



# TEST BAN NEAR?

For the first time since the early years of the Eisenhower Administration there is widespread hope that the United States and the Soviet Union will reach an agreement banning nuclear testing. This new hope arose when both sides began making minor concessions recently. The Russian government, which had previously denounced on-site inspection as a form of "espionage", suddenly agreed to accept as many as three on-site inspections and three seismic monitoring devices. Our own "New Frontier" gradually lowered its inspection demands from 20 to 7 automatic devices, in addition to reducing its demand for

coverage of each inspection site from 275 to 190 square miles. Pleasant as any concessions are in Cold War negotiations, a glance at the issues ostensibly preventing an agreement between the U.S. and USSR leave one with the uneasy feeling that the world's biggest numbers racket is currently operating at Geneva.

## Test Ban Needed Soon

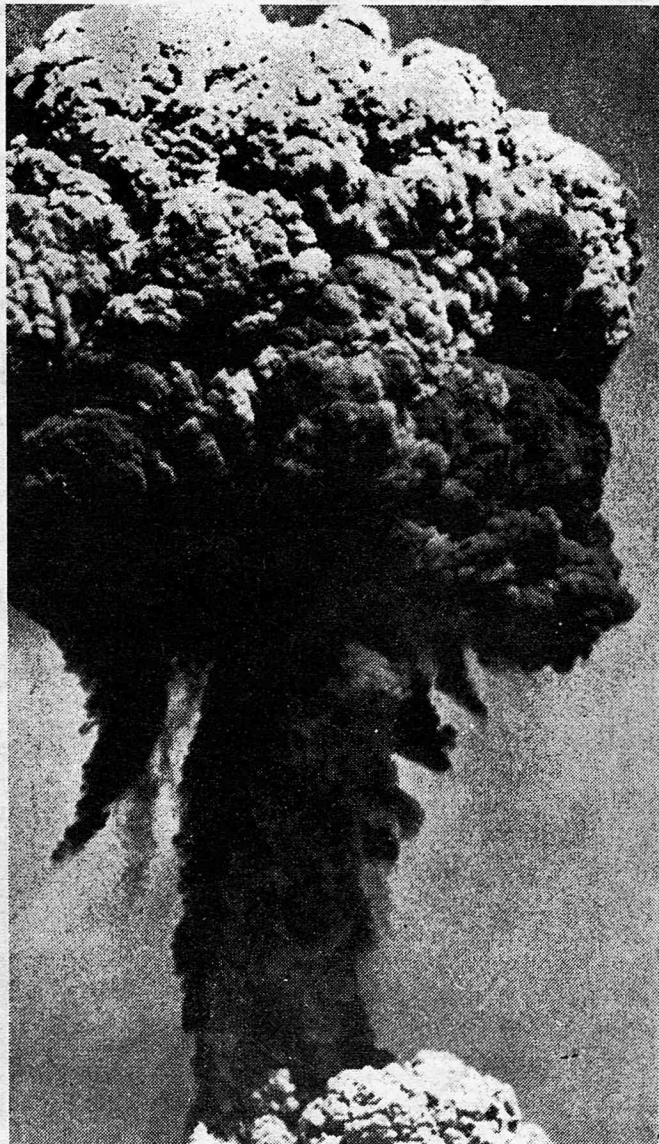
For instance, one of the roadblocks is the trivial argument over whether the number of inspections or inspection procedure should be discussed first.

Another of the current obstacles is the question of what nations should sign the test ban treaty if it is reached. The Soviet Union has been insisting that no ban can be agreed upon unless France, the third of the NATO "nuclear club", also stops testing. But France has refused to even participate in the Geneva negotiations, and is expected to refuse any ban until her own nuclear weapons are more advanced. As the recent Common Market controversy shows, even considerable pressure from Washington cannot budge de Gaulle's regal mind when he feels French interests are at stake. On the other hand, Soviet negotiators have rejected all suggestions that perhaps Communist China should also agree to banning nuclear tests. China, they say, need not be discussed as she is not now a "nuclear power". It is obvious that if China begins testing her own nuclear devices soon, as U.S. intelligence has flatly predicted, any East-West agreement is imperiled. Just as the Soviet Union used French testing in the Sahara to justify breaking the original Eisenhower-Krushchev moratorium, so Chinese testing could be used by an American administration to justify breaking a future testing ban.

Instead of a roadblock, this problem should serve to underline the urgency of reaching an agreement. President Kennedy has told the nation in a recent press conference that he is "personally haunted" by the fear that a large number of smaller powers will develop and test nuclear weapons unless an East-West test ban agreement is reached soon. It is obvious that this agreement is the necessary first step in serious efforts to build a world-wide ban on nuclear testing. Yet both sides continue to use disarmament conferences as a stage for political maneuvering, and while the "numbers game" has its humorous side, there is nothing funny about the continued lack of serious and honest negotiating.

## JFK Muzzles Liberals

Once again President Kennedy's "New Frontier" is caught in a tragedy of its own making. The most pathetic aspect of this test ban confusion is that JFK has made it clear, both in his March 21st press conference and through the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, that he would like to see a test ban. Unfortunately, his overwhelming fear of giving the Republican leadership the "soft-on-



SPU BULLETIN

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All articles signed by individuals fall in the scope of the Student Peace Union, but are the views of the individual and not necessarily the views of the Student Peace Union.

News Notes, a regular feature of each issue, carries news of student peace activity on campuses throughout the country. SPU members and groups wishing to inform students in other areas of their activities are urged to submit articles and photographs. Space limitations do not permit publication of all such reports, but an effort will be made to include all reports of major local campus activity.

The Bulletin welcomes letters to the Editor, and in the future will attempt to publish representative sampling of such letters in each issue. Writers of such letters are urged to limit letters to 150 words. No letters above 250 words will be considered for publication.

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Letters to the Editor

Dear Sir:

I am writing this letter to protest what I consider an abuse of honest journalism which appeared in the October 1962 issue of the SPU BULLETIN. The article was "Japanese Students Arrested in Moscow" by David Komatsu. The article reported on the refusal of Soviet police to allow three students who were officials of the Zengakuren to picket and pass out literature protesting the resumption of nuclear testing. Under the headline "Japanese Students Arrested in Moscow" is a picture without a caption showing Japanese students being beaten by police. I at first assumed, as the average person would, that this was a picture of Japanese students being beaten by Soviet cops. However, having spent two years in Japan, I spotted the uniforms to be those of Japanese cops. Most likely this picture was taken in Japan at an anti-U.S. imperialism rally which have been common there. The stimulation of anti-Soviet sentiment by the highly unethical procedure of placing this captionless picture in this article should not be a function of the Student Peace Union BULLETIN.

I should also like to briefly clarify the nature of the Zengakuren which readers may have gotten a misconcep-

tion of. The Zengakuren is the student organization in Japan with over 300,000 members. It has been active since its birth in the struggle against imperialism and war, and in promoting the principles of socialism. The majority of the Zengakuren is composed of Marxists who are left of the Communist Party, who are pro-Soviet but oppose Soviet nuclear testing as part of the policy of strengthening the military might of the Soviet Union at the expense of the class struggle in other countries.

GARY COHEN
New York City

EDITOR'S NOTE

Mr. Cohen is perfectly correct that the picture which he refers to is misleading. The picture is of a Zengakuren demonstration in front of the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo. In the haste of putting together the first BULLETIN of the year, we neglected to put captions on any pictures. We have attempted since then to identify all pictures. We used that photo of the Zengakuren since no pictures were available of the demonstration in Moscow, to show the Zengakuren in action.

Dear Sir:

It was with considerable regret that I read Gail Paradise's harsh attack on Dagmar Wilson's testimony before the HUAC (HUAC Attacks Peace, Feb., 1963).

If the peace movement, and the SPU in particular, is to survive and act as an effective force for peace, internal friction caused by needless red-baiting and useless witch hunts must not be allowed to disrupt our work. We are all aware what can happen when a decent, liberal organization takes to a policy of semi-exclusion and red-hunts. Suddenly it's not so liberal any more; most of the time it's not so decent any more either, having adopted the tactics of those we profess to oppose.

One of the indications of a truly appealing, fine peace group can be evidenced in SPU's policy of membership "without committing any member to a precise statement of policy". However, if this policy is not carried out into action, and the SPU initiates internal witch hunts leading to the exclusion of communists or any other group from membership, the SPU will cease to become an effective, dynamic mouthpiece for peace and justice.

Dagmar Wilson and the Women's Strike for Peace gave us a fine example of how not to let the SPU fall into the red-baiting trap by her testimony. Mrs. Wilson's refusal to conduct an internal investigation to purge communists from the WSP was a brave stand and one that shows her deep understanding of what the peace movement must be if it is to succeed. Certainly Mrs. Wilson can expect to be called all sorts of names for her position, but I think it would be more in line with SPU principles to applaud Mrs. Wilson rather than vilify her.

JEROME DREVA
1317 Michigan Ave.
Milwaukee, Wisc.

Dear Mr. Dreva:

Your letter to the SPU Bulletin comes as somewhat of a surprise to me. I think you misunderstood what I said. I attacked Mrs. Wilson on two basic grounds: 1) that she cooperated with the Committee and helped them with a witch hunt which I sincerely oppose and 2) that I disagree with her approach to the problems of world peace. That

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SPU 1963-64 Convention

From June 20th to June 23th the Student Peace Union will be holding its third annual National Convention at Princeton University in Princeton, New Jersey. The National Office urges all groups to plan to send delegates to the Convention. Within the next few weeks you will be receiving all Pre-Convention documents that local groups can discuss in preparation for setting the policies for SPU in the coming year.

# TEST BAN Still a Question

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communism" issue forces him to play into their hands. This was brought out most clearly by Sen. Humphrey on March 7th, when he publicly appealed to the Administration to untie the hands of those congressmen who wish to fight for a test ban: "Today I have in my office, for my personal use, document after document which is labelled 'secret'. I am told, 'Do not use it; just look at it.' But when I want to engage in debate with those who hold a different point of view on the issue of nuclear tests, and when I need the evidence--such as evidence on the Vela project or data on research by the Department of Defense and particularly by the Air Force--I am told, 'You cannot do that; it is secret.' Mr. President, I do not know how one can possibly come to an understanding regarding this issue if all the evidence is labelled 'secret'. Mr. President, the people of the United States are getting sick and tired of this so-called secrecy... When the Air Force wanted to prove that Skybolt was what was needed to supplement our defense posture newspaper stories were spread all over the United States saying what a marvellous weapon it was, even though later the President had to tell the American people it was 'off target', that it was not all the Air Force said it was. But the Air Force wanted to publicize it, and they used it to shoot the President out of his negotiating chair at Nassau. But when it comes to the issue of advances in seismology we are handcuffed. I will abide by the law but I do not like it. I have said to the President and to those responsible for our position on nuclear tests that the American people need to know the facts. Tell the American people of our detection system. Tell them what we have. We are always telling them what a big bomb we have. Tell them what a good detection system we have."

## Stalling For Time

Senator Humphrey let the cat out of the bag when he claimed that the U.S. Detection System now operational is good enough "so that no nation could be sure that its clandestine tests would go undetected." The truth is that Washington is stalling at Geneva, deliberately maintaining demands currently unacceptable to the USSR and completely unnecessary to us. Yet to justify this "numbers game", the Administration must conceal the very facts that its own research projects have brought up. It comes as no surprise that the nation's press gave no coverage to Sen. Humphrey when he bluntly stated that "our detection capability is much greater than the press has led us to believe on the basis of the information it has received from the U.S. Government." On this issue, JFK's efforts to "manage the press" have been met not with editorial independence, but only with whole-hearted compliance.

## Even I Worry

"... personally I am haunted by the feeling that by 1970, unless we are successful, there may be 10 nuclear powers instead of four, and by 1975, 15 or 20.... I regard that as the greatest possible danger and hazard.... Now I am not even talking about the contamination of the atmosphere which would come when all of these nations begin testing, but as you know, every test does affect generations which are still away from us."

PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY  
Press Conference, March 21, 1963

## The "No Risk" Policy

The crux of President Kennedy's dilemma is that he is faced with a hostile Congress. Regardless of how the "numbers game" and diplomatic issues are solved, a major difficulty is rallying sufficient support in the U.S. Senate for ratification of a test ban treaty. The most optimistic poll of Senate opinion taken recently shows that of the 67 votes needed for ratification, only 57 can be gathered. This explains much of President Kennedy's stalling. If the U.S. and USSR were to agree at Geneva, only to have the U.S. Senate reject the treaty, it would be the most crushing blow in his career to President Kennedy's prestige and authority. The leader of the "New Frontier" is unwilling to risk this set-back no matter how urgently a test ban is needed.



"You Stay Out of This!"

## Conservatives Mobilize

While the White House equivocates, congressional conservatives are mounting a high-priority campaign to head off any test ban. The Republican leadership has set up a Republican Conference Committee On Nuclear Testing to serve as a pseudo-objective frame for their attacks on the Administration. "Experts" such as Dr. Edward Teller and Admiral Lewis Strauss, former AEC head, have testified against a test ban before this group. Dr. Teller, doubtlessly using the famed scientific method, stated that "patriotic congressmen of both parties will resist the pressures of a public frightened by crises and misled by the mirage of peace". Many Republicans, looking to the 1964 elections, are criticizing Kennedy as being "soft" on Russian troops in Cuba. Other Senators who were supporters of the Skybolt missile or the RS-70 bomber--or are fighting Secretary of Defense McNamara on the TFX fighter contracts--are only waiting for an opportunity to attack the Administration on its entire Defense program. Conservative Senators, as well as military brass, were shocked to hear Secretary McNamara admit that the U.S. strategy of "Counterforce" is obsolete; they were no happier to hear him say that the Arms Race is resulting in a

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An undeclared war of devastating proportions is being fought in Vietnam today. This war has been characterized by President John F. Kennedy as the supreme test of "democracy" in Southeast Asia: "South Vietnam represents a proving ground of democracy in Asia... (It) represents the alternative to Communist dictatorship. If this democratic experiment fails, if some one million refugees have fled the totalitarianism of the North only to find neither freedom nor security in the South, then weakness, not strength, will characterize the meaning of democracy in midst of still more Asians." Whether President Ngo Dinh Diem's regime is the "bulwark of democracy" or not, one thing is certain, it is a crumbling bulwark. Suffering from lack of popular support, as Senate Democratic leader Mike Mansfield has admitted, the government has done little to raise living standards, industrialize, provide jobs for the 60% unemployed, provide any kind of security to its population of 12 million or create any kind of alternative to the terrible destruction which is commonplace throughout the country today.

## Breakthrough to the New Frontier

U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara stated upon his return from Vietnam early this year that the U.S. must "sink or swim" with Diem. This is certainly an unprecedented breakthrough for the New Frontier. Never before has the U.S. so completely staked its foreign policy

ity laws", is chairman of the Justice and Social Welfare Committee.

The government is run in accordance with the new golden rule--"what is good for the Diem family is good for the state". Diem is Catholic, therefore Catholicism is the state religion, although only 1.2 million out of a total population of 12.1 million are Catholic. Naturally, Diem's brother is bishop. The Diem family is wealthy, therefore there can be no taxation on luxury goods, capital earnings or personal income of the upper classes. Even subversion of the war effort is excusable if a relative is involved, as was the case when Ngo Dinh Can, governor of Central Vietnam, was caught in 1961 running rice on the black market to North Vietnam. He smuggled rice North although there was a widespread famine in South Vietnam at the time. Even U.S. aid has never reached the people. In 1958 the U.S. government was giving South Vietnam credit to import commodities for development. The Diem regime saw that \$34.3 million was imported in clothing, more than the total imports of industrial equipment and machinery which amounted to \$30.3 million. In a country which must develop agricultural output in order to improve its foreign exchange earnings, a total of \$5 million in fertilizers and insecticides was imported against \$7.8 million worth of private automobiles or \$6.9 million in gasoline and oil.

# VIETNAM

on a dictatorship which is so well known for its mass suppressions and total unwillingness to cope with the problems of its country. Next to Diem, the Batista and Trujillo regimes look like Roosevelt's "New Deal". Even Eisenhower was hesitant about a "sink or swim" with Diem policy and even went so far as to withdraw military and economic aid until a limited program of land reform was instituted. But the Kennedy Administration helps Diem with his repressions and bolsters his regime with military support.

## The Family Concession

Ngo Dinh Diem seems to view the government of his country as a family concession. His brother, Ngo Dinh Nhu, is the principal political adviser in the Administration and head of the 70,000 undercover members of the Can-Lao organization; Nhu's wife is first lady of the regime and leader of the organization of Vietnamese women; brother Ngo Dinh Luyen is the Ambassador to London, Bonn and Brussels; Mrs. Nhu's father, Tran Van Chuong, is Ambassador to Washington, Canada, Argentina and Brazil; Mrs. Nhu's mother represents Vietnam in the U.N. Still another brother is the Roman Catholic bishop of Vinh Long. The sisters-in-law play a vital role in the government. Madame Nguyen Thi Minh, author of the infamous "moral-

## "Bulwark" Without Democracy

The Diem "bulwark of democracy" boils down to nothing more than totalitarianism. Even the Kennedy Administration has worried about the mass political suppressions, the detention camps and the lack of freedom of the press. As of 1962 45,000 students had been placed in "re-education centers", glorified concentration camps, for being suspected of disagreement with the government. Some have been placed there for violation of Madame Nguyen Thi Minh's Alice-in-Wonderland morality laws--that is, singing sad songs, wearing dresses not at the prescribed length, playing rock and roll music (or even listening to it), doing the twist, or wearing padded brassieres. Not oddly enough, 30% of those "rehabilitated" by the concentration camp process, NATION Magazine reports, have joined the Viet-Cong. There are concentration camps for political prisoners and all people who have openly opposed the regime. These are small in relation to the "re-education centers, since most political dissidents have been killed or have fled the country. (There have been several uprisings against Diem over the past few years. The first was by religious sects which were suppressed by 1955, then came attempts by nationalist groupings that were moderate as well as an attempted military coup in 1961.)

The United States has helped the Diem regime conceive of a new method of keeping the people under the control of the government--the so-called "strategic hamlet". This, according to McNamara's experts, is essential to wiping out the Viet-Cong. The government has been moving whole villages to mud stockades where they will be "protected" from guerilla attacks. The real reason is to prevent villagers from aiding the Viet-Cong. Those who go voluntarily are given land and six month's rice, those who do not wish to go are forced. Supposedly the villagers can farm the land around the stockade. Paradoxically, these stockades have been prime targets of the Viet-Cong. The villagers have difficulty farming the land because of these attacks and three U.S. helicopters have been shot down trying to rush food to the hundreds of people dying of starvation within them. Concentration camps such as these do not win popular support.

Even disregarding its policies, the Diem regime is a bitter farce. Its unpopularity and ineffectiveness are so all-pervasive that there is probably no spot in the country, aside from Diem's palace, that they can guarantee to be without guerrillas. U.S. airmen were shaken up recently when they found Viet-Cong leaflets on the seat of all their helicopters. This was a not-so-subtle hint from the guerrillas that they could easily sabotage the U.S. aircraft. U.S. officers told reporters that they were unsure whether the guerrillas slipped in past the South Vietnamese secur-

ity guard around the base, or whether the guerrillas were actually members of the security guard. Even this was not so embarrassing as the episode last year when the Viet-Cong slipped into an airbase and exchanged Diem propaganda leaflets for their own. Shortly thereafter, U.S. pilots on their regular propaganda-distributing run discovered that they were dropping leaflets with Ho Chi Ming's picture on the front, accompanied by an appeal to desert Diem's army.

In the southern tip of South Vietnam, four entire provinces are controlled by the Viet-Cong. A clue to the source of their strength can be found in the New York TIMES (April 21, 1963) description: "Often the only dispensary--dispensing the most potent of Vietnamese political goods, medicine--is run by the Communists. Usually the only village school is a Communist school." The Viet-Cong has guns, medicine and crude schools; Diem has better guns, but offers no medical care or education. Naturally, the Viet-Cong holds the area. Even in some of the large villages the New York TIMES notes that "many of the lower officials serve only with a sort of unofficial approval of the Communists."

Diem, who bears the burden of U.S. hopes for Southeast Asia, could never be accused of refusing to hold elections. However, these elections are blatantly rigged

1963

## All the Way

According to the Geneva Agreement of 1954 which



partitioned Vietnam, no forces of a foreign power could exceed 700 troops. Today the U.S. still claims that she has remained within the confines of this agreement and total U.S. troops in Vietnam number 684. No one is quite sure how many United States troops are in the area, but LIFE, TIME, the New York TIMES and the Saturday Evening Post number them anywhere from 5,000 to 15,000. One factor in this obscurity is that the U.S. Army forbids soldiers to wear uniforms in Saigon so that they cannot be counted. This deliberate concealment exists because the real relationship of the U.S. in Vietnam extends far, far beyond giving economic and technical aid and providing military advisors. By now everyone has realized that the U.S. is leading the fight against the Viet-Cong guerillas, is supplying ground forces in that fight, and is the only reason why the hopeless Diem regime could have withstood the Viet-Cong, the military coup of 1961 and the opposition of its own people. Unfortunately President Kennedy has had no second thoughts about making a mockery of the Geneva accords.

The extent of U.S. military involvement is beautifully illustrated by the Saturday Evening Post article of March 23, 1963. Here Jerry Rose tells the story of 11,000 U.S. soldiers and their "struggle against Communism".

Continued next page

the Viet-Cong attacked Buon Mi Ga, a small village, soldiers deserted, fled or were captured and the U.S. "military advisors" fought alone. This seems to be the case all over the country. The U.S. not only plans the war, but American soldiers fight it.

The U.S. does more than waste American lives. In a brief story last February, the New York Times talked about the use of chemical warfare against Viet-Cong guerrillas as an attempt to starve them off the land and bring them out into the open. Therefore, U.S. planes sprayed anti-foolants on all vegetation in areas of intense Viet-



### Looking for Viet Cong

Cong infiltration. This made the leaves fall off trees and killed crops. Since 90% of the rice crop had been destroyed by the Viet-Cong, the villagers were left hungry when the U.S. Army chemicals killed the tapioca roots, their only remaining food source. The U.S. has also polluted drinking water in areas where it thought the Viet-Cong had bases. The effect of all this has only intensified Viet-Cong raids on villages for food.

The U.S. has become extremely frustrated in its efforts to build popular support for President Diem. Realizing that Diem refuses to change, they have sought to at least change his image. The U.S. helicopter teams make daily runs dropping government propaganda. Through U.S. ingenuity, Diem has set up an "Economic and Social Council" to "advise" the government. Since this is the "bastion of democracy", Diem appoints the council himself. This, U.S. Ambassador to Vietnam Frederic Nolting Jr. says "gives the people more of a feeling of participation in government". The U.S. has also advised Diem to promise various reforms--like rice doles to the urban population and land in exchange for volunteering to go into concentration camps. Some trade!

## For the Few

The U.S. has given much "economic" aid to South Vietnam hoping that somehow this would help President Diem win friends. The U.S. has tried to foster economic growth through subsidizing native industry, giving Vietnam credits for importation of goods and through direct project aid. The subsidization of native industry supposedly has been to make the country more self-sufficient and industrialize the nation so that the unemployment situation could be alleviated. The Second Five Year Plan for Economic Development is extremely ambitious and provides for the development of mining and metallurgical industries, chemical and allied industries and textile industries. It also visualizes some kind of food industries, caneries and sugar refineries. This plan was presented in the Vietnam Review of June 6, 1962. The implementation of this plan for industrialization will be through state, U.S. and private business hands. The interesting thing that one must note, however, is that none of these industries can benefit the people directly. That is, most of the goods that will be produced are for exportation and most of them do not deal with agricultural tools or lead to a higher development of the country's major product--rice and pork and grains. This would not be so injurious to the country if it were meant to be exported for machine tools, tractors, fertilizers, etc. But the imports into the country have been in consumer goods which only a small minority of the population can use--cars, silks, televisions, etc. Obviously the clique of Diem's supporters are more interested in making money than in developing their country.

The international credit which the U.S. has established for Vietnam has been sorely abused. The system works in the following way: Vietnamese importers deposit money into a fund; the U.S. puts an equivalent amount in a counterpart fund. The importers receive foreign exchange advanced by the U.S. and the money in the counterpart fund is theoretically used by the Vietnamese Government for public, non-military expenditures. However, the history of the use of counterpart fund operations reveal two interesting facts: first, three-fourths of all the goods imported by Vietnam under the commercial aid program have been luxury rather than development goods; and, secondly, when the counterpart funds brought by these imports were spent by the Vietnamese Government, about three-fourths were allocated to the maintenance of the Army.

The direct project aid which the U.S. gives to Vietnam could theoretically be used to help the people in a meaningful way. However, even in this area, it has been used for the benefit of the few. From 1955 to 1960, the U.S. allocated 45% of all project aid for the development of highways (one of which cost \$25 million and leads only from Saigon to a sea resort) against 9% for agriculture when the only real hope for a self-sustaining economy is to increase food consumption and agricultural exports. The U.S. has sponsored many status symbols which are virtually useless, even going so far as to give Diem a nuclear reactor. In a country where there are shortages of pencils and scotch tape in the government offices, where half of Saigon does not have electricity, plumbing, toilet facilities and adequate schools, this aid has meant nothing. Professors Jaffe and Taylor of Michigan State University, who spent several years in Saigon on a research project, called the U.S. approach to "economic aid" in Vietnam a "multitude of piecemeal projects in diverse areas in the hope that they will add up to something". It is no wonder that a recent survey of villagers showed that they were totally unaware of U.S. aid. that is, with the exception of the 55,000 villagers relocated into "strategic hamlets" who hate the U.S. and see the U.S. not as their great

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the cream of the French Army. This effort never understood that the primary strength of any underground movement is not smuggled arms or clever tactics, but overwhelming popular discontent with the status quo. Literally hundreds of thousands of lives and billions of francs were wasted by a succession of French Governments, only to leave Indo-China in the end anyway. This is the point that Washington has missed.

Our latest military innovation for South Vietnam--the "strategic hamlet" conception--was borrowed from the British, who used it as one weapon in a successful struggle to quell a similar guerrilla movement in Malaya. Here again the Administration has missed the main point. After grouping the rural population in these camps and importing tens of thousands of troops, the British found that they had to undercut the political appeal of the Communists by instituting social reforms and promising independence. Our failure to do likewise in Vietnam has only involved us in a vicious circle. The further we support Diem's regime, the more unpopular we become and the more we feel forced to back Diem.

It is already very late in the day to build the beginnings of a decent society in South Vietnam. Perhaps it is too late. But the very least that America can do is to minimize as much as possible the effects of this devastating war. We should immediately withdraw our military troops and hardware, substituting instead direct-to-the-people aid programs. After years of helping to build the discontent that the Viet-Cong lives upon, it is probably too late to prevent their victory. This, however, does not justify continued support to the bankrupt Diem regime, or continued support of the same policies that have produced this tragedy in Vietnam. In Asia, Africa and Latin America, U.S. foreign policy will continue to be frustrated until it flows with--and not against--the tide of the Colonial Revolution. The major weapon against Communism is neither the machine gun nor the helicopter, but massive economic and technical aid coupled with social reform in order to build a decent standard of living.

Gail Paradise is National Secretary of the SPU



**Ngo Dinh Diem and Clan: At Left, Brother Archbishop Ngo Dinh Thuc, At Right, Brother Ngo Dinh Nhu, With Madame Nhu**

simple one--try it and we'll shoot you. As we go to press, President Kennedy, worried over Communist gains in Laos, is sending the U. S. 7th Fleet to the Gulf of Siam, and is contemplating landing Marines in Thailand.

Ironically, this brings Western policy in Southeast Asia around full circle to the policy that lost France Indo-China in the bitterest and most expensive manner possible. France attempted to suppress Communist guerrilla movements with massive infusions of military force, including

**Feiffer**

GENTLEMEN, IT'S TIME WE IN THE PEACE MOVEMENT STOPPED BLAMING OTHERS FOR OUR FAILURES AND LOOKED TO THE REAL CAUSE: OURSELVES.



WE HAVE FAILED TO PROJECT THE RIGHT IMAGE. PEACE, LIKE ANYTHING ELSE, IS A PRODUCT. IF WE INTEND TO MASS-MARKET IT WE MUST DO OUR SHARE OF CONSUMER RESEARCH.



WELL, WE HAVE DONE SOME RESEARCH AND THESE ARE OUR FINDINGS. THE PUBLIC FINDS PEACE LACKING IN VIRILITY, GENTLEMEN. IT FINDS IT OVERLY PASSIVE, NAIVE ABOUT COMMUNISM AND A SOP FOR WOMEN AND BEATNIKS!



THAT IS NOT THE KIND OF PEACE THAT SELLS! OUR FINDINGS REVEAL THAT PEOPLE FIND THE PREPARATIONS FOR WAR STIMULATING! IT'S ONLY THE END RESULTS THAT THEY FROWN ON. IF WE'RE GOING TO MAKE PEACE CATCH ON WE'VE GOT TO MAKE IT AS MASCULINE AS WAR!

NUMBER ONE--RE-TITLE OUR MOVEMENT "HAWKS FOR PEACE."  
NUMBER TWO--REPLACE OUR PEACE COUNCILS WITH PEACE COMMANDS--WE CAN CALL THEM "PEACE COMMS."  
NUMBER THREE--RE-TITLE OUR PEACE WORKERS. CALL THEM "TROUBLE SHOOTERS."



NUMBER FOUR--PUT OUT A SERIES OF KHAKI-COLORED CRASH PROGRAMS ON SUCH THEMES AS "PEACE POSTURE," "PEACE ESCALATION," "PEACE COUNTERFORCE."  
NUMBER FIVE--ONLY ALLOW PEOPLE WITH SUITS AND TIES TO JOIN. GET A FEW OF THOSE MINISTERS OFF THE SPONSOR LIST AND PUT ON A COUPLE OF GENERALS!



GENTLEMEN, ONCE WE MAKE THE IMAGE OF PEACE MORE WAR-LIKE, OUR FUND RAISING PROBLEMS WILL BE OVER!

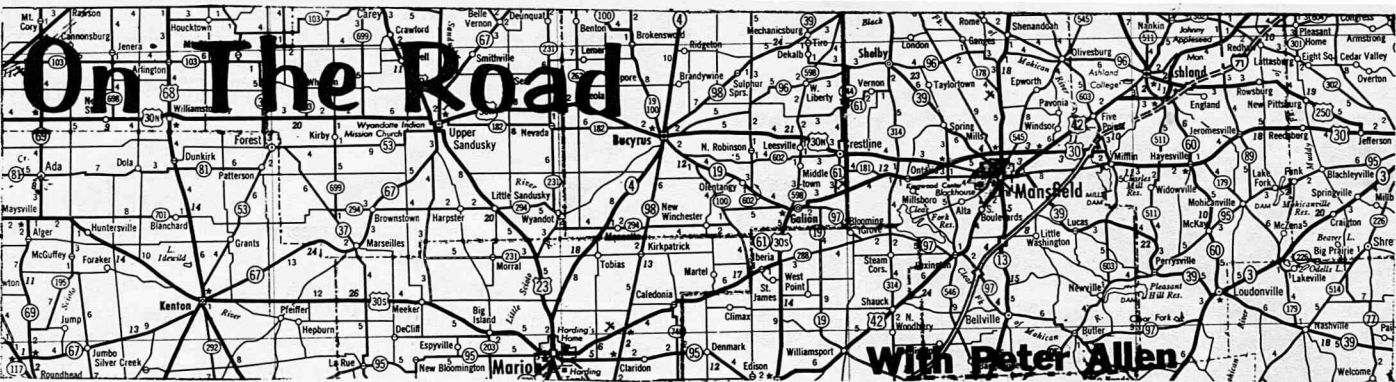


I'M SURE CONGRESS WILL BE HAPPY TO GIVE US ALL WE WANT.

The Bill Strydom, Inc.

© 1963

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Armed with a small grant from the War Resister's League, your correspondent spent February and March visiting SPU groups in six states. For once American business (in the form of the Greyhound Bus Company) has done the peace movement a favor. By taking advantage of their special tourist plan (which should be named the "Field Secretary's Special") I've managed to travel 8,000 miles across the Midwest and Southwest so far for only \$99.

Probably the most dramatic activity a local group is involved in is getting itself established on the campus. This is the point at which most people indicate their reaction to the group and its ideas, and therefore, this is the period in which the group gains the most new members and also meets the strongest opposition. Yet the real work of a group comes after this is past. It is afterwards that the real chance to think out one's own ideas and to recruit new people arises. The needs of different campuses vary a great deal. Nevertheless, a group must have interesting, varied and well organized projects which can involve more deeply those interested and can interest those who are apathetic or hostile.



Most of the groups I visited in the south-western portion of the U.S. during the last couple of months were in this stage, and I was very encouraged to find that most of them have managed to continue to interest people, in spite of the smallness of some and the great distances between them. The following are an assortment of different ideas and aspects of campus peace programming.

The Los Angeles area is probably the most difficult of any in which to maintain interest in a student group. The widely dispersed and sometimes highly mobile student population has a variety of activities available on the one hand, and is often unable to reach meetings on the other. While I was there I had to borrow a car in order to get around and ended up driving over a thousand miles in a week just in the L.A. area. This gives you some idea of how spread out the city is.

Nevertheless, there are several chapters in the area and more are being formed. The oldest group is at Claremont, a complex of four colleges of which the best known is Pomona. Over the past year they have maintained a weekly radio show on the school station, which is reported to have well over a thousand off-campus listeners, and also puts out a small periodical called "Conscience" for the college community.

The UCLA chapter held a puppet show as one of its first programs. Mallory Pearce, the chairman, has been studying puppetry and, with several other members, developed a short satire featuring a naive scientist and a

"realistic" arms manufacturer which they performed. UCLA, being on the edge of Hollywood, has one of the most extensive film libraries in the country and the group also hopes to show some of the many anti-war films and the more recent experimental shorts on the nuclear stalemate which are available.

At San Fernando Valley State College, an SPU group formed largely because Sue Davey, who became its first chairman, lived right on the edge of the campus and the house was open most of the day or evening to anyone who wanted to drop in. She kept a supply of SPU and other peace literature in the living room, and it soon became a center for those interested. Thus, when the SPU was officially formed it already had twenty active participants. They have since taken on much of the work of running a regional council in this sprawling nexus of suburbs and were working on several regional projects while I was there.

At San Jose State College the group has not only maintained regular meetings and action projects for more than a year now, but they have been highly successful in the informal work of making contact with fellow students and interesting them in the group's projects. They have held regular meetings (usually with guest speakers), weekly literature tables and have leafleted about several issues. The day I was there they had an ex-NATO advisor speak and set-up a literature table in support of ending the draft. These formal programs, coupled with personal contacts, have meant a steadily growing group which has succeeded in replacing its leadership as older people have left. One of the newer officers of the group, Gary Nielson, was the first of several older students I met during the trip who had joined the peace movement because of their experiences in the U.S. Air Force. Gary had been an airport coordinator at a bomber base in Puerto Rico, and after spending a night literally sitting on the cold steel of a Hydrogen bomb, decided that he couldn't cooperate with what the Air Force was doing.

In Austin I met a soldier who was employed by the Tactical Air Command. He came to the meeting at which I spoke because he noticed that it was a discussion of the draft. After the meeting broke up, he stayed to discuss disarmament and, I believe, has since joined the Austin chapter. That chapter has come up with one of the most spontaneous projects which was organized on a few hours notice. They heard that some visiting Russian clergy would be arriving later the same night and that a right-wing group was planning to picket them at the airport. They contacted as many people as possible, especially the religious fellowships and wound up with a friendship welcoming party of several hundred students. In addition, they have maintained a continuing program which included a discussion series on non-violence. Not neglecting social life, the also have had a couple of "picnics for peace".

On other campuses virtually all of the formal and highly publicized projects which I have described so far

in town (a Fellowship of Reconciliation group) and carry out most of their projects jointly. While I was there they were planning their third annual Easter peace walk through downtown Tucson. This small group of peace-concerned people in the middle of the Southern Arizona desert (home of Barry Goldwater), originally grew out of a campaign called CART (Committee Against Ringing Tucson), aimed at the missiles then being installed around the city. The campaign gained a great deal of civic support in this conservative town. Jerry Fish, one of the most active SPU members there, is boarding with a couple who are teaching public school without salary because they refuse to sign the Arizona loyalty oath. Their case has not only drawn a great deal of local support but also attracted national interest.

## No Shelters for Johnny

There is no known security for the masses of people if there should be an all-out thermonuclear war. The Wichita Public Schools system is in no position to guarantee physical protection to adults or pupils from a thermonuclear explosion or radioactive fallout. The Survival Plan for the Wichita Target Area, which became effective in 1959 and was adopted by the Board of Education, is no longer considered to be either feasible or practical. It is therefore useless for the school system to conduct Civil Defense drills for an outmoded system of protection against a possible thermonuclear attack.

STATEMENT BY THE WICHITA, KANSAS PUBLIC SCHOOLS, December 1, 1961, signed by Lawrence Shepoiser, the Superintendent of Schools.

The AFSC has been helpful in other ways also. In Houston, where members of the SPU attend at least four separate schools, they often meet at the AFSC office and Mel Zuck, the regional secretary, serves as an advisor to the group. The Des Moines office has helped both Denver University and University of Kansas SPUs. In Denver they began a Turn Toward Peace Center which has served as the central focus of resources and outside support for the SPU at DU. The SPU there was started by Mike Klein who before last fall was active in the Cleveland SPU. Since he had never been in Denver before and most of those who lived in Denver had never been in the peace movement before, the peace center was a help in getting started.

At Topeka, the Des Moines AFSC just held their third annual international affairs institute which featured Arnold Toynbee and was supported by many of Topeka's foremost citizens (including Alf Landon, one-time Republican presidential candidate). The YMCA at KU also runs several programs--especially the political discussion club and the model UN--which SPU members are active in. These have given SPU members a chance to interest other students in the SPU and also simply to find other people in the area who share their concerns. Laird Wilcox, the original organizer of the KU SPU, has tried to meet the sense of isolation which most members there feel in another way. He has set up a small subscription agency which specializes in minority view-point publications and is trying to encourage students to learn more about all of them and possibly begin to read one or two regularly.

As I said at the beginning, programming by different groups is as varied as the groups themselves, the campus they are on, and the resources they have available. Few of these projects could be transferred with equal success to one of the other campuses, and thus each group must have its own leadership and use its own imagination in are inappropriate. Park College in western Missouri, has a total of four hundred students all living together in

a town not much larger. Here a group has formed and gained attention on the campus practically entirely through informal discussions. Nancy Efron, the chairman, had been a member of the SPU at Girls High in Philadelphia and another member worked with the CND in Britain a couple of years ago. None of the other members had had any previous contact with the peace movement. However, a large portion of the faculty have been wearing SPU pins in support, and with their help the group has planned to begin an education program among themselves and also to bring in whatever guest speakers are available to speak for the school's daily assembly.

Only a few hours away at the University of Missouri a group has grown up in about the same time, using the conventional projects which peace groups have been using for years now. They have maintained an intense level of activity this past semester having meetings, leafleting against ROTC and Air Raid Shelters on the campus, holding a weekly vigil next to the ROTC drill field, having an Anti-Military Ball, and making an organized effort to reach every school and religious youth group in the area.

Many times, even in isolated areas, there are very useful outside projects which a group can utilize. In Arizona, Texas, Colorado and Kansas the American Friends Service Committee has served as virtually the only source of support. Most of the members of the recently formed SPU at the University of Arizona were originally involved through an AFSC study program run in contact with the Pasadena office. They work very closely with the adults developing a successful on-going program.

It is also true, of course, that most people first become interested in the peace movement because of things entirely out of the control of the peace groups; events, either international or personal, which cause someone to begin to doubt the viability of nuclear stalemate. (Testing is probably the most prevalent single example.) And yet, the real job of the peace movement is not reacting briefly --and usually only symbolically--to international crises, but is to continue to involve those who become interested. It is this which can only be done with meaningful programming and probably the most valuable part is being involved in determining and carrying out of these programs.

Peter Allen is a National Field Secretary for the SPU

## No Comment

WASHINGTON, April 18 (UPI)--Gen. Maxwell E. Taylor, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, indicated in secret Congressional testimony made public today that India might have started the border fight with Communist China.

The previously accepted version of the border fighting that flared last fall was that Communist China had attacked Indian troops.

General Taylor's statement was made Feb. 14 in testimony before the chairmanship of Representative George H. Mahon, Democrat of Texas. The general was questioned by Representative Robert L. F. Sikes, Democrat of Florida.

"Let me talk about the Red China and the Indian operation," Mr. Sikes said. "Did the Indians actually start this military operation?"

"They were edging forward in the dispute area," replied General Taylor. "Yes sir."

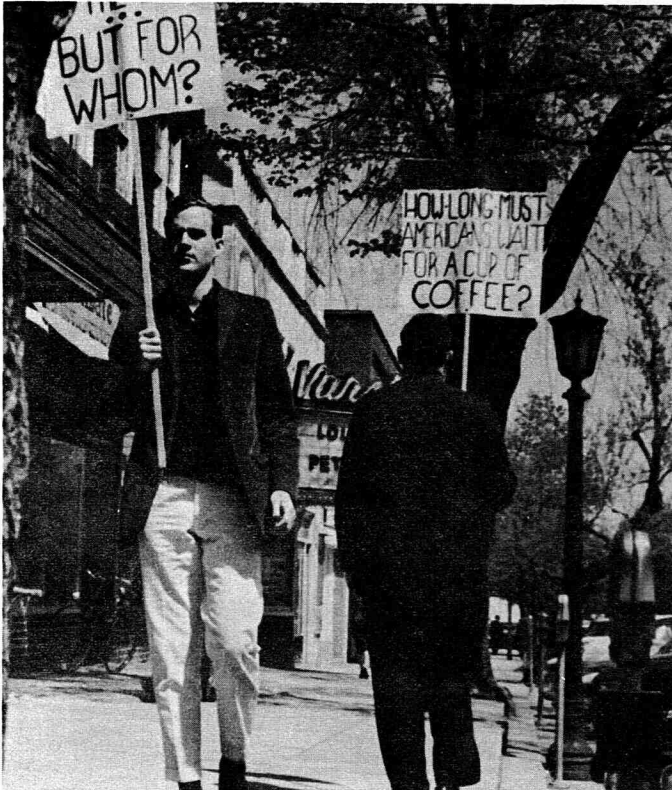
At this point the testimony was censored out of the public transcript.

FROM: New York TIMES

# For Peace and Freedom

CHAPEL HILL (April 15)--The University of North Carolina chapter of SPU rested today for the first time since it began an 8-hour-per-day picket of the College Cafe, a local downtown restaurant. Today is Easter Monday, and the Cafe is closed.

The picket line, begun April 5th to protest racial discrimination by the restaurant, grew out of a March 17th resolution passed unanimously by the local chapter condemning racial discrimination and placing a boycott on 13 Chapel Hill establishments which practice discrimination. The picketing is the first direct action in the area of civil rights undertaken by a Student Peace Union chapter, according to Pat Cusick, local SPU chairman.



Before picketing began, numerous negotiations were attempted. None were satisfactory, and the picket line started.

Although picketing has been generally peaceful, a number of isolated incidents have occurred. The first day, Dennis King, a non-member, was spat on, reportedly by two UNC football players. King, upholding CORE non-violent rules of picketing, did not in any way retaliate, but during the following week, almost all picketers were cursed a number of times.

Thursday, April 11th, Paul Hutzler, also a non-SPU member, was assaulted. Hutzler was carrying perhaps our most disturbing sign which reads, "1863-1963, How Long Must Americans Wait for a Cup of Coffee?" when he was approached by an irate segregationist, Roy Lee Merritt. Merritt asked Hutzler where he was from and Hutzler replied, "Rome, Georgia".

After hurling a number of insults which culminated with, "I can lick you and a sack full of niggers too," Merritt swung at Hutzler. He hit and broke the sign instead.

The Hutzler-Merritt incident apparently embarrassed the Chapel Hill police, who pride themselves on the lack of violence in past civil rights demonstrations here. The following day there was a much closer watch on the picket-

ed area and there have been no further incidents of a violent nature.

A number of humorous incidents have also taken place. Pat Cusick, local SPU chairman, is a tenth generation Alabamian, but the latest rumor is that he is a "rich New York S.O.B. who is paying pickets \$3 per hour". Those who know the financial condition of most SPU members and chapters will find this even more humorous.

No one is sure today how long the fight against the College Cafe will last. Since picketing has begun, the Cafe has lost a number of patrons, but it has also gained others. According to NAACP people who have been involved in this sort of work before, this is a normal reaction to picketing. It will be perhaps two weeks before the effectiveness of the picketing will be known.

UNC-SPU passed its resolution and is picketing because its members feel that peace and civil rights cannot be separated, and that if individual people cannot live together, what chance do whole nations have? We feel other SPU chapters should consider this and perhaps pass similar resolutions. There can be no peace--without freedom.

William Hicks III is active in the UNC SPU.

## Letters to the Editor

is, peace is a political question and we must realize that there are differences in opinion which are political and that must be discussed within the peace movement. A person who supports the cold war policies of any nation--be it the United States, the Soviet Union, France, China, etc.--is confused about what the peace movement and the SPU are trying to accomplish. The SPU Statement of Purpose says that "neither war nor the threat of war can serve as alternatives today" and also it goes on to say that the peace movement must formulate its policies independently of either power bloc and "must apply the same standard of criticism to each". It is not "red-baiting" to try to discuss political differences. How else can we ever begin to find alternatives unless we understand the political issues underlying the cold war and seek to resolve these? No one said in the article that the SPU intended to exclude groups or individuals from the organization. We just ask that people who join the organization agree with the Statement of Purpose. This is not "red-baiting", this is stating our policies and purposes and inviting all who agree with them to join us.

I deeply regret that you misunderstood my article. I might applaud Mrs. Wilson if she had refused to cooperate with HUAC and had not allowed them to intimidate her. I cannot applaud her for admitting their right to ask about the political beliefs of any group or individuals. Nor can I agree that questions of foreign policy and disarmament are not political. If they are not political, why do we not have peace now?

GAIL PARADISE

National Secretary, SPU

## Profits After Doomsday?

"With as much secrecy as possible, the Defense Department is preparing to deploy at U.S. bases 54 intercontinental missiles of the 'doomsday' kind."

"Many experts think civilization would not survive if they were ever used against the Soviet Union."

UPI, March 24, 1963

Intrigued by this story on the new Titan II missile (24 megaton warhead), the BULLETIN asked the Defense Department for confirmation on its "doomsday" aspects --only to receive reprints of four old speeches by Defense officials, including one on how the industry in the Midwest can get more defense contracts.

# Spies for Peace

British Prime Minister MacMillan's already shaky government was given a fresh kick by a small group of still unidentified unilateralists. The group, known as "Spies for Peace", distributed leaflets revealing "top-secret" military information to marchers on the famed Aldermaston Peace March this Easter. As Scotland Yard's Special Branch launched an investigation to identify the "Spies for Peace" and their government connections, angry Conservative members of Parliament called for an official inquiry into security laxness.

The leaflets, entitled "Danger Official Secret RSG 6", revealed the address and telephone number of 12 underground "Regional Seats of Government" --supposedly secret--that will take command of England after a nuclear war. The post-war plan of the British Government at least answers the question of how democracy will survive in the nuclear chaos--it won't. The "Regional Seats of Government" will be headed by 12 "Regional Commissioners", who will have absolute power over the people in their area, enforced by the remaining police, Army, Navy and Air Force. It goes without saying that these trusted individuals are not elected officials. Although much of the press of Great Britain and the United States has called "treason" over this affair, it seems more reasonable that the English people owe "Spies for Peace" their gratitude for revealing another part of the nuclear nonsense that is usually hidden by "security". As PEACE NEWS, the leading English pacifist publication, points out: "... the system of Regional Governments could only operate at all if the nuclear attack



**Leaflet Collectors**

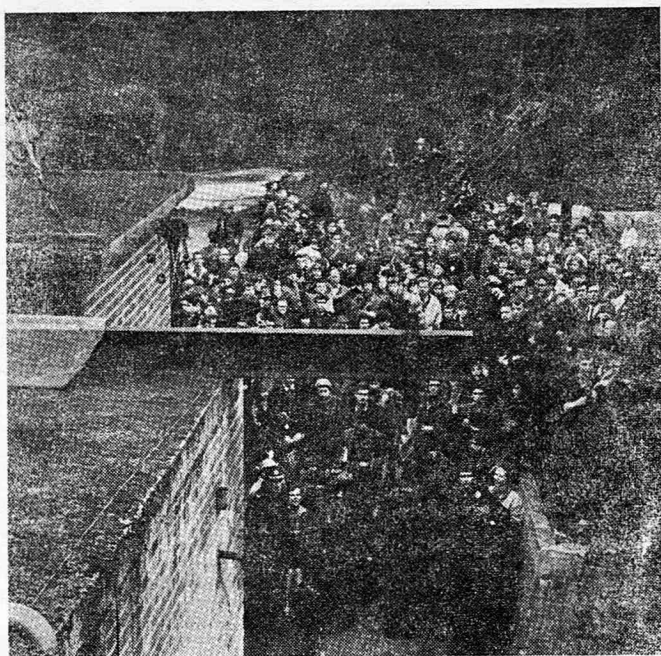
was on an absurdly small scale. A large scale attack, which seems more probable, would leave the Regional Government in charge of several million corpses for the few weeks it might hope to survive itself."

"Security", that immobile Cold War institution, behaved in its usual manner. Despite the fact that the Russian Ambassador could have driven down to the March and taken home his choice of leaflets, the Government still forbade British newspapers to publish any details. Peace marchers were treated to the sight of hundreds of police trying to collect every copy of the leaflet in sight, although thousands had already been distributed and read.

## Good-bye Britain

While the U.S. press has covered the general outlines of the story, there is an almost universal silence about the most important revelations contained in the leaflet.

1963



**Peace Marchers Explore Secret Base**

"Spies for Peace" revealed the official results of the "Fallex 62" war games for Britain:

"The medical services broke down completely. Every hospital in the Southern Region was destroyed or put out of action by fall-out, the death of doctors or lack of supplies. The communications system broke down and the roads were choked. Gloucester, Oxford and Plymouth were eliminated by small bombs. London was paralysed; to go above ground was death. A lethal belt of radiation extended as far out as Windsor. Three-quarters of the police in the Southern Region were killed, injured or irradiated. Losses among the civilian population were proportionately even higher. Whoever won the war, we lost it."

The Government has admitted that the contents of the leaflets are authentic but "secret". From whom is it a "secret" that any Soviet nuclear attack would virtually destroy England? It can't be any secret to Khrushchev. This "secret" is being kept primarily from the English people. The people of any nation have the right to know the facts about nuclear war and its possible effects on them. The MacMillan cabinet, which only months before was proclaiming that the "Fallex 62" exercise showed that the civil defense "plans were basically sound and practical", must now admit that they were deliberately lying to the English people.

David Komatsu is editor of the BULLETIN.

## Tell JFK

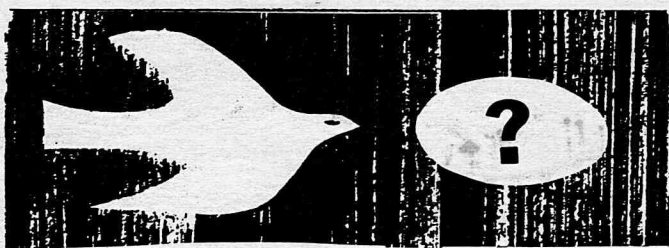
"One hundred pounds of rice," Captain Williamson began, "will stop more Communists than a 100-pound bomb."

"You know," he said, "I didn't believe that until I went to Vietnam. I thought the only solution was to kill Commies. But not now. Maybe we've got the right idea--if we have time."

(Captain Williamson is a commando intelligence officer in the U. S. Army.)

NEW YORK TIMES

April 23, 1963



# test ban cont. from page 3

military "stalemate". Obviously, shout these critics, this shows why the U.S. can not agree to a testing ban on any terms. These conservatives advocate that the U.S. must continue testing and press for a scientific "breakthrough" (such as the legendary Neutron Bomb) that will give us "superiority" over the Russians.

Congressional opponents of a test ban treaty are explicit in their charges that the Administration is "soft" in its negotiations with Khrushchev. Senate Republican leader Dirksen (R. -Ill.) has charged that the Administration has made "a parade of concessions to the Soviet Union to

the point that we think American prestige is at stake". Senator Dodd (D. -Conn.), who is justly famed in peace circles for his witch hunt investigation into the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, accused the Administration of engaging in a "give-away" in the Geneva negotiations.

## Nationwide Action

In this uncertain situation, the American peace movement has responded by launching a nation-wide campaign to build up popular pressure for any Administration move towards a testing treaty. Spearheaded by groups such as Turn Toward Peace, this effort seeks to enlist local religious, community and intellectual leaders in order to create articulated "grass roots" support for any treaty. Already individuals such as George Wadsworth, Eisenhower's disarmament negotiator, have spoken up in support of any future test ban. This is one of the most important jobs that the peace movement can do right now, and it deserves the attention of every American who believes that some breakthrough must occur in the nuclear Cold War.

## JFK Must Act

At the same time, we cannot neglect efforts to pressure the Administration, for without a more positive attitude from the "New Frontier" the battle is half lost. The most potent weapon that liberal congressmen and the peace movement could use is the evidence on detection that the Administration has so far suppressed. If the United States is to steer a better course in the dangerous twilight zone of a world tensed for nuclear war, the "New Frontier" must at some point offer the leadership that has the courage to build popular understanding and support for new and necessary policies. Without this leadership the rear-guard of congressional conservatives--whose only answer to the dangers of the Arms Race is "more of the same"--will continue to ride high, paralyzing American initiatives towards peace. President Kennedy staked his Administration's prestige before the public when he blockaded Cuba or killed the RS-70 bomber project. Is it too much to ask that he do as much to win an end to nuclear testing and the spread of the Arms Race?

David Komatsu and Tom Green

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### STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The Student Peace Union is an organization of young people who believe that neither war nor the threat of war can any longer be successfully used to settle international disputes and that neither human freedom nor the human race can long survive in a world committed to militarism.

Without committing any member to a precise statement of policy, the SPU draws together young people for a study of alternatives to war and engages in education and action to end the present arms race. The SPU works toward a society which will ensure both peace and freedom and which will suffer no individual or group to be exploited by another. Because both East and West have pursued foreign policies which are not in the interests of their own people or the people of the world and because both bear major responsibility for the Cold War, the Student Peace Union believes that the peace movement must act independently of both East and West, must apply the same standard of criticism to both, and must seek new and creative means of achieving a free and peaceful society.

Signed.....  
Clip and mail to: STUDENT PEACE UNION  
6029 University Avenue  
Chicago 37, Illinois

Name.....  
Mailing Address.....  
.....  
School.....

- ( ) Please enroll me as a member of SPU. (Membership qualification is agreement with the Statement of Purpose). I enclose \$3 for 1962-63 annual dues.
- ( ) Please send the SPU Constitution and policy statement.
- ( ) I wish to contribute \$. . . . toward the work of the Student Peace Union.
- ( ) I enclose \$2 for a year subscription to the Bulletin.