

The Essential Truth No Repression Can Erase

"A society that does not correct its own ills cannot expect peace . . . The frustrations spawned by a society which has inverted its values and reversed its priorities, putting war ahead of human well-being and preferring privilege to justice—these frustrations pushed the on-

coming college generation into an activism which overreaches immediately attainable goals."

—Dr. Buell Gallagher May 7 and May 9, resigning as president of New York's City College.

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In Defense of the Campus Rebels

I hate to write on subjects about which I know no more than the conventional wisdom of the moment. One of these subjects is the campus revolt. My credentials as an expert are slim. I always loved learning and hated school. I wanted to go to Harvard, but I couldn't get in because I had graduated 49th in a class of 52 from a small-town high school. I went to college at the University of Pennsylvania which was obligated—this sounds like an echo of a familiar black demand today — to take graduates of high schools in neighboring communities no matter how ill-fitted. My boyhood idol was the saintly anarchist Kropotkin. I looked down on college degrees and felt that a man should do only what was sincere and true and without thought of mundane advancement. This provided lofty reasons for not doing homework. I majored in philosophy with the vague thought of teaching it but though I revered two of my professors I disliked the smell of a college faculty. I dropped out in my third year to go back to newspaper work. Those were the twenties and I was a pre-depression radical. So I might be described I suppose as a premature New Leftist, though I never had the urge to burn anything down.

If National Security Comes First

In microcosm, the *Weekly* and I have become typical of our society. The war and the military have taken up so much of our energies that we have neglected the blacks, the poor and students. Seen from afar, the turmoil and the deepening division appear to be a familiar tragedy, like watching a friend drink himself to death. Everybody knows what needs to be done, but the will is lacking. We have to break the habit. There is no excuse for poverty in a society which can spend \$80 billion a year on its war machine. If national security comes first, as the spokesmen for the Pentagon tell us, then we can only reply that the clearest danger to the national security lies in the rising revolt of our black population. Our own country is becoming a Vietnam. As if in retribution for the suffering we have imposed, we are confronted by the same choices: either to satisfy the aspirations of the oppressed or to try and crush them by force. The former would be costly, but the latter will be disastrous.

This is what the campus rebels are trying to tell us, in the only way which seems to get attention. I do not like much of what they are saying and doing. I do not like to hear opponents shouted down, much less beaten up. I do not like

Add Voices Of Reason

"We need more chancellors and mayors who delight in battle," [Eric Hoffer] shouted, thumping his fist on the witness table, 'who love a fight, who get up in the morning and say: "Who shall I kill today?"'"

—Testifying in Washington on campus disorders, New York Times, May 10.

"If people demonstrated in a manner to interfere with others, they should be rounded up and put in a detention camp."

—Dep. Atty. Gen. Richard Kleindienst, Goldwater's right-hand man in 1964, quoted in a revealing and comprehensive portrait of Nixon's Justice Department by Elizabeth Drew in the May Atlantic Monthly.

"Is there a legitimate interest in favor of our modern ideological criminal in today's world that is deserving of protection?"

—Kleindienst speech at the Pentagon May 1.

"The time has come for an end to patience."

—Atty. Gen. Mitchell's Law Day speech, May 1.

to hear any one group or class, including policemen, called pigs. I do not think four letter words are arguments. I hate hate, intolerance and violence. I see them as man's most ancient and enduring enemies and I hate to see them welling up on my side. But I feel about the rebels as Erasmus did about Luther. Erasmus helped inspire the Reformation but was repelled by the man who brought it to fruition. He saw that Luther was as intolerant and as dogmatic as the Church. "From argument," as Erasmus saw it, "there would be a quick resort to the sword, and the whole world would be full of fury and madness." Two centuries of religious wars without parallel for blood-lust were soon to prove how right were his misgivings. But while Erasmus "could not join Luther, he dared not oppose him, lest haply, as he confessed 'he might be fighting against the spirit of God.'"* I feel that the New Left and the black revolutionists, like Luther, are doing God's work, too, in refusing any longer to submit to evil, and challenging society to reform or crush them.

Lifelong dissent has more than acclimated me cheerfully to defeat. It has made me suspicious of victory. I feel uneasy at the very idea of a Movement. I see every insight

(Continued on Page Four)

* Froude's Life and Letters of Erasmus.

Nixon's 45 Minutes For the Poor; The Hidden Truth About the Pueblo Affair

Fortas Has Disgraced the Court and the Liberal Tradition

ANY INQUIRY INTO THE FORTAS AFFAIR might begin by asking why the \$20,000 check given the Justice in January, 1966, by the Wolfson Family Foundation turned up in its tax return marked "exchange" and was listed as an asset. William Lambert who uncovered the transaction for LIFE says one accountant declared "it appeared to be a prepayment for service expected to be rendered." If the service Wolfson expected was that he would escape prosecution in the Continental Enterprises and Merritt-Chapman cases, that hope was disappointed. In September and October Wolfson was indicted. In December Fortas repaid the \$20,000. A second line of inquiry might begin with Fortas' failure, in his letter to LIFE, to mention the \$20,000 payment at all. Apparently he did not know Lambert had turned up the check. LIFE had asked for a meeting in which Fortas could explain any information it had gathered. Fortas declined, and sent the letter instead. The letter purported to be a full account of his relationship with Wolfson but did not mention the \$20,000. Fortas was one of the smartest lawyers in the business. He knew Wolfson. Wolfson was a slick operator. He looted Washington's transit system when it was under his control. He was convicted for making \$3.5 million in Continental Enterprises at the expense of its stockholders and \$4 million at the expense of Merritt-Chapman's. How could Fortas take a fee while on the Supreme Court and take it from a notorious manipulator fighting off an SEC prosecution by name-dropping about his political influence? All that cant about taking it to advise the Wolfson Foundation about civil rights only makes it stink higher — a rich judge takes \$20,000 to help poor Nigras! Fortas should step down.

THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION, AS WE WENT TO PRESS May 12, was giving a prime lesson on how *not* to prevent demonstrations. The White House was granting the Poor Peoples Campaign 45 minutes with the President and members of his Cabinet on their 10 new demands. These represent a serious program to end poverty in America. They range from guaranteed annual incomes and a national health program for the poor to an end of the Vietnam war and abandonment of the ABM. They ask an immediate appropriation of \$2.5 billion against hunger and for free food stamps for all with incomes of less than \$3,000. The Rev. Ralph David Abernathy has been trying for months to set up serious meetings with various Cabinet and other officials who would be involved, but they refused to meet individually. One would think they would appreciate a chance to discuss these matters seriously. A 45 minute visit at the White House is no

As Trigger-Happy As The North Koreans

"Dear Sir—Let me add a footnote to your comment on our Visual Identification Zone* and the shooting down of our spy plane by North Korea. In the living room of the Grenfell Mission at Cartwright, Labrador, a Canadian mail pilot, who confessed to having difficulty in remembering to file his flight plan, recounted how he had been overhauled and challenged by two U.S. interceptors. It was something of a joke to him, but two young officers from the nearby U.S. Radar Site picked him up on it, warning him to be very careful not to repeat his omission. 'Those interceptor pilots can be pretty trigger-happy when you yank them away from their card game to go out after some stray flier on a dark night' was essentially the way they put it—and this was a Canadian pilot flying Canadian skies!

"This was just the 'barrack room' repartee of a couple of our temporary grounded pilots, but at the float where mail pilots landed and took off was posted this notice, signed by the commanding officer of the radar site: 'Be sure to file your flight plan before taking off. It may save your life.'"

—Chas. T. Jackson, Hewlett, L.I., N.Y.

* Planes approaching the U.S. must identify themselves 2 hours out. Mr. Jackson was principal at the Grenfell Mission school in Labrador in 1956-58.

substitute, and can be little more than a polite brushoff. If the result is demonstrations in the streets and an addition to public turbulence, the fault will lie with the Administration.

IT IS A PITY IN A WAY that the Pueblo crew was not subjected to court martial so the country could see how stupid and heartless the high brass can be. We hope Congress will push its own inquiry. The biggest story buried in the secret records of the Pueblo affair is that from an intelligence point of view the trip was a complete blank. This is well known to insiders, and carries grave implications for the future. What if the commander of the next spy ship decides to fight rather than give up his ship? Are we to be drawn into a full scale war next time because of an intelligence miscarriage?

THE MURKY NEWS OUT OF THE PARIS NEGOTIATIONS will become clearer if one keeps in mind that what we mean by an "honorable" peace is the imposition on South Vietnam of a right-wing military regime like that in South Korea, where all the legal parties are right of center, and a General rules in the guise of President.

North Dakota's Governor And A Radiologist Provide Fresh Perspectives On The ABM

"Our nation is swept along by contrived hysteria to keep the pipeline of the defense industries full."

—Gov. Wm. L. Guy of North Dakota, one of the two states slated for initial deployment of the ABM, in a letter of April 16 to Chairman Stennis of Senate Armed Services, declaring that "priority needs such as education, health services and reclamation projects . . . would be far better for this state's economy than the ABM system."

"The long-range biological effects of fallout appear to be some 10 to 100 times more serious than anticipated so that regardless of whether or not defensive missiles are deployed, any kind of full scale nuclear war now for the first time threatens the extinction of mankind through the death of the children born to the survivors."

"The long-range world-wide fallout from a massive first

strike supposedly threatened by the Russian[s] would necessarily be so large that it would end the Russian society through its effect on their newborn children. This would be true even if not a single one of our thousands of bombs should reach Russian soil. [Emphasis added—IFS]

"All attempts to provide a defense can only lead to an increase in the total amount of weapons required to overcome [it] and would increase the long-range biological effects produced by a nuclear war, leading to the end of man through fetal or infant deaths in the next generation."

—Dr. Ernest J. Sternglass, U. of Pittsburgh, to Bingham (D-N.Y.) (abr.), in Cong. Rec. April 24 with a related article in the April Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists.

Why The American Friends Service Committee Calls For Immediate U.S. Withdrawal

An Eloquent White Paper On the Horror of What We Are Doing in Vietnam

We present here in abridged form the White Paper which the American Friends Service Committee has just issued on the war in Vietnam. It is the most eloquent plea of its kind we have seen. It was signed by Gilbert F. White as chairman and Bronson P. Clark as executive secretary. The full text and its documentation may be obtained from the AFSC in Philadelphia or in the May 7 Congressional Record where it was inserted by Ryan (D.-N.Y.).

It has been more than a year since the rhetoric of peace began in Vietnam. During this time scores of thousands of men, women and children have died in the fighting. They will continue to die unless there is an unparalleled demand from the American people that the slaughter be halted. The American Friends Service Committee calls for a halt now. U.S. military and government leaders are fostering illusions.

What Our B-52s Are Doing

The human situation today in Vietnam is worse than it has ever been. An entire nation is being destroyed and the tempo of destruction has increased. One-third of the rural people of this rural nation have become refugees. Hundreds of thousands of acres have been defoliated, countless villages have been razed. B-52 raids alone have torn 2½ million holes 45 feet in diameter and 30 feet deep — holes that serve as breeding grounds for malarial mosquitoes. More tons of explosives have been dropped on this tiny country than on all the Axis powers in World War II, and with every month the loads are bigger and the bombs heavier. In December, 1968, the U.S. for the first time began using in Vietnam 10,000-pounds that had been stored in military depots for 15 years. The suffering of the Vietnamese has reached levels that would appall the American people if they could see it. The American Friends Service Committee, which has been involved in the relief of war suffering for more than half a century, has rarely encountered such misery as in Vietnam today.

The U.S. has stepped up its military activity since the bombing of the North was halted on November 1. There are more U.S. troops in Vietnam than ever. The number of battalion-sized operations initiated by the Allies has grown steadily since the bombing halt: in November, 800; in December, 956; in January, 1077. The total tonnage of bombs dropped has increased: in January, 129,700, the highest monthly tonnage since the war began. U.S. battle deaths show a rise every month since the bombing halt: 703 Americans in November; 1265 in March.

The countryside has not been pacified; it is less secure in 1969 than it was in 1965. Even the major cities, though ringed with fortifications, are vulnerable to attack. Quaker

Thieu Gets More Democratic All The Time

"Recently, [Thieu] told village and hamlet officials at the resort of Vingtau that 'there are Communists among the Nationalist ranks. They are the intellectuals. The Vietnamese people have shed so much blood and yet there remain those intellectuals, who would readily cooperate with the Communists.' Thieu went on, 'I will not let these people stab you in the back. It is only just and democratic to arrest them.'"

—Joseph B. Treaster in The New York Times, May 4.

workers report anti-American feeling has never been so intense. The Thieu-Ky government is a military government propped up by American power, despised and corrupt. Freedom of speech is suppressed. No one knows how many Vietnamese political prisoners languish in Vietnam's prisons, but the figure is certainly in the thousands and includes university professors, religious leaders, lawyers, students, newspaper editors, politicians — anyone who has dared to advocate political initiatives to end the war. Many of the leading figures in the Saigon government fought for the French against their countrymen. Whatever the outcome, they will be swept away once the Vietnamese regain control of their own affairs.

It is not hardware or training that is lacking in Saigon's armies. It is will. A Vietnamese dressed in the peasant garb of the NLF is one of the world's most formidable fighting men; the same man in the uniform of Saigon is one of the poorest. Why? Because one believes he fights to drive the foreigner from his soil while the other fights only to sustain the power of a corrupt military clique.

As the only foreigners in South Vietnam, the U.S. and its allies have nothing to negotiate but the rate and manner of their withdrawal. There will be suffering and turmoil if the U.S. leaves. Withdrawal does not mean that justice will be done. But whatever happens will in our judgment be preferable to going on with the present agony that is literally destroying Vietnam, undermining our own domestic social fabric, and damaging our country's name in the world community. Every day sees the armed forces of the world's most powerful nation raining bombs and chemicals and napalm on the rice fields and bamboo huts of one of the poorest and most defenseless. As long as this continues, millions must wonder whether the Americans have become the New Barbarians. Let us order a cease-fire and a withdrawal, unilaterally and immediately. Let us get on with the rebuilding of their country and ours, and lifting the burden of poverty from the backs of Vietnamese and Americans alike.

"Puff The Magic Dragon" As Seen From Below Among Its Helpless Victims

"Several of us went to the roof about 3 a.m. The American unleashed the terrifying 'Puff the Magic Dragon,' a DC3 that spews forth 5000 machine gun bullets per minute. Watching it circle overhead last night I could visualize the scene below. Men, women, children and animals, caught like rats in a flood. No place to hide, no way to plead their case of innocence to the machine in the sky, no time to prepare for death.

"Sitting behind the others on the roof I felt tears welling up and was shocked as I became aware of feelings foreign to my conscious self, which surfaced under the indescribable strain of watching man slaughter man en masse. The cold, mechanical compassionless way that monster circled around, ruthlessly pursuing an unseen 'enemy,' stabbing

viciously earthward again and again, probing, searching, killing and maiming all in its path . . . We have survived, but a lot of Quang Ngai people didn't make it. And a lot more who are now clinging to life over at the hospital will not make it until morning."

—Letter from a Quaker worker in Quang Nai, late in February 1969, cited in the AFSC White Paper.

"How can I tell you what it was like! These people coming in filthy, with glazed looks, numb. Nobody talking, nobody crying and the sounds of furious battle not yet ended pursuing them in the door. The emergency room floor, still covered with blood from yesterday's casualties, smelled in the heat of the day and was oppressive."

—Another Quaker letter from Quang Nai, same.

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degenerating into a dogma, and fresh thoughts freezing into lifeless party line. Those who set out nobly to be their brother's keeper sometimes end up by becoming his jailer. Every emancipation has in it the seeds of a new slavery, and every truth easily becomes a lie. But these perspectives, which seem so irrefutably clear from a pillar in the desert, are worthless to those enmeshed in the crowded struggle. They are no better than mystical nonsense to the humane student who has to face his draft board, the dissident soldier who is determined not to fight, the black who sees his people doomed by shackles stronger than slavery to racial humiliation and decay. The business of the moment is to end the war, to break the growing dominance of the military in our society, to liberate the blacks, the Mexican-American, the Puerto Rican and the Indian from injustice. This is the business of our best youth. However confused and chaotic, their unwillingness to submit any longer is our one hope.

Revolutionaries In A Free Society

There is a wonderful story of a delegation which came here to see Franklin D. Roosevelt on some reform or other. When they were finished the President said, "Okay, you've convinced me. Now go on out and bring pressure on me." Every thoughtful official knows how hard it is to get anything done if someone isn't making it uncomfortable *not to*. Just imagine how helpless the better people in government would be if the rebels, black and white, suddenly fell silent. The war might smolder on forever, the ghettos attract as little attention as a refuse dump. It is a painful business extricating ourselves from the stupidity of the Vietnamese war; we will only do so if it becomes more painful *not to*. It will be costly rebuilding the ghettos, but if the black revolt goes on, it will be costlier *not to*. In the workings of a free society, the revolutionist provides the moderate with the clinching argument. And a little *un-reason* does wonders, like a condiment, in reinvigorating a discussion which has grown pointless and flat.

We ought to welcome the revolt as the one way to prod us into a better America. To meet it with cries of "law and order" and "conspiracy" would be to relapse into the sterile monologue which precedes all revolutions. Rather than change

Only 81% On Net Worth!

"Washington—Major issue raised by the renegotiation case being contested by Grumman Aircraft Engineering Corp. is whether aerospace companies whose sales skyrocketed to meet Vietnam war demands should have their profits slashed because they appear excessive by the yardstick of net worth. This is the same problem the industry faced during the Korean war period when unilateral determinations by the Renegotiation Board against major aerospace firms mounted to more than \$100 million. The board's determination of \$7.5 million excessive profits against Grumman for the calendar year 1965 is now in a preliminary phase here before U.S. Tax Court Judge John E. Mulroney. Grumman's profits for the year averaged a moderate 6.5% of sales. But the board said the company's 81% return on net worth 'clearly indicates the presence of excessive profits.'"

—Aviation Week & Space Technology, April 14.

old habits, those in power always prefer to fall back on the theory that all would be well but for a few malevolent conspirators. It is painful to see academia disrupted, but under the surface were shams and horrors that needed cleansing. The disruption is worth the price of awakening us. The student rebels are proving right in the daring idea that they could revolutionize American society by attacking the universities as its soft underbelly. But I would also remind the students that the three evils they fight—war, racism and bureaucracy—are universal. The Marxism-Leninism some of the rebels cling to has brought into power a bureaucracy more suffocating than any under capitalism; the students demonstrate everywhere on our side but are stifled on the other. War and imperialism have not been eliminated in the relations between Communist States. Black Africa, at least half-freed from the white man, is hardly a model of fraternity or freedom. Man's one real enemy is within himself. Burning America down is no way to Utopia. If battle is joined and our country polarized, as both the revolutionists and the repressionists wish, it is the better and not the worse side of America which will be destroyed. Someone said a man's character was his fate, and tragedy may be implicit in the character of our society *and* of its rebels. How make a whisper for patience heard amid the rising fury?

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