



QUAKER SERVICE

American Friends Service Committee, 160 North 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102

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Board member delivers medical aid to Hanoi

The AFSC has made the first of two deliveries to Hanoi of open-heart surgical equipment. The surgical supplies, valued at \$25,000, were requested by Democratic Republic of Vietnam health officials during AFSC representative Dr. Joseph Elder's June 10-17 trip to North Vietnam.

Give aid to all sides

"This gift is in line with our long-standing policy of giving aid to all sides in conflict situations," Bronson P. Clark, AFSC executive secretary said in announcing the shipment.

Dr. Joseph Elder, a member of the AFSC's Board of Directors; and professor of sociology at the University

of Wisconsin, returned to Hanoi October 10 with surgical instruments valued at \$12,400. Delivery of the remainder of the surgical equipment, worth \$12,600, is now being arranged.

Requested for civilian use

The surgical instruments include an electromanometer, an oxygenator, catheters, a coronary suction pump, heart valves of various dimensions and a mitral valve. The equipment was requested for civilian use in medical training schools.

The instruments were purchased by Service Committee staff in Hong Kong. A license for their purchase abroad was granted by the U.S. Treasury Department in July on recommendation of the U.S. State Department. The State Department also validated Dr. Elder's passport for the October trip as was done for his first visit to Hanoi in June.

AFSC team reports

Politics, discrimination compound suffering after hurricane Camille



United Press International Telephoto

In mid-October, fifty-eight days after hurricane Camille hit Mississippi, thousands of men, women, and children continued to suffer extraordinary hardships as a result of the disaster.

Team toured Gulf Coast

According to a preliminary report issued by an AFSC fact-finding team that recently toured the Gulf Coast area, two-hundred thousand people in ten counties continued to suffer from the loss of housing and possessions, from the shortage of food or of facilities for preparing and storing food, from the loss of jobs and income, and from a serious lack of knowledge about the maze of private and public agencies that are charged with helping families and individuals.

Since local, state, and federal aid to the hurricane victims is now controlled

by the Governor's ten-member, all-white Emergency Council of bankers, businessmen, and lawyers—only three of whom are from the Gulf Coast—the plight of minority groups in the disaster area has been especially desperate.

The four-member team, led by Ed Peeples, assistant professor of sociology at the Medical College of Virginia Commonwealth University, spent sixteen days in the Gulf Coast area between September 16 and October 2. The team conducted more than 280 interviews and covered more than 2,500 miles in eight counties of Mississippi. They also toured the area of Mobile, Alabama, and two parishes of Louisiana. They talked with blacks, poor whites, middle-class whites and blacks, officials of private and public agencies, businessmen, and political leaders.

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CRASH teams learn how U.S. food plans fail

In Clayton County, Georgia, 2,140 families are below the poverty level. Only 306 receive food commodities. In a county in Pennsylvania, an estimated 5,000 children should be getting free lunches in school. Three hundred and twenty actually receive them, even though Pennsylvania returned two million dollars in unused school lunch funds to the federal government last year.

In a county in New Mexico, a food stamp official admitted that no information whatever had been published concerning the food program. "A little knowledge," he remarked, "is sometimes harmful."

In Allegheny County, Maryland, it is generally believed that the children who get free lunches have no fathers. In Maine, participants in food programs go to the "overseer of the poor." There they must sign a statement: "I, hereby, swear the above facts to be true to the best of my ability and know that I am asking for Pauper Supplies and that I am destitute and unable to take care of the necessities of life."

These are some of the findings turned up by CRASH (the Call to Research and Act to Stop Hunger), a special summer project sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee.

Operated by young people

Designed and operated by young people, CRASH set out to (1) investigate federal food programs as they actually operate at the local level, (2) inform the public of the nature of these programs, (3) stimulate local individuals and groups to take action to improve the food programs in their communities, and (4) bring the findings of the project to the attention of those executives and administrators at all levels of government who are most directly involved in the operation of federal food programs.

From June to September, more than two hundred young people, most of them high school and college students, carried on their investigation in fifteen states and in thirty-five counties. For six to eight weeks, teams of these students lived in the counties in which they operated, depending on local people for their initial contacts and often for their housing. Many worked in their home communities.

Armed with a description of federal food programs, a survey questionnaire, and a guide to possible action, they interviewed welfare officials, social workers, and hundreds of participants in food programs. They also talked with many concerned individuals, including doctors, OEO workers, citizen groups, nutritionists, and caseworkers.

CRASH concentrated on three federal food programs—the commodity program, in which actual food commodi-

ties are distributed to certified recipients; the food stamp program, in which coupons are purchased that can be redeemed for food at regular grocery stores; and the school lunch programs, in which federal and matching state funds are made available to participating public schools in order to furnish free lunches to the children who need them.

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Henry Beerits named chairman of AFSC board of directors



Henry Beerits, a Philadelphia lawyer, was named chairman of the Board of Directors of the American Friends Service Committee at a Board meeting held October 30 at 4th and Arch Streets Friends Meeting House, Philadelphia, Pa. The seventh man to hold the post, he succeeds Dr. Gilbert F. White, who has resigned after six years in office.

Active in civic affairs

A member of the law firm of Morgan, Lewis and Bockius, Henry Beerits graduated from Princeton and received his law degree from Harvard. He has long been active in Philadelphia civic affairs, serving on the board of the Committee of Seventy, as president of the Citizens Council on City Planning, and of the Philadelphia Housing Association as well as chairman of the City Policy Committee.

He was previously an associate executive secretary of the AFSC, and has served on the Board for many years, most recently as vice chairman.

Henry Beerits lives in Radnor, Pa. with his wife, the former Janet Robinson, and their three children. He is a member of Radnor Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends.

The deeper task

THE PRESIDENT'S speech of November 3, 1969 was a "cold war" speech, a speech whose basic philosophy harks back to positions taken by Dean Rusk and John Foster Dulles. It means a prolonged war and thousands of additional American and Vietnamese dead. "Vietnamization" won't work, nor will it make "more palatable a government that is not palatable, nor an army fight that has no will to fight," to use the language of the AFSC white paper on Vietnam.

More chilling is the threat to escalate the war, presumably by new weaponry. If "Vietnamization" fails, Mr. Nixon said, "I shall not hesitate to take strong and effective measures to deal with that situation."

Moreover we are now bound more tightly to the Thieu-Ky government than ever before. The result will be further suppression of neutralists, intellectuals, Buddhists and others who might have formed the basis of a provisional coalition leading toward a negotiated settlement.

Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird announced that the projected direct costs of the Vietnam war for the coming fiscal year will be twenty-two billion dollars and that the cost for the following fiscal year will be seventeen billion. In short, the Administration is announcing that during the next two years direct expenses of the Vietnam war cost the American taxpayer thirty-nine billion dollars!

This tremendous cost has been scheduled in spite of the massive anti-war sentiments in the youth movement, in the artistic community, in the scientific community, in the academic community, to a very considerable extent in the business community, and to an unknown extent in the country generally. It seems incongruous therefore that there has been so little progress in achieving United States withdrawal.

I write after three visits to the White House for conversations with Dr. Henry R. Kissinger, the President's foreign affairs advisor, as well as other discussions with other Administration officials. These talks have clearly shown us that the President feels his public image would be impaired if he took any action leading to a collapse of the Thieu-Ky government. Mr. Nixon further believes withdrawal would weaken the position of the United States government relative to the socialistic bloc throughout the world, particularly the USSR. It is also basic to the Administration's thinking that, even though the anti-Vietnam war sentiments are very strong in this country, there is much less sentiment for a broad-scale retreat from what is basically the United States' anti-Communist posture in Korea, Laos, Thailand, and Taiwan.

The White House has accepted the assurances of Ambassador Bunker and the Pentagon that the Thieu-Ky government is becoming more stable with each passing month. This stability will, it is argued, permit a steady reduction of American military personnel to levels acceptable to the American public.

All Quaker field observers stress their conviction that "Vietnamization" will fail, as have previous Administration "plans." In many ways, it is morally worse, since it urges Vietnamese to kill one another in a genocidal war by proxy. It also means a continued American military presence in Thailand, Laos, and Korea, thereby maintaining the essential posture of United States military power in Southeast Asia, a policy of previous Administrations.

In spite of the President's position, I continue to be optimistic about the steady growth of opposition to the war, but I would like to add a note of caution. While we have not persuaded the Administration to get U.S. troops out of Vietnam, we have been eminently successful in focusing attention on the tragic error of U.S. military intervention there. We have been less successful in securing a depth of understanding about what is really wrong with the use of enormous military power to block the need for major social transformation in Southeast Asia.

One can always hope that the President might respond to the growing opposition to the war and change the basic approach he is following in the use of U.S. military force in Vietnam. But even if he did, the AFSC would still have the major task of helping to resolve the power conflicts that will occur in Southeast Asia and elsewhere. And these must be resolved, not on the fields of battle, but through the development of international economic and social programs, programs that must range from sharing of the world's resources to family planning.

Here at home the continued military expenditures in the years ahead will deny desperately needed resources to our educational system and to programs for the urban and rural poor. They will also prevent allocations of monies necessary to strengthen and develop institutions for social justice. The polarization of attitudes for and against a major shift of priorities is creating a climate of social turmoil in which AFSC will inevitably be deeply involved. This social turmoil will become sharper and more violent as the ultimate failure of the Administration's course becomes apparent. There will be large demands on AFSC financial and personnel resources, both committee and staff. There will be large demands on our inner spiritual reserve as well. May we be adequate to these challenges.

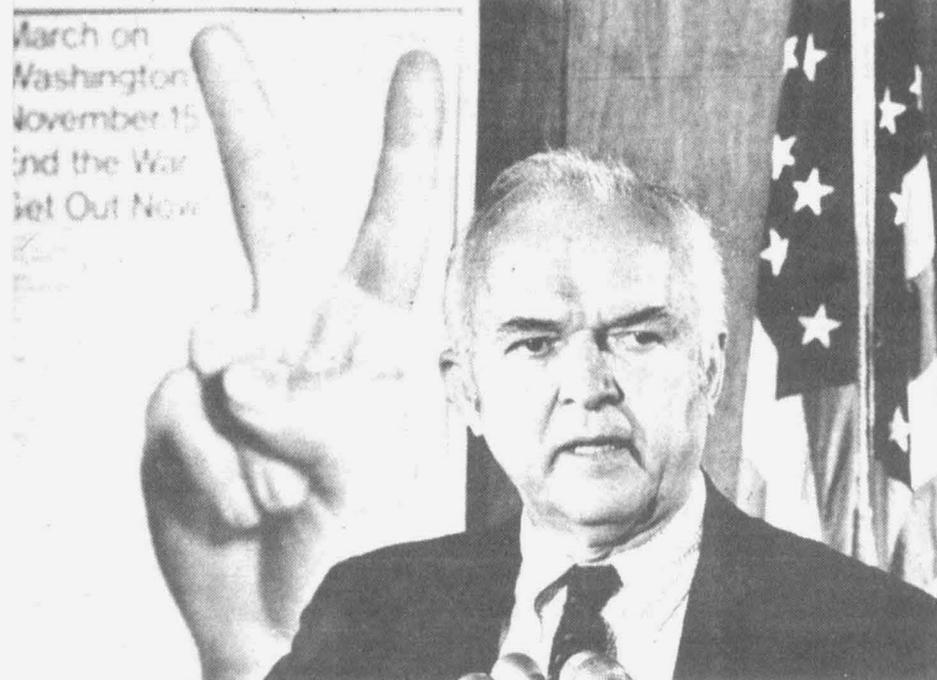
BRONSON P. CLARK, executive secretary

Recalling Gandhi on 100th anniversary

By JAMES BRISTOL

October 2, 1969 marked the 100th

Anniversary of the birth of Mahatma Gandhi, a moral and spiritual giant who led his people to freedom through the practice of "the nonviolence of the weak." In the twenty-one years since his assassination, men everywhere, even in his own country, have found it far easier to praise him than to follow his example. Nor have steps been taken toward the realization of "the nonviolence of the strong."



Stewart Meacham, AFSC national peace education secretary and co-chairman of the steering committee of the New Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam, discusses the November 13-15 demonstration at a recent news conference.

AFSC takes part in fall peace acts

AFSC staff and supporters joined with thousands of other concerned Americans throughout the country to demonstrate against the war in Vietnam during the October Moratorium. Encouraged by the AFSC Board to support the Moratorium, staff members in Philadelphia and in regional and area offices throughout the United States participated in the October demonstrations in their local communities.

Public opposition to war

In September, referring to the October Moratorium and the November "March Against Death," Bronson Clark stated, "Like many other groups and individuals concerned about the prolongation of the war in Vietnam, AFSC has been watching to see how the new Administration will advance its announced intention of bringing the war to an early end. The summer is over, and seeing no substantial change, the Board of Directors of AFSC has decided that it is now again timely to join other Americans in public opposition to the war."

Friends, with their traditional peace testimony, have always felt a natural affinity for the nonviolence of Gandhi. Others have also been drawn to Gandhi, particularly since the Montgomery bus boycott fourteen years ago under the leadership of Martin Luther King, Jr.

Potent weapon

During the past decade many people, Friends and others, seemed to be moving in a new and thrilling fashion toward the use of nonviolent direct action as a potent weapon in the struggle for social, economic, and racial justice. More recently, however, a sizable number of these same people have found nonviolence too slow and frustrating, and are turning, particularly in their rhetoric, to violent methods to attain their goals. Even some people in the nonviolent movement are practicing violence against property.

AFSC staff and committee people throughout the country were active on the October Moratorium Day. In Philadelphia, members of the national staff, along with members of A Quaker Action Group and the Friends Peace Committee, distributed 50,000 leaflets at commuter departure points on the afternoon of October 14 and during the morning and at the lunch hour of the 15th.

Staff distributed leaflets

Wearing arm bands and distributing leaflets, many staff members also attended a Moratorium rally held at the J. F. Kennedy plaza at noon. Staged only two blocks away from the AFSC national headquarters, the rally drew an estimated 15,000 people.

Members of the national staff reported an unprecedented demand for films and literature. Thirty films were sent out to twenty different organizations for use on October 15. Ten thousand copies of VIETNAM 1969, A WHITE PAPER ON ENDING THE WAR, were sold during the first two weeks of October, as well as 15,000 copies of an adaptation of the WHITE PAPER, prepared especially for the Moratorium and entitled VIETNAM: POLITICAL ILLUSIONS AND MORAL REALITIES.

Gandhi insisted that there was a nobility in the British and that, no matter how ruthless their behavior, an appeal could be made to "that of God" (though he did not use that phrase) in these tyrants. Thus he sought through the years, not to conquer nor defeat the British, not to destroy them, but to convert the enemies of his people—and finally he did so.

All of us need to be reminded of how easy it is in the heat of even a nonviolent struggle to lose our belief in the nobility of our opponent.

Gandhi's insistence is always that, no matter how despicable the action of another, no man nor woman, nor any group of people, is ever totally beyond the pale. Gandhi's greatest living follower, Vinoba Bhave, states simply that even the most evil man is only "God in disguise."

Even the most dedicated and best motivated among us can become so

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Frustrating the hungry

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All three programs are administered at the county level.

According to federal statutes and administrative regulations, most families that qualify for public assistance qualify also for one or another of these federal food programs. Most states and counties therefore stipulate that families receiving public assistance will be automatically eligible for food programs. It follows that all families below the official poverty level should be eligible for one or more of these three food programs.

What had gone wrong?

The young people working for CRASH wanted to know whether these federal programs were in fact reaching the people who needed them. If they were not, CRASH wanted to know what had gone wrong and how it could be corrected.

The result, contained in a report that will be published sometime in December, is a vivid and disturbing account of how federal food programs operate at the local level and a series of hard-hitting recommendations on what can be done to improve the programs or replace them.

In most of the counties where they worked, CRASH was able to confirm that only a tiny minority of those eligible for public assistance actually receive commodities or food stamps. In Multnomah County, Oregon, for example, 19,732 families live below the poverty level, but only 4,927 households receive food commodities. In McKinley County, New Mexico, 2,816 families live below the poverty level, but only 742 households receive food commodities.

Poor not aware of programs

In Los Angeles, only 20 per cent of those on public assistance are participating in the food stamp program.

"The only conclusions we can draw from the summer program results," the report states, "is that federal food programs are not reaching those who need them."

"But figures alone," the report continues, "do not tell why." By talking with food program officials, welfare recipients, and concerned individuals, the young people of CRASH were able to discover why hundreds of thousands of poor people do not benefit from these programs.

A major reason for the failure of the programs is that the poor do not know of their existence. According to the CRASH report, only a minority of counties send official announcements to those families already on public assistance. Most officials interviewed felt that it was not their business to publicize the food programs at all.

The report cites only one instance in which a principal actively publicized the existence of free school lunches.

Underlying the lack of publicity is a genuine disbelief on the part of county officials that anyone needs aid. In a town in Maine, for example, a local community action program felt that a commodity program was needed. The local "overseer of the poor" disagreed but told the action

group that, if they could find fifteen people in the town who needed food commodities, he would talk with them again. The local group found one hundred and twenty people.

Another reason for the lack of publicity, according to the CRASH report, is the persistent assumption among county officials that food programs are a privilege, not a right or a legal obligation.

Seemingly reasonable regulations erect another obstacle between the poor and the food programs designed for them. The head of a household, for example, must sign up for food commodities. If the father is away, following crops or available jobs, the family cannot apply for commodities.

Months of hunger

A family must possess cooking facilities to be certified for food programs, a requirement that obviously eliminates migrant workers and many of the applicants who most need help. Months of hunger can intervene between application and certification, while families in genuine need thread their way through the regulations.

People can be certified for the programs and pick up their commodities only during working hours and only at a few scattered locations. Hence the ideal applicant must be unemployed and yet own a truck.

The ideal applicant must also be paid by the month (in order to afford

the lump sum payment demanded for food stamps), have a home large enough to store a month's supply of food, be a mathematical whiz (in order to negotiate the food stamps), and have an iron constitution (for the canned meat and the cornmeal, which often has weevils).

He must also know more about the federal laws and administrative regulations governing the food programs than the county officials who operate them; but he must not seem knowledgeable enough to arouse the hair-trigger suspicion that he is trying to take advantage.

According to CRASH investigators, school lunch programs fail to reach

the children who need them because pupils are not eager to stand in special lines, receive special tickets, or be otherwise set apart from schoolmates and identified as poor. Contrary to regulations, some children are expected to work for their lunches. Sometimes the parents are also expected to work for the school.

The CRASH report concludes with a series of detailed recommendations for improving the operation of federal food programs.

In October, four members of the CRASH staff testified before the House Committee on Agriculture.

The CRASH report will be published sometime in December.

Round-trip Moscow

Soviets and Americans on teacher exchange

On the afternoon of October 7, four American teachers took off from Kennedy airport on a plane bound for Moscow. Before leaving they spent several hours at an airport motel talking excitedly with three Soviet teachers, their counterparts, who had arrived the day before on the same plane.

Fifth teacher exchange

The occasion was the fifth teacher exchange sponsored by AFSC's School Affiliation Service and the Soviet Union's Ministry of Education. This is the first year that the exchange visits have taken place simultaneously. The

two groups return home the week of December 7.

Three of the four Americans teach Russian. Ronald Gendaszek teaches both Russian and French at Princeton High School in Princeton, New Jersey. Sheila McCarthy of Peabody, Massachusetts is an instructor in Russian at Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio. Victor Obrastoff teaches Russian and history at Roosevelt High School in Seattle, Washington.

The fourth exchange participant, Hanna Mathews, was head of the English department at Swarthmore High

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College students live as migrants

Fourteen college students spent last summer in migrant camps near Independence, Oregon at the request of the state's Valley Migrant League (VML), to learn first hand the life of fruit and vegetable pickers. The groups of students, in four separate camps, represented the VML in trying to develop good relations between the League, the farmers and the migrants and to let the migrants know about League services. The volunteers in no way took jobs from the migrants, as in Oregon there are never enough farm workers to meet the need.

The volunteers lived as the migrants, in barren, dusty camps; got the same headaches and backaches from picking strawberries and beans, and received the same wages.

Three students lived in a triple-decker-bunk cabin with little other space, no sink or running water and a tiny window. Their tin stove got so hot when they cooked they had to be careful—in the cramped quarters—not to get burned. One day they worked three hours and made a total of \$1.14. The next day they did better and made \$6 altogether for three hours' work.

In another camp two of the girls earned

enough to allow them to live a week on potatoes and beans. Then they discovered their income made them eligible for surplus food.

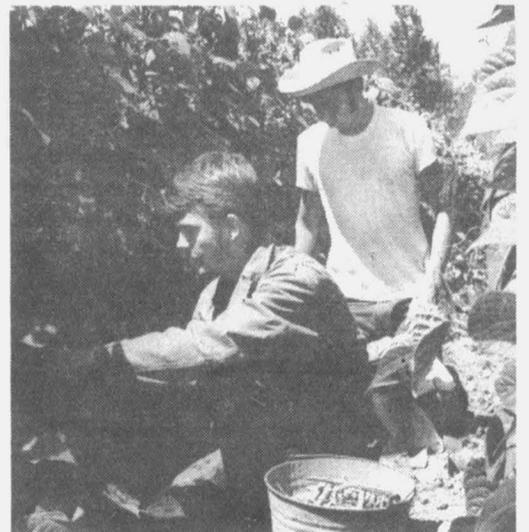
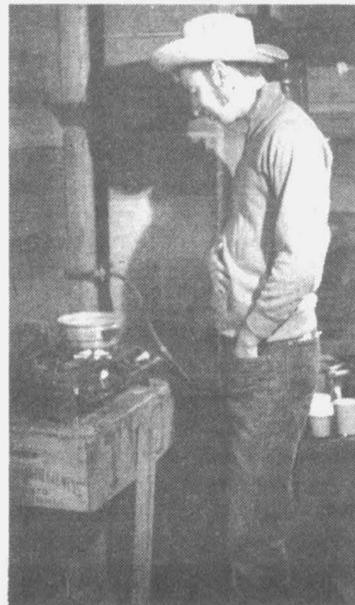
The cabins of the volunteers became the social centers for kids in each camp. One afternoon found Beatrice teaching three little boys to make apple pie. One volunteer spent evenings at the Migrant League offices teaching illiterate adults.

Most of the volunteers were deeply affected by the summer's experience. Sharing the plight of a minority people had been an education, and for the migrants it was an education as well. Few "anglos" had come to live as they lived . . . most came to peddle things: Fuller brushes, religion. They thought anglos wouldn't like them because—economically speaking—they were poor. A volunteer commented: "When they realized we were friendly they were accepting, hospitable and generous. It was hard to make a friend and then to see them leave, to see them sick, to see them poor."

The students could never be real migrants; they could always quit. They were painfully aware of this.



Photographs by Paul S. Buck



Hurricane Camille

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Above all, they talked with the hurricane victims themselves.

Though two months have passed since Camille struck and though many relief agencies have withdrawn from the area, the Quaker team found suffering and need among large groups of people wherever it went. According to the report, "about 64,000 families experienced some kind of loss. This involves at least 200,000 people.

Could not obtain credit

"Since there are about 400,000 people in the nine to ten counties that are considered disaster counties in the Gulf Coast area, it can be said that over half of the people in that area were in some way significantly affected."

Most of the fifteen thousand people made homeless by the storm have yet to be suitably housed. In addition to losses of housing and the destruction of personal possessions, 200,000 people, according to the report, continued to be significantly affected by the damage. Food shortages continued. Many who lost their livelihood as a result of the disaster were still without income, could not obtain credit, and lacked cash for immediate needs.

Throughout the ten-county area, the team found bureaucratic insensitivity to the needs of disaster victims and a clear emphasis on industrial reconstruction rather than meeting the critical human needs of individuals. They also found that blacks and poor whites had been consistently excluded from the process of distributing local, state, and federal aid and from all the major processes of planning and development.

Bureaucratic inflexibility

The report cites many examples of bureaucratic inflexibility. For example, a middle-aged black man in Gulfport with six children finally found work after three weeks of being unemployed with no income. Since he was compelled to live in a three-room home with a neighbor who also had several dependents, he attempted to borrow money from the Small Business Administration to repair his own home.

He had been to the American Red Cross, but they could not help him because his home had been completely destroyed and sent him to the SBA. The Small Business Administration, however, told him that they could not help him because his home was not completely destroyed. They refused to lend him enough money to rebuild his house because the resulting home would be worth more than the one he had prior to Camille.

A white man was found living in a tent. His home had been completely destroyed and he had used his home for business. He had no toilet. He had no food, income, or automobile. But he could not qualify for a trailer because he was a lone individual. When he went to the Red Cross and asked for a loaf of bread along with other food, he was given a five-pound bag of flour.

The team was struck by an "exces-

sive emphasis on the physical aspects of recovery." According to their report, "the pervading ideas being discussed at decision-making levels have been to rebuild the tourist industry, to get the public right-of-ways cleared, and similar activities.

Nature of the problem

"The cost of these operations has already mounted to millions. The nature of the problem was summed up vividly in a statement by the director of the Office of Emergency Preparedness for Gulf Coast Operations when he said 'Things are our business, not people!'"

The team also discovered that Governor John Bell Williams had granted full authority over redevelopment of the disaster area to a few members of the privileged minority and that President Nixon had ordered that all federal assistance programs be coordinated through the members of this council.

According to the report, "The important activities associated with planning and development, including the distribution of the resources from the local, state, and federal governments is largely in the hands of one segment of the community — namely, important elites including big businessmen and politicians. While this is happening on all levels, the most important illustration of this process, which will affect the coast for at least a decade, is that of Governor John Bell Williams' Emergency Council.

Council all white

"This Council is totally white, male, and all of its members are either big businessmen, bankers, or lawyers. Only three are actually from the Gulf Coast. The three-man executive committee, the men who will have most control over the Gulf Coast, is headed by a lawyer who was the major author of the recent Tuition Grant Legislation, which was designed to circumvent desegregation in Mississippi.

"To summarize, Governor John Bell Williams and a handful of up-state politicians, businessmen, bankers, and lawyers are consolidating total control over what could be billions of federal dollars for some time to come, to do what they think is needed. Meanwhile, they have ignored and continue to ignore the will of large segments of the communities on the Gulf Coast.

"This raises not only a moral question, but also questions of the legality of using federal monies to further the elitist-oriented programs of Governor



At a news conference immediately following the October 6 meeting at the White House with Dr. Kissinger, AFSC executive secretary Bronson P. Clark told newsmen, "I am absolutely astonished at the rigidity of this administration. They haven't learned a single lesson and are determined to prosecute this war according to the Johnson formula." Other Board delegation members, right to left, are George Sawyer, Norval Reece and Wallace Collett.

Round-trip Moscow

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School in Swarthmore, Pennsylvania until 1966. Although she speaks no Russian, Hanna Mathews contributes a specialized knowledge of the teaching of English, a subject of particular interest to the Soviet English teachers with whom she will be working.

The three Soviet teachers, Viktoria Annikova, Marta Brovina and Regina Luniova — instructors of English in Moscow schools — are, during their stay, observing the teaching of English and teaching Russian classes. They are conferring with teachers of Russian in American schools much as their counterparts are doing in schools in Moscow and Leningrad.

Teachers enthusiastic

From October 13 to 31, the three Soviet women visited schools in the East: Shaker High School in Latham, New York, Browne and Nichols School — an independent boys school — in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Princeton High School in Cincinnati, Ohio.

The second three-week assignment includes four schools: Hinsdale High School in Hinsdale, Illinois; St. Louis University High School in St. Louis, Missouri; Cleveland High School in Portland, Oregon, and University High School in Los Angeles.

John Bell Williams with absolutely no restraints on racial or economic discrimination or any requirements for human resources development."

The exchange program's director reports the Soviet teachers "are settling in beautifully." All their hosts are school people: a principal's family, two teachers of Russian and their families. All are enthusiastic about their foreign guests, and the teachers are enthusiastic as well.

Gandhi

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concerned with the techniques involved in the practice of nonviolence that we lose sight of the fact that nonviolence should be for us at it was for Gandhi, essentially one expression of a life dedicated to love and truth. The world desperately needs that kind of non-violence today. All of us, the "non-violent" as well as the "violent," must dedicate or re-dedicate ourselves to the courageous and costly practice of a nonviolence that believes every bit as much in the dignity and worth of the enemy as it does in the dignity and worth of oneself.

Justice and decency

Nothing can compare to the precious quality of human personality to be found even in the most ruthless and depraved of persons. We must be ready to suffer again and again, even to lay down our lives, not in an effort to defeat or destroy evil men, but in a supreme effort to convert them to the practice of justice and decency. To do so, regardless of the cost, is truly to commemorate the centenary of Gandhi's birth.

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