

Quaker Service Bulletin

New paper: U.S. pullout is 'Logical, ethical necessity'

A new White Paper entitled, "Indochina 1972: Perpetual War," has been issued by the Board of Directors of the American Friends Service Committee.

"Our personal familiarity with the victims of war," the paper says, "and our constant exposure to its wanton destruction intensify our indignation that this war is allowed to continue. In pursuit of military victory, the U.S. has employed, widely and indiscriminately, anti-personnel weapons, napalm and white phosphorus, paid assassins, starvation, mercenaries, and saturation bombing of civilians. Indochina has become a laboratory of death, where new weapons and strategies are endlessly tested.

"**THOUGH ADVANCED** technology has permitted the United States to conduct a war a half a world away and has kept most of its visible scars from our shores, we are convinced that the real U.S. interest at stake in Southeast Asia is spiritual: if the American public permits the countries of Indochina to be destroyed in the name of democracy and freedom, then we can only view the future of this country and the world with foreboding."

- More than one and a half million people have been killed and millions more injured;
- Nearly one-third of the population of Indochina have been driven from their homes;
- In an area the size of New England, the United States has expended over three times the amount of explosives used in all of World War II;
- One-seventh of Vietnam's forest land has been defoliated with chemicals which cause birth defects, and over six per cent of Vietnam's crop land has been devastated, causing severe food shortages among civilians in many areas;
- Over twenty million bombs crater the countryside of Indochina, and several hundred thousand unexploded bombs endanger attempts to reclaim farmland;
- The traditional village structure of Indochina has to a large extent been destroyed, and there is increasing evidence that even the family structure is disintegrating.

TROOP REDUCTIONS, the paper says, have been a political

White Paper
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In Bangladesh Feeding program undertaken In 'extremely grave' situation

In more than one hundred villages of the Madaripur subdivision of Bangladesh Quaker Service staff are carrying on a supplementary feeding program for 4,000 seriously malnourished children. The area, assigned to Quaker Service by the new government's Ministry of Health, is south of Dacca near the Ganges delta, an area described as one of the hardest hit by the war.

The team writes: "Children who were refugees in India receive double food supplements to benefit child plus family. Thousands of non-refugee children, including many temporarily displaced, receive single food, high-protein supplements."

THE EMERGENCY PRO-

GRAM is being enlarged to include other villages with a total population of one-half million so that help can reach increased numbers of children and adults with urgent nutritional needs.

Quaker Service is employing the personnel necessary to carry out the food distribution and is providing transport. Boats and bullock carts must be used to get food to the more remote villages. Of the staff of thirty, only one or two will be expatriates; the rest, Bengali. "With unemployment a serious problem we need to employ as many Bengalis as possible," one team member comments.

Decision to undertake the emergency feeding program followed a week-long survey made by Andrew Clark, a veteran Quaker Service relief worker, together with three Bengali doctors and four Bengali volunteers. Malnutrition was determined by use of the QUAC stick—an easily-performed comparison of body height to arm circumference—a method devised by Quaker Service in Nigeria at the time of the Biafran civil war. The QUAC stick makes possible the rapid screening of large populations to determine those who require supplementary feeding.

WHILE MEETING emergency

"Just returned from Madaripur. Refugee village visits indicate situation extremely grave. QUAC stick survey shows three hundred fifty per cent increase in malnutrition among refugee children. Premature cyclones with heavy rains caught people unprepared. Refugees huddled under small plastic sheets. Chicken pox now epidemic. Smallpox, cholera, scabies increasing. Fields ploughed in expectation of seed donations but little forthcoming. Situation deteriorating here as seeds, bullocks, food, corrugated iron sheeting, medicine desperately needed. World response so far inadequate to help deserving people who have suffered unbelievable torture, massacre."

—cable from Quaker Service staff

needs, Quaker Service is also planning ways to aid in long-range rehabilitation and reconstruction based on priorities set by the Bangladesh government. These efforts will include self-help housing for homeless families, reestablishment of medical and public health services, aid in the development of community services and in the technical training of rural leaders and village workers.



About one thousand Quakers stood in silent prayer and vigil outside the White House May 3 to protest the continued Indochina war. The action was sponsored by Friends General Conference, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, Lorton Heusel representing Friends United Meeting, and the American Friends Service Committee.

FRIENDS IN CHINA

Eleven AFSC representatives are now in the People's Republic of China on a three-week goodwill mission. Two were in China during the 1940's with the Friends medical unit; all have special interests—ranging from international affairs to the treatment of women and the elderly—that they are pursuing. For the story, please turn to page 2.



**I am done with great things
And big things, great institutions
And big success, and I am for those
Tiny invisible molecular moral
Forces that work from individual
To individual, creeping through
The crannies of the world like
So many rootlets, or like the
Capillary oozing of water,
Yet which, if you give them time,
Will rend the hardest monuments
Of man's pride.**

—William James, quoted in the
People's Yellow Pages of the
Boston area

Not a job, not a career—a "calling"

You have probably had the good fortune to meet, on occasion, a particularly inspired artist, or teacher, or minister, or professional, or common laborer who loves his or her work and performs it with skill and feeling.

SUCH MEN OR WOMEN have found a "calling," we might say, which is something more than just a job or career. Their check-book may be precariously balanced, but their energy is strong and satisfaction, high.

In schools and colleges and employment agencies, however, the word calling has virtually dropped from the vocabulary. Vocations counselors (a "vocation" originally meant a calling, but now means little more than a trade) help locate well-salaried positions so that "real living" can happen on weekends and two-week vacations.

Marshall Palley, director of the New Vocations Project at the AFSC office in San Francisco, recently wrote: "Knowing what I like to do would seem to be self-evident, but it's not. Only in unguarded moments and by disregarding the conditioning of a lifetime have I caught glimpses of what I really like to do, as distinguished from what I'm doing, or think I ought to be doing, or would like others to see me doing."

At the New Vocations Center in San Francisco, as at similar AFSC programs in Portland, Oregon, and Cambridge, Massachusetts, employment undertaken merely to bring in money is called "bread labor" and recognized for what it is, or isn't. And the word calling, on the other hand, is in active use.

"WHEN WE TALK about

working for social change as a calling," said a member of the Cambridge Vocations for Social Change office, "we mean that people feel the most important thing they can work for is their vision of a new kind of society. That doesn't mean you have to work for a service organization. You can be a potter or an artist or a grass-cutter just as well. What matters is how you go about the work, the spirit you bring to it, and the economic factors you take into account when dealing with people."

Although some of the hundreds of people visiting the centers each month are middle-aged, most are young, frequently with college degrees, who either cannot get jobs or will not accept unsatisfying "straight" jobs.

Of the eleven hundred people who visited the San Francisco

center last year, one strong trend, according to a year end report, was that "organizations with hierarchical structures were rejected if decision-making was clearly out of the hands of the workers. Work was sought in which there was a mutual decision-making

A "calling"
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Nonviolent direct Action workshop Held in Miami

A weekend workshop on the "Tactics and Philosophy of Non-violent Direct Action" was sponsored this spring by the Miami Peace Education Program. A number of young people interested in peace activism and students' rights participated, as well as a group called "Operation Snowplow" preparing for nonviolent activity at the coming Democratic and Republican National Conventions at Miami Beach.

UNDER THE LEADERSHIP of Jackson Pyles from the High Point Regional Office, twenty-five persons attending the opening session discussed their individual perceptions of nonviolence.

Role playing, designed by the workshop participants, was used for two Saturday afternoon street actions. One was man-on-the-street interviews to focus attention on issues related to the war in Indochina. The second was man-on-the-street contacts to inform and solicit support for a "walk for development" sponsored by the American Freedom from Hunger Foundation.

FOLLOWING EVALUATION of these experiences, a third group undertook a Sunday morning street activity to elicit participation in a picnic as a gesture of support for the Berrigan brothers.

Another workshop may be held for those planning to be marshalls during the activities at the National Conventions.

New England action/research group Exposes region's military contracts

When the AFSC's National Action/Research on the Military-Industrial Complex came fully to New England in 1971, its implications for New England were explosive.

Serious peace educators discovered that the "executive committee" of the air war is located in New England. For example, ideas for the electronic battlefield components originated in a secret Department of Defense seminar for scientists held in Wellesley in the summer of 1966. Hanscom Field in Bedford, Massachusetts, now has responsibility for management of the Air Force's "Igloo White," the new system of ground sensors, computers, and bomber communications, components of the automated battlefield, developed to keep the war going and protect the Saigon government in South Vietnam without American ground troops.

AFSC IN NEW ENGLAND has now developed a priority program of education and protest based on the new form of the continuing war in Indochina and the new facts about New England's complicity in it. These have combined to bring together a dedicated group of researchers into the AFSC program, in establishing an action/research center (NEAR) to bring the work of NARMIC into the region. NEAR has extensive lists

Operation Impact: from potential 'socially maladjusted' dropouts to successful Chicago high school grads

Education in the United States is in ferment. Parents who are dissatisfied with public education, and teachers who are disillusioned by the rigidity of large school systems, are both seeking alternatives. As a result, many "free" or "open" schools are springing up. The search for educational alternatives has become a nationwide movement.

ALTHOUGH ALL of the new schools share a relatively informal atmosphere, with more relaxed relations between students and teachers, there are a great variety of alternative schools. Many cater to culturally advantaged youth, who can make the most of informality; others search for more effective methods of stimulating youths in other environments such as on Indian reservations or in urban ghettos, to greater motivation and accomplishment.

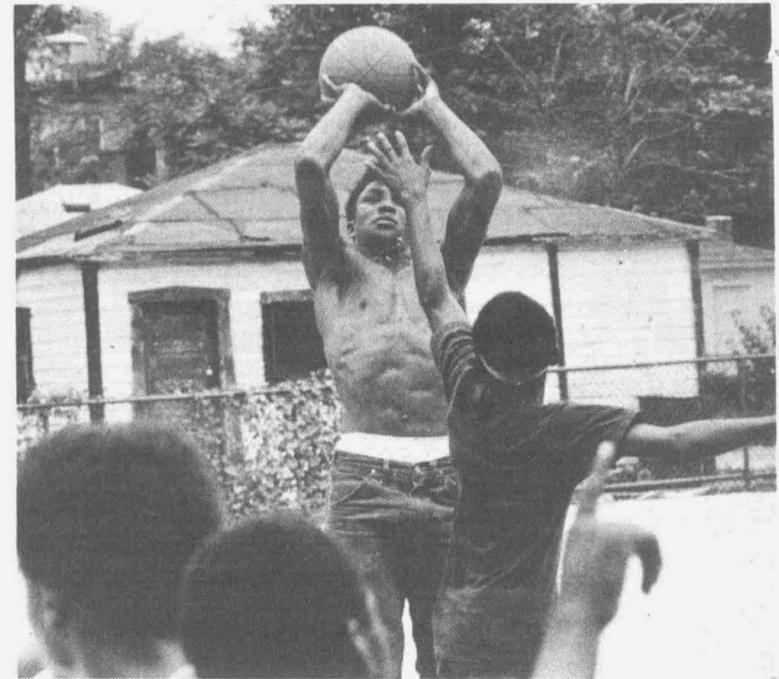
Since by and large the poor have no alternative to public schooling, AFSC is supporting grassroots attempts which might otherwise fail for lack of resources. The AFSC office in Chicago publishes *New School News*, a bimonthly publication for those interested in alternative schools. And it also sponsors one of the schools.

Of the forty "new schools" now operating in Chicago, one of the most dramatically successful is Operation Impact, an after-school program started three years ago by Tom Webb, director of the Chicago AFSC Education Program. At its outset he undertook to help twenty eighth-grade boys who had been designated as socially maladjusted in the black ghetto district where Tom himself grew up and still lives.

Unable to meet the requirements for high school, these boys were destined to go to Moseley, a dreaded school for problem children. Their average reading level was that of a third grader. Tom had developed techniques that, he was certain, would raise their reading scores. Assisted by a friend, Richard Ware, they started working with the boys, but realized at once that nothing would be accomplished until they had established personal rapport and earned the

trust of each of the boys. The reading program was put aside for a time, and sports, field trips and rap sessions were the "curriculum" for almost three months. Gradually a variety of interests emerged and they came to know and trust one another.

HOMES WERE VISITED and parents consulted. (More recently a Parents Council has been formed.) Two concerns were shared by all: nobody wanted to go to Moseley; and there wasn't enough money to clothe the boys properly for school. Moseley could be avoided if the boys could qualify for regular high school; this was the primary objective. As soon as they realized that the help they needed was at hand, work began in earnest. Weak areas were identified and ways of overcoming them worked out with each boy who asked for help. Later, education and sociology students from Roosevelt University came voluntarily to work on a one-to-one basis with the boys. And the boys began to



help one another. Former students in Operation Impact, who have already earned their diplomas, have returned to work with a new group of younger boys. At the present time a total of sixty-two boys are actively involved in one or more aspects of the program.

Meanwhile, Tom Webb's attention turned to the need for clothing and athletic equipment. If small-scale business enterprises could be set up, the boys would not only learn from the experience, but also hopefully could earn the money. An opportunity to sell fresh eggs in the neighborhood quickly developed into a profit-making business for several boys. Bank accounts were opened; and others became interested. The next business venture was a pantyhose franchise which grew rapidly.

More savings accounts were opened. More recently, groceries, fresh produce and meats have been added to the list of enterprises. The boys not only have the warm clothing but the athletic equipment as well. Their pride of achievement is evident in the care they exercise in all stages of their business operations.

Operation Impact is rewarding all those who participate in other more lasting ways—in growth of self-confidence, in pride of cultural heritage and individual abilities, and in the spirit of cooperation. And the volunteers from Roosevelt University share in the excitement of this kind of learning. James Smith, an economics major who lives in the area, said, "Operation Impact is the best thing that has happened in the Englewood district."

Northern Manhattan project

AFSC encourages neighborhood government

A new AFSC project in northern Manhattan is testing a governmental innovation: the decentralization of the city's government. The project seeks to discover whether New York's urban ills can be treated more effectively if decision-making authority is closer to people in their neighborhoods.

NEW YORK CITY already has sixty-two community planning districts, each with its own appointed community board, the only sort of decentralized government body presently in existence. But the community boards consist of unpaid volunteers and have no staffs or offices of their own.

Therefore, the AFSC has formed a cooperative relationship with Community Board Number 12 which covers Washington Heights and Inwood in uptown Manhattan, to see if staff services and an office, both supplied by the AFSC, can enable the board to become a more powerful representative of the people in their relations with City Hall. The AFSC is the only group in the city which is assisting one of the boards.

One of the first contributions made by the AFSC has been to reactivate the board's committees in order to help them develop policy for the neighborhood. Since one of the neighborhood's most serious problems is housing, the board's committee "Task Force Sherman Creek" has developed a proposal for eight thousand units of public, or publicly subsidized, housing to be built in Inwood.

Covering an under-utilized one hundred acre site along the Harlem River, the Sherman Creek development would include two schools, a new state park, and light industrial and commercial buildings. The quantity of units would make this proposal one of the largest in New York's history. The AFSC has organized two public hearings on this project, attended by about one hundred and fifty people each.

At a time when Forest Hill residents, in near-by Queens, are opposing public housing, the middle-income people of Inwood are supporting the Sherman Creek proposal, which asks that 20 per cent of the housing units be for low-income people and 20 per cent for the aged and handicapped. The process of consultation, arranged for by the board, has apparently helped to develop a feeling of support for the Sherman Creek project among middle-income Inwood residents.

ANOTHER COMMITTEE of Community Board Number 12 is the "Task Force Major Institutions." This represents the community's interests vis-à-vis the area's large institutions, in particular the Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center. In 1969, Presbyterian Hospital demolished some housing it owned on a block adjacent to the hospital, with the intentions of rebuilding.

It subsequently found itself short of the funds needed. A sense of grievance, already felt by many local residents against Columbia-Presbyterian, was aggravated by the evictions and the presence of the vacant lot. Happily, the "Task Force Major Institutions" has met with President McGill of Columbia and President Binkert of Presbyterian Hospital and has obtained their commitment that the vacant block will be put to a community-oriented use.

The most active committee, in recent months, has been the Health and Welfare Committee. It has advocated greater community control over a city facility in the neighborhood, Delafield Hospital. In addition, it has pushed for a new set of district lines for welfare clients in Washington Heights and Inwood. Presently, clients in this area must travel to the Bronx to receive attention, (a round-trip bus fare of \$1.40 for some), even though there is a welfare center in Inwood.

White Paper

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necessity in an attempt to "convince the American public that the conflict was being brought to an end." Though ostensibly being fought on behalf of the people of Indochina, it says, by Vietnamization the U.S. has sought to reduce the cost to itself "while nothing is said about the greatly increased death and devastation incurred by Southeast Asia."

The result of Vietnamization, the authors say, "has been to saddle the peoples and economies of Southeast Asia with burdens which the American public are unwilling to accept. The prospect of continued war has been no more popular in Indochina than it was in the U.S., therefore, the process of Vietnamization has had to concentrate as much on developing domestic political controls as on building up the military."

"... [W]e find the concluding call of our last White Paper on Indochina still tragically apropos. Thousands of casualties and millions of refugees later, it remains necessary to ask our fellow citizens to join us in examining our consciences and our lives and in extricating ourselves from our involvement in this war. Regardless of how and when the government withdraws, let us each withdraw now as we are able. We in the AFSC will intensify efforts for peace, for restored lives, and for a reconciling spirit in foreign and domestic policy and action."

"WE WILL SUPPORT those who in conscience withdraw themselves from this war. To the best of our ability we will support those young men who resist the draft, those adults who resist paying war taxes, those G.I.'s who refuse to be shipped off to Vietnam, those scientists and engineers who refuse research and development jobs on weapons, those businessmen and corporations that refuse weapons contracts, and those youth of all races and persuasions who are struggling to recover in these terrible times the power to be human."

The following are excerpts from the White Paper, "Indochina 1972: Perpetual War."

● THE PESSIMISTIC OUTLOOK

"There is nothing which suggests that this ghastly war is diminishing in intensity or that the end is in sight. On the contrary, recent events in Indochina demonstrate once again that the United States has overestimated the effectiveness of its air power and its allies, while miscalculating the determination of the other side."

● NIXON

"In 1968, President Nixon campaigned on the promise that he had a 'secret plan' to end the war. Who could have imagined that this plan would involve the invasion of Laos and Cambodia, the expenditure of more explosives during his first three years in office than in all of World War II (*Impact of the War*, p. 9), steadily increasing South Vietnamese casualties every year since 1969 (*Ibid*, pp. 5-6; *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 1/30/'72), the doubling of the number of refugees in Indochina (Phone call, Senate Subcommittee on Refugees, 2/10/'72), and, most recently, the utilization by the U.S. of the most destructive air armada in history."

"As Secretary of the Army Stanley Resor explained, the objective of the Nixon Administration is 'to reduce the level of the war to something that the American people will support for a significant period.' (Gabriel Kolko, *Paris World Assembly for Peace and Independence of the Peoples of Indochina*, Versailles, 2/11,12,13/'72.) Despite recent signs of renewed public impatience, the government still hopes to continue the war by means of a series of policies collectively called the Nixon Doctrine."

● THE NIXON DOCTRINE

"'Vietnamization,' or the 'Nixon Doctrine' as it is called when applied to the rest of Southern Asia, involves the gradual turning over of responsibility for prosecution of the war to the Indochinese."

"South Vietnam is now the most militarized country in the world. One of every nine persons is under arms, and there are plans to expand the local militia from 500,000 men to over four million. Children over the age of seven would be enlisted in supporting units. (*NYT*, 4/17/'71.) South Vietnam has the third largest navy, the fourth largest army, and the sixth largest air force in the world. (*Washington Post*, 10/25/'70; 1/14, 4/24/'72.) Seventy-five percent of the national budget goes for war. "Consequently, the Vietnamese national police force, permitted by the Constitution to act against anyone considered a threat to the national security, is increasing more rapidly than ever before. Numbering 16,000

in 1960, the police are expected to exceed 120,000 by the end of 1972, largely because of increased American financial support. (*NYT*, 4/17/'71.)

"As American troops withdraw from Southeast Asia, the use of mercenaries, though barred by Congressional stricture, has become an increasingly important aspect of the Nixon Doctrine. . . . Thai troops are now being used extensively, though covertly, in Laos. (*Washington Star*, 2/6/'72; *Washington Post*, 1/22/'72.) The 40,000 Korean troops remaining in South Vietnam, given U.S. payment of all their expenses, can only be considered mercenaries."

"The very survival of the military regimes of Indochina is more dependent than ever before on the United States. Military and economic aid to Southeast Asia is scheduled to increase rather than decrease under the Nixon Doctrine."

● VIETNAMIZATION

"The concept of Vietnamization, then, is a formula to perpetuate war in defiance of the desires of a majority of the Indochinese. (Foreign Relations Committee report, U.S. Senate, *Thailand, Laos and Cambodia—1/72*.) It has produced dependence, not self-sufficiency; repression, not freedom. Its proponents hope that the United States public will accept Asian soldiers as both less expensive (*Congressional Record*, 1/15/'64) and more expendable than Americans. Though this may appear to some to be 'good economics,' in fact it reflects the moral bankruptcy of American efforts in Southeast Asia."

● PRISONERS

"The constant and vociferous demands by the U.S. government for the immediate release of the prisoners contrasts sharply with the less vocal and sometimes tardy qualification that, of course, U.S. support for President Thieu will continue. North Vietnam has indicated that no prisoners will be released while support for President Thieu and U.S. bombing

Indochina 1972: P

WHY DOES THE U.S. GOVERNMENT PERSIST?

● **Is it in defense of a sovereign nation?** The Geneva Accords refer to a single country. (Final Declaration, 7/21/'54, Geneva Accords, Section 6.) The constitutions of both North and South Vietnam affirm the territorial unity of Vietnam.

● **Is it to contain Chinese Expansion?** In 1972, American rapprochement with Peking makes that rationale for continuing the war in Indochina unconvincing.

● **Is it treaty commitments?** The SEATO treaty has never applied, the Tonkin Gulf Resolution has been repealed, and the U.S. has no defense treaties with Laos, Cambodia or Vietnam. (*Pentagon Papers*, Beacon Press, Volume 2, p. 361.)

● **Is it to preserve the freedom of the South Vietnamese?** For sixteen years the U.S. has maintained regimes in Saigon which have prosecuted war in defiance of the popular will and have imprisoned those who publicly advocate reconciliation, neutrality, and peace.

● **Is it to prevent a bloodbath?** In the past six years, U.S. and allied armed forces have killed more civilians every six months than the other side has in sixteen years. ("Fear of a Blood Bath," *New Republic*, 12/6/'69; *Indochina 1971*, AFSC, footnote 6, p. 6.) What bloodbath could surpass that record?

● **Is it arrogance?** The Pentagon Papers contain a memo from Assistant Secretary of Defense John T. McNaughton which states that 70 per cent of the American aims in Indochina were to "avoid humiliating defeat." (*The Pentagon Papers*, Beacon Press, Volume III, p. 695.)

● **Is it in defense of American honor?** Many Americans and most of the world's nations feel that the spectacle of the enormously destructive U.S. military machine, arrayed against peasants, has defiled American honor as never before in history.

● **Is it economic necessity?** Certainly President Eisenhower and others have cited this factor (*America's Empire*, Pantheon Books, pp. 226, 227), and the aerospace industry has boomed; but it is now apparent that most U.S. business leaders are convinced the war has been an economic disaster.

● **Is it to protect our troops and gain the release of our prisoners?** Our government refuses to acknowledge that bringing the troops home would guarantee their safety and secure the release of prisoners.

● **Is it in retaliation for North Vietnamese "violations" of the so-called understandings which accompanied the bombing halt of 1968?** Clark Clifford, Secretary of Defense at the time, has since stated that President Nixon's massive bombings of North Vietnam in 1970 were such a departure from those understandings that "there isn't any understanding left." (*Washington Post*, 12/31/'71; *NYT*, 4/21/'72.)

United States attempts to mold Vietnam

By LE ANH TU

In Vietnam the village is the center and core of our society. Every Vietnamese belongs to a village, and many who travel for various reasons send money home to pay the village dues, to maintain their names on the village chronicle. The worst insult you can give a Vietnamese is to say he is without a village home. The village is where our roots lay, in a very physical as well as a spiritual way. There our ancestors are buried; the soil we till is also the soil nurtured by our ancestors; and when our ancestors died they went back to the soil. We are born of the soil, live by the soil, and become part of the soil.

We are also a rice paddy culture, and to grow rice well you do not need much land. Rather, the amount you grow depends on the care you give—irrigating well and constantly. Unlike other forms of farming that deplete the soil, with rice each crop enriches the soil further.

Vietnam was mostly a land of farmers. Now one third of the

population is refugee. Some Americans see this as an act of mercy. Professor Samuel Huntington from Harvard said, as an advisor to the State Department, that forced relocation, euphemistically called "urbanization," helps to modernize Vietnamese society. Peasants who are moved into cities and refugee camps have no way to produce their own food and must depend upon Americans.

One of my compatriots, a young woman student in Saigon, wrote: "Day after day we have to subsist on imported rice, on 'aid' money. In the evening when switching on a TV set we are forced to see sexy dances. We live in an imperialistic atmosphere because these things are all vicious products of the imperialists. But one thing must be borne in mind: we are Vietnamese, who are fed with Vietnamese rice, soft and sweet-smelling, brought up in Vietnamese sentiment, refined and delicate, accustomed to hearing Vietnamese folk-songs, full of feeling and zest. Return to Vietnam her national culture."

This is precisely contrary to the

wishes of the U.S. government. AID contracted with Thomas Dodd, professor of education at Tennessee University to study education in South Vietnam, in order to learn how to "change the old institutions." Dodd concluded that it would be simple to destroy those who preserve and who teach our four thousand year-old heritage. These "agents of socialization of the old institutions" are, according to Dodd, mainly teachers and women, who should be replaced by "new agents of socialization"—the students trained by AID.

"The change agent," professor Dodd said, "must be prepared to rely heavily on destruction as an approach." This AID Tennessee University report stresses throughout that traditional Vietnamese education is unsatisfactory because it is too philosophical, too broad in content, that it must teach less culture and more technology. All high school textbooks in Thieu-controlled areas of South Vietnam are AID books.

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Indochina 1972: Perpetual War

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continue, and history offers no recent examples of a general exchange of prisoners before a final settlement is imminent.

"Therefore, this rhetorical identification with the release of the prisoners, while pursuing policies which insure their continued incarceration, indicates a cynical manipulation of public sentiment which prisoners' families are beginning to recognize and resent."

• NEGOTIATIONS

"The war must end by negotiations, and we are convinced that a solution acceptable to a majority of Indochinese and Americans can be achieved on the basis of current peace plans.

"The PRG and the North Vietnamese have made it clear that there are two prerequisites for a peaceful settlement of the war and return of prisoners: a complete, unconditional withdrawal of American forces and an end to American support for Thieu. President Nixon was aware of these two fundamental principles of the PRG/North Vietnamese negotiating position before he made a peace proposal which directly contravened them.

"The major obstacle to a peaceful settlement of the war is U.S. unwillingness to accept a coalition government in Saigon. Contrary to the claims of the Nixon Administration, the North Vietnamese are not demanding control over South Vietnam. Ha Van Lau, a high North Vietnamese official authorized to speak for his government, has stated that the DRV would view favorably the establishment of a tripartite government in Saigon, representing members of the present regime, the PRG, and South Vietnamese not included in either group. While Thieu remains unacceptable, there are many South Vietnamese associated with the present government who are acceptable to the North Vietnamese and the PRG. (NYT, 3/29/72.)

"William Porter, U.S. ambassador to the Paris peace talks, stated on March 23 that the U.S. would consider resuming the sessions when it determined that the other side was 'serious.' In an interview with an AFSC representative on March 28, Nguyen Minh Vy, a member of the DRV delegation declared:

'According to the U.S. ground rules now, we can never meet their criteria for serious negotiations. Because if we ask them to stop aggression, they say we are not serious. If we ask them to stop Vietnamization, they say we are not serious. If we ask them to set the date, they say we are not serious. If we ask them to end the support for Thieu, they say we are not serious. For our part, the PRG seven point proposal is very serious. But for the U.S. it is zero.'

Negotiations now, as in the past, are viewed solely as a means of ratifying the defeat of the other side."

• AUTOMATED WARFARE

"While the savagery of My Lai has been universally condemned, an

WHY DOES THE U.S. GOVERNMENT PERSIST?

Is it in defense of a sovereign nation? The Geneva Accords refer to a single country. (Final Declaration, 7/21/54, Geneva Accords, Article 6.) The constitutions of both North and South Vietnam affirm territorial unity of Vietnam.

Is it to contain Chinese Expansion? In 1972, American rapprochement with Peking makes that rationale for continuing the war in Indochina unconvincing.

Is it treaty commitments? The SEATO treaty has never applied, the Tonkin Gulf Resolution has been repealed, and the U.S. has no defense treaties with Laos, Cambodia or Vietnam. (Pentagon Papers, Beacon Press, Volume 2, p. 361.)

Is it to preserve the freedom of the South Vietnamese? For sixteen years the U.S. has maintained regimes in Saigon which have prosecuted in defiance of the popular will and have imprisoned those who publicly advocate reconciliation, neutrality, and peace.

Is it to prevent a bloodbath? In the past six years, U.S. and allied forces have killed more civilians every six months than the other side has in sixteen years. ("Fear of a Blood Bath," New Republic, 6/6/69; Indochina 1971, AFSC, footnote 6, p. 6.) What bloodbath could surpass that record?

Is it arrogance? The Pentagon Papers contain a memo from Assistant Secretary of Defense John T. McNaughton which states that 70 percent of the American aims in Indochina were to "avoid humiliating defeat." (The Pentagon Papers, Beacon Press, Volume III, p. 695.)

Is it in defense of American honor? Many Americans and most of the world's nations feel that the spectacle of the enormously destructive U.S. military machine, arrayed against peasants, has defiled American honor as never before in history.

Is it economic necessity? Certainly President Eisenhower and others have cited this factor (America's Empire, Pantheon Books, pp. 226, 227), and the aerospace industry has boomed; but it is now apparent that most U.S. business leaders are convinced the war has been an economic disaster.

Is it to protect our troops and gain the release of our prisoners? The government refuses to acknowledge that bringing the troops home could guarantee their safety and secure the release of prisoners.

Is it in retaliation for North Vietnamese "violations" of the so-called understandings which accompanied the bombing halt of 1968? Clark M. Clifford, Secretary of Defense at the time, has since stated that President Nixon's massive bombings of North Vietnam in 1970 were such a departure from those understandings that "there isn't any understanding left." (Washington Post, 12/31/71; NYT, 4/21/72.)

United States attempts to mold Vietnam in own image

Le Anh Tu
The village is the center of our society. Every person belongs to a village, and people travel for various reasons and money home to pay taxes, to maintain their families, and in the village chronicle. To insult you can give a person a name that is to say he is without home. The village is the roots lay, in a very deep well as a spiritual way. The ancestors are buried; the soil is also the soil nurtures the ancestors; and when the ancestors died they went back to the soil. We are born of the soil, and become soil. Unlike other forms of agriculture that deplete the soil, with crop enriches the soil. This was mostly a land of rice. Now one third of the

population is refugee. Some Americans see this as an act of mercy. Professor Samuel Huntington from Harvard said, as an advisor to the State Department, that forced relocation, euphemistically called "urbanization," helps to modernize Vietnamese society. Peasants who are moved into cities and refugee camps have no way to produce their own food and must depend upon Americans.

One of my compatriots, a young woman student in Saigon, wrote: "Day after day we have to subsist on imported rice, on 'aid' money. In the evening when switching on a TV set we are forced to see sexy dances. We live in an imperialistic atmosphere because these things are all vicious products of the imperialists. But one thing must be borne in mind: we are Vietnamese, who are fed with Vietnamese rice, soft and sweet-smelling, brought up in Vietnamese sentiment, refined and delicate, accustomed to hearing Vietnamese folk-songs, full of feeling and zest. Return to Vietnam her national culture."

This is precisely contrary to the

wishes of the U.S. government. AID contracted with Thomas Dodd, professor of education at Tennessee University to study education in South Vietnam, in order to learn how to "change the old institutions." Dodd concluded that it would be simple to destroy those who preserve and who teach our four thousand year-old heritage. These "agents of socialization of the old institutions" are, according to Dodd, mainly teachers and women, who should be replaced by "new agents of socialization"—the students trained by AID.

"The change agent," professor Dodd said, "must be prepared to rely heavily on destruction as an approach." This AID Tennessee University report stresses throughout that traditional Vietnamese education is unsatisfactory because it is too philosophical, too broad in content, that it must teach less culture and more technology. All high school textbooks in Thieu-controlled areas of South Vietnam are AID books.

In the month of September alone

over eighty-four American vehicles were burned in Saigon, a city less politically active than Hue or Qui Nhon. A Catholic newspaper, Tin Sang, warned that Americans should not consider themselves secure in public without wearing a peace sign, a picture of a broken rifle.

These are not isolated incidents, nor acts of a small minority, but an expression of Vietnamese opposition to the continuing war and the American presence, which is now being led by the newly "urbanized." The opposition is broad, including legislators, students, women's groups, Catholics, Buddhists, workers, war veterans and intellectuals.

And the slogans have become militant: from "chong My cuu nuoc" (oppose the Americans to save our land), to "duoi My cuu nuoc" (drive out the Americans to save our land), to "diet My cuu nuoc" (kill the Americans to save our land).

Le Anh Tu is a member of the AFSC NARMIC staff in Philadelphia. She is a native Vietnamese.



The American military policy of clearing major portions of the countryside of population—forced urbanization—as well as the sheer enormity of the American presence is severely upsetting the traditional family- and village-oriented pattern of Vietnamese living. In addition, according to this report from Le Anh Tu, a native Vietnamese currently on the staff of NARMIC at AFSC, the U.S. government is deliberately attempting to remold Vietnamese society in the Western image.



The U.S. is leading an assault not only on the people, but on the earth itself. At right are short excerpts from reports prepared after extensive investigation in Vietnam by two scientists, E. W. Pfeiffer, professor of zoology at the University of Montana, and Arthur H. Westing, professor of botany from Windham College, Putney, Vermont. Their reports first appeared in Environment magazine.

Perpetual War

continue, and history offers no recent examples of a general exchange of prisoners before a final settlement is imminent.

"Therefore, this rhetorical identification with the release of the prisoners, while pursuing policies which insure their continued incarceration, indicates a cynical manipulation of public sentiment which prisoners' families are beginning to recognize and resent."

• NEGOTIATIONS

"The war must end by negotiations, and we are convinced that a solution acceptable to a majority of Indochinese and Americans can be achieved on the basis of current peace plans.

"The PRG and the North Vietnamese have made it clear that there are two prerequisites for a peaceful settlement of the war and return of prisoners: a complete, unconditional withdrawal of American forces and an end to American support for Thieu. President Nixon was aware of these two fundamental principles of the PRG/North Vietnamese negotiating position before he made a peace proposal which directly contravened them.

"The major obstacle to a peaceful settlement of the war is U.S. unwillingness to accept a coalition government in Saigon. Contrary to the claims of the Nixon Administration, the North Vietnamese are not demanding control over South Vietnam. Ha Van Lau, a high North Vietnamese official authorized to speak for his government, has stated that the DRV would view favorably the establishment of a tripartite government in Saigon, representing members of the present regime, the PRG, and South Vietnamese not included in either group. While Thieu remains unacceptable, there are many South Vietnamese associated with the present government who are acceptable to the North Vietnamese and the PRG. (NYT, 3/29/72.)

in own image

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Le Anh Tu is a member of the AFSC NARMIC staff in Philadelphia. She is a native Vietnamese.

"William Porter, U.S. ambassador to the Paris peace talks, stated on March 23 that the U.S. would consider resuming the sessions when it determined that the other side was 'serious.' In an interview with an AFSC representative on March 28, Nguyen Minh Vy, a member of the DRV delegation declared:

'According to the U.S. ground rules now, we can never meet their criteria for serious negotiations. Because if we ask them to stop aggression, they say we are not serious. If we ask them to stop Vietnamization, they say we are not serious. If we ask them to set the date, they say we are not serious. If we ask them to end the support for Thieu, they say we are not serious. For our part, the PRG seven point proposal is very serious. But for the U.S. it is zero.'

Negotiations now, as in the past, are viewed solely as a means of ratifying the defeat of the other side."

• AUTOMATED WARFARE

"While the savagery of My Lai has been universally condemned, an

equally atrocious method of warfare is wreaking havoc on Indochina.

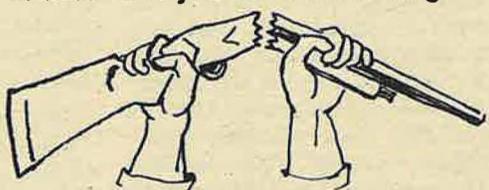
"Automated warfare is designed to separate the individual soldier from the consequences of his actions. (Hearing on Electronic Battlefield, Senate Armed Services Committee, p. 67.) A pilot who flew many bombing missions over Laos described the ethical vacuum of the cockpit:

"Sometimes when you're not flying you can sit down and think about the morality of the war, the morality of killing. But you've got to recognize one of the big differences between what we do and what your standard Joe Smeddly, a private in the Marine Corps, does. He sees far more, as far as killing people or being injured or whatever, than we ever see. It's an antiseptic situation in that airplane. You never get closer than maybe 5000 feet." (Washington Post, 3/2/72.)

"Such totally dehumanized combat presents a new and awesome challenge to the American conscience." (Electronic Battlefield Hearing, 11/70.)



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Bombs

By E. W. PFEIFFER and ARTHUR H. WESTING

We do not know what fraction of the 23 billion pounds of munitions expended during the years 1965 through 1970 was small arms and other ordnance that would not produce craters (nor do we know what the distribution is among South Vietnam, North Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos). To make some wild assumptions, if half the munitions (by weight) were of the sort that produce craters (bombs, shells, etc.) and if each was a 500-pound bomb, then Indochina's landscape would now be more or less permanently rearranged by more than twenty million craters. Using an estimated average diameter of 30 feet, the holes alone would cover a combined area of about 325,000 acres.

No type of habitat seems to be spared, including forests and swamps, fields and paddies. Many severely craterized areas—such as

the so-called free-fire zones, free-bomb zones, or specified strike zones—were formerly inhabited and farmed.

Earlier studies have presented data which suggest that some 7.5 million craters have been formed as a result of the massive bombardment. We estimate that the current figure for South Vietnam is in excess of 10 million.

We tentatively conclude that those cultivated areas hit heavily with conventional high explosives will be very difficult, if not impossible, to recultivate. . . . The immediate problem of greatest concern is the vast number of unexploded mines, bombs, rockets, and so

& bulldozers

forth, that must be removed if the land is to be resettled.

With the growing realization that the forest functions as a key ally of guerilla fighters by providing cover and sanctuary, more and

more effort has been directed toward its obliteration. For a number of years reliance was placed primarily on chemical destruction. . . .

A second approach . . . is a bombing and shelling program of incredible magnitude.

In recent years, however, a new technique has emerged. Born about 1965, developing into major proportions in 1968, and growing ever since, a vast program of systematic forest bulldozing now exists. The U.S. Engineer Command in Vietnam is daily putting Hercules and his twelve labors to shame.

Bulldozing has, according to official military sources, leveled over 750,000 acres to date. I estimate that clearing continues at a rate of more than 1,000 acres per day. . . .

Where bulldozing is done in hilly terrain, erosion can become a severe liability. Moreover, with the elimination of the enormous water-holding capacity of an extant forest, the heavy rains characteristic of Vietnam can produce severe flood damage.

AN AGENDA FOR RECONCILIATION

To end the suffering and to begin the healing of the physical and psychological wounds of war as thoroughly and rapidly as possible, we recommend the following actions:

1. The United States should declare an immediate end to all its military activities and aid in Southeast Asia and begin at once the complete withdrawal of its naval, air, and land forces, its advisers, and its materiel.
2. In the interests of peace and the future well-being of the people of Vietnam, President Thieu should resign and the U.S.-supported apparatus of repression should be dismantled in order to make way for the establishment (without American interference) of a coalition government.
3. Asylum should be offered to any persons who feel endangered by the prospects of a negotiated solution to the war.
4. Generous reparations and help in reconstruction should be made available to the peoples and countries of Southeast Asia devastated by American war policies.

Free copies of the White Paper are available from the AFSC National Office. Send requests to: Information Services, AFSC, 160 N. 15th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19102

Send me a free copy of INDOCHINA 1972: PERPETUAL WAR

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zip _____

Editorial

Dear Friends:

The poisonous seed of Vietnamization has produced the bitter fruit of escalated violence in Indochina. Rather than permitting a political solution to emerge in Vietnam by withdrawing support from the Thieu regime in Saigon, the Nixon administration chose to build a mercenary army of a million men in South Vietnam and to continue attempts to create client governments in Laos and Cambodia. At the same time, American air power was steadily increased throughout the area.

The folly of this "plan to end the war" is now unfolding in tragic dimensions for the people of Indochina. Hundreds of thousands of human beings are now caught in the frustrated fury of President Nixon's order for further American intervention in that war-exhausted region.

Over the years, Quakers and the AFSC family have made numerous representations at the highest levels of government against American involvement in Southeast Asia, have sent letters, have published documents, and have participated in demonstrations, culminating most recently in a peace vigil outside the White House on May 3rd. During this recent vigil, a delegation of Friends met with a presidential representative and submitted a new white paper, *INDOCHINA 1972: PERPETUAL WAR* (see pages 1, 4 and 5).

What should be the AFSC's response to current developments? It is clear that we have made a commitment to the long haul.

We continue to see the vital necessity of communicating across human barriers and gulfs of misunderstanding. The eleven-member Quaker Service mission now in China is a good example of current efforts to meet that need. We continue to maintain contact with representatives of Hanoi, expecting that our latest installment of open-heart surgical equipment, together with two AFSC representatives, will go to the Viet-Duc Hospital in Hanoi as soon as possible. From Singapore to Tokyo, we continue our conferences and seminars program, involving young Asian leaders, diplomats, and other opinion makers.

In Quang Ngai, Quaker staff continue to give important support to the Rehabilitation Center, where physical therapy and artificial limbs and braces are provided for civilian victims of the war. We expect that this program, which is now being operated more and more by the Vietnamese themselves, will continue to function regardless of which side controls the city of Quang Ngai. At the same time, we fear that the changing nature of the war might at any time bring obliteration to the city from American air power.

We welcome, of course, the rising tide of protest by numerous individuals and groups, and we continue to urge visits to senators and congressmen in Washington. AFSC has once again established a Quaker Emergency Action Program in support of efforts by the Friends Committee on National Legislation to inform Congress of opposition to the war. Across the country, our Peace Education staff are handling a host of emergency programs against the war and struggling to meet appeals for assistance from grass-roots peace organizations. We are grateful that the current election processes provide an opportunity for the American people to find out where the candidates stand and to discuss with them the issues of the war.

Finally, our thoughts and prayers turn to the Vietnamese people, who are bearing the enormous brunt of this savage war. On their behalf, we pledge to renew and rededicate our efforts to end the tragic American military intervention into their affairs.

Sincerely,

BRONSON P. CLARK, Executive Secretary



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the roots of AFSC

By STEPHEN G. CARY

Certainly no one could accuse us of reaching for too little. Here we are, seeking to make a witness for peace in a world of violence, demanding justice for all at a time when injustice seems nearly universal, insisting that integrity is important when duplicity and hypocrisy are the stock and trade of even the best governments. We are charged to demonstrate compassion and sensitivity and humaneness in a world which is inured to barbarism and suffering. Finally, we bear witness to a faith in man's essential goodness when cynicism grips whole segments of society and apathy and despair mark the mood of millions.

Are we so caught up in the excitement of doing that we tend to forget the importance of being?

ALL OF THIS adds up to an order of limitless scope, and yet if we look back at the Quaker tradition out of which the American Friends Service Committee came, we can see that men and women have stood without faltering against the same storms of hatred and violence and despair, and in so doing, have shaken the earth for ten miles around.

For example, when we recall those patient, simple, accepting young Quakers of long ago in the stinking dungeons of Lancaster Castle and think of the gentle letter that they addressed to their jailor, we are lifted up, for they knew how to stand, and how to accept suffering without rancor.

Or, we can think of William Penn, raised in luxury, the son of an admiral, familiar to the Court of England, imprisoned in the Tower of London and writing to his jailor: "I will stay here 'til I rot, ere I vary one jot or tittle from the course which my conscience dictates to me."

Or, perhaps the example of those respectable Friends in London in 1804 will speak to us, if only because they were so much like us. There they were, in Yearly Meeting, surrounded by the passion of war, in a nation swept up by hatred and fear of the triumphant Napoleon, reasserting their faith in those familiar and fantastic words:

"We feel bound explicitly to avow our continued unshaken persuasion that all wars are utterly incompatible with the plain precepts of our divine Lord and lawgiver, and with the whole spirit and tenor of his gospel, and that no plea of necessity or of policy, however urgent or peculiar, can avail to release either individuals or nations from the paramount allegiance that they owe to Him who has said "Love your enemy."

Or finally, in our own time, we can remember men like Rufus Jones and Henry Cadbury who stood against the hatred and passions of the first World War to dare to establish the American Friends Service Committee as a service of love in wartime, calling for compassion toward our enemy at a time when all Germans were Huns, and when a cry for peace marked a man as a traitor.

Are we so caught up in the excitement of *doing* that we tend to forget the importance of *being*? Do we bear witness to a faith which, because of its interpretation of the relationship between God and man, asserts, and asserts flatly, that love and love alone can overcome evil, that life is sacred and may not therefore be exploited or debased or destroyed for any reason, under any circumstances, at any time? Do we accept these things as categorical imperatives, as the towering Quakers in the past accepted them?

I BELIEVE that unless we come to feel these certainties in our bones—whatever language we may use to express them—we will lack the one resource above all others that we need if we would be movers and shakers.

Our Quaker witness is not based on a success ethic. Life is too complex, and human response the result of such a variety of forces, that cause and effect predictions are impossible. On the other hand, if the belief in an ordered universe is valid, the doctrine of end and means must also be valid. Good *enduringly*

Our Quaker witness is not based on a success ethic.

practised must overcome evil. The generous act *enduringly* undertaken must evoke a generous response. The problem for us is that finite man is fainthearted, his vision is partial, his ability to discover ways and means limited. AFSC suffers from all of these afflictions. It spreads itself too thin, it gets tangled up in its own bureaucracy, it makes bad judgments, it has its list of failures—but it also has its triumphs. We who have labored in its service have in fact seen hatred exorcised, the estranged reconciled, the depraved reborn, the violent made peaceable, and we've seen these things happen in the most unlikely places.

The above was taken from a recent address by Stephen Cary to AFSC staff in Philadelphia. Stephen Cary was formerly an AFSC associate executive secretary, now a member of the Board of Directors and a vice president at Haverford College.

the value of the UN

By ELTON ATWATER

The international community is still in a very primitive stage of development as the tragic Indian-Pakistan conflict demonstrates. The sovereign nation state is supreme, free to repress its people or to make war when it sees fit, and not subject to requirements from any world organization. Unable to restrain either Pakistan or India sufficiently to avert war, the United Nations epitomizes the frustrations of world peace-making.

Yet, sitting through the long Security Council and Assembly meetings during the past several weeks I couldn't help feeling that a world community is trying to be born. The Security Council chamber was crowded with delegates from many nations as the fifteen Council members argued. Even though eleven of the fifteen members were in agreement, no action could be taken.

OF WHAT VALUE is the U.N. under such circumstances? I see at least three broad contributions which it is making:

(1) Weak though it may be in the realm of power politics, the U.N. is nevertheless a beginning in the direction of a world commun-

ity. Its delegates must think in terms of world interests as well as national interests. It is a forum where differences can be ventilated and where common interests and consensus among governments are more likely to be discovered than almost anywhere else. This consensus and the recognition of common interests are the indispensable basis for any effective future international order.

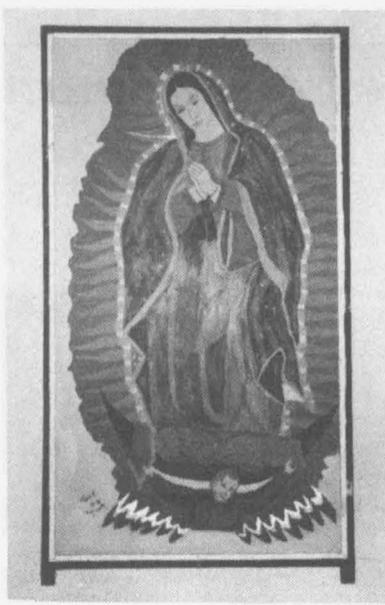
(2) The U.N. is a valuable moderating influence on international affairs. The conciliatory influence of more disinterested powers is brought to bear on the disputants. The need to justify one's actions before the world body encourages prudence. For example, the presence of the People's Republic of China in the U.N. will probably act to moderate China's foreign policies. The Secretary General under Lie, Hammarskjold, and U Thant has played a moderating and conciliatory role in many troubled situations.

(3) Finally, the U.N. is a channel for mobilizing an increasing amount of technical and economic assistance for the developing countries. About 85 per cent of all U.N. expenditures and personnel are used for these unspectacular

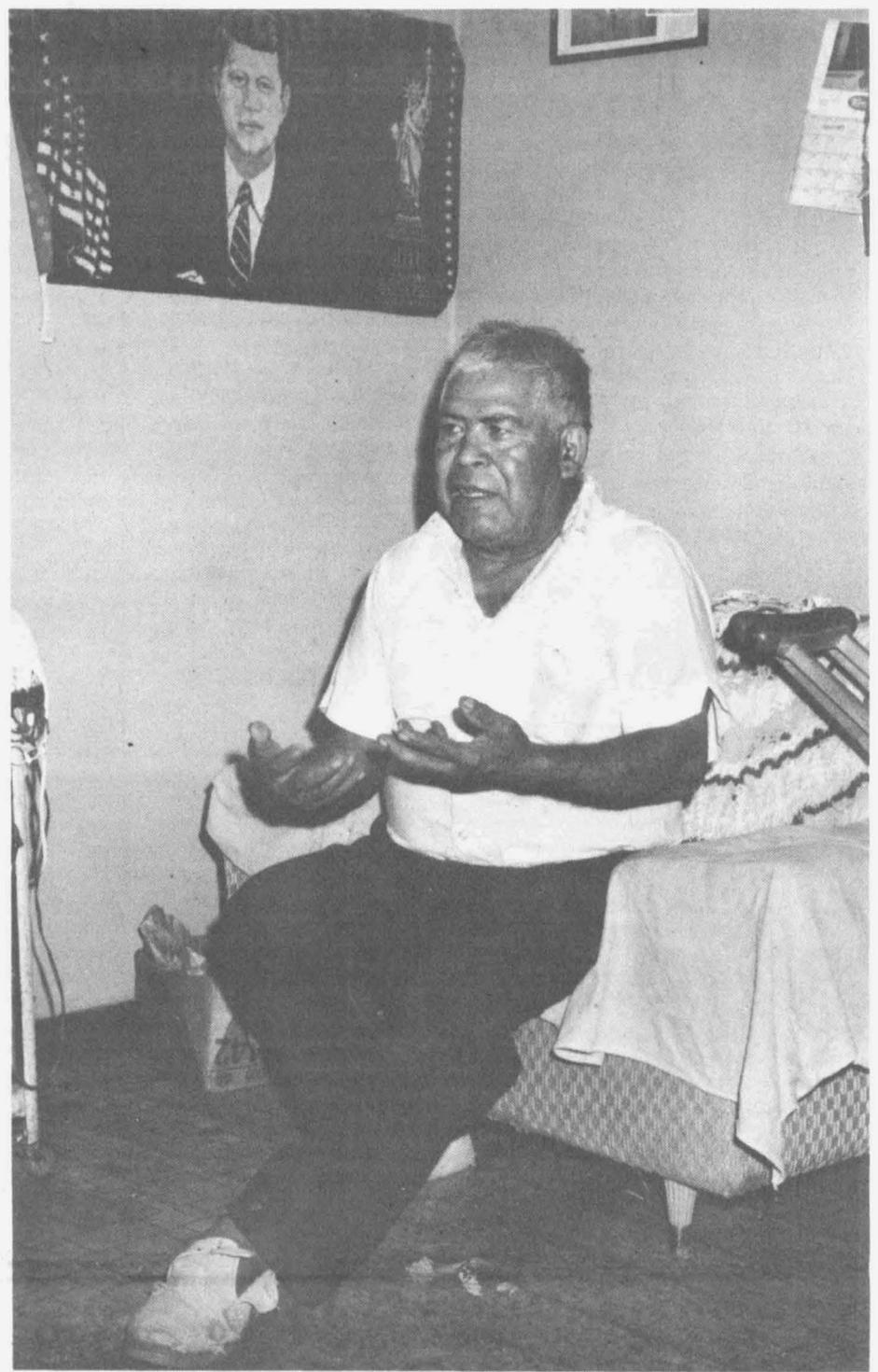
but constructive economic, social, and decolonization programs. These projects, which do not carry the neo-colonial political strings sometimes associated with American, British, or Soviet foreign aid programs, are based primarily on the economic needs of the recipient countries rather than on the political or strategic significance they might seem to have for a major power donor. The money channeled through the U.N. often goes a long way. One hundred and twenty-five million dollars spent on pre-investment surveys by the U.N. Development Program from 1959 to 1970, for example, led to followup investments of over \$3.2 billion, a return of about twenty-five to one.

BY RELYING on consensus more than coercion, and by trying to improve man's economic and social well-being, the U.N. functions in a way which is very compatible with many principles which Friends hold high. It deserves support even when the going is rough.

Elton Atwater was until recently on the staff of the Quaker United Nations Office. He is currently professor of political science at Pennsylvania State University.



Side by side on the wall of the meeting room of Organizaciones Unidas are pictures of a prayerful Madonna and a struggling young Chicano lifting his brother. Devout religion and forceful determination blend together in the "movimiento Chicano."



Chicano self-help group Opens clinics in Texas

Down in the semitropical tip of Texas, where the U.S. bumps down into Mexico like an awkward elbow, a kind of cultural buffer zone exists between the Mexicans to the south and the whites to the north. Here in the lower Rio Grande valley the great majority of the population is Chicano; people of Mexican and Spanish blood whose ties to the rich farmland near the Gulf Coast stretch back long beyond the military victory that gave the territory to the United States.

Along with other ethnic minorities, the Chicanos suffered along the edges of a prosperous but alien "Anglo" culture. The productive land they originally owned was taken from them—either by force or by trickery (for they were familiar with neither the English language nor American law, and agreements that previously had been sealed with a handshake were upset by the new contractual ways of doing business).

EVEN TODAY in south Texas, Chicanos are virtually landless although they compose roughly three-quarters of the population of the southernmost countries. Forced to find some kind of employment, men and boys—and frequently

whole families—have for generations migrated north with the growing season, searching for the hard and hot work of harvesting crops.

And even today, Chicano children often attend schools where the teachers are white and know no Spanish, and where the children, who know no English, quickly fall behind or drop out.

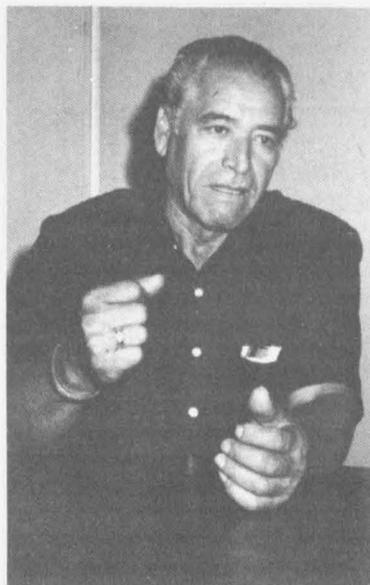
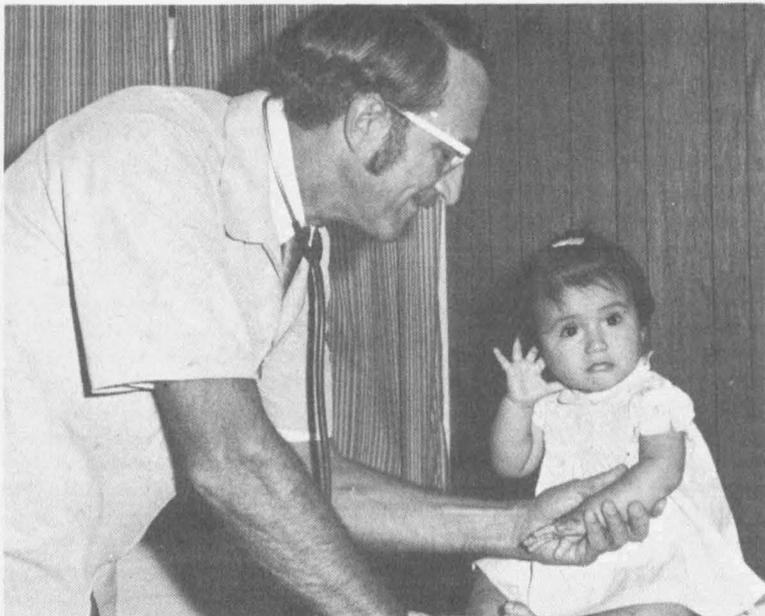
But in south Texas, too, is the heartland of the "movimiento Chicano," a self-help movement which struggles to overcome deep-seated inhibitions and fears of reprisal. A key group in Cameron and Willacy counties, the two southernmost along the Gulf, is Organizaciones Unidas, an association composed of local community groups that have organized around such issues as housing, water supply, schools or other problems. With a vigorous young Chicano staff, AFSC aids OU, develop and carry out local projects in many ways, including writing proposals for government or foundation support.

A special project of OU has been the establishment of a health services project including two badly-needed health clinics which also are consumer-controlled.

Sixty-one year old Augustine Flores, above, was helped with a leg ailment at the clinic. For seventeen years in Mexico he hauled rocks out of a mine on his back; in south Texas, he got a steady job at a cotton mill and became better off than many other Chicanos in an area where the average annual income of migrant workers is about \$1,500. Clinic social workers make sure patients receive disability payments or other welfare for which they are eligible, or emergency food or clothing if needed. Both Organizaciones Unidas and the clinics are controlled by the "consumers" of the services. Santiago Zamora, active in OU and on the policy board for the clinics, discusses an issue below.

Dr. William Heusel, the physician dividing his time between the clinics, examines a young patient. Other doctors in the area contributed their time in setting up the clinics—but there is no money available to cover hospitalization costs.

Photos by Joan Dufault



AFSC summer projects

More local young people involved

Continuing the trend of the last few years, AFSC summer projects in 1972 will involve more young people of the area where the project is taking place instead of bringing in nonresidents.

For example, in uptown Chicago where many urban American Indians live, ten Indian college students have designed and will lead a camping project for thirty-five Indian children.

In Southern New Jersey twenty-five Puerto Rican students will interpret, tutor and plan recreation for migrant farm workers in Swedesboro, N.J. In the Washington Heights section of New York City, five neighborhood youths will conduct a survey of their own mixed black, white and Puerto Rican community.

"These indigenous projects cost more money," says Nancy Duryee, director of AFSC's U.S. Projects. "The young people can't afford to

Fort Wayne sixth graders Join in PREP activities

To achieve racial balance, Fort Wayne, Indiana, students were bused to junior and senior high schools this year. Little had been done to prepare them, their teachers or their parents, and a number of racial incidents occurred.

In an attempt to promote racial understanding and friendship before the students are bused to junior high, the Dayton Region's Pre-Adolescent Enrichment Program, PREP, has been working with groups of sixth graders from the city's nearly all white or all black elementary schools.

THE RACIALLY BALANCED groups are small—four to six students—and the volunteer leader works with each group for three months. Weekend activities are planned for the students that include trips, sports, visits to homes and camping.

pay their own way as volunteers usually have in the past."

The majority of AFSC's close to four hundred summer appointees will continue to be self-supporting American high school and college age boys and girls who will tackle the problems of poverty and exclusion in this country and abroad. They will do hard physical labor and many kinds of teaching, counseling, planning and investigating.

FAMILY CAMPS and high school institutes will be sponsored again as usual. National Priorities Caravans, cruising for their thirty-second summer, will cover six states. Eight AFSC participants will join the tenth annual Tripartite Work and Study Program that will bring together American, British and Russian young people in London. For the first time a summer camp for refugee girls, as well as the third camp for boys, will be conducted in the Middle East on the West Bank.

G.I. empowerment Begun in St. Louis

The U.S. government has MAAG—Military Assistance and Advisory Group, a team that trains and equips military forces for other countries. But there is also MAAG (GI) — Mid-America Assistance Group for GI's, a network of support groups around the Midwest that have organized to share information and support.

Involving people from Army and Air Force bases in Missouri, Kansas, and Nebraska, MAAG (GI) provides organizing skills and counseling for GI's. The group also helps law students who are helping with case work for the one lawyer in St. Louis knowledgeable on military law.

GI'S AND VETERANS are proving to be strong supporters of peace and anti-militarism activities. Dennis Cummins, AFSC staff

La Causa Communications

About 65,000 Chicanos live year-round in eastern Washington's Yakima Valley; their numbers swell to more than 100,000 with harvest-time, when their fellow Mexican-Americans migrate north for work. Yet in Washington, as in many northern states, the existence of the Chicano community seems to be a well-kept secret. Rarely do the mass media acknowledge the presence of a large proportion of the Valley's population whose native tongue is Spanish and does not participate fully in "Anglo" culture.

CHILDREN COMING from homes where only Spanish is spoken are commonly thrust into English-only classrooms, soon to be relegated to the "slow" classes because they cannot learn to read English—which they are never taught to speak. Likewise, political candidates did not speak Spanish, nor was their literature available in Spanish; so although many Chicanos were registered to vote, few did. Counselors at high schools routinely direct Chicanos toward trade schools or the military, and rarely are they encouraged to consider college.

To help promote a positive self-identity and encourage self-help among Washington Chicanos, "La Causa Communications" has been created. La Causa will create and produce a weekly television program dealing with Chicano concerns, in Spanish. La Causa is the product of interested people in the Yakima Valley and Chicano students at the University of Washington, with the help of the Seattle office of AFSC.

member in St. Louis who has helped organize MAAG (GI), explained that "the personal and group feelings of fear, confusion, humiliation and helplessness paralyzing GI's can also drive them to action. It can take either a destructive or constructive course."



Non-Profit Org. U.S. POSTAGE PAID American Friends Service Committee, Inc.

New Friends Center Minority firms To build Center

Black construction firms have been chosen to build a new Friends Center in Philadelphia which will house the national office of the AFSC, the Friends General Conference, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and other Friends groups.

"PHILADELPHIA FRIENDS have undertaken to give employment to as many minority workers as possible on this project," according to George D. Batcheler, Jr., chairman of the committee in charge of the project. "It is not enough to employ contractors who use some minority workers. To overcome generations of inequity, affirmative action is needed. Black people should have the opportunity to provide management as well as labor."

It is estimated that 90 per cent of the workers on the project, which will cost \$1.5 million, will be black.

AFSC and other Friends groups were forced to move from the site last year by Philadelphia's Redevelopment Authority because of street widening.

"AS FAR AS WE KNOW we are the only group in Philadelphia to make this experiment to this extent," George Batcheler said.

Friends have learned from recent studies that minority subcontractors need experience in order to develop expertise and a satisfactory history of being bonded to go on to large construction jobs. Such opportunities to gain experience will give more minority employment than any quota system.

•"OBSOLETE" LIFE INSURANCE•

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value for it. Or if requested, the AFSC could hold the policy until maturity.

A lifetime gift to AFSC of ownership of an insurance policy entitles the donor to an immediate income tax deduction. For a paid-up policy, this deduction would be equal to the replacement cost of the policy; for a policy on which premiums remain to be paid the

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How do you go about contributing an insurance policy? All you need do is mail the policy to us together with a letter stating your wish to contribute it to the Service Committee. We will then send an insurance company form to you for your signature. That will complete the gift.

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to which distributions may be made from the fund.

This method offers a simplified way for donors to private foundations to avoid the costs and difficulties of administering private foundations while continuing to be involved in the ultimate distribution of the funds of the private foundations.

For further information and/or technical advice please write to American Friends Service Committee, Attention Arthur C. Ritz, 160 North 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102.

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