



Lou Schneider

New AFSC Exec. Sec'y Appointed

On June 1, Louis W. Schneider will become executive secretary of the American Friends Service Committee, the eighth person to hold that post. He succeeds Bronson P. Clark who is retiring after six years of service.

Schneider was born in Brooklyn, New York, attended New York public schools and graduated from Columbia College before obtaining a degree in theology from Union Theological Seminary in 1938. That year he was ordained by the Middle Atlantic Conference of Congregational-Christian Churches and served as minister of the Morse Mere Community Church in Ridgefield, New Jersey, from 1938-1941. He joined the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) in 1946.

In 1942, Schneider became a camp administrator in wartime Civilian Public Service camps for conscientious objectors operated by the American Friends Service Committee, beginning a 32-year period of service with the Quaker agency which he is now to head. He became Assistant Director of Civilian Public Service in 1944 and the following year became Assistant Personnel Secretary for AFSC, and head of personnel in 1946. From 1948 to 1950, he served as European Commissioner in the AFSC Foreign Service Section and from 1950-1951 as Director of the Korea program. From 1951 to 1960 he was Assistant Secretary and then Secretary of the Foreign Service Section. In 1960, he became Associate Executive Secretary with responsibility for program administration, a post he now holds.

Lou Schneider's foreign travels for the AFSC began in 1948 when he became AFSC's European Commissioner and brought him over the years to 38 countries, including a wartime visit for AFSC international service work to Hanoi in December 1969 to January 1970.

Schneider is a Trustee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends and a member of Representative Meeting of that body. He and his wife Frances, who is a teacher at Westtown Friends School, are members of Uwchlan Monthly Meeting of Friends in Downingtown, Pennsylvania. They have three children.

Lou Schneider's appointment was announced at the AFSC's January Board meeting, following a search throughout the whole organization and with suggestions from U.S. and overseas staff for a new executive secretary.

AFSC Trio Captive in Vietnam

On January 22, 1974, Diane Jones and two other AFSC staff from Quang Ngai Rehabilitation Center in South Vietnam were captured by National Liberation Forces of North Vietnam. The three people were held captive for twelve days. The following is a condensation of Diane's account of their experience.

"I was about 150 yards from the My Lai camp, my two colleagues some distance behind with our one motorcycle. Suddenly, three guerrilla soldiers stood up 20 yards from me and shouted, 'Come here, come here!' I really couldn't believe what was happening. These were people wearing guerrilla uniforms and Ho Chi Minh sandals and badges. I was marched down a narrow path to a small thatched house with people wandering in and out. The other two AFSC people arrived, under guard, shortly after.

"After dark, our arms were tied and we were taken on a long boat ride. We had one scary moment when a flare lit up the sky and our boats slipped in close to the bank among bushes as we all hunched over waiting for the light to die. It finally died and no shooting started, so we moved on. Eventually, we arrived at land again and were taken to a village where there were many guerrillas.



So You Think You Have Gasoline Problems!

Excerpts from a letter to AFSC in Philadelphia from AFSC in Quang Ngai, Vietnam:

"This morning I had my first experience of buying gas through the new rationing system. Wishing to avoid the crush of vehicles and people which builds up by ten o'clock or so, I skipped breakfast and zoomed down to the Esso station at around 7.30 a.m. The vehicles lined up were fairly numerous but could not be called a crush. But the people crowding around the screened office were already three-deep and clamoring.

"People had handed in their green ration cards, and the system seemed to be that one by one the man would take one, glance at it, choose a slip of paper from one of several heaps on the table, write a number on it, then hand it with the ration card to the boy, who would call someone's name and take money from them through the heavy steel screening and issue them their card and slip, and change if necessary. With the slip one could receive gasoline.

"Many ration cards seemed to have several layers, and I realized people were circumventing the ration-

"The Vietnamese are very talkative, alert, political people. The main conversation topics were the cease-fire and national liberation, the latter a subject you don't talk about in South Vietnam. As we were Americans and could speak Vietnamese, they were especially eager to talk to us. Their initial comment was usually rather hostile:

"What are you Americans doing here now that the cease-fire's been signed for a year? We thought the cease-fire meant that all Americans would get out of Vietnam."

"Of course, everyone at first suspected we were working for the U.S. government, that we were CIA agents.

"We heard artillery fire every night from Saigon forces. Aside from that, life in general looked surprisingly normal in the NLF areas. We visited one small village where we were offered Tet (New Year) cakes and tea. We had plenty to eat. People looked very

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Religious Rights Upheld in Court

Judge Clarence C. Newcomer, a federal judge in Philadelphia, recently handed down what may be a landmark decision. He declared unconstitutional the withholding tax provision of the Internal Revenue Code when such withholding by an employer violates religious beliefs of an employee.

The decision came in a case brought jointly by the AFSC and two of its employees. Lorraine Cleveland and Leonard Cadwallader, who has since left the Committee, maintained that as religious pacifists they were conscientiously opposed to paying the portion of their taxes used for military purposes. Supporting their concerns, AFSC remitted out of its own funds the equivalent of the full amount it had not collected from the two employees.

As she and her late husband had done every year since 1949, Mrs. Cleveland sent a check for taxes owed to a non-military agency such as the Children's Bureau instead of to the Internal Revenue Service. Her check was returned and IRS subsequently collected the delinquent taxes plus six per cent interest and penalties from her and Cadwallader by attaching their bank accounts. IRS in effect collected twice. So the court ruled that a \$574.09 refund must be paid by the government to AFSC.

Noting that "Quakers make no distinction between an offensive and a defensive war: both are equally objectionable," Judge Newcomer ruled that the withholding method of tax collection deprived AFSC employees of the possibility of confronting the government directly on their religious refusal to pay.

"The government has failed to establish that its interest in the use of the withholding method of collecting taxes is so great that it outweighs the religious interests which the plaintiffs seek to protect," said the judge. "This is indeed a unique and difficult case."

The Federal Government asked for a 60-day extension in filing its appeal, but AFSC attorneys are opposing the extension which could delay the hearing on the appeal until after the summer recess of the U.S. Supreme Court.

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Adventure in Learning

By JUDY GOTTSEGEN
Director of Education Program,
Chicago Regional Office

For several years the AFSC Chicago education staff has lent support to the Alternative School movement to help maximize its influence on public education. I think the time has come to give a progress report on this work.

The belief continues to prevail that learning will not occur in a situation where neither grades nor punishment are applied. Discipline is still thought of as an external measure to be applied to recalcitrant children rather than as a measure to help children develop self-control. These repressive realities, present in both inner city and suburban schools, form the environment in which students are expected to learn. Absorbed by students along with the three r's, they constitute a pervasive "hidden curriculum" against which the alternative schools are speaking.

What is most basic about alternative schools for both the street academies serving inner city youth and the "free schools" which serve children from more middle class communities is that they are schools for children. What does one see at such schools? Children curled up in corners looking at picture books. Others, intent on learning to read, clustered around their teachers.

Older children have made the neighborhood their classroom. They can be found scouting the alleys

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Captive in Vietnam

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healthy—a real contrast to the situation we'd seen on the Saigon side. There we saw people who did not have enough to eat and who were confined to a small camp surrounded by barbed wire. The Saigon government does not permit people to leave the village camp to farm the land, as that land is controlled by the NLF. In the camps they grow a little manioc and sweet potato; they eat no rice at all. If anyone has enough money to go into town and buy rice for the village, it is usually confiscated by the South Vietnamese soldiers who say that the people will give it to the Viet Cong (NLF).

"The Oxfam representative in Saigon has been doing a study of malnutrition in Central Vietnam. He is organizing with the Buddhist Church to start measuring the arm circumferences of small children to see if malnutrition is getting markedly worse. He suspects it is.

"Basically, the problem is political and not economic. The reason these people are being kept in camps is because the countryside is controlled by the NLF, even though the Peace Agreement guarantees free movement.

"We talked to a Buddhist monk in Quang Ngai Province. He said: 'Look, I'm a Buddhist monk and those are my people out there. My first concern is for their welfare. What you've got to do is stop American aid. It's the aid that is keeping those people in the camps. To help those people, stop American aid.' Then Saigon would have to let the people leave the camps and they could return to their land to farm it."

Diane and her husband, Michael, spent over two years in Vietnam for AFSC.



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MOTSU Project members block arms transport

Court Hears Case re Arms to Vietnam

From High Point Regional Office

On September 26, 1973, a complaint was filed in Wilmington, North Carolina's Eastern District Federal Court, by thirteen North Carolina taxpayers and four Congresspeople. Its purposes were to enjoin the U.S. State and Defense Departments from shipping arms and munitions from North Carolina's Military Ocean Terminal at Sunny Point to Vietnam, at the expense of U.S. taxpayers and in the face of the 1973 Vietnam ceasefire; and from continuing to finance the war in Indochina. The complaint points out that the activities are in direct contravention of Public Laws 3-50, 93-52 and of the Spending Clause under Article 1 of the U.S. Constitution. Defendants include Secretary of State Kissinger, Secretary of Defense Schlesinger, Secretary of the Treasury Schultz and Director of the Central Intelligence Agency Colby.

The complaint states that the so-called Phoenix Program, whose purpose was to destroy Vietnamese people, and which was theoretically discontinued in 1973, in fact still operates but under a different name, funded and directed by the C.I.A. Similarly, the automated air war in Indochina now operates under the direction of the Department of Defense whose employees now wear civilian, rather than military, clothes.

The suit has been instituted on behalf of the Indochinese people and "in accordance with our conscience and the laws of humanity," reads the accompanying statement. "We cannot allow our material and intellectual resources to be used in creating mechanical devices which proclaim the benefits of democracy in mega-tons. Neither can we afford to rationalize the death of even one human being for the sake of political expediency."

Although it would seem logical to assume that the activities at the Ocean Terminal had been reduced to a great extent as a result of the Vietnam ceasefire agreements, in actuality just the opposite has occurred. During the past nine months, MOTSU has been operating at full capacity. Three to six ships now load simultaneously, hauling approximately 7,500 tons of munitions each week from Sunny Point to Indochina.

The MOTSU project was formed in December 1972, by AFSC and several like-minded organizations, as an effort to increase public awareness about the functions of the Ocean Terminal and the scope of North Carolina's complicity in the continuing destruction of the Indochinese people.

A hearing took place on February 13, 1974, as the result of the U.S. Government's motion to dismiss the suit. A ruling on the motion is expected in the spring of 1974.

Gas Shortage . . .

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ing by buying several individual daily amounts all for the same vehicle. I only had one card, thus could buy only the ten litres which my one January 14th square afforded me; but others could buy as many times this individual ration as they had different cards!

"I waited for several minutes without being able to make anyone take notice of me and take my ration card. Some others, in the same fix, were shoving their folded cards through the screening and letting them fall to the floor. [There was a] towering heap of cards. At around eight o'clock things got going. The head man pulled the electric switch which turned on the pumps outside. Then he began working on the ration cards. People were getting their gas. But with what agonizing slowness! Over and over [the crowd would exclaim, "Slow! Brother! How long do we have to wait? It's too late to use any gas now!]

"It was the friendly faces in the crowd who called attention to me. [The man] gave me a winning smile 'Ah, the American!' I said, 'Put my card underneath if you wish.' I didn't want to get priority treatment just by being American. The crowd asked, 'Why make yourself wait so long?' I told them, 'First come, first served.' The echo ran around the assembled multitude: 'First come, first served. Did you hear that First come, first served.' The American said, 'First come, first served.'"

"Not wishing to be caught in an illegality, and unsure of what the method was, but mostly because I had enough for only the allowed quantity of ten litres I said 'Ten litres.' The crowd howled: 'Ten litres! He waits all this time to buy ten litres!' I paid my money, got my card and in three minutes was rolling home."



Conscientious Objector is Grateful for AFSC Help

A letter to Bronson Clark, enclosing a contribution to AFSC:

"Some years back I went to a Friends draft counsel to see how I went about getting a conscientious objection approved. After some travail I did get C.O. and the counselor proved invaluable. I never paid anyone a cent. Of course I didn't have to pay many cents to pay (nor for that matter do I now but, well, no one ever asked.

"You trusted me when I didn't have any money. I suspect I can afford to trust you now that I do."



Tulalip Indians fishing in Puget Sound Photo: Robert and Edith Worth

Court Rules Indians Have Right to Fish

By JOHN WILLARD, Associate Executive Secretary, Seattle Regional Office

In 1970, developing out of nearly twenty years of acquaintance with American Indian communities in the State of Washington, the AFSC published a study of Indian fishing rights deriving from various treaties signed more than 100 years ago. The book, *UNCOMMON CONTROVERSY*, traces the struggle of fishing tribes to maintain their unique fishing rights in the face of increasing pressures from an industrialized, populous society. More than 13,000 copies have been printed. Wide use of the book has been made in college and university courses both at home and abroad. Attorneys and judges in Washington especially have made use of the book, and it has been quoted in numerous court decisions.

In February, 1974, U.S. District Court Judge George H. Boldt upheld the Indian fishing rights guaranteed under century-old treaties in Western Washington. The case was brought by the federal government and 14 Indian tribes against the state, contending it had not fully recognized rights secured by Indians in treaties with the U.S. in the 1850's.

The power of the state to regulate off-reservation Indian net fishing is limited to preservation of fish runs, and does not include the power to determine for Indian tribes what is the wisest or best use of their share of the fish, the judge ruled. He declared unlawful the application of present state laws and regulations to restrict the time, place, manner and volume of the harvest of anadromous (ascending rivers from the sea to spawn) fish by treaty Indian tribes.

Judge Boldt said that more than a century of frequent and sometimes violent controversy between Indians and non-Indians over treaty-right fishing has resulted in deep distrust and animosity on both sides. He said: "This Court believes high priority should be given to further improvement in communication . . ."

The AFSC believes Judge Boldt's decision may be a watershed—both for Indian fishing rights and for AFSC Indian program directions in the Pacific Northwest. The Boldt decision opens the opportunity for Indians to achieve a more reasonable and independent economic base.

Undoubtedly there will be aggressive efforts by some to overturn the court ruling, or at least to weaken it in the process of implementation. During a recent demonstration of non-Indian fishermen before the Federal Court-house, 700 protesting sport fishermen hanged the judge in effigy. State Game and Fisheries officials, commercial and sport fishermen, and a few state legislators have joined in the clamor to denounce the ruling. Yet for years Indian fishermen have been subjected to clubbings, arrest, and property confiscation by state enforcement agents as the Indians exercised treaty rights promised by the U.S. and now re-affirmed by the Court.

The nation is becoming painfully aware of the limitations of its national resources and the limits to the damage which science and technology can repair. In this case, the fishermen—Indian, commercial, and sport—have an obvious common interest in conserving the fish and the environment in which they spawn and develop. Destruction of water resources by urbanization and industrialization could, in time, reduce all fishing resources to token levels. Indians are among those leading the fight against this destructive trend.

To build upon that which is held in common may very well be the key to opening better communication among the various interests. It offers a challenge to the AFSC. Seeking ways of establishing such communication among divided parties is not new to the Committee. Indeed it has been the focus of many domestic and international programs during the life of the AFSC. The Indian Committee of the Pacific Northwest Region is looking for a way to be helpful in the latest twist to an uncommon controversy.

Citizens Meet to Thwart Energy Crisis

"The oil companies have created an energy crisis just as though it were another campaign of full-page advertisements or television spectacles—and with the same goal in mind: more profit," said Dr. Barry Commoner, board chairman of the Scientists' Institute for Public Information. Dr. Commoner was speaking to 1200 people attending the Citizens' Energy Conference held February 15 to 18 in Washington, D.C.

The Service Committee was one of 137 sponsoring organizations for the citizens' conference. This was part of the AFSC response to the latest assault on poor people, whose interests are being almost totally disregarded in official decisions and public discussions around the energy crisis.

Apart from long lines at the gas station, the oil crisis has hurt millions of people. Low income

tenants suffered a winter with inadequate heat, or no heat at all, plus rent hikes they could not afford to pay. Low income workers and minority workers bear the heaviest burden of plant shutdowns and cutbacks. Native Americans face redoubled threats to their lands and water resources from strip mining and oil shale exploitation. Old people, especially those in rural areas, are further cut off from access to medical services and food programs because of transportation difficulties.

The Citizens' Energy Conference provided a forum where citizen activists and organizers from around the country could exchange ideas and information, and work out their own plans and alliances for confronting energy problems at national, state, and local levels.

UPDATE

The first sawmill, of AFSC's shipment of three, has arrived in Vientiane, Laos. AFSC will give a course in sawmill use, every week day, from 8 a.m. to 11 a.m., to twelve Laotians on the Pathet Lao side. Agricultural equipment has arrived in Haiphong for shipment to the PRG in South Vietnam.

Two resolutions were submitted, on behalf of the B-1 Bomber Peace Conversion Campaign (AFSC and Clergy and Laity Concerned), to the General Electric stockholders' meeting in Chicago, to go on proxy ballots to shareholders: (1) enjoining G.E. from producing any ecologically destructive substance, and (2) requesting that the amount of fuel G.E. products consume be made public. G.E. rejected both resolutions. An appeal was filed by the B-1 Campaign with the Security and Exchange Commission in New York, who ruled in favor of AFSC/CALC. The Commission has written to G.E. criticizing them for their action.

From March 4th to April 15th, Mike Simmons and Bessie Williamson of the AFSC national office and Frank Sifuentes, formerly of the Pasadena office, took part in an AFSC travel seminar in India. The object: to acquaint Third World people involved in U.S. social change with another culture and for them to bring back their new perspective to AFSC.

Three Australian Aborigines, Lilla Watson, age 33, from Brisbane; Ricky Clay, age 17, from North Queensland; and John Bales, age 17, from Brisbane arrived in the U.S. and Canada this spring, for a six-months' stay. The trip is sponsored by AFSC and Friends' groups. The idea is for the visitors to learn community organizing skills as they work with social action groups here, skills they can take home with them.

From June 17 to July 27, college volunteers will be working at PACT House (Prisoners and Community Together, in northwest Indiana), on a variety of projects, including a "People's Park" (on the adjacent vacant lot), and maintenance work on the house itself.

As a result of the publicity of "Prison Letters of Thomas Crowder" (published by AFSC) and of a prisoners' rights law suit (in which AFSC participated), Thomas Crowder, an inmate of Indiana State Prison, has been released from solitary confinement—after four years—and the seclusion unit itself has been abolished.

The Leadership Development for Public Service program, begun a year ago in Indianapolis, has been co-sponsored by the AFSC and Indiana-Purdue University. The leadership course at the university has trained more than 100 persons so far and placed approximately one-third of these in decision-making roles on boards and committees. Marian College in the Indianapolis area will soon co-sponsor another course with AFSC.

In the administration of the Supplemental Security Income program, many inequities occur, according to several AFSC staff members. Recently in Seattle, a paraplegic was kept waiting for four hours while his eligibility status as a disabled person was determined. In many places, people—blind, elderly or disabled—are not told that they can get the \$100 advance payment to which they are entitled, and Indians in some areas are not getting their rightful state benefits.

INDOCHINA: "...THE CAUSE OF THE ILLNESS"

Ordeal of Cambodia: An Eyewitness Report

By RUSSELL JOHNSON
Coordinator, Special Programs,
Cambridge Regional Office

In the early 1960's I made several visits to Cambodia, usually from Saigon, and was struck by the increasing contrast between the impact of expanding war in South Vietnam and the tranquility of Phnom Penh, the capital city. Situated at the junction of the Mekong River and the outlet of the Tonle Sap, the Great Lake, Phnom Penh was distinguished by its broad, tree-lined boulevards, glittering tile-roofed royal palace compound, and the leisurely pace of its life. In those days the temples of Angkor attracted many tourists to Siem Reap, site of the Golden Age of the Khmer kingdom, enshrined in sandstone near the Tonle Sap.

Resistance to SEATO

Under Prince Norodom Sihanouk, chief of state and architect of Cambodia's independence from France, social development and foreign policy which were essentially non-violent, non-communist and non-aligned prevailed in a region where U.S. policy was seeking to "contain" China through the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO). SEATO provided for U.S. and allied defense commitments to Cambodia's immediate neighbors: South Vietnam, Laos and Thailand. Prince Sihanouk resisted American pressure to join this alliance and thereby incurred the enmity of U.S. geopolitical and military strategists which ultimately resulted in a military coup which deposed him on March 18, 1970, while he was abroad.

Charges Untrue

The war in Vietnam overflowed into Cambodia and charges were made and rebutted that the Prince was aiding the North Vietnamese and the National Liberation Front by providing rest-camps, sanctuaries and the shipment of arms through the port of Sihanoukville on the Gulf of Siam. As a member of a group called "Americans Want To Know", I visited Cambodia in September, 1966, to verify these charges. Using maps and charts from U.S. military sources, our group went to the areas specified and discovered no evidence to support the accusations. Prince Sihanouk said that he viewed the D.R.V. and N.L.F. forces as counterparts of my colonial ancestors of 1776 and the American troops in Vietnam in the role of the British and their allies trying to put down the American revolution. He believed that when the U.S. got out and peace was re-



Bombed out section of Phnom Penh, Cambodia

stored, the Vietnamese would respect the territorial integrity of his homeland. He knew that his small army could not keep the Vietnamese out of Cambodia as long as the war continued.

CIA Plot Cited

The intensity of the war in Vietnam increased, as did U.S. involvement, and the position of non-aligned Cambodia became more precarious. Then in March, 1970, occurred the coup which brought Marshal Lon Nol into power and turned the hitherto peaceful kingdom of Cambodia into an arena of bloody war. Prince Sihanouk has alleged that the C.I.A. bears heavy responsibility for his ouster. He had in 1965 given me precise details of a C.I.A.-supported plot to overthrow him in 1959, which had been foiled. At any rate, when I visited a government official in Phnom Penh in early June of 1970, while U.S. combat troops were still in the country, he asked when the U.S. was going to deliver all the material and military assistance that had been promised. His view was that Vietnamese forces were trying to take over Cambodia and that Prince Sihanouk had been duped by them. This is the rationale for the coup which the Lon Nol government persisted in using until mid-1973 when it was obvious to all observers that Cambodians are fighting Cambodians.

Sihanouk Warning Ignored

In August, 1971, I met Prince Sihanouk in Peking, his exile home since 1970 and the seat of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia (GRUNC), the united front of which he is head of state, consisting of his followers and members of the Khmer Rouge, the Communist Party of Cambodia. Ieng Sary, a prominent official of the Khmer Rouge, had just joined him in Peking. Prince Sihanouk was at the same time distressed at the growing suffering of the people by the war and encouraged at the progress being made by the Front. The Prince acknowledged the uncertainty of his own position in a re-unified Cambodia and urged us to inform President Nixon that if the U.S. were to live with a non-communist Cambodia in the future, peace should be made at once with him, while he was still able to influence the situation. "Otherwise," he warned, "Cambodia will surely come under the rule of the Khmer Rouge." I passed on this advice through Senator Ed-

U.S. Aid to Vietnam Hurts

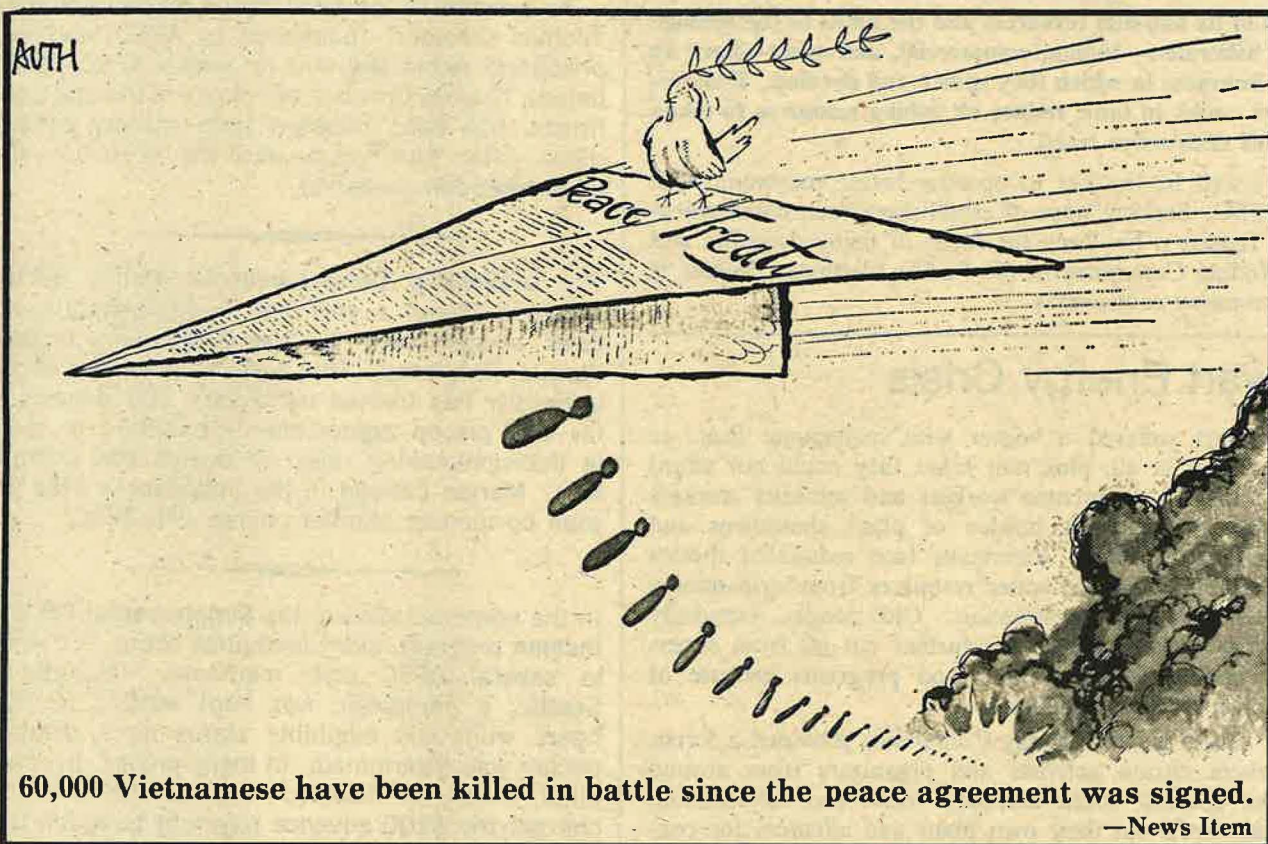
"Forgetting is unhealthy when the cause of the illness remains and is still not understood." Anthony Lewis, in writing that in the New York Times, observed that it is, therefore, necessary to "resist America's weary indifference to the facts of life in Indochina." The facts are:

- More than 1,000,000 South Vietnamese killed, wounded or made refugees since the "ceasefire".
- Half of Cambodia's 6,000,000 population now made refugees.
- More Vietnamese killed in one year of "ceasefire" than U.S. war dead throughout the Vietnam war.
- Eighty per cent of the war budgets of Vietnam's Thieu and Cambodia's Lon Nol paid by U.S. taxpayers—the planes, the bombs, the bullets, the prisons and the U.S. observers and technicians in civilian clothes . . . still, in 1974.

Why?

Most Americans wanted the war over and were relieved when U.S. troops, pilots and POWs came home. But the war did not end and it is as murderous as ever because basic U.S. intervention goals are unchanged. With other people doing the dying, it has proved hard for many Americans to keep an interest in the war and for AFSC peace education to evoke that interest. The moral distinction between war fought by Americans and war fought by proxy may be slim. Yet Indochina blurs into the many issues calling on the conscience and energies of religious and political organizations.

AFSC Peace Education staff work to reawaken the national conscience about Indochina and to focus it



Reprinted courtesy of The Philadelphia Inquirer

SS REMAINS AND IS NOT UNDERSTOOD."

ward Brooke. But U.S. policy remained unchanged.

U.S. Military Build-up Continues

Direct U.S. troop involvement in Cambodia lasted from May through June, 1970. U.S. bombing continued thereafter until mid-August, 1973. Estimates place the cost of this bombing support for Lon Nol forces up to the cut-off at approximately \$1 million per day. The U.S. also built up the supply of military equipment and supplies for Lon Nol anticipating the end of direct intervention. As 1973 came to an end, Phnom Penh was almost completely cut off except by air from the outside and observers expected the capital to fall. Factions within Phnom Penh hitherto on the side of Lon Nol became disenchanted, defections increased and instances of internal repression were reported. Corruption scandals multiplied. Hundreds of thousands of refugees poured into the city. The cost of living skyrocketed as shortages grew. An attempt to bomb the Presidential palace by a disgruntled T28 fighter-bomber pilot of Lon Nol's airforce missed its principal target and he remained in power, his main support the U.S. embassy, despite the admission by departing ambassador Emory Swank: [the conflict is] "losing more and more of its point and having less and less meaning to any of the people involved."

Refugees Crowd Phnom Penh

"The situation is terrible" were the first words we heard after our arrival in Phnom Penh. During our brief stay we came to understand the full meaning of this simple phrase. We talked with American journalists stationed in the capital, with Cambodians we have known through the years and with others who are members of Lon Nol's Social Republican Party, and with third-country nationals who remain in the city. Phnom Penh is now crowded with two and a half million people, many of them refugees, and men and women in uniform are everywhere. We visited just one of many refugee camps, the never-completed Cambodiana Hotel whose lower floor and basement are now the squalid home for over 3000 persons. Barbed wire barricades wait alongside every street and the dull boom of exploding artillery shells fired by government forces into

the countryside can be heard day and night.

Capital Shelled

On February 4, I was in the American embassy talking with Paul F. Gardner, Military and Political Counsellor. He had been telling me that the only reason the U.S. was supporting Lon Nol was to help the Cambodian people freely determine their own destiny and persuade the insurgents that there must be a negotiated settlement. I remembered that President Nixon at the time of U.S. intervention in 1970 had justified it solely to protect the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam. Now it appeared that the rationale had shifted. Suddenly an explosion sounded just outside the window; then another, and alarm bells began to ring; embassy staff rushed to the bunkered central area of the embassy and I joined them. All embassy families had been evacuated weeks before and those staff who have remained recognize the risks involved. Half an hour later I ventured out to the street and learned that twenty 105mm shells had hit near the embassy but had missed what must be a prime target. Eight persons had been killed in the presidential palace yard across the street. Looking to the southwest I saw huge clouds of black smoke in the sky and learned later that shells had hit a market and residential area where small wood and thatch homes of workers had burst into flames, wiping out an area of almost a mile square and killing several hundred persons, mostly women and children. When we visited the site of the fire the next morning we saw survivors searching through smoking ruins and many persons still in a state of shock. Anger was expressed at the insurgents, coupled with a sense of hopelessness. Newsmen on the scene were aghast and no doubt their reports evoked sympathy for the innocent victims, while one of them admitted that he was unable to witness at first hand the death and destruction in the countryside

caused by government shelling and bombing of villages. The war goes on and senseless loss of life mounts week by week. The ordeal of Cambodia is an ever-present reality for its seven million citizens although quite remote to the Americans whose taxes keep the war going.

Policy Statement Issued

In March, 1973 Prince Sihanouk accompanied by his wife and a sizeable official party entered the insurgent-held area of Cambodia and held meetings with the three members of his government operating within Cambodia: Khieu Samphan, Hou Youn and Hu Nim. A mass rally was held in the Koulin mountains near Angkor on March 23, which was very embarrassing to the Lon Nol government. On July 19, 1973 a National Congress was held in the "liberated zone" and a policy statement addressed in part to "the U.S. people and peace-loving Americans" was issued. It emphasized the peaceful, gentle character of the Cambodian people, their desire for peaceful coexistence with their neighbors and their commitment to true peace and neutrality." The whole statement was moderate in tone.

Why Not Cambodia?

If, as now seems likely, American policy is reconciled to peace in Laos with a coalition government coming into being which observers there with whom we spoke are certain will be ultimately dominated by the Pathet Lao, counterpart of the N.L.F. in South Vietnam and the Khmer Rouge . . . then why not Cambodia? It is U.S. military and economic aid to Lon Nol which prolongs the ordeal of Cambodia. It must be cut off now. One of our informants in Phnom Penh declared that his network's Pentagon source had discovered that Secretary Kissinger has laid the groundwork for sixty days of intensive bombing of Cambodia if it appears that Phnom Penh is apt to fall. Each day the war continues, this appalling prospect comes closer.

arts Vietnamese People

on the policy decisions now being made. If Congress accedes to Administration requests for \$3 billion military and economic aid to Thieu and Lon Nol, the American people face an unending moral, financial, political, and military burden.

Peace people today are saying: stop all U.S. aid to Thieu, because no matter whether you call it humanitarian or not, it ends up being used to kill, imprison, or control Vietnamese, rather than bring them peace. Peace people are warning that public statements by Pentagon planners have kept open the option of renewed U.S. bombing in Indochina. They are urging people to read the Vietnam peace agreements and ask why Saigon, with U.S. backing, won't carry them out.

AFSC is particularly concerned for the fate of some 200,000 political prisoners held in sub-human conditions by Thieu. Many are activists in the independent third force and, according to the Peace Agreement, should be free to play a crucial reconciliation role.

The various national peace organizations have united in a campaign to introduce the Indochina Peace Resolution to thousands of community and religious groups. Widespread adoption will show Congress that while Indochina is not their first priority, still most Americans are opposed to the new forms of U.S. intervention and will never accept the return of our combat forces. (Text and background available from AFSC offices or the Indochina Program in the national office.)

Twenty years ago, on June 8, 1954, the Board of Directors of AFSC warned of the "disaster" of U.S. intervention in Indochina. With enough effort now, that warning could soon be laid down.



Prisoners in South Vietnam

Editorial: BELIEFS MADE MANIFEST

As I turn my responsibilities over to Lou Schneider, who succeeds me as Executive Secretary of the AFSC, my reflections center around the phrase "beliefs into action." Certainly the great religious and philosophical leaders and writers have made clear the concepts to be implemented, if we would improve the quality of life and ensure the survival of the human family on the planet.

My association with ASFC makes it possible for me to give a clear affirmation that the "ocean of light" still overcomes the darkness; an affirmation based not on speculation but on my AFSC experience in small but important ways. Let me recall some examples.

A German who as a child was given milk distributed by Quakers during the desperate years after World War I, opens a Berlin bank account in 1971 to the credit of AFSC's Quang Ngai program. With no more than a modest "letter to the editor" reminding his fellow Germans who the Quakers are, and the needs in Vietnam, thousands of dollars—all given anonymously—pour in.

A group of Native Americans in Maine are demoralized by a loss of identity, by their powerlessness and their constant struggle against poverty and alcoholism. AFSC efforts in Maine are now wholly centered in the Passamaquoddy tribe who have gone far beyond a producers-co-op we once tried to help create. They have organized timber cutting crews, employment formerly the monopoly of white labor contractors working for the paper companies. And the tribe now controls its own schools. Last year, with tribal economies improved, more than a dozen houses were built by self-help Indian crews employing "Sweat Equity", which utilizes the owner's labor as the down payment. Hope has begun to replace despair, dignity supplants paralyzing inferiority, and group effort offsets alienation and powerlessness.

These examples could be multiplied many times from the reports which cross my desk daily.

In these reflections I think back to the tragic war in Vietnam—to the wasted land, the wasted people and the wasted years. Yet in all the terrible carnage which still goes on and for which we as Americans must carry a great responsibility—even in that hell are lessons of hope and love.

The tender care that has been given by the Quaker team at Quang Ngai to the civilian victims of the war was noticed by Vietnamese leadership on all sides of the conflict. In spite of the terrible punishment our modern weaponry daily caused, we were able to develop real and genuine friendships on all sides of the war. This has given us a sense of a basic human goodness that bodes well for the future of Vietnam, should that unhappy country be freed from the effects of the larger power struggle.

Day after day—for the past six years from my vantage point as AFSC Executive Secretary—I have watched workers in the AFSC family witness to the great religious axioms which thus were manifest:

■ *That each individual is of divine worth and carries within the ability to see the same divine worth in others.*

■ *That each individual can develop cooperative and group relationships which can remake the quality of life.*

■ *That individuals and thus groups expressing nonviolence and love can overcome violence, hatred, force, and in the last analysis, war itself.*

To have been a small part of making beliefs manifest has been enriching and rewarding. I have felt uplifted and strengthened in my own inner life. For this, I give my heartfelt appreciation.

Bronson P. Clark

BRONSON P. CLARK
Executive Secretary

Education . . .

continued from page 2

for building materials, graphing the surrounding area for lessons in geography and math, rising before dawn to travel to the forest preserves for first-hand observation of animal habits, and, always, communicating through newspapers, theater games, and videotapes.

And what has AFSC been doing in support of all this? Our work began in August 1971 with the first issue of the *New School News*, an alternative schools newsletter in which common concerns are discussed and, through whose ads a clearing house of information for the midwestern alternative education community is presented.

This spring we are sponsoring our second gala "festival of educational alternatives," this time focusing directly on public education. We hope to stimulate the development of a network of innovative public school people to help each other with the changing educational scene.

Slowly we are coming to realize that Chicago just might be a city in which the alternative school movement will survive and influence the public school system. Listen to what some of the students have said:

"It was an experience being out of public school and not having people order you about."

"I learned how to take care of myself."

"I am happy at our school because teachers care more about me learning."



Drawing by Gerry Henry

Women in Prison— How Just is Justice?

By MARY NORRIS

Women in Prison Project, Cambridge Regional Office

We began in 1972 as a small collective of women concerned about the problems of women trapped within the criminal justice system. Most New England programs for prisoners and parolees were for men, while women in the system were getting little or no help. We supported the major goals of Massachusetts' strong ex-prisoner movement: getting people out of the system, trying to create alternatives to incarceration so that prisons can be closed; and working for greater self-determination of people at each stage, from court through parole.

Outsiders who want to support prisoners tend to come with their own agendas for action. To avoid this, we arranged to meet weekly with women inside Framingham Prison for Women, hoping that through very careful listening we could take our priorities from them. We developed strategies together and gave prisoners support and access to community resources. We called ourselves the Prisoner-Community Action Group, and made certain that prisoners and community people were present when decisions were made and that prisoners had the leadership in all discussions with officials.

Our particular concern was to support women in the prison when it became co-educational, since women were tense about the arrival of male guards and related policy changes. We now meet with both men and women, but continue to focus on the special problems of women.

There are real differences in treatment. For example, women often have fewer job skills than men, yet receive less job training in prison. They are met with special requirements for parole: men can live where they choose, but most women must live with an "approved" person or family. Women often face custody battles for their children and may have to struggle for years with the welfare department to prove they are "fit" mothers. Women usually receive indeterminate sentences, often resulting in shorter prison terms than men have, but much longer time on parole and with less support while they are on the street.

One of the worst problems at Framingham is the systematic encouragement of dependency in the prison. Women are called "girls", treated as children, "protected", and allowed to make almost no decisions. Anger is discouraged and rewards are given for "positive attitudes". The institution looks like a college campus, presents the appearance of freedom and the prevailing talk is that one should "be grateful for the chance to live in a beautiful and permissive institution". Women are often in prison for crimes stemming from dependency on others, and most institutional policies greatly increase that dependence—then the women are asked to live independently and make better decisions when they leave. They are seldom physically brutalized, but the systematic instilling of confusion, lack of confidence, and increased dependence are perhaps more ultimately destructive.

Our first year of activity focused largely on: finding desirable work-release or parole jobs (trying to get the institution to do the same); changing parole policies; preventing the sending of women to the state prison hospital for the "criminally insane"; improving health care; facilitating family planning; changing child custody policies; bringing officials to the prison to meet with prisoners. This year we are trying, still with prisoner direction, to broaden our work.

One primary focus is the Parolee Advocate Program. Two "advocates" are now working (one at AFSC) on problems women face when they come out on parole; and on trying to move agencies to open their services to women, instead of to men only.

The key to the process, we feel, is that the people who will be involved in all this work have themselves been through the system and know its problems much better than we do. We will continue to try to empower them to work for change.

What Indians are Doing to Help Other Indians

By ELIZABETH NELSON

AFSC Volunteer, San Francisco Regional Office

To develop workers who can serve urban Indian communities in counseling, rehabilitation, education and community organization—that is the purpose of the Mental Health Training Program for Urban Native Americans, which operates out of Inter-Tribal Friendship House in Oakland, California. The program is funded by the National Institute of Mental Health.

Carol Baxter is the director-supervisor of the program. She is blond and blue-eyed and won't have her picture taken "because I am not an Indian and don't look like one."

"Everybody—the director of Inter-Tribal Friendship House and the total management here—is Indian, except me," says Carol. "This project, like all others at Inter-Tribal, is for and by Indians. So my picture gives the wrong impression."

"Our clients," Carol says, "are people who are deeply troubled by problems not only in the larger society but also in their personal lives. . . . I'm not talking about all Indians . . . just the people we work with."

"We" consists of eight enthusiastic Native Americans who have been recruited to the program. In addition to studying psychology, sociology, anthropology, health education, social work and other fields at Oakland's Merritt College, the trainees visit community agencies, attend seminars and do seventeen hours of field work each week.

Each carries a caseload of about seven families, besides attending to the constant stream of "drop-ins" who come to Inter-Tribal Friendship House with problems ranging from school truancy, trouble with welfare, unemployment and having no place to live, to complicated medical and legal hassles.

"The thrust of our program is to reach out to people to improve their self-image, help them gain a sense of identity and to deal with their own personal attitudes, to overcome defeatism, and gain

Mexican Children Visit Pasadena Homes

From the Pasadena Regional Office

They've been called junior goodwill ambassadors, bridge-builders of understanding. For more than ten years, children from both sides of the U.S.-Mexican border have been experiencing inter-cultural friendships. They are Pasadena 5th and 6th graders and Mexican youngsters who make annual treks to each other's country in a program begun by AFSC's School Affiliation Service (SAS).

Back-and-forth visits began in 1963 when a group of Mexican teachers and children, with no idea of what they were starting, wondered if hospitality might be available in California homes. It was one of those things that began almost accidentally and developed into a joyous long-term program, now carried on entirely by volunteers. Mexican children visited Pasadena last December, and in early April a return visit was made. Pasadena children are selected from all its ethnic groups. Family friendships have de-



veloped over the years.

control of their own lives." The project opened two years ago with the encouragement and sponsorship of the AFSC. Ten trainees were selected and entered Merritt College. Two dropped out (one returned later), eight graduated in June, 1973, with Associate in Arts degrees.

Of the eight who graduated, five are now employed as social workers and two continued in school.

Now helping Carol administer the program are three graduates of the first training program.

A trainee from Montana, Betty Newbreast, perhaps best expresses the feelings of those under instruction at Inter-Tribal Friendship House: "All my life I've wanted to help my people. I've never been more satisfied."

veloped over the years.

Although the time and length of visits has varied, over 600 children have had this experience in the past ten years. They are selected, after personal interviews, on the basis of maturity, flexibility, interest and enthusiasm. Orientation sessions for children and parents prepare them for the adventure. Color slides are shown, simple Spanish or English is practiced, and anticipated needs are discussed.

Along with the fun and excitement of the visits, there have been the inevitable misunderstandings and homesickness, but the program has a 95% record of success measured by whether the child stays for the entire period. Adults accompany each group to help when problems arise.

Each child becomes a member of a host family, which is carefully selected, sharing in family activities and attending school with his or her adopted brothers and sisters. Learning a new language in a family setting can become a game, and communication often develops at deeper than verbal levels. When a Pasadena child was asked how she would let her Mexican mother know she was hungry, she responded, "She is my mother, she will know." Language facility has not been a determining factor in the success or failure of the program.

A question frequently asked is why children in the 10 to 12 year age group are selected for this visitation program. A statement in the Merrill-Palmer Quarterly (Vol. 9, No. 1) verifies this experience:

At this age the child is relatively free from international [stereotypes], yet adequately stamped with his own national culture. The child should be receptive . . . one who will get around and set up spontaneous inter-personal relations. The healthy 11-year-old is an outgoing person seeking experience with people and nature.

Youngsters can be depended upon to use their own language short-cuts. One young Pasadenan, anticipating his relationship with his Mexican brother, said: "He'll show me how he does things. Then I'll show him how I do things. Then we will do them together."



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Who Should Get Amnesty? Churches Help Air Issue

From the Middle Atlantic Region

"[We] do not need forgiveness . . . We are not criminals—we are only guilty of premature morality." From a letter written by Stanley Pietlock, a war resister living in exile in Canada, to his father.

Amnesty. When? Why? For whom? In February 1973, according to a Gallup poll, 67 per cent of Americans opposed amnesty for Vietnam war resisters. Yet in March 1974, a House Judiciary Sub-committee held hearings on 12 pieces of legislation ranging from no amnesty to universal, unconditional amnesty. In this atmosphere of greater concern for war-resisters, Pacem in Terris sponsored, in March 1974, a series of programs on amnesty involving several religious groups.

Pacem in Terris, a task force of the Delmarva Ecumenical Agency, provides ideas and materials on peace/war issues for examination within the religious community. Charles Zoeller, its executive director, is also on the peace education staff of AFSC's Middle Atlantic Region.

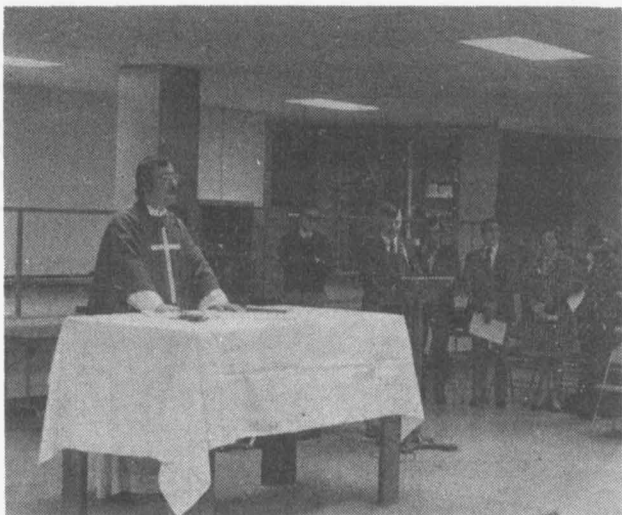
The amnesty work, which is funded in part by a \$3,890 grant from the Delaware Humanities Forum, has been in two parts. First, community discussion groups which meet at various churches—Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic and a Friends meeting, as well as at the Jewish Community Center. Discussions are led by academic humanists from such fields as philosophy, anthropology, literature and history.

Second, people are focusing more sharply on the amnesty question through the forum of public meetings. Participants so far have included representatives of the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the Central Committee on Conscientious Objectors. Panelists presented the case for amnesty from the perspective of imprisoned resisters, veterans with less-than-honorable discharges and exiles.

There is considerable audience participation at the meetings. At one, a scheduled speaker deferred to a member of the audience whose son was living in exile in Canada and who could speak about amnesty from a personal viewpoint.

Two mock ballots were carried out, one before and one after the same meeting. Comparative results showed, in part, six more people in favor of unconditional amnesty after the meeting than before.

Charles Zoeller believes that the more exposure amnesty gets, the more stimulated people will become to seek the best solutions to its problems. By way of evidence, Charles Zoeller cites a phone call he received from a Pacem in Terris board member. Now that he knows what amnesty is all about, the board member said, he thought it important to find out who else in the community might have a son in exile or in prison or suffering under the onus of a less-than-honorable discharge. He suggested that a census be undertaken by the local churches, possibly through their newsletters, so that amnesty can be explained to as many as possible. If enough people are informed and enough interest generated, letters to Congress-people could make an important difference in the final resolution of who should get amnesty, when and why.



Human Needs Curriculum Slated for Church Schools

By JERALD CIEKOT

Associate Director in Peace Education & Action Program, New York Metropolitan Region

Adult: "When there is a war, is one country usually right and the other one wrong?"

Child: "Africa would be wrong."

Adult: "How could you tell who is right?"

Child: "English is right because they don't want their friends to get dead."

The above exchange is an excerpt from research work done by Dr. Judith Torney in her efforts to discover the attitudes of children towards war. Although all the evidence may not be in, it is accumulating rather convincingly. Children, even at an early age, do have perceptions and ideas concerning war, its causes, and steps needed for its resolution. Political matters are, in fact, important to young people.

Moreover, it has now become clear that the attitudes and values which take shape during the pre-adult years do have a distinct impact on the political climate of the future. We are now educating those who in ten years will help shape our society—its political and social institutions, its pattern of law and justice, and the nature of its interaction with other nations. In a real sense, then, we are presently creating our own future through the kind of education with which we are now providing children.

It is in light of this knowledge that the New York Metropolitan Regional Office in its peace education work with churches is developing a "curriculum package" for church school teachers, focusing on the problems of interdependence, conflict, conscience, and war.

The fact of global interdependence has become increasingly clear. The key question is how we will resolve the problems we face—limited resources, increasing pollution, severe poverty and hunger amidst wealth and affluence. Is interdependence to be the backdrop for cooperation and peace, or for competition, injustice, violence, and war?

The curriculum will consist of eight lessons and will examine the values which underlie the decisions to be made and the goals to be achieved. Although the vision of a world of perfect harmony, justice and peace can serve as an ultimate goal, a more immediate vision is also needed, one that is seen as realizable and worthy of engagement.

Conflict will likely increase as the world becomes increasingly aware of its limits. Indoctrination with old clichés and narrowly nationalistic attitudes is no longer relevant or productive. A commitment to deal with international conflict without resort to war, and to uphold the inherent value of every individual is required. This curriculum aims at those goals.



Above: Jim Reeves' radio-telephone talk show, in which two wives of exiles—one pictured here—discussed amnesty.

At left: Church service in Wilmington, Delaware during which the priest at sermon time deferred to two members of the congregation . . . who spoke on amnesty.



THEY REALLY DIG IT! (Ground being broken for the new Friends Center, due for completion in 1975)

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