now.

Neither grass-roots politics nor nonviolent direct action is enough. Even together they may not overcome. But since there isn't going to be a revolution in this country soon (at least not from the left), the community is still where it is (at). Grass-roots politics linked to nonviolent direct action may not be a great way to relieve hostilities and frustrations — but it may get to their causes. It is time for the movement to make some strategic decisions, and get on with the job.

### QUOTE/UNQUOTE

Everyone in Vietnam is a "communist" under the criterion the police use. Using the police way every Vietnamese would have to be killed and our villages repopulated with Americans if the war was to be won.

MAJOR NGUYEN BE  
Commander, Revolutionary Development  
Training School, Vungtau, South Vietnam



# Negroes, Gandhi and Nonviolence

by LILLIAN SMITH

In the last book Lillian Smith wrote (ironically published to benefit CORE, from which she was to resign two years later) she tried, with all the power of identification of which she was capable, to put herself inside the skin of the southern Negro. To the extent she succeeded, she was able to project the angst and the hope that emerged from those great days with "The Movement." Written three years ago, it is still painfully apposite in facing up to new dilemmas vis-a-vis violence, human dignity and sound progress.

**T**HE JET WAS LIFTING, water was under us, New Orleans was behind us, everything terrible behind us, we were leaving what your mind can't work out, your soul —

No. Not leaving it. It was just dropping farther away below us. Distance was segregating it, making it small enough to say for a second, It's gone!

But it is here. Always here inside me. Always here inside every one of us in this country. You can't shut yourself away from terror and hate any more than you can from fall-out. The blast is: it has happened. Feelings have exploded and the fall-out is just beginning.

I stared below me: so green, spring here, summer almost here, water gone now, soft green life growing everywhere, so beautiful, so scary as it bursts through death. And here we are, we Negroes, we whites, fertilizing the greenness with hate and fear. What is wrong? What is **WRONG WITH US?** Down in the Delta, there we were: most of us young, some of us Negro, a few white: human beings on a mission to help other human beings, and sometimes we behaved like devils! Why? Spilling over with honest ideals, abso-

lutely willing to die for dignity and freedom, for the poor little poked-out bellied children—and turning on each other, storming out at each other: *Why don't you m—f—whites go home! Why do you stay? we don't want you we can do more without you—* And a voice that was humbly disturbed last night about a family in desperate need, saying in a cool proud voice, *Why do you hate us so?*

When we Negroes do something—oh my! the high moral standard expected of us. And we try; God, how we try to keep cool, to feel compassion, to stay nonviolent—but how *can* you with pressure after pressure after pressure! And so, to keep from taking guns and shooting things out in the Delta we turn against these white kids helping us down here. Sure, we know it's not easy for them to come and help. But *nothing is easy for us. Nothing!* So we turn on them and we storm and we curse and we—well, we take it out on them in a pretty rough way. And we hate them, really hate them, sometimes; and we don't understand these feelings in us, we are ashamed, we don't justify, we know we can't—and yet—

## Only Saints Stay Nonviolent

You need to be a saint to stay nonviolent in the Delta. You're ringed with violence, internal and external; it's everywhere. How you going to meet this violence with the ordinary love and compassion of an ordinary man or woman? It just can't be done. OK. I'm glad I said it. It just can't be done.

So what do you do next? Is there something between nonviolence and violence that will work? What? Gandhi with his talk of love and search for

truth somehow kept the rage of the Indians from spilling over on the British; but when India got its freedom, this pent-up rage spilled out, rose like a tidal wave against fellow Indians: Hindus against Muslims, Muslims against Hindus; all of them fellow-Indians but suddenly they were raping, killing each other, burning houses; and finally, to finish it off a fellow-Hindu assassinated Gandhi—as if to say, "You made us better than we were able to be; you told us we could love instead of hate; well, we can't, see?" And so he shot the Mahatma in the garden at prayer meeting. I wonder, sometimes, if we who believe in nonviolence have correctly analyzed that situation in India: its psychological and philosophical roots? Have we ever admitted that the Indians turned a kind of double rage on fellow Indians—all they hadn't turned on the British? Have we admitted that nonviolence didn't work, after all?

Or did it? I don't know. It worked; and it didn't work.

I looked below; we were getting close to a city; we were not coming down; I wasn't sure where we were. From the Delta, from thousands of acres of black land and little shanties I had now come back to—the city. And this meant for me, the ghetto. I was born in Harlem. Not in a ghetto area—unless it is all that. I lived on one of the better streets; but I was born and brought up with the smells and sights and sounds of the ghetto around me. City ghetto, rural ghetto. Which is worse? The climate is

The late author, Lillian Smith, was concerned all her life about the plight of the Negro in her native South. In her last book, **OUR FACES OUR WORDS**, she tried to see things as if she were black.

easier on you in Mississippi, and the tempo of living is easier. But poverty is the same, and lack of hope. The speed in a city ghetto, yes . . . that is worse—for you have less time to think, to dream, to pray about things. A killing is a killing, anywhere, I guess; but to me, a city woman, a killing in the Delta seems worse; no reason for this, it just seems worse, maybe because you have more time to think about it, what happened, why it happened, who did it—all that.

I wanted to leave the Delta, felt I couldn't take any more of it—at least, for a while; but I dread getting back to New York, to Harlem, to our pattern of rage, our pattern of loneliness, our pattern of sin, our pattern of stereotyping. Harlem and the Delta—which is worse, which is better? God only knows. But the tempo makes it harder in Harlem: harder to know people as people, harder to think something out, harder to be alone, although you're just as lonely as in the Delta. Harder to form a relationship. We say we are fighting for our civil rights—but *why* are we? Unless it is to be free to form real relationships with our world. But even with civil rights, it is hard in a rushing city to form a real relationship with anything—a person or a book or an experience. And here is the real meaning of nonviolence: the reality or the truth of a relationship. Everything in your life is violent except the parts of it that are true and real; a lie is violence, a half lie is violence; telling a half lie about "white people" or about "black people" is as violent as knocking somebody down. That is why it is so hard to practice nonviolence; because it is hard to reject all that is not true and real. We've got to think nonviolently if we want to think the truth. Every time I stereotype anybody, or any group or any situation I am thinking violently. Every time I evade seeing this whole civil rights-segregation-human-relations Thing as it is, every time I look at it on the surface, refusing an understanding of its depths and heights, I am committing a spiritual violence.

#### Let Us Learn a Little

So—if we learn a little, even a little (as did the Indians) about the meaning of nonviolence, maybe it will be worth our failures. Maybe we've got to become extraordinary people in order to do nonviolently what must be done in this world. We talk about peace . . . maybe we have not confessed that as

persons we may not, yet, be capable of achieving peace, because we are not, as yet, capable of achieving a nonviolent life of the mind, the spirit, the psyche.

But we can't stop trying. Even if we fail, we won't fail entirely; surely this is right. Trouble with us down in the Delta working at our "mission," we thought we could do it, succeed at it, and still remain nice, "normal," ordinary people. Well, we can't. This is our ordeal: out of it we'll come all wizened up, or bigger, stronger, maybe extraordinary. In a sense, to reach for excellence is more thrilling than to reach for "equality." Maybe, to get equality of opportunity for the masses (white and Negro) some of us have got to grow until we ache and pain all over.

Negroes (and the whites who help us) thought we were undertaking a more or less "natural" thing when we started this revolution for our rights; but if we succeed, we will have to do more than we dreamed of in the beginning. Maybe this is why some whites get so upset and keep asking, "But what else are they going to want?" Maybe like two fighting dogs we have one end of the truth in our teeth and they have another end in theirs. Maybe deepdown they are fearing not "intermarriage" as they say but the fact that to achieve the right kind of human relations we've got to change as people—all of us, Negro and white; maybe they sense it, that they've got to find a little excellence, too; that we all have got to throw away "superior" and substitute for it "extraordinary."

They say we're nearing Newark Airport. Well, I'm back—back to a keyed-up people, lonely and lost, like me; not at all sure what is right but shouting that they are sure; back to white people as indifferent, as blind, some of them, as the people in Jackson. I'm going to stay up here. I think I "belong" here and should work here where I know our ways and customs; it is better than being a missionary in Mississippi; and yet, I'm not sure; it'll be easier, up here, to forget, to grow absorbed in my own affairs. Who had any personal affairs in our group in the Delta? That is one reason it was so exciting: we were a Corps doing something very special; oh, we fussed at each other, we sometimes raged, but we loved each other too; even now, having been away for a few hours, I begin to wonder why I let S. and T. get on my nerves; their southern accent had begun to send me wild. Now, even now, I wonder why. I sus-

pect my Harlem accent upset them, too. It won't be as adventurous at home—but just as hard; things are tough here. Hold on; don't chicken. You've got a job to do. Wonder what they're having for supper, down there? Hot dogs and a can of baked beans, unless a family asked them to eat turnip greens with them. Such sweet hospitality: "We've got a mess of turnip greens, come home and eat with us."

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#### . . . and I weep to hear your name

The following letter was written by Deane Starr, former Executive Director of the Central Midwest Unitarian Universalist Association:

To the President of the United States  
Sir:

Twenty-two years ago this month I was wounded on 'Knight's Hill' in Burma, assisting in an attempt to drive Japanese forces out of the country they had invaded. This morning my son left Fort Lewis, Washington, to go to South Vietnam to take part in an attempt to destroy a country in which there is no invader except American forces, where the aggressor is not the enemy of his country but the country he is called to serve. It is impossible for me to tell you the bitterness I experience at this atrocity. The people I once thought to defend against attack have now become the attackers, the destroyers and despoilers of other men's homes and families and lands.

In the Old Testament, the Second Book of Kings, it is written: "But every nation still made gods of its own, and put them in the shrines and the high places . . . and the Sepharvites burned their children in the fire to Adram'melech and Anam'melech, the gods of Sepharav'im." Times have not changed very much, except that now we know how to sacrifice our children more efficiently, at the altars of our own power and arrogance, and at the altars of the false god of communism which we fear more than we desire justice and mercy.

In the Second Book of Kings it is also written: "And the man of God wept. And Hazael said, 'Why does my lord weep?' He answered, 'Because I know the evil that you will do to the people of Israel; you will set fire to their fortresses, and you will slay their young men with the sword, and dash to pieces their little ones, and rip up their women with child.'" I am not a man of God, sir, but I weep whenever I hear your name.

Courtesy *Modern Utopian*  
Tufts University

# Selective Service Plots Manpower Takeover

(This is an official Selective Service System memorandum. The italics are ours.)

ONE OF THE MAJOR PRODUCTS of the Selective Service classification process is the channeling of manpower into many endeavors, occupations, and activities that are in the national interest. The line dividing the primary function of armed forces manpower procurement from the process of channeling manpower into civilian support is often finely drawn. The process of channeling by not taking men from certain activities who are otherwise liable for service, or by giving deferment to qualified men in certain occupations, is actual procurement by inducement of manpower for civilian activities which are manifestly in the national interest.

Many young men would not have pursued a higher education if there had not been a program of student deferment. Many young scientists, engineers, tool and die makers, and other possessors of scarce skills would not remain in their jobs in the defense effort if it were not for a program of occupational deferments. Even though the salary of a teacher has historically been meager, many young men remain in that job, seeking the reward of a deferment. The process of channeling manpower by deferment is entitled to much credit for the large number of graduate students in technical fields and for the fact that there is not a greater shortage of teachers, engineers, and other scientists working in activities which are essential to the national interest.

More than ten years ago, it became evident that something additional had to be done to permit and encourage development of young scientists and trained people in all fields. A million and a half registrants are now deferred as students. One reason the Nation is not in shorter supply of engineers today is that they were among the students deferred by Selective Service in previous years. Similarly, Selective Service student deferments reduced what otherwise would have developed into more

serious shortages in teaching, medicine, dentistry, and every field requiring advanced study. The System has also induced needed people to remain in these professions and in industry engaged in defense activities or in support of national health, safety, or interest.

The opportunity to enhance the national well-being by inducing more registrants to participate in fields which relate directly to the national interest came about as a consequence, soon after the close of the Korean episode, of the knowledge within the System that there was enough registrant personnel to allow stringent deferment practices employed during war time to be relaxed or tightened as the situation might require. Circumstances had become favorable to induce registrants, by the attraction of deferment, to matriculate in schools and pursue subjects in which there was beginning to be a national shortage of personnel. These were particularly in the engineering, scientific, and teaching professions.

This was coupled with a growing public recognition that the complexities of future wars would diminish further the distinction between what constitutes military service in uniform and a comparable contribution to the national interest out of uniform. Wars have always been conducted in various ways but appreciation of this fact and its relationship to preparation for war has never been so sharp in the public mind as it is now becoming. The meaning of the word "service", with its former restricted application to the armed forces, is certain to become widened much more in the future. *This brings with it the ever increasing problem of how to control effectively the service of individuals who are not in the armed forces.*

In the Selective Service System the term "deferment" has been used millions of times to describe the method and means used to attract to the kind of service considered to be most important, the individuals who were not compelled to do it. *The club of induction has been used to drive out of areas*

*considered to be less important to the areas of greater importance in which deferments were given, the individuals who did not or could not participate in activities which were considered essential to the defense of the Nation.* The Selective Service System anticipates further evolution in this area. It is promoting the process by the granting of deferments in liberal numbers where the national need clearly would benefit. This is accomplished on the basis of evidence of record in each individual case. No group deferments are permitted. Deferments are granted, however, in a realistic atmosphere so that the fullest effect of channeling will be felt, rather than be terminated by military service at too early a time.

Registrants and their employers are encouraged and required to make available to the classifying authorities detailed evidence as to the occupations and activities in which the registrants are engaged. It is not necessary for any registrant to specifically request deferment, but his selective service file must contain sufficient current evidence on which can be based a proper determination as to whether he should remain where he is or be made available for service. Since occupational deferments are granted for no more than one year at a time, a process of periodically receiving current information and repeated review assures that every deferred registrant continues to contribute to the overall national good. *This reminds him of the basis for his deferment.* The skills as well as the activities are periodically reevaluated. A critical skill that is not employed in an essential activity does not qualify for deferment.

Patriotism is defined as "devotion to the welfare of one's country." It has been interpreted to mean many different things. Men have always been exhorted to do their duty. But what that duty is depends upon a variety of variables, most important being the nature of the threat to national welfare and the capacity and opportunity of the individual. Take, for example, the boy

who saved the Netherlands by plugging the dike with his finger.

At the time of the American Revolution the patriot was the so-called "embattled farmer" who joined General Washington to fight the British. The concept that patriotism is best exemplified by service in uniform has always been under some degree of challenge, but never to the extent that it is today. In today's complicated warfare when the man in uniform may be suffering far less than the civilians at home, patriotism must be interpreted far more broadly than ever before.

This is not a new thought, but it has had new emphasis since the development of nuclear and rocket warfare. Educators, scientists, engineers, and their professional organizations, during the last ten years particularly, have been convincing the American public that for the mentally qualified man there is a special order of patriotism other than service in uniform — that for the man having the capacity, dedicated service as a civilian in such fields, as engineering, the sciences, and teaching constitute the ultimate in their expression of patriotism. A large segment of the American public has been convinced that this is true.

It is in this atmosphere that the young man registers at age 18 and *pressure begins to force his choice*. He does not have the inhibitions that a philosophy of universal service in uniform would engender. The door is open for him as a student to qualify if capable in a skill badly needed by his nation. He has many choices and he is prodded to make a decision.

The psychological effect of this circumstantial climate depends upon the individual, his sense of good citizenship, his love of country and its way of life. He can obtain a sense of well-being and satisfaction that he is doing as a civilian what will help his country most. This process encourages him to put forth his best effort and removes to some degree *the stigma that has been attached to being out of uniform*.

In the less patriotic and more selfish individual it engenders a sense of fear, uncertainty, and dissatisfaction which motivates him, nevertheless, in the same direction. He complains of the uncertainty which he must endure; he would like to be able to do as he pleases; he would appreciate a certain future with no prospect of military service or civilian contribution, but he complies with the needs of the national

health, safety, or interest — or is denied deferment.

Throughout his career as a student, the pressure — the threat of loss of deferment — continues. It continues with equal intensity after graduation. His local board requires periodic reports to find out what he is up to. He is impelled to pursue his skill rather than embark upon some less important enterprise and is encouraged to apply his skill in an essential activity in the national interest. The loss of deferred status is the consequence for the individual who has acquired the skill and either does not use it or uses it in a nonessential activity.

The psychology of granting wide choice under pressure to take action is *the American or indirect way* of achieving what is done by direction in foreign countries where choice is not permitted. Here, choice is limited but not denied, and it is fundamental that an individual generally applies himself better to something he has decided to do rather than something he has been told to do.

The effects of channeling are manifested among student physicians. They are deferred to complete their education through school and internship. This permits them to serve in the armed forces in their skills rather than in an unskilled capacity as enlisted men.

*The device of pressurized guidance*, or channeling, is employed on Standby Reservists of which more than 2½ million have been referred by all services for availability determinations. The appeal to the Reservist who knows he is subject to recall to active duty unless he is determined to be unavailable is virtually identical to that extended to other registrants.

The psychological impact of being rejected for service in uniform is severe. The earlier this occurs in a young man's life, the sooner the beneficial effects of pressurized motivation by the Selective Service System are lost. He is labeled unwanted. His patriotism is not desired. Once the label of "rejectee" is upon him all his efforts at guidance by persuasion are futile. If he attempts to enlist at 17 or 18 and is rejected, then he receives virtually none of the impulsion the System is capable of giving him. If he makes no effort to enlist and as a result is not rejected until delivered for examination by the Selective Service System at about age 23, he has felt some of the pressure but thereafter is a free agent.

This contributed to establishment of a new classification of I-Y (registrant qualified for military service only in time of war or national emergency). That classification reminds the registrant of his ultimate qualification to serve and preserves some of the benefit of what we call channeling.

From the individual's viewpoint, he is standing in a room which has been made uncomfortably warm. Several doors are open, but they all lead to various forms of recognized, patriotic service to the Nation. Some accept the alternatives gladly — some with reluctance. The consequence is approximately the same.

Selective Service processes do not compel people by edict as in foreign systems to enter pursuits having to do with essentiality and progress. They go because they know that by going they will be deferred.

The application of direct methods to effect the policy of every man doing his duty in support of national interest involves considerably more capacity than the current use of indirection as a method of allocation of personnel. The organization necessary to make the decisions, even poor decisions, would, of necessity, extract a large segment of population from productive work. If the members of the organization are conceived to be reasonably qualified to exercise judgment and control over skilled personnel, the impact of their withdrawal from war production work would be severe. The number of decisions would extend into billions.

A quarter billion classification actions were needed in World War II for the comparatively limited function of the Selective Service System at that time. Deciding what people should do, rather than letting them do something of national importance of their own choosing, introduces many problems that are at least partially avoided when indirect methods, the kind currently invoked by the Selective Service System, are used.

Delivery of manpower for induction, the process of providing a few thousand men with transportation to a reception center, is not much of an administrative or financial challenge. It is in dealing with the other millions of registrants that the System is heavily occupied, developing more effective human beings in the national interest. If there is to be any survival after disaster, it will take people, and not machines, to restore the Nation.

*Unofficial Memo:*

## Prepare Nation for State of Perpetual Warfare

Just now, when modern war has never seemed so bootless as in Vietnam, never so illusory as a guarantor of national security as in McNamara's half-heartedly defended "thin" anti-missile shield, never so wasteful as it outruns any debt limit Congress can set, we have to be confronted with such a piece of monstrous bravado as a REPORT FROM IRON MOUNTAIN ON THE POSSIBILITY AND DESIRABILITY OF PEACE.\*

Call it a cunning satire, call it a suppressed top-secret document, call it a brilliant parody or call it a hoax, it can't be laughed off. And why? Because the obvious irony of it all just could not be contrived from stitching together the crackpot cliches of official reports with the argot of bureaucracy. Machiavelli and Thomas Hobbes were deadly serious about war being the health of the state. If this is humor, it is of the gallows variety.

What's to be upset over? Leonard C. Lewin, who introduces the "Iron Mountain Report" as the work of an anonymous study group assigned by a recent President (Kennedy?) is also an editor of *Monocle*. Why couldn't he have written the whole thing? So could Boulding or Galbraith.

All right. It is at best — or worst? — an abridgement, a composite. The point is that it need not have a highly unlikely government stamp on it to authenticate it. And the best way to establish its authenticity is to compare this much fussed-over book with an admitted government document from the Selective Service System, "Channeling", but more about this later.

What follows are some quotes from that "report."

Published by  
\*Dial Press

Before the development of modern communications, the strategic requirements of war provided the only substantial incentive for the enrichment of one national culture with the achievements of another.

\* \* \* \* \*

An economy as advanced and complex as our own requires the planned average

annual destruction of not less than ten percent of gross national product if it is effectively to fulfill its stabilizing function.

\* \* \* \* \*

The end of war means the end of national sovereignty, and thus the end of nationhood as we know it today.

\* \* \* \* \*

Credibility, in fact, lies at the heart of the problem of developing a political substitute for war. This is where the space-race proposals, in many ways so well suited as economic substitutes for war, fall short.

\* \* \* \* \*

Another possible surrogate for the control of potential enemies of society is the reintroduction, in some form consistent with modern technology and political processes, of slavery.

\* \* \* \* \*

There would appear to be no foreseeable need to revert to any of the outmoded practices referred to previously (infanticide, etc.) as there might have been if the possibility of transition to peace had arisen two generations ago.

\* \* \* \* \*

It is uncertain, at this time, whether peace will ever be possible. It is far more questionable, by the objective standard of continued social survival rather than that of emotional pacifism, that it would be desirable even if it were demonstrably attainable.

\* \* \* \* \*

It is not hard to imagine a situation in which governments may feel forced to initiate serious full-scale disarmament proceedings (perhaps provoked by "accidental" nuclear explosions), and that such negotiations may lead to the actual disestablishment of military institutions. But this could be catastrophic.

\* \* \* \* \*

Our final conclusion, therefore, is that it will be necessary for our government to plan in depth for two general contingencies. The first, and lesser, is the possibility of a viable general peace; the second is the successful continuation of the war system.

\* \* \* \* \*

Broad problems [are] to be anticipated in the event of a general transformation of American society to a condition lacking its most critical current characteristics: its capability and readiness to make war when doing so is judged necessary or desirable by its political leadership.

A condition of general world peace would lead to changes in the social structures of the nations of the world of unparalleled and revolutionary magnitude.

\* \* \* \* \*

Previous studies have taken the desirability of peace, the importance of human life, the superiority of democratic institutions, the greatest "good" for the greatest number, the "dignity" of the individual, the desirability of maximum health and longevity, and other such wishful premises as axiomatic values necessary for the justification of a study of peace issues.

\* \* \* \* \*

The "world war industry" accounts for approximately a tenth of the output of the world's total economy. . . . The United States has devoted a higher proportion of its gross national product to its military establishment than any other major free world nation.

\* \* \* \* \*

No serious consideration has been given, in any proposed conversion plan, to the fundamental nonmilitary function of war and armaments in modern society.

\* \* \* \* \*

It is evident that even in today's world there exists no conceivable conflict of interest, real or imaginary, between nations or between social forces within nations, that cannot be resolved without recourse to war.

\* \* \* \* \*

The younger, and more dangerous of hostile social groupings have been kept under control by the Selective Service System . . . . As a control device over the hostile, nihilistic, and potentially unsettling elements of a society in transition, the draft can again be defended, as a "military" necessity.

\* \* \* \* \*

In a broad social context, "an eye for an eye" still characterizes the only acceptable attitude toward a presumed threat of aggression, despite contrary religious and moral precepts governing personal conduct.

\* \* \* \* \*

The dependence of cultural and scientific achievement on the war system would be an important consideration in a transition plan even if such achievement had no inherently necessary social function.

War is a psychological function, serving the same purpose for a society as do the holiday, the celebration, and the orgy for the individual — the release and redistribution of undifferentiated tensions.

\* \* \* \* \*

Fill in the blanks as you will (for "Iron Mountain" is more an outline than a complete treatise). But before you assume that it is just as fictive as "Brave New World" or "1984", turn to page 9 where we have printed the greater part of the paper "Channeling."

Not apparent in the hop-skip "impression" of IRON MOUNTAIN above is the solid logical case for a permanent war political-economy that flows right through three centuries from the premises of Machiavelli and Hobbes. That exploding technology, atomic and solid-fuel rocketry, the population-food equation, and the no-less-real revolution of rising expectations have shouldered their way onto the world stage has not disturbed the war-obsessed mind — a powerful archetype.

No one can now own up to authorship of IRON MOUNTAIN. Utterly damning though it seems to us, it is merely awkward and discomfiting to the government establishment, like a preview of a play not yet ready for the boards. If they can so callously and cynically own up to plans to manipulate choices, manage careers and dictate manpower allocations under Selective Service ("Channeling" again), all other social controls and management of men will not be that much harder. The mechanisms are there, waiting only the pulling of the switch, the inevitable next step that we take because the previous ones could not be parried or fought off in time.

Thank God the premises of perpetual war for perpetual peace will not bear the weight. Dr. Strangelove and his crackpot realism waits in the wings but cannot yet take over. The revolt against the madness of the power elite has begun. The manic logic built by intellectualized, computerized unreason will topple on its wobbly base when Man takes charge again. That is the irony of IRON MOUNTAIN.

JAMES S. BEST

## QUOTE - UNQUOTE

This is a great adventure, and a wonderful one it is.

Hubert Humphrey (on his recent visit to Vietnam)

## VIETNAM-BOUND SOLDIERS MUTINY AT FORT HOOD

A persistent story of hundreds of soldiers at Fort Hood, Texas, rioting on the eve of their departure for Vietnam has appeared in at least five places as this issue goes to press: *The National Guardian*, *The Rag* (Austin underground paper), *Liberation News Service*, the bulletin of the War Resisters International in London, and the Austin (Texas) *American-Statesman*, which published the Fort Hood authorities' denials.

The story (as told by Pvt. Scotty Frame at Fort Hood) is that between 100 and 250 men of the 198th Light Infantry Brigade, who were scheduled to leave for Vietnam, tore up post property to the extent of \$150,000 damage, attacked trucks, cars and busses, fought with non-commissioned officers and M.P.'s, and severely beat a second lieutenant. (Pvt. Frame claims he died but this was not confirmed elsewhere, although other men had heard the rumor.)

The trouble began on the night of October 3 in the enlisted men's club, where large numbers of men from the 198th, under orders to leave for Vietnam the next day, were getting bitterly drunk. According to Pvt. Frame, many of these men decided they would prefer the stockade to Vietnam. At 9 p.m. their mood had grown so ugly that their liquor supply was abruptly cut off. The enraged men began to tear up the club which was immediately closed. Over a hundred of them are said to have stormed across the street to the non-commissioned officer's club, where fighting ensued and a group of NCO's was beaten up. Other men roared around the post breaking windows and damaging all kinds of property.

Fort Hood sources interviewed by *The Guardian* all agreed on several points: 1) There was a riot on October 3. 2) There were injuries and heavy property damage. 3) The violence was caused by frustration and rage over Vietnam orders. The recurrent theme was that soldiers at Fort Hood do not feel they have been properly or sufficiently trained for combat. *The Guardian* quoted a clerk on the base: "They had a feeling of all is lost. Nothing worse could happen. It's like mass murder to send units of men from Hood to Vietnam. At Hood everything is very lax — then suddenly you are going to Vietnam and you gotta shape up!"

Pentagon spokesmen, queried by *Liberation News Service* in Washington, denied everything at first, as is their custom. They later admitted to a "beer brawl" at the post, and finally to a "scuffle," the calling out of M.P.'s, and "slight" injuries to a second lieutenant. Back in Austin, the *American-Statesman* quoted an unnamed Fort Hood source who also denied virtually everything. "A few men got mad because their beer supply was cut off," he said, adding that they had only indulged in a little "boisterousness."

The 198th is in Vietnam now, except for those in the stockade at Fort Hood. No one will say how many remained behind.

# Requiem

CONSIDERABLE SEGMENTS of the world peace movement and most of the American peace movement have hitherto prided themselves on their non-alignment with any ideological bloc or with any nation's foreign policy. They have hoped to foster the growth of a strong grouping of people and nations not dominated by Washington, Moscow, or Peking, giving to human values as high priority as to necessary political and economic changes, and therefore seeking such changes by relatively non-violent and non-totalitarian means. This has been called the "Third Camp" position.

However, it appears that more than one former Third Camp stalwart returned from the World Conference on Vietnam held in Stockholm last summer convinced that there is no longer any valid Third Camp position vis-a-vis the Vietnam War. They seemed comfortable with the Stockholm Conference's "Appeal to the World" which made no mention of the need for any sort of negotiations for ending the war and, while mentioning support for the Geneva Agreements, cited only one implementation thereof — namely, "the unconditional, total and permanent withdrawal of American and allied forces — ." This, by itself, would, of course, leave South Vietnam under the complete control of the National Liberation Front which alone was designated by the Appeal as representing "the fundamental aspirations of the people of South Vietnam". This Appeal, incidentally, seems to be somewhat more drastic than the demands of the NLF itself! Sol Stern's "A Talk with the Front" (November *Ramparts*) made clear that the NLF not only recognized that negotiations would be necessary but "gave the very strong impression that prior withdrawal of U. S. troops was not a condition for negotiations."

As for the NLF's claim to be the only spokesman for the South Vietnamese people, Sidney Lens (in "Whatever Happened to the Third Camp?", July *Liberation*) says, "Millions of men and women in Vietnam who normally would have supported a third alternative" (i.e. neither a U.S. nor a Communist victory) "have literally been

# for the Third Force?

by DOROTHY HUTCHINSON



A nostalgic scene for Third Force believers: Tokyo 1957 before the Russian and Chinese oriented communists began their struggle for domination of the World Conference against A and H Bombs.

driven into the second" (i.e. Communist) "camp". Yet his article on the Stockholm Conference offers no suggestion that the American peace movement do anything in support of these millions of militant Buddhists, trade unionists, Cao Dai, Catholics, intellectuals, etc. who have either, as he says, been "driven" to join the NLF because it seemed the only available expression of Vietnamese nationalism or who have not joined the NLF but struggle on by less violent means against the US-Saigon coalition.

## *Third Camp More Invisible Than in Eclipse*

I must admit that it was easy at Stockholm to forget the existence of any Third Camp both in Vietnam and in the world peace movement. The self-elimination of most Third Campers from the Stockholm Conference was assured at the moment when the planning committee of the Conference (in response to a threat of withdrawal by the NLF and North Vietnamese invitees supported by the Soviet invitees and the World Council of Peace in general) decided that no representative of the militant Buddhists of South Vietnam should be permitted to attend. This decision indicated to everyone in the world peace movement who had any sophistication in such matters that the WCP would, in effect, dominate the Conference and that all views other than those of the NLF and Hanoi would receive very short shrift.

It was, therefore, no surprise that only about 10% of the Americans there were

delegates from any of the non-aligned international organizations which sponsored the Conference or from their national affiliates. In the groups of attendees from many other countries this percentage seems to have been even smaller. The few Third Campers who had the temerity to come anyway, discovered upon their arrival at the Conference that the capitulation of the planning committee had become total. The paper written *at the request of the planning committee* by Vo Van Ai of the Overseas Buddhist Association in Paris and promised to Conference attendees in order that they might at least understand the views of the militant Buddhists of South Vietnam, was neither circulated nor discussed at the Conference because the NLF and WCP had again threatened to withdraw. This would have destroyed the Conference, since only a handful of persons would have remained.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom sent me to Stockholm as an "observer" since it valued this opportunity to hear the views of the NLF and of North Vietnam as well as to assess this first major effort at cooperation between the avowedly "independent" International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace and the communist oriented World Council of Peace.

## *But How About Third Camp at Home?*

So much for the sad fate of the Third Camp at the Stockholm Conference. Now for the more important question of the present and future of the Third Camp in the American peace movement. Do we simply join other defectors from the Third Camp in their ringing call for "unconditional and immediate U. S. military withdrawal thus permitting the Vietnamese people to settle their own affairs"?

American peaceniks are quick to see how unrealistic it is to expect the relatively poorly armed NLF and Hanoi forces to heed U.S. offers of "negotiation" which are only thinly veiled demands that the NLF unconditionally accept total defeat. Why do we not also see the unrealism of expecting the most powerful nation on earth to heed a demand that the U. S. unconditionally

accept total defeat?

Although U Thant knows as well as anyone how culpable the U. S. is in this war, he also knows that there will have to be a modicum of flexibility on both sides regardless of relative guilt. Some time after the Stockholm Conference, U Thant addressed the following words on Vietnam to an international audience at the Friends World Conference: "It seems to me that nothing could be more dangerous than this kind of thinking, that the only alternatives are military escalation and immediate withdrawal. . . . I regard the continuation of the war in Vietnam as being totally unnecessary. I have analyzed the public statements of the objectives on both sides and, if the task of diplomacy is only to realize the objectives which are explicit or implicit in these statements, I believe this would be possible and an honorable peace could be brought about in Vietnam."

It is profitless to suggest that either side crawl before its adversary. To declare that this is the only way to end the war is to insure its continuance.

## *Which Vietnamese Are to Vote?*

And what is meant by "thus permitting the Vietnamese people to settle their own affairs"? Which Vietnamese people? Anyone who listened to the NLF and North Vietnamese spokesmen at Stockholm must realize that, in a post-war South Vietnam under solely NLF control, every public figure who has used any channel but the NLF in his struggle for Vietnam's independence will be branded as unpatriotic and treated accordingly.

The NLF seems to regard as traitors even the militant Buddhists who have, because of their persistent and courageous opposition to the Ky government and its U. S. backers, suffered and died in their non-violent struggle for their country's independence. Mrs. Nguyen Thi Binh of the NLF, in her interview with Sol Stern (Nov. *Ramparts*), while assuring him of NLF eagerness to welcome ARVN and Saigon administration defectors into the

Dorothy Hutchinson, chairman of the international executive committee of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, travels and speaks in the cause of peace. She attended the Stockholm conference as an observer.

NLF, speaks of the militant Buddhists as having "private personal political ambitions" and not being "determined to oppose the American aggression." Two statements made by the NLF spokesmen at Stockholm are especially significant — "All those who are really patriotic in South Vietnam have now joined the Front", and (regarding Thich Nhat Hanh, the Buddhist monk who has travelled extensively in the U. S. and Europe expressing opposition to the U. S. role and his group's desire for a non aligned South Vietnam), "He would not even have been given a U. S. visa, if he had been a true Vietnamese patriot."

These statements suggest the limitations implied in the recently released NLF Political Program when it specifies that its proposed "democratic state structure" will include "all patriotic and democratic parties" and "all patriotic personalities" (emphases added).

The NLF's special bitterness against the Buddhist leaders is doubtless due to determination not to let them shunt the NLF aside, when peace comes. One strongly suspects that earlier (but now unmentioned) NLF promises of a genuine coalition government after the war will not be kept and that an NLF victory may mean a dictatorship which will debar from all share in political power, not only pro-Ky and pro-American Vietnamese, but also the Third Camp Vietnamese.

#### *Violence Reflects Popular Fear*

Reprisals against such men as Thich Nhat Hanh might be even more likely than reprisals against the Ky junta for the reason that the Buddhist leaders have far more of a popular following than Ky and would, therefore, be more feared by the NLF leadership. It is quite possible that the NLF elimination of the militant Buddhists as a political force is now inevitable, but I prefer not to be counted among those who appear to be cheering for it in advance.

All of us Americans who adhere to a Third Camp philosophy are overwhelmed with compassion for the sufferings of the Vietnamese people, with admiration for the courage of these diminutive inhabitants of a diminutive country pitted against the American colossus, and with shame for our country's role in this war. One may even believe that an NLF victory would be far better for Vietnam (and, in the long run, better for the U.S.!) than a U. S. victory and still not be prepared simply to move into the NLF Camp for the

duration. I, for one, believe that there is a program for peace in Vietnam which is worthier of Third Camp support and more likely to shorten the war because it would be fairer to all the people of South Vietnam and more persuasive to the American people than that of the Stockholm Conference.

Let's start with some points of general agreement among us and see whether they can be combined into a genuine Third Camp proposal which harmonizes the legitimate declared objectives of the NLF (independence, unity and territorial integrity) with those of the U. S. (an independent South Vietnam free to choose its own political future):—

a) No talks for ending the war may be anticipated until the U. S. at least stops the bombing of North Vietnam without prior conditions.

b) Since the Vietnamese value independence as much as peace the primary condition for a peace settlement is a guaranteed prompt and complete withdrawal of all foreign troops from their soil.

c) The U. S. has no right to dictate to South Vietnam its form of government nor to subject any of its political processes to U. S. control or pressures.

d) South Vietnam's independence requires guarantees against all future outside interference in its internal affairs or in Vietnamese negotiations for the reunification of North and South Vietnam.

e) Since possibly a majority of the people of South Vietnam prefer a political future not bound to either ideological bloc, every effort should be made to keep this option open to them.

Without being dogmatic, I suggest the following steps which could perhaps constitute a package which both the American and Vietnamese people would prefer to the interminable war of attrition which seems now to lie ahead of them.

1) The U. S. should plainly tell the Saigon government at once that the mounting destruction of Vietnam and the death toll of Vietnamese and Americans are no longer acceptable and that the U. S. is, therefore, going to seek international help in bringing the war to a prompt and honorable end rather than pursuing a military solution any further.

The U. S. has muffed what may well have been its last chance to require really free elections in the Saigon-controlled area and thus to get a representative government there which might willingly co-

operate in the search for peace. Now, if the U. S. wants any peace settlement, it will simply have to tell the Saigon government that it must cooperate or face going it alone. If the U. S. is "committed" to anything in South Vietnam, it is to the future of the people of the country, not to Thieu and Ky whose political future depends wholly on preventing peace and U. S. withdrawal now or ever.

2) To pave the way for seeking international help in achieving a peace settlement, the U. S. and its allies should stop unconditionally, not only the bombing of North Vietnam, but all offensive military operations in the air and on the ground in both North and South Vietnam, publicizing the move in advance and inviting International Control Commission inspection of this unilateral ceasefire-unless-fired-upon.

At the same time the U. S. should declare its willingness to participate in a reconvened Geneva Conference of all the present belligerents (including the NLF) as well as the big powers and the nations of Southeast Asia who comprised the Geneva Conference of 1954, and U. S. determination to sign and abide by whatever decisions are reached by this Conference.

A dramatic demonstration of good faith is essential, after the long succession of so-called U. S. "peace offensives" which have been no more than offers to negotiate a separate peace with Hanoi in order to assure the abandonment of the NLF and of all hope of South Vietnam's independence from the U. S. Stopping only the bombing of the North might well fail to bring about meaningful negotiations, since it would offer little inducement to the NLF to take part. In this case, the disillusionment of Americans would be real hawk food! A total ceasefire would also help forestall the accusation that our government is asking the GI to go on fighting without even such questionable protection as the bombing of the North may be giving him.

3) In order to persuade the USSR to join the United Kingdom in reconvening the Geneva Conference and to induce all the belligerents to attend, the U. S. should declare that its immediate purpose is complete withdrawal from Vietnam and that it recommends, in return, only that the Geneva Conference assume the responsibility it undertook in 1954 of guaranteeing that all segments of the population of South Vietnam be protected against reprisals and insured their fair voice in their own political future as well as of guaranteeing Vietnam against future foreign interference in its internal affairs.

Those who now say "Just withdraw U. S. troops! What is there to negotiate about?" must be forgetting that the above provisions and an international presence

## Thomas Merton: On Aid to Civilian War Victims in Vietnam

(the International Control Commission) to supervise the implementation of the Geneva Agreements were included in the 1954 Declaration of the Geneva Conference. They were then considered necessary adjuncts to the withdrawal of foreign troops, elections and a settlement "on the basis of respect for the principles of independence, unity and territorial integrity for Vietnam." The implementation of these principles by such a body as the Geneva Conference seems even more needed now, after an additional 13 years of bitter civil war.

Since both sides declare their desire to return to the principles of the Geneva Accords, neither should object to a return to all of them and to adequate international guarantees that they will be implemented.

4) *The U. S. must make it clear from the outset that the very first task of the Geneva Conference will be the supervision of the withdrawal of all U. S. and other foreign troops and weapons from South Vietnam.* It is clear that it will be unacceptable for U. S. forces to be present in South Vietnam during the implementation of the settlement. The U. S. could, however, recommend to the Conference that immediately after U. S. withdrawal, the absence of North Vietnamese regulars from South Vietnam also be internationally verified.

Hanoi would undoubtedly point out the fact that its troops are not "foreigners" in South Vietnam and would object that this requirement "equates the victim of the aggression with the aggressor". However, Hanoi would find it difficult to cite any justification for its military presence in South Vietnam after the "American aggression" was ended and an international presence was established there. It would lose nothing and clearly give the lie to U. S. charges of aggressive intent by acceding to this proposal. And the inclusion of this stipulation would make the whole package far more attractive to the American people whose support for it is essential.

5) The stage would then be set for the establishment of a representative interim government in South Vietnam, negotiations between this and the NLF, free elections throughout South Vietnam, and reunification whenever the Vietnamese so decide. By massive economic aid through *international channels*, the U. S. should help re-build what the war has destroyed and help develop a stable and prosperous economy in Vietnam which would be the best insurance of Vietnam's continuing independence.

Free elections, in which the militant Buddhists etc. are permitted to place their programs before the electorate, should be acceptable to the NLF, since it could hardly reject such a chance to prove its claim that "the NLF alone

Most of the war victims in Vietnam are non-combatants. It is estimated that for every combatant killed, five non-combatants are killed. The proportion of wounded is probably larger. These non-combatants are in most cases supposed to be people we are "defending" against communism. Thousands of women, children and old people have been most cruelly destroyed, maimed or disfigured by the latest and most destructive of "conventional" weapons devised by our technology.

The death and wounding of these non-combatants could be avoided without difficulty and without harming our war-effort. The continued destruction of villages in North and South Vietnam may be rationalized in various ways, but apparently one of the reasons why this destruction continues is that systematic terrorism is being used to break all further resistance. Such methods were used by the Nazis in World War II and were universally condemned as criminal. The whole world today regards the U.S. destruction of Vietnam villages as part of a deliberate program of terrorism and of planned atrocities.

The situation is such that for Americans now to offer aid to the victims of our military in Vietnam might seriously be regarded as pure hypocrisy. However, the objective fact remains: whatever the reason, whatever the policy, thousands of innocent Vietnamese civilians, including a very high proportion of children, have though absolutely defenseless, been destroyed or ruined and maimed by

represents the aspirations of the Vietnamese people".

The U. S. must face the possibility that free elections will result in an NLF-dominated government. But the U. S. can hardly reject such a test of its claim that the South Vietnamese want their present form of government. Freedom is, after all, the freedom to choose one's government, not the necessity of choosing what the U. S. might consider the best kind of government.

Having entrusted these matters to the Geneva Conference, the U. S. would be not only absolved from but forbidden any further "commitment" in South Vietnam. This is the crucial point!

And, whatever one may suspect about the real objectives of either side,

American bombs. There is debt of justice owing to them: a debt which cannot be evaded without further sin on our part. These people must be helped, no matter what the difficulty and no matter what the cost. But in fact there should be no difficulty in helping the thousands of wounded in areas under U.S. control, and by no stretch of the imagination could this be called "helping the enemy". Yet obstacles are being placed by our Government in the way of this aid to people who are supposed to be our friends, people we are supposed to be "defending".

Even the most morally insensitive individual must be able to see that there is something revolting and shameful in the spectacle of the world's greatest super-power smashing with all the force of its most modern weapons into the utterly defenceless villages of a primitive and non-white people — and destroying their crops into the bargain. Even the most politically stupid individual ought to be capable of realizing the effect this has on the non-white majority in the world today. How can American protestations of justice, humanity and liberty be credible under such conditions? And what is the effect when the Name of Christ our Savior is invoked to "bless" these atrocities? Though some may sincerely be convinced that this is a "holy war", they must admit that the massive horror visited upon non-combatants would stand a better chance of being construed as holy rather than diabolical, if we would do more to take care of

(Continued on page 29)

the above series of U. S. initiatives could produce a settlement which so nearly satisfies the *declared* objectives of both sides that neither would find it easy to turn it down in favor of continuing the war of attrition.

Nothing has so challenged the viability of the Third Camp as has the Vietnam war. But the Third Camp must not perish in the confusion of the moment or of the revolutionary era into which the world is heading. The Third Camp effort for political objectivity and a humanism which rises above both nationalism and ideology is too precious to be either betrayed or let go by default in the present Vietnam crisis and is a valiant attempt to prevent a war-ridden future.



## NOTED WRITERS, EDITORS PROTEST VIETNAM WAR TAX

A total of 175 writers and editors, headed by Gerald Walker, assistant articles editor of the *New York Times Sunday Magazine*, have joined in opposing tax payments to support the war in Vietnam. They have pledged to withhold payment of President Johnson's proposed ten percent income tax surcharge if Congress approves it.

Mr. Walker expressed hope that the protest would win the support of from 300 to 500 writers and editors. Among those who have already pledged support are Fred J. Cook, Dwight Macdonald, Harvey Swados, Thomas Pynchon, Eric Bentley and many others.

Many of the group have also promised to deduct twenty-three percent from their tax bills as an estimate of the percentage used to fight the war.

## DUTCH AND SWEDES PLAN ALTERNATIVE SERVICE

In the Netherlands, after years of pressure from Dutch pacifists and others, the government is considering a bill to exempt certain categories of conscripts from military service if they are prepared to work the same period in underdeveloped countries, according to latest reports.

At first the government had allowed alternative service on a case-to-case basis. Now, it may be incorporated into law.

The pacifist movement in Sweden is currently urging the Swedish government to pass on an alternative service bill.

## MENNONITE CONGREGATIONS URGED TO AID VIETNAM VICTIMS

Mennonite congregations have been urged to "seek ways to send medical aid to war victims in North Vietnam" in an appeal issued recently by the General Conference of the Mennonite Church.

"We are aware," the appeal said, "of the political implications of this kind of action and the accusations of propaganda maneuvering that might be leveled at us. Nevertheless the demands and ethics of love are clear and we are called to be true witnesses to Jesus Christ."

The appeal also strongly urged Mennonites to study carefully the issues of the war and to become well informed about it. Boycotts of those companies manufacturing weapons such as napalm, anti-personnel bombs, etc. was also urged.

## The Immolations Continue

October saw more self-immolations by Americans making the ultimate protest against the war. Hiroko Hayashi, 36, died in a San Diego hospital after setting herself afire. Her death went virtually unrecorded by the American press, the *New York Times* learning of it from a Reuters dispatch.

Three days later, Florence Beaumont, 55, a dedicated peace worker and the mother of two girls, burned herself to death on the steps of the federal building in Los Angeles. In the words of her husband, she was quite sane but "couldn't stand to live any longer under this thing."

In New York, Kenneth D'Elia, 20, made himself a human torch in front of the UN. He was the eighth American to die in this way protesting the war.

A tribute to Mrs. Beaumont, written by an old friend, appears below:

No, she was not mad. She confronted an insane world and sacrificed her life in the hope that her own final hideous agony would help to save it. We grow accustomed to everything in this life, and it unfortunately sometimes takes the expressed feeling of a great soul like Florence to shock us awake again.

Desperate, frustrated, agonized—if we are alive and fully conscious we have shared many a lonely vigil with this woman over the bitter years. Now she has given her life and left us to carry on. I do not recommend her act to anyone, but the ultimate compassion of her great heart poses the mute and desperate question before us. If we are human, we must speak to it and answer her.

*Beatrice Miller*

## COUNCIL OF CHURCHES TO INVEST IN SLUMS

A minimum of ten per cent of the National Council of Churches unrestricted capital funds have been committed to "high-risk, low-return" investments in urban ghettos, according to a statement issued recently by NCC leaders. At the same time other organizations were called upon to do likewise.

The funds have been earmarked for projects "planned and directed by representatives of those communities for maximum benefit of the communities." The NCC specified that most of the funds would go to small business enterprises developed by ghetto residents or to projects such as the economic development bank proposed recently by a group of Negro churchmen.

An economic boycott of companies that practiced racial discrimination was also proposed.

## CHRISTIAN SCIENCE, CHURCH OF GOD PEACE FELLOWSHIPS FORMING

Former members of the Peace Association of Christian Scientists and others interested in affiliation with a proposed Christian Science Peace Fellowship are invited to communicate with Miss Diane Bishop, 26 East 10th Street, New York 10003 or with Robert N. White, P. O. Box 1210, Norwich, Conn. 06360 for information.

At its last meeting, the executive committee of the FOR accepted as an organizational affiliate the Church of God Peace Fellowship, which has just been formed, with the Rev. H. L. Nelson of Joliet, Illinois as Chairman.

## SIX AMERICANS TEST S.W. AFRICA INDEPENDENCE

A group of six Americans set out for South West Africa last month deliberately seeking to enter that territory without visas from the government of South Africa. The latter is in de facto control, despite a year-old UN resolution to the contrary.

"Our project assumes," said a spokesman for the group, "that the people of South West Africa are being prepared for independence under the UN." The group expects to spend about two weeks in the country studying ways American organizations can help with South West African development in health, agriculture, trade, cooperatives, and related fields. Among members of the group are specialists in farming, home economics, food distribution, medicine and religion. The country's resources and potentialities in these and other fields are of special concern to the group.

Among the team members are George M. Houser, Executive Director of the American Committee on Africa and a former FOR staff member; also, Lyle Tatum, Executive Secretary of Farmers and World Affairs, Inc., and a member of the FOR Executive Committee.

## ELEVEN NEGRO HOUSES BURNED IN HAYWOOD COUNTY, TENN.

Eleven houses belonging to Negroes in Haywood County, Tenn., have been set afire since August, according to latest reports. This harassment dates from a U. S. District Court Judge's decision made in August asking that ten Negro teachers be distributed into five white schools and ten white teachers into four Negro schools.

One Negro lady suffered a stroke as a result of the fires, and this resulted, ultimately, in her death. Among the houses burned down were two belonging to a Negro family with seventeen children.

Persons who wish to contribute to the victims or who wish to receive more information about the situation in Haywood County should write to: Virgie Hortenstine, 5541 Hanley Road, Cincinnati, Ohio.

### SAIGON STUDENTS ISSUE APPEAL FOLLOWING ARREST

Seventeen South Vietnamese student leaders have issued an appeal for support of their campaign protesting the recent unjust Vietnamese elections. The students, representing the Interuniversity Student Committee Struggling for Democracy, were arrested and then given induction orders following a recent demonstration they held condemning the elections as "undemocratic and unrepresentative."

The appeal entered the U. S. by way of Alfred Hassler of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and asked for "your intervention on our behalf and for your continued solidarity with our efforts for the well-being of our tormented country."

### PLAGUE IN VIETNAM FORESEEN BY MEDICAL ANTHROPOLOGIST

Conditions for a massive plague now exist in South Vietnam, according to a statement issued recently by medical anthropologist Alexander Alland Jr. of Columbia University.

The conditions in Vietnam are "strikingly similar" to those which existed in Europe just before the outbreak of the great medieval plagues, he said. That includes the dislocation of medically unsophisticated people outside of the small areas they have genetically adapted to and widespread destruction of woodland and foliage which tends to bring wild rats into contact with domestic rats, to begin the plague cycle. Also the dense population and humid climate are contributing factors.

Mr. Alland noted that fewer than 40 cases of plague were reported annually in the South from 1954 to 1962, and 4,453 cases were reported last year.

### Church Sells Dow Stock to Aid Casualties

As a protest against civilian casualties in Vietnam, the Community Church of New York has sold its stock in Dow Chemical Company, primary producer of napalm used in Vietnam.

The church received \$7,000 profit on sale of the stock, which will go to several organizations working in Vietnam to alleviate human suffering.

In announcing the sale, a spokesman for the church said, "... we did not want our Church, which stands for world brotherhood and peace, to profit from the manufacture of the napalm that is searing and burning thousands of Vietnamese children."

Members attending the church's regular quarterly meeting approved the trustees' action by a unanimous vote.

### SUITS, PROTESTS, ACTIONS FOLLOW HERSHEY EDICT ON DRAFT

Resistance to General Hershey's order to withdraw draft deferment from students who interfere with military recruiting has been spreading rapidly and in many ways across the country.

The National Council of Churches has announced it will join forces with the American Civil Liberties Union in a suit challenging Selective Service re-classification of certain clergymen who protested the Vietnamese war recently by turning in their draft cards. The clergymen's classifications were changed from 4D to 1A. The National Council pointed out that "to make service in the armed forces equivalent to penal servitude is to discredit the young men who are in the armed forces and the nation which they serve." The National Student Association has also filed a suit to stop local draft boards from complying with the Hershey order.

Columbia University has announced suspension of all on-campus recruiting by military organizations pending assurances from the Government that students who interfere with recruitment will not lose their draft deferments.

Kingman Brewster Jr., president of Yale University, appeared on the Columbia Broadcasting System program "Face the Nation" recently calling the Hershey order an "absolutely outrageous usurpation of power." Other educators, including the president of Cornell University and Ray L. Heffner of Brown University, issued strong statements condemning Hershey.

Joseph Califano, Jr., special assistant to the President, assured the educators that Selective Service "is not an instrument to punish unpopular views," and does not "vest in draft boards the judicial role in determining the legality of individual conduct."

### PERU MAY DRAFT U. S. CITIZENS IN RETALIATION

Peru may soon have a law that could set a precedent in all of Latin America and prove embarrassing to the United States: conscription of foreigners into the Peruvian armed forces. An amendment to this effect has already been introduced in both chambers of the Peruvian Congress.

The proposal is an outgrowth of the announcement that three Peruvians were killed in Vietnam last spring. "When we heard the news," said Senator Hector Cornejo Chavez, "we decided that something had to be done because it is unjust that young Peruvians be forced to serve in the U. S. army and die in Vietnam."

Latin Americans have long complained that when they go to work or study in the U. S. they are subject to the draft, while the thousands of U. S. businessmen and students living in Latin America are immune from military service.

### NEW WOMEN'S GROUP PLANS ANTI-WAR CONFERENCE

When Congress reassembles in Washington on January 15 they will face a "Congress of American Women" demanding an end to the Vietnam war and a beginning made to "heal a sick society at home." Led by Jeanette Rankin, the Congresswoman from Montana who voted against U. S. entry into World War I and cast the sole vote against war in 1941, the women will attempt to confront Congressmen directly, in delegations and groups, in the morning, and convene their own "Congress" to develop programs to "meet the crisis in America." Signed by many prominent women, the call has no organization sponsors and hopes to receive support from new people and factions. Details from Jeannette Rankin Brigade, 133 West 72nd Street, New York, N. Y. 10023.

### NEGRO NONCOOPERATOR GETS HEAVIEST SENTENCE SINCE WW I

Clifton Thurley Haywood, a 24-year-old Black Muslim noncooperator with the draft, was sentenced to ten years imprisonment and fined \$20,000 in Georgia recently. This is reportedly the heaviest sentence given a draft violator since World War I.

This sentence, if it stands, could have some bearing on the sentences handed down to some 500 other non-cooperators in the country who currently face conviction. Haywood's lawyer has announced that he would appeal the conviction, but only the judge can change the sentence.

Persons who wish to ask U. S. District Judge Frank M. Scarlett, in the interest of justice and interracial harmony, to reduce the sentence, should write to him at: Brunswick, Georgia.

### "Selective CO" Stand Endorsed by 500 Rabbis

A resolution supporting "selective conscientious objection" was overwhelmingly approved by some 500 rabbis at the Central Conference of American Rabbis meeting in Los Angeles recently.

The resolution proposes a CO category for young men unwilling to fight in particular wars, though not claiming conscientious objector status for war in general.

"A man may not be a committed pacifist," said one of the signers, "but may decide that a particular military engagement in which his country is involved is one to which he cannot subscribe."

"We feel," he went on, "the category of selective objection strengthens the rights of the individual and preserves his freedom of conscience in the face of governmental decision, in the making of which he has had no part."

# FIREBIRD



*by Bradford Smith*

When young Jan saw his mother gaze into the sky and, running, call to him to follow her, he did not stop to look up. This was not the first air raid he had known. The first was on the day after his father and all the other fathers had gone away somewhere, leaving an emptiness in the house that had made him lonely and afraid and fretful. That time they had dropped bombs and the village had caught fire, so that nothing but the church and part of the school and a few houses remained now.

Jan was six and his legs were short. Even with the baby to carry his mother had got ahead of him. The planes were close now. Their shadows fell upon him and the earth grew cold where they shut out the sun. He saw his mother look back and call to him. Her face was in the sunlight and it was strained and angular with fear. Then the shadow swept over her and the woodpecker noise began. He saw his mother's face dissolve behind a curtain of bright red before she fell. It was strange, to see a face go blank that way. It puzzled him. He hurried to catch up with her, but in his hurry he stumbled and fell.

The drum of the bullets was frightening and the shadows, passing and coming back again, left him shivering. Slowly he worked his way forward until he lay by his mother's side. It surprised him that the baby should be lying, quiet and motionless, so far away from her. She did not move or turn her face to him when he pulled at the strings of her apron, so he crawled around to her other side. What he saw was not his mother at all, yet he knew that this had been she.

He gazed around the field, but there was no one moving. A shadow swept over him again and he dropped his head. Then the sounds of the planes died away and the hot sun on his neck made his flesh creep.

Suddenly he got up and ran away.

In the cellar that had been his house he crept into a corner where he had hidden his canary cage. The uncle from whom he had his name had brought the canary to him the last time he had come home from the sea. After his mother and father and Uncle Jan he was fondest of his canary. It could sing, and it was his own. Every morning when he gave it water and food it would hop about, throwing its

head from side to side, and when he stuck his finger through the wires it would peck at them in a way that made him giggle and squirm.

He did not giggle now. But he reached into the cage, snuggling as close as he could around it. When he felt the first tentative peck his body shuddered with delight. Yet in the same moment he began to whimper.

The gleaning in the fields soon came to an end. But by the time it proved fruitless it had also killed off most of those who could glean. There were left in the village only a few old men and women and a crowd of small children.

The airplanes stopped coming. Often they passed high overhead, going quickly toward other objectives, but the village was no longer worth their bombs. Sometimes from far away came the rumble of big guns. Sometimes in the night there would be a red glow on the horizon.

In the morning Jan would go to old Mother Kolik's and stand near the pot she had set up in her cellar. Other children came there too, standing quietly by until the old woman, grumbling, dished something out of the pot for them. Then the children might play half-heartedly for a little while — not much and nothing strenuous, because that made you even more hungry. The best way was to keep quiet and try to sleep. Some of the children stayed together, but Jan preferred to go back to his own cellar and be alone with his canary. It was less lonesome that way, because he could pretend that things were as they used to be.

He would curl himself up on a pile of rags and draw the cage close. And when he began to talk the bird would cock his head sidewise, listening.

"We're going away pretty soon now," he would say, talking quietly, saving his breath. "Daddy's coming to get us and take us to the big city where there's lots of food and houses all in rows and you don't even have to walk because there are cars to carry you."

Soon his voice would sink to a whisper. "And in the stores are boxes all the way up to the ceiling with cakes and cheeses and eggs in them. And all you have to do is walk into the store and say, 'I want a pound of cheese. I need a dozen of eggs.'"

But before long even his whispering voice would give out. Then he would lie still, thinking his words with a slight movement of the lips. Slowly

the ache in his stomach would die down until he could scarcely feel it if he stayed quiet, and without being either asleep or awake he would lie huddled about the cage, alone with his canary and with time which did not pass like the regular ticking of a clock but in sudden waves sweeping over him at each return of consciousness.

Sometimes it was a wave of sunshine breaking in through the narrow opening which made him once again aware of time. Or a breath of cool wind. Or the canary's sudden burst of song, unaccountably begun and swelling to a shrill volume that sang with a painful ring in his ears. Or the boom of distant guns. Or only the familiar dull ache of his stomach.

At one of these moments Ignaz appeared at the entrance to his burrow. He slid in quickly and sat down beside Jan, leaning back against the wall. His eyes moved to the canary and fastened there.

"It's still alive, isn't it?" he said. "Has it got something to eat?"

"There's a box of seed. I saved them. They aren't good for anything but canaries," Jan added quickly. "Not for people."

"I know," Ignaz said. "I don't want them. You needn't be afraid—" He put a finger through the cage. The bird cocked his head, hopped down from his perch, and pecked tentatively at it. "Wish I had a canary," he said. "Instead of a dog."

Jan did not ask why. He knew. But Ignaz wanted to tell him, because after a while he said, "Mother Kolik said the food wouldn't last much longer. She said pretty soon I'd have to give her — have to let her have — because."

"I know," Jan said.

"I tried to make him run away," Ignaz said. "I beat him, but he wouldn't go. He just — just licked my hand." The boy put his head down on drawn-up knees. He did not cry; tears were too precious for shedding.

"Where is he now?"

"My sister's got him. We take turns keeping him in. Maybe if they don't see him they won't —"

But when Jan came out of the cellar the next morning he saw Ignaz and his sister running down the road after their dog and calling him to come back. The dog was teasing them, frisk-

Bradford Smith was a Quaker educator and writer whose legacy of 23 books includes "Meditation," "Why We Behave Like Americans," and "Men of Peace."

ing his hindquarters around and staying just out of reach. The lack of food had not slowed him down as it had them. As they came near the school house Mother Kolik came out and stood in the road. The dog ran up to her, wagging his tail, and Ignaz screamed. Mother Kolik caught the dog up in her arms and carried him away, holding him at arm's length because he insisted on licking her face and every time she opened her mouth to scold him his tongue touched hers. She called to her old man. In a moment he appeared with an axe in his hand and followed her behind the building.

Ignaz and his sister did not cry. They stood in the road, their bodies limp like scarecrows. Jan came up with them, walking as slowly as he could, not looking at their faces. They seemed to be listening for something, but no sound came. Jan stopped just beyond them and waited, kicking at a stone in the hard-packed road just in front of a bomb crater.

Father Kolik came out from behind the school house. He was scrubbing at his axe with a handful of straw. Seeing Ignaz he stopped and slipped the axe behind him. His under lip trembled. Then, ignoring the children in the road, he went into the school.

Jan heard Ignaz gasp, choking off a sob. Then both Ignaz and his sister turned and ran away. Jan thought of running too. He wanted to run. But the gnawing in his belly was too strong. It owned him and moved him. It had become his brain too.

Slowly he moved along to the cellar where Mother Kolik already had a fire going.

The planes came in waves high overhead. They came several times a day and always after they had passed there would come a dull pounding off in the distance. As the days went by Jan noticed that the pounding began sooner. That was all the news they had in the village. No one passed through. The one telephone line had been shot down long ago.

Jan heard the grown folk talk of moving on to a place where there might be food. But no one seemed to know where to go. No one wanted to move upon the surface of the scarred earth and be a target for the planes as those who were dead had been.

"Our men will come for us when they can," Mother Kolik said. "It can't be long now. Best we wait here for them and not have them run-

ning like hares all over the landscape in search of us."

So the fighting grew nearer while the food grew less, and one morning Mother Kolik said, speaking as rough as she could to the children: "That's all there is. You needn't come back again. There's not even a chicken to lay us an egg. So go along with you and don't come back."

And she had turned from their wide eyes that had grown deeper every day, mumbling to herself and sniffing and scattering the fire so that no plane would see it and come down to put an end to the little life that was left of them.

Jan drank a little bit of watery broth and ran away quickly, fearing that she might demand his canary. He crawled into his hole and snuggled around the cage, his eyes so close to the bars that the bird appeared to have grown as large as himself. It hopped closer, filling his whole range of vision. It grew so large that now, when the planes came, it would fly up into the air high above them, faster than guns could aim, and it would swoop down on them and send them spinning to earth. Then the shadows of them would no longer come between him and the warm sun . . .

He slept a while, until the memory of the shadows set his limbs twitching as it had done before and he awoke with his hands shielding his head and a cry strangled in his throat.

It was cold. The damp air pierced the layers of rags and blankets in which he had wrapped himself. He noticed that the seed were all gone from the canary's feed box. There was still more than a handful left in the bag. Jan poured the seed into his hand and filled the box. Then he squatted in front of the cage, watching the bird dip into the box and tilt his head back.

The seeds tickled his hand. He looked at them and slowly put a few in his mouth. Most of them stuck in his teeth. He worked his tongue around them, forcing them down his throat.

Then, without willing it, he had crammed all the remaining seeds into his mouth. They tore at his throat when he swallowed them, and they made a dull, heavy ache in his belly. A dry retching caught and shook his thin little body, forcing the tears to his eyes.

A moment later he heard the planes again. He could still hear the roar of their motors when the earth shook under an explosion that killed

all other sounds.

They came screaming down so close that Jan could feel the air pressing against his ear drums with each shattering explosion. The canary, hearing perhaps the singing whine of the bombs as they dropped, chirped once and was still. Jan pulled the cage under the blanket with him and waited in the dark, his fingers stuck through the bars of the cage. The roar of the planes was so loud that he could not hear the shrieks which came from the crumbling houses nearby. But there came a gentle pecking at his fingers and in the darkness under the blanket he even forgot the planes for a moment.

Then the roar of a plane directly above him lowered to a deafening growl, there was a crash and the earth shuddered. The walls crumbled inward, piling their debris upon him.

It was a long time before he stirred. The weight pressing down on him made it hard to breathe and almost impossible to move. He fought the blankets with what strength he had until he had made a breach in them where a little light came through. He was walled in completely, but for a hole the size of his head. Blood trickled into his eyes and there was a buzzing in his ears.

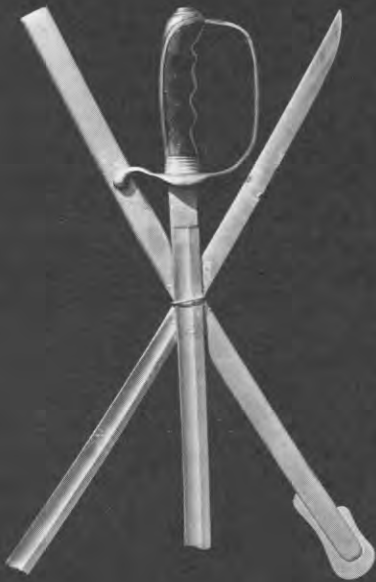
He fumbled at the door of the cage, his wet fingers slipping clumsily over the clasp. His back pained him so that he gasped for breath, but he managed to get the door open.

Jan could not see very well. But he did see the canary hop to the sill. A large drop of bright red blood spattered onto his bright yellow back. Startled, he took wing quickly — into the bright blue sky where a moment ago the planes had been, into air that had once been free.

Jan fell forward, his chin against the edge of the hole, his eyes lifted toward the bright sky where the yellow feathers of the canary, brilliant in the sun, stood out clearly against the blue. The bird quickly diminished to a point, then vanished.

And to Jan the sky grew dark and the light melted away and the eyes filled with blood. His hands twitched as with the memory of the bird's pecking, and his body shuddered as with delight.

And a planet, indifferent to the unpredictable movement of the organisms crawling on its surface, whirled through space no propellers could grip, moving on its predictable and appointed round.



# Conscience and the Just War

A Sympathetic Voice from the  
President's Commission on the  
Draft

by JOHN COURTNEY MURRAY

THE ISSUE OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION to particular wars raises the whole question of war as a political act and the means whereby it should be confined within the moral universe. The issue also raises the question of the status of the private conscience in the face of public law and national policy. In fact, the whole relation of the person to society is involved in this issue.

Moreover, the practical implications of the issue are far reaching. Selective conscientious objection, as Gordon Zahn has pointed out, is an "explosive principle."

If once admitted with regard to the issue of war, the consequences of the principle might run to great lengths in the civil community.

A personal note may be permissible here. During the deliberations of the President's Advisory Commission on Selective Service, on which I was privileged to serve, I undertook to advocate that the revised statute should extend the provisions of the present statute to include not only the absolute pacifist but also the relative pacifist; that the grounds for the status of conscientious objector should be not only religiously or non-religiously motivated opposition to participation in war in all forms, but also similarly motivated opposition to participation in particular wars.

This position was rejected by the majority of the Commission. No Presidential recommendation was made to the Congress on the issue. There is

evidence that the Congress is not sympathetic to the position of the selective objector and is not inclined to accept it.

## An Issue Not Satisfactorily Settled

This does not mean that the issue has been satisfactorily settled. The public argument goes on and must go on. It is much too late in the day to defend the theory of General Hershey that "the conscientious objector by my theory is best handled if no one hears of him." The issue is before the country and it must be kept there.

It is true that the issue has been raised by a small number of people, chiefly in the academic community — students, seminarians, professors, not to speak of ministers of religion. But this group of citizens is socially significant. It must be heard and it must be talked to. Mistakes have been made about the mode of handling the issue. Nevertheless, the student community is to be praised for having raised a profound moral issue that has been too long disregarded in American life.

The American attitude towards war has tended to oscillate between absolute pacifism in peacetime and extremes of ferocity in wartime. Prevalent in American society has been an abstract ethic, conceived either in religious or in secularized terms, which condemns all war as immoral. No nation has the *ius ad bellum*. On the other hand, when a concrete historical situation creates the necessity for war, no ethic governs its conduct. There are no moral criteria operative to control the uses of force.

There is no *ius in bello*. One may pursue hostilities to the military objective of unconditional surrender, and the nation may escalate the use of force to the paroxysm of violence of which Hiroshima and Nagasaki are forever the symbols, even though they were prepared for by the fire bomb raids on Tokyo and by the saturation bombing of German cities.

These extreme alternatives are no longer tolerable. Our nation must make its way to some discriminating doctrine — moral, political, and military — on the uses of force.

Perhaps the contemporary agitation in the academic community over selective conscientious objection may help in this direction. It has contributed to a revival of the traditional doctrine of the just war, whose origins were in Augustine, which was elaborated by the medieval schoolmen and further by international jurists in the scholastic tradition and by others in the later tradition of Grotius. It is not exclusively Roman Catholic; in certain forms of its presentation, it is not even Christian. It emerges in the minds of all men of reason and good will when they face two inevitable questions: when is war rightful, and what is rightful in war? If one does face the questions, one must arrive at the just war doctrine in

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John Courtney Murray, eminent Jesuit theologian and ecumenist, was director of the John La Farge Institute, a center for interreligious discussion of controversial topics, at the time of his death last August. His last book was PROBLEMS OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM.

its classical form, or at some analogue or surrogate, conceived in other terms.

### Without Theology, the Human Community is Destroyed

The essential significance of the traditional doctrine is that it insists, first, that military decisions are a species of political decisions, and second, that political decisions must be viewed, not simply in the perspectives of politics as an exercise of power, but of morality and theology in some valid sense. If military and political decisions are not so viewed, the result is the degradation of those who make them and the destruction of the human community.

We all owe some debt of gratitude to those who, by raising the issue of selective conscientious objection, have undertaken to transform the tragic conflict in South Vietnam into an issue, not simply of political decision and military strategy, but of moral judgment as well.

The mention of South Vietnam leads me to my second point. The issue of selective conscientious objection has been raised in the midst of the war in Southeast Asia. Therefore, there is danger lest the issue be muddled and confused, or even misused and abused.

In South Vietnam we see war stripped of all the false sanctities with which we managed to invest World War I and World War II, and to a lesser extent even Korea. The South Vietnamese war is not a crusade. There is not even a villain of the piece, as the Kaiser was or Hitler or Hirohito. Not even Ho Chi Minh or Mao Tse-tung can be cast in the role of the man in the black hat. We have no easy justifying slogans. We cannot cry, "On To Hanoi," as we cried, "On To Berlin," and "On To Tokyo." This war does not raise the massive issue of national survival. It is a limited military action for limited political aims. As we view it in the press or on television it almost seems to fulfill Hobbe's vision of human life in the state of pure nature, "nasty, brutish, and short"—only that the war in South Vietnam will not be short. In the face of the reality of it, all our ancient simplisms fail us. The American people are uncomfortable, baffled and even resentful and angry.

### Many Ways To Oppose the Vietnam War

To state the problem quite coldly, the war in South Vietnam is subject to

opposition on political and military grounds, and also on grounds of national interest. This opposition has been voiced, and voiced in passionate terms. It has evoked a response in the name of patriotism, that is also passionate. Consequently, in this context, it is difficult to raise the issue of selective conscientious objection. There are even some to whom it seems dangerous to let the issue be raised at all.

At this juncture I venture to make a recommendation in the common interest of good public argument. The issue of selective conscientious objection must be distinguished from the issue of the justice of the South Vietnam war. If this distinction is not made and enforced in argument, the result will be confusion and the clash of passions. The necessary public argument will degenerate into a useless and harmful quarrel.

The distinction can be made. I make it myself. I advocate selective conscientious objection in the name of the traditional moral doctrine on war and also in the name of traditional American political doctrine on the rights of conscience. I am also prepared to make the case for the American military presence and action in South Vietnam.

I hasten to add that I can just about make the moral case. But so it always is. The morality of war can never be more than marginal. The issue of war can never be portrayed in black and white. Moral judgment on the issue must be reached by a balance of many factors. To argue about the morality of war inevitably leads one into gray areas.

### Congress Over-reacted to Selective Objection

The advocacy of selective conscientious objection in the midst of the South Vietnamese war is provocative, and the political response to it has been an over-reaction. If you want the evidence you need only read the record of the hearings in the Congress, both Senate and House, on the revision of the Selective Service Act, when the issue of conscientious objection was brought up. The claim that the selective objector should be recognized was met with the response that all conscientious objection should be abolished.

All this amounts simply to saying that we face a most difficult issue. I thought it might be of some value to try to locate some of the sources of the difficulty. Strictly on grounds of moral argument, the right conscien-

tiously to object to participation in a particular war is incontestable. I shall not argue this issue. The practical question before all of us is how to get the moral validity of this right understood and how to get the right itself legally recognized, declared in statutory law. (I leave aside the question whether the right is a human right, which ought to receive sanction in the Bill of Rights as a constitutional right.)

It is not a question of whether one is for or against the war in Vietnam, for or against selective service, much less for or against killing other people. The worst thing that could happen would be to use the issue of conscientious objection as a tactical weapon for political opposition to the war in Vietnam or to the general course of American foreign policy. This would not be good morality and it would be worse politics.

Perhaps the central practical question might be put in this way. Do the conditions exist which make possible the responsible exercise of a right of selective conscientious objection? The existence of these conditions is the prerequisite for granting legal status to the right itself.

There are two major conditions. The first is an exact understanding of the just war doctrine, and the second is respect for what Socrates called "the conscience of the laws." Let me explain.

Not long ago a young man in an anti-Vietnam protest on television declared that he would be willing to fight in Vietnam if he knew that the war there was just, but since he did not know he was obliged to protest its immorality. This young man clearly did not understand the just war doctrine and he did not understand what Socrates meant by the "conscience of the laws."

Similarly, in a statement issued by a seminarians' conference on the draft held recently in Cambridge there appears this statement: "The spirit of these principles [of the just war doctrine] demands that every war be opposed until or unless it can be morally justified in relation to these principles." Socrates would not have agreed with this statement nor do I.

The root of the error here may be simply described as a failure to understand that provision of the just war doctrine which requires that a war should be "declared." This is not simply a nice piece of legalism, the

prescription of a sheer technicality. Behind the provision lies a whole philosophy of the State as a moral and political agent. The provision implies the recognition of the authority of the political community by established political processes to make decisions about the course of its action in history, to muster behind these decisions the united efforts of the community, and to publicize these decisions before the world.

If there is to be a political community, capable of being a moral agent in the international community, there must be some way of publicly identifying the nation's decisions. These decisions must be declared to be the decisions of the community. Therefore, if the decision is for war, the war must be declared. This declaration is a moral and political act. It states a decision conscientiously arrived at in the interests of the international common good. It submits the decision to the judgment of mankind.

#### The Dissenter Should Concede Authority

Moreover, when the decision-making processes of the community have been employed and a decision has been reached, at least a preliminary measure of internal authority must be conceded by the citizens to this decision, even by those citizens who dissent from it. This, at least in part, is what Socrates meant by respect for the "conscience of the laws." This is why in the just war theory it has always been maintained that the presumption stands for the decision of the community as officially declared. He who dissents from the decision must accept the burden of proof. The citizen is to concede the justness of the common political decision, made in behalf of the nation, unless he is sure in his own mind that the decision is unjust, for reasons that he in turn must be ready convincingly to declare.

In a word the burden of proof is on him, not on the government or the administration or the nation as a whole. He does not and may not resign his conscience into the keeping of the State, but he must recognize that the State too has its conscience which informs its laws and decisions.

When his personal conscience clashes with the conscience of the laws, his personal decision is his alone. It is valid for him, and he must follow it.

But in doing so he still stands within the community and is subject to its judgment as already declared.

Only if conceived in these terms, can the inevitable tension between the person and the community be properly a tension of the moral order. Otherwise, it will degenerate into a mere power struggle between arbitrary authority and an aggregate of individuals, each of whom claims to be the final arbiter of right and wrong.

#### The CO Should Appear Before a Panel of Judges

This is the line of reasoning which led me to argue before the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service that one who applies for the status of selective conscientious objector should be obliged to state his case before a competent panel of judges. I was also following the suggestion of Professor Ralph Potter of Harvard who suggested that the concession of status to the selective objector might help to upgrade the level of moral and political discourse in this country. It is presently lamentably low.

On the other hand, Professor Paul Ramsey has recently suggested that the matter works the other way round. "A considerable upgrading of the level of political discourse in America is among the conditions of the possibility of granting selective conscientious objection. At least the two things can and may and must go together." He adds rather sadly: "The signs of the times are not propitious for either." I agree.

#### Pacifism and Civil Disobedience Unrelated

My conclusion here is that those who urge the just war doctrine as the ground for selective conscientious objection must understand the doctrine itself. They may not naively or cynically employ it as a device for opting out from under the legitimate decisions of the political community, or as a tactic for political opposition to particular wars. Rightly understood this doctrine is not an invitation to pacifism, and still less to civil disobedience.

There is a further requisite for legal recognition of selective conscientious objection. It is the prior recognition of the difference between moral objection to a particular war and political opposition to a particular war. This seems to be the sticking point for the political community. It brings into question the

whole ethos of our society in the matter of the uses of force.

Historically, we have been disposed to regard the intuitive verdict of the absolute pacifist that all wars are wrong as having the force of a moral imperative. The same moral force is not conceded to the judgment of the conscientious man, religious or not, who makes a reflective and discriminating judgment on the war in front of him. The general disposition is to say that objection to particular wars is and can only be political and, therefore, cannot entitle anyone to the status of conscientious objector.

Here again there is a misunderstanding of the just war doctrine. In fact there seems to be a misunderstanding of the very nature of moral reasoning.

The just war doctrine starts from the moral principle that the order of justice and law cannot be left without adequate means for its own defense, including the use of force. The doctrine further holds that the use of force is subject to certain conditions and its justice depends on certain circumstances. The investigation of the fulfillment of these conditions leads the conscientious man to a consideration of certain political and military factors in a given situation. There is the issue of aggression, the issue of the measure of force to be employed in resisting it, the issue of probable success, the issue of the balance of good and evil that will be the outcome. The fact that his judgment must take account of military and political factors does not make the judgment purely political. It is a judgment reached within a moral universe, and the final reason for it is of the moral order.

There is some subtlety to this argument. But that is not, I think, the reason why the political community refuses to assimilate or accept it. The reasons are of the practical order.

The immediate reason is the enormous difficulty of administering a statute that would provide for selective conscientious objection. The deeper reason is the perennial problem of the erroneous conscience. It may be easily illustrated.

Suppose a young man comes forward and says: "I refuse to serve in this war on grounds of the Nuremberg principle." Conversation discloses that he has not the foggiest idea what the Nuremberg principle really is. Or suppose he understands the principle and says: "I refuse to serve because in this

# Our block dies

Every week the casualties in Vietnam approximate all the men, women and children who live on 10th Street between 5th and 6th Avenues. We who live on this block feel impelled to speak out against the war.

American dead and wounded now exceed 100,000. Our troops in Vietnam steadily increase. The nation's expenditures—and taxes—rise. The bombing intensifies. Escalation looms. There is no end in sight.

We—neighbors of varied occupations and ages, united by one bond with millions of other American citizens including amenial scholars, craftsmen and statesmen, dissent from the administration's Vietnam policy—**WE OPPOSE THE WAR.**

We believe this war is immoral. We believe our involvement in the war is against the best interests of our country. We believe that American casualties are in vain.

We believe the sacrifice of a far larger number of Vietnamese casualties—men, women and children—is not a defense of democracy in Vietnam, or of the United States.

We further protest the drain of dollars needed to solve serious problems in our own country.

We petition for the unconditional end of bombing North and South. We urge immediate negotiations with a view towards the withdrawal of American troops and a Vietnamese solution of the Vietnam war.



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## "Our block" makes a total and continuing witness for peace

Last October, a single block in Manhattan announced its opposition to the war with a striking, full-page ad in *The Village Voice*. "Our block dies," it read. "Every week the casualties in Vietnam approximate all the men, women and children who live on 10th Street between

5th and 6th Avenues. We . . . feel impelled to speak out against the war." It listed 275 names of Tenth Street Residents Opposed to the War in Vietnam. Thus did neighbors of all ages and widely varied occupations who had never spoken to each other before — Republicans, Democrats, radicals, artists, writers, students, workers, and many whose political activity had never gone beyond voting — come together to protest U. S. involvement in an increasingly ugly war.

West Tenth Street between 5th and 6th Avenues is not an unusual Manhattan block, except, perhaps, for its high percentage of professional people. Its nine hundred residents had never dreamed of entering into any form of group activity with the neighbors. Like most New Yorkers, they had met in the elevators for years without smiles or greetings.

Last May, however, the tenants of one building met to hear a speaker from the Vietnam Summer Project and decided that night to organize block activity against the war. To reach others who might be sympathetic, a protest walk was held; twenty new people joined it on the spot. Notices of a general meeting were placed in every mailbox, bringing out fifty people to draw up plans for the ad or canvass the block for signatures. A highly successful street fair was held, with the block roped off by police at the residents' request. In the words of one of their spokesmen, Roger McLanahan, "It created in a street in New York a wonderful sense of sympathy, with people calling each other by their first names for the first time."

There has been little overt opposition to the movement, even though the conservative Village Republican Club meets in the block. One hawkish fellow with a large dog made a point of breaking balloons at the street fair, and a number of hecklers took issue with the march around the block, particularly the signs reading "Get Out of Vietnam." But some of those who were annoyed by the demonstration later joined the anti-war group. It includes every shade of opinion, from those who would stop the bombing in hopes of promoting negotiations, to pacifists and draft resisters.

The group's activities reflect these differences. They have sent numerous wires to the President and to their representatives in government, and dispatched a delegation to present their views in person to Theodore Kupferman, their congressman. They publish a bimonthly news bulletin and sell thousands of Christmas cards of their own design. Some of the more radical members went to Washington for the October confrontation at the Pentagon. Moreover, there are ten potential draft resisters in the block, and members of the Residents have volunteered to form a "draft cluster" around any of their young men who decide to resist. All these activities and more are carried on by some 55 people who meet every two weeks, and numerous committees which meet at other times.

The enthusiasm and dedication of the Tenth Street Residents is contagious. It has spread to a block on 9th Street which is now holding meetings of residents opposed to the war.

war the United States is committing war crimes." Or suppose he says, "I refuse to serve because the United States is the aggressor in this war." This reason may be demonstrably false. What then is the tribunal to do?

### The Right to Object Must Include Error

Here perhaps we come to the heart of the difficulty and I have only two things to say. First, unless the right to selective objection is granted to possibly erroneous consciences it will not be granted at all. The State will have to abide by the principle of the Seeger case, which does not require that the objection be the truth but that it be truly held. One must follow the logic of an argument wherever it leads.

On the other hand, the political community cannot be blamed for harboring the fear that if the right to

selective objection is acknowledged in these times, it might possibly lead to anarchy, to the breakdown of society, and to the paralysis of public policy. The reality of this fear imposes a further burden on the consciences of those who would appeal to freedom of conscience. Selective objection is not a trivial matter. As Professor Ralph Potter has said: "The nation is ultimately a moral community. To challenge its well established policies as illegal, immoral and unjust is to pose a threat, the seriousness of which seems at times to escape the critics themselves, whether by the callousness of youth or the callousness of usage." It must be recognized that society will defend itself against this threat, if it be carelessly wielded.

The solution can only be the cultivation of political discretion throughout the populace, not least in the student

and academic community. A manifold work of moral and political intelligence is called for. No political society can be founded on the principle that absolute rights are to be accorded to the individual conscience, and to all individual consciences, even when they are in error. This is rank individualism and to hold it would reveal a misunderstanding of the very nature of the political community. On the other hand, the political community is bound to respect conscience. But the fulfillment of this obligation supposes that the consciences of the citizens are themselves formed and informed.

Therefore, the final question may be, whether there is abroad in the land a sufficient measure of moral and political discretion, in such wise that the Congress could, under safeguard of the national security, acknowledge the right of discretionary armed service.



# The Obliteration of Ben Suc

by JONATHAN MIRSKY

ON THE FIRST FORTNIGHT of January, 1967, the village of Ben Suc, north of Saigon, was obliterated by bulldozers. The 3,800 Vietnamese villagers were disposed of in various ways: forty were shot when they tried to flee the encircling American forces, 100 "Vietcong suspects" were taken away to prison, the rest were bundled off in trucks and landing barges down the Saigon River to a refuge camp.

The largest American base near Ben Suc is Bien Hoa, less than 20 miles from Saigon. The night before I went out to Bien Hoa to visit an American friend at Third Corps Headquarters, I had a drink with a young technician stationed in Vietnam to assist in the installation of navigation equipment at the Saigon airport. He filled me with stories of *American* ineptitude and *Vietnamese* skill (a switch from the usual anti-Vietnamese ear bending one endures in Saigon) and ended the evening by leaning forward and murmuring confidentially: "Professor, you know what? Most Americans out here are too blind stupid to see it, but all Vietnamese have written invisibly on their chests 'I am a Vietnamese. I am a human being. Please treat me as such.'"

With this admonition still in my ears I drove down to Bien Hoa with a friendly AID man who was to deliver me to my host. Ben Suc lay heavily on my mind and it turned out that my companion had been in charge of the refugees on January 8 when the operation began. My acquaintance of the evening before might have been pleased by the AID man's compassion: "Ben Suc was about the nicest, lushest village you ever saw. There were shade trees

and big houses with tile roofs, strong cattle and hard ferry landings so the people could bathe on the banks of the river." He asserted, however, that the 3,800 villagers were "mostly VC families and had been for twenty-five years."

A great problem for those planning the operation, he said, was that no refugee camp could be set up beforehand: to do so would have tipped the hand of the planners. The "refugees" with their animals and belongings found themselves transported initially to shelters holding ten families, each family in 10 x 20 feet. "Several hundred people," he said, have "filtered back" to the Ben Suc area, although it is now a Free Fire Zone (anything moving is an unquestioned target) in which they "must take their chances." Ben Suc is not a "secure area."

What then, I asked, was accomplished? He replied that an assembly point had been "denied" to a VC battalion and that a significant VC Headquarters may have fallen as well. He hadn't seen the refugees since six days after the destruction of Ben Suc but he believed their accommodations to be better than before. Also, "the Vietnamese, unlike Europeans, are very capable refugees."

## "Best for all concerned"

When I arrived in Bien Hoa, I discovered that my old friend was now a very important AID man in Third Corps operations. And he, too, had played a significant role at Ben Suc. He plunged straight into accounts of the raid given by the *Times* and *The New Yorker* (journals much maligned

as "trouble making" by his colleagues), which he regarded as generally accurate. All refugee operations are horrible, he agreed, remarking further that he might justly be convicted as a war criminal for his role in this one. But after all, "it was best for all concerned if the villagers were moved."

"All refugee movements are miserable, but this was the most successful in the history of the world," because the people were allowed a long time to move and could bring their animals. The AID people were forced, he said, to argue fiercely against the army's scheme for Ben Suc: to knock out all 3,800 villagers with gas sprayed from the air, and let them wake up after they had been carted unconscious to a "secure" site. My friend told me he insisted during the operational planning that this would create 3,800 "instant Vietcong," and persuaded the top echelon to allow a peaceful move over an "extended period." Naturally, some people in Ben Suc were VC and tried to escape, which explains the shootings and imprisonments. But it was not true, he continued, that the village was VC; it was basically "friendly—with a VC infrastructure of course." The army spread the story of Ben Suc being a Vietcong village in order to make its destruction more acceptable in America.

## They "Saved" 3,800 people

What, I wanted to know, was gained by the removal of the 3,800 people eight months before? "They were

Jonathan Mirsky teaches Chinese at Dartmouth College. Co-author of PEACE IN VIETNAM, he made his latest trip there last summer.

saved from the cross fire of war."

An hour later I was flying — or rather swooping — over the Iron Triangle. Far from being a Maginot Line-like area, it is — or rather was — many square miles of flat, delta farming country, full of trees, paddies, ponds, streams, dikes and — once — villages and people. Colors of brilliant green and earth brown predominated.

All is changed. The Americans have, as my pilot said, "lowered the vegetation." Thousands of trees have been knocked over to afford vast "fields of fire." The paddies, now rusty metallic colors, were sprayed to prevent further rice planting, and are full of gigantic B-52 bomb craters, shell holes from the constant cannonading, and dive-bomb holes. Operation Cedar Falls, begun more than eight months ago, has settled into day after day of constant pounding from artillery and air, turning the whole once fertile shimmering farmland into a moonscape, in which the only human remains are the tombs of the Vietnamese which used to surround the villages.

The irony is that the First Division still hardly dares venture into the area. Somehow, miraculously, magically, despite the hourly battering that must make their teeth rattle, the Vietcong lurk in their holes, caves and tunnels, eating and drinking God knows what, but prepared to shoot anyone who ventures into what is clearly acknowledged to be their terrain. That explains why I was told not to land at Ben Suc.

Everything, I suppose, is relative. As we flew over this lunatic wasteland my pilot said: "One year ago this was strictly Victor Charlie. Now it's calmed down considerably." About thirty seconds later he added: "Chances are if we have to make a forced landing it would be quite a while before the VC got to us. Plenty of time for a rescue."

Then we were over Ben Suc. All the reports are right. There is nothing there. Great brown bulldozer swirls replace the village. The pilot spoke in my ear: "I walked down there — there used to be a street — and saw the people sitting in front of their houses." We hovered, moved slightly, hovered again. We were about 100 feet up and I had to battle a sudden urge to leap from the helicopter onto the bulldozer scars as a — useless — apology to the 3,800.

Before I could unbuckle myself we were shooting back the way we came. The pilot continued, ever helpful and

instructive: "We bomb the paddies by day to deny food to the VC . . . as a matter of fact we destroy pretty much anything that might be useful. Those B-52 raids are something. You never know when they're coming. They can't be heard. Too high. Sometimes we bomb at night, so Charlie's out harvesting and suddenly the whole world falls in around his ears."

#### *A new kind of "American" village*

As we flew across the Saigon River and over "friendly" territory, the contrast was startling. It was the "before" part of the picture: neatly articulated rice paddies, canals, the normal colors of nature, plenty of trees, and amongst the trees — *people*, in hamlets and villages, densely strung together. "Lowering the vegetation" entails more than knocking down coconut palms.

But the refugee settlement at Lai Chu is not like a Vietnamese village in any respect, whether in environment, arrangement of houses or population make-up. Villages in this part of Vietnam are typically somewhat random in layout, interspersed with trees, bushes, gardens, ponds and grass. The gridlike pattern of Lai Chu in its grassless, treeless, waterless, red-brown setting deceives the airborne observer into thinking he is looking down on an army camp. Five hundred and eighteen families live here in cement-block, aluminum-roofed, one-room "dwellings" (the official word), each backed by a small garden.

The two Americans in charge are fully dedicated to the welfare of the refugees — they must be to live in this bare and unpleasant place, housed in trailers and living on tinned PX food. I was taken round by one of the Americans, a recent junior college graduate and Navy veteran of Vietnam, now married to a Vietnamese. He is employed by the International Rescue Committee.

The people of Lai Chu built their own houses with American-supplied materials. For their labor they were paid in American cooking oil, which they exchanged in the neighboring village for other goods. Why, I asked, were they not paid in cash? "There isn't any. Besides, this way the oil gets onto the market and everybody's happy." (I used to hear the same explanation in Taiwan for why U.S. AID powdered milk was allowed to be sold — it "got into the economy.")

Each family in Lai Chu had re-

ceived a plot of land from the government. To the surprise of the Americans, only 100 of the 518 families have claimed their deeds. "They don't seem enthusiastic about farming." I soon learned that more than half the families are without menfolk; many are in jail, the NLF, the ARVN or dead. Furthermore, there is little water at Lai Chu and these people are rice farmers. The Americans want them to cultivate peanuts and sweet potatoes, which meets with little response although the tools and seeds are waiting.

The young American seemed genuinely troubled that the people of Lai Chu do not claim or work their land. A good deal of international concern arose over Ben Suc and dozens of visitors arrive to see what has become of the villagers. The camp is supposed to be a model, a "showcase." I said that I saw no reason why the refugees should trust the Americans or do anything they suggest, since it is we who destroyed their homes and uprooted their lives. He looked hurt. "But we tell them we don't work for the U.S., or for Saigon. We just want to help them."

During our conversation two American enlisted men who have formed an attachment to Lai Chu showed up with a truckload of scrap lumber. All of the visible men — about four, none of whom was young — scrambled onto the truck, and began dropping the enormous boards onto the ground while a crowd of women and children watched, standing carefully in the meager shade of their houses to avoid the sun's glare. The boards would be used to improve the interiors of their houses. I stood with the people and asked them questions about their lives.

Were they getting enough rice? No, they weren't.

I asked other questions as they crowded around, old ladies with betel-stained toothless mouths, young matrons, dozens of children.

Why didn't they farm their plots? "We are rice farmers. We have no water. We know nothing about peanuts." What did they want most? "Rice to eat, rice to plant, a school, a pagoda, a medical center . . ."

Remembering that my friend had said there had been no school in Ben Suc, I asked if their children had been to school there. Yes, yes. But they had stopped sending the children for some time because, afraid of the constant bombing, they preferred to keep them

at home. (Back at Bien Hoa this was greeted with disbelief. The bombing was going on *near*, not *in* Ben Suc, so why not send the children to school? The villagers had in fact good reason to be afraid: Ben Suc had been bombed in 1965.)

If the war were over, would they stay in their new, clean village, or return to Ben Suc which they knew no longer existed?

#### *A return to the land of death*

"We would return. We are rice farmers, and there is water there and our family graves."

What if the Vietcong were there? (In Vietnam it is always important to treat the Vietcong as separate, and in no way connected with anyone present.)

"Oh, no! We would stay here!"

This delighted the American who was listening. Looking at me triumphantly, he said it proved that, although the villagers found life hard here, they wanted nothing to do with Victor Charlie. I persisted. Why, if the war were over, would they prefer to stay away from Ben Suc with the VC in it?

They all began speaking at once. The interpreter said: "They are afraid. If they return to Ben Suc and the Vietcong are there, the Americans will come back and destroy the village again."

Later, sitting in the trailer of the second AID man I found yet another veteran of the Ben Suc operation, an army colonel, one of whose peripheral jobs was keeping an eye on Lai Chu. After telling me how regularly the refugees received their rice (I think he believed it) and hearing the opposite from me, he told me with great seriousness of his difficulties in getting the Vietnamese authorities to cooperate in administering this kind of help.

I pointed out that since we had taken total responsibility for wiping out Ben Suc, we also had ultimate responsibility for the survivors, particularly in the light of our infinite resources. The colonel agreed. Turning to the AID man, I asked him to say frankly how he would feel if the refugees went back to Ben Suc as they had said they would in the event of peace. He replied he would be "very disappointed" because he "honestly" felt that he could provide a better life for them in Lai Chu than they could find at Ben Suc.

Back in January, this same colonel had been reported as being full of enthusiasm for the Ben Suc operation.

## Bad Day at the Fermi Plant: A little-reported atomic accident

by SHELDON NOVICK

*"Atoms for Peace" sounds good, even to pacifists, until one begins to look at the hair-raising hazards and damaging side effects that seem to inevitably accompany the "peaceful" uses of atomic energy thus far.*

*One of the least publicized, least debated aspects of American industrial growth is the potential danger from increasing numbers of nuclear reactors. Although the waste disposal problem is nowhere near solution, with radioactive material being pumped into wells and stored in tanks underground, the Atomic Energy Commission is yielding to enormous pressure to get new atomic projects underway, overruling its own safety experts to do so. Malfunctions in already existing plants have occurred repeatedly.*

*One such accident at the Fermi plant outside Detroit has shut the plant down since October 1966; it will not reopen before late 1968. FELLOWSHIP editors feel that the story of the accident should be more widely known, together with the fact that such near-misses have failed to open up debate on the dangers inherent in present-day reactors, or to curb, as far as is known, willingness on the part of the AEC to see many more of them built.*

\* \* \* \* \*

THE \$120 MILLION Enrico Fermi Atomic Power Plant, built in spite of eleven years of bitter opposition and litigation which went all the way to the Supreme Court, and plagued by a series of technical failures, has suffered an accident that might have just missed being a disaster to nearby Detroit.

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As he rose to leave, I asked him if he would recommend more Ben Sucs elsewhere. He looked at me silently and suddenly said: "No. The Brass are after me to go after a much bigger place. I've been fighting them for five months. It's not a good idea. We can't deal with this kind of problem. To tell you the truth, I don't think we can afford any more Ben Sucs."

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Reprinted from the October 23, 1967 issue of *The Nation*.

Designed to produce electric power and plutonium for nuclear weapons, the plant has never produced usable amounts of either; as a prototype of the next generation of atomic power plants, its failure may have serious implications for the future of civilian nuclear power, now entering a period of unexpected boom.

More seriously, the accident which occurred at the Fermi Plant on October 5, 1966 raises questions about the safety of the reactor program, and the way that safety is being assured by the Atomic Energy Commission. The cause of the accident has now been tentatively identified as a piece of metal which in some still unknown fashion made its way into the reactor's coolant system.

In 1956, when the Power Reactor Development Corporation first proposed building the Fermi Reactor at Lagoona Beach, atomic electric power was still a new idea. The first such plant to produce commercial electric power—at Shippingport, Pennsylvania—was a year away from its opening in a dramatic ceremony by President Eisenhower. Although there are still only a dozen operating reactors producing electric power, and their total production is a barely measurable fraction of total U.S. production, nuclear plants have gained wide acceptance; last year more than half of all new generating capacity ordered by utilities was atomic, thirty-six new plants were committed or under construction on January 1, 1967, and by 1980 the AEC expects over two-fifths of all electricity to be produced in nuclear reactors.

But despite this wide acceptance of atomic energy, the Fermi reactor continues to be a controversial facility, and a source of grave concern. The debate has a history as old as the reactor itself; in 1957, Senator Clinton Anderson of New Mexico made the following remarks toward the end of an address to the second annual con-

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vention of the New Mexico AFL-CIO: Yes, I have found it necessary to urge labor unions to intervene against the action of the Atomic Energy Commission in granting a permit for the construction of the Lagoona Beach reactor next to the City of Detroit . . . I telephoned not only the Governor of the State of Michigan, but I called labor unions and said to them that here was a reactor being built next to a metropolitan area where workers in other factories would be subjected to the harmful radiation effects if there should be a breakdown in the Lagoona reactor. I felt that we should not permit the reactor to be constructed until we knew it to be safe.

### *New Plant Disregarded Safety Rules*

Senator Anderson apparently was concerned because the Atomic Energy Commission, in going ahead with the Fermi reactor, had overruled its own Advisory Committee on Reactor Safeguards, a group of eminent scientists who had advised against construction. Several unions responded to Anderson's plea, and extended litigation began. A federal court voided the license which the AEC had granted for construction of the reactor, but the Supreme Court, in a divided decision, reversed the lower court's action — and construction resumed. Justice Douglas, with Justice Black concurring, worded a very strong dissent, calling the AEC's action "a light-hearted approach to the most awesome, the most deadly, the most dangerous process that man has ever conceived."

Why so much controversy over this particular reactor? Fermi was to be the prototype of what industry still feels is going to be the coming thing in reactors, the "sodium-cooled fast breeder" in the jargon of the trade. And in spite of Fermi's near disastrous failure, both General Electric and Westinghouse plan to begin construction on new fast breeder prototypes in the next two or three years. By 1980, both firms hope to have full-scale commercial power plants under construction; eventually, it is believed, this and other advanced reactor types will completely replace the current form of reactor.

This optimism is based chiefly on the hope of lowered fuel costs in the fast breeder. Fuel costs in the present commercial atomic plants may be as much or more than the cost of the reactor itself, but the fast breeder may eventually burn plutonium it has itself produced instead of the very expensive

uranium 235 used in other commercial reactors.

When fast breeders were first designed it was thought that uranium was a scarce element, and this was an added factor in making them attractive. Subsequent explorations have uncovered vast reserves of uranium in this country, in Canada, and elsewhere.

Despite the apparent abundance of uranium to fuel water cooled reactors and the absence of the expected demand for plutonium, and in the face of the dramatic failure of the Fermi reactor and others like it, fast reactors are again being proposed.

The reason for this resurgent interest is economic.

Yet despite their probable economic advantage over the presently used water reactors, fast reactors raise doubts which are embodied by the Enrico Fermi Atomic Power Plant.

On Oct. 5, 1966, just after one of the reactor operators noticed an abnormality in one of his instruments measuring the change in neutron production, high-radiation alarms sounded from the reactor building and from detectors elsewhere in the plant. Automatic devices immediately sealed off the buildings in which the alarms had sounded; no personnel were present at the time.

### *Radioactive Gasses are Emitted*

By this time the power increase had halted; at 3:20 p.m., almost half an hour after the first abnormalities had been noticed, the reactor was scrammed — six safety rods were inserted their full distance, completely halting the chain reaction because of their absorption of neutrons. Later investigation showed that small quantities of radioactive gasses had been released to the air outside the buildings.

A meeting was held at the plant immediately. In order to try to determine what had happened, automatic samples of the liquid sodium coolant and of the argon gas in the sodium system were made (sodium reacts violently with air, and therefore the sodium system is filled with the inert gas argon). Large amounts of radioactive fission products in these samples made it clear that a portion of the reactor fuel had melted. Once this had been established, there was great concern, for the possibility of further, and far more serious accidents existed. Walter J. McCarthy, Jr., Assistant General Manager of the Power Reactor De-

velopment Corporation, who was present at this meeting, later stated that the possibility of such a secondary accident was "a terrifying thought."

The possibility that preoccupied the meeting was that a large quantity of fuel had melted and then re-congealed when the reactor was shut down. It is well known that when a critical mass of uranium 235 is collected in one place, it undergoes a spontaneous chain reaction. Those at the meeting feared that enough uranium had re-congealed so that a disturbance of the core — by an attempt to remove the damaged fuel, for example — would jar it into a critical mass too great to be controlled by the control rods, which were already at their maximum.

The result could be an explosion — nowhere near as great as that of a nuclear weapon, but perhaps great enough to rupture the steel and concrete containment structure of the reactor. A large portion of the radioactive gasses held within the core would then be released to the atmosphere, and would drift uncontrolled with the wind. The huge quantities of radioactivity involved, and the proximity of Detroit, made such a prospect terrifying indeed.

No attempt was made to investigate the reactor core for a month for fear of a second and more terrible accident. "It's one of those accidents the consequences [of which] are so terrible the probability has to be very very small," Walter McCarthy later said, describing the intensive study and calculation which went on during that month. When the operators of the reactor and the AEC felt assured that no further damage would occur, attempts to retrieve the damaged fuel were begun. To everyone's enormous relief, nothing did happen.

Fermi, in any case, is out of commission until sometime in 1968, when it is hoped the foreign material will have been removed and the damaged fuel replaced. But at the same American Nuclear Society meeting in April 1967 at which the Fermi accident was described in some detail, four major American firms announced plans to build new prototype fast breeder reactors. General Electric, Westinghouse, Atomics International and General Dynamics Corporation all presented different designs; GE and Westinghouse are farther down the road than the other firms, and both intend to

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## THOMAS MERTON ON VIETNAM

(Continued from page 15)

those unfortunate victims that have some hope of recovery and of survival.

If we are content to rationalize and excuse what is in fact a systematic use of terror and a policy of nihilism carried out by our military in Asia, we need not be surprised if we wake up one day to find fire and violence in our own front yards here in America. If the fire of hatred and violent anarchy happens to break out in some of our cities, (as it can surely be expected to do sooner or later) we will simply be getting a taste—perhaps only a very slight taste—of our own medicine.

In the face of these facts, as Christians, and quite apart from any political considerations regarding the Vietnam War, we must admit:

a) That we have a grave moral responsibility before God to help the innocent victims of our military venture in Vietnam.

b) That in any case such help can hardly be considered an act of disloyalty to America. Opposition to it on such grounds is not only a further injustice and inhumanity but is completely irrational.

c) That in this situation of utter shame for our nation, we have an opportunity to salvage at least a vestige of our Christian decency by acts of humanity which, in any case, are demanded by the moral law.

d) We also have an opportunity to show our sorrow for the immense harm that has been done, and to make some kind of reparation to those we have harmed—and to God who abhors injustice done to the poor and the helpless.

e) Therefore as Christians we have an urgent obligation to do all we can both to send aid to the victims of war and to persuade those in control to remove all obstacles to the sending of such aid.

To conclude: one might aptly paraphrase some words that were written in a similar case by Albert Camus concerning the war in Algeria.

"Some people are not aware of the real horror of the situation: these have no business trying to make a judgement. Others are aware, but they go on heroically insisting that our brothers must perish rather than our obsessions. Such people I can admire only from a distance." (See Camus, *Actuelles* iii, *Avant Propos*.)

## BAD DAY AT THE FERMI PLANT

(Continued from page 28)

build sodium-cooled fast breeders, of the same general type as the Fermi reactor. They both plan construction of prototypes of roughly the size of Fermi's original design in two or three years, and aim toward commercial plants in the 1980's. These would be 1,000,000 kilowatt plants.

### *Great Pressure for "Progress"*

There is enormous pressure on the AEC from both industry and Congress to accelerate the fast breeder program. Both GE and Westinghouse have already formed joint agreements with groups of private utilities (Detroit Edison, principal architect of the Fermi project, is prominent among these) to finance design and construction of prototypes, presumably with Federal assistance. In the next year or so applications will be made to the AEC for construction permits and for funds. Whether the AEC accedes to the pressure may in part be determined by just how bad the Fermi accident turns out to have been—if analysis shows that it was caused by characteristics of the reactor fuel elements or core construction, rather than by the introduction of some extraneous material into the sodium coolant, the program may be set back considerably.

The thought of a catastrophic accident in a fast reactor many times the size of Fermi is quite disturbing. The fact that the severity of the October 5 accident somewhat exceeded expectations diminishes confidence in the assurances of the safety of fast breeders given by reactor engineers and by the AEC. In any case, the possibility of such enormous damage, tens of thousands killed and injured or billions of dollars in property damage, no matter how small that possibility, raises questions as to whether the program should be pursued at all. These dangers must be balanced, by the public and by the Congress, against the possible economic benefits to be gained by the introduction of fast reactors.

In the face of very large questions of safety and reliability, and the estimated \$2 billion cost of development, there has been surprisingly little public or Congressional debate (outside the Joint Committee) over the growing commitment to this program.

Reprinted by permission from June-July (1967) issue of *Scientist and Citizen*.

# BOOKS

## Hear out this prophet!

*War, Conscience and Dissent* by Gordon C. Zahn. Hawthorn, 1967, 317 pp., \$5.95.

Gordon Zahn is a prophet who has been heard. This may not have seemed a likely prospect eight years ago, when Zahn's article on "The German Catholic Press and Hitler's Wars" (first presented as a talk) stirred up such a storm of rejection that it caused two changes of editors of the sociological review committed to publishing it and forced the publisher who had accepted the manuscript of his book, *German Catholics and Hitler's Wars*, to turn it over to another company, delaying its publication two years. But with the appearance in 1967 of this collection of Zahn's essays, spanning his writing activity on "war, conscience, and dissent" from 1943 to the present, it is clear that a new Church has begun to come into being and that it is one which corresponds to the vision Zahn had for it.

In his foreword Gordon Zahn denies having had any significant role in the changes in the Catholic community which, he fears, may have dulled the impact of these essays to the status of historical curiosities, despite their having been dismissed not long ago as the musings of someone on the fringe of Catholicism. (Or treated with charitable condescension in liberal Catholic circles, as evidenced by the remark of an editor of a 1960 book in which a Zahn essay appeared: "Many more Gordon Zahns and Dorothy Days might be welcomed on the American scene, not for the help they will give in solving the [nuclear] dilemma, but for prodding our consciences and forcing the rest of us to come to terms with the problem.") The "rest of us" represented in the volume have since then either begun to see the problem in Gordon Zahn's and Dorothy Day's terms or have lost any significant influence on the American Catholic community.)

The fact is that Zahn's writing not only anticipated Pope John's re-direction of the Church into the center of the movement for peace and ecumenism, but in the continuing growth of that new life of the Holy Spirit has become one of the principal instruments of change. To see Zahn's role in this revitalization one has only to note the growing endorsement today, both within and beyond the Catholic community, of the scholarly indictment

of *German Catholics and Hitler's Wars* and of the witness of Franz Jagerstatter presented in *In Solitary Witness*. These books will live because they reveal the height of heroism and the depth of mediocrity of the Church in our time, and because thanks to a few voices like Zahn's and the presence of a Pope who heard them it is the path of Jagerstatter which the Church has begun to take, however hesitantly.

Nor have the essays in *War, Conscience and Dissent*, because of their particular success in charting new directions, taken on any cobwebs. It is true, as Zahn notes, that the just-war theology on which much of the essays' pacifism is based is giving way in the Church to a renewed appreciation of the nonviolence at the heart of the Gospel. But Zahn's use of the just-war doctrine, by reason of the unique seriousness with which he takes the doctrine and in contrast to those theologians who let it serve their rationalizations of modern war, always looks beyond it to the Gospel itself. To take the doctrine seriously is to reject all modern wars and perhaps, as Zahn suggests, all wars of every age. And this is to take on the cross of nonviolence, as Jagerstatter did by his rejection of Hitler's wars. The continual failure of Catholics to apply the just-war doctrine with anything like the cogency of Zahn's arguments may be because they sensed correctly a cross at the heart of it.

The first section of essays deals with the morality of war itself, the second with the responsibility of each individual Christian to form his conscience on war, and the final section with the broader question of the extent to which the Church should recognize, support, or even promote dissent and civil disobedience on the part of the faithful. The essays' universal characteristic is the author's profound commitment to the peace of Christ, as evident in his meditation on the ringing church bells of a destroyed city as it is in his

ground-breaking essay on Rolf Hochhuth's *Deputy* (first published a year before the play's New York production). These essays are the expression of a witness which has remained steadfast for twenty years and because of its strength and the Church it is helping to re-create promises to become less solitary.

JAMES W. DOUGLASS

## A Movie-Book thrust at the vitals!

THE WAR GAME. Book adaptation of the film by Peter Watkins, the producer, 1967. An Avon Discus Book. 95¢

What to call this thrust at the vitals put into the shape of a book, but more than a book? I've seen nothing like it except the Marshall McLuhan thing called "The Medium is the Massage" (please note the spelling of that last word) — another experiment in instant communication.

Peter Watkins, producer of that overwhelmingly honest (and therefore banned) BBC TV film of the same name, takes the stills from his great picture and sets them with the barest minimum of text so that the reader may hopefully experience the total involvement of an atomic attack. "This is how it may begin . . . World War III" the words say and the grainy, silhouetted pictures that it almost seems were taken by a newsreel cameraman in shock confront you.

Does the experience really envelop you, put you into an atmosphere of believing, of caring? The film did for many, not for all. To peaceniks the facts are either wearily familiar or never really faced. To him who is resistant to truth, to unpleasant facts, it is easier to slam the book down than to leave the theater.

But it's here, and the dedicated Watkins, the courageous British and American publishers deserve much thanks. It *ought* to shake us up!

J. S. B.

## BOOKS

(some will be reviewed)

- A QUESTION OF CONSCIENCE by Charles Davis. Harper & Row, 1967, 278 pp., \$6.95
- CANADA AND THE QUEST FOR PEACE by Paul Martin. Columbia University Press, 1967, 92 pp., \$3.95
- THE CHURCH AMID REVOLUTION by Harvey Cox. Association Press, 1967, 159 pp., \$4.50
- CREATIVE CHRISTIAN LIVING by Warren W. Wiersbe. Fleming Revell, 1967, 127 pp., \$2.95
- DICTIONARY OF CONTEMPORARIES edited by A. J. Launay. Philosophical Library, 1967, 368 pp., \$15.00
- FRIEDRICH ENGELS by Fritz Nova. Philosophical Library, 1967, 115 pp., \$4.50
- HANDBOOK OF WORLD HISTORY edited by Joseph Dunner. Philosophical Library, 1967, 1011 pp., \$20.00
- THE HUTTERITES IN NORTH AMERICA by John A. Hostetler and Gertrude Huntington. Holt, 1967, 117 pp. (paper)
- IT ALL STARTED WITH STONES AND CLUBS by Richard Armour. Knopf, 1967, 147 pp., \$4.50
- THE JEWS: A CHRONICLE FOR CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE. Association Press, 1967, 159 pp., \$4.50
- THE MINSTREL AND THE MOUNTAIN (A Tale of Peace) by Jane Yolen. World, 1967, 72 pp., \$3.50
- THE NATURE OF DEMOCRACY, FREEDOM AND REVOLUTION by Herbert Aptheker. International, 128 pp., \$1.25 (paper)
- NEGRO YOUTH AT THE CROSSWAYS by E. Franklin Frazier. Shocken, 1967, 299 pp., \$2.45 (paper)
- THE PHILADELPHIA NEGRO by W. E. B. DuBois. Shocken, 1967, 520 pp., \$2.95 (paper)
- REPORT FROM IRON MOUNTAIN ON THE POSSIBILITY AND DESIRABILITY OF PEACE. Dial, 1967, 109 pp., \$5.00
- SOUNDS OF THE STRUGGLE by C. Eric Lincoln. Morrow, 1967, 252 pp., \$5.00
- STRATEGIC PERSUASION by Jeremy J. Stone. Columbia University Press, 1967, 176 pp., \$6.95
- VIETNAM by Mary McCarthy. Harcourt, Brace & World, 1967, 106 pp., \$1.95 (paper)
- WHAT MARX REALLY SAID by H. B. Acton. Shocken, 1967, 148 pp., \$4.00

## FELLOWSHIP INDEX 1967

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*Africa Addio* (film), May 30

AFTER AUSCHWITZ (poem), Mary Ofutt, Sept 14

A FURTHER NOTE, Norman K. Gottwald, Nov 9

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A LETTER TO THE CHINESE PEOPLE (poem), Emily Greene Balch, Jan 12

Allen, Charles, *Concentration Camps U.S.A.*, rev Nov 29

AMERICA'S PROBLEM OF VIOLENCE, John Lee, Mar 25

*America's Vietnam Policy*, Edward S. Herman and Richard DuBoff, rev Mar 27

A MESSAGE FROM THE FIRST CHRISTIAN COs IN A MARXIST LAND TO CHRISTIAN COs IN AMERICA, Mar 10

*A New History of the Cold War*, John Lukacs, rev May 28

AN INTERNATIONAL FOOD FOR PEACE, Vera Moore Squires, Jan 21

*An Invitation to Hope*, Pope John XXIII, rev Jul 29

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Bennett, Edward, BEGIN THE BEG-IN, Sept 18

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*Beyond the Cold War*, Marshall D. Shulman, rev May 28

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BLESSED ARE THE MEEK: THE ROOTS OF CHRISTIAN NONVIOLENCE, Thomas Merton, May 18

Blum, Robert, *The United States and China in World*

*Affairs*, rev Mar 28

Boehmer, Peter J., PIE Feb, Jul 16

BOXES FOR MISSISSIPPI, Nov 25

Brown, Robert M., Abraham Heschel et al, *Vietnam: Crisis of Conscience*, rev Jul 29

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BUILDING RESISTANCE TO THE DRAFT, Ronald Young, Jul 11

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