

SDS

Vol. 1, No. 1

Students for a Democratic Society

Nov. 17, 1965

NOTES TO THE UNDERGROUND

Until today, ladies and gentlemen, your local SDS has been a raggle-taggle federation of radicals with no means of internal communication. As of this moment we become a raggle-taggle federation with a means of communication: this is your first local SDS newsletter. We are henceforth and hereafter combobulated.

This sheet is the place for you to spread your ideas to the SDS membership -- and to the miscellaneous hangers-on and spies on our mailing list. Don't let our spies still your voice; they need your ideas worse than anyone, poor things.

We plan to publish bi-weekly, giving you news and views from all quarters of the Movement, concentrating, of course, on local gossip, problems, strategy, plans and programs. We will appreciate your comments on content -- what do you think we should include?

BUT: This boon to radicalkind is neither free nor easy. We must have your help.

First, we need everyone to write out his ideas and send them in for publication -- professors and students, members and non-members, radicals and liberals. Argue strategies or programs, champion miscellaneous causes, suggest ways to raise money or recruit members, criticize, polemicize, discuss, debate, dissent, whisper, fume -- whatever suits you.

To make life simple (?), it will help a great deal if you type everything you send us; set your margin stops for 64 spaces and single-space your work, using a pica machine. That way we won't have to re-type your stuff before we put it on mimeograph stencils. Voila!

Second, we need a newsletter staff -- to be rewarded with fruitful opportunities to increase typing skills, boundless chances to engage in the high art of mimeographing, a thorough course in folding, stapling and address-label penmanship; also coffee and yak. We'll need half a dozen people (with good pica typewriters) to work a couple of nights every second week. Next date of publication: Wednesday, Dec. 1, so we'll need people Monday night, Tuesday afternoon and evening, and probably Wednesday evening, too. Volunteers please call 332-7358 and metaphorically step forward.

Third -- alas! -- we must have money if we are to keep this game up. Our mailing list now comprises 300 names and grows faster than the population of Chile. That means our mailing costs will run between \$12 and \$18 every two weeks -- not to mention the cost of paper, stencils and ink. The University has decreed that we can't use campus mail anymore (who wants to investigate this for us?). We could cut our costs in half by having some enterprising soul organize a dormitory delivery service -- we have our

mailing list broken down by dorms (thanks to a mammoth effort by Carol Walton who deserves a hymn)-- so now all we need is someone to organize the deliveries. Call 332-7358 and say Yes.

There are various other ways we could get the requisite bux. Idea #1: To set up a dollar-a-month club with at least 50 people pledged to sending SDS a dollar every thirty days; it would break no budgets and keep us in business. Anyone who favors this, send us a note including your first installment. Idea #2: to charge a dollar or two for a subscription to the newsletter, thus sending mail to only those people genuinely interested in SDS, leaving our spies in the dust. We would hate to do that; we like our spies. But don't be surprised if it comes to that.

Beware: ignoring this financial fact of life will have only one result: no newsletter. Who has other ideas? Philanthropists, please send money to us at the Union Activities Desk.

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We need someone to take responsibility for arranging our Open Forums, which are held every Friday at 3:30 in Ballantine 206. It involves calling local Birchers, YAFers, Young Dems, etc., to find speakers on hot issues; the crowd always supplies itself. This job is relatively easy, and vital. To volunteer, call 339-2058.

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Dire need: a telephone network so we can convene meetings on 48-hour notice. This key job would require little effort -- mainly someone to set it up. Who will volunteer? Who has ideas on how it should work? Phone 332-7358.

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For those of you in the dark, local SDS membership costs \$1.25 each semester; needless to say, this doesn't begin to cover costs -- but it is imperative that everyone send his dues, or bring them in person, to Pete Treffers, local money-grubber, at 421 N. Park. No money, no vote. To become a national member, you pay an additional \$2.00 and receive a card; this entitles you to a special price (\$1.00) on the SDS Bulletin, an occasional magazine-type job which is the source of most national debate, proposed programs, discussions, etc. The Bulletin is MUST reading for anyone taking the Movement seriously; \$3.00 to non-members. Fulton Lewis Jr. reads it, why don't you? Write Bulletin editor Jeff Shero at 1103 E. 63rd St., Chicago, Ill., 60637 (SDS national HQ). Incidentally, a Bulletin subscription entitles you to a free subscription to the Bi-Weekly Information and Action Report (BIAR), which is a nation-wide communications network on the anti-war effort, emanating from Madison, Wisconsin. It always contains information on SDS.

Available to national members only is the SDS Worklist, a weekly mimeographed sheet from Paul Booth, SDS National Secretary. A subscription costs \$4.00; the Worklist is the "private" publication of SDS and keeps you abreast of current programs, thinking, etc.

We have "Nov. 27 March on Washington" lapel-buttons available for a minimum donation; they will be available at all following general meetings. We also have the small "sds" buttons (10¢), and the larger ones, saying "There's a Change Gonna Come." (25¢) They're at 102 N. Dunn.

* * *

We need people to cull the national press for quotable quotes; who will volunteer to keep us posted on the Nation, Liberation, Time, Atlantic, the Guardian, etc. etc.? Please, if you subscribe to these or others, keep us posted on whatever's worth quoting in them and we'll pass it on to our readers. Incidentally, the Nov. 8 Nation contains a fine article on SDS, which will give you the other side of our "image." We will reprint this article in the near future, in case you miss it. (Spies are now racing to the library to burn it. Ah, well...)

* * *

Note to all Committee chairmen: PLEASE call us whenever you schedule a meeting; we may be publishing at that time and can give you publicity, such as it is. Also PLEASE call us when the meeting is over, to tell us what went on. This is essential. Do not forget. Call 332-7358. The success of this newsletter depends on you.

* * *

Who else should be on our mailing, or dorm-delivery list (assuming the latter gets set up)?? If anyone you talk to shows interest in SDS, call his name in to us and we'll send him something pronto. Phone 332-7358.

* * *

The December National Membership Meeting is approaching rapidly and we haven't yet set up discussion groups to hash out these questions so fundamentally important to the national organization. The last Bulletin outlined the issues for discussion and we will go into them in some detail in the next newsletter. Meantime, we think we should meet in groups of 5 at least once a week for two hours; let this run for a month. Then let's have a general meeting and compare results. We will phone 5 people to meet at our place this week; if others will take the same tack we should get underway with a minimum of wailing.

--Editors

Staff for this issue: Lucia and Peter Montague, Karl North, Bernella Satterfield, Jim Wallihan, Pete Treffers, Robin Hunter, Rita Rosenbaum, Carol Walton, John Grove, Dean Hartley, Mark Ritchey.

NOTES ON HUAC

In its current investigation of the Ku Klux Klan, the House Committee on Un-American Activities is again engaging in its well-worn technique of trial by exposure. Throughout its history, the Committee has been noted for its persistent disregard of judicial safeguards embodied in the Constitution. It has relied upon the techniques of smear, character assassination, guilt by association, and pillory by publicity, while shielding itself from attack under the cloak of Congressional immunity. The current activities of HUAC will, as in the past, result only in the curtailment of the freedoms of expression, assembly, and association. (Continued)

The Committee has amply demonstrated that it serves no legislative purpose, but exists only to usurp the legitimate functions of the civil courts. We can only view the current Klan investigation as an attempt by the Committee to gain some measure of undeserved respectability and thus to justify its very existence. Such efforts must be doomed to failure.

We have consistently worked for equal rights for all Americans and we view Klan violence as a clear threat to the attainment of this goal. However, to discourage Klan activity by denying guaranteed rights can only continue the dangerous precedent which cripples efforts to bring about ultimate equality, by employing an inequitable system of justice.

We maintain that the way to destroy the Klan as an organization is not to abuse these Constitutional rights, but to attack the Klan at the base on which it thrives -- actions which are clear violations of civil law. When it becomes clear that the torture, mutilation and murder of Negroes and civil rights advocates are no longer sanctioned by "southern justice," then the Klan will cease to exist as an effective organization.

We therefore urge -- with Dr. Martin Luther King -- that murder and violence of the kind fomented by the Klan be made violations of federal law, and that the Attorney General vigorously enforce all existing federal civil rights laws. We are also compelled, for the reasons stated above, to urge the immediate abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

--Policy, Bloomington SDS

ROBIN HUNTER ADDRESSES UNION BOARD

SDS member Robin Hunter spoke before the Union Board Nov. 10, presenting some of his major criticisms of Union structure. Following are excerpts from his report:

"I criticized what I regard as a basic flaw in the whole Union operation, namely that it is not a student Union. True, 12 of the Board members are students, but ten of these are appointed rather than elected and, in any case, exercise little control over actual policy-making. I argued that the Union presents an opportunity for the University to put democracy into action by turning its control over to a student-elected board. Hence, from a pragmatic point of view, Union policy would be more reflective of student opinion if we could pressure elected representatives rather than 'friends of the administration.'...

"I pointed out that the overwhelming majority [of Union Board students] are Greeks, and that because of the appointment method they represent a self-perpetuating elite....

"...I concluded on a note of optimism -- a petition of 500 students can call for a referendum on the Union Board constitution. I suggested -- only half jokingly -- that one day they would get a genuine reflection of student opinion in this way. They tittered nervously.

"I have since heard that after I left the meeting, the Board rejected a proposal by one of its independents to initiate a survey to determine student opinion on the Union.

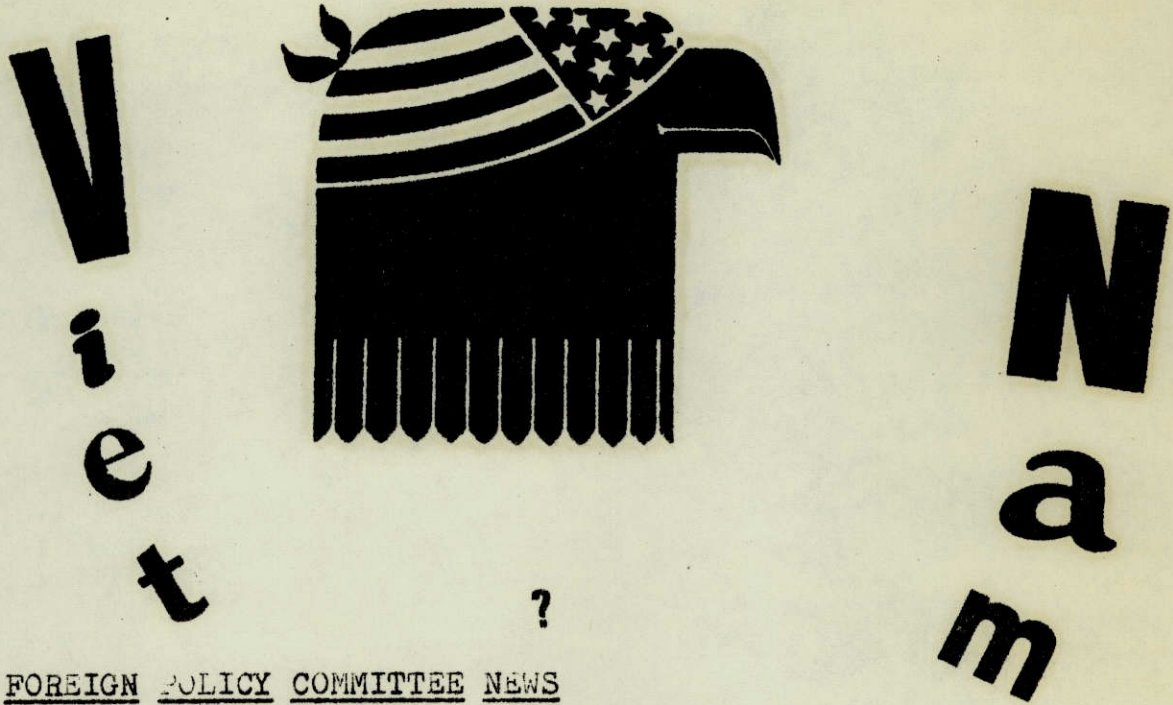
"Sic semper tyrannis."

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Note: local groups frequently contact individual SDS members to speak; if you receive such an offer, by all means accept; if you can't make it, find a substitute. Then call the Newsletter to tell us what you said, so we can spread the word. Phone 332-7358.

The Truth -- a Year Late

"The State Department yesterday confirmed a report that a year ago the United States rejected [as insincere] an offer by North Viet Nam... to discuss terms for ending hostilities in Viet Nam."
--Louisville Courier-Journal, Nov. 16, 1965



FOREIGN POLICY COMMITTEE NEWS

The local SDS has responded to the National Office's proposed draft program (see the last SDS Bulletin, sent to most of our mailing list) with the following resolution:

1. National SDS should not promote a draft program of its own at this time.
2. Rather, both national and local SDS should refer people interested in Conscientious Objector status to the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors and the War Registers' League.
3. SDS should work to promote actively the idea of alternate service in non-military, constructive organizations such as the Peace Corps, Vista, SNCC, the Friends Service Committee, etc. in place of military service.

When this resolution was sent to the National Office, Bernella Satterfield, Committee Chairman, drafted a letter, which is reproduced in part here:

"The I. U. Chapter does not feel that an ill-conceived draft program like the proposed one (which might result in some prosecution of SDS by the Federal government) would do SDS any good at all; rather it could perhaps destroy much of the work that we have attempted to do. We here in Bloomington are in an extremely isolated position on the Viet Nam issue... so far we have had little success in reaching the "typical" student; in fact, we will never... if we cannot dispel some of his misconceptions about what SDS is and does... a lawsuit with the federal government would be an albatross around our necks... We would hardly ever get a chance to discuss the war itself...

"We think that Paul Booth's proposal about alternative service is an excellent one. SDS must stress positive, imaginative programs like Booth's rather than simply negative ones; too often we have been asked in exasperation, "Well, what in the hell are you guys for?"

Editor's note: Those interested in conscientious objection information may write Arlo Tatum at the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, 2006 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Penna. Or phone (215) LO 3-1480; the CCCO's CO Handbook is the authority in the field; cost: \$.50. The address of the War Resister's League is: 5 Beekman St., New York 38, N.Y. They have a wide variety of publications of interest to CO's, pacifists, etc.

LITERATURE FOR SALE--CHEAP

We have the following literature on hand, ready to sell at our CHEAP prices. Here's the list:

1. The Port Huron Statement -- MUST reading for anyone who wants to know what SDS is all about (35¢)
2. Whose Welfare? by Bob Ross (10¢)
3. America and the New Era -- An analysis of the "American Scene" and strategy for dealing with it. (25¢)
4. The Bruns Strike -- Student Participation in Labor -- by C. Clark Kissinger (10¢)
5. Our Crisis Economy -- by Ray Brown (10¢)
6. This is War? -- An analysis of the war on poverty with emphasis on Appalachia -- by Robb Burlage (10¢)
7. Economic Conversion and the War on Poverty -- by Paul Booth (10¢)
8. Voices of the Victims -- South Africa (10¢)
9. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party -- by Steve Max (10¢)
10. Syllabus on the Political Framework of Decision-Making -- by Phillip Green (10¢)
11. A Strategy for University Reform -- by Paul Booth (10¢)
12. The University and the Cold War -- by Paul Potter (10¢)
13. The Case Against the Draft -- by Todd Gitlin (10¢)

We also have a good pamphlet by the Harvard-Radcliffe May 2nd. Chapter -- The Significance of the State Department White Paper on Viet Nam (10¢)

We also have a slew of old SDS Bullitans and assorted other material--single-copy items; we even have a favorable report on SDS from the New York Times, written, of course, before they began their red-baiting.

To get some of this, drop by 102 North Dunn. They've got it.

MUSIC OF MASS CULTURE

Following is the bibliography for Gerald Johnson's presentation Wednesday, Nov. 17, 7:30 to 9:30 in Ballantine 149. The title of his talk is "American Negro Church Music."

- Butcher, Margaret Just. The Negro in American Culture, 1952, pp. 38-50.
- Clark, Sam. "Freedom Songs and the Folk Process," Sing Out, XIV:1 (Feb.-March:1964), pp. 13-14.
- Clark, William. "Santification in Negro Religion," Social Forces, XV (1937), pp. 544-51.
- Jackson, George Pullen. White and Negro Spirituals, 1943.
- Krueger, E. T. "Negro Religious Expression," American Journal of Sociology, XXXVIII (1932), pp. 22-31.
- Kurath, Gertrude P. "Rhapsodies of Salvation: Negro Responsory Hymns," Southern Folklore Quarterly, XX:3, pp. 178-182.
- Puckett, Newbell N. "The Negro Church in the United States," Social Forces, IV (1926), pp. 581-87.

Gerald's talk, to be followed by an open discussion, will be the second presentation in the SDS "Music of Mass Culture" series conceived by our Counter-Curriculum Committee.

The third presentation, Nov. 24, same time, same place, will be Neil Rosenberg's talk, "The Vanishing Hitchhiker: Country and Rock and Roll Versions."

Following are Neil's bibliography and discography:

- Beardsley, Richard K., and Hankey, Rosalie, "The Vanishing Hitchhiker," California Folklore Quarterly, I (1942), pp. 303-335.

_____, "A History of the Vanishing Hitchhiker," California Folklore Quarterly, II (1943), pp. 13-25.

- Jones, Louis C., "Hitch-Hiking Ghosts in New York," California Folklore Quarterly, III (1944), pp. 284-292.

Note: The California Folklore Quarterly (GR 1/.W52) is shelved in the Folklore Library (Room 41, 3rd floor of the library).⁷

Discography:

- Dickey Lee, "Laurie (Strange Things Happen)." TFC Hall TFC-102
[a 45 rpm, 7" disc]⁷

Any of the three following will do:

- The Country Gentlemen, "Bringing Mary Home." Rebel 250 [45 rpm, 7"]⁷

- Mac Wiseman, "Bringing Mary Home." Wise 1062 [45 rpm, 7"]⁷

- Bill Clifton, "Bringing Mary Home." Nashville NLP-2018, Bluegrass in the American Tradition. [33 rpm, 12"]⁷

A FAMOUS LIBERAL SPEAKS OUT

"Do you think those [Oct. 15-16 anti-war] demonstrations were organized by some fine little social club? They were organized by an international apparatus. 95% of the demonstrators are no more communists than you or I. But the international Communist movement organized it and masterminded it." -- Vice-President Hubert Humphrey, quoted in the Michigan Daily Oct. 23.

SDS IDENTITY AND STRATEGY AND THE CAMPUS COMMUNITY

In those rare moments when the press condescends to give SDS a fair deal, that delicate distinction between ourselves and mere protest movements becomes clear. It is heralded that all SDS action is guided by the principle of "participatory democracy". We read that by activating this principle SDS hopes to stimulate the development of democratic "counter-communities" to rival the jaded, manipulative power structures that run so much of our lives. What does this orientation imply for SDS strategy?

It implies a set of priorities. It means we work more on the discovery and nurture of natural leadership and action in the community than on leading visible action ourselves. It means we spend more time radicalizing the target constituency through a variety of protest and other action which appeal to it than we do mobilizing the established radicals for protest. It means an initial sacrifice of pure protest and other direct forms of emotional release to less visible but finally more productive action in the form of research and contact in the community. On the campus for example, we must know the persons who control the community formally and informally and how they control it, and we must know thoroughly the workings of the various campus groups to which students give allegiance. It means full-time participant membership in the chosen community: for activists who are full-time students this means hands off the ghettos of the external world; either we must leave our nest on the campus and plunge into the life of an external community, or, remaining students and faculty, we must tackle the only ghetto we know and live in, the university.

The Campus as Ghetto

Too often we use the word "apathy" to describe the state of affairs on campus. Apathy implies lethargic consciousness. It implies that students already know and believe in democratic activism as the most effective tool for change, and that all we need to do is arouse them. Let's not deceive ourselves. If my little boy treats the little girl downstairs like a stranger, I don't call him apathetic. I call him ignorant, and then I tell him what chicks are for. And even then he won't really dig it until he does it. The same thing goes for active democracy. Most students have never experienced democratic action. These people are worse than apathetic. Like my little boy, they won't really dig democracy until they get a taste of it. On campus, as in any other ghetto we must often begin at point zero.

Once we accept this somber view of the campus constituency, the overriding strategic consideration (to crib from D. McKelvey) is to identify and implement the tactics that are most likely to involve the most individuals in convincing political experiences. The multiplication of these political experiences within the student constituency must be the core of any university reform program we contemplate. Moreover, if what amounts to practical education in radical democracy is important to university reform, it is no less than crucial to our ultimate aims of fleshing out the bare skeleton of democracy in America. If kids don't

get a taste of radical action at this relatively free period of their lives, chances are they never will.

Campus Organizing as ERAP Project

What then are these convincing political experiences in which we hope to involve at least part of the student body? It's a hard question, because what is convincing varies with the individual level of political consciousness. Let's consider three varieties of activity as tactics.

Demonstrations. This category includes strikes, picketting, civil disobedience, and other similar public actions. Demonstrations are likely to accomplish some of their formal goals (e.g., the extension of civilian rights to students) only if they are the carefully timed culmination of a successful education and organizing campaign. But we can also discuss the demonstration purely as an organizing tactic. Our demonstrations are likely to involve only those who are a) politically initiated, and b) convinced of the importance of the issues. So defined, the group is yet a small minority on this campus. Demonstrations often function usefully to consolidate this minority, and to stimulate its members to further thinking, research, and action along radical lines. However, they fail to involve the majority, the uninitiated, the "great unwashed", and may even affect them adversely. Demonstrations don't convincingly involve spectators at this stage of the game.

Speeches, Debates, Distribution of Literature. As expressly educational mass consumption activities, they appeal to a slightly larger public than demonstrations. Curious fringe types and some of the politically active opposition, in addition to the usual demonstration crowd, will be attracted. Speeches and literature reach out intellectually much further than demonstrations. They serve to define the organization in the face of "free" press publicity that is too often a smear. They cannot, however, claim tactical priority; they educate too few, too passively. They fail to involve the mass of students and faculty in convincing political experiences.

Face-to-Face Organizing. We learn from the urban ghetto organizers (e.g., SDS-ERAP people) that people will most readily embark on their first political venture from within the security of their small neighborhood social group. They do this because they can identify with the group and with the organizer. They will ignore anyone who approaches them at a higher level of political sophistication than theirs. Only when they have tasted political activity within their group, and when the experience has convinced them of the importance of political activity in their lives, will they be disposed toward the investigation of broader political horizons. I am suggesting then that if we care at all about involving the majority on this campus, we must be ready to learn from those who have organized ghettos before us. It should be clear that to treat the campus as a ghetto is a radical tactical change of direction. Those who commit themselves to it will purposely sacrifice their public identities as leftist dissenters from the "mainstream" every

time they relate successfully with the small social groups they hope to organize. Those who derive their principle satisfaction in SDS from agitation and nonconformity for its own sake will refuse to make the sacrifice.

--Karl North

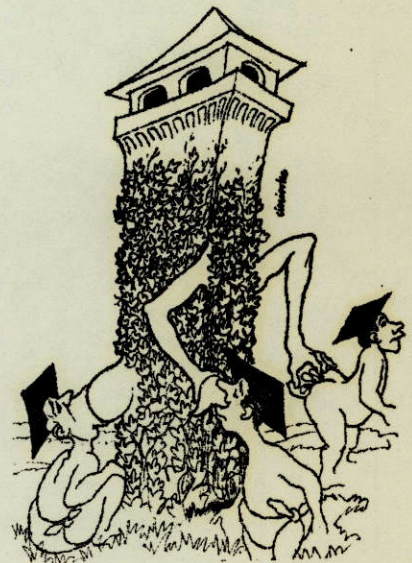
UNIVERSITY REFORM

After much deliberation, the SDS university reform program is about to swing into high gear. Strategy: to visit dormitories in small groups and start discussion groups, handing out no line, but soliciting students' ideas for reform programs. The Foreign Policy Committee went into the dorms last week and has others scheduled; the University Reform Committee will begin shortly. Anyone interested in meeting the students should call Hohn Grove at 339-2058; we need lots of People for this one.

CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE

The Civil Rights Committee is studying off-campus housing to determine the extent of discrimination among Bloomington landlords; they've held one meeting so far, but have only three people working. They need almost a dozen more if they're to be effective. Discrimination in Bloomington housing is notorious and can be exposed with a little legwork from some of you. Call Winston Chrislock at 9-6257 to find out details about their next meeting.

IN
LOCO
PARENTIS



NOTABLY QUOTABLE

"Why of course the people don't want war. Why should some poor slob on a farm want to risk his life in a war when the best he can get out of it is to come back to his farm in one piece? Naturally, the common people don't want war: neither in Russia, nor in England, nor in America, nor, for that matter, in Germany. That is understood. But after all it is the leaders of the country who determine the policy and it is always a simple matter to drag the people along, whether it is a democracy or a fascist dictatorship, or a parliament, or a communist dictatorship.

"Voice or no voice the people can always be brought to the bidding of the leaders. That is easy. All you have to do is tell them they are being attacked and denounce the pacifists for lack of patriotism and exposing the country to danger. It works the same in any country."

--Hermann Goering
At the Nuremburg Trials

AN OVERVIEW OF STRATEGY QUESTIONS

Following are several excerpts from an "overview" of the semester's activities and problems, written by Jim Wallihah:

The consensus (at the local convention in September) seemed to favor university reform and foreign policy as priorities for the year's activities. There was some discussion over educational, as opposed to action-oriented efforts to reach the university community on these issues. . . .

At the last general meeting, the main topic concerned the proposed draft program, on which all national SDS members can vote by mail ballot, and its local implementation. The majority opposed any national draft program at the time, mainly because of concern for legality and the feeling that the press had already conducted a far more effective "Oppose the Draft" program than we could ever hope to manage. However, several members remained in favor of a strictly legal program, especially on the local level. . . .

Projected and proposed activities include setting up a speakers' bureau and an SDS library, literature distribution tables on campus, pilot projects in the dorms, publication of locally relevant pamphlets on the war and on university reforms, folk concerts for fund-raising, and speaking engagements (possibly Paul Goodman).

Despite the fact that we seem to be getting underway there are numerous conflicts, largely over strategy questions, about which final decisions have not been made. These are serious questions, of concern to all members. Indeed, their successful resolution would seem to require the participation of all members, both in the final decision-making and in the implementation. It is in the implementation that the local SDS "tone" will really be set.

FOLLOWING ARE SOME OF THE CURRENT STRATEGY QUESTIONS

1. Campus education on the issues of university reform and Vietnam: Should we rely on mass communication, the distribution of printed statements and other literature as a means of reaching the greatest number of students? Or should we rely on personal contacts and discussions in the dorms and put off mass distribution until a large number of students has become active, and has contributed to debate and demand-formulation? Proponents of the latter position say that immediate mass-distribution would be condescending and alienating students, and would discourage participation.

2. Student Senate: Should SDS attempt to cooperate with the Senate in achieving university reform or should we ignore it and work slowly at the "book roots" level? Proponents of the former argue that all means of influence must be utilized and that the Senate has some influence, however trivial. The rapidly growing opposition states that the Senate has adequately demonstrated its sandbox and puppet nature and will sell out the students to maintain its "respectable" status.

3. Program Conflict: Does our peace involvement compromise other programs such as university reform and organizing, in terms of public and student support? Should we "lay off the anti-war stuff" and concentrate exclusively on more "popular" issues?

NOTICE TO ALL NATIONAL MEMBERS: ACT NOW

The National Office has just sent our two National Council representatives, Karl North and John Grove, ballots which they must return immediately; however, North and Grove do not want to vote without consulting all national members.

Background: The recent national membership referendum looks, from incomplete results, as if it will narrowly defeat the proposed draft program.

The National Administrative Council has decided that, because the vote was so close, they cannot say that the membership wants no action against the war by the national SDS organization.

They have asked North and Grove to ballot Yes or No on two questions.

First, Should the National Office reproduce the condensed conscientious-objector guide included (on a long purple sheet) in a recent Worklist mailing. The sheet is basically a capsule version of the CCCO's Handbook. Yes or no.

Second: If this sheet is reproduced in quantity, should SDS "energetically promote its distribution" at the November 27 March on Washington and elsewhere? Yes or No.

Capsule Argument For: The guide is firmly within the legal CO counseling tradition and will go very well at the March.

Capsule Argument Against: A National Committee (Council) vote should not reverse the outcome of the national referendum, which said that the National Office should not devote resources to an anti-draft program.

All national SDS members please telephone your opinions to Karl North at 337-3040 and to John Grove at 339-2058. If you cannot reach either of these people on short notice, phone 332-7358 and we will relay your message as rapidly as possible.

CARL BRADEN TO SPEAK HERE TUESDAY:

Journalist and militant civil rights fighter Carl Braden will speak in Union M45 this coming Tuesday, November 23, at 7:30. Braden is a field organizer for the Southern Conference Educational Fund, headed by the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth.

Braden, who has served two prison terms--one for helping a negro family buy into a white neighborhood in Louisville, and the other for standing up to HUAC--will speak on SCEF's integration work; SCEF, like SDS, is dedicated to the eradication (through action and education) of racial and economic discrimination. Highly recommended.

QUOTE UNQUOTE:

"Senator Stephen M. Young (D-Ohio) says he was told by a member of the Central Intelligence Agency in Vietnam that the CIA there committed atrocities there to discredit the Viet Cong. Young said he was told that the CIA disguised some people as Viet Cong and they committed atrocities, including killing some men and raping some women. There was no immediate comment from the agency." (The next day, the CIA denied this report.) --Capital Times, Wed., Oct. 20, 1965.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON

The last page of this newsletter is the SDS National call to the March on Washington November 27; this is a top-priority Call and everyone who can should make the trip. The effect on our foreign policy is hard to estimate, of course, but it cannot hurt to have a crowd of 10 or 15 thousand protesting the war right on Dr. Johnson's doorstep.

Steve Cagan of the Foreign Policy Committee has agreed to handle local transportation arrangements. If you are driving East to the march and have room for riders, call Steve at 339-3198; or call him if you want to go but haven't got a ride. Its best to call him during the evening; he's usually not home during the day.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

At the general meeting of the Monroe County Community Action Project (Poverty Board) Nov. 3, they finally decided to accept SDS people as volunteer workers. There was considerable debate, even acrimony, reports the Rev. Marvin Jones, but in the end they voted 10-4, with 6 abstentions, to dismiss political considerations in screening volunteers. However, the Board now requires that all prospective volunteers be interviewed individually by a panel of three -- Project Administrator Harry Puckett and two members of the Board's Executive Committee. The criteria for selection are vague -- appearance, earnestness, maturity, etc. There is no sure way of predicting, but I anticipate there will be no difficulty getting accepted. Jones and Puckett have been firm, even heroic, in our support.

Forty-two people have signed up for interviews so far. Ironically, after all the controversy, only six of these are SDS members. An additional two or three are committed, but we need many more. If you don't have time, make some. Phone Puckett (336-5746) or me, Paul Warwick (7-6041).

The Project is concentrating on the Miller Drive area of Bloomington. A survey will be conducted shortly; volunteers will go into the area and each get to know half a dozen families -- finding out whether they're employed, what their conditions are, where they're from -- attempting to organize them to elect five of their neighbors to the Board in the December elections. This work is in fundamental accord with the SDS principle of "participatory democracy."

The work will be extremely challenging -- the first problem being to break down the immense suspicion of these people toward any welfare program, since they've seen what welfare programs are usually like. The Action Project is different, but the people must be convinced of it first. You would be working with the most isolated and recalcitrant group in American society -- the rural, white poor.

If you're not interested in face-to-face organizing in a poor community, we can still use your help for vital research into organizing methods. Basically, no one in Bloomington has had much experience with organizing the poor, and we need to

cull the literature to find out how others have done it (Saul Alinsky, the SDS ERAP efforts, sociology reports, etc.). There are various other jobs that have to be done as well (like campus proselytizing) if this thing is to work -- so please volunteer your time and energy.

We have neither the money nor the manpower to start our own ERAP project at this time. Our aim is to work hard with this modest substitute; with energy, ingenuity... and luck, however, we can turn this into a more fundamental activity -- neighborhood organizing. The CAP nationally endorses such organizing -- indeed, it recognizes that the war on poverty cannot succeed without the active political involvement of the poor. The local CAP, however, lacks the resources to implement this. Our main concern, therefore, is to discover means to organize these neighborhoods into politically active bodies. We have made modest progress already, but we need more help. If you have energy, ideas, or inclinations, call 337-6041.

--Paul Warwick, Committee Chairman

REPORT ON THE NOV. 14 GENERAL MEETING

At the General Meeting Sunday, Nov. 14, we passed a motion providing for the issue of local membership cards.

We also sent a resolution to the National Office requesting that the December Membership Conference be held at the Austin, Texas, chapter of SDS; if this is not possible, the motion said, we want the Conference held west of the Mississippi, east of the rockies, and as far south as possible. Our aim is to involve as many far-west SDS people as possible, and as many SNCC kids, in this all-important, precedent-setting December meeting.

The discussion on University reform made it clear that we will engage in both education and action programs for University reform, but only education programs on Viet Nam. We voted to aid in setting up a political umbrella, a United Reform Committee, to comprise members of all campus groups pressing for reforms, and interested individuals as well; the Committee will try to consolidate reform sentiment and rally support among diverse groups. Clearly, these groups will have to take their case directly to the dormitory students; thus, SDS groups -- though by no means exclusively SDS -- will begin setting up dorm discussion groups this week. The idea will be to solicit student opinion on reform, find out what who wants done, and then discuss means for implementing programs. Anyone interested in participating, call John Grove or Bernella Satterfield at 339-2058.

An SDS Faculty Liaison Committee was formed, with Pete Treffers acting Chairman; they will meet with faculty to open dialog on University programs, problems, etc. Interested? Call Pete at 339-2823.

An SDS member, Skip King, has been arrested in a mix-up with his draft-board; King is a graduate student but has been denied a student deferment. An autonomous defense committee is being formed outside of SDS; SDS voted to help in any way possible, providing publicity and financial aid. More details on King's case will follow in the next newsletter.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON

In the name of freedom, America is mutilating Viet Nam. In the name of peace, America turns that fertile country into a wasteland. And in the name of democracy, America is burying its own dreams and suffocating its own potential.

Americans who can understand why the Negroes of Watts can rebel should understand too why Vietnamese can rebel. And those who know the American South and the grinding poverty of our Northern cities should understand that our real problems lie not in Viet Nam but at home -- that the fight we seek is not with Communism but with the social desperation that makes good men violent, both here and abroad.

THE WAR MUST BE STOPPED

Our aim in Viet Nam is the same as our aim in the United States: that oligarchic rule and privileged power be replaced by popular democracy where the people make the decisions which affect their lives and share in the abundance and opportunity that modern technology makes possible. This is the only solution for Viet Nam in which Americans can find honor and take pride. Perhaps the war has already so embittered and devastated the Vietnamese that that ideal will require years of rebuilding. But the war cannot achieve it, nor can American military presence, nor our support of repressive unrepresentative governments.

The war must be stopped. There must be an immediate ceasefire and demobilization in South Viet Nam. There must be a withdrawal of American troops. Political amnesty must be guaranteed. All agreements must be ratified by the partisans of the "other side" -- the National Liberation Front and North Viet Nam.

We must not deceive ourselves: a negotiated agreement cannot guarantee democracy. Only the Vietnamese have the right of nationhood to make their government democratic or not, free or not, neutral or not. It is not America's role to deny them the chance to be what they will make of themselves. That chance grows more remote with every American bomb that explodes in a Vietnamese village.

But our hopes extend not only to Viet Nam. Our chance is the first in a generation to organize the powerless and the voiceless at home to confront America with its racial injustice, its apathy, and its poverty, and with that same vision we dream for Viet Nam: a vision of a society in which all can control their own destinies.

We are convinced that the only way to stop this and future wars is to organize a domestic social movement which challenges the very legitimacy of our foreign policy; this movement must also fight to end racism, to end the paternalism of our welfare system, to guarantee decent incomes for all, and to supplant the authoritarian control of our universities with a community of scholars.

This movement showed its potential when 25,000 people -- students, the poverty-stricken, ministers, faculty, unionists and others -- marched on Washington last April. This movement must now show its force. SDS urges everyone who believes that our warmaking must be ended and our democracy-building must begin, to join in a March on Washington on November 27, at 11 a.m. in front of the White House.

Despite Heavier Bombings and Bigger Boloney

"Saigon—The number of Vietcong fighting in South Vietnam increased sharply in September despite near-record battle losses and defections, according to American High Command estimates. Neither bombing of infiltration starting points nor sea-patrolling apparently has interfered seriously with the continuing Vietcong buildup, although some of its increased strength may be due to forced recruiting* of young men in areas where guerrillas hold sway. The number of main force insurgents—those who are full-time fighters in organized units—is estimated by American intelligence sources at 80,000 an increase of 15,000 over a month ago.

"The number of part-time guerrillas—farmers by day and raiders in black pajamas by night—has increased from an estimate of 80,000 to 100,000 in August to from 100,000 to 120,000 in September. Growth of the Vietcong as learned today was in sharp contrast to the flurry of favorable numerical indicators that the enemy is losing personnel faster than ever before."

—Jack Foiese, *Washington Post*, Oct. 17 (abridged).

* Isn't it just barely possible that one or two might have joined up in protest against our indiscriminate slaughter?
—IFS

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

15 CENTS

If We Could Only Get Rid of Christ and Constitution

Those who remember how the Romans felt about the Christians will not be surprised that one of them should have burned his draft card. Christians have always claimed to render unto Caesar what is Caesar's, but this may be Aesopian language. Under apparent submission to authority lies encouragement to civil disobedience since the saying leaves unanswered who is to determine what is Caesar's. If each man insists that his conscience be his guide, the end result is anarchy. Thoughtful men have long recognized the peril in the Christian doctrine of the primacy of conscience. Defense counsel tried to make the West see what openings this gave Moscow but their warnings were brushed aside at the Nuremberg trial. Der Fuehrer saw the danger and wanted to replace this pacifistic religion with a more virile Germanic creed, but his efforts were frustrated by the need to placate the Papacy, which is again showing its true colors. When the Pope virtually advocates admission of Red China to the United Nations, little wonder that a devout young Catholic refuses to fight in Asia.

Most Catholics Loyal

We do not wish to suggest that Roman Catholics are not to be trusted. Most of them are loyal citizens. Their priests often preach the most invigorating sermons in wartime. But judge and jury at the trial of David J. Miller for burning his draft card must be made to see, in extenuation, that the religious doctrines to which this young man was exposed left him unfit to understand practical realities. The Church itself in the Middle Ages, by keeping the laity from reading the Gospels, acknowledged that they might have an unsettling effect on immature minds. We would be the first to protest if this led the government to take hasty action against church-going. But it is not without proper means for dealing with those who abuse freedom of religion. The Internal Security Act was framed to cope with the Communist menace but its provisions are general enough to cover any international movement which takes positions paralleling those of the Commu-

Perhaps the Next Step Will Be to Seize Papers Which Print Lippmann at Home

"SAIGON, Oct. 17—The Saigon English-language *Daily News* was ordered to halt publication for five days for infringing the country's censorship laws. The newspaper was told it infringed the laws by publishing articles without first submitting them to the censor. It was understood that an article by the syndicated American columnist Walter Lippmann displeased the government. The article published Oct. 12, described the South Vietnamese army as war-weary and said it had too little morale to occupy territory that American forces seized from the Vietcong."

—Reuters, *Washington Post*, Oct. 18.

nists. Their members, their financial contributors, their printing presses and publications, must be disclosed to the Subversive Activities Control Board by registration. This is clearly usable against Roman Catholic pacifist groups, opposing the war in Vietnam, in concert with the Vatican.

Next to the problem of Christians who take their Gospel too seriously is that of Americans who take the Constitution too literally. McCarthy taught us to look with suspicion on "Constitution-lovers." We must be on our guard against constitutionalist infiltration. The day before Attorney General Katzenbach spoke in Chicago of prosecutions against the student peace movement, the Associated Press asked Justice Department for comment on Senator Stennis's demand for action. "One top level lawyer" said (*Washington Star*, Oct. 16), "You just can't make a snap judgment on what you would do if someone should put out a pamphlet or make a speech exhorting others to be draft dodgers. Sure we're keeping an eye on this thing, and we know what the law is, but we also keep an eye on the First amendment." Katzenbach had better begin his investigation right in his own Department. How are we going to make Asia safe for democracy if we allow all this subversive talk about free speech?

Why We Welcome and Support the Nov. 27 Peace March on Washington

We are devoting this entire issue to the peace movement because of the attempt to smear and intimidate it. The strategy of the government, as Senator Morse pointed out in a speech Oct. 19 too late for fuller discussion in this issue, is to focus on the far fringes of the movement in order to "tag all dissent as lawless, reckless and bordering on sedition." The press and TV are abetting this by their coverage. Sober speeches at peace rallies are ignored and a caricature created by emphasizing the bizarre. This is a good way to howl down honest misgiving for the moment. In the long run, it will exact a price in many spheres of public policy. We suggest a few:

Exaggerating Communist Importance

1. *The question of draft-dodgers.* This has been blown up out of all proportion in the strategy of the smear. Those who say that peace protest encourages the other side must admit that the government's own arrests also exaggerate the extent of opposition to the war. Anyone abroad who reads the alarms of Katzenbach and J. Edgar Hoover must begin to think that America's tiny and splintered Communist movement is a major force. The conservative *Baltimore Sun* protested in an editorial (Oct. 20) that an AP survey of draft boards "shows no evidence of organized draft avoidance." It sees "the vast majority" of young Americans as ready to serve as always. This pumped-up hullabaloo will end by creating more draft avoidance.

The draft law is not the only law it is illegal to obstruct. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 both carry provisions making it a crime to obstruct their enforcement. The anti-war extremists burn draft cards. The anti-equality forces burn Negro churches. The swiftness of the crackdown on one contrasts dangerously with the slow-motion on the other. The government is foolish to invite this comparison, just as it was foolish to make a young Catholic pacifist its first test case. No matter how loud the mob-like chorus of the respectable they will not drown the still small voice of conscience. This is a cruel, a barbarous, an immoral and an illegal war. If our country were attacked, few would oppose the call to arms in its defense; it is not lack of patriotism, on the contrary it is concern for the good name and better traditions of our country which leads so many to protest this distant and dubious conflict.

Notre Dame Faculty Member Gives A Catholic's View of the Coming Peace March

"I speak as a Catholic, not for all Catholics, but as a man and a Catholic. Less than two weeks ago, Pope Paul in his magnificent address before the UN praised and, in a sense, consecrated that body of nations. He urged a renewal of spirit among men, an abandonment of national pride, an effort to embrace all nations including those outside the UN (China). As a follower of Paul (as indeed many are in spirit if not in fact), I look for a magnanimous response from my own country and do not find it from government spokesmen. The monotonous movement of bombers scorching the Asian earth continues. The draft is increased, the old argument about China's entry into the UN are increased.

"If I believe Paul's words, and I do, I cannot be silent now. Now when generosity is expected, a hardness of spirit obtains. Now when an appeal to our common origin

—Joseph M. Duffy, Jr., Associate Professor of English at Notre Dame, at peace march press conference, Oct. 18.

Ruby Dee's Questions

"When I've listened to the President talk about the war in Vietnam—its value to peace and freedom—he has seemed so earnest and sounded so sincere that I've found myself waiting for that great reason, that perhaps I had not heard, that reason that truly justifies the slaughter of men—in the name of peace and freedom and in the name of God. So many questions come to mind: when has war brought peace on earth? Can we truly deny that wars are primarily fought for pride and power? Has not our country emerged from each war richer and more powerful? Are not, primarily, the darker peoples of the earth subjected and exploited through war? Will we ever fight the white people in South Africa, for a major example, to free the Africans so shamelessly wronged? Oppression now exists in South Africa mostly because the British and American interests support it in apartheid. Can we really care about the Koreans, the Vietnamese or other colored people on this earth, when in fact, were they on our land we would discriminate, segregate and force them to suffer in life-consuming fashion for their non-whiteness?—Ruby Dee, March on Washington press conference, Oct. 18.

2. *The need for a peace movement.* Congressman George E. Brown (D. Cal.) made an important point at the poorly covered press conference announcing the Nov. 27 peace March on Washington. I made the same point in my talk at the New York demonstration the previous Saturday. When the time comes for negotiation, as I hope and believe it will, the Administration in power will need support. There is also need for a counter-balancing force left of center to hold off the rising chorus on the right for unrestricted bombing of North Vietnam and even of China. It is foolish for the government to lock itself in with a monolithic opinion which will make negotiation and restraint impossible. If the peace movement provides a false picture of majority opinion it does so in a way which gives the U.S. a propaganda dividend. It makes the American people look more concerned, more humane, more free and more courageous than they are.

3. *Military vs. civilian control.* The Pentagon's forte always was publicity. The military is at its best in its press releases. Its vast propaganda machine is at work spreading

and common destiny as men is made, a relentless cry of national interests and closure of all discussion deafens us. I find a drift toward a brutality of mind and action among our nation's leaders that must filter down to the people. I do not say that conversely the North Vietnamese or the Viet Cong are moral—but their immorality does not justify ours. I appeal to people of good conscience to act on the call of their conscience. It is a moral obligation to bear witness to the cause of peace. The United States must make great efforts, particularly through the UN, to negotiate. It must manifest its generous and adaptable proper frame of mind by ceasing its bombing-missions, and its cutting off of the build-up of truth. That I regard as a moral imperative to be urged by those who take part in the Peace March and Rally."

the delusion of victory by attrition, though a Senator as close to the military bureaucracy as Stennis of Mississippi in his last letter to constituents spoke of a 15-year effort in Vietnam. Russell of Georgia advanced a curious argument Oct. 18 against the peace movement. He said he was one of those who opposed our involvement in this conflict but that now "flag", "honor" and "prestige" were at stake. This is the usual way the military trap their countries into disastrous wars to cover up past mistakes. How far do we follow this route? Into war with China?

The Warnings of Our Soldier Presidents

Eisenhower objected to the peace rallies. But he himself a few weeks earlier contradicted Johnson and said our commitment in South Vietnam was only one of aid and supplies. It is time to remember that our two greatest military presidents, Washington and Eisenhower, both warned us in their farewell addresses against undue military influence, the latter against the military-industrial complex, the former against "overgrown military establishments" as a menace to liberty.

Every major military figure from MacArthur down has warned us against ever again getting involved in a land war in Asia; Eisenhower decided against it when he was in the White House, but there we are. Every thoughtful soldier we have sent to Vietnam since the Taylor mission in 1961 has stressed the need for political and social reform to quell the rebellion. The rebellion has grown because we have weakly acquiesced in the refusal of our puppets to give the people greater liberty. Now we are impelled to restrict liberty at home as well as in Vietnam to carry on this unpopular war.

4. *The pretense of democracy.* A vast expansion of the war effort has been covered by a smoke-screen of peace talk. Now that we have a situation of strength high officials (like Rusk at Johns Hopkins in an answer to a question Oct. 16) imply that we must fight the war through to complete victory.* This is the line of least resistance because many would rather go on killing people, ours and theirs, rather than allow the popular will in South Vietnam to express itself if that should mean a coalition with the National Liberation Front. The

* Mansfield in the Senate Oct. 19 protested the off-the-record interview which gave rise to a rash of such stories last week. "Many Washington newsmen," Murray Marder wrote in the *Washington Post* Oct. 20, "did know the original source, who happened to be a very high official indeed."

Morse Tells Senate U.S. Needs to Hear The Tramp of Marching Feet in Protest

"I made this long speech today because tomorrow in various parts of the country various groups of varied political complexion are going to protest America's involvement in war in Vietnam. I certainly do not endorse all the views and the conduct that may be taken by some of these groups. Neither do I endorse the McCarthyism of the superpatriots and shocking rightists in this country who are already charging those who tomorrow will protest outlawry of the United States in Asia as being traitors. Short of a declaration of war what is needed in this country is the protests of millions of Americans against the policy of their Government in Asia.

"What is needed in America, short of a declaration of war is the tramp, tramp, tramp of marching feet in the communities of America, of free people protesting; non-

Appealing to A Red Cross We Ignored

"The editorial in the New York Times of Oct 1 errs when it blames the Vietcong and North Vietnam of unilaterally violating the Geneva conventions. The Vietcong fighters are as protected by the Geneva conventions as the American GIs are. Dramatic protests against violations of the Geneva Conventions should have been made when the first Vietcong prisoners were shot, when they were tortured, when the American army started to destroy Vietcong hospitals and to cut off medical supply. If the North Vietnamese shoot some American prisoners now, then this is the result of a long series of breaches of the Geneva rules committed by the Americans and South Vietnamese. It is utterly hypocritical to condone wholesale violations of the Red Cross principles on one side and protest reprisals against them.

"The shooting of the two fliers and the menacing trials of other American prisoners may be tragic but if they help to stop the wholesale murder of Vietcong prisoners, the tortures, the bombing raids against hospitals and villages and all the inhuman rest and bring about respect for Red Cross rules in all cases, then they will have been useful."

—Hans Henle, former member of the information service, International Committee of the Red Cross, Geneva, (abr.) in New York Times (international edition only) Oct. 14.

Administration which, through Thomas Mann, opposes any alliance with the Communists in Latin America is hardly likely to negotiate a coalition with them in Vietnam unless greater public understanding and protest is aroused. We'd rather leave a lot more of our boys dead than allow South Vietnam to be a little red, even if that is what its people prefer to the burning up of their country by our bombers.

So we welcome the March on Washington scheduled for Nov. 27. On these pages and the next we offer the text of some sober statements explaining it. A distinguished list from Norman Thomas to Saul Bellow support it. It will seek not civil disobedience but persuasion. Last week-end's nationwide protests discomfited the "hawks" by their size and support. The March must not be a failure. To join it is to help save human life and perhaps our own freedom. As war fever rises, the fools and the cowards are always hailed as patriots while those who urge reflection are howled down as subversive. Which is the greater patriotism? To run with the pack? Or to urge at some personal risk what one believes the wiser course for one's country?

violent demonstrations against the course of action of the United States in violation of both the Constitution and our treaty obligations. Mr. President, there are those who would silence those of us who are there to protest the outlawry of our Government. There are those, even in this body, who believe some sort of censorship ought to be placed on free men who practice their freedom by protesting the inexcusable foreign policy of the Johnson administration. I thank my God that there are in this country thousands of people who will be heard from tomorrow and in the weeks and months ahead and who will not be cowed into submission by the intolerant bigots of America who believe that because our country is on an illegal course of action, we must support its illegality."

—Wayne Morse (D. Oregon) in the Senate Oct. 15.

Purpose of Nov. 27 March on Washington Explained in Statement Press Ignored

U.S. Brushed Off Peace Feeler From Hanoi During Bombing Lull Last May

By Sanford Gottlieb

Coordinator of the Nov. 27th March on Washington

We are here today to explain why we feel compelled to organize a March on Washington for Peace in Vietnam. In the words of the distinguished Americans who are sponsors of this March, "We see no gain coming from the war in Vietnam. We see only the victimization of the Vietnamese people, the erosion of a better society at home, and the clear possibility of a world conflict."

Danger of A New McCarthyism

As the war continues, we believe the administration will inevitably turn its resources and energies toward the military conflict and away from its fledgling programs to eradicate racial injustice and poverty at home. Moreover, as mindless chauvinism takes hold and public frustration mounts along with the casualty lists we expect many of our fellow citizens to be caught up in a new search for scapegoats—a new wave of McCarthyism. The early signs are already there: the denunciation of the protest movement as "Communist-led"; the cries for action against opponents of the draft; the refusal by some local authorities to grant permission to hold parades or even to use public buildings for a two-sided debate of the issues.

We seek to end this war. We affirm that no party to the conflict, the U.S. included has done all it can to bring about negotiations, and since the war will ultimately end at the conference table, we ask new actions to speed that day. These new actions must be designed to show military restraint, not military escalation. We disagree with the administration's assumption that added military pressure will bring the North Vietnamese to the conference table. No proud nation—and the regime in Hanoi represents the only Asian people in modern times to win its independence by militarily defeating a Western colonial power—will talk peace as the result of aerial bombardment.

We now question whether the Administration is interested in negotiations. A new mood in Washington, produced no doubt by the first American victories in South Vietnam, is exemplified by this report in the *Washington Post* of October 16: "The Capital talks less of peace by negotiation and it is unanimously thankful that Hanoi did not opt for the conference table last winter when disaster, it is belatedly conceded, was on the military horizon." In point of fact, Hanoi

So Two Were Well Enough to Protest

"The President's pastor, the Rev. George R. Davis of National City Christian Church, yesterday denounced demonstrations against America's fighting in Vietnam as 'disgraceful.' 'The violation of law and disregard of responsibility' in Saturday's demonstrations 'are no guarantee of the future,' he declared. 'Anarchy is not the way to democracy.' Dr. Davis said the demonstrations did not reflect the general feeling of either civilians or military. He had been told, he said, that no complaints have been heard from wounded soldiers at Walter Reed Army Medical Center, 'except from two men who were the least hurt.'"

—*Washington Post*, Oct. 18 (abridged).

did opt for talks proposed by U.N. Secretary General U Thant in February, while the U.S. refused. Furthermore, we now have confirmation from the State Department and the U.S. Mission to the U.N., that, the day before the end of the six-day pause in the bombings of North Vietnam in May, the French government was approached by the North Vietnamese representative in Paris with the request that the following message be transmitted to Washington: *Hanoi was prepared to negotiate on the basis of the four points proposed by its foreign minister in April.* According to some versions of this report, Hanoi specified that it was not demanding the prior withdrawal of U.S. troops. I was told in the State Department that this message was indeed received in Washington, but it was not the kind of message we were looking for. The Administration did not investigate further; it resumed the bombings.

We can only wonder what kind of message Washington is looking for. And we can organize, as concerned citizens, to help Washington give and receive the proper signals before South Vietnam is transformed into a funeral pyre. In so doing, we believe that we are not damaging the morale of American troops in Vietnam, but trying to bring the war to an end before more of our people are killed. We are convinced that we speak for many Americans, including great numbers of those now included in the broad but shallow consensus behind the President, who feel in their hearts that the burning of villages by napalm and artillery fire is not the way to preserve freedom or to promote the dignity of the individual.

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