

THE ILLEGALITY OF U.S. INTERVENTION IN VIETNAM:
VIOLATIONS OF THE KEY PROVISIONS OF THE U.N. CHARTER

All members of the U.N. shall refrain ... from the threat or use of force ... in any ... manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations (Art. 2(4)) ... to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples ... (Art. 1(2))

This is the most basic and most important provision of the U.N. Charter. The Truman-Doctrine cold-war policy of "containing communism" by every means, fair and foul, is a clear violation of this provision of the Charter, and is the root cause of the Vietnam war and most other threats to world peace in the postwar period.

In pursuit of this policy the U.S. has violated many laws, both domestic and international. In Vietnam we are now waging a major war without Congress having had any real opportunity to decide -- as required by the U.S. Constitution (Art. 8(11)) -- whether this dangerous venture is in the best interests of the nation. The torture and murder of prisoners, the wholesale and almost indiscriminate killing and maiming of women and children, and the forcible mass relocation of civilian populations from their own homes and farms to concentration camps: all these are outrageous violations of the 1949 Red Cross treaty. The multiple violations of our unilateral promise that we would not upset the 1954 Geneva Armistice agreement constitute a "crime against the peace" as defined in the Nuremberg Charter under which Nazi leaders were condemned to death after World War II.

However, the most dangerous to our own long-run self-interest are the violations of the principles of the U.N. Charter. The U.N. is not yet able to enforce the provisions of the Charter (or any other international laws and agreements) when they are violated by Great Powers. But the Charter provides the strongest basis we have for a workable code of international law. Moreover, as a duly ratified treaty, the U.N. Charter is part of the "supreme law" of the U.S. itself (Art. 6(2) of the U.S. Constitution), and can thus be applied and enforced by our own courts.

Stronger emphasis on U.S. violations of the U.N. Charter would not only provide a powerful weapon against the Vietnam war, but would make a valuable contribution towards the longer-run goal of establishing a sounder basis for real international peace and order.

In addition to the provision cited above, the U.N. Charter provides (Art. 2(4)):

All members shall refrain ... from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state ...

The heart of the 1954 Geneva Armistice Agreements which established Vietnam, de jure, as an independent state, is contained in these key provisions:

...the military demarcation line at the 17th parallel is provisional and should not in any way be interpreted as constituting a political or territorial boundary.

...general elections which will bring about the unification of Vietnam...shall be held in July, 1956, under supervision of an international commission...

These armistice provisions were, in turn, based on two key facts: (1) The Communist-led Vietminh, under Ho Chi Minh, had won the country's independence from France by militarily defeating the American-armed and American-financed French army. At the time of the armistice the Vietminh were in actual control of most of the country, south as well as north. (2) They had also quite clearly "won the hearts and minds of the people" -- Pres. Eisenhower, in his memoirs, said that in a free election "possibly 80% of the populace would have voted for Ho Chi Minh as their leader." The Viet-

minh temporarily withdrew their forces north of the 17th parallel, as provided in the Geneva Agreements, on the assurance that the country would be peacefully reunited under their leadership by the promised 1956 elections.

The subsequent destruction of these Agreements has been the main reason for the distrust by north Vietnam and the National Liberation Front (NLF) of any "negotiated settlement" with the U.S. The French, under U.S. pressure and without honoring their own commitment regarding the re-unification elections, withdrew from Vietnam a year ahead of schedule, leaving their Saigon puppet regime in nominal control of the south. With U.S. approval and military support this regime openly repudiated the Geneva Agreements and refused to hold the elections. Thus, after 1956 the Saigon regime clearly had no legal basis for continued independent authority, the U.S. had no legal basis for its continued military presence in Vietnam, it was only the implied threat of direct U.S. military intervention which prevented the Vietminh from re-occupying the south to enforce the key election provision of the armistice agreements. U.S. efforts to detach the southern half of Vietnam as an independent state under a foreign-dominated government clearly violate both the territorial integrity of Vietnam, as this state was established by the Geneva Agreements, and the right of self-determination of the Vietnamese people.

If the U.S. had in fact been able to establish in south Vietnam a viable government which could have maintained itself primarily by its own efforts, our original illegal action might have become a fait accompli -- like the U.S.-sponsored overthrow of the Guatemala government in 1954. But the available evidence indicates that the NLF has about as much popular support in 1967 as it did in 1954: the September 1966 "elections" in south Vietnam had to be rigged to exclude participation of any supporters of the NLF or even "neutralists"; the recent CBS "public opinion poll" in the government controlled sections of south Vietnam suggests that the majority opinion in all of south Vietnam would strongly oppose the U.S.-supported regime; and the NLF still seems to have overwhelming superiority in military intelligence and fighting morale. Thus the U.S. has been forced to use ever-increasing violence to maintain its position and continues everyday to violate the basic provisions of the U.N. Charter.

The importance of the self-determination provision of the Charter lies not merely in its recognition of the moral rights of the peoples concerned, but from the recognition that it is absolutely necessary "to develop friendly relations among nations" --that unilateral foreign intervention in violation of these principles almost invariably causes sympathetic intervention by other powers, with resulting serious international tension and threats to world peace. It is also important to note that where people are denied peaceful and legal means of choosing their own leaders and effecting the public policies which they themselves feel would meet their own needs, the right of self-determination necessarily implies the right to revolution. This right has seldom been better expressed than in our own Declaration of Independence, when we exercised this right ourselves: Governments derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed...When a long train of abuses and usurpations...evidence a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government and to provide new guards for their future security."

Since the beginning of the atomic era, it has been obvious that the very survival of civilization depends on establishing "the rule of law" in international relations--not the "might makes right" type of law established unilaterally, in its own interest, by the strongest military power, but law based on justice, on mutual respect and tolerance for all religions and ideologies of the world's peoples. Although the U.S. controls over two-thirds of the world's wealth and production, we have only 6% of its population. Two-thirds of the world is poverty-stricken; two-thirds is colored; and most of the world's people live in Asia. Clearly in the perspective of history, our present military superiority can last no more than a very few years. During these years we must use our power and wealth and prestige to strengthen the United Nations and to establish a generally respected body of international law.

Vietnamese students' appeal to the American students

Dear American Friends,

Permit us to address this appeal to you at a time when the American escalation is accelerating its pace, gravely threatening peace in Southeast Asia and the whole world. We are certain that we voice the sentiments of thousands of Vietnamese students, scientists and engineers living in France when we affirm our solidarity with all of our people who are struggling for the sacred cause of freedom and independence.

No one could be more attached to the cause of peace than the Vietnamese people, who for more than a quarter of a century have experienced the sufferings of war. But, just as for the American people during the Revolutionary War, for our people there can be no peace if they are denied their independence. Moreover, our rights to independence and national unity were solemnly recognized in the Geneva Agreements of 1954 on Vietnam.

It goes without saying that we feel no hatred for you or for the American people. We would prefer to discuss with you our studies and the concerns shared by all youth. In the 1960's, a natural topic for our discussions might be, for example, how living standards and human welfare could be improved in the whole world through the development of science and technology.

Unfortunately, our country has been invaded by American troops who come to sow death and desolation. Unfortunately, you, too, can be required at any moment by the Johnson Administration to journey to our homeland, on the pretext that you would be fighting for the cause of liberty and for humanity.

We know that some of you have refused to go to Vietnam and that many of you are fighting courageously to have your government put an end to its policy of aggression against our country. We are addressing you today so that we may help each other mutually to make the cause of truth triumph.

The Johnson administration repeats day in and day out that American troops are in Vietnam « *to help the South Vietnamese people defend themselves against aggression from the North* ». In reality, they are there to support people - yesterday Ngo dinh Diem, today Nguyen cao Ky - who, to say the least, have no popular support-whatever.

If our compatriots in the South were led to take up arms, it is because they were subjected, **in the name of anti-communism**, to the dictatorial puppet regime of Ngo dinh Diem, who refused to hold the elections which were supposed to take place in 1956 in order to reunify the country, and who declared in May 1957 in Washington that « *the frontier of the United States passes through the 17th parallel* ». **Until 1960 our people fought with all the legal means possible against the bloody dictatorship of Diem, which was supported and aided by the United States. But confronted with the massacres, the deportations and the large-scale use of American materiel and methods of war, the people of South Vietnam had no choice left but to take up arms in self-defense.**

One day you will certainly know the details of the indescribable sufferings endured by our compatriots in the South during all these terrible years ; you will know that in the period before the direct and massive intervention of American troops in the South at the beginning of 1965, 170,000 Vietnamese were killed, nearly 800,000 wounded or disabled as a result of torture, and more than 5 million peasants forced into 8,000 concentration camps camouflaged under the name of « *strategic hamlets* ». One day, you will learn of the courageous battle waged by all strata of the population, particularly the peasants, in opposing the ferocious repression. You will learn also of the no less courageous combat of professors and students in our Southern cities.

Despite this terror and the open war waged with 500,000 men of the puppet army under the command of 30,000 American « advisors », at the beginning of 1965 the Saigon army and administration were heading toward collapse. It was to try and save them that a huge American expeditionary corps was brought into South Vietnam, and that, in total defiance of legality, the decision was taken by President Johnson to bomb the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

This policy springs from the illusion that it is possible, through armed force alone, to achieve a quick military victory and impose one's ideas upon a people. This explains the origin of the war and why it has continually been expanded.

Today President Johnson has engaged in South Vietnam, a country slightly larger than the state of Ohio, « more than one half of (U.S.) air power, more than one third of (its) ground forces ready for combat, and one third of (its) Navy » (1). Already the size of the American forces in South Vietnam is greater than that engaged in the Korean War. According to Mr McNamara, in 1966 American aircraft alone dropped 637,000 tons of bombs on North and South Vietnam. Our entire country numbers around 30 million inhabitants, which means that last year, more than 40 pounds of bombs were used for every Vietnamese, not counting an enormous quantity of other projectiles fired by ground and naval forces. And the United States is now dropping an even greater quantity of bombs (2).

Moreover, when thousands of people have been deported - as in the course of operation « Cedar Falls » last January - entire villages razed by bulldozers, vast forested regions set ablaze with phosphorus, heavily populated areas designated as « free kill zones », etc..., don't you think that such methods are strangely reminiscent of those used not so long ago by the Nazis in search of their « final solution » ?

And how can one believe today the myth of an « invasion » of the South by our Northern compatriots, when the Vietnamese of the North and South are one people, engaged in a single struggle against the same aggressor ? Do not the people of North Vietnam have the right to render assistance to the people of the South, when a foreign army has invaded South Vietnam ? At the heart of this question of a northern « invasion » is the undeniable fact that the war arose out of the American-imposed dictatorship of Ngo dinh Diem ; the only invasion of Vietnam was by American troops who came to protect an American puppet against popular resistance. Even according to U.S. government figures, South Vietnamese comprise the overwhelming majority of the forces combatting American troops in South Vietnam. In reality this is an American war, carried out by Americans to conquer the Vietnamese people who are defending their right to independence and national unity. Perhaps it is surprising to you that « anti-americanism in Vietnam, particularly in the cities, is growing and becoming a matter of increasing debate in the American mission. The argument is over the effects of what one observer called the new colonialism ». (The Washington Post, January 25, 1967).

In spite of this unrestrained use of force which costs your people the enormous sum of 24 billion dollars a year, none of the American objectives has been obtained. To date more than 1700 planes have been downed in North Vietnam and hundreds of pilots captured (3). The economic and military potential of North Vietnam continues to develop despite the terrible intensity of the bombing. The bombings have obviously failed to produce the expected results, as Mr McNamara himself has implied. In the South of our country, the National Liberation Front recently announced, 270,000 enemy soldiers, including 120,000 Americans, were killed, wounded or taken prisoner in 1966 (4). The N.L.F. armed forces, far from diminishing, have appreciably increased, as General Westmoreland has acknowledged. « American

(1) Interview with Senator Stephen M. Young (Dem.), member of the Senate Armed Services Committee (U.S. News and World Report, Jan. 23, 1967).

(2) McNamara statement in Aviation Week, Jan. 30, 1967.
« During February 1967, American aircraft dropped 68,000 tons of bombs on North and South Vietnam, which compares with 80,000 tons a month during the peak year of World War II and 17,000 tons a month during the Korean War. Top U.S. officials have forecast that the bombing of North and South Vietnam, which already is approaching the bombing peaks of all previous wars, will continue to rise ». (New York Times, Intern. Edition, March 18 - 19, 1967).

(3) « The United States in the past has been losing warplanes faster than it has been producing them. This was true up to October, 1966 ». (Report by the Senate Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee, The New York Herald Tribune, International edition, March 28, 1967).

(4) U.S. figures list a smaller number of casualties. Might it not be possible that casualties among American troops have been concealed as has been proven to be the case with U.S. aircraft losses ?

military men in Vietnam, unlike the Washington optimists, believe it would take a decade - or a generation - to pacify the country. And there is no certainty it could be done at all ». (The New York Times, December 5, 1966).

Meanwhile, the escalation has only reinforced the determination of our entire people to smash the aggression and win, whatever the sacrifices. The real choice facing the Vietnamese people is not one between peace and war, but, in fact, a choice between genuine independence and servitude.

It is not for us to judge the value of the « *American way of life* ». You belong to the most prosperous nation in the world and your country has made many contributions to the scientific and technological heritage of humanity, of which you can be proud. But what would you say if someone imposed on you from outside the dictatorship of a George Lincoln Rockwell who, like General Nguyen cao Ky, is an admirer of Hitler ? (5) It is so difficult for you to understand that the National Liberation Front encompasses all the democratic forces of South Vietnam in opposition to the worst sort of fascist regime, imposed from abroad ? How would you feel about an attempt to impose on you a way of life different from your own, by killing your family and bombing your cities and villages ? You would agree with us in recognizing that ideas cannot be imposed by force.

In the opinion of the Johnson administration, this war will cause you « *more cost, more loss, and more agony* » (6), for one cannot conquer a united people which is conscious of its inexhaustible capacity of resistance and has given proof of it on the battlefield. Furthermore, the profoundly unjust and atrocious character of the war, the intensive use of the most murderous weapons (napalm, fragmentation bombs, poison gas and toxic chemicals, etc...) to massacre the civilian population (to which Harrison Salisbury has recently testified in the New York Times and William F. Pepper in Ramparts magazine (7)), has made international opinion rise up against its perpetrators.

All of this is enough to lead the United States towards an inevitable failure.

We are convinced that sooner or later the just cause of Vietnam will triumph. The interest of both our peoples requires that this illegal and immoral war be ended, so that Vietnamese and Americans may no longer die in battle ; so that the prestige of your country, and the democratic principles of your society in which you take such pride, may decline no further ; and so that the best conditions for friendly relations between our two peoples may be established.

The Vietnamese problem cannot and will not be settled through some sort of political deal which would leave our country divided forever and sacrifice the inalienable rights of our people. A settlement must be based on United States respect for the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam. That is the essential content of the four-point position of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Declaration in five points of the National Liberation Front. **The United States must definitively and unconditionally halt the bombings of North Vietnam ; recognize the N.L.F., the sole genuine representative of the South Vietnamese people ; and withdraw all its troops and those of its satellites from South Vietnam. Our people are more determined than ever to fight until such a peace is realized. To claim that they are merely pawns in a conflict among the great world powers is to do them a great wrong. The program of the N.L.F. clearly shows that it intends to establish democratic institutions in South Vietnam with a government of national union, capable of grouping all the political and the religious organizations and eminent individuals, regardless of their past activities ; this government will have a foreign policy of strict neutrality and will establish relations with all countries.**

(5) According to Brian Mohayan of the London Sunday Mirror (July 4, 1965) Ky said : « *People ask me who my heroes are. I have only one : Hitler... The situation is so desperate now that one man would not be enough. We need four or five Hitlers in Vietnam* ».

(6) State of the Union message of President Johnson, January 10, 1967.

(7) « *The horror of what we are doing to the children of Vietnam - « we » because napalm and white phosphorous are the weapons of America - is staggering... Napalm, and its more horrible companion, white phosphorous liquidize young flesh and carve it into grotesque forms. The little figures are afterward often scarcely human in appearance... At least a quarter of a million of the children of Vietnam have been killed in the war... There must be three times that many wounded - or at least a million child casualties since 1961... At least 80 % of the injuries were inflicted by American or South Vietnam (Saigon) action...* » (William F. Pepper in Ramparts magazine, January 1967).

« *YOU DON'T get rid of the terrorist by bombing, because if you drop a bomb and kill 20 persons, 19 of them are women and children... and there's only one terrorist...* » (U.S. Ambassador Lodge, as quoted in the Boston Globe, February 28, 1965).

President Johnson has proclaimed many times that the United States is ready to undertake « unconditional discussions of peace - anywhere, any time » and « will continue to take every possible initiative ourselves to probe for peace » (8).

If he sincerely desires peace, if he really wants discussions, he can easily prove it by unconditionally ceasing the bombing raids and all other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Only then could conversations be held between the D.R.V. and the U.S., as was recently declared by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Nguyen Duy Trinh. The bombing of territory of the D.R.V., a sovereign and independent country, constitutes an intolerable violation of the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and of the basic rules of international law, and provokes the unanimous condemnation of the entire world. The United States has no right to require from the victim of aggression any counterpart whatever to the cessation of bombing. Besides, bombing and threats will never make our compatriots in the North agree to discussions. Unfortunately, we know the response of President Johnson to this gesture of good faith from the D.R.V. : an acceleration of the escalation, going so far as to mine the rivers of North Vietnam to block the movement of the sampans and junks !

Thus we find that the words of peace of the American leaders simply serve to camouflage and justify their intensification of the war. Contrary to what he has affirmed, President Johnson has blocked all the paths to negotiation ; in fact, what he wants to obtain from our people is an « unconditional surrender » (9).

Student friends, the United States has to give up its policy of force and of blackmail by force. The more of you there are who try to understand why the Vietnamese struggle so resolutely, and why you are asked to fight, the sooner this will come about. Our aim in writing to you is not to convince you of the desirability of the institutions our compatriots in the South will establish for themselves in the future. The point is to help you understand us, so that you will see why we refuse to live in slavery or to allow our fate to be dictated by a foreign government.

We would like to ask you to publish our letter in your newspapers and magazines so that it can reach American students. We know that some of you will disagree with some of our views, but we would be most willing to discuss any of these points with you further, and we hope that you will answer us, as soon and as fully as possible.

Let us all work together to establish an exchange of views and to clear up the misunderstandings that may still separate us. Your future, as well as ours, will depend a great deal on the outcome of this effort.

Please accept our sincerest feelings of friendship.

Paris, April 3, 1967

UNION OF VIETNAMESE STUDENTS IN FRANCE

The President,
Huynh Huu Nghiep

The Secretary General,
Nguyen Ngoc Giao

*The Member of the Executive Committee
in charge of International Relations*
Nguyen Van Bon

(8) State of the Union message.

(9) Arthur Schlesinger, Jr, « *The Bitter Heritage: Vietnam and American Democracy, 1941-1966* », Boston, 1967, p. 107.

Send your letters to :

M^r Nguyen Ngoc Giao

15, rue d'Arcole — Paris 4^e

France

A CALL TO CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AT THE PENTAGON

"For the individual to pit himself in holy disobedience against the war-making and conscriptive state is not an act of despair or defeatism. Rather, this individual refusal to go along is now the beginning and core of any realistic and practical movement against war and for a more peaceful and brotherly world.

"The human being must assert his humanity again. He must exercise the choice which he no longer has as something accorded him by society, which he, 'naked, weaponless, armorless, without shield or spear, but only with naked hands and open eyes' must create again."
—A.J. Muste (1885-1967)



Almost daily the war in Vietnam worsens. Bombing moves closer to the center of Hanoi. Russia pledges North Vietnam ground to ground missiles if U.S. planes hit Haiphong harbor. Troops mass near the demilitarized zone. Civilian and combatant casualty lists lengthen. U Thant sees hopes for peace distant and retreating. Talk of war with China is commonplace.

Never has uncompromising witness and resistance against violence and naked power been more needed. Never has civil disobedience and noncooperation against war been more justified, more urgently demanded.

The Committee for Nonviolent Action (CNVA) announces a civil disobedience protest at the Pentagon Tuesday, May 9, the day after the Boston to Pentagon Walk for Peace reaches Washington.

Monday, May 8, the Boston to Pentagon Walk for Peace will arrive in Washington and conclude in front of the White House. From 3:00 to 6:00 p.m., walkers and others who join them will distribute leaflets at the Pentagon.

Tuesday, 6:30 a.m., leaflet distribution at the Pentagon will resume. Starting about 10:00 a.m., there will be a walk from the White House to the Pentagon via the 14th St. Bridge.

At 12:30 p.m., a silent vigil in memory of Norman Morrison will form at the Pentagon's River Entrance, beneath Secretary McNamara's office.

At 1:30 p.m., those committed to civil disobedience will hold a separate, silent meeting.

At 2:00 p.m., the civil disobedients will attempt to enter the Pentagon and then the offices of the Chiefs of Staff, to remain there in nonviolent witness.

All civil disobedients will be pledged to pay no bail or fines if arrested. One motivation for this policy is the conviction that bail and fines discriminate against the poor.

The supporting vigil will continue until at least 6:00 p.m.

We call you to join us in this witness and protest at the Pentagon, as you are moved and able—to distribute leaflets, to vigil, or to commit civil disobedience.

For information write or phone:

CNVA
5 Beekman St.
NYC 10038
(212) 227-5535

or

Ted and Susan Webster
502 Constitution Ave., N.E.
Washington, D.C. 10002
(202) 547-3671

CNVA works to resolve international conflicts and achieve justice by the power of truth and love. Opposed in principle to military power, it calls for no military intervention in the affairs of others and for unilateral disarmament. Defense, when necessary, should be by nonviolent resistance. CNVA also advocates acts of personal responsibility: conscientious noncooperation with the draft, non-payment of federal taxes used for war, and refusal to work in military research and industries.

[Undated, possibly 1967]

LABOR'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR PEACE

Unions limit how much workers can be used against each other.

By organizing we avoid bidding against each other to lower our pay or worsen our working conditions.

Why should we let ourselves be used to shoot holes in each other's guts or bomb each other's children?

For generations thinking men have asked why should workers be taken away from their useful industry, be put into uniforms of differing color, and then be set up, on some strange field, to shoot each other. The answer regularly has been that these workers had no quarrel with each other, but that those who rule and rob them had fallen out.

The union-minded man avoids being pitted against his fellow worker across the work bench by reaching a common understanding with him. By organization he reaches such an understanding with his fellow workers in competing plants across the continent. By organization, he can reach an understanding with his fellow workers across the ocean and under other flags, so that they cannot be used in peace to bid down each other's wage or blast each other's home in war.

No better thing could be done than to build such an understanding among workers everywhere. But the large labor organizations avoid this. They seem married to their leading politicians. At home and abroad, the unions in Communist countries promote the policies of Peking or Moscow. In America they echo the Pentagon, and some unions became the subsidized tools of the CIA. Great federations everywhere have been used to voice the quarrels and outlook of the managers and employers they are supposed to fight. To unite workers, the labor movements must first declare their independence.

We of the IWW ask you to help us build up an understanding among workers that will turn the world labor movement in the direction it must take if mankind is to survive the atomic age. Such an effort can greatly improve labor's bargaining position in what has become a world market. Joint statistical research by unions in all lands could, among other things, come up with workable plans for using the earth's resources for our common good. The existence of such plans should squeeze better offers from employers, and prove handy should the business system collapse; but better yet, the work of making such plans builds the system of communication and makes possible the mutual understanding among workers that can make war impossible.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
2422 North Halsted Street
Chicago Illinois, 60614

SAN FRANCISCO BRANCH, GENERAL RECRUITING UNION
Call: 282-5190

Memo on War Tax Resistance as a key element in the war resistance campaign

from John Darr

5/17/67

I. Introduction:

Growing numbers of over-draft-age adults are seeking ways to resist the Vietnam war policies and are prepared to share the risks of young men who are opposing the draft.

The proposal below seeks to speak to this situation by offering such adults an action that effectively resists the war, expresses solidarity with draft resisters by sharing the risks of war resistance, helps to enlarge war resistance by adding money power to "love" power and "body" power, and fits into and complements other elements of the resistance campaign such as a Peace Army and a committee of intellectuals to encourage conscientious resistance to the war.

The proposal, if adopted, could put war resistance on a new financial footing by providing funds for greatly expanded work and by enabling many persons who cannot or will not take part in most actions involving civil disobedience, to take effective and conscientious action against the war.

The proposed action, if it proves effective in anti-Vietnam war resistance, would be an effective part of post-war strategy to win battles against militarism, poverty and the have-have-not nations' gap.

II. War Tax Resistance as a mass action against the war:

Tax refusal, up to now, has been an act of individual conscientious objection or protest to involvement in war policies. I propose that it become a means of mass resistance to the war.

Because of the withholding tax, tax refusal has seemed an impractical form of mass action, being an option only for those who owe taxes over and above taxes withheld every pay day. I propose that the focus of the tax refusal - or rather, ~~tax refusal~~ war tax resistance campaign be on asking individuals to file with their employers a new tax exemption certificate (W-4 Form), claiming enough extra exemptions to hold back from the IRS, from the next pay day on, 25% of their normal withholding tax, this money (the Tax Tax) to be turned over to a central fund to help the work to end the war.

If 100,000 persons who supported the April 15th demonstrations took this action during a designated Tax Tax month, some \$1,000,000 in Tax Taxes would be made available for the war resistance campaign.

To win such a mass response, this proposed action would need to be an integral part of and related to other key elements in the anti-war campaign, as supportive of the Peace Army and supported by the "prestige" people encouraging war resistance.

III. How would the Pax Tax operation be carried out?

There would be two phases to the Pax Tax operation. The first phase would seek to achieve a dramatic mass expression of war resistance by thousands of persons becoming Pax Taxers during a designated Pax Tax Month. The second phase would include servicing Pax Taxers (see below) and extending the process of inviting new people to take the Pax Tax action as an effective act of war resistance and conscientious objection to compulsory support of the war one abhors.

Throughout the operation, the emphasis would be on taking an effective action of conscientious war resistance and on making a financial contribution to the anti-war movement.

After the first month of paying the Pax Tax, each Pax Taxer would decide whether to continue paying the Pax Tax until the IRS intervened, or whether to put the retained money in a special account for later IRS collection since the IRS will ultimately collect all taxes due.)

During phase one, the Pax Tax operation and target date would be announced and the recruitment of Pax Tax pledges would be undertaken.

Pax Tax Fund

Spring Mobilization or a special committee would have responsibility for this opening phase of the project. Promotional literature, Pax Tax pledge cards, W-4 Forms and instruction sheets for Pax Taxers would be prepared and distributed. Local Pax Tax advisors would be recruited. The number of pledges would be announced periodically.

The amount of money pledged would also be announced periodically. (If the average tax payer contributes about \$120 a year to the war effort and if each Pax Taxer sends the Pax Tax Fund 25% of one month's withholding tax and if it takes the IRS at least a month to react to new W-4 Forms, then 10,000 Pax Taxers would contribute \$100,000 to the Fund; 100,000 Pax Taxers, \$1,000,000, etc.) during Pax Tax Month.)

The promise of this immediate and visible evidence of the positive fruits of war tax resistance will add a very practical and appealing aspect to the moral justification for accepting whatever risks this form of war resistance might entail.

(These risks include the possibility of IRS action to reduce one's exemptions to zero, or facing a charge for making a false statement with a fine of \$500 and/or not more than a year in jail. The Pax Taxer has a strong basis to fight such a charge since he will have acted openly by informing the IRS of his action and thereby demonstrated his intention not to deceive the government. Up to now, the IRS has been more interested in collecting taxes than in jailing people.)

~~Part of the appeal of the Pax Tax action would be its~~

Part of the appeal of the Pax Tax action would be its offering a way to make a financial contribution to the war resistance that will give one's money triple mileage: by helping to finance anti-war work, by dramatizing ~~with~~ one's opposition to the war, and by forcing the government to face this opposition in order to collect war taxes.

By relating the Pax Tax to helping the Peace Army, the Pax Tax action also gives non-draft age adults a way to express effective solidarity with draft resisters. Thus, the Pax Tax and the Peace Army would be mutually supportive, each helping the other to win a stronger response.

IV. Enlist and servicing Pax Taxers:

The Pax Tax Fund Committee would have the following functions:

It would launch the Pax Tax campaign and assume responsibility for it.

It would process the receipt of moneys from Pax Taxers: set up an account for each person, send back official receipts for moneys received for the records of the Pax Taxer, send payment envelopes to each Pax Taxer to facilitate payments after each pay day, put each Pax Taxer in touch with a local Pax Tax advisor.

It would allocate funds for various announced purposes: such as to help individual Pax Taxers to cope with IRS action against them, to pay living cost grants or salaries to persons in the Peace Army or in some other peace work (Pax Taxers having the option of just sending their Pax Tax to the Fund without conditions or of requesting that the money to be used for a specific purpose, such as for the salary of a local person who has agreed to work full-time for peace, or for the aid of a specific war victim).

It would seek support, in Congress and by citizen groups, for legislation giving C.O. status to pax payers as in the draft law, with "alternative service", etc. (The A.C.L.U. is looking into such a possibility.)

Both employed and self-employed persons would be invited to take part in the Pax Tax action by following these steps:

1. Figure out how many exemptions need to be claimed to retain 25% of the normal withholding tax.
2. Sign the Pax Tax pledge card, indicating the expected amount of Pax Tax to be paid, and send it to the Pax Tax Fund Committee in order to get the instruction kit.

3. During Pax Tax month (or any time thereafter):

- a) Send a letter (registered?) to the IRS Director stating what you intend to do and why. (sample letter in the kit)
- b) Send a copy of this letter to the Pax Tax Committee so as to be registered there as a Pax Taxer and to get an account number, payment envelopes and the name of a local Pax Tax advisor (if not already in touch with one).

State to the Fund whether your Pax Tax is for general use or for a specific purpose.

File a new W-4 Form (some in the kit) with your employer (or make out a new estimated tax form, if self-employed), stating the new number of exemptions being claimed and adding a note to the end of the bottom line "as per my letter of (date) to the IRS Director", before signing.

- d) After pay day, ~~xxxx~~ figure out how much less withholding tax has been ~~xxxx~~ deducted from your pay and send this amount to the Pax Tax Fund each pay day for as long as you decide to pay a Pax Tax.
- e) Save all receipts from the Fund to be able to show that the money you saved by reducing your withholding tax has been used to help end the war.
- f) If the IRS gets in touch with you about your income tax, consult your local Pax Tax advisor.

An Information Bulletin could be sent out periodically to all Pax Taxers to keep them informed about the progress of the anti-war campaign and about the ways their money is being used, and to enlist their support for other peace actions.

This bulletin would also help to answer any argument that massive tax resistance would cut back government funds for anti-poverty programs or foreign aid, by showing how the Peace Army and other projects supported by the Pax Tax Fund contribute creatively and effectively to the solution of these problems.

V. Conclusion:

Both as a specific act of war resistance and as a means to aid the anti-war movement, the Pax Tax could be a vital element in the campaign to end the war in Vietnam.

Both the Peace Army and the Pax Tax seek to convert conscientious objection to compulsory involvement in the Vietnam atrocity into a creative force for peace.

Appendix I: Sample letter to the IRS Director

Dear Sir:

I am among the growing number of Americans who have been moved by conscience to go beyond our continuing and persistent efforts to achieve a reversal of our government's immoral and disastrous intervention in Vietnam and who are withdrawing, to the degree that we can, our support of this crime against innocent men, women and children in that distant land.

I protest the fact that the withholding tax monies available to the government a portion of the fruits of my peaceful labor, to be used in this murderous enterprise America is pursuing in Vietnam. To pay the 25% of my income tax that has been contributing to a cause I utterly oppose, so that I can devote this money instead to the work to end this hideous war, I am claiming three unknown Vietnamese children as dependents for the calculation of my income tax.

What has led me to this grave decision is my government's callous escalation of the politics of force in the face of mounting appeals to end the war and despite the mounting horror of razed villages, poisoned crops and mangled children. I shall now claim these dependents for withholding tax purposes until the war has ended.

In taking this step, I am not unmindful of the essential role that our democratic processes and institutions have to play in the harnessing of our great resources for the common good and in the achievement of a more peaceable society. It is my faith that democratic government, whatever its shortcomings in some instances, provides the best means to fulfill the dreams of the individual and the aspirations of the community. When, however, the conscience of an individual tells him that these shortcomings are demanding his participation in community-approved actions that violate the fundamental principles of his life and of his sense of social responsibility, then it is his faith in democracy that commands him to obey his conscience and to face the consequences, in the hope that his refusal to go along with the majority may touch the conscience of others and thereby contribute to a redefinition of the social will.

It is in this faith and with this hope that I take this step to deny my tax money for the war in Vietnam.

Sincerely,

- - - - -

**questions and answers
about
the vietnam war**

berkeley-oakland women for peace

the french period

Q. WHEN DID THE WAR IN VIETNAM BEGIN?

A. The first war was between Vietnam and France. The Vietnamese declared their independence from France and held elections in 1945. The French then invaded Vietnam but were defeated after 8 years of war, at Dien Bien Phu, in 1954.

Q. HOW WAS THE U.S. INVOLVED AT THIS STAGE?

A. The U.S. financed 3/4 of the French military effort, sent advisors to help the French, and tried to prevent the holding of the Geneva Conference. When the Geneva Agreements were signed in 1954, however, the U.S. promised to respect them.

Q. WHY WAS VIETNAM DIVIDED INTO TWO PARTS BY THE GENEVA AGREEMENTS?

A. Vietnam was divided temporarily at the 17th parallel to give time to move Vietnamese troops to the north and French to the south, on the express condition that elections to reunify the country would be held in 1956.

the 1956 elections

Q. WHY WASN'T VIETNAM REUNIFIED IN 1956?

A. The U.S.-supported government of Ngo Dinh Diem, established in the south when the French left, refused to hold elections.

Q. WHY DID DIEM REFUSE TO HOLD THE ELECTIONS?

A. Because he would have lost. President Eisenhower said, "I have never talked or corresponded with a person knowledgeable in Indochinese affairs who did not agree that had elections been held...possibly 80% of the people would have voted for communist Ho Chi Minh." (Mandate for Change, Dwight Eisenhower, p. 372) "Diem saved his people from this agonizing prospect (that Ho Chi Minh would win) simply by refusing to permit the plebescite...." (Life, 5/13/57)

the resumption of fighting

Q. WHO STARTED THE PRESENT FIGHTING AND WHY?

A. In response to Diem's refusal to hold elections, his determination that the country remain divided, and his terroristic methods, some of the people in south Vietnam formed a movement of national liberation.

Q. WASN'T THIS INSTIGATED BY THE COMMUNISTS IN NORTH VIETNAM?

A. A French specialist on Vietnamese history, Philippe Devillers, wrote, "The insurrection existed before the Communists decided to take part, and they were simply forced to join in. And even among the Communists the initiative did not originate in Hanoi, but from the grassroots where the people were literally driven to take up arms in self-defense (from the terror of the Diem regime)." (China Quarterly, Jan.-March, 1962)

how did the u.s. get involved?

Q. DIDN'T WE ENTER THE WAR ONLY AT THE REQUEST OF THE LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM, OUR ALLY?

A. The U.S. set up and financially supported Diem's regime and its successor dictatorships, which have never been popularly elected. "...what we now have in Saigon is neither 'legitimate' nor a 'government'...." (James Reston, New York Times, 5/18/66)

who's fighting in vietnam?

Q. HOW MANY RED CHINESE TROOPS ARE FIGHTING IN SOUTH VIETNAM?

A. None. Our government has never claimed that any Red Chinese are in south Vietnam.

Q. TO WHAT EXTENT ARE THERE NORTH VIETNAMESE FIGHTING IN SOUTH VIETNAM?

A. There are Vietnamese who originally came from the north fighting on both sides. The majority of officials of the pro-U.S. Saigon government, including Ky, are from north Vietnam. Of the 250,000 fighting on the side of the "Viet Cong" a year ago, only 25,000 were regular troops from north Vietnam (New York Times, 3/66). Since the U.S. began bombing north Vietnam 18 months ago, NLF and north Vietnamese troops have increased to 297,000 (S.F. Chronicle, 8/6/67).

Q. HOW MANY TROOPS DOES THE U.S. HAVE IN VIETNAM?

A. Over one-half million after Gen. Westmoreland's July, 1967, request is met.

Q. DO ANY OTHER COUNTRIES HAVE SOLDIERS IN SOUTH VIETNAM?

A. Yes. Australia 6,000; New Zealand 200; South Korea 45,000; Philippines 2,200. (S. F. Chronicle, 7/23/67)

why are we fighting in south vietnam?

- Q. ISN'T LBJ'S GOAL TO ESTABLISH A DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT RUN BY THE VIETNAMESE THEMSELVES?
- A. The U.S. set up the present dictatorship under Ky. Ky fought against Vietnamese independence and in support of the French in the earlier war.
- Q. BUT WEREN'T ELECTIONS HELD IN SOUTH VIETNAM A YEAR AGO?
- A. Yes, but only candidates supporting Ky's government were allowed to run and only people not suspected of disagreeing with Ky were allowed to vote.
- Q. HAVE THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE SUPPORTED THE U.S.-BACKED GOVERNMENT OF GENERAL KY?
- A. "Even Premier Ky told this reporter today that the Communists were closer to the peoples' yearnings for social justice and an independent life than his own government." (James Reston, New York Times, 9/1/65). Ky did not have sufficient support within his own party to run again.
- Q. AREN'T THE MAJORITY OF VIETNAMESE IN FAVOR OF OUR BEING THERE?
- A. All indications are that they are not. Massive demonstrations by students, labor unions and Buddhists have demanded that the U.S. leave Vietnam. (More than 90% of the Vietnamese are Buddhist.)
- Q. SOME HAVE CHARGED THAT U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN THE WAR IS UNJUST AND ILLEGAL. WHY?
- A. -- Because the U.S. intervened in a civil war, supported Diem in his refusal to hold elections in 1956, and helped establish and finance a series of dictatorships, thus repudiating the Geneva Agreements.
- Because the U.S. violated the U.N. Charter (Chapter I, Article 2 "...All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state....").
- Because the U.S. violated Article I, Section 8 of the U.S. Constitution which permits Congress alone to declare war. War has not been declared, but to declare war now would not legitimize it, since it violates the other legal agreements above.

negotiations

Q. HASN'T LBJ ATTEMPTED TO NEGOTIATE AN END TO THE BLOODSHED -- AND THE COMMUNISTS REFUSED TO NEGOTIATE?

A. On November 16, 1965, the New York Times printed the following: "The State Dept. confirmed today that a year ago the United States had rejected an offer by North Vietnam to have representatives of the two nations meet in Rangoon, Burma, to discuss terms for ending the hostilities."

In fact, there have been at least 15 initiatives for negotiation, some from north Vietnam and some by neutral mediators, from Fall, 1963, through March, 1967, all of which the U.S. government has rejected out of hand. (Documentation available at WfP office, below.)

Q. WHAT STANDS IN THE WAY OF NEGOTIATING AN END TO THE WAR?

A. Hanoi and the NLF are united in the one demand: that the bombing of north Vietnam be stopped before talks can begin. They insist on recognition of the NLF as a separate entity in the peace talks, and staged withdrawal of U.S. forces. The U.S. has never agreed to recognize the NLF as a representative south Vietnamese political and military force. To do so would be to acknowledge they are fighting in a civil war, and that a role is due them in the future government.

the bombing

Q. ISN'T IT TRUE THAT WE BOMB ONLY MILITARY INSTALLATIONS?

A. "Pilots are given a square marked on a map and told to hit every hamlet within that area." (S.F. Chronicle, 3/4/65) This "strategic bombing..." kills "significant numbers of innocent civilians...every day in South Vietnam" (New York Times, 9/5/65), "ten civilians for every VC" according to Special Forces officers (Newsweek, 3/14/66).

In his articles from north Vietnam (New York Times, December 1966) Harrison Salisbury reported, after seeing the victims, that the U.S. had used cluster bombs made specifically to kill and terrify people.

the homefront

Q. WHAT IS THE WAR COSTING, AND WHAT IS ITS EFFECT AT HOME?

A. \$24 billion a year currently, or \$400 annually for a family of four. While our cities decay, benefit programs are slashed, and there is rioting in the streets. Food prices rise, taxes go up, inflation eats at our purchasing power. The Great Society is dead. Young Americans fight and die, but we are all degraded by the spectacle of a powerful nation imposing its will on a nation of peasants.

Q. ARE MOST GI'S IN VIETNAM VOLUNTEERS OR DRAFTEES?

A. The majority are draftees who did not choose to go there. The draft hits poor people harder than others. Negroes make up only 10% of the population, but total 14% of the soldiers in Vietnam and 22% of the casualties.

Q. WHO ARE THE ANTI-WAR PROTESTORS?

A. All kinds of people: mothers, Negroes, draft-age men, students, writers, professors, clergymen, civil rights workers, union members, lawyers, doctors, even retired generals. Almost daily new groups oppose the war, and demonstrations are increasingly more massive.

World figures critical of U.S. involvement in the war include Pope Paul VI, Secretary-General U Thant, Arnold Toynbee, Walter Lippmann, Martin Luther King, Charles DeGaulle, Senators Morse, Kennedy, Hatfield, Aiken, Fulbright, Gruening, and many others.

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849-3020 afternoons

If you would like additional copies, or further information, please write or call the above.

**WE MUST NEVER SAY...
"I DIDN'T KNOW!"**



NAPALM DID THIS...

NAPALM...THE FLAMING JELLIED GASOLINE WHICH BURNS AND BURNS...AND STICKS TO A HUMAN BODY WITH THE TENACITY OF SARAN-WRAP...

**ONLY WE, THE UNITED STATES,
ARE USING NAPALM IN VIETNAM**

BRINGING MUTILATION AND AGONIZING DEATH TO A CIVILIAN POPULATION WE'RE SUPPOSEDLY DEFENDING. 54% OF THE POPULATION OF SOUTH VIETNAM IS UNDER 16 YEARS OF AGE.

"10 CIVILIANS KILLED FOR EVERY VIET CONG" ACCORDING TO SPECIAL FORCE OFFICERS (NEWSWEEK, MARCH 14, 1966).

**ONLY WE ARE BOMBING IN
VIETNAM...NORTH OR SOUTH**

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE — AUG. 22, 1966 P. 19355 — THE GREATEST PHYSICAL DAMAGE TO CHILDREN...WHO RESIDE IN THE 2,600 VILLAGES IS CAUSED BY BOMBING. PERMANENT EFFECT WILL LIVE FOR A LIFETIME IN SCARRED BODIES...800,000 REFUGEES, 11,000 ORPHANS...THOUSANDS OF CHILDREN BURNED AND WOUNDED. OFFICIAL AUTHORIZED SOURCES GO ON TO SAY A GREAT NUMBER DIE... NEVER REACHING HOSPITALS.

**71,705 AMERICAN SOLDIERS
KILLED OR WOUNDED IN VIETNAM**
OFFICIAL FIGURES AS OF MAY, 1967

**CAN WE EVER SAY—
"WE DIDN'T KNOW?"**

- ✓ WE MUST LEARN ALL THE FACTS!
- ✓ WE MUST PROTEST TO OUR PRESIDENT AND CONGRESSMAN.
- ✓ WE MUST NOT REMAIN SILENT!



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Viet War Lashed By General

Hughes Calls It Immoral

Stuns Crowd At Capitol Services

By RICHARD BRAUTIGAM
(Of The Capital Times Staff)

A Memorial Day audience on the State Capitol grounds was stunned into thoughtful silence today as a distinguished Army general made a fervent plea for an end to the war in Vietnam and a commitment to the cause of justice and good will.

Brig. Gen. Robert L. Hughes, U. S. Army Reserve, was the principal speaker at the traditional services arranged by Madison veterans' groups.

He wore the Silver Star, Bronze Star with Oak Leaf Cluster, Purple Heart, Combat Infantry Badge, Presidential Unit Citation, and the Army Commendation Ribbon as he stood before an audience of some 500 veterans and their families as well as citizens generally.

Gen. Hughes won these honors through long service in the Pacific Theaters during World War II.

Wounded severely at Buna, in New Guinea, he recuperated in the United States and then returned to the Pacific as a member of Gen. MacArthur's staff at Leyte, in the Philippines.

Hughes spoke quietly, but with the conviction of his long years of service.

"All over the United States today there are observances that are stereotypes of this one," he began.

"They are expressions of gratitude for those Americans who have fallen in battle in our wars to assure that the political integrity of our nation remains inviolate.

"The true significance of the day is most poignant to those who have suffered the loss of a loved one in the present conflict in Vietnam," Hughes pointed out.

"They died," he continued, "in support of an unstable foreign government that is maintained only by the strength of the United States."

There is a paradox in the role of the United States in Vietnam, he said.

In contrast to the image of a country that offers hope of peace and justice to the world, he said, "we are prosecuting an immoral war in support of a government that is a dictatorship by design."

"It represents nothing but a ruling clique and is composed of morally corrupt leaders who adhere to a warlord philosophy," he added.

This is illustrated currently by the need for the United States to lead in pacifying villages whose citizens do not trust their own government, he said.

Following World War II, the United States accepted its role of world leadership with humility and aided stricken nations to rebuild with American dollars, he said.

"In this new era of political unrest, we cannot police the world, we cannot impose our social system on other nations," he advised.

"We stand alone in Vietnam with token forces from some other countries and mercenaries from Korea paid by the United States," Hughes went on.

"We are losing the flower of American youth in a war that could stretch into perpetuity," he added. "After four years of fighting, we cannot be sure of the security of villages three miles from Saigon, because we can't tell the good guys from the bad guys.

"We are in that position because we selected sides in a civil war," he said.

"This is one hell of a war to be fighting. We must disengage from this tragic war. It is the only one in which we have committed troops without first being aggressed against," he said.



Hughes called for a reassessment of American foreign policy in terms of our own American interests.

"We should recognize our errors in judgment and not compound them by trying to police the world," he said. "We shall cease as a political force if we don't follow a policy of co-existence with other nations.

"We cannot afford a major confrontation with the people of Asia if we want to dedicate this country to our sons and future generations," he concluded.

Gen. Hughes is executive secretary of the University of Wisconsin College of Agriculture. He has served in many civic capacities, including a term as president of the Middleton School Board, the Masons, Boy Scouts, Middleton Sportsmen's

Club, United Givers and the National Congress of Parents and Teachers.

A reporter circulating through the audience found general approval of his address, with some reservations.

A. M. Ryser, a World War I veteran and chairman for the day, told The Capital Times he did not agree with all of Hughes' remarks but would defend the right to say them.

Another veteran said, "It was shocking, but he gave me something to think about." Where there was dissent, there was that acknowledgment of doubt, also.

Others, however, wholly approved of his address.

"Somebody has to say these things," one said.

"This was a surprise package but I agree with him entirely," said another.

WHAT FIVE MILITARY LEADERS SAY ABOUT VIETNAM:

GENERAL MATTHEW B. RIDGEWAY *Commander of U.S. forces during the Korean War, writing in Look Magazine, 5 April, 1967.*

"It is my firm belief that there is nothing in the present situation or in our code that requires us to bomb a small Asian nation back into the stone age."

GENERAL DAVID M. SHOUP *Former Commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps, speaking at the 10th Annual Junior College World Affairs Day, Pierce College, Los Angeles, 14 May 1966.*

"You read, you're televised to, you're radioed to, you're preached to, that it is necessary that we have our armed forces fight, get killed and maimed, and kill and maim other human beings including women and children because now is the time we must stop some kind of unwanted ideology from creeping up on this nation. The place we chose to do this is 8,000 miles away with water in between . . .

"The reasons fed to us are too shallow and narrow for students, as well as other citizens. Especially so, when you realize that what is happening, no matter how carefully and slowly the military escalation has progressed, may be projecting us toward world catastrophe. Surely, it is confusing . . .

"I want to tell you, I don't think the whole of South East Asia, as related to the present and future safety and freedom of the people of this country, is worth the life or limb of a single American . . .

"I believe that if we had and would keep our dirty, bloody, dollar-crooked fingers out of the business of these nations so full of depressed, exploited people, they will arrive at a solution of their own. That they design and want. That they fight and work for. And if unfortunately their revolution must be of the violent type because the "haves" refuse to share with the "have-nots" by any peaceful method, at least what they get will be their own, and not the American style, which they don't want and above all don't want crammed down their throats by Americans."

LT. GENERAL JAMES GAVIN *Testifying before the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, 21 February 1967.*

". . . bombing attacks intended to achieve psychological impact through the killing of noncombatants is unquestionably wrong. Likewise the attack of targets near areas highly populated by civilians, where civilians are likely to be casualties, is also militarily as well as morally wrong . . .

"I believe that we can negotiate with Hanoi and with the National Liberation Front confident that a free, neutral and independent Vietnam can be established, with guarantees of stability from an international body."

REAR ADMIRAL ARNOLD E. TRUE *Writing to the Editor of the Palo Alto (Calif.) Times, 3 March, 1966.*

"We can end the Vietnam fiasco without dishonor by (1) dealing with the Vietcong as a major party to the war, (2) implement the Geneva Accords, (3) withdrawing our troops and (4) letting the Vietnamese settle their own problems . . .

"General Ky is naturally willing to fight to the last American soldier and the last American dollar. It is about time that Americans should make their own decisions and stop blabbing about 'commitments' and saying 'it is up to Hanoi!'"

BRIG. GENERAL HUQH B. HESTER *Writing to Veterans for Peace in Vietnam, 8 May, 1967.*

"I opposed U.S. involvement in Indo-China in 1954, as did General Ridgeway, then Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army (see his book Soldier: Memoirs of Matthew B. Ridgeway). Both of us feared this would involve U.S. ground forces in the jungles and swamps of Asia against the almost limitless Asian masses.

"I have opposed every increase in that involvement since. I oppose the Vietnamese War now, not only because it is being waged in violation of the U.S. Constitution and U.S. treaty obligations under the U.N. Charter, but also because it is in violation of the basic interests of the American people. The Vietnam War is not a war of self-defense or even of general self-interest. It is a war in the profit interests of only a very few.

"I therefore support those veterans of previous wars who are planning protests and demonstrations in Washington, D.C., on Memorial Day, against the Johnson Administration war of aggression against the Vietnamese people. This is an illegal, immoral and wholly unnecessary war.

"And I hope that these veterans now working for a sane American future will take this opportunity to set up an effective organization, perhaps along a loose confederation line, to work for a prompt end to a war which is betraying our great traditions as a free, just and peace-loving people.

"I know of no more fitting or proper task for men who have demonstrated their devotion and loyalty to the American people by risking their lives in combat, than by protesting against the terribly dangerous and unnecessary war the Johnson Administration is imposing upon the people of Vietnam. Their action, I believe, in doing these things, constitutes the exercise of patriotism in its very highest form."

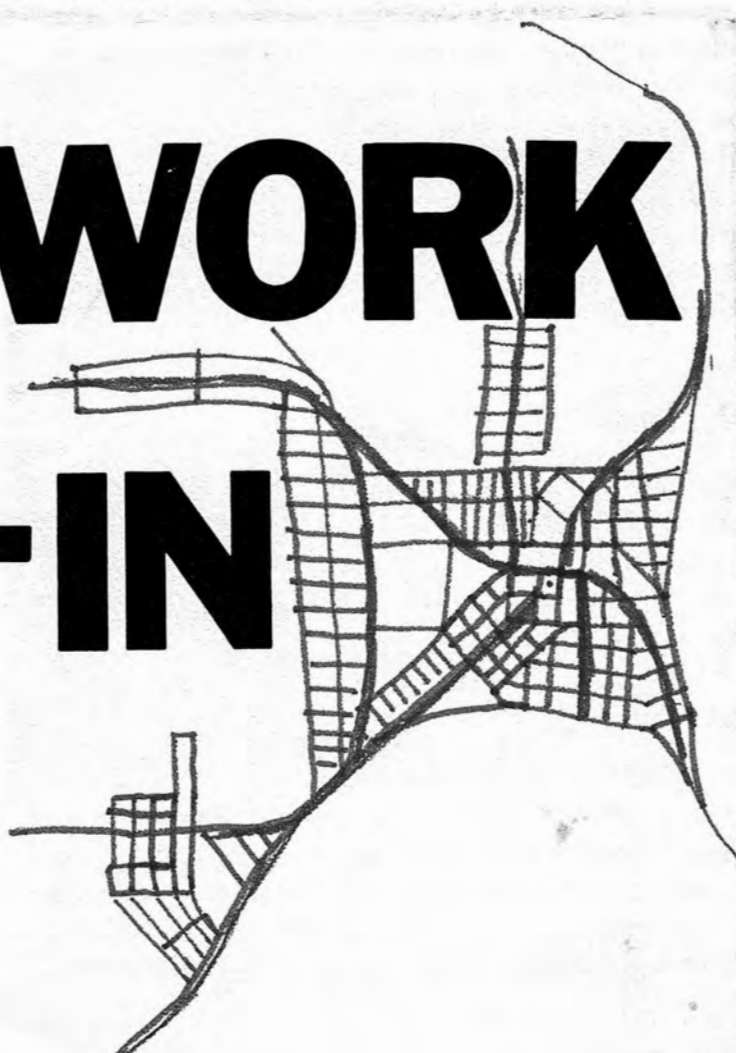
THE VIET NAM WORK -IN

A Revolutionary Step Forward

For Radicals With A Cause

But Without A Base

The VIETNAM WORK-IN will organize thousands of students who will be working this summer, to bring the ideas, the politics and the urgency of the anti-Vietnam war movement, among the workers on their jobs.



The Vietnam Work-In

Only two weeks after half a million marched in protest, many wonder if Johnson's escalations aren't deliberately timed to demoralize the war opposition. The movement, exalted on Saturday, stops dead in its tracks Sunday to ponder the latest atrocity as well as its own frustration.

What do we do now? What's holding us back? Important questions but there's a war going on and a summer approaching. "Not enough time to talk or think; we've got to act." So again, frustration reaps a whirlwind of proposals: Escalate our opposition. Reach more people. Grass roots community action. Good! Petition your congressman; write letters to the editor. Not so good. And then some old relics, brought in as hot new items: Elect delegates to the party conventions; capture the primaries; join the Democratic party. Bad! A weegee board of confusing answers, some better than others, but all somehow missing the mark.

The N.Y. and San Francisco marchers reflect the movement's base and also the quicksand that underlies its apparent strength. Who marched? In N.Y., students, professional people and their friends, intellectuals, artists, social workers, teachers, hippies and pacifists, black people, radicals and others. In San Francisco the groups were even less defined—perhaps ninety percent of the marchers came alone. Who didn't march? In N.Y., 250,000 garment workers were not represented. Two hundred thousand teamsters had no delegation. Seven pie-cards carried a lone banner for thousands of S.F. longshoremen. What could it mean? Do these and seventy million other American workers support the war? Hardly. Witness the polls, referendums and pitifully small Loyalty Day turn out of war supporters.

Yet, the movement remains aloof. Students, professionals and radicals busy themselves to broaden their following, but restrict their efforts, planning and thinking, almost by instinct, to people like themselves, ignoring the coldest fact of political life: Isolation. Seventy million, who work for wages every day — stand aside — for them the movement is as far away as Vietnam and for most, as fearsome.

We must move now

Great opportunities and dangers confront the people this summer. Workers are the decisive force in the country and they are in motion now. Sold out and silenced for years by labor traitors whose job has been to deliver them to administration war-makers, they are rebelling against corrupt leadership, inadequate contracts and government suppression. The administration, on the one hand fighting a war we don't want, on the other passing anti-strike legislation, extending injunctions and



Airline workers vs. the "national interest"

jailing militant leaders, is afraid that workers will begin to see that both hands belong to the bosses' body.

The war makers are not idle to stop them. A campaign has been launched to set off a race war this summer. The national media are whipping it up with terror tales of riots, looting, arson, national guards, etc. In Cleveland, Chicago, L.A. and other cities white workers are being urged to arm and fight the Blacks. The slogans are ominous: "Shoot to kill on sight." It is a desperate attempt to crush by force the militant opposition of Black people to the war, the draft and oppressive conditions at home, and to thwart the increasing war opposition and job demands of the whites, by sweeping all aside in a fury of deliberately provoked racist violence and outbreaks.

There are other dangers. Like Rev. King, lavishly financed by Kennedy fund raisers, reading speeches written by Kennedy writers, posing as The Peace Leader, and fighting to impose the false and administration line of "Negotiations now" (or "Get out" (much) later) and skirt the movement behind respectable Democratic coat-tails.

The VIETNAM WORK-IN is a vital element of the movement's will to combat these dangers and grow stronger in the process building around the demand:
U.S. GET OUT OF VIETNAM NOW!

The Work-In proposal

To mobilize the political power of sharecroppers, students flooded the southern Delta. To organize the poor they moved into the urban wasteland. To be with, to move and move with American workers, we've got to go to work. On the job, the day to day contact, the shared hatred of the boss, the daily grievances, the fight for better pay and conditions—here we can work, listen and learn what the issues are that will move working people. We will learn how to present our political views in a clear and straightforward manner. We will learn from our many mistakes. And most of all, if we work hard, and with a simple objective, we will go back to school (some might stay on the job) in the fall with two or three working friends.

That means thousands of working friends and contacts across the country, thousands of avenues opened for further organizing work. Thousands of workers who will hear and see the marches through our eyes, know our facts and ideas on the war and understand our campus struggles and protests. And we will begin to learn how to relate the job issues, the bread and butter demands, the spreading strikes, to the movement. We will begin to find the links of mutual support that are needed to unite us and put an end to isolation.

We propose to begin now. The plan is simple: call a meeting to organize the VIETNAM WORK-IN at your campus or community. Spend a week studying the economic activity of the region. Then go out and get jobs, preferably in large industries or in places that employ lots of people that live in the area. Work there for the summer. (Of course, you can join the WORK-IN if you already have a job or a summer job).

Remember, most likely, you're a part time worker. Others have been there for years. Work hard and LISTEN, don't preach. Workers often resent students at first as smart alics, but they also respect them and want their own children to go to college. Concentrate on making friends and learning from them. Present your political views and ideas, but don't get into heated arguments. If you are confident of your political conviction, be patient. It will take a long time for people

to have confidence in you and to take your ideas seriously. Take your time. Try to keep the job. Organizing is a long, tough haul.

(The VIETNAM WORK-IN is preparing an organizers' manual for wide distribution with suggestions on:

1. How to research the job situation in your area.
2. What jobs to look for.
3. How to get a job.
4. What to expect on the job.
5. Coordination and follow-up.)

The WORK-IN will publish a national bulletin during the summer for exchange of ideas, evaluations and plans. Local groups will be in touch with the center and can correspond with each other through the bulletin.

The VIETNAM WORK-IN will bring thousands of radicals into closest contact with the real but unorganized strength and power of the movement. It is a first step toward the America that stands back. It is a call to break out of isolation, self-imposed restraints and middle class timidity. It is the recognition that we can't overcome till we organize the active and angry support of American workers, whose lives and vital interests, like our own, are opposed to this war and the system that made it.

Join up!

For information and materials:

THE VIETNAM WORK-IN

149 West 108th Street
New York, N.Y. 10025
(temporary address)

274 Coleridge
San Francisco, California 94110

Coordinators: (Tentative list)

New York Area:

Steve Fraser 212-222-1763

Ann Arbor:

Rick Rhoads 212-773-3855

Baltimore:

Bill Sachs 313-668-8813

Baltimore-Washington D.C.:

Tom Bowers 301-732-8990

Boston:

Wayne Horman 301-474-6479

Dennis DeCoste 617-868-6614

Chicago:

Debbey Levenson 617-354-7730

Kathy Fisher 312-LI 8-4503

Los Angeles:

Jim Dann 213-399-6819

San Francisco:

John Levin 415-282-5827

Rochester:

Alan Strelzoff 716-325-4773

JOIN UP!

76



HEAR YE, CITIZENS OF THESE FORMER COLONIES....

when in the course of human
events WE WHO WERE ONCE OPPRESSED COLONIAL
SUBJECTS BECOME POWERFUL AND, ALAS, FORGETFUL TO
THE POINT OF OPPRESSING OTHERS, IT BEHOOVES THOSE

OF US WHO MAINTAIN A SENSE OF PRIDE IN REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE TO
POINT OUT OUR WRONGDOINGS TO OUR GOVERNMENT AND COUNTRYMEN, THERE-
FORE,

all against the Vietnam war.... JOIN US

JULY 4, 1967

INDEPENDENCE HALL

TO REMIND Vice Pres. Humphrey OF WHAT THIS NATION ONCE
STOOD FOR... remove foreign troops and self-deter-
mination.

VIETNAM VETS TO SPEAK OUT

Meet at 18th & Catherine Sts., 10 a.m...March thru community to Independence
Hall...We request, where possible, each participating group to focus upon a
particular aspect of the war with signs, art work, displays, masks, etc. (be
creative).

★★ Sponsored by UNITED PHILA. VETS FOR PEACE IN VIETNAM, P.O.Box
7553, Phila. Pa. 19101 ★★

Participating Vets for Peace Groups: Chicago, Detroit, Long Island,
Miami, New Jersey, New York City, Rockland County (N.Y.), Westchester County
(N.Y.), Los Angeles.

supported by Phila. Spring Mobilization Comm. ★★ Phila. Vietnam Summer Comm.

☆☆☆ **FUNDS NEEDED** ☆☆☆

WHY WE ARE HERE

Black, white and yellow--in Asia, Africa and Latin America--men are fighting for national liberation. They are engaged in a struggle against age-old enemies: against hunger, poverty and disease. They are also fighting against military and political forces--and in most cases forces which are either agencies of the United States Government or the United States Government itself.

The Revolutionary Contingent exists to aid those involved in this form of warfare--to aid them by whatever means feasible. We have carried flags of national liberation movements at the peace rally last April 15th, in New York; we have attempted to forcefully protest the arrival of General Westmoreland in the United States; we currently anticipate providing means for Americans to directly aid liberation movements wherever they are occurring.

We are carrying this banner to demonstrate support for the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. We harbor no illusions as to the practical effectiveness of this symbolic gesture. This gesture simply represents appropriate contempt for Johnson's presence in New York.

The Revolutionary Contingent
P.O. Box 171
Cooper Station
New York, N.Y. 10003

Statement by POLICE COMMISSIONER HOWARD R. LEARY
on a complaint that leaflet distributors were being harassed by police:

"In the past year every policeman in the city has received instructions advising him that the lawful distribution of political handbills is not prohibited. I should like to stress that it is this department's belief and policy that there should be NO LIMITATIONS on the constitutional rights of all citizens to freedom of speech."

VICTORY!

CITY-WIDE REFERENDUM

TO

BRING THE TROUPOUS HOME NOW

IS ON THE BALLOT



EMERGENCY PLANNING MEETING

OF

CAMPUS MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE

TO

MOBILIZE STUDENT SUPPORT

FOR

A VOTE AGAINST THE VIETNAM WAR

SEPT. 22

62-A BELCHER

4:00 P.M.

~~14+1~~
~~MARKET~~
~~CHALICE~~

PARTY
Sept. 30
61-A Bekker

Stu.
Mob.
Mtg.
Oct. 2

Film
"To Die In
Madrid"
Sept. 29

Sept. 29 RALLY - Sept. 29
Steve Hamilton - Stop the Draft Week
Pete Camejo - Stud. Mobilization
Ed Farley - Citizens For
A Vote ON VIETNAM
Jerry Rubin

FREE MASS MEETING FREE
Citizens For A Vote On Vietnam
Dr. Benjamin Spock
Super. Jack Morrison
Sept. 23, Galileo H.S. Avd.
Van Ness & Bay

I want to help build October 21st. _____
I have a car to add to Car Caravan _____ I need a ride to Wash. D.C. _____
Name _____

Address _____ Zip _____ Phone _____

your Bread your Bombs

Anti-tax teach-in at Port Chicago - Friday, December 22, 2 p.m.

We are through supporting this illegal war and criminal government through our tax dollar. The time has come to resist !

We invite you to join us in support action as we gather at the U.S. Naval Weapons Station near Port Chicago (40 miles from San Francisco) - where 80 % of the U.S. war materials leave for Southeast Asia.

Here we will initiate a mass federal income tax refusal campaign.

As a protest, you may remain at home and write the IRS of your disagreement with the war...but for resistance - we must meet en masse and declare: I Refuse Support !

Why Port Chicago ?

This Naval Weapons Station - right on our door step - is of national importance to the war machine.

You need to see both the bombs you are paying for and the workers who do the dehumanizing work of loading them. You need to know this business is supported with your tax dollar. You need to break this chain of death.

What we will do :

We will ask the workers to stop loading the bombs; we will ask you to s-t-o-p paying for it.

We will say to the workers (2,500 civilian employees) that we who pay for the bombs are as responsible for the death, shame, and suffering as they who load them. But, we will break this chain of death. We will resist. We will refuse to be misused.

We will offer a statement to the Congress of the United States declaring our position. We will inform the IRS that we as individuals are taking the appropriate steps, including claiming extra dependents, to insure no tax monies will be withheld. This we do openly and honestly - breaking the law that requires money from our labor to continue to destroy lives.

We ask you to support our radical resistance by your presence with us. Our teach-in will offer information and experience on anti-tax, anti-war work. We urge you to follow whatever position best fits your life. Come be with us, even if it requires taking a day off from work.

Friday, December 22, 2 p.m. - Port Chicago N.W.S. (Car pool meets 12 noon, Ashby & College, Berkeley)
telephone: Western Mobilization Against War
834-6519 P.O. Box 31055, San Francisco

Western Mobilization plans a Western area action at Dow Chemical's Napalm plant in Torrance, Calif. Full details soon.

AT PORT CHICAGO

ANTI-TAX TEACH-IN & RALLY

To declare to the criminal U.S. government: We are through supporting the War:

To declare to the workers at Port Chicago Naval Weapons Station (40 miles from San Francisco): We who pay for the war are as responsible for the death, shame and suffering as you who load the bombs and napalm:

To declare to the peace community: We must break this chain of death by accepting our responsibility, by refusing to support the War:

To call upon the workers to consider the work they are doing in supporting the War:

WE CALL FOR A MASS ACTION at the Naval Weapons Station near Port Chicago - FRIDAY - DECEMBER 22. We will initiate a campaign for Federal INCOME - TAX - REFUSAL !

We are moving from protest to resistance - where many of us have been jailed and hospitalized. People ask, "What can we do to halt this mad government?"

In retrospect, we see a vital omission: mass income tax refusal. For years a few individuals have refused all or part of their federal tax as a form of protest, usually without being prosecuted.

NOW, it is time for a body of people to stand and state: I REFUSE SUPPORT for this illegal war and unjust government!
This we intend to do, beginning Dec. 22 at Port Chicago.

Here we will collect statements from all who feel the time has come to refuse support. We will say to the government (through the news media): If you arrest us now, let it be for refusing to support the war! This form of civil disobedience the government will fuel-a mobilization of conscience into action.

We will inform the IRS we refuse support for the War, and take the appropriate steps, including claiming extra dependents, so no tax monies will be withheld.

We feel this is a significant move for the expanding anti-war movement. We urge you to join us to initiate this campaign - Friday, Dec. 22 Rally and Teach-In 2 p.m. We need your participation, help, and support. (Make checks payable to: Western Mobilization Against War).

Advanced organizing meetings are planned:

San Francisco - Howard Pres. Church	Oak & Baker	Dec. 7	8 p.m.
Oakland - Fellowship of Humanity	411 28th St.	Dec. 11	8 p.m.
Walnut Creek - Ray Kent's	2609 Walnut Blvd.	Dec. 12	8 p.m.
Palo Alto - Friends Meeting	957 Colorado Blvd.	Dec. 14	8 p.m.

Western Mobilization Meeting - 55 Colton St. S.F.
Tues. Dec. 19 - 8 p.m.

We plan a Western area action at Dow Chemical's Napalm plant in Torrance, Calif. Full details soon.

For information or help with organizing, call: 834-6519

Port Chicago Action Committee
Western Mobilization Against War
P.O. Box 637
Oakland, Calif. 94604

A CAR POOL AND CARAVAN TO PORT CHICAGO WILL FORM AT COLLEGE & ASHBY, BERKELEY AT 12:00 NOON-FRIDAY, DEC. 22nd. IF YOU HAVE ROOM-BRING YOUR CAR FOR RIDERS.

What For?



UPI PHOTO

HE LIES DEAD IN VIETNAM - WHAT FOR?

This is a letter that Virginia and Al Troelstrup wrote to the Editor of The Press and Enterprise, Hemet, Calif., January 6, 1967.

"We were just told our son Tom was killed in Vietnam. Tom's death and those of other boys like him result, we feel, from the timidity of the general public in expressing their true sentiments about the war. We feel sure that the political community would react if they were exposed to the true sentiments of the common people.

"We are not proud, but ashamed, of what Tom was doing. He died, not fighting for something worthwhile but simply trying to justify the pride of a politician unwilling to admit his mistakes. That such a worthwhile boy as Tom should be sacrificed for such a shallow end, is perhaps an irony of the society in which we live, but has not the time come that the people should, at least, express themselves?"

How Many More American Sons MUST DIE Before This Unnecessary and Savage War Ends?

YOU CAN EXPRESS YOUR OPPOSITION TO THE WAR BY JOINING
WITH THOUSANDS OF OTHER WOMEN

I want to work for peace.

Name.....

Address.....

City, State..... Zip Code.....

WOMEN STRIKE FOR PEACE

• 799 Broadway

• New York City 10003

MEMORIAL DAY PEACE SERVICE

SERVICIO DE PAZ PARA MEMORIAL DAY

Tuesday, May 30 2 P.M.

Corner 104th. Street
& Columbus Avenue

"The constant escalation of the war can only lead to tragedy for all of us."

- Dr. Martin Luther King

"We are sacrificing many of our bravest young men, wasting valuable resources, and threatening the peace of the world."

- Sen. George McGovern

"La constante escalación de la guerra nos conducirá a una tragedia para todo el mundo."

- Dr. Martin Luther King

"Estamos sacrificando la flor de nuestra juventud y desperdiciando nuestros recursos y amenazando la paz del mundo."

- Sen. George McGovern

Participants*

Marina Brook
Rabbi Gerald A. Goldman
Rev. Richard Hildebrand
Lincoln Lynch
Cleveland Robinson
Rev. Harvey Tatum
Father James Welby

Congreso de Pueblos
Stephen Wise Free Synagogue
Bridge Steet A.M.E. Church
Congress of Racial Equality
Vice President, District 65
Grace Methodist Church
Ascension R.C. Church

Sponsors

Amy Batanzos
Bina Bernard
Algernon Black
Hon. Albert Blumenthal
Concepcion Burbon
Mary Castro
Doris Clark
Leonard Cohen

Hugh Ferry
Dr. Edward Gottlieb
Jack Jeffers
James Lattimore
Franz Leichter
Rev. Anthony Moodie
Paul O'Dwyer
Hon. Manfred Ohrenstein

Leonard Plato
Doris Rosenblum
Hon. William Ryan
Bea Schutz
Robert Shapiro
Rabbi Joseph Sternstein
Odessa Steward
Hon. Ted Weiss

Supporting Organizations

Chelsea Village SANE
Clergy Concerned
Committee of the Professions
Veterans for Peace in Vietnam

West Side Committee on Vietnam
West Side SANE
West Side Women Strike for Peace

STOP THE BOMBING

DAR FIN AL BOMBARDEO

END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

TERMINAR LA GUERRA EN VIETNAM

RAIN or SHINE

*Organizational affiliation for identification only



THIS IS A VIETNAMESE FAMILY

If this were you and your family, would you want to be fleeing from your home as it goes up in flames — your wife and children targets for napalm which burns people alive, or at least melts their limbs together — your garden sprayed with chemicals to kill the crops, poison the livestock, ruin the soil? Would you want your children to be among one million injured, killed, made homeless, orphaned — in three years of war? Would you want them propagandized by both sides, intimidated by threats or enticed by candy to betray you and your fellow villagers or soldiers — whichever side you are on?

UPI Photo



THIS IS AN AMERICAN G.I.

If this is your son or husband or next door neighbor, do you really want him to be a target for Claymore mines, for poisoned bamboo spikes, for hit-and-run raids or a sniper's bullet in the jungle? Do you really want him setting fire to the homes of families, torturing prisoners, proudly counting the number of men he's killed? Do you want him even with compassion playing with the children whose father or mother he may have shot that morning? Do you want him to come home in a casket, or so disabled in body or mind that he can never again live a normal life?

Why should human beings who live thousands of miles from each other, who in the normal course of events would be at the least indifferent, at the most friendly to each other, who otherwise are kind, ordinary human beings — why should they be at each others' throats, slaughtering and destroying?

Why should not that American GI be at home preparing himself for a constructive life; attending college or a trade school; volunteering in the Peace Corps or Vista or the civil rights movement?

Why shouldn't that Vietnamese family be working their fields, raising rice and vegetables; working with others in their village to improve the land and build schools and hospitals; providing hospitality to the volunteers of an international Mekong Delta project?

Why Should They Be Enemies?

There are many reasons why the ordinary people of the world are the perpetual victims in the game of war. Right now, we Americans are told, it is to defend freedom, to save the world from Communism. On the other hand, the Vietnamese people (except for those few who are kept in power in Saigon or who benefit by American military and economic might) are convinced *they* are fighting for freedom and to save the world from capitalist imperialism. (NLF and North Vietnamese leaders and people really *do* believe they are fighting to free their country from foreign domination, just as the early Americans believed during our Revolution.)

Let's consider this Communist menace which United States leaders seek to defeat.

- Are Communists invading *our* shores; are they bombing *our* country?
- If we are the ones who fear the Communists, is it fair to fight them on the soil of other people, to shed their blood, to destroy their lands?

- Can we really persuade other peoples that Communism is not for them and that democracy is for them by the means we are using — bombs, napalm, destruction?

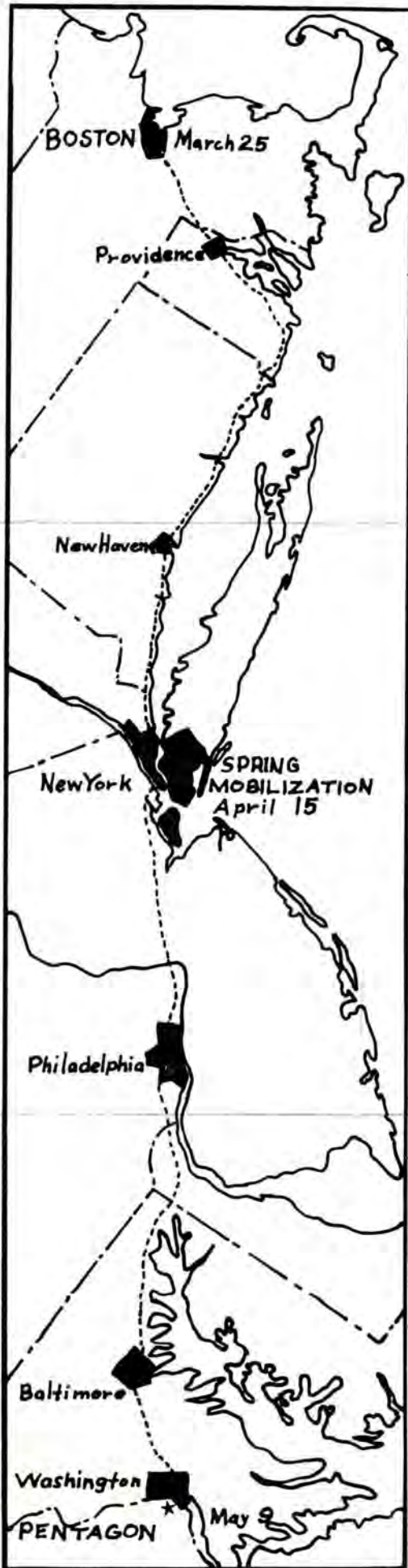
- If people take to Communism because of real grievances, and if we think we have a better alternative, are there not other more effective ways of proving the superiority of our alternative — such as dealing with the real grievances?

- Do we really have the right in any case to decide for another country what kind of government, what kind of economic social system they shall have? Are those not their choices — including the right to make their own mistakes?

- Is the military struggle against Communism worth the risk we take of plunging the world into nuclear catastrophe?

If your thoughts on those questions do not coincide with the statements issued by the White House and the Pentagon, then perhaps you would like to consider some alternatives raised by the

Boston to Pentagon Walk for Peace



Grindstone Press

We are walking from BOSTON to the PENTAGON --450 miles, 45 days-- to raise PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVES. . .

MEN ALL OVER THE WORLD need to find ways other than war to deal with their conflicts, to meet aggression, to resist injustice. Some advocates and practitioners of other ways which have been effective include Jesus, Tolstoy, Thoreau, Gandhi, Martin Luther King.

DEMOCRACY INCLUDES the right to dissent. Freedom of conscience, which is sacred in a democracy, includes not only the right, but the obligation, to follow one's conscience rather than the policies of one's government if the two conflict.

IF A CITIZEN DISSENTS from the relentless prosecution of the war in Vietnam, and from the build-up of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons, then that citizen's conscience may lead him, as others have been led, to:

- Refuse to enlist or be drafted into the armed forces; or refuse to go to Vietnam if already in the armed services; support this refusal if one is over draft age or is a woman.
- Refuse to pay a part or all of one's income taxes, or the telephone tax, on the grounds that 80% of the federal budget goes for war.
- Refuse to work in war industries; refuse to do research on weapons if one is a scientist, engineer or technician.
- Boycott companies which make consumer products but which also make the terrible tools of death, such as Dow Chemical Company, manufacturer of Saran Wrap and napalm.
- Withdraw one's investments and savings from corporations and institutions which finance the war and the arms race, and invest instead in constructive industries and endeavors.
- Write President Johnson and one's Congressmen, certainly, but also stand up in public and register one's dissent—for instance, join this Boston to Pentagon Walk for Peace for an hour, a day, or more; and join the **SPRING MOBILIZATION FOR PEACE** on April 15 in New York City.

Of all the people in the world, we Americans—with our history of the Revolution and the Civil War—should understand the longing for freedom, the desire for peace, the yearning for a reunited country. The Declaration of Independence of Vietnam, written in 1945, cites word for word our own Declaration of Independence. Our nation has been revered and admired for its devotion to freedom, but today we are making a mockery of the word "freedom." Let us again become *truly* respected by the people of the world by admitting our mistakes and starting down a new road.

THAT AMERICAN SOLDIER THAT VIETNAMESE FAMILY
They Need Not Be Enemies; They Should Be Friends

Please send me information about nonviolent direct action for peace. This includes information about draft and tax refusal; civil disobedience; radical peace organizations; and reading suggestions on pacifism.

Enclosed is a contribution of \$ _____ for the Boston to Pentagon Walk for Peace and other CNVA activities.

Name _____

Address _____

Zip _____

Clip and send to: **COMMITTEE FOR NONVIOLENT ACTION**
5 Beekman St., Room 1033, New York, N. Y. 10038 OR
NEW ENGLAND CNVA, RFD #1, Box 197B, Voluntown, Conn. 06384 OR
PHILADELPHIA CNVA, 1526 Race Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

BOOKS YOU MAY WANT TO BUY

The Politics of Escalation in Vietnam.
Franz Schurmann, Peter Dale Scott, Reginald Zelnik. 160 pp. 60¢

With a special foreword by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., this book gives documented facts showing the insincerity of Johnson's "peace offensives." Just published, this book is a "must" for those who still believe in the credibility of Johnson.

Handbook For C.O.'s. 104 pp. 50¢

If you are of draft age and object to military service this book is essential.

CURIOUS ABOUT PACIFISM?

The War Resisters League was formed in 1923 to oppose *all* wars. At a time when organized violence may destroy humanity the pacifist position may be the only realistic one open. For an introduction to pacifist thought, we recommend the following paperbacks.

The Quiet Battle. Edited by Mulford Q. Sibley. 390 pp. \$1.45

Writings on the theory and practice of nonviolent resistance.

Conquest of Violence. Joan V. Bondurant. 272 pp. \$1.75

A contemporary classic of pacifist theory.

Order any of the above from:

War Resisters League
5 Beekman Street; Room 1025
New York; N. Y. 10038

TAX REFUSAL AND THE LAW

Imposition of the telephone tax is covered by Section 4251 (a) of the Internal Revenue Code, which reads, "The taxes imposed by this section shall be paid by the person paying for the services."

This provision is amplified in the Internal Revenue Regulations, Section 49.4251-2 (c) LIABILITY FOR, AND RETURN OF, TAX: The taxes imposed by Section 4251 are payable by the person paying for the service rendered, and shall be paid to the person rendering the services, who is required to collect the tax and return and pay over the tax in accordance with the applicable provisions of the regulations contained in Subparts F and G.

According to the Commerce Clearing House 1966 Excise Tax Guide, Paragraph 2235 on Collection of Tax by Another Person, "Certain miscellaneous taxes are imposed on the person making the payment but are required to be collected by the person receiving the payment. All taxes collected in this manner are held by the collecting agent in trust for the United States until paid over to the district director of internal revenue. If the person from whom the tax is required to be collected refuses to pay it or if for any other reason it is impossible for the collecting agency to collect the tax from such person, the collecting agency is required to report the facts to the district director of internal revenue and the tax will then be collected by direct assessment against the person failing or refusing to pay the tax to the collecting agent." Exactly the same language appears in Prentice Hall Federal Taxes, Excise Volume, Paragraph 189,514-A, with a reference to Statement of Procedural Rules CB 1955-2, Page 977, Section 601,493 (c) (2).

This indicates that the ultimate responsibility for paying, or refusing, the tax lies with the telephone user, not with the phone company, and that if the user refuses to pay the tax as billed, the issue will be settled directly between him and the Internal Revenue Service, through its standard collection procedures, rather than by termination of telephone service. This also agrees with informal opinions given by representatives of Illinois Bell Telephone Co. and the Chicago District office of IRS.

Having dealt with the question of tax liability, and collection procedures, it might be well, for the record, to mention the subject of criminal penalties for tax refusal. One who "willfully fails to pay" the phone tax could possibly be charged with a misdemeanor, under Section 7203 of the Internal Revenue Code, and be imprisoned for a period up to one year and fined an amount up to \$10,000. It is also possible that one could be charged with attempt to "evade or defeat" the phone tax, under a section carrying a stiffer penalty.

However, experiences of objectors to other federal war taxes during the past several years indicate that the government would not be interested in pressing criminal charges, but that it would instead try here or there to collect the tax (with interest).

The campaign to refuse payment of the telephone war tax has been initiated by individuals and is supported by WRL and the following organizations:

CATHOLIC WORKER, 175 Chrystie St., New York, N. Y., 10002; COMMITTEE FOR NON-VIOLENT ACTION, 5 Beekman St., Rm. 1033, New York, N. Y. 10038; PEACEMAKERS, 10208 Sylvan Ave. (Gano), Cincinnati, Ohio, 45241; STUDENT PEACE UNION, 5 Beekman St., Tenth Floor, New York, N. Y., 10038.

Hang up on war!



TELEPHONE WAR TAX REFUSAL CAMPAIGN

War Resisters League

REFUSE TELEPHONE TAX

**You have it in your power to hold back this tax.
Some have stopped paying —
their phone service continues.**

Why was the 10 percent telephone tax restored?

Because of the widening war in Vietnam, federal legislation was passed which, in April, 1966, restored the 10% tax on telephone bills. At that time the tax was 3% and due to be dropped entirely in 1969.

"It is clear," said Rep. Wilbur Mills, who managed the tax legislation in the House, "that the Vietnam and only the Vietnam operation makes this bill necessary." [Congressional Record, February 23, 1966]

What does your telephone tax pay for?

Congressman Mills was always careful to refer to "our operations in Vietnam." But those of us who know its true nature know that it is not an operation but a tragic bloodbath. We know that revenue for the Vietnam war pays for:

- napalm, mass bombings, and other attacks on civilian areas resulting in extermination of thousands of Vietnamese—about 200,000 casualties in the last year and a half
- forcing young Americans into "kill-civilians-or-be-killed" situations. Over 5,000 G. I.'s have been killed in Vietnam.
- perpetuating a military dictatorship
- violation of the Nuremberg precedents, the U. N. Charter, and the Geneva Accords of 1954
- indefinite continuation of war against a people who desire above all to be alive and to determine their destiny free from foreign domination.

Why boycott this tax?

A tax boycott demonstrates that you believe this war to be immoral and/or illegal and that you are willing to act on this belief.

We boycott the telephone tax because:

- it is a tax directly imposed to pay for the war in Vietnam
- anyone who has a phone can refuse to pay this tax
- telephone companies have indicated that refusal to pay this tax will not result in interruption of your phone service
- the monthly refusal of a small amount of money creates a thorny collection problem for the Internal Revenue Service.

What happens to telephone tax refusers?

Individuals in many parts of the country have begun refusal of the war tax. In all instances on which we have the facts, telephone companies have assured the refusers that their telephone service will not be interrupted.

The phone company treats refusal as a matter between the individual and the government. In most cases the refused tax will continue to be carried on the telephone bill as an "unpaid balance," but in at least one case the customer will no longer be billed for the accumulated tax by the phone company.

There are some indications that phone companies are welcoming protests against the tax. One phone company called to remind a customer that on the bill he had just paid he had forgotten to refuse the tax.

See back panel for possible but unlikely legal consequences of telephone tax refusal.

What Happens If...

Most phone companies are not shutting off service for nonpayment of this tax. But what happens if your local company does threaten to turn off the phone? At that point, if for business or personal reasons you must keep your phone, you could pay the tax under protest. You will have protested to the limit of your ability. Your protest will have been heard. It will count.

Please fill out and return to WRL, 5 Beekman St., Room 1025, New York, N. Y. 10038.

I plan to join the protest against the payment of the Federal tax on my telephone bill because of American military action in Vietnam.

Signed _____

Date _____

- You may make my name public as a participant in this action.
- Please keep my name in confidence.
- Please send more copies of this leaflet (price: \$1/100; \$7/1000).

Name _____
(please print)

Address _____

Zip _____

- Enclosed is my contribution of \$ _____ to help with the on-going work of WRL.
- Please send more information about WRL.

VIETNAM VETERANS SPEAK OUT

We are Viet Nam Veterans against the war.

We now realize that this is a civil war -- a civil war like any civil war. As such, we believe that no outside power, however great, has the right to intervene.

We do not want our brothers, nephews, sons and friends to go through the Viet Nam "conflict." We were told that the Viet Nam war would end in 1963, in 1965, in 1967; we know it will never end until the villages of Viet Nam have been destroyed or "resettled" down to the last man, woman and child.

We are not advocates of any political program -- except a program designed to end the war. We now believe Viet Nam was a mistake from the beginning. Furthermore, we now believe that the American involvement in the Vietnamese civil war was an act of unwarranted intervention by the United States.

We feel responsible for our buddies still in Viet Nam. We want them to come home -- NOW! We want them to come home before anyone else dies in a war the American people did not vote for and do not want.

FUNDS URGENTLY NEEDED!

clip and send to: VIET NAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR
P.O. Box 719 Times Square Station
340 West 42nd Street
New York, New York 10036

___ I am a Viet Nam Vet. ___ I would like more information.

___ I will help in any way possible.

___ I will support this and any future action and enclose \$ ____.

___ I am not a Viet Nam Vet, but I would like to contribute \$ ____
to help you.

Name _____ Phone _____

Address _____ Zip _____

Branch of Service _____

Dates of Viet Nam Tour _____

HONEY,
WILL
YOU
BELIEVE
ME?



NO!

do
You
believe
LBJ?

Come & let him know the answer **JUNE 3RD**

LYNDON JOHNSON IS COMING TO NEW YORK CITY!

A PROTEST DEMONSTRATION WILL GREET HIM :

7:00 PM at the AMERICANA HOTEL
7th Avenue & 52 St.

(at 7:30 LBJ will address the \$100-a-plate Democratic Party Unity dinner)

Following the Americana dinner, Johnson will proceed to the Waldorf Astoria

MARCH TO THE WALDORF ASTORIA
Park Avenue & 50 St.

(Johnson will be attending a gathering of the Presidential Club-- those who have donated over \$1000 to Johnson's campaigns)

JOIN US IN EXPRESSING OUR TRUE FEELINGS TOWARD LYNDON JOHNSON!



DR. EUGENE CARSON BLAKE:

"The picture of a great and wealthy nation mobilizing each month to bring a tiny, long-suffering, dark-skinned nation to capitulation means clearly that the more we win, the more we lose, and each American soldier dead or wounded is a useless sacrifice," he said.

Clip and mail to: 5th Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee
5 Beekman St. New York N. Y. 10038 Telephone 675-1821

I contribute \$ _____ to help the work of the Parade Committee.
I would like more information on the War in Vietnam
I would like information on organizing a Peace Group

NAME _____ PHONE _____

ADDRESS _____

ZIP _____

Support Our Boys Bring Them Home Alive

The war in Vietnam has exacted a terrible price. Already over 10,000 American soldiers have been killed. No one knows the number of Vietnamese people who have died, but estimates run to over 1,000,000.

The cream of our American youth is being sent to Vietnam to kill and be killed. The Vietnamese people are being slaughtered senselessly--every minute of every day. Right now.

That is what the policy of our government means in human terms.

* * *

We veterans of Vietnam, Korea, both World Wars, and current reservists, join with the millions of other Americans across the country who are opposed to this bloody, illegal war.

We sympathize deeply with all the American and Vietnamese victims of the war and their bereaved families. But most important to us are those on both sides who are still alive.

WE DEMAND AN END TO THE KILLING OF HUMAN BEINGS IN VIETNAM.

WE CONDEMN THE WAR OF GENOCIDE AGAINST THE COLORED PEOPLE OF VIETNAM.

Our boys are dying in vain in Vietnam, forced to fight a war which is not in their interests and in which the United States is the aggressor.

* * *

Nearly 200 years ago, American patriots exercised their right of self-determination and threw off foreign rule. It's part of the American tradition we all learn in school. And yet our young men are sent to Vietnam to kill the people of that country who have fought a quarter of a century for the same basic right. This makes no sense to us.

We do not hold the people of Vietnam who are defending their homeland responsible for the continuation of the war. They are the patriots of their country and have the support of the majority of the Vietnamese. They do not threaten our security.

The responsibility for the war and its horrible escalation lies squarely with the U.S. government. American armed forces have no legal or moral right to intervene in someone else's civil war.

In Vietnam our boys are dying in vain. The only real way we know to support our GIs is to demand that they be brought home alive and that the Vietnamese people be allowed to settle their own affairs.

Please send to: Veterans and Reservists to End the War in Vietnam
5 Beekman Street, Rm. 1033, NYC 10038
Phone: (212) 227-5535

____ I agree with the above statement. Put me on your mailing list and send information on your group and activities.

____ I would like to join (or form) a peace group in my area. Send me the necessary facts.

____ Here's my contribution of \$ _____ to help end the war in Vietnam.

Name _____ Phone _____

Address _____ Zip _____

SUMMONS:

STUDENT PEACE UNION

Plaintiff

against

The GOVERNMENT of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA

Defendant

JUDICIAL SUBPOENA

TO All American Students

You are hereby summoned to lay all business and excuses aside and to appear and attend the

New York & San Francisco demonstrations for peace in Vietnam

on the 15th day of APRIL 1967 at 11:00 o'clock, in the fore noon, to bear witness against the alleged crimes hereinbelow enumerated of the aforementioned defendant.

Failure to comply with this summons is acquiescence in the aforesaid crimes against the People of Vietnam, and shall make you liable to Guilt by Association in the eyes of mankind.

The Defendant is charged with actions AGAINST WORLD PEACE and the peace of Vietnam by

- ITEM introducing a present total of approx. 400,000 military persons as well as military equipment into Vietnam in violation of the 1954 Geneva Accords, in pursuance of undeclared warfare in that country;
- ITEM causing the citizens of South Vietnam and their properties to be bombed, shot, raided, poisoned, burnt, and otherwise abused;
- ITEM installing puppet governments and thereupon aiding and abetting the belligerent, despotic, brutal, and anti-democratic actions of the aforesaid governments against the citizens of Vietnam;
- ITEM arbitrarily extending the war into Laos and North Vietnam;
- ITEM heightening the tensions between the power blocs and having raised the possibility of a large scale war;
- ITEM disregarding all pleas to negotiate a settlement.

Now therefore, the Plaintiff calls on the Defendant:

To seek an immediate cease-fire or truce in Vietnam, followed by the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Vietnam;

To cease and desist aiding despotism;

To end all attacks upon and threats against North Vietnam;



STUDENT PEACE UNION

Plaintiff

5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10038

CALL FOR AN EXAMINATION OF CONSCIENCE

Our government has decided it needs more soldiers for this "small" war in Viet-Nam; Congress has authorized the sending of an additional 400,000 men. It has decided it can no longer defer all students, and has begun to draft them off the campus.

But our very influential businessmen have personnel needs, too, just like our generals. Our businessmen need the steady stream of young administrators and managers and technicians and scientists that the multiversity has promised to keep on supplying.

So between the old men who run industry and the old

men who run the military, there's a friendly tug-of-war. We male students are the prize.

But business and the military have decided to be fair to each other about sharing us. Some of us are not so bright, or perhaps have been lazy scholars. Businessmen don't need them. **They** can go be soldiers. The bookish among us can stay home and enjoy the full-employment boom that the war has created.

To divide us up the government has decided to hold an examination on May 14, May 21, and June 3. All of us are invited to take part in this Beat-The-Draft exam.

AND THE MILLIONS OF US WHO TAKE THE EXAM WILL DO SO FOR ONE AND ONLY ONE REASON: TO STAY OUT OF THE VIET-NAM WAR.

Those who pass will have their 2-S deferment intact, at least for a while.

Those who fail can start coloring themselves khaki.

WE WANT TO ASK SOME QUESTIONS OF OUR OWN.

● What about all the guys our age who don't even get this chance? Those whose parents didn't have enough money to send them to college? Those whose background didn't even teach them they should want to go?

● Do we smell a little old-fashioned "class privilege" here? We know of a pre-law hotshot from Yale who said, "Students are the brains of the country's machine. The machine needs its brains. Let the jocks and the dumbheads be the heroes." Blunt? Even a little sickening? **But that's exactly the message of this Selective Service exam: If you're white and middle-class and a Dean's-List kind of guy, relax. If you're not, fall in.**

● For another thing—a lot of the guys who will take this test think the Viet-Nam war is a right kind of war, necessary

and just and patriotic. We in SDS think it's a wrong kind of war, not necessary, not just, and not American. But what about you who think Johnson tells the truth?

● **When your brothers are over there dying trying to do something you think needs to be done, why are you back here at home trying to pass a test in order to stay out of it?**

● And a third thing—in these tests, they're going to ask us to parade our knowledge of math, sciences, and language, our skills at reasoning and remembering. And on the basis of our answers to questions about poems and physics and geometry, we will or will not be "eligible" for the draft, will or will not be inducted, will or will not be sent to Viet-Nam, maybe to kill and maybe to die.

SO WHAT DOES GEOMETRY HAVE TO DO WITH THE VIET-NAM WAR?

The government intends to train us to be killers if we fail its test, why doesn't it ask us instead what we think this war is all about? Why doesn't it ask us what we think we'd be killing and dying for? Why doesn't it ask us what we think the other side wants, and where they came from, and why they've been fighting against the French and then the Japanese and then the British and the Chinese together and then the French again and now us Americans, for more than 35 years?

When you kill a man, you kill a man. And we think you'd better know what you're doing when you do it.

WHY DOESN'T THE GOVERNMENT LOOK FOR PEOPLE WHO WANT TO BE SOLDIERS IN THIS WAR?

And if nobody **wants** to fight it, and if they can't persuade us, then why don't they quit trying to force us to fight? After all, the thing about American democracy is supposed to be that the government belongs to the people. Or maybe things have changed? Maybe now it's the other way around?

Maybe the real battle for democracy is right here in America?

So we're going to pass out our own tests. Wherever the Selective Service System sets up its examination centers, we'll be there with our own exams. Ours will ask you questions about the war—fair and objective questions—and about how you see your relation to it, and what kind of government ours has become. And you will have to "grade" our test yourself—and decide whether you know enough about the Vietnamese to take some day the personal responsibility for their death.

THESE ARE THE REAL QUESTIONS, the ones that all of us have to think about. Because if we don't nobody will.

Passing our Viet-Nam exam won't get you a deferment from the Army. Failing it won't put you in a jungle foxhole. But maybe thinking through some of our questions will make you a little shakier, a little freer—and a little prouder of your own conscience.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
1103 East 63rd Street - Chicago, Illinois 60637

(312) 667-6050

STUDENTS

IF YOU REALLY DO SUPPORT THE WAR IN VIETNAM, THEN PLEASE ENLIST YOURSELF INSTEAD OF SENDING NEGROES, PUERTO RICANS, AND POOR WHITES TO DIE IN YOUR PLACE WHILE YOU HIDE BEHIND YOUR STUDENT DEFERMENT.

Of course, we would like to see no one sent to Vietnam at all. Over fifty-five hundred Americans and thousands upon thousands of Vietnamese have been killed in this war which violates not only the United Nations Charter and the Geneva Accords of 1954, but the United States Constitution as well.

It might be too much to ask of you to boycott this exam and thereby risk induction into the Armed Forces, but several men at this school, and many more elsewhere, are doing just that right now. Ultimately, the only satisfactory solutions are to call upon the American government to abolish military conscription and to remove its troops from Vietnam. In the meanwhile, we ask you to consider the implications of your taking this examination today:

1. You are giving at least tacit support to the government's policy in Vietnam.
2. You are taking part in de facto racial and economic discrimination, and doing so in a matter which concerns life and death. In short, you are accepting the rewards of class privilege.
3. You are admitting that the government has the right to decide the life and freedom of fellow students on the basis of intellect as measured by this exam and class grades.

Please consider these implications seriously.

Student Peace Union
Hofstra University
Hempstead, N.Y.

'Come home with that coonskin'

The essence of democracy is that the citizens of a nation shall have the right to vote on the major issues confronting them. The essence of our tragedy in Vietnam is that no such right has ever been exercised, either in Vietnam or in the United States. In South Vietnam, where the last elected leader was murdered three years ago, our 36-year-old protégé, Marshal Ky, recently presided over an "election" that provided only for "respectable" candidates to join in writing a still unwritten constitution. In our own country, where the Congress has not been consulted about its constitutional duty to vote on a declaration of war, the inability of the people to express their free choice has been even more astonishing.

Two years ago, when there were only 23,000 American "advisers" serving with the Vietnamese, and when we still adhered to John F. Kennedy's statement that "in the final analysis it's their war," Barry Goldwater horrified a great many people by advocating such drastic measures as bombing Communist bases in North Vietnam. The Democrats promptly produced television commercials strongly implying that a vote for Goldwater was a vote for World War III. "We are not about to send American boys nine or ten thousand miles away from home," said President Lyndon Johnson, "to do what Asian boys ought to be doing to protect themselves." Yet no sooner had Americans cast their votes for, among other things, peace, than President Johnson adopted the Goldwater policy as his own. Now that he has sent more than 300,000 American troops to "do what Asian boys ought to be doing," now that 5,630 of them have been killed, now that we are dropping more tons of explosives on Vietnam than we dropped on Europe or the Pacific during World War II, now that we have drifted into a major war, every public-opinion poll shows the American people baffled and dismayed. And as always, baffled and dismayed people favor totally contradictory policies. Thus a Gallup poll last month showed that a majority favored escalating the fighting, but a majority also favored greater peace efforts, and a majority feared the whole struggle would end in stalemate. As for a free election, however, no matter how analysts try to assess the recent off-year balloting, the basic fact is that the American people, like the people of Vietnam, haven't had a chance to vote. No alternatives were proposed, and there was no way to vote for or against that murky collection of improvisations known as "President Johnson's current policy."

For connoisseurs of the presidential "style," it was fascinating to watch Lyndon Johnson scoop up a handful of "allies," along with an army of reporters and TV cameramen, and whisk off to Manila for a series of preelection meetings billed as a "conference." It was fascinating, too, to see him and the cameramen stage a "secret" trip to Vietnam, so that the President could tell the troops to "come home with that coonskin." But the Manila communiqué that concluded all this was a restatement of all our illusions—not the least being the illusion that the enemy consists of raccoons. Once again, the war was presented as a matter of enemy "aggression"—as wars always are—

and the so-called "allies" promised to withdraw all foreign forces within six months after "the other side withdraws its forces to the North, ceases infiltration, and the level of violence thus subsides."

It would be easy if everything were so simple, if it were a matter of "the other side" just going away. According to official U.S. figures, however, the number of North Vietnamese regular troops in South Vietnam amounts to about 50,000—no more than the force of South Koreans we have shipped into Vietnam, and only a fraction of the number of American troops involved. And if we are talking not about regular troops but "infiltrators," we might begin by shipping South Vietnam's Premier Ky back to his native North Vietnam, and then we might welcome North Vietnam's Communist Premier Pham Van Dong back to his native south.

The theory of "aggression" is, in short, virtually worthless. Vietnam is one country, torn by the agony of civil war, and the major outside intervention is our own. We can justify this, of course, as all great powers justify their use of force—by claiming that might makes right. We can claim that we have a right to assert our military power to protect our access to Southeast Asia—or anywhere else. We can claim that we have a right to veto who will govern South Vietnam—or anywhere else. We can claim that we have a right to kill anyone who stands in our way.

There is a long and distinguished tradition in America that can best be summed up in Stephen Decatur's celebrated toast: "Our country! . . . may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong." True to that tradition, a whole generation of American youth has proven once again that this nation can produce fighting men who are second to none in their courage, skill, determination and loyalty. But this is also a tradition that applies to other centuries and other countries, to the foolish Charge of the Light Brigade, "theirs not to reason why," and to the suicidal fanaticism of the Kamikaze pilots of Imperial Japan, and just possibly to the Viet Cong as well. It is thus a tradition that not only has created great heroes but has sent millions to die for false causes.

It is a tradition whose whole merit depends, finally, on the nature of "our country," and the country to which Stephen Decatur took his pledge was one that claimed "its just powers derived from the consent of the governed." We have come a long way since then, and we have come that way partly because "our country, right or wrong" does not mean "our president, right or wrong," and because the great issues that rise to divide a nation have ultimately been resolved by a combination of moderate leadership and the popular vote. There is in any true nation a great natural resource known as patriotism, and presidents and kings and generals have always exploited it to carry out their plans for good or ill. But patriotism is not a justification for everything, nor was the world designed to suit our convenience, and in due time we all learn to judge our leaders by the wisdom and justice of their causes, not by the amount of blood they shed in their quest for shining victories.



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Vietnam: 'Wrong Enemy, Wrong Place, Wrong Time'

By **HUGH B. HESTER**
Brig. Gen. U. S. Army (Ret.)

If President Johnson will stop his illegal, immoral and genocidal war against the Vietnamese people, a war which is degrading every American, he will have no need to urge, as recently, the State Governors or any others, to curb inflation. Wars have always created an inflation which falls heaviest upon the poorest, while providing vast profits for a few. But war's unequal burdens and inequities do not end with inflation and the inability of the poor to procure the necessities, such as clothing, food and shelter. It also extends to battle casualties.

A Poor Man's War

If the records of killed and wounded in Vietnam were published, they would, I am confident, reveal that the vast majority of casualties come from those families offering less than average educational and cultural advantages and opportunities. Selective service regulations are set up that way. General Hershey, Director of Selective Service, has publicly stated that there were enough student drop outs and non-students to supply the major military requirements. The McNamara training program for those not meeting military standards points in the same direction. The cannon fodder in the electronic-nuclear age, as in all other ages apparently will continue to be supplied in the main by the least privileged, those with nothing to win.

At no previous time in history could the statement attributed to General Omar N. Bradley, during the Korean War, that we are "fighting the wrong war, against the wrong enemy, at the wrong place and the wrong

Brig. Gen. Hugh B. Hester

Congressman Byron L. Johnson of Colorado says, "Few men are better qualified to speak on international relations than Brig. Gen. Hugh B. Hester". From 1942-45 he was Director of Procurement of Military Supplies for General MacArthur's forces. From 1945-47 he was the Administrator of the U.S. Food and Agricultural Program for Germany. He has received the highest military awards both from the United States and from France.

time," be more aptly applied than to the present Vietnamese War. The greatest enemy of the people is poverty. And this enemy exists in the United States as well as in the rest of the world.

This enemy is clearly visible in our slums, in our race relations, and in the increase of violence and other delinquencies by both adults and juveniles. The very conservative and usually calm, Mr. Walter Lippmann, just before leaving for Europe, put it this way in the August 1st, 1966, issue of Newsweek: The condition of our cities, where the majority of our people live, is explosive, not only because of the black ghettos . . . but also because these cities are becoming progressively unlivable for everyone, black or white. These cities demand our paramount attention. They need great sums of money. Neither attention nor money is available now that the Administration has gone off whoring after false gods in pursuit of World Power."

This grab for "world power," we must however in fairness state, did not originate with the Johnson Administration. It began with the Truman Administration and has been followed by every Washington Administration since. It began immediately after President Roosevelt's death.

Professor Fleming, in his encyclopedia two volume history of "The Cold War and Its Origins," describes in detail how Mr. Truman and his colleagues dragged the cold war out from under the World War II rug where it had been buried for the duration, and began the vast propaganda brain washing program which has continued in intensified form ever since. Gar Alperovitz, in a recent book, "Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam," describes and thoroughly documents the story of how Mr. Truman substituted atomic diplomacy in his relations with the so called socialist countries for President Roosevelt's program of cooperative diplomacy.

This abrupt and basic change in U. S. government foreign policy by the Truman Administration has had far reaching and disastrous results. It has dangerously divided the world. The pursuit of this policy has resulted in the division of Germany and the rearmament of the Bonn portion of Germany in violation of every professed purpose for waging war against Hitler. And this rearmament of Germany (Hitler's Nazi remnant), as the distinguished former foreign service officer, Mr. George F. Kennan, pointed out in Look Magazine, November 19th, 1963, has made genuine

friendly relations with the Soviet Union very difficult, if not impossible.

The continued pursuit of this tragic policy shift, initiated by the Truman Administration, has also forced China out of her Charter Seat in the United Nations. And in turn, this has destroyed the potential capacity of that world organization to make peace in Asia, or even to bid on making it there. The most obviously dangerous and immediate result of this mistake is the escalating war in Southeast Asia.

In summary, this tragically wrong turn in foreign policy making at the end of World War II has made World War III all but inevitable. President Johnson still has the power, even late as it is, to prevent such a disaster. But to do this, he will have to abandon completely the Truman dream of world domination and rule. He will have to devote all the power of his great office and the resources of this great country to conquering poverty, the most dangerous enemy of man everywhere.

Alternatives

As a beginning and immediate program, the President could and should stop the war in Southeast Asia and end U. S. diplomatic, economic and political warfare on Red China. He should start the liquidation of U. S. Special Military Forces, now located throughout the Asian, African and Latin American countries, and begin to bring home the large bodies of U. S. military forces located in Europe, Asia and the Western Pacific. All of these are necessary, I believe, to reduce present world tension to manageable proportions. And these can be accomplished by the President with the minimum of opposition from outside, or need for consultation with other countries and the Congress.

As a follow up to the reduction in tensions resulting from the above acts, the President should start serious negotiations for ending the arms race, now consuming almost all resources that could and should be made available for a worldwide war on poverty. He should start the development of a program, in consultation with the other countries, for the proper use of excess funds of all countries saved through the reduction in the arms race. And this program should provide first, for ending poverty at home, second, for the use of the excess savings to fight poverty elsewhere and finally that all aid funds, whatever the source for third parties be coordinated through the United Nations and administered through a UN Agency, perhaps

patterned after the old United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency (UNRRA).

Simultaneously with the above, I believe, the President should promote the following things in the international field. First, he should urge the universalization of membership in the United Nations, regardless of economic, political and social philosophies, or the claim by any nation that such and such a nation is not "peace loving." Second, he should promote the maximization of trade without discrimination such as "the favored nation clause" or other causes. Third, he should promote the freedom of all people to travel regardless of their economic, political and social concepts. Fourth, he should promote the maximum exchange among countries of all cultural activities and scientific and other information. Fifth and finally, the President should promote and urge the discovery or development of an independent source of revenue to adequately finance the necessary activities of the United Nations.

If the President will seriously attempt to accomplish the things enumerated above, even though he should fail on some, I am convinced he will render great service to mankind and be recognized as a leading benefactor of man; perhaps even the greatest benefactor. On the other hand, if he continues to follow the grab for world domination, initiated by Mr. Truman and followed more or less by General Eisenhower and Mr. Kennedy, to its logical conclusion, as currently, he will probably go down in history (if there is one) as man's greatest malefactor.

PROMOTING ENDURING PEACE, INC.

112 BEACH AVENUE

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0855 588
HJ

638 2161
17 M NW

DEMONSTRATE AT HEARINGS IN WASHINGTON - MAY 8

For all these reasons and realizing that these hearings are going to be closely watched by all Americans, who see the outcome as effecting their lives materially, we call on all students and working youth to join us in this demonstration before the American people for our demands:

U. S. GET OUT OF VIETNAM NOW!

END THE VIETNAM DRAFT FOR EVERYONE!

Only these demands--not any of the phony schemes to end the war or alternatively or universally draft us--are in the interests of the American people.

This demonstration will give the anti-war, anti-draft movement a sharp focal point to organize local activities around after the Spring Mobilization. Unlike the Mobilization, this will not be a symbolic march down an otherwise empty street. It will be a direct confrontation, with the nation watching, between those who have alternative and universal ways of drafting people to fight in Vietnam, and those who demand no draft for Vietnam and that the U.S. get out now. Millions will side with us. They will see the draft as the point where the war most sharply comes into conflict with their interests. Our demands coincide with their interests.

WORKSHOPS, RALLY - SUNDAY, MAY 7

Workshops will be held on Sunday, May 7 at 1 p.m. in Washington (place to be announced) on organizing: 1) Against University cooperation with the war and the draft--CIA, Dow, Army recruiters, ranking, war contracts; 2) Against the draft in general; 3) High Schools; 4) Worker-student alliance against the war; and 5) Summer community projects against the war.

Before workshops will be overall discussion of war and its effects. Other ideas for workshops welcome. The demonstration and the local organizing leading up to it (rallies, dorm work, etc.), and the workshops should stimulate and excite many who feel isolated to organize.

WASHINGTON AD HOC VIETNAM DRAFT HEARINGS COMMITTEE

P.O. Box 223
Greenbelt, Maryland 20770
Phone: 474-6479 after 6:00 p.m.

Meeting - Organizing Washo Ad Hoc Committee
Washington Post Community Room
15 & W N.W.
April 27th, 8:00 P.M.

DEMONSTRATE AT DRAFT HEARINGS IN WASH: MAY 7, 8

DEMAND NO DRAFT FOR VIETNAM!!

During the first three weeks in May the House Armed Services Committee, under the chairmanship of the racist Rep. Mendel Rivers (D-S.C.), will hold hearings to decide a new draft law. At these hearings, with nationwide publicity, the government will review all sorts of draft schemes. None of these will challenge the basis of the U.S.'s aggressive war in Vietnam or the draft. All of these are aimed at further confusing these issues in the American people's minds.

WHY HEARINGS ARE IMPORTANT TO GOVT

There are two central reasons right now for all the phony contortions the government is going through over revising the draft law. Firstly, it wants to placate the growing opposition to the war and the draft by setting up a seemingly "fairer" draft. The government falsely thinks it can quiet the American people's opposition to the war by more "equally" drafting them for that war. There can be no just draft for an unjust war. And secondly, if the U. S. can't make a deal in Vietnam, then a land invasion of the North becomes very possible. To do this at least 1 million more soldiers will be needed. A new draft law that can easily feed that many young men into the Army is what they are after.

Many different schemes are being put forth by LBJ and RFK, Democrat and Republican, Department of State and Defense. All of these schemes only further drag the American people into a war of oppression against the Vietnamese people who are fighting for their freedom and economic, political and cultural independence. This oppression is not in the interests of American students, workers or soldiers. For them the war only means death, rising taxes and prices, anti-strike laws, and the turning of campuses into semi-military bases. It only profits business, which makes super-profits off the war.

DRAFT USED TO SPLIT OPPOSITION TO WAR

The government attempts to split the opposition to the war by playing people off against each other so that they won't unite against it. They try to split Black from white, worker from student. They realize that only an alliance of these forces could defeat them. The 2-S student deferment (which won't last long anyway if North Vietnam is invaded) is class discriminatory. We oppose it. We don't want anyone getting out of the draft at someone else's expense. We demand that no one--white or Black, student or worker--be drafted for Vietnam.

CABLEGRAM

ZCZ AW30 HB232 CUTC685 VC7 UIW C UIF6
FROM HANOI 23 AUGUST 1967

WOMEN STRIKE FOR PEACE 2140 P STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON D.C. 20036 U.S.A.

ATTACKS ON CENTER HANOI SIGNIFY
EXTREMELY DANGEROUS ESCALATION-STOP-
U.S. GOVT SENT AIRCRAFT ON AUG 11-12-21-22
TO RAID SEVERAL POPULOUS QUARTERS IN
VICINITY CATHEDRAL-STOP- PAGODA AND
HOSPITAL DESTROYED-STOP- MANY
CIVILIAN LOSSES -STOP- STRONGLY PROTEST
CONTINUED BARBAROUS U.S. ESCALATION-STOP

NORTH VIETNAMESE WOMEN'S UNION

Women of Vietnam, confident that they are not the enemy of American women, have cabled us in the hope that we have the democratic power to stop our government from continuing its uncivilized bombing destruction of their homes, schools, churches, hospitals and civilian population.

In our desperation, we pass this appeal to YOU. When our country approaches its darkest days of dishonor and when, through the actions of our government, the world is threatened by World War III, we ask YOU to help in any of the following ways or in other ways which YOU will think of.

1. JOIN US TUESDAY, AUGUST 29, AT 12:30 IN FRONT OF THE WHITE HOUSE. We will distribute copies of this cable WIDELY in the heart of our city and to our national leaders.
2. Call our office for copies of this cable and distribute it broadly to your membership, your church, your club, your shopping center, to your friends and neighbors.
3. Send copies of this cable, with letters, to your congressmen and the President.
4. Send copies of this cable, with letters, to your newspapers.

We believe that a great cry must go out from the American people demanding an end to the indecency of this war. Ask for a stop of the bombing of North Vietnam; recognition of the National Liberation Front; and immediate negotiations for withdrawal from Vietnam.

WOMEN STRIKE FOR PEACE 2140 P St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, tel. 232-0803

"BANK OUT" -- PROTEST U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM - SEND YOUR MONEY ABROAD

Money is something President Johnson, McNamara, and other officials responsible for the continuation of the Vietnam bloodshed understand very well. So let us speak their language. We will take our money out of the country and put it in a savings account with a foreign bank. This will aggravate the U.S. balance of payments and reduce the gold stock of the United States. In this way we want to put additional pressure on the Administration to begin peace negotiations.

Let every individual, religious organization, institution and business that feels strongly against the war protest in this manner. It does not matter how small your foreign account might be. If that of individuals is small, organizations and institutions can account for substantial sums. But it is important that we show a large number of protest accounts, as well as a sizeable total amount of money.

You may open a savings account with a foreign bank of your choice in Canada, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, France, Israel and other countries. Your account may be in dollars or in the local currency. Such a transaction is perfectly legal, although it runs counter to the President's balance of payments program asking U.S. residents to refrain voluntarily from sending capital abroad, including in the form of savings accounts.

The mechanics of such a transaction are simple. Just follow these steps:

1) Choose a foreign bank with which you wish to open a savings account. Many foreign banks have agencies or branches in the United States. You may contact them but make clear to them that you wish to open an account in their home country, not with the branch. An account with the branch is like any savings account in the U.S. and has no effect for our purposes.

Below there is a random list taken from the Yellow Pages. There you will find more names. Or contact the consulate of the country in which you wish to have your account and ask for the name of their leading bank.

2) The U.S. representatives (i.e. representatives in the U.S.) of foreign banks will likely have the usual application forms for new accounts. Visit the office or, if this is not possible, write to them.

3) The representatives of foreign banks will give you further instructions for transferring your money. Some would require a certified check from your bank with the amount desired. Others will accept your personal check.

4) ACT NOW. Do not put it off.

Here are some foreign banks with offices in New York City:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1) Societe Generale (France)
66 Wall St. or 15 W. 50th St. | 8) Midland Bank Ltd. (England)
44 Wall Street |
| 2) Swiss Bank Corp. (Switzerland)
15 Nassau Street | 9) Israel Bank Leumi Le (Israel)
60 Wall Street |
| 3) Royal Bank of Canada (Canada)
68 William Street | 10) Dresdner Bank AG (Germany)
60 Broad Street |
| 4) Swiss Credit Bank (Switzerland)
25 Pine Street | 11) Credit Lyonnaise (France)
50 Rockefeller Plaza |
| 5) Toronto Dominion Bank (Canada)
45 Wall Street | 12) Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce
22 William Street |
| 6) Union Bank of Switzerland
14 Wall Street | 13) Bank of London & South America Ltd.
84 William Street (England) |
| 7) Norges Bank (Norway)
70 Pine Street | 14) Algemene Bank Nederland NV (Holland)
62 William Street |



L.B.J. IS COMING TO NEW YORK.

DEMAND THAT HE END THE WAR IN VIETNAM!

Since his election in 1964, Lyndon Johnson has been following a policy of steady and alarmingly increasing escalation of the war in Vietnam. When L.B.J. first took office, 300 American soldiers had died in Vietnam; today, more than 10,000 Americans have died in the Vietnam war.

JOIN THE DEMONSTRATION JUNE 3rd!

Protest the government's Vietnam policy when Johnson comes to New York to speak to the Democratic Party Unity Dinner!

6:30 P.M. on Saturday, June 3rd, at the Americana Hotel, 7th Avenue and 52nd Street

STOP DRAFTING OUR SONS! STOP THE BOMBING!

SUPPORT OUR BOYS -- BRING THEM HOME!

"The picture of a great and wealthy nation mobilizing each month to bring a tiny, long-suffering, dark-skinned nation to capitulation means more clearly that the more we win, the more we lose, and each American soldier dead or wounded is a useless sacrifice."

Rev. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake
General Secretary
World Council of Churches

Clip and mail to: **5th Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee**

5 Beekman St. New York N. Y. 10038 Telephone

I contribute \$ _____ to help the work of the Parade Committee.

I would like more information on the War in Vietnam

I would like information on organizing a Peace Group

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

ZIP _____ PHONE _____

PLACE
STAMP
HERE



President Lyndon B. Johnson
White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

I never saw a Spring as this
Reluctantly withdrawn
Behind the howling winds and rain
The Mothers weep and mourn

Beside the fresh and open graves
Of sons who therein lie
to Never know another Spring
Because they had to die

The graves are deep and dark and long
There is a strange unrest
And gathering into a storm
and moving East and West

It thunders with a cry for Peace
It screams unto the living
To bend the sword into the plough
They do not die forgiving

And all the Seasons of the year
Shall hear what is amiss
Upon their souls -- there shall not be
Another Spring as this

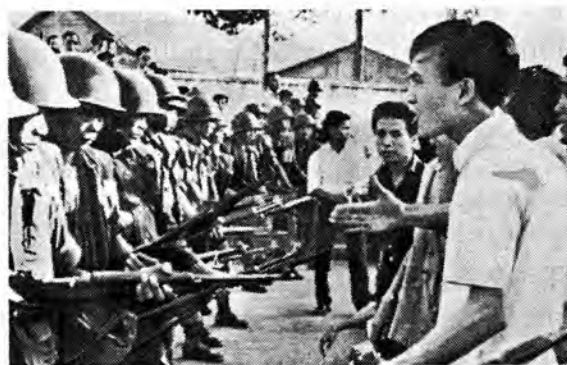
NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

CITY/STATE: _____

[1967]

HOW MUCH POLITICAL FREEDOM DO WE HAVE?



YOU Have A Stake In The Trial Of 10 San Franciscans.

Their "Crime" Is That They Have Radical Political Views And Dare To Act.

Over 40 people saw the results of their "freedom to dissent" when they were terrorized by S.F. cops on August 5th.

Ten persons were arrested after being

beaten and gassed at a private party in the Mission district of San Francisco.

The only "crime" these people committed

continued inside

Whose side are you on?

is that of opposing the present system of U.S. Government which forces people to live in inhuman conditions.

The "Crime": ORGANIZING AGAINST THE WAR IN VIETNAM AGAINST POLICE BRUTALITY, AND AGAINST TAX AND RENT INCREASES.

The "Crime": ORGANIZING AROUND ISSUES THAT THOSE NOW IN POWER DO NOT WANT TO BRING BEFORE THE PEOPLE.

What "freedoms" do we have? We have the "freedom" to support American aggression throughout the world, and exploitation at home. We have the "freedom" to close our eyes and blindly follow the U.S. Government. We have the "freedom" to be hungry, to live with rats, to die in a genocidal war, and to lose (in the "national interest") our rights to strike for better job conditions and higher pay. We have the "freedom of choice" between Johnson and Kennedy, both of whom support the rich industrialists who thrive from the war and from exploitation of labor and resources. We have the "freedom" to choose between being cannon fodder or going to jail. THESE ARE THE "FREEDOMS" WE HAVE!!

BUT: We are NOT FREE to oppose this system. We are NOT FREE to organize working people to demand rent control. We are NOT FREE to organize young men against the draft or to work in the neighborhoods for self-defense against invading cops enforcing "Law and order". Whose "law and order"? We do not have a voice in making "laws". It is the unjust "order" of the rich over the oppressed.

In whose interest does the government work? Will the people always be the victims of this system of "freedom and democracy"?

Because ten San Franciscans are "guilty" of fighting for FREEDOM and for telling the TRUTH about this system, they were arrested, jailed and condemned by the police and their bosses. They face a long and costly legal battle — a battle which could put them in the state penitentiary for "not less than one year nor more than ten years." It is not just ten people that have been put on trial. ALL OF US HAVE A STAKE IN THE OUTCOME.



At Mission Police Station July 29

THIS IS NO

It is no accident that the cops attacked a group of people at a private party. The people at that party held views in stark contrast to those of the cops — and to those in power who direct the cops' actions.

It should be very clear that these same people power have attacked, through their police, National Guard and Federal troops, all those who defy the system under which we live in the United States.

This is the system which created and carries out the genocidal war against Vietnam; the system which is still attempting to enslave the Black people of this country; the system which jails those who protest its exploitation and murder all over the world; the system which goes to any extreme to ensure that the workers who build it will not share its resources.

The August 6 Frame-up

San Francisco police disrupted a benefit party for the San Francisco Draft Resistance Union on the pretext of a noise complaint. Moments after the music was turned off, the cops returned, singling out John Ross, Progressive Labor Party candidate for Supervisor, as the man they wanted. The refusal of the guests to be intimidated or to turn John Ross over without an arrest warrant provided the cops with the needed excuse to break into the apartment, spray "Mace" gas into the faces of the guests and randomly attack and club them.

The police were well prepared for the resulting chaos. More than 25 policemen and three paddy wagons arrived to assist the swearing cops, who, firing their pistols in the air, proceeded to beat and arrest 10 persons.

John Ross was beaten repeatedly on the head and body and suffered a severe eye wound and facial cuts.

Seven of the ten are charged with "attacking a police officer", a felony which would bring ten years in jail. Bail was set at over \$13,000. Friends and supporters moved quickly to get the prisoners out of city jail. Holding a rally in front of the Hall of Justice, 150 people contributed bail money and demanded the release of the prisoners. They resolved to step up their political efforts which are the reasons for the police attack.

Police say that a neighbor had complained about the noise the night of the attack. In reality the police invasion of the party and the arrests and beatings have nothing to do with "noise" or with imaginary complaints from neighbors. What prompted the police to attack was the fact that increasing numbers of people are supporting organizations which oppose the war, the draft, police brutality, high rents and taxes.

The police attack shows the fear in City Hall of the growing momentum of the John Ross for Supervisor campaign, a cam-

paign which is a direct challenge to the financial interests that run San Francisco and this country.

The fact is that within a month's time the Ross campaign and the Mission Tenants Union collected three thousand signatures on a petition demanding rent control. This scares slumlords and politicians into using these desperate and brutal tactics to stop the campaign. The fact is that more and more young men, supported by Draft Resistance Unions, are refusing to be unwilling pawns in a war for profit. This has created a national reprisal against D.R.U. organizers. The fact is, that in San Francisco a petition with 23,000 signatures (in New York, similar petitions with 180,000 signatures) demanding a vote on the war was turned away by city officials — since such petitions do not constitute "legitimate issues for a referendum." This is a clear indication of both the growing opposition to the war and the increasing pressure brought down on the people by the government.

Obvious attempts have been made to cover up the serious predicament of the U.S. in Vietnam and at home by making a "scapegoat" of the movement. Both Westmoreland's "appearance" before the Congress to denounce the anti-war movement and the accusations of "outside agitation" in the Black rebellions are evidence of these attempts to blame the people.

Among the ten people arrested are the important leaders and active supporters of the Mission Tenants Union, the Mission Committee Against the War, the San Francisco Draft Resistance Union, the Black Anti-Draft Union, and the Progressive Labor Party. Police felt they could stop the peoples' movement by jailing the leaders; the opposite is the fact. Many more people have been drawn in to the struggle as a result of the attack.

The police tactic is to tie up as many radical people as possible with the burden of lawyers, legal costs, courts and possible jail sentences. The adverse publicity in these cases cause people to lose their jobs and apartments. A group named the UNITED RESISTANCE FUND has been formed to raise funds and publicize this and similar cases. Public support is needed.

THE "ATTACK" CALENDAR

*July 29 - 30 people marched on the Mission Police Station from a rally held by the Ross-for-Supervisor campaign. They demanded that two cops, Salaiz and Walsh, be jailed for their unjustified attack on four Mission teenagers the previous night.

*August 4 — Two Ross-for-Supervisor campaign workers were arrested for posting campaign leaflets calling on the neighborhood to "Stop Police Attacks on the People." The leaflet described the beating of the four teenagers and called for another protest action August 5.

*August 5 — The Ross campaign held a public meeting on Mission Street, in which various cases of police harassment were described. Speakers called for people to organize and defend the community against police.

*People again marched to the Mission Police Station after the Meeting. They demanded the jailing of Salaiz, Walsh and the racist Juvenile Court Judge O'Connor.

*At least two plainclothes cops were at the meeting, taking photos and notes. One of them heard of the party that was to take place that evening.

*That evening at a dance benefit the cops lashed out, under orders to "get" John Ross and others who are exposing and organizing against the government. The city government has not stopped harassing them by merely jailing John Ross and others.

*September 6 — Two weeks before John Ross officially filed his candidacy papers the City Attorney was already investigating his background to determine his eligibility and issuing "opinions" that Ross was ineligible.

ACCIDENT --

The defendants in this case are not alone. There is a long record in recent years of such attacks — Bill Epton in Harlem, John Harris in Watts, Rap Brown of SNCC, Vince Lynch in San Francisco, students, soldiers, organizers, demonstrators and workers everywhere who protest. . .

The importance of the attacks is two-fold; first, they are the deliberate, conscious attempt of the men now in power to smash resistance to this system and, second, they can only be holding action.

In Vietnam, in Latin America, in Newark and Detroit, and throughout the world, the empire of exploitation and murder is crumbling — and the thunder of its destruction is resounding.

The destruction of Imperialism is heard no less right here in San Francisco.

The Defendants' Statement:

All of us are young radicals and revolutionaries actively striving to build a popular movement, a movement of working people and students that will be able to radically change this system of war and profiteering. We have begun by organizing the people to fight for what they need and to resist the aggression of the system. But those who rule will go to every extreme to keep things running as they are, and police force is always their "ace in the hole."

We are gaining some measure of success in organizing people; and those who run this city are threatened. They have chosen more brutal ways to try to silence us. When we stepped on too many toes, the cops were sent to knock some "sense" into our heads. This does not embarrass us. It gives us affirmation that we are doing something right . . . we are reaching some raw nerves in openly opposing their tax schemes, their profiteering off the Vietnam war, and their continued oppression and robbery of working people.

They have knocked some sense into us, but not what they had intended. We are learning to defend ourselves and we are becoming steeled by the knowledge of the force they will use.

Now we will teach them something: that we will not be stopped. We will intensify our struggle to build a powerful movement in this city. They are being taught this same lesson all over the world. They are cornered, and their time is running out. Help us keep up the fight. We expect no gentle treatment from our enemy. We have no tricks or rich lawyers to pull us out of the fire. We can only turn to our friends and ask them to pitch in, help us put enough force to bear on the city that it will be afraid to imprison us.

We ask everyone to join us, to meet this attack on the growing movement of the people. This is a challenge to the right to organize against the injustices of this system. . . it concerns all who want to see such a movement to grow stronger. Help us show those in power that we will not turn back!

Your money and assistance is needed to fight and win this case and to continue our struggle.

JAIL THE COPS - FREE THE PEOPLE



Sunday, August 6, at City Jail

I want to join you and your fight. Here is my contribution.

NAME

ADDRESS

MAIL TO:

UNITED RESISTANCE FUND
283 Anderson St.
San Francisco, Calif. 94110

CALL FOR AN EXAMINATION OF CONSCIENCE

Our government has decided it needs more soldiers for this "small" war in Viet-Nam; Congress has authorized the sending of an additional 400,000 men. It has decided it can no longer defer all students, and has begun to draft them off the campus.

But our very influential businessmen have personnel needs, too, just like our generals. Our businessmen need the steady stream of young administrators and managers and technicians and scientists that the multiversity has promised to keep on supplying.

So between the old men who run industry and the old

men who run the military, there's a friendly tug-of-war. We male students are the prize.

But business and the military have decided to be fair to each other about sharing us. Some of us are not so bright, or perhaps have been lazy scholars. Businessmen don't need them. **They** can go be soldiers. The bookish among us can stay home and enjoy the full-employment boom that the war has created.

To divide us up the government has decided to hold an examination on May 14, May 21, and June 3. All of us are invited to take part in this Beat-The-Draft exam.

AND THE MILLIONS OF US WHO TAKE THE EXAM WILL DO SO FOR ONE AND ONLY ONE REASON: TO STAY OUT OF THE VIET-NAM WAR.

Those who pass will have their 2-S deferment intact, at least for a while.

Those who fail can start coloring themselves khaki.

WE WANT TO ASK SOME QUESTIONS OF OUR OWN.

● What about all the guys our age who don't even get this chance? Those whose parents didn't have enough money to send them to college? Those whose background didn't even teach them they should want to go?

● Do we smell a little old-fashioned "class privilege" here? We know of a pre-law hotshot from Yale who said, "Students are the brains of the country's machine. The machine needs its brains. Let the jocks and the dumbheads be the heroes." Blunt? Even a little sickening? **But that's exactly the message of this Selective Service exam: If you're white and middle-class and a Dean's-List kind of guy, relax. If you're not, fall in.**

● For another thing—a lot of the guys who will take this test think the Viet-Nam war is a right kind of war, necessary

and just and patriotic. We in SDS think it's a wrong kind of war, not necessary, not just, and not American. But what about you who think Johnson tells the truth?

● **When your brothers are over there dying trying to do something you think needs to be done, why are you back here at home trying to pass a test in order to stay out of it?**

● And a third thing—in these tests, they're going to ask us to parade our knowledge of math, sciences, and language, our skills at reasoning and remembering. And on the basis of our answers to questions about poems and physics and geometry, we will or will not be "eligible" for the draft, will or will not be inducted, will or will not be sent to Viet-Nam, maybe to kill and maybe to die.

SO WHAT DOES GEOMETRY HAVE TO DO WITH THE VIET-NAM WAR?

The government intends to train us to be killers if we fail its test, why doesn't it ask us instead what we think this war is all about? Why doesn't it ask us what we think we'd be killing and dying for? Why doesn't it ask us what we think the other side wants, and where they came from, and why they've been fighting against the French and then the Japanese and then the British and the Chinese together and then the French again and now us Americans, for more than 35 years?

When you kill a man, you kill a man. And we think you'd better know what you're doing when you do it.

WHY DOESN'T THE GOVERNMENT LOOK FOR PEOPLE WHO WANT TO BE SOLDIERS IN THIS WAR?

And if nobody **wants** to fight it, and if they can't persuade us, then why don't they quit trying to force us to fight? After all, the thing about American democracy is supposed to be that the government belongs to the people. Or maybe things have changed? Maybe now it's the other way around?

Maybe the real battle for democracy is right here in America?

So we're going to pass out our own tests. Wherever the Selective Service System sets up its examination centers, we'll be there with our own exams. Ours will ask you questions about the war—fair and objective questions—and about how you see your relation to it, and what kind of government ours has become. And you will have to "grade" our test yourself—and decide whether you know enough about the Vietnamese to take some day the personal responsibility for their death.

THESE ARE THE REAL QUESTIONS, the ones that all of us have to think about. Because if we don't nobody will.

Passing our Viet-Nam exam won't get you a deferment from the Army. Failing it won't put you in a jungle foxhole. But maybe thinking through some of our questions will make you a little shakier, a little freer—and a little prouder of your own conscience.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
1103 East 63rd Street - Chicago, Illinois 60637

(312) 667-6050