

The Duke Chronicle

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Durham, North Carolina

Tuesday, October 14, 1969

Baird talks on abortion

By Nancy Stewart

William R. Baird, addressing a hushed audience in Page Auditorium last night, proclaimed that "the most serious problem facing our world today is that of over-population."

Citing the present concern with the war in Viet Nam as a commonly recognized issue, he stated that "war and over-population go hand in hand, whether it be in Viet Nam or anywhere else."

Baird, founder and director of the Parent's Aid Society, is presently facing a ten-year sentence for teaching birth control methods in universities and to poor city dwellers.

Although Baird said that Duke "might be one of the most conservative campuses I've ever been on," he pleaded for the formation of a group to fight for repeal of abortion laws and to set up a center for birth control information and distribution. He cited several schools where such centers have been established.

The speech on "Legalized Abortion—A Need for Reform" was sponsored by the University Union Major Speakers Committee and the Inter-Fraternity Council.

Baird emphasized the problem of unwanted pregnancy is a real one on the Duke campus. "The hardest thing I fight is

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Photo by Diane Lubovsky
William Baird speaking at Page last night.

500 soldiers, civilians march in Fayetteville

By Andy Parker
Policy Editor

Over 500 people, including some 100 soldiers, marched last Saturday in the first anti-war demonstration to occur in the Army city of Fayetteville. The demonstrators marched through the downtown area and held a rally demanding that the government "bring the troops home now."

The rally, which focused around growing dissent within the military, featured

Gulley raps inaction, tells of Mobe plans

By Andy Parker
Policy Editor

"To be against the war in Vietnam and yet sit back passively month after month and wait for a Richard Nixon or a Melvin Laird to admit that our country was wrong and that we are going to bring our men home without delay, is naive, to say the least."

"It isn't going to happen until the American people make it happen."

"That is why we must go to the people of our University and our community," said Dub Gulley yesterday as he outlined plans for the Duke moratorium on "business as usual."

Candlelight march

The moratorium will begin with the reading of the names of Duke's war dead outside the ROTC building at 11:30 tonight. This will be followed by a candlelight procession to the Chapel and a midnight ecumenical service.

"Students all over the country," Gulley said, are declaring a one-day moratorium against the war in Vietnam. We are not striking against our schools. We are leaving our classes for the day so that we can go out to the community and help organize our fellow Americans against the war in Vietnam."

Gulley was bitter about the Administration's statement which in effect refuses to recognize the moratorium. "The Duke administration has taken an unresponsive a stance as any school in reacting against the nationwide call for a moratorium. It has openly admitted that the

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From the real world

WASHINGTON—In an exchange of letters with a student at Georgetown University, President Nixon pledged to join with all Americans who sought peace in Vietnam. The president, however, reaffirmed his refusal to allow Wednesday's nationwide demonstrations to sway him from his course.

WASHINGTON—A Chicago police official told the Senate Investigations Subcommittee that the former Provost Marshal General of the Army, Maj. Gen. Carl C. Turner, asked him to destroy receipts signed by the General for some 400 weapons given to Turner. The official also refuted testimony by the General that the weapons were given to him for his personal use.

FAYETTEVILLE, N.C.—Two men told the Senate Investigations Subcommittee that another cache of arms that figured in testimony concerning Maj. Gen. Carl C. Turner had been stockpiled by a "federal agency," which they hinted was the C.I.A.

WASHINGTON—The Supreme Court agreed to decide whether or not welfare cutbacks made by the New York Legislature last spring violate federal law. At the same time, the Court agreed to hear arguments on whether a state may legally set absolute limits on the amount of aid given to a family with dependent children.

79 sign letter to Nixon

Woodhall signs call for withdrawal

By John Duchelle
Policy Reporter

Chancellor Barnes Woodhall was among the 79 college and university presidents who sent a letter to President Nixon Sunday calling for "a stepped-up timetable for withdrawal—from Vietnam."

In a 20 word statement, the college heads emphasized that they were speaking as "individuals who work with young men and women" and not as representatives of their communities. They stated that an end to the war is necessary if the nation hopes to work in support of more peaceful priorities:

The statement initiated by President John R. Coleman of Haverford College, was endorsed by the presidents of many of the nation's most prestigious institutions. Dr. Woodhall's only comment was, "Duke

University did not sign the statement. I signed it as an individual."

The statement declared:

"We speak as individuals who work with young men and women. The universities and colleges which we serve take no positions as institutions on the Vietnam war; these are pluralistic communities where men speak for themselves on off-campus issues."

"There are times to be silent and times to speak. This is a time to speak. The accumulated costs of the Vietnam war are not in men and material alone. There are costs too in the effects on young peoples' hopes and beliefs. Like ourselves, the vast majority of the students with whom we work still want to believe in a just, honest, and sensitive America. But our military engagement in Vietnam now stands as a

denial of so much that is best in our society."

"More and more, we see the war deflecting energies and resources from urgent business on our own doorsteps. An end to the war will not solve the problems on or off campus. It will, however, permit us to work more effectively in support of more peaceful priorities. Far from being depressed about our nation's future and our institutions' future, we see bold opportunities ahead once the divisiveness of this war is in the past.

We urge upon the President of the United States and upon Congress a stepped-up timetable for withdrawal from Vietnam. We believe this to be in our country's highest interest, at home and abroad."

Clerics back moratorium

Department of Religion faculty, together with undergraduate majors and graduate students, today voiced their intention to support the Vietnam Moratorium. Nine faculty members, sixteen majors and twenty-eight grad students who were reached today, signed the statement.

The statement declared:

"We, the undersigned members of the Department of Religion Faculty Graduate Students and undergraduates, in fulfillment of our vocation as students and teachers in this University, affirm our intention to suspend 'business as usual' on Wednesday, October 15, in support of the Moratorium."

Signing the statement were:

FACULTY:	
Thomas A. Langford	H. Patrick Sullivan
Henry B. Clark II	Thomas E. McCollough
Eric M. Meyers	Alan W. Jenks
Wesley Kort	Mac Linscott Ricketts
Robert J. Osborn	
MAJORS:	
Tommie Rogers	Natalie Bimel
R. Meadows	Anne Shaffner
Kathy Berns	Janet Mattison
Tom Forrester	Pete Marco
Jim Nix	Allan D. Crane
David York	Nancy Benoit
Frederic Lyon	Warren Lewis Pittman

Those faculty members who signed said suspension of business as usual would take various forms. Some said they would reschedule classes; some announced they would meet at regular times but talk about the war and others said they would integrate their classes into the Moratorium seminar schedule.

Cloudy

Considerable cloudiness is predicted for today with the probability or rain, increasing from 20% during the day to 30% by this evening. The temperature should reach a high in the lower 80's, dropping to the low 60's tonight.

Players to show 'Follies'

The Duke Players and the University Union Cinematic Arts Committee present the documentary film, *Titicut Follies*, tonight, Oct. 14 at 7 and 9 p.m. in the Biological Sciences Bldg. Admission is 75 cents. The film delves into both the horrible conditions at the Bridgewater State Hospital for the Criminally Insane and the capacity of man to allow these conditions to exist.

Titicut Follies has been banned in Massachusetts, the location of the Bridgewater Hospital, and was

the winner of the Mannheim Film Festival in 1968. It is being shown in conjunction with the Duke Players production of Peter Weiss' play *Marat/Sade*, to be performed Oct. 30-31 and Nov. 1-2 in Branson Auditorium.

Richard Schickel, writing in *Life*, stated that "the Bridgewater

atmosphere is one of aimless hopelessness punctuated by outbursts of unthinking almost ritualized violence. The result... is a shock of partial recognition, a sudden realization that these people are uncomfortably like us, their behavior only an exaggeration of that state we are pleased to call normal.

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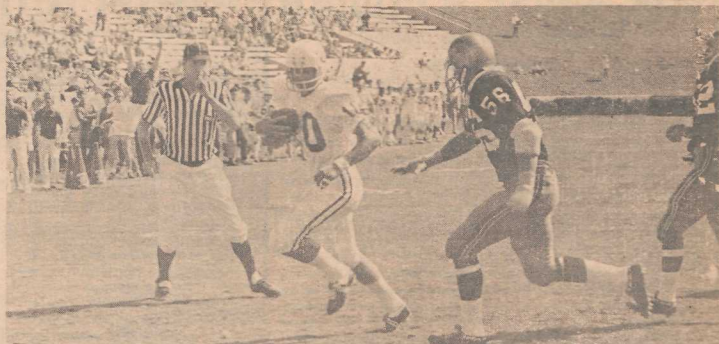


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Frosh swimmers meeting

There will be a meeting for all prospective freshmen swimmers and divers on October 15 and 16 at 4:15 in the varsity team dressing room in Card Gym. Assistant coaches will be on hand, and the season's schedule will be announced at the meetings.



Duke quarterback Leo Hart scampers untouched into the endzone, leaving two Deacons in his Wake. Duke won the game, 27-20.

Photo by Jerry Warr

Iron Dukes snare first

By Mike Curtis

Clemson's Tigers and the Gamecocks of South Carolina were dealt a sound defeat by the Duke University cross country team last Friday at Clemson, South Carolina. The Tigers fell to a 26-33 score while South Carolina went down to a 25-37 defeat.

The Iron Dukes ran a strong race, placing men in five of the top ten positions and seven of the first twelve. Although veteran runner Mike Graves was still sidelined with an injury, his Duke teammates met the challenge of the rival ACC teams to capture the meet.

Rob Leutwiler of Duke ran an excellent race to finish third. Dwight Morris and Larry Forester followed close behind to take fifth and sixth places. The Dukes then took ninth through twelfth positions to climax their performance.

Mark Wellner took ninth place, freshman Roger Beardmore ran a very strong tenth, Phil Sparling ended up eleventh and Phil Wilson twelfth to achieve a very tight team spread for Duke.

One factor in Duke's favor was the time between the finishes of Leutwiler and Wilson. Only one minute five seconds separated third and twelfth.

For the Iron Dukes, the season's record is now four wins and one loss, the best athletic standing among the varsity sports. Duke hosts Virginia, Friday October 17 at 4:00 on the number seven fairway of the University golf course in an effort to take another ACC win.

Post mortem

By Roy Towlen

Assistant Sports Editor

Apparently in accord with events of October 15, the Duke Blue Devils have called a moratorium on losing. Showing the form which made them winners four times last year, and which was expected but not yet forthcoming this year, Duke's offense came alive against Wake Forest and scored almost as many points as it had it the first three games of the season.

It must be said that the Devils had the breaks going their way in the opening minutes of play. But the fact that they were able to capitalize on the breaks, plus the fact that the offensive line gave Leo Hart plenty of time to throw, made Duke look like a totally different team from the one which was thumped by Pitt last week.

It is particularly important to note that while the offensive line did such a good job against Wake, it was playing with a number of serious injuries. At the weekly press luncheon on Monday, Coach Harp mentioned that the team went into the game in the worst physical shape he could remember at Duke.

Singled out for special praise by Harp were center Bob Morris, and backs John Cappellano and Phil Asack.

"I'm very proud of Morris, Cappellano, and Asack, who had to play four quarters of football with hardly any relief," commented Harp "We got a great effort out of them."

Morris played an exceptional game, exceptional even if he hadn't had a bad leg. Due to an injury to Don Baglien, Cappellano and Asack were forced to play the entire game without relief. Despite the heat, they both continually ran and blocked well.

The Devils also performed without the valuable services of safety Rich Searl. Searl is still a question mark for this week's game against Maryland, but Mike Davies who replaced Searl did a fine job. Ernie Jackson turned in his usual outstanding performance, while Bob Zwirko and Dave Trice also played well in the defensive backfield.

Hopefully, the Devils will be in better physical shape this week. Both Baglien and defensive end Bruce Mills should be back in action against the Terps.

Although Duke's margin of victory was only seven points, it was this reporter's opinion that the team played a much better game than the score would indicate. The offense took advantage of several early breaks, and also drove for a quick score in the opening minutes of the third period, just when it appeared that the momentum might be swinging towards Wake Forest. The Devils led 27-13 in the fourth quarter, and were driving for another score when the Deacons intercepted a Hart pass at the goal line. Although the Duke defense gave up a touchdown thereafter, it was tough when it had to be.

So far this season, the defense has been reasonably good. The defensive secondary has been excellent, and the line and linebackers have done better than expected considering the injuries which they have sustained. Curt Rawley played another fine game at tackle.

It is the offense which was to blame most of all for the losses to Virginia and Pitt. It is capable of scoring at least three touchdowns against anyone on their schedule. If they can continue to block as they did against Wake, the Blue Devils may yet have a winning season.

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The Duke Chronicle

The Student Press of Duke University

Founded in 1905

Today is Tuesday, October 14, 1969.

Sixty-four years ago today the treaty ending the Russo-Japanese War was ratified. During the last year of this prolonged, imperialist war in Asia—which ended in a defeat for Russia—revolutionaries at home capitalized on popular discontent by taking part in spontaneous, anti-government demonstrations.

Keeping a close eye on Tovarich Nixon's plans for a "phased withdrawal" from Vietnam, this is the dubious Duke Chronicle, Volume 65, Number 21, published at Duke in Durham, North Carolina. News of any risings: Ext. 2663. Business: 6588.

Student control

A very important vote will probably be held at tonight's ASDU meeting. The occasion will be a motion to reconsider last week's decision to set up a student-run Residential Life Committee, perhaps with the intent of reverting back to the original Undergraduate Faculty Council Committee.

The issues involved in such a vote seem to us very clear cut. Basically, the vote will determine whether the structure of residential decision-making will be one pushed upon the students by intrinsigant administrators, or one which the students themselves create.

In keeping with our commitment to full student participation in decisions which effect the lives of students, we of course support the latter alternative. And we feel that last week's proposal, which would set up an ASDU committee to structure discussion within the community and head toward a student referendum on residential life, was a significant step in the right direction.

Since students are really the only ones that will have to live with the decisions that will be made, it is obvious that the residential system is almost exclusively a student concern. Thus students should have a controlling voice in the establishment of any new residential policy. The most democratic way of doing this, we feel, is through a referendum which would have final policy-making power. And, as we have said before, only if the students themselves draw up the proposals that are to be voted on will they become completely aware of the issues involved, and only then will they be assured that the proposals represent the wishes of the average student.

A so-called "compromise" proposal that may be advanced tonight would make this student referendum merely an advisory opinion to the UFC committee. Under this plan, the ASDU committee charged with setting up the referendum would, in effect, be only a subcommittee of the Subcommittee on Residential Life of the Undergraduate Faculty Council. To our way of thinking, this would put students in a ridiculously ineffective position on an issue that is primarily a student interest.

We therefore reaffirm our support for a policy-making student referendum. In the spirit of community, however, we feel that some faculty and administrators should be included on the ASDU committee, and perhaps those faculty that are involved in the teaching of undergraduates should be given a vote in the referendum. But mass democracy seems to us a necessity before any changes are made.

Time for decision

In spite of everything that Mr. Nixon says, the best thing that you can do to help end this war is to support the Moratorium tomorrow.

Activist students have been trying for years to put pressure on Johnson and now Nixon to get out of Vietnam, but they have lacked the necessary active, broad-based support, and thus have been noticeably short on leverage. The Moratorium, though, is for everyone. Whether you consider yourself a radical, a liberal, a moderate or a conservative, if you are in favor of a faster withdrawal of troops, then you should feel morally committed to participate in the Moratorium.

This means boycotting class. In spite of Chancellor Woodhall's earlier promise of a "broader, more relaxed" policy on the Moratorium, the troika's statement of Friday was identical to the one given out by Provost Hobbs a week before: classes are to be held as usual. Fortunately, they cannot require that students attend.

Go to class on the quad. There, in place of business as usual, you can talk to other concerned students and faculty about how we got into this war, how we can get out of it, how it affects your education at Duke, and how we can avoid another Vietnam. The discussions will be free and open; no doctrine will be forced upon you.

If you attend your regular classes, you—whether you like it or not—will be counted as supporting Mr. Nixon's war policy. You cannot withdraw from the decision by telling yourself that you support the ideas of the Moratorium, but feel that your education is more important. Life is not like that; at times you are forced to make a stand. Besides, there is an education waiting on the quad, too.

Commit yourselves, damn it. The war has gone on way too long. You are being presented with an easy, prepared prestigious opportunity for commitment, cropped right on your door step.

If you refuse to accept it, be prepared to defend the war. Tomorrow there will be no such thing as neutrality.

Conscience and Canada

By David Millar

Editor's note: David Millar, a native of Ligonier, Pennsylvania, graduated with a degree in sociology from Duke in 1968. While here, he was a member of Delta Sigma Phi fraternity. After his graduation, David entered the UNC school of social work—but was drafted during his first semester there. He undertook basic training at Fort Dix, special training at Fort Ord, and was enrolled in G.C.S. at Fort Belvoir, Va. After two weeks of O.C.S., he dropped out of the program—and soon thereafter received 30 days leave and orders for Vietnam. David decided to go to Canada. The following is a letter he sent to friends in the Durham area.

Just nine days ago Mary and I crossed the Peace Bridge which separates the U.S. from Canada. Although traffic flows both ways across the bridge, the name symbolized a very real irony as we crossed the bridge into Canada. For us the name aptly described the reasons for which we were using the bridge, yet for those traveling in the opposite direction a real paradox seemed to exist. For the first time in my life I understood what it meant to be a refugee, and how it felt to see a gate which defined the boundaries of freedom. Although our departure was marked with some sadness, we never glanced behind to see America disappearing from view. Our sole preoccupation was with what lay ahead and not with what was left behind.

While proceeding through customs, I learned that I am a dual-national, i.e., both a Canadian and an American. Needless to say I was elated with this discovery. I am now in the process of obtaining my Canadian certificate of citizenship which will take 6-8 weeks. After that I intend to work for about ten

months, and begin graduate work at the University of Toronto next fall. In order to make the psychological break with the U.S. complete, I plan to formally renounce my U.S. citizenship as soon as my Canadian citizenship certificate arrives.

So far our reception in Canada has been quite positive although some people appear uneasy about the fact that I shall soon be considered a deserter. At first this bothered me too until I realized that the power of definition lies with those who also placed me in the situation where I had to draw a line. Until two days ago my feelings had been quite ambivalent, but now I feel more assured that my decision was the right one. I do have my regrets, but they are regrets of people left behind not of my choice. Although I felt the school of social work needed vast improvements...The few months that I spent in the graduate school were undoubtedly the most memorable of my life. The thought of being permanently exiled from all that I enjoyed is quite sad.

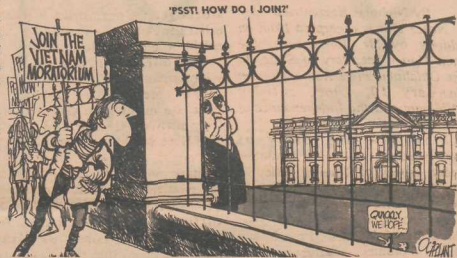
At the same time, the line I have drawn has given me new inspiration. For the first time in months, I again feel in control of my life. Furthermore, I believe that

I have accomplished something that I have been striving for during the last 23 years—the power and courage to live my life without compromising the values and ideals that I cherish. Instead of picturing myself as a martyr, I feel that I have taken a very positive step. Too often people define themselves as negations of others—a characteristic which is quite common with students today. Hopefully, both Mary and I can take a positive approach to our new adventure.

Since we will be unable to return to the U.S., we will be the inviters. If you ever feel the need to temporarily escape, we hope that you will seriously consider coming to Canada.

Say hello to everyone for us. Knowing both of you, we both wish you luck during the coming academic year. Possibly the new first year class will push some life into the second year students. If nothing else, I hope that they learn that constant compromise and acceptance is not worth the integrity that one must surrender. Hopefully, they too will come to realize the importance of drawing lines.

Sincerely yours,
Dave & Mary Millar



the Readable Radical

The Pitiful Moderates

By Mark Pinsky

The "moderate" statement signed by one-hundred five Duke Professors is so dimly typical of the faculty mentality that it almost begs to be ignored.

It was put together by the same curious little coterie of disenchanted liberals who have been most frustrated by developments on American campuses over the last two or three years. Engineering this "master stroke" has no doubt injected more excitement into their dull little lives than a dozen academic conventions. They could be observed for the past two weeks or so whispering together in the dining hall, exchanging secret smiles on the quad, or casting furtive glances at students within hearing range of huddled conversations. So sad. So pitifully sad. To even the most casual observer it seemed as if they were even more intent on proving Mark Twain's observation that there is nothing quite so stupid as an authority outside of his own field.

What the statement said was a quite simple. It offered the administration a deal: "You don't mess with curriculum or personnel and we'll let you call the cops whenever you please. US growsups just have to stick together." The most significant subsidiary point, dealing with "academic standards" and "professionalism," was so reminiscent in both style and content of recent statements released by white construction

trades unions it was enough to make you retch.

These are the same people who return again and again the theme of "reason" and "rational discourse." They believe fervently in both these things except when their students want to talk about them sharing their absolute power in the areas of curriculum and personnel. Then their faces drain, their jaws become firmly set and they begin to sweat. If they only could see that for many sincere students this is the "origin of unreasonableness" on the Duke campus. Men of vision, men of reason, men secure in their position in the academic community see that stubborn refusals to voluntarily share power by those in power is what makes students put their faith in intimidation. The most unfortunate aspect of this whole affair is that, in addition to the usual gang of cranks, the names of at least a dozen of the more sensitive and courtly members of this community have been added. This can only be attributed to the determined crassness of two or three of the petition's prime movers. Such cruel use is usually confined to rightists' fantasies involving the New Left.

But this kind of abuse, albeit justified, should not be confined to the neo-reactionary Sidney Hooks and Louis Feuers of the Duke campus. Because a large and identifiable group of names, greatly influential in the faculty, do not

appear on this petition. The liberal establishment refused, for one reason or another, to be sucked into this one. For these people, the most significant consideration in evaluating the faculty's vote on bringing the police on campus last February, the Academic Council's vote on R.O.T.C. and the UFC's failure to even recognize that the October 15 Moratorium exists, is whether or not the *New York Times* will find out. Because if it does, they will have to spend countless hours explaining to their colleagues on other campuses how these are not the same issues in Durham, North Carolina, as they might be at Cambridge or on Morningside Heights.

Resolutions passed at professional association conventions are one thing and calling off classes at Duke are quite another.

These two groups of academic careerists are both committed to the preservation of the same kind of university: that is, a safe quiet place for intelligent people who have sufficient pretensions to talk a good game, but not sufficient stomach to act them out in the larger, more capricious community. Or even, as we see by this statement, within their own community.

And they still can't figure out why their students no longer respect them.



America and Vietnam

a Chronicle supplement

How we got in

A brief history of American involvement, 1949-64

By Dr. Stephen Uhalley, Jr.

Note: Dr. Uhalley is Associate Professor of History at Duke. He is a Marine veteran of the Korean War, has had several years of foundation and academic experience in Asia, and has written numerous recent academic articles on modern Chinese history.

The beginnings of the present tragic American involvement in Vietnam are attributable to a combination of three factors: first and most fundamentally, an undignified national fear of the political-social phenomenon of Communism; secondly, an irrational and perhaps basically racist fear of Chinese expansionism in Asia; and thirdly a deplorable ignorance on a massive national scale of the realities of Asia, with Vietnam being a specific area where this ignorance has been especially evident. Perhaps the most that can be said in defense of the United States' response to developments in Vietnam is that it was motivated by the lofty if naive assumption that we were trying to protect the "free" peoples of South Vietnam from the tyrannies of Communism. However, even this apparently generous stance is compromised by the rationalization that Southeast Asia was somehow our first line of defense.

With a problem that is so immense, so costly, so productive of divisiveness among Americans, and so apparently insoluble it is imperative that we take the time to consider its origins. We cannot afford the easy attribute of Herbert Humphrey that all this is "ancient history." To really solve the problem we must look at the facts, even the historic facts. For only in this way will we be able to reassess properly those basic assumptions that led to our involvement. And one way to resolve the problem is to be able to see it on the basis of sounder assumptions.

American involvement in Vietnam was negligible before 1949, the year when Communism triumphed in the huge country of China immediately to the north of Vietnam. However, the United States had already played a negative role with respect to the Vietnamese national independence movement before that date. In World War II the most effective organization which opposed the Japanese in Vietnam was the Vietminh, led by Ho Chi Minh. It was a national independence movement, admittedly Communist led, that cooperated with the American war effort; it helped save the lives of American flyers downed in the area by Japanese, and received assistance from the O.S.S. Since it was the only effective opposition group to the Japanese, and because it cooperated with Americans, and because of the American enunciation of the principle of self-determination, the Vietminh felt reasonably assured of American support for their independence movement when the war ended. However, when World War II did end American national interest priorities had shifted so that it became important not to antagonize France in her colonial backyard, that she might better be part of the European defense system. Once again the principle of self-determination was reneged upon. The British and Nationalist Chinese occupation of Vietnam gave the French opportunity to establish themselves again at the expense of the Vietminh.

The civil war that ensued, and that would last from 1946 to 1954, was largely left to the Vietnamese and the French themselves, until 1949 that is. The French fought to secure themselves, or at least to hold on to as much as they could in Vietnam as colonial overlords, as best they could, indulging freely in broken promises to the Vietnamese and relying increasingly on military force. The last years of the French presence in Vietnam is one of the sorriest records in all of the bleak literature of colonialism. But from 1949 to 1954, the United States became increasingly involved on the side of the French. The local issue, of national independence against the French, became far less important to Washington than the possibility that yet another country might go Communist. These were the years when world Communism was regarded as monolithic, with distinctions between the Kremlin, Peking and the Vietminh appearing to be irrelevant. In 1951, it may be recalled, the American Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs implied that China was merely a satellite of the Kremlin, that its government did not pass the first test for being a Chinese government because "it is not Chinese." Such

(Continued on page 7)

Case for involvement

'Essential to the independence of Southeast Asia'

By Nicholas Katzenbach

Note: This is excerpted from an address by Mr. Katzenbach, then Under Secretary of State, to the Oklahoma Press Association on January 19, 1968, entitled "Vietnam and the Independence of Southeast Asia."

The starting place of understanding in this—as in almost every aspect of foreign policy—is history. The decade following the Second World War was two events of surpassing importance to Asia: the death of Japanese, French, and Dutch colonial empires and the birth of Communist China. The former left a vacuum of power and influence; the latter brought an eager but, from our point of view, unfriendly contender to fill that vacuum. The victory of Mao had brought a militant revolutionary philosophy to the most populated country in the world, a country which felt keenly that it had for a century been denied its rightful place as a major world power and a dominating influence in Asia.

Moreover, Communist China's militancy was shared by its neighbor and ally, North Viet-Nam.

To our policymakers these events presented a far from happy choice among three approaches: First, we might have gambled that Communist China and North Viet-Nam would show restraint. Or we might have gambled that the military and political strength of the relatively small and weak states of Southeast Asia would be sufficient to hold back the Communists. Second, we could have concluded that this was a bad gamble but still consciously written off the area as not worth the risks of providing a temporary umbrella of U.S. power—such as we had provided in Europe—until the area's independent nations could grow strong enough to fend for themselves.

During this period South Viet-Nam has become the testing ground of our willingness to provide the great-power support which we have believed is essential

to the independence of Southeast Asia. We did not choose it as a battlefield. We would have preferred never to have had to defend the independence of any part of the area. It is an unfortunate fact of life that the aggressor can often choose to stand fast in support of South Viet-Nam, not only because we place a great value on the independence of its 15 million inhabitants but also because we have felt that the fate of South Viet-Nam was inextricably intertwined with the fate of much of Southeast Asia.

In brief outline, this is why we are in Viet-Nam. I think it is enlightening to see where the views of the three major groups of dissenters depart from those of the administration in terms of this outline.

Some, including no less a spokesman than Walter Lippmann, have argued that the independence of Southeast Asia is not worth the great price of American

(Continued on page 8)

Remember the light

at the end of the tunnel?

"...We have never been in a better relative position." General Westmoreland, April 10, 1968.

"...We have reached an important point when the end begins to come into view...The enemy has many problems: He is losing control of the scattered population under his influence...He sees the strength of his forces steadily declining...His monsoon offensives have been failures. He was dealt a mortal blow by the installation of a freely elected representative government...the enemy's hopes are bankrupt." General Westmoreland, Nov. 21, 1967.

"...Progress has been made...We have pushed the enemy farther and farther into the jungles...We have succeeded in attaining our objectives." General Westmoreland, July 13, 1967.

"I expect the war to achieve very sensational results in 1967." Ambassador Lodge, Jan. 9, 1967.

"We are beginning to see some signs of success..." and "There is an erosion of [enemy] morale." Secretary of State Rusk, Aug. 25, 1966.

"We have stopped losing the war." Secretary of Defense McNamara, October, 1965.

"...We are not about to send American boys nine or ten thousand miles from home to do what Asian boys ought to be doing for themselves." President Johnson, Oct. 21, 1964.

"The war in Vietnam is on the right track." Ambassador Lodge, June 30, 1964.

"I think the number [of U.S. personnel] in Vietnam is not likely to increase substantially." Secretary of Defense McNamara, May 14, 1964.

"...The Vietnamese...themselves can handle this problem primarily with their own effort." Secretary of State Rusk, Feb. 24, 1964.

"The United States still hopes to withdraw its troops from South Vietnam by the end of 1965." Secretary of Defense McNamara, Feb. 19, 1964.

"I am hopeful we can bring back additional...men...because I personally believe this is a war the Vietnamese must fight. I don't believe we can take on that

combat task for them." Secretary of Defense McNamara, Feb. 3, 1964.

"Victory...is just months away, and the reduction of American advisors can begin any time now...I can safely say the end of the war is in sight." Gen. Paul D. Harkins, Commander of the Military Assistance Command in Saigon, Oct. 31, 1963.

"Secretary McNamara and General [Maxwell] Taylor reported their judgment that the major part of the U.S. military task can be completed by the end of 1965..." White House statement, Oct. 2, 1963.

"I feel we shall achieve victory in 1964." Tram Van Dong, South Vietnamese general, Oct. 1, 1963.

"...South Vietnam is on its way to victory..." Frederick E. Nolting, U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam, June 12, 1963.

"The South Vietnamese themselves are fighting their own battle, fighting well." Secretary of State Rusk, April 1963.

"[The struggle] is turning an important corner." Secretary of State Rusk, March 8, 1963.

"...The corner has definitely been turned toward victory in South Vietnam." Arthur Sylvester, Assistant Secretary of Defense, March 8, 1963.

"...The South Vietnamese should achieve victory in three years...I am confident the Vietnamese are going to win the war. [The Vietcong] face inevitable defeat." Adm. Harry D. Felt, U.S. Commander-in-Chief of Pacific Forces, Jan. 12, 1963.

"Every quantitative measurement shows we're winning the war..." "U.S. aid to Vietnam has reached a peak and will start to level off." Secretary of Defense McNamara, 1962.

"The Communists now realize they can never conquer free Vietnam." Gen. J. W. O'Daniel, Official Military Aide to Vietnam, Jan. 8, 1961.

"With a little more training the Vietnamese Army will be the equal of any other army..." Secretary of the Army Wilbur Brucker, Dec. 18, 1955.

"I fully expect [only] six more months of hard fighting." General Navarre, French Commander-in-Chief, Jan. 2, 1954.

Thieu, Ky, and sham democracy

By David Shaffer

Editorial Chairman

"The present government of South Vietnam is not our government and is not representing our people. It was imposed upon us by the U.S. and is controlled by military men who fought for the French against the Vietnamese before 1954."—Letter from Vietnamese students to American students, February, 1967.

It is impossible to escape the conclusion that, after ten years of war and 44,000 American lives spent in defense of "freedom," the Saigon regime kept in power by all this bloodshed is a classical military dictatorship operating under the guise of a constitutional republic.

The present regime in Saigon, headed by Nguyen Van Thieu and Nguyen Cao Ky, has been in power since June 12, 1965, when the two generals emerged on top of the last (to date) in the series of coups that followed the ouster of President Ngo Dinh Diem in 1963. The Thieu-Ky regime came into power just after the massive buildup of American ground forces began in 1965, and it has been in power, in one form or another, ever since.

After the June, 1965 coup, the ten-man "Directorate," or military junta, installed Ky as Premier and Thieu as Head of State. Neither of them had achieved any particular

political distinction. The feeling in Saigon at the time, in fact, was that the generals had picked the relatively soft-spoken and moderate Thieu to be South Vietnam's image to the world, while the inexperienced, swashbuckling and apparently not too smart Ky would run the government and in turn let himself be controlled by the military.

Ky, far from being putty in the hands of the other generals, proved to be a strong and capable ruler. He cut back on his swashbuckling (A year before coming to power he had once, to celebrate his divorce from his French wife and his impending marriage to an Air Vietnam hostess, led a squadron of bomb-laden Skyraider jets in a frighteningly low pass over the rooftops of Saigon and out into the countryside, where the bombs where unloaded at random on rice paddies in a display of fireworks seen and heard for miles.) He made an effort to control his mischievous tongue ("The man I admire most in history was Hitler," he once told an American interviewer), and consolidated his power in a way that surprised and delighted the American Embassy.

Ky's first big test came in the spring of 1966. In the past, Buddhist rioting had been the spark that led to a coup, and when Ky

canned Lt. Gen. Nguyen Chanh Thi, popular Southern-born military leader, the rioting started up again. Ky responded harshly, suppressing the demonstrations with South Vietnamese troops while American troops kept watch against a coup. The American embassy, impressed with Ky's show of strength passed the word that no more coups would be tolerated, and Ky rode out the crisis with his power intact.

The anti-regime groups, however, had managed to shake up the government and gain popular support by playing upon the traditional Catholic-Buddhist and north-south antagonisms in the country, and they began to press demands for an elected government. The idea fell on deaf ears at first; Henry Cabot Lodge, who was then ambassador to South Vietnam, pooh-poohed the idea, saying that "The Vietnamese never had elections on a national basis" (he was wrong; there had been eleven nation-wide elections during the French and Diem periods, all of them fraudulent), and Ky said the idea was "ridiculous."

By June, 1966, however, Ky relented, and while warning that if an elected government "does not meet the requirements of the present situation...I will not hesitate to overthrow it," issued an

electoral law for a September vote on a constituent assembly to write a new constitution. The military, he stipulated, could veto any actions of the assembly, and there was a complicated scheme of proportional representation designed to work against the Buddhist organizations, but the electoral law was received generally with delight among civilian politicians and praise from American liberals.

The new constitution drafted by this group provided for an elected President, a bicameral legislature, and elected village chiefs. The military leaders retained authority for appointment of province heads, and a veto over each section of the constitution and over any candidates for election (the constitution barred "Communists and neutralists" from running). The writing of the constitution produced much fireworks, both

verbal and literal (the two most prominent anti-regime leaders in the assembly were assassinated), and it ran into slight difficulty when it came up for approval before the 55-man Armed Forces Congress. The military men at first voted the constitution down by an overwhelming majority, but Ky gave an emotion-charged speech in which he said that American and Vietnamese public opinion

demand an elected government, particularly now that the subject had been broached, and that "The war is against the Communists, not against anti-communist politicians." Thieu impressed the generals more when he explained that "The Army can control the outcome of the election in the government-controlled areas," and on the second vote the generals approved the constitution.

Village elections were held in the spring of 1967, and as the summer passed by Saigon was preoccupied

with the struggling for a place on the presidential ticket. Several civilians entered the race (Au Truong Thanh, former minister of finance and the only candidate to stress peace in his filing platform, was barred from running under the "Communist or neutralist" clause), but attention centered around the military candidates, since the Army was still the only organized force in the country except for the National Liberation Front. The early favorite was Gen Duong Van Minh ("Big Minh"), who led the 1963 anti-Diem coup and was one of the most popular men in the country; he was in exile in Thailand, and was

(Continued on page 7)

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The mood of the country

By Doug Hastings

Supplements Staff

Ho Chi Minh predicted over a decade ago that ten of his men would die for every one of his enemy's but that America would tire of the war in Vietnam first. For years that prophecy was scoffed at by confident Americans. Only recently have Americans come to realize the accuracy of Ho's prediction.

The majority still tends not to take either a strong hawkish or dovish stand. *Newsweek* states that only about 2 in five Americans will now state a definite commitment to military victory on the one hand or immediate withdrawal on the other.

Similarly, *Newsweek* finds that although the majority is indefinite about who it believes is winning, most will say that we are holding our own. But, as *Newsweek* points out, there is general agreement on one fact: the war is not going well.

One reason for this substantial and ever-growing disillusionment with the War is the unavoidable fact, even to the most unsophisticated of political observers, that victory in Vietnam is still a long way off, and more and more now question whether that far off, nebulous victory is worth the cost.

The human cost in terms of American dead is approaching 50,000. Thus, the number of Americans personally acquainted with someone killed in Vietnam is large and growing. In *Newsweek's* survey of Middle America, 55 per cent said they had lost an acquaintance. This increasing personalization of the war is a major factor in the increasing opposition to it.

More and more Americans have come to realize the great social costs of continued fighting in Vietnam. Instead of spending money on critical internal problems, America is spending her resources on military priorities. During the years since the beginning of America's involvement

in Vietnam, the problems of inflation, racial difficulties, campus and social unrest, urban living, crime and pollution have increasingly troubled the American conscience. In a recent *Fortune* survey a businessman remarked, "We were sucked into the Vietnam war like boobs, wasting our resources and brains that should be applied to our social problems, ghettoes, and control of crime." Despite the harshness of his statement, *Fortune* believes it reflects America's prevailing mood.

This statement by an insurance executive points to another development in American attitudes toward the war: businessmen are turning away from support of it. *Fortune* found that one quarter of the executives interviewed had converted from hawks to doves in the past year alone. The major reason for this change of heart cited by most businessmen is that in their opinion the war is one of the most serious threats to the economy at the present time. Secondly, businessmen claimed they have reversed their position because of our failure to win.

Newsweek states that one of the most curious findings of its survey is the almost total absence of moral arguments against the war. "Despite the clamor of the most vocal doves over the past four years, only a handful of the sampling argued that the war was simply wrong."

Thus, while general opposition to the war has grown rapidly, moral opposition seems to have grown little if at all.

There is, of course, opposition to this war and all wars among the increasing number of young people who are classified as part of the amorphous New Left. But among the rest of the American populace, opposition to Vietnam developed as a result of our failure to win.

Vietnam now appears to almost everyone a mistake for one reason or another. Thus, they think, the best policy would be to get out as easily and quickly as possible. But critics of the war have claimed that there is little indication that this

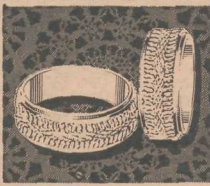
realization will cause any meaningful shift in American foreign policy. They say that those in power and the majority who support them are still thinking generally in the same way they did when America started fighting in Vietnam.

Although most Americans now think our policy should be designed to bring the troops home, there is a growing gap between those who favor holding out for a "just and honorable" peace and those who believe that Vietnam is an unjust and dishonorable war and thus favor immediate and total withdrawal.

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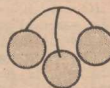
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-Sham-

(Continued from page 6)

disqualified by the regime because his Vice Presidential running mate was said, apparently falsely to be a French citizen. On the right wing, both Generals Thieu and Ky were gathering support and appeared determined to enter the race.

Ky, it was assumed by most Americans, would be the military candidate. But he had pledged, not thinking he would have to follow through, that he would step aside if Thieu, his senior officer, should make the race. Lyndon Johnson told the two in Honolulu that "you boys will have to stick together. If you can't get along, then you're in

trouble," and as the July filing deadline approached with Ky losing more and more votes in the Armed Forces Council, the Premier withdrew and accepted the second spot on Thieu's ticket.

The news of the Thieu-Ky alliance greatly pleased Americans, for they trusted the military as the most anti-communist force in the country and wanted to see it stay in power. The campaign progressed throughout the summer amid great hoopla and quiet maneuvering. Vietnamese soldiers were provided with two election cards, one for their homes and one for their base, and peasants were bribed and threatened on a regular basis by supporters of several of the candidates. In the end, Thieu and Ky won by a much smaller margin than they had anticipated—35 per cent of the turnout, which was said to be 83 per cent of the registered voters (It was announced before the election that those who did not vote would be considered Viet Cong suspects). The second-place candidate, Truong Dinh Dzu, got 800,000 votes by demanding an end to U.S. bombing in both Vietnam and talks with Hanoi and the NLF, and his votes combined with others of similar persuasion constituted a majority of those cast.

Yet the winners made no effort to broaden their base. Dzu was shortly imprisoned, and the two generals spent most of their time patching up their quarrels. One of Thieu's first moves was to appoint a Ky protégé, Nguyen Van Loc, as Premier, and an almost all-military cabinet. The new government changed none of its old habits of press censorship, denial of civil liberties, or jailing of opponents.

In June of 1968, under pressure from the U.S. to broaden the base

of his support, Thieu replaced Loc with Tran Van Huong, who had run for President on a moderate platform, had refused to support the French-backed regimes for whom Thieu and Ky had fought before 1954, and had signed a National Liberation Front declaration in 1961.

By the fall of 1968, however, Thieu was in trouble from the right in South Vietnam. He had to go through several stunts in order to secure support for South Vietnamese participation in the Paris talks, and began bargaining with the old supporters of Diem, several of whom were placed in sub-cabinet posts.

In essence, nothing has changed in South Vietnam. The same personalities that have been in power since the summer of 1965 rule today by the same old authoritarian methods. They got a minority of the votes in an election that was a sham, and find democracy no more appealing now than ever. Their support among the populace has not increased (They appear to have blown even the upsurge of popular support that followed Viet Cong brutality during the 1968 Tet offensive). They said they are in power to stay, and will not accept any sort of coalition. They are narrowing their own political base, having recently fired their one concession to civilian sentiment, Premier Huong, and replaced him with an obscure functionary. The latest cabinet is more narrowly military than ever. And President Thieu, whom President Nixon recently called "one of the four or five best politicians in the world," told Time magazine last month that "we have made concessions...we cannot do anything else without surrendering the country."

-Early history-

perceptiveness was later rewarded, for the confident observer became Secretary of State—Dean Rusk. These were the days of McCarran and McCarthy, when our Asian specialists were hounded, when those who knew better in government service were silenced. American dollar backing to the French grew from \$150 million in 1950 to over \$1 billion per year by 1954; in other words we were covering 80% of the cost of the colonial war. But American aid, no matter how generous, could not compensate for the determination of the Vietnamese people, or for French political and military incompetence. The French would not make political concessions that might have divided the Vietnamese, and their military strategy led to the debacle at Dien Bien Phu that ended French colonialism in Southeast Asia.

The scene changed to Geneva where the French and the Vietminh signed the Geneva Accords in 1954. Both parties agreed to remove their troops to either side of the 17th parallel in a regroupment movement, rather than one which implied the creation of two separate political entities; and both agreed to the holding of general elections throughout Vietnam in July 1956. Also agreed to were stipulations that outside military assistance would not be given to either side. It was pretty clear that when elections were held in Vietnam the Vietminh would win. This is the reason why the Vietminh after demonstrating their military superiority over the French had agreed to the regroupment phase.

Of course, the United States realized this too. This is why it refused to sign the Geneva Accords. Ever since, the United States has worked against the spirit of the Accords. It created, instead, the flamboyantly artificial Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty (in which only two Southeast Asian countries participate), which allowed, in a special protocol, for military assistance to the Indochina area should it be requested. More than this, Washington has worked vigorously over the years to evolve a separate political state in the southern regroupment zone, for the longest period of time by supporting the corrupt, dictatorial and repressive regime of Ngo Dinh Diem (from 1954 to 1963). Washington, of course, has backed the refusal of Saigon to hold the nationwide elections. It has largely constructed and paid for the Vietnamese military from the beginning (which makes one wonder about all the continuous optimism for Vietnamization of the war today).

By December 1960, when it became crystal clear that a political settlement was not likely, dissidents representing a considerable alienated constituency in the South formed a National Liberation Front (NLF) and called for the overthrow of the Saigon government. But the NLF had to exert pressure on Hanoi to get real support in the renewal of hostilities that had been underway since 1958, for Hanoi was now deeply involved with its domestic economic and social programs in the North. However, partly out of the fear of losing what influence it had over the NLF Hanoi did reluctantly agree to the support. The point here is that the roots of South Vietnam's renewed insurrection are largely in the South itself. Despite this basic fact of the matter, Washington has termed the NLF the creation of Hanoi, and has cultivated the myth that the turmoil in the South is a war of aggression from the North, rather than realistically concede that it is a popular struggle against heavy-handed outside interference and a narrowly-based, unrepresentative and imposed government in Saigon.

Paradoxically, while President Kennedy had reservations about the Vietnam War, increased American presence in Vietnam and an emphasis on military operations and assistance rather than political and social reform characterize the record of his short administration. The limited involvement program of this period was a failure, even though Americans believed it necessary to remain optimistic, forming an official habit of mind that has persisted in the face of all evidence. But the Buddhist uprising beginning in May 1963 announced to the world how bad things were, and even Washington lost faith in the Diem government as a result of its handling of the Buddhist protest. With U.S. support for Diem obviously no longer unqualified, the inherent instability of the South quickly asserted itself. On November 1, 1963 Diem was assassinated. In the wake of his government a number of ephemeral regimes succeeded each other until there emerged a leadership combination that provided a measure of stability, however tenuous this might actually be. A major component of such stability, of course, was the congruence of views between the new Saigon leadership and those of Washington, particularly in regard to neutrality, a course toward which Washington had become unalterably opposed, even though it had an appeal to increasing numbers of war-weary Vietnamese.

But despite the intransigence of either Saigon or Washington there was little, it seemed, that either or both could do to control the Vietcong in the countryside, where a campaign of terror directed mostly against Saigon-appointed officials became increasingly vicious. The original American personnel introduced to Vietnam were assigned as advisors to Vietnamese military counterparts and as helicopter operators. They were not supposed to be combatants. But by mid-1962 helicopter crews were already taking the initiative in firing at insurgents; within a year later they were flying strafing missions, although the "advisory" fiction was maintained until 1965, when Americans would openly assume the major brunt of offensive fighting. In March 1964 Secretary of Defense McNamara accounted for the growth of the Vietcong by referring to its "large indigenous support" and the "bonds of loyalty" underlying its organization. An official U.S. report of April 1964 noted that 34% of Vietnam's villages were government controlled, 24% neutral, while 42% were outright Vietcong.

In response to the deteriorating situation in South Vietnam, despite increasing U.S. military contributions, but fed by presidential campaign rhetoric and bravado in the United States, the idea was born to win the war in the South by carrying it to the North. Thus despite the realities of Vietnam and the bitter experience so far, the stage was being prepared for a new, major escalation of the war. A pretext had to be come by (or perhaps engineered?) whereby Washington could hold that it was justifiably retaliating against North Vietnam. The stage was set, therefore, for the Gulf of Tonkin Incident of August 1964, whose mysteries have yet to be fully fathomed. With this incident the war within months was extended, American involvement multiplied, death and destruction on all sides tremendously increased, and the problem compounded, not resolved. The rest is recent history we know too well. Statistically, as Charles Mohr has pointed out and the rest of us have wondered about, we have won the war several times over. Except that the killing goes on. And it will go on, until some assumptions change—until we get out of Vietnam.

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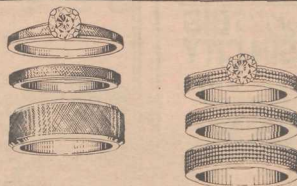
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Cost of the war: \$1,000 a second

By Bob Switzer

Supplements Staff

The Vietnam war, which now ranks as the longest war in the history of the United States, has cost the American taxpayer over 110 billion dollars since the first U.S. death in 1959, and more important, it has cost over 44,000 deaths and 250,000 wounded.

According to the U.S. budget, the war is now costing the U.S. over 30 billion dollars a year, or 1000 dollars a second. In the first three months of this year alone, the fighting has cost 2,449 American lives.

In addition one can only speculate how much the war is costing the Vietnamese. It has been

estimated by the United States Information Agency that 120,000 Vietnamese, (75 per cent of whom were women and children) have been killed since 1965. The official figures of homeless refugees in Vietnam stand at nearly 2,000,000 (or more than 10 per cent of the population), but these figures have been questioned by many critics of the war.

According to Defense Department figures, the U.S. Air Force has dropped more than 3,200,000 tons of bombs on North and South Vietnam. This exceeds the total dropped in all theaters of World War II, by more than 50 per cent. This figure means the U.S. has dropped 180 pounds of bombs for every man, woman and child in both North and South Vietnam. The U.S. has also dropped over 25 tons of bombs for every square mile of territory in both North and South Vietnam.

The current Administration has requested \$5.2 billion for ammunition to continue the war. The U.S. government estimates that there are 240,000 North Vietnamese and Viet Cong in South Vietnam. Hence the U.S. pays \$216,666.67 for ammunition to shoot at each VC and NVA soldier. In contrast the Administration requested \$3.2 billion for elementary and secondary school education for 72 million school children in America, or \$44 per child.

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In short, I think few of us are either prepared to write off the independence of a quarter of a billion people or prepared to see this part of the world's population turned into enemies of the United States. Certainly this was the conclusion the Senate reached in 1955 when it ratified the SEATO Treaty. The Congress as a whole reaffirmed this conclusion nearly 10 years later when it said: "The United States regards as vital to its national interest and to world peace the maintenance of international peace and security in southeast Asia."

A second group of dissenters would agree that Southeast Asia cannot be written off but contend that the internal problems and self-imposed restraint of Communist China and North Viet-Nam, plus the defensive capabilities of their smaller neighbors, combine to assure the safety and independence of such countries as Laos, Cambodia, Burma, Thailand, Malaysia, and Singapore without a United States presence.

The argument is that Ho's appetite is only for South Viet-Nam and that Mao isn't hungry so there is no reason to fear that the independence of Southeast Asia will be swallowed up.

I am afraid that I cannot satisfy myself that American policy should be formulated on the basis of so hopeful an assumption. The facts will simply not fit the assumption unless we ignore North Vietnamese occupation of much of Laos, a Communist effort to take over Indonesia, a Communist effort to take over Indonesia, Hanoi-sponsored revolution in northeast Thailand, a Chinese invasion of India, and a dozen or so other instances of contrary intent. Even if we were prepared to believe that North Vietnamese and Communist Chinese adventures would end if we left Southeast Asia, our own faith would not assure the independence of Southeast Asia if it were not shared

(Continued on page 9)

The U.S. is spending 31 cents out of every budget dollar for the Vietnam war. In contrast, only 11 cents goes into domestic programs.

However, as large as the present material and human costs of the war are, they are still only a small fraction of what the total cost will be.

In past U.S. wars, the final cost of a war has been about triple the initial cost. The initial costs of a war do not include veterans' payments after the war, and interest on money borrowed to fight major wars. If ended tomorrow the Vietnam war would cost the American taxpayer \$330 billion in extra veterans' benefits and accrued interest on loans.

In comparative terms, eight weeks of the Vietnam war costs the U.S. government the equivalent of all the federal monies spent in one

year for education, elementary, secondary, higher vocational, and international, and special funds for improving education in city slums and depressed rural areas. Since the inauguration of President Nixon ten months ago, the U.S. has spent \$25 billion in Vietnam. This sum could have built 346,000 elementary and secondary classrooms, and constructed and equipped 656,000 long term care and hospital beds.

There are currently 515,000

American troops in Vietnam, compared to a high of 550,000 before limited troop withdrawal. However, the cold unbiased statistics of war continue to mount both here and in Vietnam.

But perhaps the most important statistic of the war cannot be measured in numbers, or percentages. That is the cost of the war in terms of the strain and anxiety it has caused this country. In the long run, this could prove to be the most expensive price of all.

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A study in destruction

Last Summer playing
at the Rialto
By Carl Curry

Last Summer, like most contemporary films, is a study of a diseased part of the American society. The movie opens with Sandy, a girl of about eighteen with an IQ of 157, kneeling over an injured gull. Two boys, John and Peter, who happen to be walking along this part of the seashore, assist Sandy in her attempt to heal the gull. The bird survives, and John, Peter, and Sandy form a pact. In spite of this trite and childish

beginning, the film continues and eventually redeems itself.

The situation of these three is a common one, and this common situation is the reason for the movie's success. Sandy, Peter, and John are all on vacation—not of their own will, but because their parents are. The film goes on to show the decline of each of the members of this pact and concludes with their final destruction.

Sandy is the first to go. For weeks she has tried to get the sea gull to fly when released and still return home. The gull returns

finally, but it bites Sandy when she tries to pick it up. She considers the bird as hers to do with as she pleases, so needless to say, she holds the bird responsible for an instinctive action. To "pay it back" she takes it out into the woods and kills it, telling her two friends that the bird flew away.

The decline from this point on is undertaken by the group as a whole. Now, however, there is a new addition: Rhoda comes on the scene. She is a rather homely girl who is afraid to swim because her mother drowned. Ironically, in spite of her fear of the water, she is the only one to come out of the movie undefeated.

In each of the episodes of the film some new, disgusting facet of either Sandy, John, or Peter is revealed. There is no definite plot; the story only describes a slice of time in the lives of the main characters. The film is actually quite well done. Members of the audience are likely to see themselves in the story at one time or another, and the theme is subtly communicated. It indeed communicates a dim view of life.

—why we fight—

(Continued from page 8)

by the countries that would be called upon to face the consequences of aggression.

In short, the people of Southeast Asia themselves fear for their freedom and independence. It is they who seek protection from Communist subversion, and it is they who look with dread at the militant revolutionary giant of Red China to their north. Whether China is truly an expansionist country, or whether it is too consumed in its own domestic problems, harangues, and intrigues to follow its aggressive words with aggressive deeds, is a debatable matter. But the nervousness of its neighbors is not debatable at all. It is a very palpable thing.

We are in Southeast Asia, then, not out of ambitions for imperial power or because we seek to establish a permanent presence. We are there to help provide enough support to make it possible for the nations of the area to develop unmolested. The assistance we are able to furnish allows its people to

build their own institutions. We are interested in staying only until they are strong enough on their own so they no longer need our presence.

During the administrations of our last three Presidents, decisions and commitments have been made and policies have been formulated. Whether or not every decision was correct, events have turned our willingness to stand by these decisions into the test of our entire stance in Asia. It is too late to attempt to unravel the strands of our policy. We simply cannot cancel at this date our specific commitment in Viet-Nam without undermining our general commitments in Southeast Asia. Nor could we back down at this time without betraying those South Vietnamese—numbering in the millions—who have made it clear that they do not wish to have their destinies determined by military force directed from Hanoi.

A final question remains. In making our commitments to Southeast Asia, we of course hoped to deter armed aggression in this area as it had been deterred before in Europe. We were prepared to bear the cost of war, but we hoped there would be no war.

Much of the dissent from our Viet-Nam policy seems to me to reflect above all else the fact that the bills are now arriving. The costs in Americans dead and wounded and Vietnamese killed, in dollars, and even in criticism at home and from some friends abroad are just coming in. If, as I believe, the issue has always been the risks to all of Southeast Asia, and the stake the independence of 250 million people, it is fair to ask whether the gains have been worth the price.

One way of approaching this question is to compare the costs we are incurring with those we might expect had we been unwilling to meet the challenge in Viet-Nam. Even a limited war with its loss of life is a very great tragedy. But if it avoids a future choice between world war III and the loss of Southeast Asia—if that proves to be the ultimate payoff of our actions—the tragedy will have been far more than justified.

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Schedule of classes for Mobe 'Peace University'

As a positive alternative of the Moratorium's "Stop Business As Usual" theme, the Duke Mobilization will sponsor a theoretical "Peace University" on Oct. 15. The following schedule outlines the free discussion seminars to be held.

"Peace University" seminars will be held in the following areas on October 15:

Area A — Chapel Steps
Area B — James B. Duke statue
Area C — Quad in front of Student Union
Area D — Quad in front of Perkins Library
Area E — Quad in front of old Chem Building

In Case of Rain:

Area A — Flowers Lounge
Area B — 201 Union
Area C — 301 Union
Area D — 110 Flowers
Area E — 210 Flowers

9:20 a.m.

Ginter, Dr. Donald (history)
Warfare and Aggression in Modern Society
Area A

Sullivan, Dr. Herbert (religion)
Metaphysics of War and Peace
Area B

Stone, Prof. Peter
The War from an Anthropological Viewpoint
Area D

Strandberg (English)
A Presentation on the War as Related to the writing of Thoreau
208 Carr Building

10:30

Crocker, Dr. Jan (sociology)
Avoid Vietnam in Latin America
Area A

Thomas, Dr. Norman (political science)
Impact of the War on Domestic Problems & Policy
Area C

Clum, Dr. John (English)
Literary Contributions to Peace
Area C

Francis, Russell (New Zealand)—Romez Maluf, (Lebanon)—Sola Soile (Nigeria)—Larry Tseng (Malaysia): Four foreign students
The International Student and the War
Area D

Preiss, Dr. Jack (sociology)
Can the 'People' Affect Political Decision-Making
Area E

11:40

Hartley, Dr. Michael (econ.) and Dr. Simon Rottenberg (econ.)
Economic Implications of the War
Area A

Brown, Paul—Jeff Gold—Graham Watkins: 3 students on Moral Responsibility and the Draft
Area B

Francis, Russell (New Zealand)—Romez Maluf (Lebanon)—Sola Soile (Nigeria)—Larry Tseng

(Malaysia): Four foreign students on
The International Student and the War
Area C

Peace Corps representatives—Charlotte Hutchison, John B. Collis, Charles Weller, Susie Ann Spence and Ethel Heyward, and former Peace Corps worker Ninian Beall on
An Extension of American Foreign Policy
Area D

Crocker, Dr. Jon (sociology)
Violence and Revolution
111 Soc. Sciences Bldg.
Ginter, Dr. Donald (history)
General Discussion on War
144 Soc. Psych. Bldg.

2:00

Kramer, Dr. Richard (psych.) and Dr. Paul Wortman (psych.)
After the War—What?
Area A

Blackburn, Dr. John (economics)
Economic Implications of the War
Area B

Cell, Dr. John (history)
A Repercussion of American Foreign Policy
Area C

Brown, Paul—Jeff Gold—Graham Watkins: 3 students on
Moral Responsibility and the Draft
Area D

Jenks, Dean Alan
Vietnam and the Meaning of History
Area E

Love, Prof. David (philosophy)
The War from a Moral Viewpoint
014 Lang. Bldg.

Ginter, Dr. Donald (history)
General Discussion on War
347 Allen Bldg.

3:00

Clum, Dr. John
Literary Contributions to Peace
Area A

Klopfier, Dr. Peter (biology)
If the Soldiers Leave will the Dying Stop?: The Long-Term Effects of Chemical and Biological Agents in Vietnam.
Area B

Uhalley, Dr. Stephen (history)
General Assumption Underlying Vietnam
Area C

Peace Corps representatives, Charlotte Hutchison, John D. Collis, Charles Weller, Susie Ann Spence, and Ethel Heyward and former Peace Corps worker Ninian Beall on
An Extension of American Foreign Policy
Area D

Fox, Dr. Richard
Vietnam: An Anthropologists View
Area E

4:00

Altracchi, Dr. John (psych)
Theoretical Solutions to World Peace
Area A

—Gulley, Mobe plans—

(Continued from page 1)
political and moral ramifications of the war don't affect this university."

Alternatives planned
The moratorium activities should dispel this attitude, Gulley hopes. "We seek to show through large student participation in the alternative classes and activities that the war does affect this University."

The Wednesday alternatives include seminars throughout the day and anti-war leafleting in Durham. A schedule of the seminars and other moratorium activities appears on page 10.

Following the midnight Chapel service tonight, the Chapel will remain open for meditation until 8 a.m. when there will be an outdoor memorial communion service on the Chapel steps.

The faculty response to the

moratorium was criticized by Gulley. "Officially, in the Academic Council and in the Undergraduate Faculty Council, the faculty reaction to the call for a moratorium was discouraging. In fact, the UFC failed even to consider a response to the moratorium on classes."

"This lack of any action indicates that our faculty has failed to face the most pressing political and social concern in this country today," Gulley said, however, that some members of the faculty would be participating in Wednesday's events.

The moratorium was conceived as a campus oriented action but has spread in recent weeks to include many politicians and national figures. Nixon, however, has said he will be unmoved by anti-war demonstrations and has asked the American people to have patience in his policies. Gulley likened this

stance to that of "Lyndon Johnson's attitude when he found a growing number of Americans in opposition to his Vietnam policy."

Divinity statement backs moratorium

By Ralph Karpinos

The "students, faculty, and administration of the Duke Divinity School" issued a joint statement yesterday encouraging "members of the community...to enter into such...activities of the day as will clarify their understanding of the price of peace."

Recognizing that this was the first statement co-signed by students, faculty and administrators at Duke, Elmer Hall, assistant chaplain, called it the "strongest official University statement so far" in support of the moratorium.

Dave Rutledge, a Divinity School student, said a "strong consensus" in the school was behind the position paper.

"The statement said that while operating within the guidelines of the advice rendered by the central administration" the Divinity School

"gives serious recognition to the effort being made on Oct. 15...to focus the attention of the Duke University community...upon the continuing tragedy of the present war in Vietnam."

The paper also said that the members of the school "confess and deplore our own involvement in the silent acquiescence, indecision, and wrong decision which have contributed to the failure of nations and national leaders in the recent efforts to bring peace."

Members of the Divinity School "seek the firm will to persevere in the vocation of peacemakers," the statement added.

Students in the Divinity School plan to hold services all night tonight in the main chapel and will hold a Convocation in the York Chapel at 2 p.m. tomorrow.

Mobe calendar

Tuesday

12:30 p.m.—Forum on Main Quad: "The University and the War" Kramer, Ginter, others

1:30 p.m.—Memorial Candlelight March to honor Duke war dead—assemble in front of ROTC Building

12:00 midnight—Ecumenical Peace Services in the Chapel

Wednesday

1-8 a.m.—Outdoor Memorial Communion Service, Chapel steps

8:30-10:30 a.m.—"Medical Ethics and the War" Seminar, Hospital Amphitheater

10 a.m.—Divinity School Worship, Chapel

12:30 p.m.—University Memorial Peace Service, Chapel Several students, Dr. Langford, Dean Kreps, Dean Cleland, and Chancellor Woodhall will speak.

12:30-2 p.m.—"Legal Aspects

of the War "Seminar-211 Law School

2-3:15 p.m.—Divinity School Convocation on Vietnam, Divinity School Chapel.

2-3 p.m.—Howard Levy in Hospital Amphitheater

3:45 p.m.—Multi-Media Presentation, Chapel

6 p.m.—Major Address by Jack Newfield, Associate Editor of *Village Voice*, Author of *Robert Kennedy, a Memoir and The Prophetic Minority*, Page Auditorium

8 p.m.—Memorial Peace Services in Durham Churches (St. Phillips Episcopal and Watts St. Baptist)

10:30 p.m.—Service of Commitment, Chapel

There will be opportunities to work in the Durham community Wednesday.

Peace films shown in the Celestial Omnibus throughout the day.

—Baird—

(Continued from page 1)
to help you realize that it's not always the other guy's girl that gets pregnant," he said.

Baird called for reform of the laws governing abortion. In 44 states, abortion is absolutely prohibited by law, while others permit abortion in case of impairment to the health or mental well-being of the mother, or malformation of the child. However, Baird said "most women who seek abortions do so for social or economic reasons. Do we have the right to tell under what given conditions a woman must suffer before she can be helped?"

Stressing the problem of ignorance of methods of birth control and abortion, particularly in ghetto areas, Baird said that women often go to a quack abortionist, or try to abort themselves by use of such objects as coat hangers, knitting needles, or salt water injections. Such methods account for 10,000 deaths per year.

In the hands of a competent physician however, Baird said that abortion "is much safer than childbirth, literally much safer than having your tonsils removed."

Answering the charges of immorality of abortion Baird emphasized that it must be a "very private and personal choice."

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West Campus Run-off

The freshman men will vote today to break the stand-off which resulted after Friday's election. The candidates for president are Dave Suddendorf, Jim Henderson, and Gary DeHick. The election is being held from 9 a.m. to 2 p.m. on the main quad.

Community Involvement

The Vietnam Moratorium, October 15, needs your help to get Community Involvement in the Moratorium. Leaflet at shopping centers, Five Points, or place at your choice. Rides provided to

downtown areas from 9:00-12:00 and 3:00-5:00. Star the Peace Now. Sign up and/or get information and materials at YMCA office, 102 Flowers or contact your dorm Y-Rep on East Campus.

Student Activities

The Office of Student Activities will be closed from 12:00 noon until 2:00 p.m. on Vietnam Moratorium Day, Wednesday, October 15, so that office personnel may be free to attend the University Memorial Service. The office will be open at other times during the day for normal business, but scheduled meetings which conflict with Moratorium activities have been cancelled.

Spectrum

National Science Foundation

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The National Research Council has been called upon again to advise the National Science Foundation in the selection of candidates for the Foundation's program of graduate and regular postdoctoral fellowships. Panels of outstanding scientists appointed by the Research Council will evaluate applications of all candidates. Final selection will be made by the Foundation, with awards to be announced on March 15, 1970.

Postdoctoral and graduate fellowships will be awarded for study in the mathematical, physical, medical, biological, engineering, and social sciences, and in the history and/or philosophy of science. Awards will not be made in clinical, education, or business fields, nor in history or social work, nor for work toward medical or law degrees.

Further information and application materials may be obtained from the Fellowship Office, National Research Council, 2101 Constitution Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20418. The deadline date for the submission of applications for graduate fellowships is December 5, 1969, and for regular postdoctoral fellowships, December 8, 1969.

Campus as soon as possible. If you did not receive a questionnaire, pick one up at 201 Flowers from Mrs. Wilkins, University Union secretary.

Debate Team

There will be a Debate Team meeting in 219 Social Science; Wednesday night at 8:30.

Greek Week

The IFC has announced plans for its annual "Greek Week" activities to be held the week of October 18.

The week will include fraternity open houses for freshmen on Saturday and Sunday, October 18 and 19. The IFC is encouraging all freshmen to attend in order to get acquainted with fraternity men on a first-hand basis.

The highlight of the weekend will be a dance featuring the Embers at the National Guard Armory. The price of admission is \$2 per person, with all the beer you can drink included in the price. Buses will leave for the Armory from West Campus at 8:30.

The dance is intended to be a mixer where freshmen will have a chance to informally socialize with fraternity men and freshmen girls. As a result the IFC has encouraged fraternity men not to date freshmen girls for the dance.

Prof Involvement

Any Professor who will be discussing the war in his class on Wednesday and would be willing to open his class to the entire university community should call the YWCA office at 2909 today between 9-5.

MA Questionnaire

Please return all Major Attraction Committee questionnaires to the boxes outside the dining halls, the Perkins Library, or the three boxes on East

Town Students

The meeting for all students not affiliated with any living group to elect representatives to the ASDU Legislature, originally scheduled for Monday, October 13, has been rescheduled for Wednesday, October 15 at 7:00 in 136 Social Sciences. Two representatives will be elected to serve on the Legislature. All those who are interested should try to attend.

Vietnam bibliography

The Perkins Library Reference Department has compiled an annotated bibliography on the Vietnamese Conflict. Copies are available at the Perkins Library reference desk, at the Women's College Library reference desk, and at the Divinity School Library. All publications listed are available in Perkins or in other libraries on campus.

YWCA Closed

The YWCA office will be closed Wednesday Oct. 15, during 5th period in order that office personnel can attend the Memorial Peace Service in the Chapel.

French Table

The French Corridor cordially invites all those interested to eat dinner every Monday, Tuesday, and Thursday 5:45 p.m., upstairs in the E. Union.

Graduate Wives

The initial meeting of the Duke University Graduate Wives Club will be held on Wednesday, October 15, at 8 p.m. in the Baptist Fellowship Center, 506 Alexander Street. All wives of graduate students and postdoctoral fellows are invited to attend. The social and service activities of the group will be explained at that time and members will be signed up in the varied interest-groups of the club. A Fashion Show by Robbins of Northgate will complete the activities of the evening.

Consumer Cards

Student Consumer Cards for 1969-70 can be obtained at the ASDU office in 104 Union Building. Presentation of the \$1.00 card entitles students to discounts at 200 local businesses.

For a listing of those businesses participating in this program and a number of valuable coupons consult your Student Consumer Directory.

ASDU

Interested in the application of McLuhan's theories or just interested in public relations work? The ASDU Public Relations Committee is in search of people and ideas. Contact the ASDU office in 104 Union Building or call Ext. 6403.

Peace Corps

What did "The Foreigners" do in a country like Colombia? Was it all cokes, hamburgers, and French fries? Come and see this "down to earth" film by King Screen, Thursday at 8:00 p.m. in Union 101.

Anyone desiring any information, contact Peace Corps representatives in Union 101.

Mobe all day

There will be Duke Mobe officers and volunteers to answer questions at West Union or at 684-2618 all day Wednesday.

Calendar

10:00 a.m. Divinity School Chapel Worship. University Chapel Speaker: Dr. Charles Rice. Reader: Mr. Roland Barnhardt.
12:30 p.m. Plant Physiology Seminar. Room 130 Biological Sciences Bldg. Speaker: Dr. R. M. Brown.
2:00-5:00 p.m. Campus Club Reception honoring newcomers. University House, 1508 Pinecrest Road.
3:15-6:00 p.m. Recreation swimming for women: students, faculty and staff. East Campus Gymnasium.
7:00 p.m. Christian Science Organization Meeting. Music Room, East Duke Building.
7:30-10:00 a.m. Scottish Country Dancing. Presbyterian Student Center. Basic course now starting.

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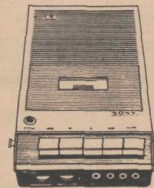
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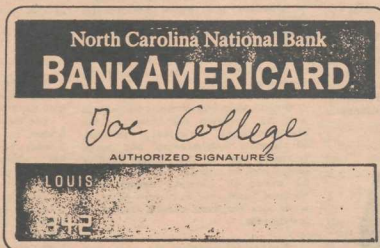
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Cut along this line.

AGREEMENT

Use of the BankAmericard by, or with the consent of, the holder constitutes agreement as follows: Holder agrees (1) to assume responsibility for credit extended by the Bank on the basis of the card; (2) to pay, at such place as this Bank designates, obligations evidencing such credit, and finance charges where applicable, in accordance with billings and the current Customer Payment Schedule, including a reasonable attorney's fee in the event of suit; (3) to notify Bank promptly in writing of loss or theft of the card; (4) the card may be cancelled or modified by the Bank at any time; (5) to surrender the card upon demand; (6) to waive and release Bank from all defenses, rights and claims holder may have against any merchant or company honoring the card; (7) any claim of Bank against holder shall at Bank's option become immediately due and payable if holder fails to perform any terms hereof or make any payments as otherwise agreed.

CUSTOMER PAYMENT SCHEDULE

I understand that there will be no periodic finance charge on my BankAmericard account if the account is paid in full within 25 days from each billing date. If I do not pay my account in full within 25 days from each billing date, I agree to pay after each billing date a finance charge at the periodic rate of 1 1/4% per month, which is an annual percentage rate of 18%, on the balance of my account as of the previous billing date without deducting current payments and credits and without adding current charges. I also understand that there is an initial finance charge of 1 1/4% on cash advances charged to my account. There is no initial finance charge on purchases charged to my account. A delinquency charge of 5% (\$.50 minimum, \$5.00 maximum) is made on minimum payments which are not paid within 10 days of the date of the statement on which the past due amount first appears.

If I extend payment of my account, I will make monthly payments in accordance with the following minimum payment chart:

Student BankAmericard Application

(Do not use this space)

TYPE 1 3 5 7 2 4 6 8

C. L. 3 5

Acce

BANK NO.

NO. 1 2 3 4

Approved By

Date

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0

Last Name (Please Print)		First Name		Initial	Age
Mr. Mrs. Miss		Mailing Address		City	State Zip Code
Telephone No.	Never Married <input type="checkbox"/> Married <input type="checkbox"/> Divorced <input type="checkbox"/> Separated <input type="checkbox"/> Widowed <input type="checkbox"/>	Dependents	Spouse's First Name	Initial	Age
Name of University or college	<input type="checkbox"/> Sophomore <input type="checkbox"/> Senior <input type="checkbox"/> Junior <input type="checkbox"/> Graduate Student	Name of your counselor			
Major	Grade Average		If a transfer or graduate student, state previous school's name and address		
Parent's or guardian's name and home address, zip code					Telephone number
Father's occupation	Employed by	Address		Approximate years with present employer	
Mother's occupation	Employed by	Address		Approximate years with present employer	
Sources of your monthly income	Parents	Employment	Spouse's employment	Other (Source)	Total Monthly Income
\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
If employed, name and address of employer			Years	Months	Position Business Telephone
If spouse employed, name and address of employer			Years	Months	Position Business Telephone
Automobile—Make	Year	Model	Financed By	Address	Balance Payment
Credit References (Banks, Stores) and complete list of all debts now owing. Attach additional sheet if necessary.					
Name	Address		Account No.	Balance	Payment
Bank With:					
Checking	Bank	City	Account No.		
Savings	Bank	City	Account No.		
Parents or Guardian will receive notification of your application but will not be asked to guarantee or co-sign for you.				Applicant's Signature Date	
READ AGREEMENT ON REVERSE SIDE				Signature of Co-Applicant, if any Relationship	

I HAVE READ and agree to all the terms and conditions of the agreement set forth on the reverse hereof wherein applicant is called holder. The above information is true and complete. You are authorized to verify the correctness of these statements and to procure any other information which you may require to appraise my application. I authorize you to retain this application as your property.