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THE WAR





History Of The War

By DAVID F. TRASK
Professor of History

The struggle in Vietnam proves once again the truth of the maxim that it is much easier to get into a fight than to get out of one. The Paris negotiations have now endured for about a year and a half—and no end appears in sight. Some critics of the war believe that the United States can close out its role in the struggle whenever it likes, but this just simply isn't the case. War has its way of entangling its instigators. Having committed itself politically to an unsound regime in Saigon and militarily to a ground war in Asia, the United States invited the present state of affairs. We must now pay for the error by enduring a degrading process of withdrawal which has to be extraordinarily slow and painful.

Two fundamental misconceptions misled the American government in its development of policy for Vietnam. One was the assumption that China posed a serious political military threat to the United States and that it was necessary to negate that threat in part by support of the Saigon regime. The second was the assumption that the United States had to respond to the tactic of "national wars of liberation" in Vietnam in order to discourage recourse to it in other parts of the world. But in fact, while China may pose a serious threat to the United States at some future point, the present danger is slight. Peking lacks both the domestic political tranquility and the military power to undertake extensive aggression beyond its present borders. As to the question of "frustrating wars of national liberation," Vietnam was the wrong place to achieve this object, and in any case the proper antidote to this technique may be political-economic in nature rather than military. The ironic result of the American initiative in Southeast Asia is that China wins a considerable political victory without committing major resources, and the technique of wars of national liberation gains new prestige. Our war policy contributed to the success of the trends it was designed to arrest. Whether he likes it or not, President Nixon now presides over a military setback. We have no alternative except to hasten as quickly as possible to a liquidation of what has been perhaps the most miserable military adventure in our history, an adventure that should never have begun.

It is difficult to imagine how the present government at Washington can hope to liquidate the conflict by means other than it has adopted: continuing the negotiations in Paris while arranging a phased troop withdrawal from South Vietnam. North Vietnam has suffered greatly, but it has every reason to maintain its support of the Vietcong. The Saigon regime has been unable to achieve a decisive victory; meanwhile, in the United States the peace movement has forced an unwilling American president to seek a partial political solution rather than total victory. Ironically, the present activity of the anti-war movements in the United States has the effect of extending the conflict; Hanoi hangs on in part at least because it believes that the activities of the American peace movement will result in a settlement more favorable to the Vietcong than otherwise might be the case. Certainly Washington wants

quick action. The delay comes from activities in Hanoi and Saigon. Neither Vietnamese capital wants the war to end unless the outcome favors its cause.

What happens at war's end? Certainly we must avoid any repetition of this struggle, and we probably will. But it is important that the nation not overreact to its defeat in Asia. We must not abandon legitimate world-political responsibilities, of which leadership in disarmament and in the provision of economic assistance for the Third World are perhaps the first priorities. If we really want peace in the world, we must be prepared to accept the trials of international politics. Those among us who call for a virtual withdrawal from world politics as a means of insuring the peace of the world may mean well, but they offer foolish counsel. Catastrophes far greater than Vietnam await us if we retreat once again into our national cocoon and leave entirely to others the task of conducting the politics of the world.

Some among us maintain fervently and in all sincerity that our present difficulties in Asia are not the result of error but are in fact the logical and necessary outcome of historical events. America behaves as it does, it is argued because we are a "bourgeois nation" whose commitment to capitalism compels "imperial" adventures elsewhere in the world in order to avoid revolution at home. This trite formulation offers a simplistic explanation of events that, unfortunately, cannot be so easily understood.

Those who brought the United States into the Vietnamese war failed to make a sound analysis of the international situation. Those who want to bring the United States out of the war will not succeed if they, too, persist in different but equally unsound analyses. We who oppose the present war may inadvertently contribute to the causes of the next if we are guilty of thoughtlessness along these lines. Unfortunately, the present trend of things suggests that we have a long way to go in this respect.

David Trask is the chairman of the History Department at S.U.N.Y. at Stony Brook and has written a book on Vietnam entitled **VICTORY WITHOUT PEACE.**



In this special issue, the Statesman has set aside its regular editorial policy to present a special issue on the Vietnam war. The Statesman is pleased to have David F. Trask, a leading authority on the war, present his views on the conflict. The Statesman is pleased to have David F. Trask, a leading authority on the war, present his views on the conflict. The Statesman is pleased to have David F. Trask, a leading authority on the war, present his views on the conflict.

It's Not Only Vietnam

"He who holds or has influence in Vietnam can affect the future of the Philippines and Formosa to the east, Thailand and Burma with their huge rice surpluses to the west, and Malaysia and Indonesia with their rubber, ore and tin to the south. Vietnam thus does not exist in a geographical vacuum—from it large storehouses of wealth and population can be influenced and undermined.

—Henry Cabot Lodge

It isn't happening in Vietnam alone today. Those who claim that U. S. involvement in the war there is due to a series of "mistakes" are being shocked with the sudden realization that the Vietnam war is being expanded—into Thailand and Laos.

Forty-five thousand American troops are now stationed in Thailand, and U. S. economic interests there are growing daily. As for the nation's daily newspapers are carry stories about "U. S.-backed" troops taking over liberated areas in new counter-offensives. The New York Times reports that as many as 500 U. S. B-52 bombing missions are being flown daily there.

The very phrase, "U.S.-backed," could not help but remind the public of the early years of the Vietnam conflict. American Southeast Asia policy is not based on "accidents." The Vietnam war, once billed as a fight to preserve democracy, has emerged as a do-or-die American effort to establish strong economic footholds throughout Asia. Nation's Business made this point explicit in February 1966:

"The best thinkers on the subject in business and government agree that magnificent business opportunities await in Vietnam, Thailand, Laos, Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore. As the military situation in Vietnam improves, they expect the flow of business to double, triple and quadruple."

Something has gone wrong along the way. The military situation in Vietnam has not improved. In 1966, it was believed by many that Vietnam would be "pacified" and brought into the international market system, under U. S. guidance. It is apparent in 1969 that America has been unable to overcome the Vietnamese peasants' resistance to "pacification."

It has become clear that Vietnam will at best serve as a strategic permanent military base (Cam Ranh Bay and other permanent installations) from which American interests in the rest of Southeast Asia can be protected. The Stanford Research Institute says, "(Other Asian nations) . . . may escape armed involvement, but they will ultimately

be affected by any outcome of the present hostilities. The war in Vietnam therefore must be viewed as a struggle likely to determine the economic as well as the political future of the whole region."

And what are these American interests? Thailand itself is a pretty important one. Between 1961 and 1967, the U. S. provided Thailand's military dictatorship with more than \$640 million in aid, most of it in military assistance. It is estimated that the present U. S. investment in Thailand is \$195 million. American firms are attracted by the nation's raw materials, including large rubber supplies.

The American corporate giants have an even bigger reason for being interested in Thailand and other nations—cheap labor. Because Thailand barred labor unions in 1958, because the maximum wage in Saigon is \$1.40 a day, because of similar situations elsewhere, the American corporations are finding it very profitable to locate their plants abroad. There workers accept working conditions and wages that no American labor union would stand for. Thus a company like Chrysler can have 91 per cent of its assets at home, yet make 81 per cent of its profits abroad. Among the corporations investing in Thailand are Gulf Oil, Union Carbide, Goodyear, and the Chase Manhattan Bank. It is the interests of these corporate giants, whose monies keep the American system flowing, that the U. S. must protect in Southeast Asia. It is not democracy and freedom that is at stake, it is corporate dollars.

People fight for things that are important to them, it is said, and that is why the American government has sent troops to Southeast Asia. But this statement is also true for the Laotian people. The economy of Laos is almost totally absorbed into American big business, which manages to sell \$20 million a year worth of American goods while buying only \$1.6 million in Laos.

So when Laotians begin to move on things that are important to them, like land, food and independence, they have to fight for them—and they are fighting now. In the past year, they have won several victories, pushing "neutralists" and their American advisors further and further back. The American Air Force, even with frequent B-52 raids, napalm, phosphorus bombs and defoliation attacks, has been unable to stop them. The New York Times recently said that victory for the Laotian people "seems closer to realization now than ever before."

—NED STEELE, L.N.S.



Woodstock to War:

Ode To An Inductee

I'm a sophomore and can afford to wait three more comfortable years before I start worrying about drafts and wars and the like. I remember old Edgar, too. Getting out of high school, saying "Screw college," deciding to play golf (not for money) and traveling around the county. I-A caught up with him in Woodstock after chasing him through Ann Arbor, Colorado, Berkeley, back to Ann Arbor and right on up to upper New York State. First found out in front of the Woodstock Playhouse. A friend from the city informed him. Standing there in front, wondering if the Woodstock Playhouse can help him. Nah, all they do is put on plays, and if one happens to have an anti-war theme, well fine. But otherwise. Their ushers even use flashlights and tell you to put your cigarette out.

"Well, I'm not going in and that's that!"

Until two tired FBI men come to his house and show their badges rather sadly, and say, "Like dig, you gonna get five years in jail otherwise," and poor old Edgar is scared to death. God, TWO FBI men coming after him, and he never even went to college. Now what?

Everybody has plenty of advice for him. Like when you go for your physical, and all of you are in the room naked, and the doctor's there, you take your penis and shove it up the asshole of the guy standing next to you.

Nobody does things like that.

Tell the doctor you take drugs-all sorts, LSD, downs, junk, pot-make it sound real scary and perverted.

The army psychologist says, "Fine. You'll dig Vietnam. lots of grass there and much cheaper than in the U.S. Understand there's a dope famine here now anyway."

Plead C.O.

Well, you can try.

Nope, got arrested in Berkeley for throwing a bottle at a cop.

Yea, well, tell them you got a selective conscience.

I know this guy in the army who pissed in his bed every night on purpose and then the sergeant said, "Next time you do that I'm gonna beat the shit out of you," so he stopped doing it. After a week he got his bravado back and started pissing in bed again. Sergeant threatened him again so he stopped. Then he started pissing in bed without even trying. Sergeant threatened him again, but his threat didn't do a damn thing this time so the army discharged the guy. The lesson is you got to be consistent. Can't let the jerks scare you with threats.

And don't fool around with the underground newspapers because those political guys are the first to go. Isolate yourself, go crazy by becoming a lone wolf. Don't make friends even if they're hip people because that will just help you adjust to the army and then, brother, you is stuck.

...Edgar comes home to the Bronx from Fort Dix for the Jewish holidays. Peace symbol hanging from his neck. So is a Jewish star. Only that's real recent. "How are things, Edgar?"

He's bald, really bald. Explains that if it wasn't for the holiday he would have had to get a haircut today. Once a week. Old Mrs. Smith walks by. She's a grandma. Looks at all of us standing on the street corner. "Why Edgar, you cut your hair! How lovely!" She gives me and Jerry, another friend, dirty looks. College creeps.

Edgar stocks up on acid and speed. Figures he'll simultaneously starve and freak down there. We doubt he'll go through with it. If he didn't have the guts to do anything when they first came for him, he doesn't have them now. We don't tell him that, though. Got to keep his morale up. Keep writing letters to him once a week. Maybe we'll even send love letters. "Dear Edgar, really dug the way you blew me when you came home for the holidays. Love, Michael." Everyone knows the army opens mail. Maybe they'll see that and throw him out. Maybe they'll just put him in the stockade.

Edgar tells us about basic training. Everybody lines up with their bayonets. The sergeant screams, "What are bayonets for?" Everyone screams back as they thrust their bayonets into the sky, "To kill!" In unison. Nice seeing so many together people. And perfectly co-ordinated like a modern dance troupe.

...Edgar goes back to North Carolina two days later, and we all sit around Jerry's house smoking dope.

"Stupid fool didn't make any preparations."

"Yea."

"Well, we're all in college so that's cool."

"When I get out I'm gonna be a teacher."

"Not me. I'm just gonna go down there to the induction center and freak all over the place."

"I'm gonna go on a starvation diet so I'll be below the required weight."

"Before I go down, I'm gonna shoot speed for awhile and then tell them I'm a junky. See the needle marks."

"I'm going to start seeing a psychologist in my senior year and get a note saying I'm emotionally disturbed."

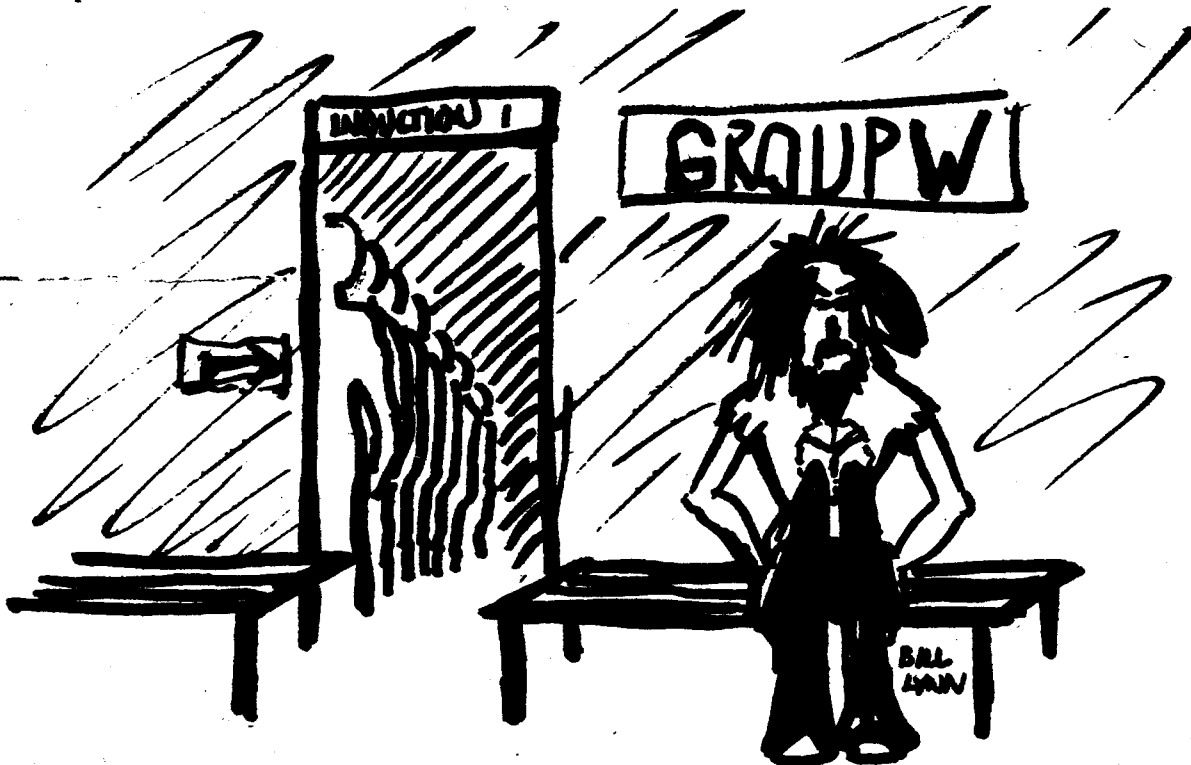
"Say, are you high?"

"Not really. Are you?"

"Hell no. This grass we've been getting lately is awful. I hope Edgar brings back some good stuff if he ever ends up in Vietnam."

"Yea, poor old Edgar. Well, pass the joint."

—MICHAEL COVINO



Know Your Draft Laws- It Could Save Your Life

The war in Vietnam raises a moral dilemma for many young Americans. Many face the prospect of being drafted to fight in a war which they may not understand or deeply oppose.

The limited number of alternatives available to them include applying for conscientious objector if they are pacifist, by performing non-combatant or an alternative form of service or they may refuse induction and face serious prison sentences. Some immigrate to a country not involved in the war, while others stifle their objections and serve in the forces.

Regardless of the path a potential draftee chooses, it is important for him to know his rights and responsibilities regarding the draft and the selective Service Laws. It is for this reason that the Military Service and Draft Information Center has been established here at Stony Brook.

According to Stan Ogonowski, chief organizer of the service, the independent volunteer organization is designed to remove the cloud of misconception that hangs over many students when they have to deal with the Selective Service and its laws. Provided at the Center will be information, based on the law, regarding rights, responsibilities, deferments and alternative choices under the Selective Service System. In addition, counselors at the

Center will be able to refer students to channels of information and assistance that are not readily available at the Center.

Ogonowski's interest in the Selective Service originated several years back when he became of draftable age. He admitted that he was ill informed of the laws and how they applied to him and was determined to find out more about it. He commented that, "the lack of information about the draft laws can actually hurt people. The first book I read opened a wealth of information regarding the Selective Service Systems."

When asked of specific examples, he stated Many students are unaware that by receiving a 2S deferment they become eligible for the draft until age 35, while at the same time being placed in a "prime age group" for induction upon graduation. In addition they become ineligible for a 3A (fatherhood) deferment when their 2S is expired." These and many other examples can have a devastating effect upon a person's career when he graduates from college.

At present the state director of the Selective Service has requested that universities and colleges inform the local boards of any change in a student's matriculated status, although the institutions are not required to do so by law, many oblige just the same. On some campuses this has created a conflict

between students and administration in establishing just what role the university should play regarding the Selective Service.

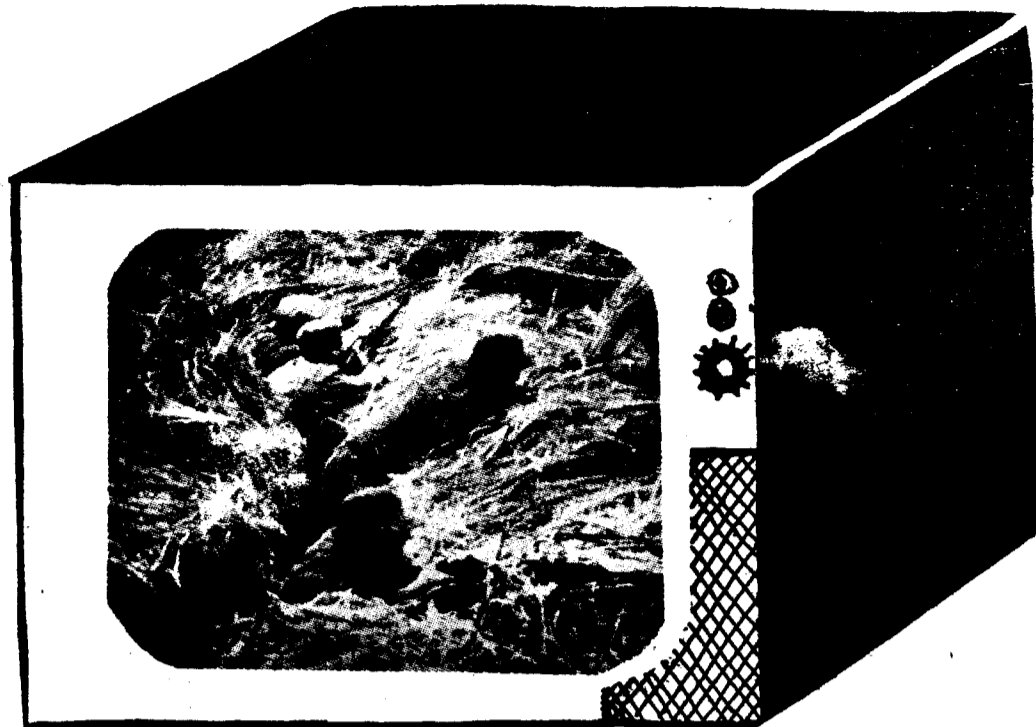
Although now located behind the main desk in the gymnasium, the Military Service and Draft Information Center is looking forward to an office of its own in the new Stony Brook Student Union where students may privately consult with the counselors.

Those students experiencing problems with, or who have questions about the draft are encouraged to visit the Center evenings between the hours of 9 p.m. and midnight when a counselor will be on duty to assist you. Any members of the college community who have had experience with draft counseling and are willing to volunteer their services are urged to contact the center.

—WILLIAM BUCHALTER

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Tune In To The War



When we sent Johnny off to the "war to end all wars," there were tearful sobs, soaking handkerchiefs and an immense cloud of fear. War had always meant sending your loved ones off to an unknown place to fight an enemy we only knew by name. War is a mission of mystery, and it terrified people that all they knew was that Johnny would either come home, or that there would be a telegram announcing when to expect the pine box.

But the miracle of mass media changed all that. As we sit in front of that little machine, all of us are transported across thousands of miles, to be there with our loved ones, and to watch them get blown to bits. TV has taken the mystery out of war. Consequently, we no longer run to the TV everytime there is a report from Vietnam. We finish typing the paper, reading sports in *Newsday*, or eating dinner, and catch the remainder if we can. And if there is something more important to do, we shut the goddamn TV off.

The war in Vietnam is now a bore. The media has created a closeness that has forced us into an awareness of war very rapidly; but the constant repetition of the news has neutralized our dread, making us lose the ignorance of war and finally making us yawn. The human element has dropped out of the war, on both sides of the screen. What's left is merely a collection of numbers.

The most popular set of numbers is the weekly casualty list. "This week, because of an ease-off in ground fighting, casualties dropped to 94, the lowest weekly toll since

the start of the new offensive." It's a real challenge to equate young men with stock quotations, to forget that the numbers represent beings that smile, sing drinking songs and hope to have families. But we do it, and we accept it in the same way as one tries to imagine a billion dollars. We become unhinged by the death of Mary Mount, as rightfully that should be, but 94 men go by in a flash. They have no names; inside a uniform faces go indistinguished. Besides there are so many of them, and since the war is here we might as well make the best of it. The challenge has been met.

The pages of the newspapers are no longer filled with information on the war. The Paris peace talks have not made the front pages since they decided on the shape of the table. The little that does happen does not make "good copy."

Several months ago, *Life* magazine published the photos of a week's war-dead, the first attempt to force people into the realization of how many are dying. Many were moved, but many sent letters admonishing *Life* for failing to be the family magazine people expect it to be. What of the family that saw their son's photo?

Several years ago, a film called *King and Country* was released. It was a brilliant attack on the idiotic hierarchy of war and warped loyalty. Cornel Wilde made a film the next year called *Beach Red*, a brutal but straightforward display of the horror of battle. A fine documentary, *The Anderson Platoon*, played last year. They turned people away in droves.

Yet two of the most popular films of the past two years have been *The Dirty Dozen* and *The Green Berets*. The first film is an

atrocious by Robert Aldrich whose unabashed desire for sensationalism and sex has introduced us to Baby Jane, Charlotte and Sister George. He treats his soldiers like he does his "wierdoes" and perverts. They are unthinking, mindless slobes whose eyes flash with the gleam of daggers at the thought of murder and lust. War is now fun and games, a barrel of laughs, thrills and spills for soldiers everywhere.

John Wayne's horse opera in Vietnam is beyond credibility. No war was ever like that. His heroes should have no right to be proud. They are as real as a troupe of G.I. Joe dolls.

Toys, games, movies, comic books all do the same thing that Directors Aldrich and Wayne have done. They have seen that people no longer can think of war as something far away. It is so close; one balks at seeing the amount of gore, and refuse to look at it after a while. The truth is so repetitive. It doesn't want to change. No one wants to look.

But dress up the battle, give out gold ribbons, make the flames bright and make it so inane that it couldn't possibly be real and people will clutch it to their bosoms as a war they can be proud of.

But when one comes home from the movies, the eleven o'clock news is on. And there in living color are more men dying. They look the same as the ones last week. Why do they die so undramatically? Don't worry, they'll soon be gone. Johnny Carson starts at 11:30. Sweet dreams.

HAROLD RUBENSTEIN

And Turn Off The Teenagers

As the war in Vietnam becomes an increasingly implausible social event in the life of the society, we are constrained to think about what the final costs of the war will be. Those that can be translated into dollars can be dealt with relatively easily. With a certain Dr. Strangelove-like panache we may observe that even after a nuclear holocaust our economy could recover in 30 or 50 or a hundred years, depending on some pseudo-rational set of assumptions.

The more serious costs of the war to our society are more hidden or more incommensurable than dollars, and it is these costs that the Dr. Strangelove mentality cannot measure. At the core of the daily life of a society, that which allows one man to relate in an honest way to another, is a sense of trust and altruism. This sense of trust is learned inside of the family, and the capacity for trust of others is taken from the quality of warmth and predictability of that environment. Parents are the exemplars of trust to children, and though this child-like faith erodes during adolescence, there

remains that residue of belief that adults are not entirely self-seeking.

The war has begun to erode that faith. The credibility gap does not only extend to the actions of LBJ and Nixon and the other personifications of the governmental apparatus, for parents themselves have become increasingly unbelievable as their political acts fail to meet the moral demands of the war. Even while supporting anti-war sentiments, most adults have allowed the young to risk themselves in the forefront of anti-war action. The real meaning of the Spock trial was that while the young risked jail, he felt he could not go free. The observable political failure of parents has allowed the relations between parents and children to become corrupted by ideology.

The war is of course not the only event that has corrupted the trustworthy character of parents or of American social life. The treatment of marijuana, the plight of the poor, white and black, the old politics, are all signals that the process of growing older is

a process of increasing indifference to the quality of social life.

The erosion of the quality of trust in social life leaves the young with three options—the old seem willing only to react. The young may decide to carry on a guerilla war with the old and turn as a result of the struggle into their mirror image. They may abandon the future through abandoning politics (getting married and moving to suburbia or making the hippie trip are equal cop outs). The young may ask more of themselves than did the old though why they should is not clear, and see that this crisis between the young and the old requires not only a new politics, but a new family in which adults do not have to behave like parents and the young do not have to behave like children. This will give everyone an opportunity to abandon the old authorities and rigidities that come with the straight jacket of age.

JOHN GAGNON
Department of Sociology

There's Plenty Of Money To Be Made Supplying The Army With Tools Of Trade

Businessmen Pocket Profit ...

By MICHAEL ZWEIG
Professor of Economics

International Harvester Corporation announced recently that it is closing down a large tractor factory near Chicago. Four thousand workers are being laid off, nearly half of them black. The IHC also announced that it has acquired land in Vietnam and will build a new tractor factory there to supply the war effort. The maximum legal wage in Saigon-controlled Vietnam is \$1.40 a day. The war goes on in the national interest.

Since 1965, Bethlehem Steel, ALCOA, International Nickel, U.S. Steel, Englehardt Mineral and Chemical Co., International Paper, Sinclair Oil and other U.S. firms have been investing in Indonesia. This was possible after the coup led by General Suharto, during which hundreds of thousands of leftists were massacred. Indonesia is now in the American sphere of influence in the Pacific, near Vietnam. The war goes on in the national interest.

The anti-war movement in America has grown tremendously in the last four years. Millions of people have learned many things. Now we are faced with a nation-wide Moratorium, sponsored by liberals and some businessmen, approved by U.S. senators; the people who have learned that the war exists and that it should be ended. But lots of people have learned more than that in the fight against the war.

We know that the war exists because the United States is an imperialist power, trying to dominate people all over the world in the interests of American corporate

capital, and because the Vietnamese people are fighting against that domination in a truly heroic way.

We know that the war is hurting most people in this country through the draft and through diversion of real resources from mass needs to the purposes of narrow but powerful imperialist interests.

We know that the war must end, but our understanding of the war helps us see that it must end with the complete victory of the Vietnamese people, and the total withdrawal or complete defeat of all American and allied forces.

Many liberals and even conservatives would like to see the war ended. It is a mess, costing lives and money and creating turmoil at home. The search is on for a way to support what are called American interests in a more subtle way, a less troublesome way. But as the war continues and opposition to it becomes clearer and more sophisticated, more and more Americans are seeing that "American interests" are not their own, but those of U.S. Steel, Chase Manhattan Bank and other giant corporations heavily involved around the world. To these the extensive war is expendable, now that it is ineffective in Vietnam and threatening at home.

These interests, newly converted to an anti-war position, are not allies of the anti-imperialist struggles being waged around the world and increasingly in the United States. It is that struggle which poses a deep threat to American corporate capital and imperial interests, and which is getting to the heart of the matter. It is in that struggle that people



What worries me, Senator, is that they're getting into shape. We are beginning to understand that we must not just bring the troops home, we must bring the war home.

The national leadership of the Moratorium has not provided this focus, and so the day threatens to be a step backwards, reminiscent of the days when the nation first became aware of the war and began to complain. Everyone engaged in the day's events should go beyond the official liberal focus and come to grips with the interests which generated the war and think of ways to deprive those interests of power at home and abroad.

As Value Of Worker's Dollar Plunges

The Vietnam war is not being fought in the interest of the American people or for the "containment of Communism" (the lie we so often hear from our government).

U. S. businesses saw that they had to get into Vietnam because of its potential wealth. Vietnam is very valuable to American business because of its large supply of cheap labor. Vietnam also supplies United States investors with a market to buy up their overproduction of goods. The war also gives the capitalists in this country an opportunity to invest large amounts of money in defense.

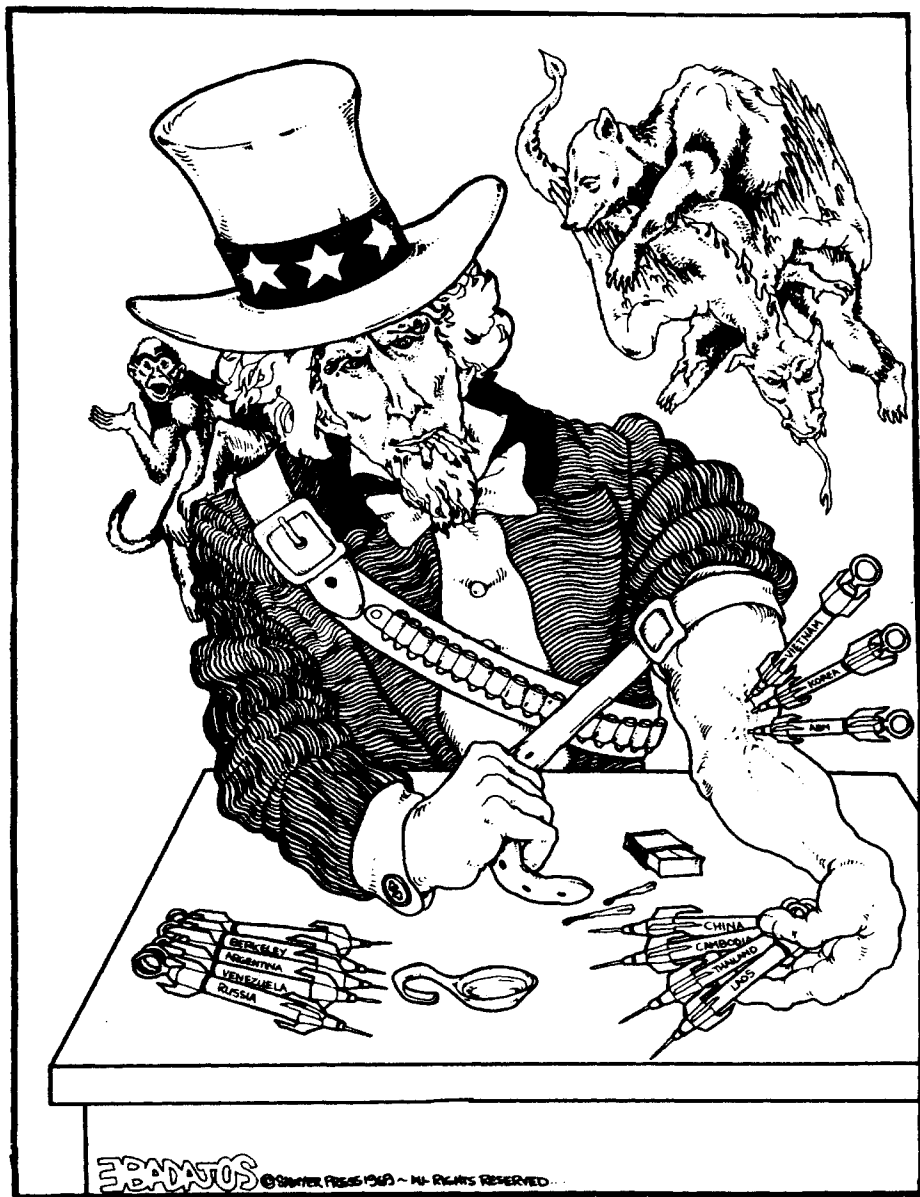
The Vietnamese are waging a powerful fight against the U. S.; Vietnamese people are constantly giving up their lives, their homes and their land to keep their country pure from imperialist intervention. The people in the U. S. are also paying a heavy toll for this capitalist adventure. Taxes are being squeezed out of every working man. Presently, 80 per cent of the American tax dollar is being spent on our so-called defense. A surcharge tax of 10 per cent has been added in the last year, and there isn't any sign that it is going to be discontinued. Most likely, it will be increased. Meanwhile, corporations get away almost tax-free. The government continues the war while the cities are rotting. Our city has failed to receive enough money from the State and Federal budgets to pay city workers adequately because the money isn't there to serve people's needs. Public facilities like transportation, hospitals, child-care centers, etc., are in crying need of additional finances merely to maintain their present operations—which are far from efficient. Inflation has hit the consumers hard, rising at an annual rate of 6½ per cent during the first half of 1969. Wage earners' purchasing power has

fallen due to this inflation. Yet our country insists on spending millions of dollars on a war which is not productive at all for the taxpayer.

The Vietnam war is being fought in the interest and profit of a few. Wars of this kind will continue as long as there exists a class willing to kill people and destroy countries to maintain their high profits. After understanding why this war and wars of this nature are being fought, it would be shortsighted and even criminal of us to ask for an end to the war and withdrawal of our armies without attacking the real reasons for the war.

That is, if we are going to demand anything, it should be the withdrawal of all American capitalist investment from Asia. However, making demands, marching in the streets, and getting together for one day isn't enough. We have to force the capitalists to end this imperialistic adventure, and eventually end capitalism itself. We don't need one day of the year to say we are against this horrible war. We don't need classes to be cancelled or any lucky Congressman to say, "On October 15, we will discuss the war and you have my blessings." We should fight to end this war and eliminating those causes. It can be done by uniting all people, especially the workers who keep our society alive and supply us with our basic needs, against the capitalist class. This is not an easy solution. It will take quite a bit of time and work. But if we are really concerned about ending the miseries of the Vietnamese people, American people and all people, our only solution is to unite to fight capitalism and begin to formulate socialist programs designed to meet the needs of the people.

—LARRY FREEMAN



Letters From Vietnam

(Editor's Note: The following are a series of excerpts taken from the letters of a G.I. who was in Vietnam from August '68 to August '69.)

August 8, '68

"It's so completely different than any other place I've ever seen. The people are so small, they look like children."

August 10, '68

"They (the people) are really interesting and very poor. As soon as I can, I'll take some pictures, because to describe this place is impossible. The monsoon season is almost here, and it rains often. I'm really doing fine as far as

military. It's beyond imagination how many millions of dollars are here. There's an awful lot of investment from big business."

August 12, '68

"I met two Vietnamese kids here (boys), one age 14, and the other 15. They work here filling sandbags for ten piastres a day. That's about one American dollar. They're so poor that they don't have lunch, but the guys around here try to keep them fed."

August 19, '68

"I've seen various parts of Vietnam, and from what I've seen, we're not helping one heck of a lot.

I'm helping at all. I feel that there is no real need here for me. It seems that many of us are sent here just to be sent. Maybe 10 per cent of all the forces here are actually doing any fighting, the rest are just here to support them.

September 8, '68

"I hate this place and the army. But when it's over, there isn't any way I'd have it different. If I had to do it again, I'd do the same. It's an experiment that is not at all pleasant, but it's more of a benefit than any other. We'll never see. That's the first thing you realize when you get here. They always count the dead

December 20, '68

"The special forces guys are mad as the babysahns (teenagers who do the wash). They've been losing clothes in the wash. I guess the straw that broke the camel's back was that I've found V.C. wearing them. If you haven't guessed, somebody got tired. (I wish they'd see me...)"

December 23, '68

"I thought that it wouldn't be so bad, missing Christmas, but all that they play are the same old carols, and that's all I can hear. But things could be worse. I keep lying to myself. I don't get a newspaper about once a week, and that usually tells us how many V.C. we killed. I sent you a newspaper called Stars and Stripes. Whoever put it out seems to get all the news into one page along with detailed pictures of people blowing up or getting killed. It's really really good. Not all of us want to see people getting killed. The Stars and Stripes is the best."

December 27, '68

"Christmas Eve was fun, too. I bet that I opened over a hundred packages, but unfortunately they weren't Christmas packages. They were 82 mm mortar rounds. Yes, yes, Christmas in Viet Nam. Christmas morning, I guess, was what the day was really wrecked. I heard a plane calling Saigon for assistance. An observer pilot had been shot, probably dead. Well, anyway, I felt pretty bad. Christmas morning, Christmas trace."

December 30, '68

"Being busy in the tower (air traffic control) helps me not to feel things, yet I do when I have the time. I thank God that you'll never see some of the things. War is so stupid. You can't believe that intelligent people can be so cruel until you see a war."

May 11, '69

"It's so insane. The V.C. hit this place knowing full well that it's suicide. We come out of the bunker to watch them make their runs on the position, and for what? They didn't even hit anything, just died for nothing. Not that I want them to hit anything, just to stop trying. . . Oops! Forgot that today was Mother's Day. Poor Mother. . . I don't know if you know what a Huey (type of helicopter) looks like, but over here they always fly with both side doors open. Well, this morning, one pilot called up and said that one of his gauges had fallen out of the dashboard and rolled out the door."

May 18, '69

"Today was really interesting. A friend of mine and I went downtown. . . it was really a nice peaceful day. You could actually forget that there was any war going on here at all."



Bill Lynn

stamina and health and so on. Maybe because there is so much here to learn. It's exciting, and, regretfully, dangerous. Charlie (the V.C.) is always around, but right now he's not very active. I saw a barracks today that was hit by a mortar a few days ago, and God, I never knew one could do so much damage."

August 11, '68

"This night is the first that I have real live sheets to sleep on. I've been sleeping in my clothes until tonight. . . Charlie is everywhere. Here it's safest, but we're due for an attack. . . Here is a war. My mind doesn't comprehend what's here, or the artillery pounding Charlie off in the distance. The edge of the camp is so close. I'll say one thing, I sure have seen a lot of Long Binh. It's all

The people do have jobs on the military bases, and I suppose that we're helping there, but it isn't busting out all over with results. There's so much military here that I can hardly believe it! The money we must have over here! . . . Vietnam is really another world, and not a very happy or pleasant one. It's indescribably poor, and the people spend each day scraping up enough food for the next. The g.i.'s don't treat them well at all. Call them names and in general treat them like slaves, because they work for slave wages. . . so here we are, the UGLY Americans. I know why they all hate us. I feel ashamed for our whole country. But then again, we are ignorant of their culture, so I can't blame it on anybody. I just wish someone would wake up and see. . . I'm not proud of the army. I'm not proud to be here serving my country. I don't feel like

of the V.C., but somehow they're never sure about how many we lost. I'm not so much for this war anymore, not because I'm here and I'm bitter, but because we aren't doing all we can to win it, and we're the ones killing our own men."

October 3, '68

"About a week ago, these helicopter gunships were about twenty miles east of here. One got shot up by small gun fire. The other two spotted the V.C. right away, but they weren't able to get permission to fire on them, and they got away. Back in August, when we got hit, the V.C. that clobbered us were watched setting up their mortar, and bringing 16 rounds of ammunition into their camp, but we weren't able to get permission in time to fire on them. If there is ever a ground attack, we are not allowed to fire until the V.C. are

Editorial

"It is better to lose and win, than win and be defeated."

There is a war going on. It's been going on for a long time. It shows no sign of ending.

America is not the land of the free and the home of the brave. It is an imperialistic nation which seeks to extend its influence throughout the world. Vast economic interests in Asia, and not democracy, are what we are defending in Vietnam. Citizens are not brave but apathetic and naive, blindly giving their earnings to enrich the strong, entrenched corporations, and sacrifice their youth to feed the egos of both civilian and military who lust for power over other men's lives.

The attitude of all people in this country should be one of outrage. We have praised ourselves as tolerant, defenders of freedom, peace-loving humans who have a deep respect for the rights of others. This is a nation that was founded by those who sought relief from oppression and the right to seek their own destiny freely.

What has happened to us?

How can we blandly go about our daily lives while there are American men dying and getting maimed each day? In a society which honors truth, our leaders lie to us daily in the media. Where is Nixon's "secret plan to end the war"? We are told about troop reductions yet the draft calls now are almost double what they were last year.

And the war drags on . . .

We hear political rhetoric which speaks of a peace offensive, but simultaneously thousands of pounds of bombs are dropped. We are told that America is fighting to preserve the freedom

of the Vietnamese people, yet we fix the "free" elections and support an unpopular dictatorship.

And at home we send the underprivileged to fight the war; those who are oppressed make more convenient cannon fodder. We allow the Army to enslave our youth in the guise of defending freedom. We force into exile or jail those who believe that murder is not for them.

And the war drags on . . .

The war in Vietnam is not primarily a foreign issue, it subverts domestic policy on federal, state, and local levels. The 80 or 90 billion dollars this nation spends on the war and defense yearly could be used to alleviate the problems of the cities, be put into capital works, or finance job retraining programs for the unskilled and semi-skilled or be used to invest in the form of a tax reduction. There are endless possibilities for the use of money, but it is only one use for bombs.

The injustices associated with this war must be put into perspective. The war has not led to them, instead they have led to the war.

The ideals and history of this nation are clearly against the current direction of the country. In George Washington's farewell address, he urged against involvement in foreign wars; two centuries later, President Eisenhower, in his farewell address, used the phrase, "Military industrial complex," and America is aware of its power and influence. Instead, this country has awarded politicians who lack integrity and honesty and mask their true aims in ambiguous rhetoric. There is no difference between Johnson

and the newfound honesty to fill in a credit record; no concern about people who are being killed and maimed on both sides of the conflict. National politicians have sold their souls to arm races and the mortgages are held by those hungry for power and prestige.

On Wednesday there will be anti-war activities in Suffolk as there has throughout the nation. This is a day for everyone to show their feelings and beliefs about the war and its ramifications on virtually every segment of our society.

We urge you not to sit back any longer. The form you choose to demonstrate your beliefs must be your own, but beware the easy route of talking to each other on campus. To be effective we must influence others, both those in power and the vast majority of the citizens. We can do this best by explaining to people how Vietnam hurts their pocketbooks and the common interests of all except the wealthy corporations and the Department of Defense.

- March in the community
- Canvass door to door
- Write to the national politicians
- Join the welfare, anti-war demonstration
- Don't stop after Wednesday

The last few years have been witness to countless anti-war demonstrations and "shows of solidarity." If the populace of this nation does not take notice, and the national politicians do not respond, this demonstration might be the last non-violent one.



What Will They Say In Vietnam?

The people of the United States call a Moratorium on the war in Vietnam. They are telling the government that they think the war is immoral, costly, both in American lives and American money. America is turning out full force to observe a day which should have been observed a long time ago, and was. But when this sort of observation came along, the only people doing anything about the fact that there was a war going on that had no business going on were those people who were being down upon by their society. It seems rather odd to persecute a group of people one day for taking action in a peaceful direction, and then the next day encourage people to turn out in full force and observe a ridiculous Moratorium that does not help the Vietnamese Republic. I can't say that all this? Perhaps they could see what is going on on their own terms. Before they realize that there is no hope for an opponent. I wonder what the mothers of the thousands of young black and white men who are in the war are saying. Does this Moratorium mean that the country is sorry for all those young men who have their lives on some remote shore? If they had lived through it, wouldn't the reasons for the war have continued to be obscure? The reality of the entire situation is that there are no reasons.

During my eleven months, twenty-six day horror trip to the Republic of Vietnam, there were two questions constantly on my mind. One was whether or not there was a reason for my being there and the other was whether that reason was good enough. This letter did not go unresolved. The first thing a Colonel said to me when I arrived in Vietnam was, "Son, medics don't last a minute over here." Well, I asked myself, "What difference does it make where a black man dies? If it is not in the jungles of Vietnam, then it will be in the streets of Harlem. If it is not by the bullet from an AK 47, then it will be the bullet of a thirty-eight police special. I then realized that it is less painful to die for protecting ones own life than it is to simply die. A black man in Vietnam realizes many things. Should he not mortally die from the loneliness of a thousand

dark rainy nights in a distant country, then he will die in the country where he was born. The phrase—his black skin—the heavily pigmented possession of the skin in this country—in Africa or where ever the people live.

These come home when all people must come to grips with themselves and realize what is going on. It is not just whom, by whom, or for what, but when we examine the facts, we see. If our eyes are open that there is not a war between nations. This is not a war between two nations for the preservation of the uniqueness of either of those flags. This is not a war for the liberation of any nation, for in the midst of oppression there can be no such notion of liberation. So then we ask, what exactly is this destructive war all about? Well, first we have to establish that there are two sides—the rich side, and the poor side. In this case the poor side is in the majority. The poor include the impoverished Vietnamese who are being sold down the river both by the rich Vietnamese and the ogre from across the sea. The poor are those same Vietnamese people who have been fighting this type of war for almost all their lives; no time to build their country, no time to build their lives, no time to raise a family that will be protected from a V.C. bullet, an N.V.A. bullet or an American bullet.

The poor who suffer as a result of the Vietnam war are not restricted to the shores of Vietnam. Let us think of the poor on our home ground. The black young man who has practically nothing to do but throw himself into the arms of an army that will teach him how to kill someone who is an alleged enemy, while his real enemies are the one's doing the teaching is also in eminent peril. Here we have a case of ignorance actively contributing to the delinquencies, delinquencies which cannot be ignored. Here again we see another replica of Lincoln freeing the slaves. But in this case it is Johnson and Nixon freeing the slaves to go out and fight a war that was not only started by the slaves' own enemy, but enacted

upon people whose plight is the same as the slave. The most dramatic incident to illustrate this point is the case of the black G.I. whose battered, broken, mutilated body was returned to the United States for burial. But it so happened that his dead man's home state is one of the most overtly racist states in this country, therefore, he could not be buried in the earth that was put here for all mankind, not just white mankind. So far, I have identified a small minority of the poor who suffer as a result of this attempt to make sure that the sun never sets on United States soil. But the rich have yet to be identified. We all have ideas as to who they are. But should we manipulate the law in our interest so that we can confront this horrendous group of blood sucking leeches? I am sure we would be confronted with a song and dance that makes the human head spin. The small amount of facts available will remain available to me.

The time has come when it is trivial to say that the war in Vietnam is wrong, destructive or even immoral. Now we must begin to say other things, do other things and move on our beliefs with the intensity which is required to put an end to this ordeal. A Moratorium is hardly going to stop the war. The only thing that could possibly stop the war in Vietnam is an end to the aggression itself. I realize that there are those of us who haven't the faintest idea what aggression is all about. You hear the word, and the first thing that comes into your mind is, oh, that person knows all the right words. But the realities of this entire situation goes a bit further than simply using the most apropos phonemes. I was there. I bear witness to the murder of young Vietnamese boys and girls, men and women. I was the one they depended on most to save their lives. Whether or not our races had been previously pitted against another was irrelevant. I too, felt the sting of the bullet. And now there is a Moratorium. Which is nothing short of recapitulating an ugly event in the life of many people.

—ROBERT CALLENDER



The Immoral Student

Lyndon Johnson and the war in Vietnam have managed what good teachers have failed to do for years: they have brought students to a profound moral and political anxiety. How can a man be a student when his friends are fighting and dying in an absurd war, or are in jail or another country for having the courage to live by the values the rest of us talk about?

The power of this anxiety must not be underestimated. The war is, to students, their parents' abdication of all moral concern.

That students should then be expected to go along, to forget the slaughter and turn to study, is to drag them into the same abdication. Our generation does not remember when the enemies were clearly "over there." We do not have the habit of fighting so desperately and so long against such a clear enemy that we can forget, as our elders have, to evaluate each "enemy" to see if he is the enemy. We cannot accept a war which our nation has stumbled into and then found wrong.

Students are left in a state of unstable protection. Pressure: to do well enough in school to avoid the draft. Anxiety: that we have somehow stumbled into the ostensibly intellectual world of college more to avoid the draft, commitment and experience than to pursue the most wonderful Siren. As our parents and professors more and more absurdly demand that we be good, be quiet, and be studious, we must more and more fight for our honor.

Honor, such an old-fashioned sound, the idea of knowing one's values and living by them. The old man told me, "You're not phonies, like the others." "But a few of us, cop-outs, radicals, engineers. . . ." "Not really. You young got more feeling, honor, y'know. Oh' there's a few showing off, but not like the phonies you're against. When you're caught by a boa constrictor you don't move, see, if you want to stay alive a moment more. These phonies are caught, not moving, but the young aren't caught and gotta move. You can still feel, y'know."

My old friend was right. We feel the fall of our nation from a four-square stance to a manipulative and deceitful power. We see a war fought, see it admitted by all as somehow wrong, and see it go on. But mostly, we see our honor evaporate as we sit safely on our asses.

We must not sit back and be good students when to do that means to lose our integrity. We are not willing to lose ourselves in jail or the army, or give up our country. We don't feel good about lying to get a physical deferment, though as we are forced more and more to do something, we will do these things in preference to killing. But each of these means a loss of honor, just as staying in school does. We are here without the real possibility of doing what we are supposed to and without any viable alternatives. And then, when we protest, you wonder what has come over kids these days.

—IAN McCOLGIN

Vietnam And Chemical Warfare

The Vietnam nation has seen many tactics of warfare in its short years of existence, from conventional to guerrilla, and from psychological to chemical. The tactics used in battle are of concern to all people, especially the use of CS gas by the American soldiers.

CS gas, also known as tear-gas (not the type students are used to, but a more concentrated version) has been stockpiled in America for a number of years. It is easily contained and hidden.

When reports reached the American press in 1965 that this nation resorted to gas warfare in Vietnam, an outrage erupted. Newspapers editorialized and citizens wrote their congressmen, remembering that the Geneva Protocol of just 40 years earlier had banned the first use of this sort of warfare. The potential of the Vietnamese nation was such that it could not develop sufficient quantities of CS gas to solve the purpose of crippling all foreign military forces.

Tear gas does just what its name implies—it produces a quick burning of the eyes and running of the nose. CS gas, however, has an even more critical effect—it temporarily blinds a person and causes severe weakness and depression.

The commanders of the American forces in Vietnam realized they had an extremely potent weapon in CS and decided to use it, despite the Geneva Protocol. Claiming the use of CS was of humanitarian interests, the Armed Forces injected this agent into foxholes and bunkers, driving their "enemy" out and shooting and napalming them. This was a very humanitarian thing to do. Instead of killing immediately, the Armed Forces were able to let the "enemy" live for a while, letting them suffer immensely, and then killing them.

The United States had no visible reservations about using chemical warfare in Vietnam, since the Senate never did ratify the Protocol of 1925. It was recognized, however, to be in effect by all Presidents before Lyndon Johnson, under whose administration the Vietnam struggle made its real debut.

American Stockpiles

Arsenals throughout this nation which stockpile chemical weapons most likely stockpile biological ones. Such is the case at the Rocky Mountain Arsenal in Denver and at Pine Bluff Arsenal. Biological weapons have been condemned by every scientist and every leader of the world's nations, and it is thought that such weapons would not be in use. However, although most world leaders condemn the first-use of

chemical weapons, the American government still insists on using them.

According to sources cited in reports to the United States Congress, more than 6,000 tons of CS gas were used in Vietnam last year. This gas had to be stored in either the United States or in countries abroad. Thus, part was stored here, and the rest in such countries as Okinawa, Japan and even Great Britain, in some cases without their knowledge.

Congress Concerned

The American Congress has recognized the concern of the people over the secrecy of the use of chemical warfare and its stockpiling by amending the Defense Department's budget to include provisions limiting the stockpiling of chemical warfare agents, and by preventing expenditures of additional monies on their proliferation or research.

Everyone says the use of gas is immoral. Everyone says the use of bullets is immoral. Yet both are continued, on an exclusive basis, in Vietnam, by the American forces.

—ROBERT F. COHEN



Notices

There will be speakers from People For Adequate Welfare (P.A.W.). Learn about the problems of welfare people on Long Island. Interesting discussion, Monday, October 13, at 8:00 in Eugene O'Neill lounge, G quad.

Any volunteers who wish to participate on October 15 in any activities, or any who wish to help prior to the 15th in answering phones, making armbands, distributing leaflets and notices, come to Apt. G, O'Neill College, or call 7784. Ask for Jerry, Jack or Dale.

"I can understand the anguish of the younger generation. They lack models, they have no heroes, they see no great purpose in the world. But conscientious objection is destructive of a society. The imperatives of the individual are always in conflict with the organization of society. Conscientious objection must be reserved for only the greatest moral issues, AND VIETNAM IS NOT OF THIS MAGNITUDE."



Professor Zweig of the Economics Department

"It's an evil war, and you do what you can." This feeling, stated by Professor Rosenthal of the History Department, is shared by many of Stony Brook's faculty members. Although general pessimism prevails as to the effectiveness of the Moratorium in ending the Vietnam War, most faculty interviewed indicated that they would go along with the student boycott by cancelling classes. They perceive the Moratorium as a worn-out method of protest which will probably be but another ineffectual plea to end the war. Many are cynical because they have been engaged in similar protests since the war began. Yet, at the same time, they feel they must grasp at this method of action as one of the few alternatives they have to work with now. Participation in a Moratorium is better than doing nothing—and so, though without much optimism concerning the outcome . . .

Professor Rosenthal of the History Department is not entirely convinced about the value of a Moratorium-type protest. He feels, however, that he can aid in organizing a faculty teach-in for October 15. It will attempt to show how the war is a manifestation of a



Professor Trask of the History Department

Many Faculty Continue To Work For Peace

corruption which infests all of our society. "The war is more an effect than a cause," the professor argues.

He believes the campus to be an "artificial world" removed from the workings of society. One of the best ways students could become involved would be to go into the local communities and try to attract as much attention as possible, as peacefully as possible, for their cause.

The professor describes his own involvement with the peace movement in past years as the "standard stuff": a train of teach-ins, a research stoppage, marches in the city and local community, contributing financially to anti-war groups, and steering students to qualified draft counselors.

He does not believe the movement has been so successful as to force the Nixon Administration into an early ending of the Vietnam War and sees the current troop withdrawals as attempts at public pacification. It is even possible that protests such as this hurt the cause. Still, "People have come to recognize the war as part of something greater . . . A lot of people accept ending the war as the first part of a larger social goal."

"Anyone the Moratorium is going to alienate is lost anyway." These are the words of George Quasha of the English Department, who says he is not especially hopeful about the prospects of the Moratorium bringing about change, but "everything helps." The best thing shown by the Moratorium is that we're not about to give up the fight, but that we're going to do more." Mr. Quasha has been involved in the movement in the past and participated in one of the first poetry readings against the war, before public dissatisfaction with Vietnam was so intense.

He recommends that students go into the streets of the local communities, talk to people, and make their opinions known. The university tends to be a "cloister of convinced people. . . The bubble must be broken." Mr. Quasha states that chances are dim of "university people getting off their rear ends about anything other than their own problems. You must indicate how serious you are about this issue. It would be too bad if the Moratorium becomes another campus vacation."

David Trask, chairman of the History Department, agrees that people in the country are getting fed up with Moratorium-type activities. "Talk is cheap; we are talking the

peace movement to death." In the belief that the peace movement needs new and much more effective methods, Dr. Trask offers a plan which he feels will dramatically influence public opinion. He suggests that everyone at Stony Brook make a monetary contribution to the children victimized by the war. This could range from twenty-five dollar contributions from top staff and faculty members to five dollars apiece from students. Dr. Trask estimates that the fifty to seventy thousand dollars thus raised could contribute directly to human needs. This activity would also have great appeal among Americans as an illustration of the maxim, "Put your money where your mouth is."

Dr. Trask points out that monetary sacrifice is impressive to onlookers, but "What sacrifice is there in taking a day off from school? . . . Breast beating about opposition to the war doesn't help." Unlike most forms of protest, which tend to alienate people, Dr. Trask feels that the contribution idea would be surrounded by a minimum of controversy and a maximum of appeal.

On the topic of the peace movement itself, Dr. Trask states that anti-war factions have "lost sight of basic realities," and are in great need of self-criticism. "The movement has become ingrown and lost sight of its objectives." In fact, he believes that the government has not been moving as rapidly as it should because of the peace movement itself.

Dr. Trask insists that criticism of the movement does not mean that he believes students should refrain from anti-war protests. He himself is the author of a book called, *Victory Without Peace* (1968) which criticizes American Vietnam policy. An article he wrote on the same subject appeared in the last issue of *Soundings*.

Professor Kenneth Abrams of the English Department is another faculty member who feels a Moratorium is "not the most effective way of dealing with the question." He would be unwilling to say he encourages it if that were to imply that the activities of October 15 would be doing enough to bring peace to Vietnam. Far from discouraging the Moratorium though, he plans no classes for that day and will participate in faculty protest programs. Professor Abrams is also involved with those in the Experimental College who support the Moratorium, and they plan to have discussions and guest speakers during the protest period. As for those students who

are already convinced and have had enough of discussion, he believes they should go out and spread the word to the community.

Rose Zimbaro of the English Department is new to Stony Brook this year, but previously participated in anti-war teach-ins and fasting at City College. Asserting that she would cancel her classes for the Moratorium, she stated, "Of course one engages in this gesturing, but it is gesturing . . . it all seems to be ineffectual at this point." She pointed out that the turning point in the anti-war movement was the march on the Pentagon two years ago. Since then, non-violent means have begun to be abandoned for more militant tactics such as sabotage. "I myself don't feel I'm ready to engage in that sort of action, but I can see the validity of the argument," said Mrs. Zimbaro. "Either you have to do it or you have to stop playing games about it. I'm not ready to mount a revolution."

To Professor Zweig of Economics, the Moratorium is a dubious undertaking in that it "channels dissent about the war into traditional liberal lines in an attempt to disarm the radical movement." McCarthy people seem to dominate the leadership, and "they are fooling the people into thinking they can effect things through normal channels."

"The Moratorium is fine, and it's a shame people can't see that the war is a blunder, but the line of protest should be against the fact that the U. S. is an imperialist power and should pull back all around the world." Otherwise "you're going to end up fooling a lot of people since you won't be talking about what's really going on."

Professor Zweig suggests students attend the Bay Shore welfare rights demonstration which the Professor believes is very much connected with the war. He stresses that if students are going to get out and talk about the war, they should not just set aside one day for it. People feel good about going out for one day and talking to their friends about all the "liberal jive that the U. S. has made a tragic blunder and should get out, etc."

The professor has been active in SDS, worked with draft resistance, and participated in numerous demonstrations of various kinds. He hopes his activity won't be quite the same in the future. "Things should be getting a little more advanced . . . It might just be necessary to overthrow the government."

—JUDY HORENSTEIN

—ROBERT THOMSON

—JOE VASQUEZ



Anti-War Movement Grows ; Nixon Unaffected

By BILL SIEVERT

President Nixon showed a combination of determination and fear in his response to a reporter's question at last week's news conference concerning the plans for massive anti-war protests this fall.

"I have often said that there's really very little we can do with regard to running the university and college campuses of this country. We have enough problems running the nation, the national problems. Now I understand that there has been and continues to be opposition to the war in Vietnam on the campuses and also in the nation. As far as this kind of activity is concerned, we expect it. However, under no circumstances will I be affected whatsoever by it."

Nixon's determined sentiments are similar to the position Lyndon Johnson took during the anti-war action of 1966 and 1967. Came 1968 and Johnson was affected. Richard Nixon realizes this and is trying very hard to minimize the effects of the anti-war movement as it re-builds itself this Fall.

The build-up appears to be mostly in numbers, rather than in new tactics. The Vietnam Moratorium Committee is relying on the same tactics—class boycotts, teach-ins, rallies—which dominated the anti-war movement of the Johnson years. The difference this year is the support the anti-war movement is getting from the populace. With the number increasing rapidly, 500 student body presidents and editors have signed the call for the moratorium on classes October 15. Organizers now expect one

million students to participate. Even administrations are getting into the act, reminding faculty members they may call off classes for the 15th and cautioning them against scheduling exams that day.

Nixon vs. Congress

It will be particularly difficult for Nixon to ignore the protest if it comes, as is beginning to seem likely, from as wide a range of constituencies as students, university administrators, labor unions, some businessmen, and even some Republican members of Congress.

Senator Charles Goodell, a Republican (NY), and Rep. Allard Lowenstein (D-NY) both have demanded that Congress set a time limit by which all U.S. troops must be withdrawn. Other members of Congress are endorsing the proposals, including a caucus of Democrats who will support the Moratorium and hope to make Congress unable to meet October 15 due to a lack of a quorum. Of course, Nixon said the proposals would stifle the U.S. in the Paris Peace Talks which still "have not made significant progress."

The President's hopes that his token withdrawals and draft call reductions would satisfy the growing numbers who believe the war should have been stopped long ago (not to mention the draft) already have been dashed. The plans for anti-war action continue to prosper and the sincerity of the President's draft reductions continue to be challenged. In answer to



NFL prisoners on public display (in violation of Geneva Convention) in South Vietnam. Sign around woman's neck says: "Here: A Cruel Communist Agent."

a reporter's question concerning intentional inflation of summer draft calls to allow for the timely reduction in the draft this fall just in time to appease student unrest, Nixon responded, "I don't consider that charge one of merit."

Compare Draft Call Figures

The figures indicate otherwise, and the National Council to Repeal the Draft has leveled the charge: Not only did summer draft calls this past summer run from 5,000 to 17,000 higher a month than in 1968, but draft calls toward the end of this summer ran several thousand men higher than at the beginning of the summer. And these calls came at a time when evidence was mounting that North Vietnam was cutting down its military offensive.

Figures

The draft call for July, 1968, was 15,000 men; the call for July, 1969 was 22,300 men. The call for August, 1968 was 18,300 men; the call for August, 1969 was 29,500 men. The call for September, 1968 was 12,200 men; the call for September, 1969 was 29,000 men. And the call for October, 1968 was 13,800 men compared with a call of 29,000 for this October.

This October's call will now be spread over a three-month period, for a monthly average call of about 10,000. That monthly average is only slightly lower than the month-

ly call for September, 1968. In fact, draft calls have increased 70 per cent to this date since Nixon announced his first Vietnam troop cutback in June. But the President appears pleased with himself. "I think we're on the right course in Vietnam. We're on a course that is going to end this war," he said in his press conference. "It will end much sooner if we can have to an extent, the extent possible in this free country, a united front behind very reasonable proposals."

Protest Plans

There may be a united front growing in this country, but it is not the front Nixon wants to see. Fall anti-war actions already slated are:

- 1.) SDS national anti-war action in Chicago to coincide with the continuing trial of the Chicago Eight, October 8-11. This is the most militant and unpredictable action planned.
- 2.) The Vietnam Moratorium, class or work boycotts and appropriate non-violent protest actions, October 15, November 14-15, etc. (adding a day each month until the war is stopped.)
- 3.) The New Mobilization Committee's two-day death march from Arlington Cemetery to the Capitol October 13-14.
- 4.) The New Mobilization Committee's national march to bring the troops home now, in Washington, D.C., November 15. A second march is planned for San Francisco the same day.

War In Vietnam Vs. War On Poverty

There are far too many Americans who view the war in Vietnam and the problems in our cities as two distinct and separate issues. However, the lack of food and clothing of our urban poor, the criminal shortage of housing and educational facilities, and the run-down nature of urban America is necessarily related to the war in Vietnam specifically, and to defense spending in general.

When John Lindsay brought the Vietnam bloodbath into the mayoralty race in New York City, Mario Proccacino balked. Readers of the Daily News wrote letters to that paper asking questions which displayed a great deal of anger with the mayor's desire to assimilate Vietnam into the election campaign. Without passing judgment on the merits of Mr. Lindsay, suffice it to say that at least in this matter, he is on the right track. Yet, he is among the few people in local politics throughout the country that recognizes the compromising of urban needs by politicians on the national level.

It is quite simply a question of mathematics. The federal government reaps an amount of money in the hundreds of billions of dollars, mainly through personal income taxes. The other contributors to the pot are corporations which pay considerably less tax per dollar than the average American. It also includes those who purchase savings bonds and the like. The government then proceeds to allocate these funds with great emphasis on defense spending, exemplified by the Vietnam dilemma. The city dwellers who break their backs to provide these funds not only do not benefit from them, but also provide the cannon fodder for the wars the money is used to support. Certainly it is not the working-class people of America who get rich when the government purchases guns, ammunition and other implements of destruction. It is the same big corporations and wealthy business-



High defense spending means that less money goes towards solving the problems of the cities.



men who avoid the taxes that allow the government to get involved in these wars like Vietnam that make money from them.

In effect, by virtue of the federal government's desire to continue to concentrate in the area of defense (e.g. ABM, Vietnam), there are far less funds available for state aid for education and welfare. This, in turn, severely cuts back the potential amount of funds that could be made available by the states to their cities to improve the plight of the poor.

There is no reason for this insanity to continue. The urban areas of this country are providing both the funds and personnel for a war which will only continue to prevent improvement in their living conditions. Let us not only look to the sickening story of Vietnam on October 15, but let us turn also to the effects on our cities of this and other U. S. military ventures throughout the world.

Danny Lazaroff



Letter From Marine

Shocking Treatment Of A Recruit

I read a letter in the August issue of *Playboy* by a group of students at Stony Brook who were interested in conditions at military prisons. I am leaving for Vietnam on August 29 and I would like to contact these people because they might be able to bring light on a situation that exists in the Marine Corps that is either not known about or suppressed.

I am especially referring to Parris Island, S.C., where I underwent training. Many incidents happened to me, many to others, but what I relate can be told by many other recruits who have been victims of or who have seen these incidents. Under military law we are supposed to be protected by a U.C.M.J. (code of justice). In boot camp the Marine Corps totally violates this in many ways. I was there four days when I tried to report being punched by an instructor. I was sent to jail for a week. When I tried to run away after being threatened with more beatings, I went to jail where I was kicked and punched in the presence of officers who laughed at me. This was a week of hell where beatings were routine.

I got out of jail and was sent to a platoon where I was continually struck and punched and kicked. I could not complain because then

I would be sent back to jail. The Marine Corps has a place they call a Motivation Platoon where you can be sent without trial or right of attorney or appeal. My crime was telling other recruits they didn't have a right to hit us. Before I went back to jail I pulled a man out of the swamp who had gone crazy and slashed his wrists. This is a common occurrence down there.

While waiting for transfer to the Motivation Platoon I stayed in a place called Reassignment Platoon, where men who were considered unfit for military service waited to be released. Some had gone crazy in training. The men in charge forced those who had been judged unfit for psychological reasons to put on shows. They had to do suggestive things while being pushed around and hit. One man went crazy and started screaming for his mother. To shut him up the man in charge smashed his head against the floor and knocked him out.

At Motivation Platoon, which is nothing more than a chain gang, it is very common to be punched around. One man, a colored fellow who got a discharge for being mentally ill, could not or was not allowed to go to the toilet. He urinated in a bucket. When the instructors found this out, they

forced him to drink his own urine. The stay in this place is indefinite. The Marine Corps gets around legal procedures since they classify the place as an educational institution. There is no help from the outside. All mail is read. They take advantage especially of blacks and uneducated people. They are told they can be hit anytime someone wants to hit them. It is useless to try to escape. Some couldn't take it anymore and told the guards they were queer. They have had discharges through no fault of their own.

One day eight others and I were forced to beat up another recruit with poles and smash him on the head. We had a forced hike where three attempted murders took place, a guard was knifed, and one man tried to kill himself. If you fall down, they drag you along like a sack of dirt. We were denied food and other health items. I got out of there after I caught pneumonia and they refused to let me see a doctor.

Several recruits had huge abscesses on their fingers and body. Many lost their fingers. It is very hot there, the conditions are unsanitary, and they don't let you wash up very much. I saw a man who was forced to climb a big tower after being beaten. He

fell off and broke both legs. I recently met a man who was crippled because the drill instructor at San Diego wrapped his leg around a pole and twisted it terribly. This man is 19 and will need a cane to walk with the rest of his life.

I can't believe all this happens in America. It is going on right now. It hurts all of us, since those who rebel or get bad discharges turn to crime when they can't get a job. Lee Harvey Oswald was in this same Motivation Platoon. I am sure this place has warped many minds. I have tried in the past to fight this or write senators, but it hasn't done any good.

For many young men the military is their last hope to make a clean break, but not when they are treated like this. I shudder to think how many Oswalds this turns loose on the public. As for me, I only hope to worry about the Viet Cong now. It's really a bum trip from Parris Island to Vietnam to fight for freedom. What a joke! But please find someone to help the others. Thanks for whatever anyone can do.



When Company A Said "No!"



Sergeant, you tell them that if they won't die for important people like us, they're cowardly and communistic and they won't get any more medals.

It Can't Happen Here?

Boot Camps Turn Into Concentration Camps

Little by little, increased reports of military brutality in the training bases are being smuggled to relatives and newspapers. These reports are shocking, are filled with descriptions that make you sick because you can tell from the way they're written that they're true, and worst of all, they are increasing. It's like the reports of Hitler in Germany; no one here could really believe it, so no one did anything about it. Well, this is the USA, and it's 1969 and young men are dying before they ever reach Vietnam, where at least they have a slight chance to defend themselves.

As military discipline breaks down, brutality increases. The military's ultimate weapon is the stockade, designed as a living hell to force GI's into line. There are more than 15,000 men in such stockades; they are "political prisoners." Their crime is generally that they don't want to fight in Vietnam. But, short of the dehumanizing process that tries to change decent youngsters into cold-blooded killers?

From Ft. Dix to Ft. Lewis, across the country, America's first national system of concen-

tration camps has been created. The soldiers generally fail when they try organized resistance and are then sentenced to 10-15 years in jail. The result is that many are committing suicide, if the military doesn't kill them first. Literally. Wake up, folks. I have before me letters written by GI's which have somehow managed to get here. In issue #3, Statesman printed a letter from a '69 Stony Brook graduate, begging for money to help fight the injustices at his camp in S. C. He writes: "Some of us were called in to be interrogated in the threatening way one thought was confined to old movies . . . Others are under various restrictions and will no doubt wind up in the stockade. . . This is your fight as well as ours."

Another letter smuggled from Ft. Jackson, S. C., cites systematic beatings of "prisoners" carried out by specially trained guards, and months spent alone in a dark, smelly, 9x4 cell. Sanitary conditions are atrocious. The men suffer from rectal infections, lice, and maggots. They are beaten within hearing range of their peers, so that the

screams should serve as a "warning." Boys are "raped" every night. It has been reported that men are forced to perform day-long exercises with high fevers.

At Ft. Dix, N. J., 21-year-old Pvt. David Swanson of Connecticut died of an overdose of sleeping pills last month, after telling his parents, "I can't take any more." After a previous attempt, he had written, "The day after I cut my wrists and had stitches put in, they made me do pushups and other exercises . . . the other day I couldn't move my fingers at all. They told me to stop bluffing or they'd put an electrode on my arm and give me a good shock. . . I just don't care anymore. I can't take it." His parents went to everyone imaginable for help, but no one listened. The Ft. Dix command has stated that they are satisfied that Swanson's case was correctly handled, and no inquiry will be made.

At one base, a boy was administered 50cc of Thorazine, a sedative to calm his nerves from a prolonged stay in solitary. Before the drug wore off, he was ordered to clean his cell by guards who knew that physical move-

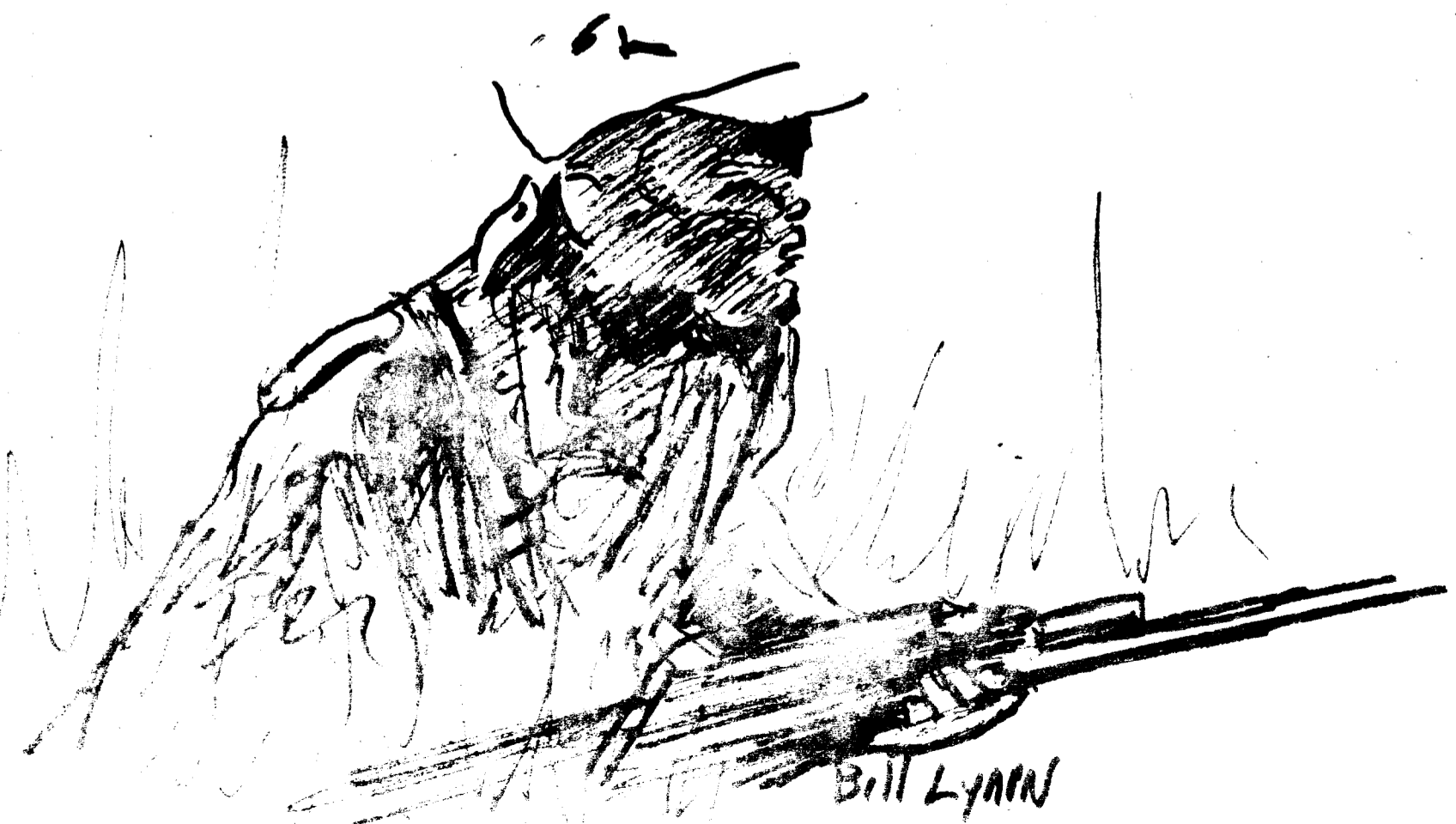
ment is almost impossible under this drug. He was severely beaten twice that night for "refusal to obey."

The most widespread torture, reported from virtually all bases, is straps. Men are tied with straps, hands tightly behind their backs, legs together, and dropped on their faces or kicked and punched by guards. There is an "official" six-hour limit, but there are numerous cases of up to 24 hours spent in the straps.

Commanding officers at some camps admit there are "a few" cases of brutality. That is "a few" too many. Keep in mind that we hear nothing of the majority of cases. Millions of dollars are spent in an undeclared war. How much are those boys' lives worth? Because it seems that the price will be the future of the United States.

In this issue is printed a letter from a GI that was sent to Statesman in late August. It speaks for itself. But don't read it after you've eaten.

BY JEANNE BEHRMAN





“ Freedom And Violence , The Acrobat Clowns Do A Balancing Act On The Graves Of Our Sons ”

Tim Buckley