

MOBILIZE NOW FOR NOV 5 - 8

5

(see page 6)



OPPOSITION WEST

Vol. 1 #4 Box 4210 Stanford, Calif.
Sept. 1, 1966 Editor: Marc Sapiro

OPPOSITION WEST was established by the regional anti-war conference held at S.P. State College on March 25, 1966 in conjunction with the Internatl Days of Protest. It has now become the Newsletter by (not of) the Bay Area Peace Organizing Committee. Articles submitted by individuals and unaffiliated organizations are invited. While opinionated writing is not discouraged, we do not have space for lengthy ideological arguments since the primary aim of the paper is dissemination of important news within the movement.



2500 AT STATEWIDE CONFERENCE

NEW LEFT TRIUMPHS IN MOVE FOR INDEPENDENT POLITICS

Registration • Files Stolen

An inspired and hectic weekend conference on New Politics in the State of California has said 'no' decisively to compromise with the Democratic 'Liberal Establishment'. For the first time in recent years grass roots elements from all dissident sectors of the population came together to channel their animosities and frustrations towards the development of a third political force in the Golden State. Spurred on by the vital new radicalism emanating from young people and minority groups, the conference voted by a 7 to 5 margin to split now, not later, from the vested interests and the patronage machine of the Democratic Party by advocating a boycott of the Brown-Reagan race. It would seem that the concept of the "lesser of two evils" was defeated.

Almost all of the people at the conference, of course, favored the concept of new politics, yet the vote on whether to reprimand Brown or reject him entirely for his attacks upon the black communities of Los Angeles and San Francisco, upon the student movement at Berkeley and the anti-war movement in general, and upon the new welfare rights groups and other disenfranchised minorities, became a crucial issue in many minds. Since it is widely felt that there is no chance of effecting a sizeable boycott by November 8, however, it is most unlikely that the 47 man Statewide Coordinating Committee that came out of the conference will attempt to implement the decision. Nevertheless, the gesture was a significant one because it stated clearly that some positions can not be sacrificed for political expediency, or even for practicality. We will survive with or without a successful boycott and regardless of who is elected governor.

There were several casualties in the conference as a result of the very heavy emphasis placed on the Brown-Reagan fiasco. Serious discussion of issues, actions, and plans for the immediate future which took place in some 80 or more workshops, was never implemented by the plenary sessions. Even the temporary structure of the ongoing committee could not be settled by the plenary which finally gave in to a Bob Scheer proposal that simply named a group of 25 or so representative people to constitute the committee. A list of resolutions presented by a committee of workshop representatives was claimed faulty, amended, ratified, reconsidered and ratified again, still containing some poorly worked resolutions and omitting others of importance. At times floor debate became demagogic and at other times trivially procedural.

The probable cause of some of the confusion was the lack of a coherent theme. The planning committee was split on its intentions and desired to be non-manipulative as well. Many on the conference planning committee did not want to get bogged down in the Brown issue, and were disturbed by the outcome of the discussions. A few quit, others stayed still thinking that it was a politically bad move. Don Rothenberg of CLR, and a member of the committee, believes that the decision hurt the coalition and was unnecessary since the conference would have come out strongly against Brown anyway.

It is unclear, however, why the conference 'call', and all information distributed prior to the conference, focused on the gubernatorial race as a crucial question. If it is a crucial question, then the forceful action taken by the conference was certainly justified. If it is not a crucial question why was the entire morning group of workshops (44 sessions) directed to answer the question "Should we support Governor Brown? Is there an alternative?" Whatever the thoughts of the initiators, there is now a concrete alternative. Groups supporting a boycott or write-in include CNP (Berkeley), Southern Californians for New Politics, N-vac, and others (a list is not yet available).

After the vote for a boycott, about 200 or so people walked out of the conference. Some of these later returned. Although it was clearly an open conference, not rigged in any sense, there were some Brown apologists present (i.e. people from the Brown machine). On Sunday afternoon following the final plenary it was discovered that the registration files from the conference had been stolen. At least one likely suspect besides our beloved governor would be the FBI. Many similar lists have been disappearing from the offices of radical organizations around the country over the past year. A free subscription to Opposition West is offered as a reward for information leading to the The lists will now be reconstructed from memory.

How functional the Coordinating Committee or its 17 member executive will be can not be foreseen. The Committee will work out of the Peace Center at 55 Colton St., S.F. 626-5116. It has been directed by the Conference to organize a convention in Sacramento for March 1967 to lay the groundwork for a third party in California. *AP*

Bay Area Peace Organizing Committee News

COORDINATING
COMMITTEE

BAPOC and UCAW

BERKELEY-OAKLAND

Women for Peace
849-3020

Fred Gibson
849-3248
549-0690(CNP)

CONTRA COSTA CO.

Jim Bernard
376-4621

MARIN COUNTY

Mary Andrews
DU 8-6967

PENINSULA

Barbara Carpmill
344-8272

Keith Lowe
325-3405

SAN FRANCISCO

Kay Cole
626-6359

Carole Powell
387-0749

BAPOC-Treasurer

& Secretary
c/o CCSMC, P.O.
Box 168, Burlingame
344-8272

The Bay Area Peace Organizing Committee and the United Committee Against the War are making strong efforts towards cooperative and coordinated actions for the November 5-8 National Mobilization for Peace in Vietnam, for Economic Justice and for Human Rights. Both organizations stand in favor of at least one day of massive local leafleting throughout the Bay Area, possibly Saturday and, or, Monday preceding the elections. Other plans are still in abeyance.

UCAW has been regularly sending representatives to BAPOC meetings during the last month, perhaps in response to the somewhat unfair attack against the United Committee printed in the last regular issue of Opposition West and signed by the editor. At that time, we were trying to chide UCAW for organizing on a basis competitive with BAPOC. We apologize for any implication that UCAW is not an active force in opposition to the War. Such was not our intent. Indeed we do not seek to be divisive in any sense. UCAW is obviously going to be a vital force in the Bay Area Movement.

To quote from the less inflammatory parts of last months statement: "BAPOC realizes that it can't work effectively without ties to all student peace groups. We invite all anti-war committees to help us create a more spontaneous and responsive organization. If UCAW is interested in unity and in strengthening the new left, it will realize that it must come in with the independent peace groups as well as asking them to join and follow." UCAW has responded very positively to this suggestion, leading the way toward cooperative efforts. *MS.*

CALENDAR

- October 9: 1:30 p.m. BAPOC General Meet-
[Sunday] ing. 2609 Walnut Blvd., Wal-
nut Creek, 932-1968
- 10: 8 p.m. South School, Hills-
[Monday] borough; WHAT HAPPENED AT L.A.
CONFERENCE. 861-1866
- 15: CNP conference on PERSPECTIVES
[Saturday] OF THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT.
Berkeley. 549-0690; 652-3459
- 15: evening; Faulner, Lawyer for
the FORT HOOD THREE will speak
at benefit for Defense Comm.
Berkeley. UCAW 845-9159.
- 19: 8: p.m. discussion and planning
[Wednesday] of action to abolish HUAC.
y] Frank Wilkinson at 55 Colton SF
- 23: 2 p.m. at Fellowship Church,
[Sunday] 2041 Larkin, S.F. FELIX GREENE
on his new book Vietnam! Vietnam!
- 28, 29, 30: AFSC weekend SEMINAR ON CON-
SCIENTIOUS OBJECTION at West-
minster Woods, northwest of
Sebastopol. info: 2160 Lake, S.F.
- 29: 8:30 p.m. 390 Miller Ave., Mill
[Saturday] Valley. the ALDRICH PLAYERS WEST
(nite) an evening of one act plays by
Wilder, Chekhov, Hughes. benefit
Marin WILPF. tickets GL 6-9666.
- 29: Berkeley; BLACK POWER DAY
Stokely Carmichael et al. by SDS

Announcements

1. Bert Kanewske, sentenced to three years at hard labor by the Navy, has been moved from Treasure Island to the U.S. Naval Base at Portsmouth, N.H. He can receive mail, including books and packages, at SR119 70 56, U.S. Naval Disciplinary Command, U.S. Naval Base, Portsmouth, N.H. Funds for legal defense should be sent to the San Jose Peace Center.
2. SUPPORT THE BOYCOTT OF HINES NURSERY PLANTS. "We, the Mexican American workers, at Hines Nursery want the Self RESPECT of earning a fair days pay for an honest day's work. We do not want to turn to public assistance programs in order to feed our children. We, like you, feel the effect of rising living costs. HELP US EARN OUR SELF RESPECT...DO NOT PURCHASE HINES NURSERY PLANTS." Teamster Local No. 630.
3. A documentary on the Stanford anti-draft sit-in of May 1966 has been compiled by Keith Lowe and is being sold at 10¢ per copy by the new SDS chapter at Stanford. Write to Opposition West for copies.

Tribunal on Vietnam War Crimes Barred from France

The International War Crimes Tribunal initiated by Bertrand Russell, and headed by such noted figures as Simone de Beauvoir, Jean-Paul Sartre, Isaac Deutscher and Lazaro Cardenas has been told that it is not welcome in France. Another site for the tribunal is under consideration, probably Sweden.

The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation has asked Lyndon Johnson to appear in his own defense.

Recently Sartre and Russell have appealed to the Soviet Union to set clear limits against the ever increasing American aggression in Vietnam. Russell finds that the expansion of the war has followed a pattern of testing the Russian will and measuring the response. This he says is reminiscent of the tactics of Adolph Hitler. Russell has asked the USSR to send planes and pilots to defend North Vietnam from attack.

NAPALM

The Marin WILPF has launched a long-term anti-napalm campaign in Marin County. Plans include asking store managers to remove DOW products from their shelves, asking ministers to discuss the moral aspects of napalm use in their sermons; and house to house canvassing with info and petitions. Leafleting of shopping centers at peak hours has already been effected and will continue as part of the project.

THE ARTISTS' LIBERATION FRONT presents
Street Fairs with the Agit Prop Opera, peace
tables, exhibits, etc. NOON to 10 p.m.
Oct. 8-9 at Glide Foundation, Ellis and Taylor.
Oct. 15-16 Panhandle Park at Masonic.
WILPF Art Fair at Livermore Unitarian
Fellowship Hall, 4062 1st St. take Hwy 50.
Money to wounded Vietnamese children program.

Announcements

WHO ARE THE GUILTY?

John Harris Charged with "Criminal Syndicalism"

John Harris, a Negro Progressive Labor Party organizer in Watts faces 1 to 14 years as a criminal syndicalist. His crime--passing out leaflets at the Deadwyler inquest pointing out that the cop who shot Deadwyler was a murderer and moreover denouncing the system that creates such a "legal" murder.

At 5:30 pm Sept. 20, six plainclothesmen broke into the house where John Harris lives, ransacked the apartment, carried off boxes of personal property and arrested John Harris. They also took PL literature that was stored there. For example they took 250 copies of the new PL magazine; all this as "evidence".

WHAT IS CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM? The criminal syndicalism law states that it is illegal to speak or leaflet so as to advocate "change in industrial ownership" or effect "political change" by so-called criminal means. A grand jury meeting secretly, apparently decided this is what John was doing, and set bail at \$15,000.

Criminal syndicalism is an anti-labor law passed in 1919 and last used to convict farm labor organizers in the Sacramento Valley in 1937. The law is meant to deal with revolutionary socialists and is a candid reflection of the undemocratic essence of a class divided society. Like the anti-riot portions of the proposed Civil Rights law, it is intended as a weapon against those who call for fundamental change. Such was John's offense.

WHY THIS ARREST NOW? In fact, they are arresting John to scare and terrorize PL members and others who protest conditions in the black ghetto. Although John is not guilty of any criminal or illegal act, he certainly is guilty of protesting the wretched living conditions in Watts. He has spoken and written about the fact that real income in Watts declined 8% since 1960 while rising in the rest of L.A. He has passed out leaflets which pointed out that in Watts is one of the biggest concentrations of industry--yet black people living there aren't given jobs in these plants, and that there is 37% unemployment there. He has constantly worked to expose the outrages of Yorty's brutal cops in Watts who murder and maim black people, the Deadwyler case being only one example. He has publicly denounced the war in Vietnam and urged his black brothers not to fight in that war. He has told them to oppose the draft and warmly supported such people as Richmond and Key who refused to be inducted on the grounds that they are a colonial minority and shouldn't fight the colonial master's dirty war against the colored people of Southeast Asia. What is more, John has held classes which sought to get at the root cause of U.S. oppression both at home and abroad. He has not hesitated to name the real enemy, U.S. imperialism, and has stated unequivocally that imperialism in this country must be replaced by a socialist system. He has stated openly that he is a communist and proud of it. For this he was arrested on "criminal syndicalism". Before coming to L.A. and joining PL John Harris was a project director for SNCC.

John Harris joins the ranks of those in Phila. Cleveland, Atlanta, and elsewhere under direct government intimidation.

from P.L.P. Box 19930, L.A. 19, Cal.

MAJOR BLACK POWER DAY

IN BERKELEY... October 29

A major mass public meeting on the issue of Black Power, titled "Black Power and its Challenges" perhaps drawing up to 10,000 people and with SNCC National Chairman Stokely Carmichael as one of the main speakers will be held on the University of California Campus at Berkeley all day Saturday, October 29th.

The policies of both Brown and Reagan oppress the black man in California. The purpose of this meeting, coming 10 days before the election, is to support the freedom fighters in the ghetto and to expose the irrelevancy of the current Gubernatorial campaign to their problems. Because of the nature of this meeting, it should be highly controversial and publicized.

One of the main purposes of "Black Power Day" is to raise thousands of dollars for SNCC with no strings attached. "Fair Weather" friends of the Civil Rights Movement have stopped giving money to SNCC because of SNCC's opposition to the war in Vietnam and because of SNCC's plans to organize independent black political power.

Speakers from around the country, including the riot areas of Cleveland, Hunters Point and Watts will speak at this meeting. To fly all these people to Berkeley will require hundreds of dollars. Please support this educational, agitational and fund-raising event.

Black Power Day is organized and sponsored by Campus SDS. Notify SDS of your plans and watch the press for further developments. Send checks to JERRY RUBIN, Berkeley SDS, 2632 Regent, Berkeley, Cal.

CNP CALLS CONFERENCE ON PERSPECTIVES

Over 50 Bay Area anti-war groups have been invited to participate in a CNP sponsored conference entitled: "Directions and Perspectives of the Anti-War Movement: A Strategic Analysis." This will be an all day conference starting at 9:30 a.m. OCTOBER 15, in 155 Dwinelle Hall, U.C. campus, Berkeley. Interested individuals are urged to attend.

The purpose of the conference is to stimulate discussion on the future directions of the anti-war movement among people involved in anti-war activities. The conference will be divided into two parts, a panel which will include Steve Murdock, James O'Connor (editor of Studies on the Left), Franz Schurmann, Marshall Windmiller and Bob Scheer, Chairman, and an afternoon session of small discussion groups which will consider questions raised in the panel. After the group discussions the conference will reconvene for floor debate.

Some questions which might be considered include: In the context of American foreign policy how effective is action directed solely against the war in Vietnam? To what segment of society should we direct our efforts to effect the war? What have been the practical effects of past anti-war actions? How do we appeal to those groups who benefit economically and to those groups who are hurt economically by the war? CNP 2214 Grove, Berk.

BLACK POWER SYMPOSIUM AT PALO ALTO

John Harris, Mary King, Ed Becks, and Bob Hoover will participate in a discussion on Black Power Sunday, OCTOBER 9, 3 p.m. at the Ravenswood High School in East Palo Alto. Sponsored by the Free University of Palo Alto 327-8276.

SUPPORT FORT HOOD THREE

The Fort Hood Three--Johnson, Samas and Mora--were transferred from Ft. Dix, N.J. to Ft. Meade, Md. on Sept. 12. There they are awaiting the completion of a review, by Lt. General Train, of their harsh sentences. They will in all likelihood be transferred to Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas, soon.

Grace Mora Newman, sister of Pvt. Mora, after visiting her brother on Sept. 18, reported that the authorities at Ft. Meade are treating the three men in a very harsh and inhuman manner. They had been denied library privileges during the week, were no longer permitted to receive letters except from members of their immediate families, were forced to eat their meals on the floor in their cells, were being kept in solitary confinement and were allowed no speaking privileges. EVEN WORSE, HOWEVER, IS THAT THEY WERE REQUIRED TO STAND UP ALL DAY IN THEIR CELLS. IF THEY LEANED AGAINST THE WALL, SAT DOWN, OR DISOBEYED THIS ORDER IN ANY WAY THEY WERE FORCED TO GO THROUGH PUSH UP ROUTINES.

Grace Newman also reports that her brother, and possibly the other two men were told by one officer that if they agreed to go to Vietnam it was still not too late to "work something out" with Lt. General Train. He tried to appeal to Pvt. Mora on the basis that after a long term in Leavenworth the three men would become "hardened criminals". To date, protests have had some ameliorating effect. Johnson and Mora are now sharing a cell and the three are no longer required to stand all day.

Send Telegrams of protest to Lt. General Train, CG, 1st U.S. Army, Fort Meade, MD. For further information contact the FORT HOOD THREE DEFENSE COMMITTEE, 5 Beekman St. 10th Floor, N.Y.C. 10038.

AID VIETNAMESE VICTIMS OF AMERICAN BOMBING

While we argue about the war, our victims suffer and die. Most of their wounds are inflicted by shell and bomb fragments. Some are the more gruesome variety inflicted by napalm.

You can help the casualties in North and South Viet Nam by sending money to: THE INTERNATIONAL COMM. OF THE RED CROSS, 7 Avenue de la Paix, Geneva, Switzerland. Ask the Red Cross to buy medical supplies or services for the victims of the war.

Law requires that you have a license before you send such a donation abroad. Form TFAC-1, an application for the license, can be obtained from: Mrs. Margaret Schwartz, Director, Foreign Assets Control Division, The Treasury Department, Wash.D.C. or from any federal Reserve Bank.

Send the application to: Foreign Assets Control Division, Federal Reserve Bank of New York, 33 Liberty Street, New York, N.Y.

OR WOULD YOU RATHER JUST TALK ABOUT THE WAR?
(For further information, write the International Red Cross or Mary Bernier, 1025 Elm St., San Carlos)

FIRE BOMBING OF SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY HEADQUARTERS Thursday, Sept. 29, 1966

The national headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party at 873 Broadway, N.Y.C. was fire-bombed this morning at approximately 5:40. Between two and four Molotov cocktails were thrown at the windows by four unidentified men. A witness said that he saw the men lighting the bottles in the street below the headquarters which are on the second floor.

The bombs failed to break the windows but the flaming gasoline set fire to the building. By the time the fire department arrived, one of the offices was seriously damaged. No one was injured although workers were already coming into the building.

Judy White, New York gubernatorial candidate of the SWP, declared that the bombing was obviously in the same pattern as the bombing that wrecked the national headquarters of the Communist Party in New York September 4, the national headquarters of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs in San Francisco on March 6, and the headquarters of the Vietnam Day Committee in Berkeley on April 9...

From SWP 873 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y. 10003.

DON'T BUY, SERVE, or HANDLE

PRODUCTS DISTRIBUTED BY CALIFORNIA WINE ASSOCIATION:

wines

(INCLUDING VERMOUTH, PORT, SHERRY, CHAMPAGNE, VINO FINO, AND MANY VARIETAL WINES)

--AMBASSADOR

--ELEVEN CELLERS

brandy

--ARISTOCRAT

--red rooster

--greystone

--guasti

--calwa

--f.i.

--a.r. morrow

--victor hugo



Farm workers have been caught between the greed of giant food-grower-processing interests and an exploiting system of hiring labor with no contracts or provisions for welfare. We have been squeezed and squeezed. WE'VE HAD ENOUGH!

For the first time since agribusiness began abusing workers, and especially Spanish-speaking workers, a potent and permanent union for farm workers is developing. We have been on strike now against over 30 growers in Delano for over a year. Our determination is great, but we need your continued support.

BOYCOTT THE PRODUCTS OF ANTONIO PERELLI-MINETTI, HIS SONS, AND THEIR 26 PRIVATE FAMILY CORPORATIONS. ALL OF THEIR FIELD WORKERS WENT OUT ON STRIKE. THE COMPANY HAS USED ARMED MEN AND ATTEMPTS TO INCITE VIOLENCE TO BRING STRIKEBREAKERS ONTO THEIR RANCH. AID THE DELANO GRAPE STRIKE. HELP GAIN JUSTICE FOR FARM WORKERS.

UNITED FARM WORKERS, AFL-CIO, BOX 130, DELANO, CALIFORNIA

Fulbright said he was dropping his hearings on information policy to focus attention on Thailand. We believe that if he goes back and takes a fresh look at the Tonkin Bay affair, he will find the two closely related. I thought at the time that the Tonkin Bay affair was a phoney, and tried to alert readers to the evidence of this.* I am presenting some new evidence this week of the provocations which led up to the Tonkin Bay incidents. Stennis said the resolution was aimed to counter aggression against the United States, not Vietnam. But operative paragraph (2) contains a "sleeper" saying the U.S. is prepared "as the President determines" to use its armed forces in aid of any member of SEATO "requesting assistance in defense of its freedom." Thailand is a member of SEATO, and under this clause Johnson can send troops at Thailand's request without resorting to our "constitutional process" as specified in the SEATO treaty. This blank check for trouble is what we were warned against by Morse and Gruening, the only two members of Congress who voted against the resolution.

The Tonkin Bay affair shows how adept the Johnson administration is at blowing up minor forays into international crises when it suits its purpose. It could on the same model wait for a guerrilla stab at one of our air bases in Thailand and then cry out that we were the victims of unprovoked aggression in violation of the UN Charter, the Nuremberg laws and Roberts' Rules of Order. Mr. Geyelin on TV asked Mr. Bundy whether the situation was not like that earlier in Vietnam when guerrillas attacked U.S. air bases and more troops were sent in to defend the bases and then "to chase the guerrillas that were attacking the air bases." Mr. Bundy replied with the air of a deeply aggrieved man, "the Thai are absolutely determined to deal with this themselves." If they are so "absolutely determined" why are they already calling for help?

It is clear that we are dealing in the government with a crew of consummate fabricators.

Any thoroughgoing Senate inquiry into the Thailand situation must ask how so clever and sweeping a resolution as the Tonkin Bay resolution came to be trotted out so swiftly in the Tonkin Bay affair. The first question to be asked is when and under what conditions did Thailand agree to permit U.S. air bases on its soil for the bombardment of Laos and North Vietnam, in clear violation of the most elementary international law. To permit U.S. air activity was to risk retaliation from its Communist neighbors. The Thais are not given to such adventurism without firm guarantees and quid pro quos.

An urgent question the Thais must have raised is what would happen if China and its neighbors retaliated by sending in guerrillas or even openly invading. Our first answer must have been that the Thais could invoke our aid under the SEATO treaty. But that treaty was one of John Foster Dulles's most tricky contraptions. To get Britain and France to sign, he had to agree that no military action could be taken under it without unanimous agreement. To get the treaty past the Senate (where only Langer voted against it), he had to include a phrase which says military action would not be automatic but would be taken only in accord with our "constitutional processes", i.e. after a declaration of war by Congress. The astute and wily Thais must have asked what would happen if Congress refused to vote a declaration of war? The Tonkin Bay resolution gave Johnson the blank check he needed to pay for bases in Thailand.

Now let us turn back to events in South Vietnam in 1964. General Khanh and Air Marshal Ky were asking for "bac tien"—a march north, presumably to invigorate Vietnamese army morale. Our people in Saigon feared a march north would lead to the collapse of Southern forces. If they couldn't deal with ill-equipped guerrillas in the South, how would they fare against Giap's fresh troops in the North? The committee will find we believe that to appease Khanh and Ky we promised instead to bomb the North and to widen commando raids against it. But for effective bombing of the North by jet bombers, Danang was too far. The nearest point was northeastern Thailand, where we put our bases.

A re-examination of the Tonkin Bay affair by the Senate Foreign Relations committee will show that it served three purposes. It gave Johnson the blank check for war he needed to negotiate the use of Thai bases for bombing. It enabled him to satisfy the cries coming from Khanh and Ky that the U.S. by some strong action show that it was not "a paper tiger." It also gave Johnson a chance to steal some of Goldwater's thunder in the Presidential campaign. It would be interesting to know whether the resolution had actually been drafted before the events in Tonkin Bay.

Fulbright, talking to reporters after the Sylvester hearing last week, said that his committee had no more than a short executive session with Rusk before being asked to put the Tonkin resolution through the Senate. "It came down," he said, "to the question of whether the attack was provoked or unprovoked. . . ." Fulbright's shrug of the shoulders implied that he was dubious now of Rusk's assurances that the attacks were unprovoked. Even at the time, judging by odd items in the U.S. press, there was indication that the North Vietnamese were being harassed by commando and naval raids from South Vietnam and that our naval vessels were shielding the raiders. This provoked the clash.

A copy of the *Saigon Post* for July 23, 1964, which has just come into our hands and is reproduced in a box on the bottom of this page shows how extensive was the damage being claimed for these commando raids less than two weeks before the Tonkin Bay incidents. The details on the damage being done by the raids were not reported either in the *New York Times* or the *Washington Post* accounts of Ky's press conference, perhaps because information officers in Saigon, faced with Ky's embarrassing disclosure of commando raids on the North, and unable to deny them, adopted the tactic of disparaging their results. But even unsuccessful raids must have been enough to make the North Vietnamese nervous, and if the raids were only half as successful as Ky claimed, they were enough to put the North on guard against intruding planes and naval ships. Only a few days before the U.S. destroyer Maddox was fired on in the Gulf of Tonkin, Aug. 2, North Vietnam complained to the International Control Commission (*New York Times*, July 29, 1964) that U.S. and South Vietnamese warships had intruded into its territorial waters and carried away 11 North Vietnamese fishermen.

The knowledge of these covert activities may explain why the first reports from the Pentagon played down the attack on the Maddox. "Defense Department officials," the *New York Times* reported Aug. 8, 1964, "described the incident as unwelcome but not especially serious" and, next day it reported, again from military sources, that "destroyers on patrol have sometimes collaborated with South Vietnamese hit-and-run raids on North Vietnamese cities, though the destroyers themselves stay in international waters." But there was no discussion of the trouble which might arise because North Vietnam has a 12-mile limit while we recognize only a 3-mile limit. Hanoi radio (NYT Aug. 15) admitted the Aug. 2 attack on the Maddox but said "Our boats came into action to protect our territorial waters and our people and to chase the enemy ship out of our waters." A Washington story in the same issue said there had been an increase in raiding activities "in recent weeks" and that "many American naval advisers" were going to sea with the South Vietnam raiders.

Senators on the Foreign Relations Committee ought to be able to find out why the White House seemed to take the Maddox affair so much more seriously than the lower level Defense Department officials with whom reporters first spoke. There was a high level meeting at the White House Aug. 2 attended by LBJ, Rusk, Ball, Cyrus Vance and General Wheeler, then chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, "and other top military and diplomatic representatives" (*N.Y. Times*, Aug. 3, 1964). That seems a lot of high brass for so minor an incident unless plans were then laid to exploit it. Next day Johnson called in the press and issued a "shoot to kill" order in case of further attacks but refused to take questions. The same day the giant aircraft carrier, Constellation, and three other warships, steamed out of Hong Kong (AP in *Wash. Star* Aug. 4), bound as it turned out later for Tonkin Bay. At 11:30 p.m. that night Johnson was on a nationwide TV broadcast announcing that a second attack had been made on U.S. destroyers and that he had ordered retaliatory raids on North Vietnam. Hanoi claimed this second attack was a hoax. The U.S. admitted that in the second attack, like the first, there had been no damage or casualties. If the second attack really happened, it was by our own account the mildest ever suffered by the U.S. Navy.

Yet Johnson played this to the hilt as if it were an international crisis. On August 5, he characteristically chose the dedication of a new centre at Syracuse for "better understanding among all men" to deliver a bellicose address. He described the supposed Tonkin Bay attacks as "unprovoked . . . deliberate, wilful, systematic aggression" which had to be answered with "action." In the wave of excitement generated, he then put his blank check resolution through Congress in less than 48 hours.

That's how Johnson got the authority he may soon use to put U.S. combat troops into Thailand.

ABOUT ELECTIONS

In spite of severe intimidation in the recent Vietnam elections, which were, after all, less successful than Diem's 98% turnouts in 56 and 63, over three hundred thousand Vietnamese reportedly cast blank ballots. Would that Californians were as courageous and clever, the November 8 elections might dramatically shorten the war. 25.

A CALL FOR A MOBILIZATION NOVEMBER 5 through 8 for Peace in Vietnam, for Economic Justice and for Human Rights

If you know of no local organization in your area, contact BAPOC, 4CCSMC BOX 168, Burlingame California, 344-8272 or San Francisco Peace Center, 55 Colton, S.F. 626-5116, or UCAN 2001 Milvia, Berkeley 845-9159. If you belong to a local group which is not coordinating with any of these Coordinating groups please let BAPOC or OPPOSITION WEST know what you are planning for November 5-8.

November 8 Mobilization Committee
107 Dryden Road
Ithaca, New York 14850
Phone 607/273-7158

A. J. Muste, Chairman.

5 Beekman Street

New York, New York

212 CO 7-1468

Barbara Bick

Robert Greenblatt

Sidney Peck

Ed Keating

Otto Nathan

Gordon Christiansen

Jerry Grossman

Sumner Rosen

Carl Oglesby

Sandy Leigh

Simon Cassidy

Jack Spiegel

Donald Duncan

Herbert Aptheker

Sidney Lens

Franklin Alexander

Fred Halstead

Lew Jones

Floyd McKissick

Gus Horowitz

Father Philip Berrigan

Mrs. Coretta King, Jr.

Glenn Smiley

Stanley Sheinbaum

W. H. Ferry

Deirdre Griswold

Ivanhoe Donaldson

Bradford Lytle

Bronson Clark

Paul Olynik

Howard Zinn

Staughton Lynd

Robert Browne

Kay Boyle

Patricia J. Griffith, Secretary

Frank Emspak, Field Secretary

Rev. Richard Fernandez, Treasurer

This call originates from a conference representing the broadest cooperation of anti-war forces in the country. The conference was convened in Cleveland on September 10-11 by members of the executive council of the Inter-University Committee for Debate on Foreign Policy, organizers of the Teach-In.

Sick Of The War In Vietnam?

If you are sick of the war because:

- thousands of young Americans are being killed in an illegal, immoral and unjust war;
- hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese are being destroyed in a war which brutalizes our sensibilities;
- the U.S. has intervened in a civil war of the Vietnamese nation and has transformed it into an American war on mainland Asia;
- it brings the world close to the danger of nuclear catastrophe;

If you are sick of the war because:

- it violates the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination and imposes the military might of a foreign white power over a colored people;
- it compels young black men to kill and be killed abroad when they are denied their rights at home;

If you are sick of the war because:

- billions are spent to train youth to destroy and kill but not to prepare them for constructive and useful work at good pay;
- you pay for it through inflation in the face of "wage guidelines" and threatened restriction of the elementary right to strike;
- it diverts billions of dollars away from efforts that should be made to create economic justice for all of our people;
- we need better schools, decent homes, good health care, clean air and water, livable cities AND MORE BUTTER — NOT GUNS;

If you are sick of the war because:

- American youths who are drafted or who join the service to get a job are being sent to a war they don't believe in;
- it discriminates against the sons of the poor who are not able to secure a "college" deferment;
- it violates the integrity of all citizens who have the right to think for themselves when they are subject to the draft, or are taken into military service, even to the point of refusing to participate in this war as a matter of conscience;
- you are a G.I. who does not want to be forced to fight in an immoral war;

Then join us to focus attention on these issues at this election period.

As indicated by the composition of the ad hoc November 8 Mobilization Committee a variety of peace, religious, political, civil rights, community, labor, veteran and professional groups are planning activities during this mobilization.

WHAT CAN YOU DO TO JOIN IN THIS EFFORT AND HELP MAKE IT A HUGE SUCCESS?

Contact your local group, raise these issues, and join with other groups and individuals in your community to coordinate them for a variety of activities during these four days before the election, November 5-8.

Stanford

striving for greatness

Stanford University is one of the very largest corporative recipients of Defense Dept. contracts in the country. It is probably the only university in the U.S. that is surrounded by its own corporate city; hundreds of "very friendly" firms renting Stanford property for National Offices and plants. During the summer Stanford gave out, to government agencies the names of members of radical campus groups. This week Stanford University made it known that, ex post facto, it would prosecute Alan Traister, head of the Free University of Palo Alto, and Marc Sapir (me) for their participation in the anti-draft sit in of May 1966. Unlike 38 others who are presently on probation, Traister and Sapir were not registered students last May, but are returning to the Graduate School this year. At the trial last year they had insisted that they be given equal treatment with the rest, but to no avail. Now the University has ordered the student judiciary to reopen the case and try both.

The University strategy is coherent and clever. Had it been revealed that non-students were involved in the sit-in, (had, in fact, played an initiating role) a scandal might have ensued. Besides, Traister and Sapir are not likely to "learn their lesson" by being put on probation as some of the freshmen might. Now, however, with both returning to school and both remaining very active, the possibility of further direct action is great.

Prosecution at this time will, at once label the two as agitators, and will also provide an excuse for expelling them upon their involvement in further anti-establishment action.

VERY CLOSE TO HOME: MRS. BEVERLY FARQUHARSON, ONE OF THE FOUR AGAINST NAPALM, WRITES:

"Long before the song was written, I asked my sixth-grade son, 'What did you learn in school today?'. He stood straight and replied smartly, 'To be a good soldier. My teacher says it's a good way to get honor and besides, soldiers should have more to say about this country 'cause they've got the guts to fight for it.' I told him about civilian government--each citizen's moral duty to dissent when necessary. I also told him he'd have teachers who agreed with me----

"Last January, Gordon was impounded by his government and bound over for 2 years of involuntary servitude to the U.S. Marine Corps. He survived the overcrowding, the lice, and the disease-ridden conditions in basic training; he survived the brutality of sadistic drill instructors--although one recruit was nearly kicked to death by a D.I. He also survived the brainwashing. He still does not want to die or kill; nor does he want to serve a long prison sentence for refusing to violate the Constitution.

"As I write this, Pvt. Gordon Farquharson is "celebrating" his 20th birthday aboard a troopship out of San Diego for Vietnam. I tried everything I could think of to stop the Government from sending my son into hell. I was too late.

"Do you have a son the age of 8 or over? Then you have been served adequate notice from the Secretary of Defense as to just why he thinks your son was born. I hope you won't wait too much longer to do something about it. The napalm bombs we four mothers tried to intercept are gone from San Jose, Alviso and Milpitas by now. They've probably been used to kill other women and their children. But there is still a draft board here in San Jose and plenty of information on Conscientious Objection at the Peace Center. It is now a matter of luck for my son, but I'll do anything I believe will be effective in order to help you save yours.

BRING HOME THE TROOPS