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STUDENT VIEWS TOWARD UNITED STATES
POLICY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

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1961

HEARINGS

BEFORE AN

AD HOC COMMITTEE OF MEMBERS OF THE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NINETY-FIRST CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

MAY 21 AND 22, 1970

MEMBERS OF THE AD HOC COMMITTEE

PAUL FINDLEY, Illinois, *Chairman*

EDWARD P. BOLAND, Massachusetts
DANTE B. FASCELL, Florida
FLOYD W. HICKS, Washington

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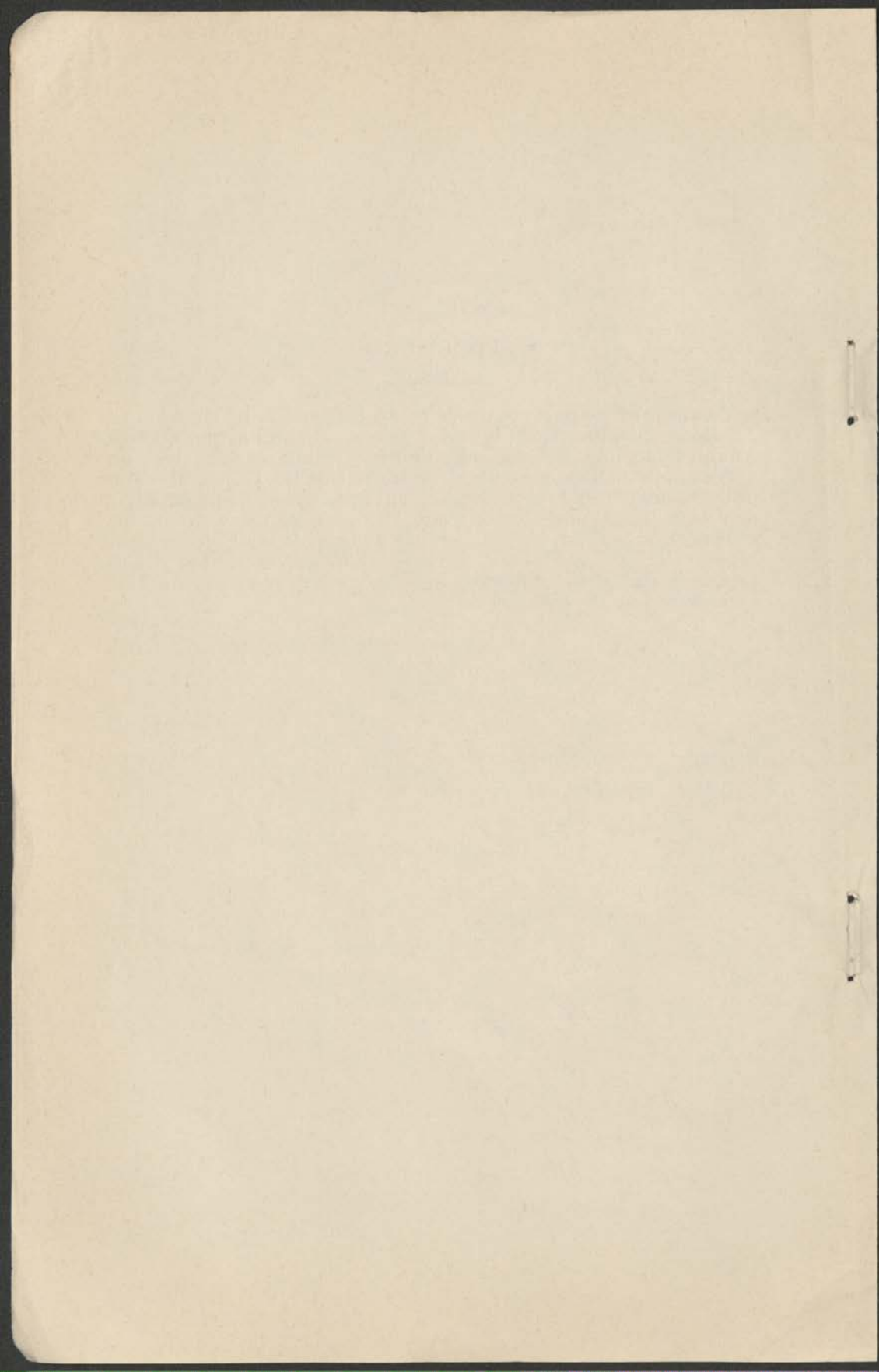
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FOREWORD

Two days of hearings were held on May 21 and 22 by an informal Ad Hoc Committee which included several members of the Foreign Affairs Committee, for the purpose of receiving student views on United States policy in Southeast Asia. So that the full membership of the committee and other Members of the House of Representatives may have the opportunity to study and consider the views of the students who testified, the hearings are being made available in "committee print" form. This does not connote either approval or disapproval of any of the statements made by members of the Ad Hoc Committee or of the witnesses.

THOMAS E. MORGAN,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs.



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HEARINGS ON STUDENT VIEWS TOWARD UNITED STATES POLICY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

THURSDAY, MAY 21, 1970

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AD HOC COMMITTEE

PAUL FINDLEY, CHAIRMAN

EDWARD P. BOLAND

HOWARD W. ROBISON

DANTE B. FASCELL

FLOYD V. HICKS

VERNON W. THOMSON

Washington, D.C.

The committee met at 9 a.m. in room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Paul Findley (chairman of the ad hoc committee) presiding.

Mr. FINDLEY. Sixty-three young men and women are scheduled for these 2 days of hearings before this special panel. We will stay in continuous session today until half of them have been recognized, and follow the same procedure for the remaining half on Friday.

At the door you should have received a registry form. If you wish to be notified later as to the availability of reports of these hearings, fill out the registry form and leave it at the desk in the reception room across the hall.

May I introduce members of the panel, in the order of their accession to it. I have the gavel only because I first had the idea of these hearings and acted upon it. Edward P. Boland (Democrat, Mass.), Appropriations, ninth term; Dante B. Fascell (Democrat, Fla.), Foreign Affairs, eighth term; Vernon W. Thomson (Republican, Wis.), Foreign Affairs, fifth term; Howard W. Robison (Republican, N.Y.), Appropriations, seventh term; and Floyd W. Hicks (Democrat, Wash.), Armed Services, third term.

Each has taken an active role in regard to policies in Southeast Asia, both as a result of his committee responsibilities and as an individual member. I am grateful to each for his participation.

Each witness has a message for the Congress. Each has gone to considerable effort and expense to prepare and present it. Several have journeyed from the west coast for this specific purpose.

Each witness must present 20 copies of his prepared statement to the committee clerk, Mr. Bob Wichser, in advance of being recognized.

In order to be fair and considerate, we must keep as close to schedule as possible. Please do not applaud. This will serve only to take time from the witnesses.

Accordingly the chair will endeavor to be both precise and fair.

As soon as 10 minutes have elapsed the gavel will strike, and the time for the prepared statement will end. Members of Congress on the panel will be recognized in order for one question each until a 10-minute question period has elapsed. Further dialogue with that witness cannot be considered until all other witnesses scheduled for the day have been heard.

In responding to a question, please be as brief as possible. You may be surprised how swiftly 10 minutes fly by.

We have scheduled four witnesses per hour. If all witnesses appear, we of course will run considerably overtime by the end of the day. I hope you will bear with us.

Before proceeding with the first witness, I want to thank all those who have cooperated to make this possible. First, the members of the panel. Also, Chairman Morgan of the Foreign Affairs Committee who has given permission for the use of the main committee room for the hearings, and the staff of the Foreign Affairs Committee for their assistance. Those who will testify are to be commended for the time, thought, and expense they have undertaken to prepare a statement and travel to Washington to deliver it. In many cases, the witnesses came long distances, at their own expense, to appear briefly before this committee. A special expression of appreciation should be mentioned to all of those from colleges and universities across the Nation whose request to testify came too late to be scheduled. We are indeed pleased at the response, and the expression of support and encouragement received from all quarters. We all wish that additional time could be arranged so that all who wished to testify could be accommodated.

Finally, on behalf of each member of this panel, we want to express our appreciation to our personal staffs, upon whom the extra burden of arranging these hearings has fallen, and who will shortly be faced with the monumental task of typing up the transcript of the dialogue which follows. Each of these staff members has his or her own regular duties, and this added responsibility has and will require many extra hours of work. From Mr. Hicks' office: Jim Hansen, Dianne Church, Danny Locket, Shirley Puishis, and John Horslev. From Mr. Fascell's office: John Buckley, Gary Brooks, Carl Freeman, and Clem Bezold. From Mr. Robison's office: Chuck Ingraham and Barbara Wallace. From Mr. Thomson's office: Denny Dennis. From Mr. Boland's office: John Walsh and Grace Glaser. From Mr. Mize's office: Charles Freburg and Marilyn Smith. And my own staff, each of whom literally has done double duty during these past weeks: Helen Arthur, Madelyn Evans, Etta Fagan, Marijo Gorney, Gary Madson, Patty Milligan, Evelyn Pali, Vicki Terio, and Bob Wichser. To all of these people, I am personally grateful.

The purpose of these hearings is to explore the opinions of men and women of college age in regard to U.S. military policy in Southeast Asia and related questions. The ramifications of this policy on college campuses and elsewhere have been amply demonstrated in recent weeks. All of us on Capitol Hill have been made aware of

the intensity of opinion in this area, and especially among young people.

This can be explained partly because young people are those most directly affected by war. In my opinion, the reasons go much deeper. Many young people have begun to wonder whether our 190-year-old system of government really meets the needs of a modern society. Others who do not entertain this doubt still seriously question the domestic and foreign priorities which our Nation has pursued in recent years. These are certainly questions which need to be continually asked. They are like the questions which each member of this panel must answer each time he casts his vote on the floor of the House.

As we enter into this unique experience in exploring opinion, let's keep something in mind, all of us. Let's understand the difficulty of settling whether opinions are right or wrong. What is there to measure them by?

Speaking of man's search for truth in an argument to a jury in 1920, Clarence Darrow had this to say:

It is not given to man to be sure of the truth. . . . Above everything else on earth, men should cling fast to their right to examine every question; to listen to everyone, no matter who he is: to hear the spoken words and read the written words; because if you shut men's mouths and paralyze their minds, then the greatest truth that is necessary for the welfare of the human race may die.

That is what Mr. Darrow had to say, and I think good advice for all of us. Are there any comments other members of the panel would like to make at this point? Mr. Fascell.

MR. FASCELL. Thank you Mr. Chairman. I think these hearings are going to be extremely useful and I am sure they will be beneficial to all of us.

MR. FINDLEY. Mr. Boland.

MR. BOLAND. Mr. Chairman, it is perfectly obvious from the size of the crowd the interest that these students have evidenced. It is not only an exercise, but I think also an excellent dramatization of the deep feelings that the students in colleges throughout the Nation have about not only the war, but other problems in America. Your presence here today is appreciated by all of us. I think that the very fact that you are here, and the very fact that Members of Congress are willing to listen, indicate that oftentimes the system can and will work, and we hope that we can make it work a little better for you.

MR. FINDLEY. Mr. Robison.

MR. ROBISON. Mr. Chairman, I would like to extend my appreciation to you for the idea of making these hearings possible, and for bringing them to reality today. I am looking forward very much to the testimony that will be presented to us.

MR. FINDLEY. Mr. Hicks.

MR. HICKS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I think it has all been very well stated, and I hope that we spend more time listening today and less in expressing our own views.

MR. FINDLEY. I would like to mention the presence of two other Members of the House, Mr. Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, and Mr. Pucinski, of Illinois. You are most welcome.

The first witness today is a student at Kent State University in Kent, Ohio, Greg Rambo of Zanesville, Ohio. I believe Mr. Rambo has brought forward his testimony. Mr. Rambo, would you take the witness chair? You have 10 minutes Mr. Rambo. Please identify yourself and proceed.

Mr. RAMBO. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

STATEMENT BY GREG RAMBO, KENT STATE UNIVERSITY

Mr. RAMBO. My name is Greg Rambo and I reside in Zanesville, Ohio. I am a student at Kent State University majoring in public relations. I serve as a counselor in an all-freshman dormitory complex housing approximately 2,000 students.

First of all, I would like to express my own views on America's present Southeast Asia policy. Secondly, as an eye-witness to many of the events that took place prior to my university's closing, I would like to give what I consider to be an objective and factual account of what I saw. Also, I would like to make some observations about campus dissent in general, and offer some positive suggestions on how to cope with it.

My original reaction to the President's Cambodia decision was strongly unfavorable. I saw it as a widening of the war in Indochina.

The fact that this was the prevailing sentiment among my fellow students served to reinforce my original opinion. Like many college students today, I failed to look or listen to the other side; in this case President Nixon's reasons for sending American troops into the enemy sanctuaries in Cambodia.

After the closing of Kent State following the fatal shooting of four of our students, I have had the opportunity to talk with other students, do more reading on the situation, and to generally re-examine and reconsider my original position.

I now feel the President made a wise decision in sending American troops into these enemy sanctuaries. His principal objective—to protect the lives of American troops in Vietnam and to insure the continued success of the withdrawal program—was well served by this decision. I now believe that it was imperative for the safety of our remaining American forces in South Vietnam and for the continued safe withdrawal of American forces that this action was taken.

I have come to this decision partly because of President Nixon's promise to have American forces out of Cambodia by the end of June, and I deplore the attempt by some U.S. Senators to limit the funding of the Cambodia operation beyond this time.

Such action is an insult to the integrity of the President of the United States. Legislation of this nature should only be considered after the President has had a chance to keep his word.

This decision in regard to the Cambodia operation admittedly has been a factor in recent campus disturbances, but I want to emphasize that it was only one of many factors. This is particularly true of the disturbances on the Kent State University campus.

This is best illustrated by a personal experience on the Sunday night before the fatal shooting of the four Kent State students. A

group of about 500 persons were sitting down in the middle of Main Street in front of the campus. I was standing beside a good friend of mine, John P. Hayes, who was a reporter for our campus newspaper. He asked the leader of the sit-in, what their objectives were.

He paused for several moments and answered that first of all, they wanted the curfew lifted from the downtown area, the National Guard removed from the campus, that ROTC be abolished, that complete amnesty be given to all students arrested up to that time, and almost as an afterthought, he stated that they opposed President Nixon's sending troops into Cambodia.

I was, furthermore, an eye-witness to the shootings. Although I cannot say for certain whether or not there was sniper fire before the National Guard began to fire, I heard no shots before their's. Some minutes prior to the shooting, the National Guards' lives did appear to be in danger. At the actual time of the shooting, however, such did not appear to be the case, which leads me to believe that a shot other than their's could have prompted their fire.

Speaking more generally of campus dissent, certainly there is a small group of hard-core radicals who seek to change society and close the universities by violent demonstrations, but even on the largest campuses, these never number more than two or three hundred. There are large numbers of students who remain blissfully unconcerned about world and university problems, but both this group and that largest group which is concerned but is not always vocal and never violent, show some tendency toward radicalization in the heat of crises such as we have seen in recent weeks.

Antiwar sentiment is of three basic types: A belief that war is immoral; a belief that this war is illegal; or a belief that this war is not in our best interest. Disagreement on the Cambodia decision is generally based on the idea that it constitutes an illegal invasion of another country, is a widening of the war, or, while sound militarily, was unwise because anticipated domestic repercussions should have been a higher priority.

Another cause of increasing radicalization is the growing feeling that only violence elicits institutional response. There have been some very serious problems of communication on many campuses. Many times the conciliatory word that would quell the mob is not forthcoming. "We will not be intimidated" has become as obnoxious a cliché as "We are never listened to." Even when there is communication, however, bureaucracy and redtape often forestall desirable changes for literally years. Please understand that the concerned non-violent which I spoke of earlier have many legitimate grievances which are not being dealt with adequately, and their frustration is building.

Despite all of this, the overwhelming majority of students remain committed to constructive nonviolent dissent, but there is a consensus that if the radicals choose to shut down a campus, it is difficult to prevent them. Witness the Ohio University situation where students and administration were united in an effort to keep the peace and keep the university open. The only answer seems to be—and there is a broad base of agreement here—that the hard-core must be isolated. This can only be done by the students. This isolated group must then be rendered ineffective. This is a job for the ad-

ministration and civil authorities, but a serious problem arises because the students have reached a state of distrust toward these two groups, and any act directed toward the rendering ineffective of the hard-core would at this point in time suffer from a lack of widespread student support which is essential to such an operation.

But if (and this is our Nation's biggest "if"), university administrations, State governments, and the Nixon administration can convince the concerned nonviolent that you are listening and are interested in what they have to say and show signs of being responsive (and none of this group expects to dictate national or university policy) then there will be strong support by this group for isolating and rendering the hard-core ineffective.

I have some proposals of a more specific nature which I must confess have been difficult to arrive at. The first is the establishment of a student advisory council which would meet regularly and be made up of students of all political philosophies, not just young Republicans or "straight" or "conservative" types. The second is the establishment of a conference under White House auspices which would include college administrators, faculty, students and State legislators to discuss general university problems with an eye toward making general recommendations on ways to loosen the rigidity of present university structures. Again, a diversity of philosophy is desirable. Perhaps this could be more efficiently done on a regional level. The third is to send members of the Nixon administration to the campuses, especially Cabinet officers such as Secretaries Rogers, Hickel, Finch, Romney, Volpe and Blount, not only to address assemblies but to circulate among the students on campus. Students would be impressed, and I feel that this would at least dispell most of the criticism that the administration is not listening, and help our President's goal of "bringing us together" a reality.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you, Mr. Rambo. As I mentioned earlier, our procedure will be to recognize each of the six members of the panel in order for one question each. If any of the panel members wish to yield his time to another Member of the House present here, he may do so, of course. And if there's time within the 10-minute period for other questions from those not members of the panel, we will certainly accommodate those requests at that point. Mr. Fascell will be first.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Rambo, I get the definite impression from listening to your testimony that your observation is that as far as the discontent and frustration and violence on campus is concerned that if it has anything to do with Southeast Asia it takes a very low priority. And yet at the same time you suggest—and I admire you for your constructive and specific suggestion—you suggest we ought to show signs of being responsive. If that applies to us, the Congress, as part of the establishment, I just wonder, other than the President taking the steps you've specified here, which I think are good by the way, I think a White House conference is excellent on this subject—what do you suggest the Congress do to show itself to be more responsive to the problems of the campus if they don't have anything to do with the war?

Mr. RAMBO. As I stated before, there are a number of different issues on campuses. Like at Ohio State the 15 demands they pre-

sented were basically university demands, and what I'm saying is things like this where the students can come before Members of Congress and express their views are fine. But when I stated that on our campus it was a low priority, the Cambodian situation in South Vietnam was a low priority on our campus, and it just seemed that there were students there who basically, the way it started, just wanted to cause trouble. And, of course, as the head of that group stated, he listed his demands and that's the way I heard it.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Boland.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Rambo, you suggested that the administration should send particular officials of the administration to the campuses to discuss some of the matters the students are interested in, not alone the war, but they're interested in a great number of issues; all of us applaud the students for that. What sort of guarantee can you have the students will listen on the campus to members of this administration? They didn't listen to the members of the Cabinet of the last administration either. So really it's not a question of partisanship. It's really a question of some students just won't listen to people who go there who present views of the administration.

Mr. RAMBO. I agree with you. I think that when we talk about sending administration officials to campuses to listen to what students have to say I think it has to be a 50-50 type proposition; not only does the administration have to listen but the students should listen to what the administration has to say, and if this can't be done then I suggest that the only way that this can be done would be possibly have the administration officials meet in smaller groups. Really I don't think much good is going to come out of having Secretary Finch or somebody coming to campuses speaking in front of a large crowd and just speaking. I think the thing he's got to do is speak in small groups and listen to what the students have to say in small groups. I think the answer lies in that.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hicks, would you grab the mike and pull it over, please.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Rambo, what do you believe the responsibility of the student on the campus, Kent State University for example, is to cool it as it were, to keep tensions from reaching the point that they do? In other words, what alternative is there to what Governor Rhodes did?

Mr. RAMBO. Well, I know at our university, and I'm a counselor in the dorms as I said, and I did a lot of work and a lot of the counselors did in trying to cool down at least some of the freshmen because they're very young, you know, and they went out just for the excitement of it. A number of the students did help try to put out the fire at the ROTC Building and try to stop demonstrators from throwing rocks. You can reach large numbers of students but this hard-core radical group—I feel they really don't care about Vietnam or the Cambodian situation (if President Nixon pulled all the troops out today, they'd have another issue tomorrow), this is a group that has to be isolated and I think you can reach a solution. But I think it will be up to these students. I think now after the closing of so many universities, I think the students who are concerned about an education are not going to permit a small group of students to close down their university because we've seen what

repercussions occur from this, and I think if any good came out of this that the students who just sat around in dormitories and did nothing, next fall when they go back to school perhaps and any trouble starts, they'll be able to render this group ineffective.

Mr. FINDLEY. Next question will be from Mr. Robison. But first I want to mention that there are six students here from Bethune-Cookman College in Daytona, Fla. They are not on the witness list. We had to decide upon a cutoff hour because we had so many requests. We made no effort to screen or sort out witness requests; we took those as they came in the order that we received them. Our schedule is just jam-packed for these 2 days, so even though these students are here and have a statement, there is no way they can present it during this 2-day period. It may be the panel will decide to schedule additional days later on and if someone from this group would present a copy of the statement to Mr. Wichser over here on the left, we'll make sure it is a part of the hearing record. Mr. Robison.

Mr. ROBISON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Rambo, you have made a very interesting and in many ways a most surprising statement for our leadoff witness. I'd like to ask you a subjective question which might not be very easy to answer, but give us your best judgment anyway. How representative do you think your views are now of those other students at Kent State?

Mr. RAMBO. After the shooting and some of the things that happened, I came home and I was very upset and emotional about the whole situation. I blamed the National Guard, and as I said before my feelings about Cambodia, since I had a chance to think about it and get away from the campus, I've been able to change my philosophy and there are a lot of students from Zanesville who go to Kent State and I have been in contact with a lot of Kent State students and after the emotionalism, the whole situation has blown over and we have had a chance to rationalize the whole situation. I think that since that time a lot of students have had a chance to cool down their tempers, but I can't say how representative my views are really.

Mr. ROBISON. Thank you very much for trying.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Thomson.

Mr. THOMSON. Mr. Rambo, we've heard the term meaningful dialogue used very frequently in the past weeks. What is your definition of a meaningful dialogue? Sometimes we get the impression students think a meaningful dialogue is for Congressmen to listen and agree.

Mr. RAMBO. I sometimes get the same impression myself. I think a meaningful dialogue is something like you and I talking, and you listen to what I have to say and I listen to what you have to say. Then perhaps we can come to a happy medium or at least understand what we're talking about even though we don't come to an agreement. I think this is a big problem, that students aren't listening and sometimes the administration and Congressmen aren't listening. But I think there's a big attempt now and I think it's fine. I think this is a big problem and it's got to be a 50-50 thing.

Mr. THOMSON. Thank you very much.

Mr. FINDLEY. I'll yield my time for a question to my friend from Illinois, Mr. Pucinski, if you have a question.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Rambo, in listening to your testimony one would get the impression that maybe we have now finally and hopefully reached an era when intellect will gain dominance over impulse on the university campus. But won't this, as your moderate elements take hold and try to provide leadership, really intensify and stimulate the radical elements to perhaps even increase the violence? We've had some examples of that in the last three or four days. How do you intend to deal with the small, albeit active, radical element that you say has been responsible for most of this violence on campus?

Mr. RAMBO. Probably a lot of students might not agree with this—I don't know, maybe this is a hard-line answer—but I know a lot of students on my campus (and I've been talking to other universities) were there for an education. Of course, we're interested in other things too and express our opinions on a lot of things but we aren't going to stand around and watch this small group destroy our university and close it down. I think the answer lies, if someone is destroying property, nothing's wrong with nonviolent dissent but when they're burning buildings, throwing rocks I think that whoever is doing this should be arrested, and I would be for the university throwing them out, expelling them from the university and perhaps the State not permitting them to go to any other State university. I think something has to be done.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you very much, Mr. Rambo, for that excellent presentation. The next witness is Steve Kramer of Whittier College in California. Steve, you have a statement and copies presented, right? And you have several who are going to sit at the table, but as I understand it, you will be the only spokesman, is that correct?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes. On my left I would like to introduce Jim Nash and Steve Parker, and on my right Lane Langford and Jon Conte. These gentlemen will be assisting me in answering questions. I'm Steve Kramer.

Mr. Chairman.

STATEMENT BY STEVE KRAMER, WHITTIER COLLEGE

Mr. KRAMER. A number of Whittier College students and Whittier community citizens are concerned about the direction our country seems intent on taking and it is for this reason that they have sent us here to Washington to meet with our Nation's leaders.

Students and citizens have had enough with a world gone mad. Our breaking point has been reached. For too long Americans have stood by and watched racism, war and poverty go by unnoticed. Inaction has served as a major contributing factor to the evils which all peoples of the world seek to end.

Most recently we were shocked and outraged by the invasion of Cambodia, the murder of four Kent State students, six black brothers in Georgia, and two more brothers in Mississippi. These senseless, brutal acts caused Americans to stand up and cry, enough, enough to human waste and inhumanity to mankind. That is why our brother students went out on strike and that is why so many Americans have made a rededication to peaceful social change.

Social concern at Whittier over these last weeks has been centered around the concept of nonviolent social change. This tactic has brought together the largest number of students that have ever been active at Whittier. This dedication to nonviolence as a vehicle for social change and the joint dedication to the right of all people to be masters over their own lives, has caused Whittier students to act. They have united with college students across the Nation in restructuring society.

We understand that violence is perpetrated by long years of frustration and alienation. We understand only too well that students have come to feel powerless in contemporary society. This generation has watched those men toward whom they looked for leadership and wisdom, murdered in the streets of American cities.

Our generation was motivated, was first sparked to, idealism and social action by John F. Kennedy, whom we saw murdered in the streets of Dallas. Our generation was first involved in political activity in the civil rights movement and we watched the idealism and brotherhood of that movement killed with Martin Luther King, Jr. Our generation rallied around Bobby Kennedy, inspirer of young men and hope of the future and we watched him murdered in Los Angeles. Many of our generation watched their last hope for the political system, their last hope that the American system would respond to their needs and dreams, die with the defeat of Eugene McCarthy in spite of their efforts. They were affected by Chicago, by the bloody confrontation between old and young, between the established order and those who sought change. Far too many students of this generation have had their campuses invaded by police and national guard. They watched the black struggle in America and they have seen a system that does not respond to the needs of the people and that does not listen to its people. Students have become disenfranchised and disheartened. Overall there is a sense of frustration and bitterness that things have not worked as they should. And so, more recently, it was these same idealistic and vitally concerned students who listened to President Nixon campaign and listened to him promise peace, only to watch in disbelief a secret invasion of Cambodia without the consent of Congress.

We have watched the struggles of blacks and chicanos against a system that does not respond to their needs, a system that alienates all men from it and from each other. And we have watched the idealism and concern of so many of our fellow students turned off by inaction and deaf ears. America has lost a great resource by making its students meaningless trainees in an industrial military oriented society.

Sadly and fearfully we look at our Nation and realize that this is the last chance for nonviolent, peaceful change. There are those who would advocate violent revolution. We reject that notion but we recognize that as more and more students become alienated, as more and more Americans look upon the political and social system that does not respond to their needs, the call to violence will fall on more and more receptive ears. Alienation, frustration, and the sense of powerlessness are the causes of violence. Only those in power can alleviate these causes of violence, for only they can move the system so that it responds to the people for whom it exists.

We assert, that as students, and as members of a society where peaceful dissent is an intrinsic quality guaranteed by the principles of democracy upon which our Government was founded, that our cries must be answered. We can no longer seek social change through the present legitimate Government channels if our voices of peaceful dissent continue to be ignored.

Throughout the last decade we have strived to work within the existing framework of our Government and have sought to rectify our Nation's socioeconomic blunders through peaceful political persuasion. We see little evidence within the present status-quo oriented leadership of this country as to a redefinition of our priorities.

The situation in America is acute. If people, particularly students, are no longer allowed to articulate their grievances through peaceful dissent and must fear violent repression because of their dissatisfaction; and when this right of dissent is guaranteed in the Constitution of the United States, and the political leadership and media of this country continue to suppress its existence and merit, then in order to prevent further political ostracism, what other alternatives, short of violence, may students turn to in order to influence and implement change within our present governmental structures?

This is the last chance for nonviolence. As concerned Americans who look to the future for a nonviolent just society, we call upon our Government to respond to the following:

- (1) to include immediately all disenfranchised groups in the political decisionmaking process,
- (2) to restructure the national priorities so as to begin to address the Nation's financial and intellectual resources to the problems of war, poverty, and racism, and
- (3) to begin the systematic utilization of the intellectual and scientific communities in order to direct America along lines more humanitarian and more democratic.

In spite of President Eisenhower's warning, Americans have stood by and watched a military-industrial complex take control of America. If violent civil war is to be avoided, America must begin to return the power to its people and take it out of the hands of the few corporate-military elite.

Of first concern in the restructuring of society must be an end to American imperialism and worldwide aggression. This by no means indicates that such national priorities as an end to war, an end to racism, and an end to violence are secondary concerns. While utilizing the brainpower of America, so much of which dies on foreign soil, to confront these national problems America, and especially her elected representatives, must encourage the termination of all American intervention in Southeast Asia and around the world.

We call upon the President of the United States, an alumnus of our college, and urge all national Congressmen and Senators to recognize the following principles as a basis of this country's foreign policy.

- (1) The Domino Theory justification for our intervention around the world is both ludicrous and unethical. Communism appeals to the underdeveloped countries of the world because of swift benefits it provides during early stages of industrialization. Eventually

no system offers a people greater financial rewards than does our own. American action in competition with communism must be on a basis of benefits to a nation's people and not on a military conquest. Americans must understand the need to spend for peace and a just world what they spend on war.

(2) America must withdraw support from a government which is either unrepresentative of its people or dictatorial by nature. Any people who seek the establishment of a system of government responsible to their needs will receive the support of the United States.

(3) The United States recognizes the necessity and will, as never before, of giving full support and energy to the establishment of a strong, meaningful set of international laws and will work for a stronger United Nations governing and regulatory agency.

We have not in these remarks dealt with specific problem areas which demand the attention of all Americans. We have not done so because the message that has gone out from Mr. Nixon's alma mater is a plea to listen to our brothers on campus and in minority communities throughout the Nation.

Intellectual experts and our brothers who have been carrying on the struggle from the time of their births will address themselves to these problems. We warn, we plead, that the Nation and particularly those in power, will respond immediately to the call of world-wide peace. For if this nonviolent search is lost, too many will resort to violence as the only tactic left to the frustrated and the powerless.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you, Mr. Kramer. Mr. Fascell.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Kramer, the objectives which are cited in your speech are certainly worthwhile objectives. What interests me is the seeming and apparent paradox. You keep talking about the system. This, I got the impression, doesn't even involve people. You're going to restructure society; restructure the system; and eliminate the people who are not responsive. And of course the question crosses my mind—are you talking about a minority or majority? If most people don't agree with my point of view I get the idea pretty soon that I'm in the minority. So of course I become frustrated. If one supports peaceful change, and I laud the opportunity for nonviolent change—political, social, structural, and other—and if one supports peace in the world; if as a philosophy, war is immoral and illegal and the United States by implication of your remarks should solve the problem of peace or war in the world by taking action unilaterally—why is it then that violence is justified to change views for the resolution of the problem?

Mr. KRAMER. Violence is not justified from a personal point of view. Again, your statement speaking specifically of the system not the people, I disagree with because I think the people are the ones that are of primary importance. We must establish a rapport between the executives, the decisionmaking people of the country and the minorities as well as the majorities. My plea for nonviolence is one that I think all colleges across the country would agree with. It again involves the reorganization of our priorities, and speaking from a personal basis our priorities now are somewhat juggled in

the sense that we're directing financial and seemingly American lives to an unjust war in Vietnam.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Boland.

Mr. BOLAND. I yield to Mr. Frelinghuysen.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Thank you very much, Mr. Boland. As a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee I'm glad to see this room is being put to such good use. I think the testimony so far has been very eloquent and articulate. My question to you, Mr. Kramer, would be with respect to the role of the legislative branch. You and many thousands of young people have been coming to see us or writing us in recent weeks. Do you feel we have an important role to play? And as a second question, a quick one, have you been in touch with your Member of Congress before the developments of the last few weeks?

Mr. KRAMER. To answer your first question, you have the most important role to play, because you were elected by the people. People have put faith in you to make the decisions which will govern this country. I have been in touch, I've tried to keep in touch with my Congressman prior to this. And the reason we came to Washington, again, was to make it known to our Congressmen that we're dissatisfied and concerned with many issues in the United States.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hicks.

Mr. HICKS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Kramer, I want to ask about three points: No. 1, at what age would you say that young people have the answers? Assuming that the college youth do, apparently they do at the University of California, for example, in determining what should be taught in the classes. Is it seniors or do we get down to the freshmen that have the answers, or do we move into the high schools, as we have in some areas? At what point do you say, you can listen, but we make the decisions? That's one question. The other question, or the other part of it is, in your statement to "listen to us as to what the priorities are but if you don't agree we must turn to violence," how's that any different than the Communist groups, for example, operating within the area? And the third part of it is, in addition to trying to sell Congress and your State legislators on the fact that your priorities are the priorities that we should have—and I'm not saying that I agree or disagree at this point—why are you not doing and why haven't you in the past done what is being advocated and that is fan out among the people and do as Mr. Fascell suggested, get a majority among those that are over college age because certainly you have a good strong minority group. I understand there's about 7½ million college students around. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JON CONTE. First of all, as to what age level has the embodiment of all wisdom, I think that we should move to the principal that if a decision affects an individual he should be involved in it. Obviously the younger you are perhaps the less weight you should have in the decisionmaking process. But when our parents decided to send us to college they asked us, you know, where we wanted to go and we were involved in that process. If you're going to send young men to Vietnam, they should be involved in that process that sends them there. And as to question No. 2, if I understand

it, I think you misunderstood our statement by assuming that we were saying that if you did not listen that we would resort to violence. That is not true. We are here because we have taken a stand on nonviolence and that will be our stand for social change forever. We are afraid that if Americans do not begin to listen to each other then the voices which are calling for violence will have more and more adherence. So when we say listen to us or violence will result, it's not that we're going to participate in violence because we won't. But we've been involved nationally with students, and we know that those that are pushing for violence are winning more and more supporters because we're not listening to each other as Americans. And as to moving to the people, I think that students now as never before are taking the issues of Kent State, of Cambodia, to the people. At Whittier we've been canvassing, we've been having town meetings; and we're here to ask you to listen to us and to listen to those in the community who are talking about these things.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Robison.

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Kramer, you suggest to us among other things, and I'm going to quote from your statement, "American action and competition with communism must be on a basis of benefits to a nation's people and not on a military conquest. Americans must understand the need to spend for peace in a just world what they spend on war." I happen to agree with those words very strongly. As we come out of Vietnam—and I am one who thinks we are coming out, sooner or later, the sooner the better as far as I'm concerned—there are certain backlashes from this incident of ours, this unhappy experience, one of which seems to be a suspicion on the part of many Americans about the so-called foreign aid program. Let's concentrate here for a minute, if you will, on the economic assistance portion of those programs. I'm receiving letters, for instance, from people opposing the Cambodian event, opposing the war and also saying now they are against anything for foreign aid. I'm not sure whether they mean just the military part of foreign aid, or whether they're also dead set against all foreign aid because they think that leads to future entanglements of this sort. My question is, do you think the young people of today, as represented by you, would help those in Congress who support the foreign aid program, and that includes most of the Members of the Foreign Affairs Committee, would help them to make that program more effective in the years ahead as an alternative to military conquest?

Mr. FINDLEY. Identify yourself please. And make it as brief as you can.

STEVE PARKER. I, at present, would very definitely question the integrity and merit of our foreign aid, but I do think foreign aid should continue but not in the bureaucratic sense of the word. I think because of the underdeveloped nations all over the world and the nations that are impoverished and the deprivation which does exist all over the world, a country as affluent as the United States should continue to give these countries the aid that they need to increase the standard of living, to feed the people, but not in the sense of supporting a military dictatorship which it does in so many countries, which does not respond to the majority of the needs of its people.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you, very much, to each of you. I hope you can stay through the rest of the hearings.

The next witness is Lon Williams. Mr. Williams, do you have a prepared statement?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, sir.

STATEMENT BY LON WILLIAMS, SOUTHERN METHODIST UNIVERSITY, PRESIDENT OF THE S.M.U. STUDENT ASSOCIATION

Mr. WILLIAMS. I believe in the United States. More specifically, I believe in the principles on which this Nation was founded. I am convinced that there is no other theoretical system which could better govern this country. Yet, I do not believe the Nation lives up to its philosophical claims. It claims freedom, equality, and justice as requisites to its democratic system, but these ideals are not to be found in practice in the America of 1970.

Certainly, freedom has its limitations. One cannot use his freedom to suppress or enfringe upon the rights of others. But what of laws which require people to wear motorcycle helmets because they might save their lives; what of laws which deny people drugs because they are bad for their bodies; and what of laws which demand that men fight to protect not their own nation but corrupt military dictatorships on the other side of the world? Are these laws which exemplify the individual's freedom to make with his own life what he will? What of the blackman's freedom? "Isn't he free to do whatever he wishes so long as he doesn't do it next door with somebody's daughter?" Is this freedom in America?

Yet, the fettered freedom in this country is eclipsed by the exceptions to equality. That "all men are created equal" was stated as long ago as 1776, and America's people still wait for the truth to become reality. Can America continue to brag an equality of people while blackmen carry garbage, Japanese till the flower beds, and Mexicans pick the grapes? How long must the United States wait for equality?

Hopefully, equality will not be as long in coming as justice has. Is it just that a farmer in Nebraska loses everything he owns through a civil suit because he cripples a burglar who is attacking his family? Is it just that Black Panthers in Chicago are exonerated of criminal charges while the police who attacked them go free? Is it just that students are shot and mutilated by helmeted, protected guardsmen because the students throw rocks? Is there any commitment to justice in America, or is it only, as in the case of freedom and equality, a part-time acquiescence?

This hypocrisy and dishonesty is the source of my frustration, disillusionment, and fear. Since my childhood I have been taught the principles of American democracy. I noticed incongruities between theory and practice but easily ignored them as being beyond my understanding. But as I have now reached adulthood, I can no longer ignore this blight on the American ideal. The Vietnam war is simply a manifestation of this hypocrisy. Being a postwar baby, I was indoctrinated constantly with the evils of Nazi Germany, which were illustrated with examples of how the people knew what the government was doing yet failed to stand up and be counted. Germany

was bad because it placed loyalty and pride in the Fatherland above even basic human considerations. I assume that most young adults of my age grew up under similar circumstances. Therefore, all I can say is that we learned our lesson well. We cannot sit back and support a war which we feel is morally and humanly wrong. We have been programmed entirely too thoroughly to be silent or to stand united behind our President for the sake of America's pride and prestige when those two entities disregard human lives. Maybe I am still too young to understand the reasons why it was wrong for Germans in 1940 to accept without question government edicts, and why it is right for Americans in 1970 to do the same thing.

I guess I also do not understand why the President reaffirms the withdrawal policy through an expansion of the fighting into a neutral country which did not request our aid; or why the President expects a conclusion to resistance by the Vietcong after that expansion when he himself stated last week that "violence breeds violence." I just do not understand.

But because I do have faith in the system, I continue to respect the Office of the President and the Office of the Vice President. I admit that, perhaps, they do, in fact, know things that are not available to us. I admit also that I do not have a military mind and, perhaps, the actions of the Executive in the past several weeks are advisable in light of the situation. However, that same system allows for checks and balances not only by the masses of the people through dissent from government policy but it allows for you as members of the decisionmaking process to be informed on areas of policy formulations and to exercise your constitutionality given controls to see that this country follows the proper course.

If you as our representatives in the established system cannot recognize the hypocrisy and dishonesty that our system has assumed, then I see no place else that I or people like me can turn to within the system.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you, Mr. Williams. Mr. Thomson.

Mr. THOMSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Williams, many centuries ago people were seeking ideals and we've been pursuing them in this country more successfully than most other civilizations. But you say you're frustrated. I would hope that people in your category would think of the idealism of this country as Carl Schurz did, a German immigrant who came to this country more than a hundred years ago. It was he who said that "Ideals are like the stars. You will not succeed in touching them with your hand. But like the seafaring man on the desert of water you use them as your guide and following them you reach your destiny."

Mr. FINDLEY. Do you have any response to that?

Mr. WILLIAMS. No, sir.

Mr. FINDLEY. I yield my time for questions to my friend from Kansas, Mr. Mize. Do you have a question?

Mr. MIZE. No, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FINDLEY. In that event, Mr. Williams, suppose you were the Commander-in-Chief and were confronted with an unpopular war that you thought had to be terminated as fast as practical. Would you assume that the complexity of this task of withdrawing a half million men from the field would require that some extraordinary

measures to make for an orderly withdrawal might be required, even to the extent of military action to keep the enemy off balance?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, sir; if I had all the facts I might reach that conclusion. But what I might say here is that I would just be asking you gentlemen on this committee and in fact the President to consider very carefully whether the Vietnam war is really worth it, when you compare that to the situation here in the United States now, that's our domestic situation. Because his decisions, I think, really have caused this great rift. He hasn't brought us together. I think he's spread us farther apart. And perhaps he is making the right decision in Vietnam but I'm just concerned as to whether it's worth it when you balance that against the present situation here in the United States.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Fascell.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Williams, you've laid the basis here for broad philosophical discussion which is obviously the crux of the whole issue. I'm going to yield to my distinguished colleague, Mr. Pucinski.

Mr. PUCINSKI. Thank you very much. Mr. Williams, as president of the student association, would you care to venture an opinion as to whether or not if the Congress extends the voting right to 18-year-olds, would this give them a broader base for nonviolent expression of their views and activities?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I personally think that would be a step in that direction, yes, sir. I think that we can't stop with that though. Meetings of this sort are certainly worthwhile, I think, in relieving some of this frustration as are individual campus visits by Congressmen, not on a broad speaking tour where a gentleman sits up on a stage or stands on a stage and speaks down to the students or speaks to the students, but where he actually gets into small groups and communicates with them, and the students with him.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Boland.

Mr. BOLAND. I'm puzzled at this statement comparing 1970 to 1940. Do you really believe that the citizens of this country or a great number of people are accepting government edicts without question in the United States in this year of 1970 just as they may have done in 1940?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, sir; I do. My basis for this is, immediately out of high school I was an exchange student to Germany for a year. And so I saw a lot from first-hand information from the people who went through that period, and I find comparisons every day from, just for example, the construction workers attack on the students in the streets of New York last week.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hicks.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Williams, I think that the statement that you made is the sort of statement that could lead us to have the type of discussion you're talking about—any group of legislators—and probably for 2 or 3 hours. I want to commend you for your statement.

Mr. WILLIAMS. May I say something? The real reason I came here was that I'm pretty much of a moderate. I come from a long line of conservatives, but I'm a little bit farther to the left than they are, but I definitely am a moderate. Of course we have our small group of radicals who are basically inept. But these last weeks we've

seen a rapid shift from the moderates like myself on campus and even the conservatives to question very seriously the governmental process in this country and that's what scares me so much. I just wanted to give that impression to you.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Thomson.

Mr. THOMSON. I have no questions.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Fascell, do you have a question?

Mr. FASCELL. No.

Mr. FINDLEY. Are there any further questions?

Mr. PUCINSKI. One question, Mr. Chairman, if I might. Mr. Williams, assuming that the Cambodian operation is as successful as the President has indicated it will be and there's every reason to believe that it will, and assuming that the President can indeed effectuate some order to stop further shipment of American troops to Vietnam, do you think this would have a meaningful impact toward bringing about greater stability on the campuses?

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think that success is very important in bringing stability. It's hard to argue against a successful campaign but it still doesn't, I think, justify the action that he did take. I don't see that real need there.

Mr. FINDLEY. We'll have time for one more question from Mr. Fascell.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Williams, I've introduced a bill to define the powers of the President under the Constitution with respect to the employment of troops abroad now pending before a committee of the Congress. Do you think a discussion, a dialogue, and a resolution of that issue if possible would be helpful?

Mr. WILLIAMS. You bet. I took a course on the President last semester and it became apparent to me that the President actually didn't start out with that much power, but over the years he's gained a lot of power from the Congress and the legislative bodies that you gentlemen have failed to take back from him. I think such a measure would be certainly worthwhile.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you very much, Mr. Williams.

The next witness is Bob Chase of Dartmouth College. Bob, would you take the witness chair. Mr. Chase please proceed.

STATEMENT BY ROBERT CHASE, DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

THE STRIKE BACK STATEMENT

Mr. CHASE. In response to the suspension of classes for the week of May 4, and the increasing politicization of Dartmouth College, a group of students formed the Strike Back Committee. This committee has taken no stand on the issues which precipitated the suspension of classes. We have sought to insure that the campus remain an impartial forum for political debate, in which all sides can be heard.

This is not an unreasonable objective. Yet, it has been a most difficult one to attain. The leaders of the strike movement called a rally for the morning of Tuesday, May 5, at which they proposed to call for a vote by the student body on the question of the strike. The rally was held on the Hanover Green using a college public address system. The microphone should have been available to speakers

representing all views. Yet, when a student opposed to the strike requested of the strike leaders to be permitted to speak, this request was flatly refused. The dissenting student had to seek the active intervention of the office of the president of the college so that he could speak. When the student was finally granted permission to speak, he was subjected to verbal abuse by one of the rally leaders.

Later in the rally, a "vote" was taken, seeking student approval of Dartmouth President Kemeny's suspension of classes. Opinion was expressed by a show of hands, but no "nay" vote was called. Students opposed to a strike were not given an opportunity to vote. This is evidence of the respect which the strike leaders have for democracy and freedom of speech. A second vote was taken on whether students should meet on Sunday to determine if the strike should be continued indefinitely. In this instance, vote was by acclamation, and a "nay" vote was called. Opinion was clearly divided, but a more definitive vote was not sought. The strike leaders decided, not surprisingly, that those in favor of a continued strike were in the majority. Is it proper that an obviously biased party should determine the outcome of a voice vote? We think not. In fact, in this instance, a voice vote was not an effective means of determining the majority. We did not have, as does the Congress, recourse to requesting a ballot vote. Furthermore, individuals who are not students or faculty of the college were able to vote. Such a vote, in which high school students and passersby could participate, is simply inconclusive, but it satisfied the strike leaders.

The suspension of classes to permit concentration on debate on the vital issues of the day is a fine idea. But to implement a suspension of classes and, at the same time, to preserve the impartiality of the college, requires a delicate balance. This balance was not maintained at Dartmouth College. Of over 70 workshops given during the week, only one was in favor of President Nixon's Cambodian policy. In an atmosphere so clearly weighted in favor of one side, it is impossible to have useful debate. The college, by suspending classes, in effect gave those opposed to the President a week in which to express their opinions, virtually unopposed. The idea of suspension of classes for a useful debate was a good one, indeed, many legitimate activities, such as congressional correspondence campaigns, and canvassing of the New Hampshire-Vermont area, resulted from the suspension. All sides actively sought to avoid violence. Nevertheless, the suspension resulted in transforming the college from a forum for debate to an active agency for political lobbying.

The Strike Back Committee has contacted similar organizations on other campuses throughout the United States, all of which expressed the same basic policy as the Strike Back Committee, that a college or university should be a political forum, not a political agency.

On Friday, May 8, the faculty voted to resume classes on Monday for those who wished to continue their regular education. Special arrangements were made for those who wished to leave the school to lobby in Washington. We applaud the fairness of the faculty resolution, but we fear that the college may have set a dangerous precedent by abdicating, albeit temporarily, its position as a forum for debate in favor of engaging in the debate itself.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you, Mr. Chase. Mr. Hicks.

Mr. HICKS. I have no questions.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Robison.

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Chairman, I'd like to ask Mr. Chase how large a group of students would be involved in the so-called "Strike Back Committee" at Dartmouth? What I'm trying to get, if we can, is some better understanding of the representative nature you have for instance as a witness, as we would like to know with respect to other witnesses.

Mr. CHASE. The Strike Back Committee has been, since its inception, a minority group on campus as far as organized political activities went. The strike leaders started out sooner, had a larger organization, and had more students on their side. We tried to counteract not the idea, as I said before, of the education which went on but of the propagandizing. Now we have as far as the rest of the students go a good deal of sympathy on campus from people who were afraid that Dartmouth College was going to be closed down. This was what we were originally organized for, to make sure that the strike did not go on past Monday. It did stop, classes were resumed, and we were very happy with it. Many other students, who were considered to be fairly radical, did come over and said if this goes on past Monday, you have our complete support. What we are now trying is to assure the impartiality of the debate.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Thomson.

Mr. THOMSON. Mr. Chase, you have been in contact you say with similar organizations on other campuses throughout the country and they report similar conduct on the other campuses?

Mr. CHASE. Yes, sir. I'm not familiar with the details of our correspondence with groups such as Hofstra and UNH. But I know that we have been in contact, and they did have to form their own group in order to insure the sort of impartiality to make sure the schools were continued in operation. But as for myself I wasn't in direct contact, just as a group.

Mr. THOMSON. And what is the purpose of those who were striking and trying to close the school down?

Mr. CHASE. Well, as Mr. Rambo said earlier, there was a grab bag of purposes. Some students were striking out of sympathy for the deaths at Kent State, because of which all of us were very upset. Some students were striking because of the President's move into Cambodia. Some students were striking for the Black Panthers. This is the way the strike rally was held. Just about anybody who had any cause whatsoever got up and spoke and gave it so that various workshops which were given were not just on foreign policy but also on the Black Panthers, on the ghettos, on the Women's Liberation Front. There were a multitude of voices for this.

Mr. FINDLEY. I'll yield my time for questions to Mr. Keith of Massachusetts.

Mr. KEITH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate your contribution to this forum and concur in your feeling that it is essential in any of these discussions held either on the campuses or in the Congress that there be a balanced presentation. You don't reach any conclusions as did one of the witnesses who preceded you, Greg

Rambo. And as I've caught up with what he had to say, I wonder, were you here at the time he made his contribution?

Mr. CHASE. I came in while he was speaking, sir.

Mr. KEITH. Do you recall his conclusions? His recommendations or proposals? He mentioned among other things that there should be a student advisory council which would meet regularly and be made up of students of all political philosophies, not just young Republicans, or straight, or conservative types. He goes on to say that he favored the establishment of a conference under White House auspices which would include college administrators, faculty, students, and State legislators, and further he suggested the Nixon administration send some of its members to the campuses, especially Cabinet officers, such as Secretaries Rogers, Hickel, Finch, and so forth. Have you any observation on that suggestion of his?

Mr. CHASE. I think those would all be very helpful. And I concur wholeheartedly with him.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Fascell.

Mr. FASCELL. I yield to my distinguished colleague on the Foreign Affairs Committee, Mr. Broomfield.

Mr. BLOOMFIELD. I have no questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hicks.

Mr. HICKS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Is it your conclusion then, Mr. Chase, that the problems or the closing down of the universities across the country, if you will, results from genuine grievances, albeit any number of them and not any single grievance, rather than the result of some subversive group that has been able to get in and get control one way or another?

Mr. CHASE. Well, I would say in at least some cases it is both. There are certainly genuine grievances here, and there are, as I think has been noted before, some very genuine radicals who just want to shut it down.

Mr. HICKS. Could you give some estimate of your view as to how much is one, and how much is the other?

Mr. CHASE. I would say that it was a very small minority who were the radicals. I'd say very small, but at the same time exceedingly vocal and exceedingly well organized. One of the things that bothered us during the strike week was we sent out a petition for students who just wanted classes to be resumed. Somebody on the strike committee got ahold of it, copied down the names and mimeographed it off with the heading, "Friends of the Strike Committee—Know Your Enemies—Convince Them The Strike Should Be Prolonged." Now I don't think the majority of students on campus approved of this sort of action at all. But the fact is that there were those who did, and they were fairly well organized, and they were certainly loud.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you very much, Mr. Chase.

You will note that on the schedule a group from Brown University is scheduled next, but we have word that they have had to cancel their appearance.

The next witness will be Thomas Graves of Columbia University. Mr. Graves, if you're the spokesman please proceed.

STATEMENT BY THOMAS GRAVES, COLUMBIA SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, ACCOMPANIED BY J. GRIFFIN LESHER AND ROBERT McDOUGALL, FLETCHER SCHOOL OF LAW AND DIPLOMACY, TUFTS UNIVERSITY

Mr. GRAVES. Dear Members of Congress: We can only view with alarm the recent turn of events in Southeast Asia. The course of action we are embarking upon is contrary to the interests of peace in Indochina and risks deeper American involvement in a futile military operation.

We recognized the sincerity of the President's intentions to end the war, but feel American policy is proceeding in the wrong direction. We base our opposition to the Cambodian incursion on four points:

POINT 1: THE CAMBODIAN INTERVENTION AND VIETNAMIZATION

We have been told that the Cambodian intervention is a means of buying time for the success of Vietnamization which is deemed indispensable for the withdrawal of American troops.

Vietnamization is essentially an extension of the allied strategy of obtaining a military solution to the war. We question whether there can ever be a military settlement to this conflict. The United States has been convinced that if we hang on long enough, the North Vietnamese, unable to carry on the war, will either give up or negotiate. The North Vietnamese, on the other hand, appear to be equally convinced that if they continue activities in Vietnam, the United States will give up. The American war effort has certainly damaged North Vietnam, just as the North Vietnamese war effort has damaged the United States.

Our own losses have not been limited to the battlefield. Vietnamization is intended to reduce the military cost of the war to the United States, but it ignores the fact that military policies divorced from political considerations are sterile. Military success in Vietnam cannot be accomplished without popular political support. The Thieu regime cannot obtain this support. Its repression has alienated not only the Buddhists—the country's major religious denomination—but also strong anticommunist elements. Furthermore, its endorsement of American military involvement has lent credibility to the antiimperialist propaganda of the National Liberation Front. Building a popular base for the Saigon Government will require much more time than the few months afforded by the removal of the Cambodian sanctuaries. Does this mean that after this period American or South Vietnamese troops will have to invade Cambodia again either to guarantee continued American withdrawal or the solvency of the Thieu regime?

Even within the South Vietnamese Army itself, discipline and morale are undermined by the corruption of the military leadership. ARVN cannot cope with the insurrection in South Vietnam without continued U.S. support. Given these considerations, Thieu's announced intention to retain South Vietnamese forces in Cambodia will only overextend an already weakened army, increasing the probability of continued need for American forces to control

the insurgency in South Vietnam. Instead of enhancing the possibility of successful Vietnamization, the Cambodian offensive can only jeopardize it.

POINT 2: WIDENING THE WAR

We have been told that the operations in Cambodia involve little risk of widening the war.

Yet if ARVN remains after July 1, how could one argue that the war has not been widened? The offensive has served only to push the Vietnamese Communists northward into Laos and westward. The Communists have intensified their campaign in Laos to insure a continued avenue of resupply to the south. They have overrun every Laotian province east of the Mekong, except one. In Cambodia where the peasant majority has continued to support Prince Sihanouk, the allied incursion has bolstered the Khmer Rouge who can now invoke him as a symbol of their cause. Backed by the Vietnamese Communists the Cambodians are also training and arming the Khmer peasants in VC-controlled areas.

In addition, the Lon Nol Government has alienated large sectors of the rural population by its suppression of pro Sihanouk demonstrations. This further weakened the already tenuous support for Lon Nol's regime, making it vulnerable to a communist seizure. According to informed sources, the rebels are already strong enough to overrun the capital, but are concentrated instead on consolidating their support in the countryside. Despite its promise to adjure a commitment to the Lon Nol regime, the administration may well be forced to choose between underwriting a military dictatorship or accepting a communist one.

If Sihanouk is reinstated in Phnom Penh, a major setback in American policy will ensue. Dependent upon Hanoi and the NLF for his return to power, Sihanouk would be unable even to protest Vietnamese Communist activities in Cambodia. In the past, Sihanouk had attempted to maintain the neutrality of his state. The return of Sihanouk would not insure the reestablishment of a neutral Cambodia. The Prince will be even more cooperative with the NLF and Hanoi, and any possibility for future allied moves into an acquiescent Cambodia will be effectively foreclosed.

Even if this situation does not develop, American policy will have already suffered a strategic defeat. A primary desideratum of American foreign policy has been the containment of Chinese influence. The American operation in Cambodia has only fostered further consolidation of national liberation movements in Southeast Asia. Chinese prestige has been resurrected by this opportunity to patronize Asian nationalism.

POINT 3: INTERNATIONAL REPERCUSSIONS

We have not been told of the effects of this policy outside of Southeast Asia—the assumption being that they would be of little or no consequence.

This tenuous assumption seems to rest on the even shakier notion that all the other nations of the world—or at least those that count—have absolute faith in American intentions and American goodwill.

We question the sagacity of the Cambodian action, not only within the confines of Cambodia and Southeast Asia, but also in the greater context of America's world position.

While much of the Soviet and Chinese outcry can be regarded as propaganda, the height of the rhetoric and the duration of the protest would seem to indicate a growing concern over American activities in Southeast Asia. Yet we are reassured that neither nation will escalate its role in the Indochinese conflict. But upon what is this assumption based? Because they did not do so in the past is hardly any guarantee that they will not do so in the future.

There is a point—a point we're quite sure no one can define—at which one or both nations would feel compelled to increase its commitment to North Vietnam. Not knowing where that point is, is a widening of the war wise? We do not recommend sitting on our hands, lest the Chinese involve themselves, but given all the other deficiencies of this policy, the incursion into Cambodia seems to needlessly court escalation. If the policy offers only marginal gains in Southeast Asia it offers marginal loss and even greater risk internationally.

POINT 4: METHOD OF CONSULTATION

We have been told that the method of consultation employed by the U.S. Government prior to the military incursion into Cambodia was sufficient.

In our estimation, however, events prior to and following the Cambodian action do not appear to support this view.

First, there appeared to be little or no formal consultation with members of the Cabinet and the National Security Council. We can appreciate the need for efficiency in decisionmaking, but feel that the exclusiveness of the process prevented adequate discussion.

Second, the new regime in Cambodia was not consulted by the U.S. and South Vietnamese Governments. This is obvious from the conflicting statements of Cambodia's President of the Council of Ministers, General Lon Nol, and the Foreign Minister, Yem Sambaur, following the Allied move.

Third, the President's decision circumvented the advice and consent of the Senate. On April 27, the Foreign Relations Committee discussed the Cambodian situation in a 2½-hour Executive session with Secretary of State William P. Rogers. Following the meeting, Senator Fulbright told reporters that members were virtually unanimous in their firm opposition to sending any military assistance under the present circumstances alluded to by the Secretary. Yet, on April 30, President Nixon went ahead and sent the joint United States-South Vietnamese combat forces into Cambodia. The absence of consultation with various members of Congress prior to the offensive illustrates the limited scope of decisionmaking during the Cambodian venture.

Fourth, the member states of SEATO were neither consulted nor informed officially of the United States-South Vietnamese intervention into the neighboring territory. In light of the importance of the Cambodian situation before April 30, indicated by United States and South Vietnamese observations that Cambodian neutrality had already been violated by North Vietnamese and Viet-

cong troops, we feel that SEATO and its protocol signators should have at least been officially informed of the assault on enemy sanctuaries.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you very much. I inadvertently passed over Mr. Fascell, so I'll recognize him first and go next to Mr. Robison.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Graves, you have presented a very thoughtful statement. You have raised very serious questions, all of which not only ought to be asked but ought to be answered if possible. You need not be apologetic. Logic should never take a back seat to any kind of expertise.

In your opinion what is the extent of feelings on campus for the frustration, discontent, or opposition to U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia? The second question is do you feel that students, faculty, and college administrations can resolve the problems that confront them on the democratic application of their ideals and the philosophy of their university?

Mr. GRAVES. Well, I think first of all we came to discuss the issues of our foreign policy but in answer to your question, and I can only speak for Columbia University and not even necessarily for the entire university, I think there is growing discontent with American policy in Southeast Asia, and I think one of the primary reasons for that is a lack of credibility. Prior to the incursion into Cambodia there were several statements and speeches, one I can recall specifically by Under Secretary of State Richardson in New York referring to a spirit of restraint, and there is an immediate turn about in American policy. I feel that students lack any faith in the present administration's word. We, a group of students from Columbia's School of International Affairs, came down to Washington 2 weeks ago and met with various Members of Congress, the State Department, and the Executive, and we had been told that yes, they had underestimated the reaction within the United States to the Cambodian move and then, I believe, it was Monday night President Nixon's first question at his press conference said "no, he had not underestimated this reaction." How can we believe a President who's contradicting what we have already heard from his top level advisers?

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Chairman, I too would like to compliment this witness on a particularly thoughtful and very carefully prepared statement. One of the things that did bother me as a Member of Congress with respect to the Cambodian decision has been pointed up by you, sir, at least insofar as we know the facts, and that was an indication that there appeared to be little or no formal consultation on the President's part with respect to that decision with members of his Cabinet or with the National Security Council. Now, I saw with concern and disapproval, during the latter years anyhow, of the Johnson administration, what I guess you would have to call the atrophy of the National Security Council operation. I have been quite pleased to note the Nixon administration's efforts, and they have been real efforts, to revive the National Security Council, both as a staff operation and as an element of the decisionmaking process. I think you have pointed up here something that is of concern to Members of Congress, as well as to you. Let me ask you a question now; you don't address yourself to what you think should be done now. Would you like to do so very briefly?

Mr. LESHES. Yes. My name is John Leshes. I am from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Boston. As to what can be done now, I think at this point a lot of us have made the decision that perhaps the most politically effective kind of action that we can take at the moment is to organize ourselves and to debate the issues. Now, we don't have a standard set of recommendations at the moment. This, in fact, is why we are getting together and setting up the Student Action Committee on International Affairs which we plan to make a permanent body, if possible, so that we have on-going analysis of the direction of American foreign policy. Now, I don't know whether or not I am addressing myself to your question completely.

Mr. ROBISON. Well, not completely, unless you are indicating that your group, or you as an individual, have not made up your minds with respect to such as the "Hatfield-McGovern-Goodell-Hughes" approach.

Mr. LESHES. Well, it was quite clear when we came down on that Friday when there were a number of students in the halls of Congress, we had circulated petitions among eight schools, important schools of international affairs, supporting both the Church-Cooper amendment, as well as the Hatfield-Hughes amendment.

Mr. GRAVES. May I ask the Congressman, are you referring to what course of action we should pursue in Southeast Asia, or what course of action the Congress and the people of the United States should pursue in Southeast Asia? It seems to me that there are two parts to your question.

Mr. ROBISON. I had in mind what course of action the United States should pursue in Southeast Asia.

Mr. GRAVES. Well, I think that our group is unanimously agreed that it should be a withdrawal of American forces. As to the speed and the manner of withdrawal, I would not like to make any kind of statement. We are investigating that, and it requires something more than 2 or 3 weeks study.

Mr. THOMSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Gentlemen, I notice or get the impression from your discussion of Cambodian intervention and Vietnamization that you think it's designed for a military solution to the war. Are you familiar at all with the other programs that the American Government is carrying on in South Vietnam; for instance, in the field of education, in the field of food production? Are you aware of the fact that when the French left in 1954 that there were only 400,000 Vietnamese students in schools, and today there are over 2 million young people in schools in Vietnam as a result of America's programs to build the schools, to train the teachers, to train the administrators? And are you aware of the Green Revolution that is taking place in Vietnam in the area of food production which is essential to any stable government? Are you aware of that Green Revolution and the miracle rice that has been introduced by America? That isn't a military solution. It's a program to build a basic structure in that country. Now, isn't that part of Vietnamization also?

Mr. McDUGALL. I think that America is addressing itself to the right kind of problems in South Vietnam with the pacification programs, the education, the miracle rice, but that the primary problem is that the government in Saigon has been too corrupt and

too authoritarian to make these things viable or credible to the Vietnamese people. I feel, also, that there are some questions as to the miracle rice project itself in that it lends itself to economies of the scale such as crop dusting and mechanized harvesting which can only be afforded by the wealthy landowners, and this may controvert the recently established attempts at land reform.

Mr. THOMSON. Are you aware of the extent of land reform in the last 2 years in South Vietnam, the hundreds of thousands of acres that have been turned over to the peasants in that country? That isn't mechanization.

Mr. FINDLEY. I think we have time for one more question. I'm next in order; I'll yield to Mr. Dent of Pennsylvania. Congressman Dent, do you have a question?

Mr. DENT. No. Mr. Findley. Do either of these gentlemen have a question? Congressman Keith.

Mr. KEITH: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'll yield to Congressman Frelinghuysen.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. What do you feel has been the effect of the stronger policy that Mr. Nixon has demonstrated militarily on the possibility of talks within the Southeast Asian nations toward a reasonable solution to this problem?

Mr. McDougall. Well, in the way of negotiations between the United States and Hanoi?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Not necessarily in that area alone. You may have read Schulzburger's column in the New York Times about 3 weeks ago in which he said by reason of the—[error in transcription].

Mr. FINDLEY. The next witness is Mr. Russell Wise of Central Connecticut State College. Mr. Wise.

STATEMENT BY RUSSELL WISE, CONNECTICUT STATE COLLEGE

Mr. WISE. First I'd like thank Representative Findley and his fellow Congressmen for giving me and the other students the opportunity to speak to this committee today. I understand that it is the right and responsibility of concerned citizens to petition Congress on specific issues and that it is also the right and duty of Congress to seek and consider the opinions of their constituents on major questions. Nevertheless most students presently lack the power of the vote, although they are called upon to fight and die. So this opportunity is most welcome.

Before discussing American foreign policy in general and Vietnam in particular, I'd like to say a word about Central Connecticut State College's participation in the nationwide student strike. Central Connecticut has approximately 5,500 full-time day students. It is largely a commuter school, and, up until now, has been, for the most part, politically apathetic. The invasion of Cambodia and the killing of the Kent State students changed that significantly. Although Central was in its last week of classes, over a thousand students showed up for an open meeting to discuss a possible strike and voted 3 to 1 in favor of such action. The strike was completely voluntary on the part of the students and professors. No attempt was made to shut the school down or to infringe upon the rights of those students and

professors who wanted to attend class. Following the open meeting, a faculty vote endorsed the voluntary plan. The faculty also voted to support the student request to lower the American and State flags on campus for the rest of the semester in memory of the Kent State students. The thrust of the strike since then has been to educate and inform the campus and the community of New Britain through canvassing, teach-ins and workshops on the situation in Indochina. The response to the citywide canvass was overwhelmingly against the Vietnam war, and we also have the active endorsement of the New Britain Clergyman's Association, including a past state and national chaplain of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Throughout the strike, the principles of nonviolence and working through the existing political framework have been stressed. I might add at this point that not only at Central but at colleges throughout Connecticut and the Nation this has been the common practice. If Cambodia has done nothing else it has established the concerned but moderate student in the forefront of the peace movement, though the understandable frustration has led to the occasional violence of a few.

Most students concerned about the war have now moved beyond considerations of military strategy or the morality of specific actions. Invasion of Cambodia only served as a catalyst for student reaction to the more fundamental question of the entire U.S. involvement in Indochina. It is meaningless to debate whether or not a certain soldier was suffering from battle fatigue at the massacre of My Lai. What is more important to ask is whether that soldier should have been in My Lai in the first place. Vietnam is no different from dozens of other Asian and African nations. Its entire 20th century history consists of a struggle for independence from outside interference. For instance, during World War I, several thousand Vietnamese answered the call and came to France to work in defense industries or to fight on the Western front. Promises of Vietnamese self-determination were then reneged upon at the Versailles Peace Conference following the war. After further nationalist struggles in the 30's in which Ho Chi Minh emerged as the most effective leader, and the French colonial powers jailed, exiled, or executed many Vietnamese nationalists, they were once again offered self-determination during World War II by France and the United States if they would wage guerilla war upon the Japanese. In 1945, this promise was also broken as the Nationalist Chinese marched into North Vietnam and the British marched into South Vietnam and held it long enough for the French to regain control.

From 1946 until 1954, the Vietminh, again under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh, waged a war of independence against the French colonialists. One sad fact of this portion of the history of Vietnam, is that by 1952 the United States was supplying 80 percent of the French military costs to retain their colony. It might be pointed out that the United States at this time was very anxious to forge a strong NATO alliance in Europe with France as the key member. In 1954, came Dien Bien Phu and the collapse of the French military effort. The United States was not a delegate to, or a signer of, the Geneva Peace Talks. However, she managed to exert a considerable influence at the talks. The United States insisted upon partitioning Vietnam and delaying elections for 2 years. Once this had been accomplished,

the United States supported the establishment of the Diem regime in South Vietnam. Although the Geneva Accords clearly stated that the partition was only temporary and that the elections were to be held throughout Vietnam by 1956, the Diem regime, with the backing of The United States, declared the Independent Republic of South Vietnam and refused to hold nationwide elections. President Eisenhower has commented, in "Mandate for Change," aptly, that the United States could not allow these elections, for had elections been held, it is a conservative estimate that Ho Chi Minh would have won at least 85 percent of the Vietnamese vote.

We all know the history of the successive Saigon regimes since then, and I won't bore you with that. What is important to point out, however, is that these regimes have been drawn from the elite, largely French-trained, military officer corps, have excluded moderate popular civilian leadership, and have been insensitive to the needs of the average South Vietnamese citizen. Corruption at the province level is still as high as during French colonial rule, only the faces have changed, and not all of them. Significant land reform has not been accomplished, and oppressive taxation continues. The Saigon regimes have continued to align themselves with the large landowners and rich city-dwellers and do not enjoy the support of even the anti-Communist segment of the population.

The Vietcong and the North Vietnamese, the outgrowths of the Viet Minh nationalist movement, have naturally been much more able to sway the South Vietnamese peasantry. They have been considerably aided in this effort by U.S. involvement in Vietnam. Vietnamese tradition places the ultimate value on the family and village unit. The concept of individual freedom, which we have been preaching for 15 years, is alien to Vietnamese life. Since the escalation and troop buildup of 1965, U.S. bombing and artillery fire and search and destroy missions have devastated and disrupted most of rural South Vietnam. American forces moving into an area looking for NLF forces evacuate civilian populations, destroy villages, and declare a free-fire zone. The result has been to dislocate some 25 percent of the South Vietnamese population and make them homeless refugees. Most of them wind up in refugee camps in the cities. Fitted for no task but agriculture, they have been forced into theft, black-market activities, gambling, and prostitution.

Now we see the same pattern beginning in Cambodia and Laos: The United States destroying villages, the United States supporting the military regimes in those countries, the United States overlooking the popular peasant movements. Where will it all stop? When will we learn? As a Nation that reveres its own freedoms highly and looks with fondness to our own struggle for independence, we are now becoming known to most of the rest of the world, particularly the underdeveloped newly-emerging states as an antirevolutionary power. President Kennedy, although his administration was part of the chain of increasing involvement in Indochina, did warn that we would never be able to defeat Communism and win friends abroad by aligning ourselves with the wealthy right-wing elements and the military of another country. He urged that we seek out the moderate democratic socialists and stand behind them. We have failed to do so in Vietnam and in most other countries around the globe. It is time

we as a Nation stopped basing our foreign policy on the need to cater to certain business interests and the desires of our military. Our foreign policy should be based on those very same high principles which we declare we live by at home and which we now wish to see the other peoples of the world adopt. It is time to stop injecting the United States-Russian cold war dispute into local conflicts and thereby raising the tension, decreasing the chance of peace and destroying that very stability that we say we seek to achieve. Vietnam is an excellent case in point. I've already spoken about the disruptive influence of the United States presence there. It should be added that even the more moderate Vietnamization policy of President Nixon is disruptive as well. For seeking to "have Asian boys fight Asian boys" can only serve to raise local tensions and ethnic animosities in that area and will in fact insure the continuation of the struggle even when United States forces finally withdraw, if, in fact, they ever actually do.

Now, as Members of Congress, you gentlemen have a unique opportunity to do something constructive about this very situation this week and in the weeks to come. Before Congress are two amendments that seek to limit the military expenditures for the Vietnam war. The amendments in no way would deprive American troops of the protection they deserve while undergoing a process of orderly withdrawal. They do, however, put a limit on any presidential moves to expand or continue the Vietnam war. They also serve the very important function of allowing a Congress which has permitted itself since the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution of 1964 to lose its constitutional power to declare war and its check on the other two branches of government to reassert itself. I need not have to stress what the freeing of Vietnam expenditures could accomplish domestically. We might perhaps be able to attend to the long overdue problems of our cities, our poor, our polluted environment, and our struggling educational system. In addition, of course, a prompt peace in Indochina would do much to heal the serious division and polarization in our nation.

In addition to the amendments, congressional leaders must assert their influence upon the executive branch to begin immediately to take meaningful steps toward securing a peace with North Vietnam. It astonishes me that we have no high-ranking American diplomat heading our peace mission in Paris, while the North Vietnamese have a full delegation. It astonishes me that we have not brought the Vietnam question to the United Nations, the organization that we support and whose bill we largely foot. Finally, as a Vietnam veteran, it astonishes me that, while we can call ceasefires for Christmas and Tet, we cannot call a ceasefire to discuss peace.

In conclusion, I'd like to quote a short passage from a pamphlet published by a research seminar at the University of California at Berkeley which I think sums up the current situation:

There is little of economic value in Laos and Cambodia and only a little more in South Vietnam for the American Empire. But the Vietnamese are the first people in the world to have fought the United States to a standstill, notwithstanding the ferocity of the violence directed against them. Even with all the economic, military, and moral costs the United States has incurred which, with a gambler's rationality, should dictate a speedy liquidation of the venture, the American military is determined not to suffer defeat. The Vietnamese who have

been fighting a quarter of a century for their independence are equally determined never to acquiesce to America's continued control over South Vietnam. The war thus continues.

Mr. DENT. I want to compliment the present witness on a very well prepared paper. I think that you have probably touched upon the seed of the whole problem. That seed was sown many, many years ago, probably centuries ago. Because throughout our lifetime as a people some nation or another has been guilty of putting itself in a position of interference in the internal affairs of other nations. However, only history will record whether or not what we have done to date has added to the welfare of the peoples of Indochina, or whether we have, in fact, made a very serious mistake. Those of us who are Members of Congress are no better or no worse than the average American. That you must first get into your minds as the future American leaders. We are elected by a system of government that doesn't pick and chose because of any other reason or cause except that the individual stands for election.

I am particularly happy to see that you are now stressing the only means and the only method that your message can be brought to those who have the authority. Peaceful dissent is backed by every Member of Congress. Disturbances, we know, occur. But I don't think any Member of Congress blames the whole student body of the United States for those very serious, and sometimes very sad, incidents that occur. However, to win your point, the Chairman of this special committee has given you an opportunity to do what you should have been doing at the beginning of the dissention and not at this period. It's not too late. If you will convince, as you can do, your fellow students that Congress is not above listening to your problems, because your problems are our problems. Most of us here, I believe, are parents, and I am a grandparent—with two grandchildren in college.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Dent, may I intrude? The problem is, he has only 10 minutes for questioning.

Mr. DENT. I just want to ask you one question. What now do you recommend?

Mr. WISE. Yes, I believe that was Mr. Thomson's question. And, I was kind of chafing a little bit because I do see two or three things that we can be doing immediately, and I refer to them in my speech. I think there are things that can be done regardless of what particular place you put yourself in the political scale, whether you're a complete supporter of the President's plan, whether you're completely opposed to it, or somewhere in the middle. I think it is very serious, regardless of whatever the schedule or timetable of withdrawal is, I think it is very serious that in the time allotted for withdrawal we have not been making a serious effort to seek a peace. I don't think that all the blame for the failure to find a peace can be laid at the doorstep of Hanoi. I don't believe that the United States has been completely straight forward about the way it's been approaching the issue of peace, the resumption of the bombing, for instance, 2 weekends ago was a very poor move. The escalation into Cambodia was, I think, a very poor move, not only accelerating the situation in Vietnam, but disrupting Cambodia and Laos as well.

Mr. FINDLEY. In order to give other panel members a chance, I'll interrupt at this point and announce that Mr. Hathaway of Maine has taken the place of Mr. Boland, temporarily, on the panel. And Mr. Frelinghuysen of New Jersey has taken Mr. Robison's place. Mr. Hathaway is next with a question.

Mr. HATHAWAY. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Wise, assuming that we get out of Southeast Asia in the not too distant future, what do you think our policy should be towards Southeast Asia after that?

Mr. WISE. I think that we should work to support and aid economically, to answer one of the other questions that was directed earlier, those governments—those moderate, middle-of-the-road governments—that have the best chance of maintaining neutral states, developing them, giving them what nonmilitary aid we can give them, seeking to win their friendship. I don't think that the continued support of right-wing regimes is the best way to paint ourselves overseas.

Mr. HATHAWAY. What if a right-wing regime takes over? Should we deny them our economic aid?

Mr. WISE. I think that if it is demonstrated, and one of the more excellent examples of this is the Saigon regime itself, if it is demonstrated a government is doing things like keeping 25,000 of its opponents in jail and is rigging elections and is insensitive to the needs of its people, I think we have the obligation, as well as the right, to deny them aid. Yes.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hicks.

Mr. HICKS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Directing your attention to Cuba. Would you say that there was an instance where the government was changed by force and we kept out of it. Would you say that force does not play a part in change of most governments of underdeveloped nations?

Mr. WISE. No, I think certainly, and this might be something that could be pointed out, that throughout history—force definitely has played a part in political change. I don't particularly advocate it, myself, but it's been a historical fact. I don't think that we'd have a complete absence of force were we to leave these countries to themselves; however, the important thing is that I think that you would have a much lower degree of force. I mentioned this also in my speech that if we accelerate the amount of force so tremendously now in Vietnam, for instance, making any kind of a coalition government or a settlement impossible, disrupting the day-to-day life of most of the rural population of Vietnam. I am sure that there would be some kind of civil strife, there usually is when a government is being established; there was when our government was established even after the Revolutionary War; there was a good deal of difference of opinion.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Frelinghuysen.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Wise, in what sense would any of the three steps that you recommend be taken to be meaningful? You suggest that there is no high-ranking American diplomat in Paris? I would suppose that everyone realizes that Ambassador Habib has the same standing as Averell Harriman or Cabot Lodge. Are you

suggesting that because he doesn't have as big a reputation that he doesn't have the same powers that his predecessors had?

Mr. WISE. I am sure he has the same powers, and I didn't mean to slight him. I think, however, though that you put the finger on it. It's a question of standing. I think that the man who should be there now is Secretary of State Rogers, our highest-ranking diplomat.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. But, in view of the fact that nothing's happening in Paris, I would think that might tie up the Secretary of State in a way that would be far from productive.

Your number two point was that we could have referred this to the U.N. Back in early 1967 President Johnson had a very widely publicized appeal to the U.N. and nothing was accomplished. What could be accomplished by referring this matter to the U.N. at this point except to stress the fact that this is a hot potato that the U.N. is incapable of dealing with? Do you really think it would be a meaningful step for us to appeal again to the U.N. or would it simply be grandstanding?

Mr. WISE. If it did nothing else, I think it would reaffirm our faith in the community of nations rather than the power of just one nation, and for all the negative implications that might be, I really do think the step is long overdue. And more than just a Presidential appeal, I mean bring it up directly through our Ambassador to the U.N., bring it actually to the floor of the General Assembly for debate. It was done on the 7-day war in the Middle East with quite a bit of promptness and with a good deal of bitterness on both sides, and I don't see why it couldn't be done—

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Your third suggestion was a ceasefire. Do you mean a unilateral ceasefire?

Mr. WISE. Yes.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Wise, we thank you very much for your appearance here.

The next witness is Danny Atwood, University of North Carolina, Greensboro. Is Danny Atwood here?

While Mr. Atwood is sitting down, I once more remind the panel that in order to proceed we have to insist that the comments of panel members be in the form of questions and that we restrict ourselves to one question each. I know it is difficult to do, but I think it is in the public interest here.

Mr. Atwood.

Mr. Atwood. Yes sir. Considering that several statements would be made here today concerning the general scope of the actions that have recently taken place and trying to avoid lumping every student into the student body, I chose instead to limit my statements to what has happened on the campus of the University of North Carolina in Greensboro.

STATEMENT BY DANNY ATWOOD, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

CONCERNED STUDENTS FOR PEACEFUL ACTION

Mr. Atwood. As representatives from the concerned students for peaceful action at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro

and because we feel the need for us to voice our concern for the recent and long term actions of our government, we wish to make the following statement for peace.

As students, we have the availability of information from our faculty library, visiting lecturers, and a real opportunity to study the issues of our time. We take these issues seriously, therefore, we cannot stand by and condone the war in Vietnam, the action in Cambodia, and the deaths of our fellow students at Kent State and Jackson State.

Campuses all over the Nation have demonstrated their disapproval of these issues in a variety of ways; some of them violent, most of them nonviolent, but all desperately serious. The number of active students seems to be much larger than either President Nixon or Vice President Agnew would like to admit.

The students of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro support the amendment to end the war because we believe that making war in Southeast Asia or anywhere else in the world is not America's role. The United States invited itself into Vietnam for the alleged purpose of protecting Southeast Asia. The results of our protection have not only been the loss of thousands of American lives but the loss of thousands of innocent Vietnamese lives, the destruction of homes and property.

We are not speaking out against our country but in protection of it. We are not calling for the end of democratic government in the United States but for the reality of it.

It is hard for us as students to believe that America is fighting for freedom and democracy when we are faced with the facts. Such as (1) The United States is supporting dictatorships in Greece, Brazil, Nationalist China, Portugal, and Thailand. (2) The South Vietnamese Government is unrepresentative, unpopular, and undemocratic. All opponents to it are jailed and many outspoken students have been jailed and tortured. (3) The draft in this country is unconstitutional according to the 13th amendment. (4) And finally, the suppression of student opinion on the college campuses.

On the campus at U.N.C.-Greensboro we have been demonstrating our disapproval and trying to bring the awareness of the issues to the campus and community.

We have found a new communication with our faculty at the university. There has been an interaction between us that has never existed before. The faculty-student relationship has changed to become a real and meaningful experience-exchange. This has come from a common purpose, and a need to communicate our ideals and concepts, and has resulted in long-range plans. Our faculty passed a resolution allowing optional grading for the remainder of the semester, and they are also considering another act which would allow students a week off in October for campaigning. Also forums, seminars and other faculty-student participation is planned on a level aside from the regular course work.

As students we had little or no communication outside our academic community. We have begun to experience the community we live in. For the past 3 weeks we have contacted various community members and civic organizations. In the last week we have been doing extensive canvassing in shopping centers and in the city of

Greensboro with a petition in favor of the Hatfield-McGovern amendment to end the war. It is this amendment we wish to see passed. The signatures for approximately one-fourth of the city total 5,316. We will extend our canvassing action in the summer and for the next academic year, or until the war is ended.

We would like to close with a reminder that all those students who are actively participating in antiwar activities today will be 21 by 1972. Listen to what your future voters have to say. There is no communication barrier because each is speaking very loudly. Yet no one seems to listen.

Peace.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you very much. The first question is by Mr. Thomson.

Mr. THOMSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Atwood, I notice that you say that the students will extend their canvassing into the summer and into the next academic year or until the war is ended.

Mr. ATWOOD. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMSON. Does that mean that the war is perhaps the only interest you have.

Mr. ATWOOD. No sir, that is not. We have extended our issues into areas that are peculiar to Greensboro, N.C., which would include racial issues. Also, we are planning a blood drive for July. We were in touch with the Red Cross and trying to have the blood that was donated sent to North and South Vietnam; and, we were unable to do this. However, the blood drive will be held.

Mr. FINDLEY. I'll pass my question to Mr. Horton of New York.

Mr. HORTON. I was interested in this last statement that you made that there is no communication barrier because each is speaking very loudly, and yet you say no one seems to listen. The fact that you are being heard here does indicate, I think, that some people are listening.

Mr. ATWOOD. Yes sir, that's right.

Mr. HORTON. I think that the young people here in America have had an opportunity to be heard, certainly in the last couple of weeks. You have also been in the community of Greensboro, apparently with a petition. What has been the response there?

Mr. ATWOOD. The response has been very favorable. We have been working only for a limited time, but it will continue. We are making plans now for funds which will definitely enable us to carry a much stronger and much more effective canvassing of the city. We have been working also in connection with Guilford College, Greensboro College, A. & T. University, and Bennett College.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Fascell. Excuse me, have you completed your response?

Mr. ATWOOD. Yes sir, I just wanted to say that the canvassing so far has been on a limited scale, but as soon as school is out, it will be a saturation process of the community.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Fascell.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Atwood, your statement indicates, of course, complete involvement of the university students at North Carolina in a majority of high priority current issues, mainly U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia. You have defined a great number of actions which have been taken by them.

What I find rather difficult to understand is that the opportunity for political activity in the community has been available for a long time; and political activity in the halls of Congress has been available for a long time. You say people in the community are listening because they are signing petitions. What was it that brought about a recognition of the inactivity by the students on the campus which resulted in a resolution which was finally adopted and which brought action by the students at Carolina?

Mr. Atwood. In other words, what originally brought about the stagnation among the people in the community in Greensboro?

Mr. FASCELL. Not the stagnation among the people in the community, but the awareness that resulted in action by the students to participate in the political process of the community?

Mr. Atwood. The students at the University of North Carolina saw that there was a great amount of inactivity among people in the community. There were several people whom we felt did not have a complete issue of facts. We have compiled several fact sheets. They have not been one sided. They have been presenting both sides. We have tried to make this factual. We have had both pro-administration and anti-administration faculty members helping with the compiling of these fact sheets. And they have been taken to the community, and the community has made these decisions on their own. It has not been a force-type thing. Also, we are leaving letters available for those people who are not at home, and numbers where they can contact the CSPA office if there are any questions.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hathaway.

Mr. HATHAWAY. I yield my time, Mr. Chairman. Thank you.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hicks.

Mr. HICKS. Do you have have any questions at this time, Mr. Burton? Mr. Atwood, you say that you don't think that the people are listening. How would you characterize President Johnson's decision not to seek another term? How would you characterize stopping the bombing of North Vietnam? How would you characterize President Nixon's decision to start returning the troops? When you say they aren't listening, are you really saying that they don't immediately capitulate to the students?

Mr. Atwood. In answer to that, I would ask—the escalation as far as the resuming of the bombing of North Vietnam—how do you characterize that? Also, how can the escalation—and it is felt that it is an escalation, not only by people of this country but by other countries as well—the escalation by the entrance of United States troops into Cambodia and South Vietnamese troops into Laos?

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Frelinghuysen.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I have no questions.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Thomson.

Mr. THOMSON. No questions.

Mr. FINDLEY. Are there other questions? Thank you very much, we appreciate your appearance.

The next witness is Thomas Pettigrew. I understand he is sharing his time with Mike Zimmerman, so if you gentlemen will take your seats, please. Proceed, Mr. Pettigrew, please.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Yes. Rather than a long prepared statement this morning each of us would choose to make several concise points and leave more time for questions between yourselves and ourselves.

Mr. FINDLEY. You are from Chico State College, Chico, Calif., correct.

Mr. PETTIGREW. That's right. I'm Tom Pettigrew. I'm president of the student body, and although I am not speaking for the student body, I am speaking, I think, for a number of the students there.

STATEMENT BY THOMAS PETTIGREW, JR., CHICO STATE COLLEGE

Mr. PETTIGREW. Students differ from Mr. Average Citizen only in the measure and volume of their dissent—not in their dissatisfaction with many Government policies. Students simply have less to lose.

The current campus unrest has many problems at its base: War in Southeast Asia; poverty; environmental pollution; racism; and the endless rhetoric. None of these by itself would find any broad support on campus but the coalition of them together has brought many students into campus dissent.

Cambodia was only the straw that broke the camel's back—being told that 150,000 men will come home in the next 18 months in one breath and that we are extending the area of our armed involvement in the next breath made the "have faith in your leaders" a little difficult to follow.

At least part of the problem lies in the creditability of the information released to the public. In the past, the public (and students) have accepted the Government's news releases, but since the previous administration, the public no longer accepts news conference footwork as reasonable explanation of the facts used in the executive decisionmaking process.

Students feel a need for meaningful discussion, this is no longer satisfied by talking with each other or sympathetic faculty. There must be meaningful communication with people such as yourselves—and then not 10 minutes at a time.

We students are more aware of national and international affairs than ever before—we must have more real answers—a method of communication must be developed from the centers of Government back to citizens at all levels.

The general feelings of the average student:

1. He is lost, has no answers and gets double talk from politicians and a somewhat clouded view from the media.

2. He hears mostly one side of the story on campus—and if this continues, it will soon be accepted as the truth—the result is that he is easily manipulated into the street because of his frustrations.

3. He must be told the truth—this can only be done through meaningful communication.

Many colleges are planning their calendars with time off before and during elections this fall. During these elections, students will affect "change" at the poles. Take time (and encourage your colleagues) to go to the campus this fall—you certainly will meet some hard-core resistance but the silent majority wants to communicate—

we want more than the Vice President's gross generalizations. Come to our campuses and talk to us—I extend this not just for my students but also for those at every other college and university in America.

**STATEMENT BY MICHAEL H. ZIMMERMAN,
CHICO STATE COLLEGE**

Mr. ZIMMERMAN. The students of this country and the world are concerned and informed. Youth is not patient; nor are ideas or frustrations. Below are some statements and solutions:

Violence in America does have meaning. It is not merely violence for its own sake.

Cambodia is but one issue among many. We are angry about many things.

Students really have faith in the Constitution—it is men who abuse the Constitution in which we have no faith.

Youth in general have no one in Congress with whom to identify.

Today students are on the defensive; no one speaks for students—only at or against us.

We have never really known why we are in Vietnam. It is our dead friends and relatives that make us want to demand answers.

To students the war now seems to be justified by U.S. economics rather than “peace” or an “end to the communist aggression.”

President Nixon is viewed as dishonest and sly.

Students see Cambodia and Vietnam as another instance of “stealing” the world's resources for our gluttonous economy.

Congress seems powerless against the power of the President.

POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

Have President Nixon send all Representatives to their districts to discuss methods of being effective in writing, speaking, etc.

Put together meaningful legislation that is badly needed, that is population control, pollution legislation—anything that is positive, necessary, and domestic.

Most important do all that is possible to end the war in Southeast Asia.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hathaway.

Mr. HATHAWAY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I just want to make one observation. You say that youth in general have no one in Congress with whom to identify, yet 75 of us, and maybe it's more now, have endorsed the Fraser-Riegle resolution. Don't you consider that you can identify with those 75?

Mr. PETTIGREW. These last couple of weeks have been very hopeful. I think a lot of students are really glad to see these things happen, and we are hopeful for the future in the next couple of weeks. As far as an individual person with whom to identify, what the debate among the different students, I, myself, don't really have anybody to whom I really look for and in whom I have great trust. I have general hope.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hicks.

Mr. HICKS. Well, I would like to yield to the gentleman from California, Mr. Burton.

Mr. BURTON of California. First, I would like to welcome both of you to Washington. Secondly, I commend you for your statement. Thirdly, I wish to note that it has been my feeling for a number of years that the issue is not what is wrong with the kids, the real issue is what is wrong with the country. I think that the students have made an enormous contribution to bring some measure of sanity to our foreign policy in Indochina, and if enough of us work hard enough between now and November, either we'll be out of office or enough of my colleagues who say we ought to stay there will be out. And, that's really the name of the game. I commend you.

Mr. PETTIGREW. Thank you Mr. Burton.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Frelinghuysen.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Pettigrew, you said that meaningful communication is needed but you have implied that it isn't available. Mr. Zimmerman has suggested that students don't write letters because they feel it's useless. To what extent have either of you, except within the past 3 weeks, attempted to communicate with your Congressmen or Senators? And, why do you feel it is useless to engage in that kind of communication?

Mr. PETTIGREW. I'll first respond, and then let Mike. I think it is the feeling throughout the country, not just with students, that writing a Congressman may be a quick way of venting frustrations, but when the letter gets here to Washington, we hear stories about mailbags being weighed and "yeses" counted and "noes" counted. And, no one ever looks in the envelope to see if there are any ideas in the envelope. It may have been a blank envelope. I'm really questioning whether if I write you a letter, you'll read the letter.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Are you saying you don't get answers to the letters?

Mr. PETTIGREW. No, I have written many times and not received answers to letters.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. That astonishes me.

Mr. ZIMMERMAN. Sir, I'd like to respond to that. I myself try to write five letters a week; I average about two or three. I'm not speaking for myself on that, so many people have criticized me for writing letters, and I do get answers. And, I'd like to see mimeographed letters, not handwritten answers, that means somebody is doing something besides writing letters. I write letters. I think there's a lot of students who really feel it doesn't get anywhere. I think that if each Representative from Congress came to his district with extensive dialogue, as Tom pointed out, and really talked about what it really does, I think that students would feel that change within the system can really work.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you very much, Mr. Pettigrew and Mr. Zimmerman. The next witness listed—Yes?

Mr. HORTON. I'd like to make a comment. I've been in Congress 8 years, and I want to address myself to this matter of communication. I represent the 36th District of New York which includes the city of Rochester and part of Monroe and Wayne County. It's been my policy ever since I've been in Congress, when a letter comes in, to not only read that letter, but also to sign personally every answer that goes out. And I think that this is generally the attitude of most

Members of Congress. I read carefully the mail that comes into my office. I'm also careful to make sure there's an answer that goes out to each communication that comes in.

I just want to give you one example of how it can be effective. Recently, I had a doctor write to me, and he was concerned because he found that he was receiving mailings from periodical magazines that made it appear that because he had registered under the gun registration law his name was being passed around to people by their purchasing lists of names. I took that letter, and I found that was actually the case. I have been in touch with the Internal Revenue Service and have prepared legislation to prohibit this type of thing. Now I can tell you instance after instance in the 8 years I have been in Congress where a letter has resulted in definite action, even to the extent of an amendment to the anti-pollution bill that just went through this last year—a letter from a constituent with an idea. So, I say to you that your statement with regard to this matter is not accurate. It's not true of all Members of Congress. It might be of some, but I think that the majority of the Members of Congress are happy to receive mail, that they read it, and they try to be very responsive to it.

Mr. ZIMMERMAN. I think—

Mr. FINDLEY. I am sorry I have to interrupt. In fairness to the witnesses that have come great distances to be here, we have to stay on schedule.

Next are Paul Wacker, Steve Valliere, and Jim Van Zee of McLean, Va. Are these three here? Paul Wacker, I believe, is the spokesman. Paul, would you proceed.

Mr. WACKER. Yes sir, thank you very much.

STATEMENT BY PAUL WACKER, STEVE VALLIERE, AND JIM VAN ZEE, MARSHALL HIGH SCHOOL

Mr. WACKER. We have often thought how great it would be to have 1 day to talk to top Government officials about our foreign policy. When we were told we could speak here today the only thought that came to mind was—"You mean for a whole 10 minutes?"

As students at Fairfax County's Marshall High, it must be understood that the views we are about to express in no way reflect the opinions of our school, teachers, family or even fellow students. They are strictly the views which we, as three students, possess.

By mutually writing this statement we have come to realize the difficulty of coming together on even general issues. Although all three of us basically hold the same views, we found ourselves arguing over even individual sentences of this statement and can now better appreciate the true meaning of negotiation.

Our objectives in Southeast Asia may be classified into two areas: (1) military, and (2) political. Rehashing the issue of why, why not, or how we got into Vietnam seems to be of no practical value. The fact still remains that we are there. Militarily we are attempting to protect the territorial integrity of the noncommunist countries of Southeast Asia. We are succeeding in this objective to only a certain degree. Our intention has never been to defeat North Vietnam. Whether this is right or wrong, we cannot say. But we cannot

help but believe that it is this fact that has been such a detriment to troop morale and public sentiment here at home. We are tired of this war and its seemingly senseless drain on our society. Because present and future U.S. policy will never bring about a military victory, we support a gradual withdrawal of American troops and endorse the Vietnamization of the war.

Vietnamization of the war would simply place the burden of the fighting where it belongs—on the Vietnamese people. This will give the United States the opportunity to discover whether or not the South Vietnamese wish to be rid of the Communists. We must, however, continue to supply the South Vietnamese with arms, as they do not have the capacity to wage a successful war with their limited industrial strength.

Politically, we went into Vietnam with the intention of helping the South Vietnamese and allowing them their own free choice of government. Whether the aggressor is Communist, Fascist, Nazi or capitalist is of no importance. The point is, aggression was and is being inflicted upon a nation which has done nothing to provoke it except express a desire for a free choice in deciding how to govern themselves. There are many people who believe that Vietnam is an unnecessary war meant to protect American "credibility" and interests. But what is wrong with that?

Is there anyone here who believes that the Communists will settle for anything less than victory if given the opportunity? Is there anyone in this room who honestly believes that complete American pullout would not result in eventual complete Communist occupation of Southeast Asia? And even further—is there anyone who does not believe that the Communists want and are demanding world domination?

True, credibility has played an increasing role in this war, yet not to the extent that we are there to preserve it at all cost. This, we believe, can be seen in our desire to Vietnamize the war.

No matter what type of war is being fought, it is the responsibility of America to do everything possible to protect the lives of U.S. troops—it is the responsibility of the American people to see that U.S. losses are at a minimum. We view the movement into Cambodia as a means towards these objectives. It is obvious that this action is temporary. President Nixon himself, put the time limit on it.

Much of the dissent on U.S. policy today is said to be attributed to the inequities and unpopularity of the draft. We are of the belief that although the draft is fair, elements that lead into it could be fairer. As of now, much is dependent upon whether or not the student has the money to get into a college. Those who don't have it, often end up fighting the war.

Putting colleges on a competitive basis would allow every student an equal opportunity for education. This would not only put the sole responsibility on each student, but would also once again make college the privilege that it used to be.

There is much talk now in abolishing all student deferments. Abolishing student deferments could senselessly deprive the U.S. of men who could develop extremely intelligent minds and make significant contributions to all society in such needed fields as medicine, science, and general technology. Although man deserves equal rights, it must

be taken into account that he is of differing abilities. You cannot mitigate all social class. We do, however, believe that a minimum standard can and should be met.

As an alternative to the draft, many suggest an all volunteer army. But, would that be practical? If so, wages would have to be competitive with civilian pay scales. Safeguards would have to be built into such a system to prevent the formation of a military elite in this country—one that could be capable of a military coup. For, it is the fluidity of men in the armed forces that keeps the military relating to civilians and vice-versa.

Which brings us back to the matter of U.S. policy. It really makes little difference whether it is a drafted army or a volunteer army that is fighting a bad war—it will still mean the loss of American lives. It is of little difference whether it is a drafted army or a volunteer army that is fighting a war, good or bad—it will still deprive the American economy of dollars that could be used for other purposes.

Gentlemen, the wall of Vietnam and Cambodia stands before us. But when this obstacle is removed, will we get into a similar situation elsewhere? Will it not be time for a reevaluation of foreign policy? Will we establish new goals or different ones?

Our final appeal today is that you men begin to chart a new course of foreign policy which will lessen the chance for a repeat of present dilemmas for future generations. By doing so, you will insure those future generations the safety and security of a united America. We thank you for the opportunity afforded us today to appear here.

Mr. FINDLEY. Am I correct that Steve Valiere and Jim Van Zee, with you, had a part in the construction of this statement?

Mr. WACKER. Yes sir.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Thomson.

Mr. THOMSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I believe that this is the first group that has appeared here today who are attending high school rather than college. I have no questions; I just want to commend these young men for a very thoughtful statement and one which I think speaks very well for themselves and the school that they are attending.

Mr. FINDLEY. I'll yield my time to Congressman Dent, if he has a question, or Congressman Burton. Do either of you have a question?

Mr. DENT. I'd like to ask one. Would you expect that Congress would have the same differences that you expressed here with the other witnesses who have testified?

Mr. WACKER. To a much greater degree, as a matter of fact.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Fascell.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Looking to the future, Mr. Wacker, also is as important as dealing with the present. If we're to avoid the mistakes of the past and the present, would you think it would be helpful if we in the Congress could address ourselves to the problems of defining the President's powers under the Constitution with respect to the deployment of troops abroad?

Mr. WACKER. Yes sir, I definitely do. I feel that the question of going into Cambodia does raise a Constitutional question. However, with the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution passed, it seems to have been

within the powers. It's the checks and balances that you do have right now, that makes this thing turn out all right.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hathaway.

Mr. HATHAWAY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate your statement. There's one point, though, that I have some doubts about. As an alternative to the draft, you suggest an all volunteer army. Is that open for question?

Mr. VALLIERE. We are not specifically suggesting a volunteer army.

Mr. FINDLEY. Would you identify yourself, please.

Mr. VALLIERE. I'm Steve Valliere. We realize that there has been much talk about an all volunteer army, and I personally do not feel that I have enough information to give an intelligent answer as to whether we should have the volunteer army or not. But we feel that we would like to know whether this would be practical, and could such safeguards be built into a system whereby we would not create a military elite in this country?

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hicks.

Mr. HICKS. I'll yield further to Mr. Hathaway, apparently he's got another question.

Mr. HATHAWAY. Well, the point I wanted to make is that we probably wouldn't be having this hearing this morning if we had an all volunteer army, because I think that the draft has served one purpose, and a very good one. It has kept the public involved in our foreign policy. Because either they're potential draftees or they're the fathers and mothers of potential draftees, and for that reason I don't believe that the volunteer army concept should be embraced.

Mr. VALLIERE. I personally do not feel a volunteer army is necessary. We mentioned the fluidity, and I think that is an important point. This is the same old song, but I cannot help but believe that with freedom goes responsibility. I don't see how you can get around it, myself. I think it's responsibility directed at the students.

Mr. FINDLEY. The chair will recognize Mr. Horton who is now taking the place of Mr. Robison.

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Chairman, thank you. I just want to say that I think this is a very well reasoned, very honest statement, and I commend each of you gentlemen for the statement you have made.

Mr. FINDLEY. Are there any questions? Mr. Frelinghuysen.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I, too, would like to commend these young men. I would like to ask you a brief question. Do you think it is important at what age young people are allowed to vote? Do you think, in other words—

Mr. VALLIERE. Well, many people go on and like the idea that if a person is able to go through war at 18 or 19, he should be able to vote at the same time. Well, I personally agree with this. Because if a person is sent off to fight a war, he should be able to have a voice in the decision of whether the war should exist, should we carry on with it.

Mr. WACKER. I definitely feel that the 18-year-old vote should be enacted. I think that with the education standards that exist today, an 18-year old is fully capable of maturely handling the privilege.

Mr. FINDLEY. Well, we thank you gentlemen very much for a splendid statement, well done in all respects.

Mr. Jack Berger of Principia College, Elsah, Ill. is next. Jack Berger, without solicitation on my part, I see that my congressional district is now represented here because Elsah is a part of my district. Mr. Berger.

Mr. BERGER. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the panel.

STATEMENT BY JACK BERGER, PRINCIPIA COLLEGE

Mr. BERGER. Gentlemen, my name is Jack Berger. I am a 20-year-old junior from Principia College located in Elsah, Ill. I was selected by our student council and our school of government as a representative of our institution. On behalf of Principia, I should like to thank you for your invitation. It is indeed our pleasure to appear before this panel.

Your invitation indicated that the purpose of these hearings was to afford college students "a constructive, orderly and effective way to be heard on military and foreign policies, especially those relating to Southeast Asia." In order that I might most effectively share with this panel the feelings and ideas of the students on my campus, the student council conducted a survey just yesterday. Out of a total enrollment of 750 students, we heard from approximately one-third. This was not due to any disinterest but rather the short amount of time allowed the students for completion of the form. Identical questions were asked all the students in the following six major areas: (1) Withdrawal from Vietnam; (2) support of the Nyugen Van Thieu government; (3) powers of the President versus powers of Congress; (4) Cambodia; (5) the role of our educational institutions; and (6) the situation at home.

Concerning the question of United States' withdrawal from Vietnam, those voting in the survey had confidence in President Nixon's "Timetable" for withdrawal by a vote of 2 to 1. When asked the question, "Do you favor immediate and unilateral withdrawal from Vietnam by U.S. troops?"—The vote was approximately 2 to 1 against such action.

This is obviously not to be interpreted as an endorsement of troops in Vietnam by our student body. The overwhelming majority of the students who voted did not want to see U.S. troops in Southeast Asia. This idea was further supported when the students responded to the second major area of the survey: Support of the Thieu government. By a 4 to 1 majority, those who responded felt that we should definitely support the Thieu government in South Vietnam. However, only 18 students out of the 250 voting, felt that we should support this government with U.S. troops. The vast majority indicated that they would be in favor of supporting the government economically and politically. They also supported the sending of U.S. arms and other military supplies to South Vietnam.

In the area of presidential and/or congressional power, it was generally felt by our student body that the President of the United States, as Commander in Chief, should indeed have the power to deploy our troops throughout the world. It should be noted however, that more than three out of eight students felt that the Presi-

dent should not have this power solely. At the same time, it was felt by two-thirds of those voting that the President is not usurping congressional authority by deploying troops. The student response indicated that the McGovern amendment was acceptable to about one-half of those polled.

It would seem then, that our students feel that the power of the President to act as Commander in Chief gives him the direct authority to deploy troops. However, the response by one-third of those voting, clearly showed that Congress should play more of a role in this decisionmaking process.

Dealing specifically with the Cambodian issue, the students felt that from a purely military point of view, President Nixon was correct in deploying troops. The faculty at our institution overwhelmingly agreed with the President's position. However, due to the repercussions at home, half of the students polled felt it was unwise to deploy the troops. Almost half, also felt that the Cambodian commitment was a definite expansion of the war in Southeast Asia. The students seemed to feel that military considerations must be weighed against domestic reaction. In the case of the Cambodian commitment, many who felt that it was a wise military decision, felt that overall, it was an unwise maneuver.

The most profound indicator concerning the situation at home was provided by answers to the following question: "Do you foresee the possibility of an actual revolution in the United States?" Nearly 50 percent of the students replied in the affirmative. The nexus connecting revolution at home with student unrest may be found in the insensitivity of the Nixon administration to the Nation's internal crisis, 65 percent of our students considered the present administration as unresponsive. The intensity of student disaffection with the present administration was clearly illustrated by a consensus labeling Vice President Agnew's remarks a contributing factor in the communication breakdown between Government and youth. In fact, more than one-half of our student body found the Vice President's remarks a direct casual factor in the violent conflict at home.

The disparity between student support of the move in Cambodia and aversion to domestic policy can be attributed to two factors: (1) Support for the Cambodia move was predicated on maintaining or accelerating troop withdrawal in accordance with a workable timetable, (2) concern for domestic policy pertains to the callous response to dissidence which emanates from the administration, especially the Vice President.

An important issue on our campus, as on campuses across the Nation, is: "Should the college be a center for political activity?" Our campus was split on this issue almost right down the middle. For those who supported political activism, it was overwhelmingly felt that violence has no part on the college campus. The universities and colleges should provide information, and resources for all students who wish to constructively work for change. This could include lobbies, petitions, and letter campaigns, time off from school for political involvement, and course credit for political movement. This response indicates that those who favor political activism definitely felt that the college and university should offer some incentive for

the student who is willing to work "within the system." It was felt that universities must be as aware of current situations as any other institutions. There are few opportunities in our society for such a complete environment for knowledge and understanding. Just as importantly the policymakers must be ready and willing to listen to our students, and faculty members.

In addition to these ideas, we believe that active prayer, recognizing the inherent goodness of all men, will be an effectual aid in resolving the problems unsettling our Nation, and will result in creative alternatives and constructive action.

I am so honored to have appeared before you today. This type of communication is essential in overcoming the differences between the students and the Government.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Thomson.

Mr. THOMSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Do you have on your college campus a chapter of the National Student Association?

Mr. BERGER. We are joining that organization. Yes sir. We have not an active chapter at the present time.

Mr. THOMSON. Do you have a chapter of the SDS?

Mr. BERGER. No sir, we do not.

Mr. THOMSON. I thought your statement reflected that. [Laughter.]

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Berger, in your statement you say the response by one-third of those voting clearly showed that Congress should play more of a role in the decisionmaking process which deploys troops. Mr. Fascell and I have both sponsored proposals which would impose a reporting requirement upon the President, which would establish a relationship between the Executive and the Congress after the fact in the event that military force is used by the Commander in Chief. Do you have any comments upon this proposal?

Mr. BERGER. I think that the majority of the students who voted in our survey would definitely be in favor of this type of proposal. I feel, however, the cry of the one-third cited in my paper was that the Congress of the United States should be consulted prior to troop deployment.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Fascell.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Berger, I agree with that, of course. In the bill I have introduced I seek to define the Presidential powers and the role that Congress would play. My cosponsors and I hope that we would be able to define the powers or at least stimulate sufficient dialogue to clarify the situation; eliminate the areas of doubt as to the constitutional question and the role of the Congress. I commend you on your approach; for your thoroughness in surveying the college and making your views known to this committee. I have heard many witnesses in this same room. Mr. Chairman, over many years. The testimony we have had today from students is remarkable. It points out, and all of us in Congress are very much aware of the fact—that students today are well prepared; they are articulate; they can make meaningful contributions; and they ought to be heard.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hathaway.

Mr. HATHAWAY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I just wanted to join with Mr. Fascell in commending Mr. Berger for an excellent statement and commending all of the students I have heard both

at this hearing and the one we held a couple of Sundays ago. Also I want to commend the numerous students who have come into my office in the past couple of weeks, and the ones I have talked to in my own district for making an excellent presentation of their case. I hope they continue to maintain the attitude that they have towards the problem which we are discussing.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hicks.

Mr. HICKS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Berger, were you here during all of the hearings?

Mr. BERGER. No sir, I arrived a little late this morning.

Mr. HICKS. At least one, and I got the implication from maybe one or two others, that it was difficult for all voices to be heard on the campus. I take it that at your school this is not so, that all shades of opinion are reflected, and all have the opportunity to express themselves.

Mr. BERGER. I might address myself in answer by saying that we're a rather unique educational institution. First of all, we are physically removed from the city of St. Louis by some 45 miles and from the city of Alton by 15 miles, which puts us pretty much in the sticks. [Laughter.] We're an educational institution where all who are attending our institution have the same religious belief, that is Christian Science. With this common basis, we agree on a number of issues, obviously.

Mr. HICKS. Well, I commend you for your statement. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Horton.

Mr. HORTON. I just want to commend you also, Mr. Berger. I think this does demonstrate planning and research on the part of you and your colleagues at the college, and I think it is a very wonderful presentation to the Members of this committee. Thank you.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Frelinghuysen.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I want to commend you also, Mr. Berger. The one statement about the questionnaire that astonishes me was that nearly 50 percent of the student body foresaw an actual revolution. In your opinion, what would a revolution accomplish, either in jogging this administration or in other areas?

Mr. BERGER. In my personal opinion, I don't feel that revolution would accomplish anything, but I think that the question as it was phrased in our questionnaire said that others feel that dissension and the frustration on large segments of our populace showed great polarization which could result in a revolution.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Berger, we are very grateful to you.

The next witness is Dick Gunning, Virginia Law School at Charlottesville. Is Mr. Gunning here?

STATEMENT BY RICHARD W. GUNNING, UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA LAW SCHOOL

Mr. GUNNING. Distinguished Congressmen and fellow students, I have come here today to voice my opinions in opposition to the American involvement in Southeast Asia. I would, nevertheless, like to preface those comments with a few brief observations about the recent campus protests. It is of foremost importance, I believe, that

the general public be made cognizant of the views of a significant number of today's young people. For my part, until a short time ago, I, and many others like me—had been willing to accept President Nixon's seemingly sensible program for the deescalation of the war through gradual troop withdrawals and "Vietnamization." Our reaction to the Cambodian incursion, however, heightened by the tragic killings at Kent State University, has compelled us to re-evaluate and realign our position. We, the campus "moderates," can no longer in good conscience subscribe to the President's policies.

The pervading problem as I see it is that the views of the many are obscured by the rhetoric of a few. To believe otherwise is to be sadly mistaken and vastly unfair to the tenor of the majority of American youth. The only truly valid common denominator of the protest movement is the overwhelming student concern about the war. I certainly do not deny that there are those among us who espouse violent confrontation as a vehicle for total institutional change, but I sincerely doubt that their strategies will be persuasive for more than a small minority. Indeed, these tactics accomplish little more than the alienation of those who might otherwise support us, and the strengthening of the resolve of those who would discredit us. In short, I am merely submitting that responsible student protesters will not condone the use of violence, and in its stead, will seek to constructively reform the system from within.

Turning now to the war, I personally would favor the immediate cessation of all military involvement in Southeast Asia. In terms of practical politics and military necessity, however, I realize this is unfortunately tantamount to the impossible. The two questions, then, that we—you as Members of Congress and I as a member of the electorate—must be willing to face are, first, how can we insure the most rapid disengagement from Southeast Asian hostilities, and second, how can we preclude the future recurrence of similar situations.

In considering the above questions, young people are distressed by several lingering doubts. First, the credibility of President Nixon is thereby threatened to the extent that it is arguably impeached. The President has repeatedly promised that American ground troops will honor the June 30 withdrawal date from Cambodia. Despite this, the major news services report that those in charge of the Cambodian operation have intimated that they may need additional time to complete their mission; and furthermore, the Department of Defense has stated that U.S. support troops and air power will remain in Cambodia with the Vietnamese Army past the appointed deadline. Such ambiguities often make me wonder if the number of troops withdrawn from the Southeast Asian theater is a valid indication of the deescalation of our involvement. Perhaps other factors, for example the number of countries in which the United States is militarily engaged, or the number of combat missions per week, would be a more reliable barometer which just might evidence an involvement in Southeast Asia more inclusive now than ever before.

Second, if that alone is not sufficient, the constitutional overtones of the Cambodian decision should prove conclusive. The draftsmen

of the Constitution saw fit to formulate express limitations on the powers of both the Executive and the legislature. They made provision for an intricate internal system of "checks and balances" in which neither department was bestowed exclusive jurisdiction over foreign affairs; the President received the power of being "Commander in Chief," while the legislature was allocated control over appropriations as well as the warmaking function. From this it seems quite clear that the Founding Fathers intended that these two branches of government complement each other in the realm of foreign policy, especially when the use of force which might lead to increased international hostilities was under contemplation.

In light of this context, President Nixon, nevertheless, has elected to ignore the prerogative of Congress in such matters, basing his authority solely on his power as "Commander in Chief." This outrages me because the President, in so many words, is cloaking the basis for his power to act in the very document he attempts to circumvent. Even President Johnson refrained from such a drastic strain on the Constitution. But on one hand, President Johnson was aware that the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution was acceptable to Congress, whereas on the other hand, President Nixon doubtless anticipated strong Congressional opposition to extending our Southeast Asian commitment to Cambodia, even for a limited period of time. This, of course, is mere speculation. I am sure, however, that such an action would have been less subject to criticism and more receptive to arguments of military necessity had the question been first submitted to Congress as the Constitution provides. What President Nixon seeks, in effect, is to amend the Constitution by practice, vesting the Executive with a unilateral warmaking power. Who, then, is to say that the same rationale could not be employed with comparable effectiveness in Laos, or even Red China?

For this reason, if no other, Congress must now be willing to act affirmatively to reassert its constitutional responsibilities which have lain for the most part dormant for the past quarter-century. The blame for this dormancy, whether it be the apathy of Congress or its respective constituencies, is immaterial. The point remains, meaningful legislation must now be enacted.

The first step is to statutorily guarantee that the present Cambodian involvement cannot escalate into another Vietnam—a situation that it frighteningly parallels.

Here I feel the exercise of the power over the purse is neither premature nor unreasonable. It serves as the last viable resort to hold the President to his word, or to be more politically tactful, to make Congress jointly responsible for the removal of U.S. troops from Cambodia by June 30. Refusal to adopt such a proposal would seem to me to be an abrogation of the duty of Congress to uphold the Constitution.

Secondly, in the future, Congress should continue to make its voice heard in the field of foreign affairs. Before any actions like the Cambodian operation are undertaken, there should be a definitive colloquy between the Executive and his legislature. This is not to say that the President's hands should be completely tied in the area of foreign policy—some situations conceivably demand

rapid and decisive response. Cambodia, however, was not in this category, but even in "emergencies" Congress should specifically reserve the right to either endorse or censure the action. In this way, the President retains his "emergency" powers but is made as reluctant to exercise them as Congress should be in approving their use. This appears to be the wisest course to follow, as Congress will have upheld its constitutional responsibility.

Furthermore, should a President's "emergency" actions be endorsed, a base of support will be almost automatically established. The importance of this cannot be underscored enough in an era of limited warfare, where the resolve to pursue an objective is more easily defeated on the domestic front than on the battlefield itself.

In conclusion, I would like only to note that the young people between the ages of 18 and 25 today will, in 10 years, be 28 to 35—a much more effective age from which to politically bargain. I warn, however, that age will not temper the impressions which are now being inscribed on our minds. You, the Members of Congress, are aware that we sincerely believe the U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia is a vast misallocation of resources that completely defies comprehension. Whether you heed our pleas is yet another matter. We do admit that the decision is within your control for the present, not ours. But, in this time of need, should Congress fail to act to reassert its voice in the realm of foreign policy, I assure you, that impression will be indelible.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you very much, Mr. Gunning. Mr. Fascell.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, it's an excellent statement; I don't have any questions. I would like to use this statement just presented at the time the Foreign Affairs Committee holds hearings on the bill which I have introduced on defining the powers of the President and reasserting the role of the Congress in foreign policy.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hicks.

Mr. HICKS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would preface my remarks, Mr. Gunning, that I agree with a good deal of what you said. I have some doubts as to your ability to judge as to whether you will or will not change by the time you are 28 or 35 [Laughter]. However, my question is how would the people in your community respond to the type of letter that we get from certain numbers of people that say that in this time of crisis we all should join and stand behind the President because it immediately lends aid and comfort to Hanoi, to the Soviets, to push in the opposite direction that we are trying to push on in foreign policy?

Mr. GUNNING. Are you speaking of my university community?

Mr. HICKS. No, your home community, Springfield, Ill., Mr. Findley's district.

Mr. GUNNING. I'm not really certain. I haven't spent much time in Springfield in 5 years now. I would tend to suspect that people in Springfield would almost—well I don't know almost, it would be a question of probably almost even division between supporting the President or denying the fact that he had the right to act in such a situation.

Mr. HICKS. Well, shouldn't you be there addressing those people equally as much as here addressing Congress then?

Mr. GUNNING. Well, Charlottesville is a lot closer to Washington than Springfield, but I'm headed that way pretty soon, though.

Mr. HICKS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Dent, do you have a question?

Mr. Frelinghuysen.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Gunning, it's flattering to have so many young people, and others, reminding Congress of its responsibilities in the field of foreign policy, and we welcome these allies. I'd like to ask you about this definitive colloquy that you think there should have been between the President and the Congress before the move into Cambodia. Of course, we feel sensitive that we were not even given a hint that there was such a major move coming, but I would think that perhaps the most that could be expected in such a colloquy would be a consultation and not a division of support or censure by Congress. Do you think it would have been possible for Congress to decide immediately whether or not to support the proposals to move into Cambodia, and if we couldn't, do you think that mere consultation by the Commander in Chief would have been adequate?

Mr. GUNNING. I assume you feel that Cambodia was of the emergency situation level?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Well, you described it as such, and I would assume because of the conditions there, the weather-conditions, that it was an emergency.

Mr. GUNNING. I didn't think it was an emergency, and I tried to make that clear in what I said. What I implied in what I said was that I think that the situation in Cambodia has been before us for a vast number of years—at least since the beginning of our involvement in Southeast Asia. I'm sure that Congress could have engaged in definitive colloquy that would have been of quite beneficial use to the President, in informing him of how people actually might react to such a move.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I don't think this panel could reach a common decision as to whether to support or oppose the President if it were given the opportunity for such a snap-judgment. I would think we might welcome a consultation, but I think it might be difficult for us to come to an immediate conclusion.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you very much, Mr. Gunning. We appreciate your appearance.

Our next witness is Mr. David J. Mehlman of Johns Hopkins Medical School. Mr. Mehlman.

STATEMENT BY DAVID J. MEHLMAN, JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF MEDICINE

Mr. MEHLMAN. I have come here today to voice my concern about our Nation's current Southeast Asia policies. I believe that these policies are ill founded and are the cause of growing domestic problems. While the President speaks of deescalation and "Vietnamization," he has ordered our troops to widen the fighting on a new battlefield in another country. I am frightened that our President could take such precipitous action without first consulting his Cabinet advisers and our country's representatives in Congress. The President's claim that since the Geneva Agreement of 1954, American policy has

been to scrupulously respect the neutrality of the Cambodian people is plainly contradicted by the historical facts. Everyday that we remain in Southeast Asia we lose more American lives, waste more American money, and lose more prestige in the eyes of our European allies. The time has come to withdraw all of our troops without delay.

Our continued presence in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos can only exacerbate the communications difficulty between our campuses and Government in Washington. Something is wrong when the President watches a football game while thousands of citizens gather behind his residence to protest his policies. Something is amiss when members of the administration purposely inflame the already tense college campuses. Something is awry when Government actions cause such a severe reaction on college campuses throughout the Nation that trigger-happy law enforcement officers are required to maintain order.

Sooner or later the administration will realize that increasing numbers of American citizens, including college students, are demanding an immediate reordering of America's priorities. Both directly and indirectly the Vietnamese war is undermining our Nation's important domestic programs. As military expenditures have risen, funds for health care, education, and urban problems have been severely cut. The Federal Government has yet to face seriously the problems of America's cities. Those funds which have been provided the few authorized programs are minuscule when one looks at the needs of our urban areas.

The war and its associated increases in military spending have placed our Nation's private universities in an especially precarious financial position. These institutions, depending for their survival on fixed endowment funds, are quite vulnerable to inflation. While war spending continues to increase the rate of inflation, the Federal Government has sharply cut scholarship and loan funds to both graduate and undergraduate students. Furthermore, large cuts in research funds have placed further strains on a university's limited endowment as the university attempts to provide salaries and research funds for its faculty. One wonders whether the Government has cut these funds in an attempt to punish and silence those in academic circles who have criticized the actions of our Government in Southeast Asia.

In the field of health care, the amount of money which the Federal Government spent in fiscal year 1969 was \$22.6 billion compared to \$10.8 billion in 1966. But do not let these figures deceive you. Of the \$11.8 billion increase in health expenditures between 1966 and 1969, \$10.1 billion can be accounted for by medicare, medicaid and Veterans' Administration programs. While the Government made grandiose promises to the American people concerning health research in the areas of heart disease, stroke and cancer, research funds increased from \$1.4 billion in 1966 to \$1.5 billion in 1969, which in the light of the continuing inflation is probably a reduction in total funds.

While acknowledging that the country needs more physicians, the Federal Government has severely cut back scholarship and loan

funds available to medical students. These funds are awarded to students on the basis of need. The medical school portion of the health profession loan recommendation appropriation for 1970-71 is \$6,300,000 for all medical schools. This represents a 20 percent reduction from the amount allocated in 1967-70. The 1969-70 allocation itself was a 44 percent reduction from that allocated in 1968-69. The medical school portion of the health profession scholarship recommendation appropriation for 1970-71 is reduced by 3 percent to \$7,000,000. In both scholarship and loan funds the 101 medical schools will be offered a total of \$13,300,000, a total which is 23 percent less than in fiscal year 1969-70. Thus in a period when the Federal Government has been encouraging medical schools to increase their enrollments and to accept more students from poorer economic backgrounds, loan and scholarship funds have been seriously curtailed. As students who need scholarships are forced to take Federal loans, and as students who need low-cost Federal loans are forced to borrow at high interest rates, the outcome is clear. Those medical students—and I assure you that there are many—who would have been willing and interested in providing medical care to the socially disadvantaged in relatively low-salaried positions will be forced into higher-salaried private practice in order to pay off their enormous debts acquired in the course of many years of higher education. In order to have a private practice with a large income, one must have patients who are able to pay fees. This prerequisite of necessity would preclude one from ministering to those who are not financially able. Thus the health care crisis which this Nation faces will be made more severe rather than ameliorated.

Largely as a result of the drastic cuts in Federal funds to aid medical students and to sponsor medical research, the Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine in fiscal year 1969-70 had a deficit of over \$1 million which had to be made up through expenditure of endowment funds. The situation in fiscal year 1970-71 appears to be bleaker yet—projected figures show that the medical school alone will have a deficit of over \$2 million.

Gentlemen, present military and foreign policies are causing grievous repercussions not only in Southeast Asia but here at home as well. It is quite evident that foreign and domestic policy are inextricably entwined. Nearly 20 years ago President Eisenhower said, "America is great because America is good—and if America ever ceases to be good—America will cease to be great." The time has come for us to steer America back onto that path of goodness from which she has wavered. I ask that you representatives in Congress help to reorder our country's priorities so as to achieve this goal. A major step in that direction would be the immediate withdrawal of our armed forces from Southeast Asia.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you, Mr. Mehlman. Mr. Thomson.

Mr. THOMSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I think Mr. Mehlman you maybe made a mistake when you asked Congress to reorder the priorities: the truth of the matter is that in the present 1971 budget for the first time in, I guess, since the Korean war, the biggest percent of the Federal budget goes to human resources rather than defense, for the first time in 20 years. Defense gets 36 percent of the budget, whereas human resources get 41 percent.

Mr. MEHLMAN. Well it may be that that is not enough. I've quoted certain figures to show that the—

Mr. THOMSON. Well, you've quoted figures relating to medical schools in which you are now a student, but maybe you have lost out to the environmentalists who are asking that a bigger share of the tax dollar go to the environment rather than to the medical schools. Maybe you had better make a better case before the Congress for the share of the tax dollar which you want. Isn't that perhaps your problem?

Mr. MEHLMAN. No, I think the problem is that Congress spends too much on military appropriations in total. There is enough that our Government can well afford to get the best medical care possible and also the best environment.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Hicks.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Mehlman, I'm wondering if your thesis is that Congress is not responsive to constituents, and if you answer that in the negative, that, "no, Congress is responsive to the constituents," then while it's well and good for you to come and talk to the Congress, shouldn't you be doing what some of these young people say they are going to do—go into the communities and convince the constituency of the Members in Congress that these things should take place?

Mr. MEHLMAN. I have worked in political campaigns since I was a senior in high school. I have worked in the community.

Mr. HICKS. Would you say, though, that that's what young people should be doing instead of blocking highways and burning down ROTC buildings?

Mr. MEHLMAN. Yes.

Mr. HICKS. Thank you.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Frelinghuysen.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Just one question. Mr. Mehlman, you suggest there should be an immediate withdrawal—a withdrawal without delay?

Mr. MEHLMAN. Yes sir.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Does this mean that we as a country do not have a responsibility to concern ourselves with the consequences in the areas from which we would withdraw? In other words, should we do it without regard to the consequences in Vietnam of an immediate withdrawal?

Mr. MEHLMAN. I believe that we're remaining there right now without regard to the consequences of our remaining there, both in terms of our domestic policy and our foreign policy. I think that there would be some consequences in leaving Vietnam right now.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. But, do you think we should do it disregarding those consequences?

Mr. MEHLMAN. Yes, I do.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you very much, Mr. Mehlman. We appreciate your appearing.

Mr. MEHLMAN. Thank you.

Mr. FASCELL. Our next witnesses are Marianne Walzer and Michele Bisson of the College of New Rochelle.

Miss BISSON. As a point of clarification, I am Miss Bisson and this is Miss Walzer, and we shall both be open to your questions.

STATEMENT BY MICHELE BISSON AND MARIANNE WALZER,
COLLEGE OF NEW ROCHELLE

Miss BISSON. As members of the academic community, we are alarmed by the action of the President in extending the war into Cambodia. We are deeply concerned that the divisions caused by this war endanger our fundamental institutions. If any large segment of a nation feels itself to be disenfranchised and alienated from its leadership because of specific government actions, the country may be considered at a crisis-point; and if this group is the emerging intelligensia and the future ruling elite of that society, one wonders if the entire existence of that society, as such, is not in jeopardy.

For a foreign policy to be effective, it must maintain legitimacy on two levels. In order for a government to wage an undeclared war, it must communicate to its populace the fact that there are no other viable alternatives in that given situation. Furthermore, in order to mobilize its citizenry and create internal cohesion, that government must legitimize its policy on a political and military level. With respect to the Vietnamese war and the Cambodian invasion, the political and military explanations given by the previous and present administrations have been perceived as contradictory. Therefore, where mobilization was intended and needed, division has resulted. The second level on which foreign policy will be weighed as effective is the level of world opinion. If such a policy cannot produce internal cohesion on a national scale, how can one expect this policy to be accepted or tolerated in the international sphere.

The traditional channels within the United States which have been institutionalized for effecting political change have been political parties and organized pressure groups. For the college student, wishing to effect change in 1970, these traditional institutional means have been closed. Since an individual's voice is lost, students have been forced to choose mass demonstrations as the outlet to communicate their protest. Because these protests have been ignored by the administration and thus have proven to be futile and meaningless, students and the academic community at large have realized that still another method must be found. Therefore, universities across the Nation have taken an institutional stand against the war in Indochina. Although one can see an inherent danger in attempting to politicize an academic institution, there was no other recourse. On the other hand, an academic institution must not be isolated from the political environment surrounding it, but it should not have to assume a political position on every issue, thus jeopardizing academic freedom and the learning process. However, this issue reaches far deeper than the mere politics of Southeast Asia, it is symptomatic of the desperate need for a reorientation of values within American society today.

This reorientation of values cannot be achieved through a temporary reliance upon a political institution merely espousing political values. The traditional channels must become responsive to the beliefs of the academic community or another structure must be organized. It is our contention that provisions must be made for the enfranchisement of 18- to 21-year-olds and for the creation of an

effective lobby to convey the political opinions and judgement of those in our nation's educational institutions.

Many political scientists have stated that world stability rests upon the continued superiority of the United States in the strategic balance. One wonders if stability can be maintained on the international level and within our own society if politics remains valueless and injustice is condoned.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you very much, Miss Bisson, for a very concise statement. I am struck by the necessity which seems to be implicit in all of the testimony, but certainly explicit in your case, that the only method that a student has available to him is identifying himself with his academic institution in order to bring about political change; and if he doesn't do that, then, therefore, the system has to be restructured or destroyed. I don't understand that, would you as a student explain that to me?

Miss BISSEON. Well, it seems to me, Mr. Chairman, that since an individual's voice is lost.

Mr. FASCELL. Why is it lost? I don't understand that. Why do you feel it is lost?

Miss BISSEON. Well, you can only enter into the political game. The academic institution as a whole wishes to be represented and wishes to be heard in the politics of our country.

Mr. FASCELL. Well, that's different, of course. The issue is whether or not you have a majority view. And the way you get a majority view is to create one. Now you choose your own method as to how you create a majority view, but that doesn't necessarily mean that as a student you are excluded, unless you exclude yourself and insist upon identification either with a group or an academic institution or some other structure.

Miss WALZER. May I say something about that?

Mr. FASCELL. Yes.

Miss WALZER. The College of New Rochelle took an institutional stand on May 6. The college suspended examinations. This was not a minority opinion. It was presented by a majority of the faculty and students and the administration. The college did make exams optional for those students who wished to take them, but it opened itself up as the communications center in the eastern seaboard. There was canvassing for the Hatfield amendment. There was political dialogue, and an economic boycott was attempted. I think what we mean when we said an academic institution must take an institutional stand is that individual students may at any time go out and work for a political party, and many students, including ourselves, have done this. But it does not seem to accomplish anything in this, we feel, crisis situation. Therefore, we were hoping that if an academic institution would suspend business as usual and open itself up as a focal point for discussion and mobilization on either side of this question, that large groups of people could go into the community with petitions and other things to mobilize political opinion.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Thomson.

Mr. THOMSON. I notice that you said that the traditional channels must become responsive to the beliefs of the academic community or another structure must be organized. What do you mean by responsive? Do you mean agreement?

MISS WALZER. I would say responsive in at least acknowledgment of the demands or petitions that have been made by college students. With respect to the present administration, I would feel that many college students on our campus have thought that any nonviolent protest that has been made by the college student has been disregarded and put aside in the terms of calling us "effete snobs" or "bums." That kind of response we do not consider responsive. It need not be agreement but it should be acknowledgment.

MR. FASCELL. Mr. Hicks.

MR. HICKS. I would like to say that I concur with much of what Miss Walzer has said. But when you talk about losing your identity, you don't have to be a student in a college; you can be one of a few in the House of Representatives and feel that you are not accomplishing anything. I recall in August of 1965 when Congress voted the first funds for Southeast Asia in a supplemental appropriations measure that three Members from California voted against it. I suppose that they felt very frustrated, but they can't opt out of the system and don't decide that they are going to block the Capitol over there and not let anybody get in anymore. But, I certainly concur with what you had to say about the institution lending itself to the rest of the community. I think that's the finest thing that the students can do. If they have a position to make, make it in the community, and you will find that your Congressman is responsive. I don't care on what side of the issue that he may find himself at one time, he's going to respond to the community. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

MR. FASCELL. I would say that most Congressmen are receptive to reaction from the community. Mr. Frelinghuysen.

MR. FRELINGHUYSEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Both you young ladies have suggested that the individual's voice is lost; I assume you do not include the voice that you are expressing here among those being lost on the legislative branch? Your concern is with the executive branch's apparent disinterest in the protests and reactions of the young. Are you tarring the legislative branch with the same brush? If you are, have you been in touch with your Congressman? And what has been his reaction? I would have assumed that most of us try to be responsive.

MISS WALZER. I'll try to answer your question. With respect to the individual, I think that the first reaction of college students in the frustrating situation was mass demonstrations. I think that really did not, although it might have brought headlines, did not do anything politically constructive, because there was no dialogue and there was no articulation of certain demands that could be made in a mass demonstration. If a college student is on an individual basis writing letters to his Congressman, I think that you would need a great deal of letters to the Congressman in order for that to be really reflective of a large segment of the community that he would have to represent. Now, at our university petitions were made. There were 70 girls canvassing for 3 weeks, and we were getting, on the average 500 names for the Hatfield amendment. We encouraged people to write to their Congressmen. I personally have written to both my Congressman from Connecticut and to the Congressman

from the State of New York. I have not, as yet, received any response.

Miss BISSE. The urban community of New Rochelle did respond; particularly the politicians within the urban community did respond to our opening up of the institution for study days and for an analysis of the problems. However, it remained frustrating to the students and, as a feeling, ineffective and as merely just voicing something, not being able to immediately change things, but to be able to perceive the change coming about.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Mize.

Mr. MIZE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Following up on Congressman Thomson's question, you say the traditional channels must become responsive to the beliefs of the academic community or another structure must be organized. What kind of a structure are you thinking about?

Miss BISSE. I think we mentioned that we were opting for the 18-year-old vote and also the creation of a student lobby, or an academic lobby, should I say.

Mr. MIZE. Thank you.

Mr. FASCELL. Young ladies, thank you very much. We appreciate your appearing and answering questions and giving us your views.

Mr. FINDLEY. The next witness is Dave T. Anderson, Wittenberg University, Springfield, Ohio. I might say before the witness begins that we have been hearing witnesses for nearly 3½ hours; and it is our intention to stay on schedule and to continue throughout the day until all scheduled witnesses for the day have been heard. It may be that the quorum bells will ring, and you'll see one or more of us disappearing momentarily. But we will be back, and we'll find a way to stay in session no matter what happens on the House floor. Please proceed.

STATEMENT BY DAVID T. ANDERSON, WITTENBERG UNIVERSITY

Mr. ANDERSON. I come to Washington today with a great deal of hope. I hope today because someone seems to be listening to the cries of youth. I hope today because we are able to confront each other with our mutual concerns for peace and humanity. I hope today because youth are still trying to be heard and still trying to work within the channels which have served this country for so many years. For these things I am thankful. I see today as a symbol of a new phase in American policy formation. It seems to be a phase in which there may be an end to the disenfranchisement of those who stumble beneath the steps of power throughout this Nation.

I feel that if I can do nothing else, I can remind you that Vietnam and now Cambodia have become a young people's war. This isn't simply because the youth are the one who are called on to fight, but it is because these are the youth who seem to feel a strong sense of loyalty to people which may, at this time in our history, be in conflict with our loyalty to Nation. If one were to drive on most any street in any major or minor American city or town, there would be little to remind one that a war was being waged half-way across the world. The Nation exhibits few if any characteristics of a war-waging country. Instead of ration and sacrifice, the economy con-

tinues its run-away patterns and business and industry gain more wealth, while young Americans pour out their guts into Vietnam soil. This is the sense of urgency which now has taken root in the student movement and has turned the silent moderate into an active, vocal, and seriously-paced student who can no longer listen to false hopes and dreams of war as being the way to peace.

This student generation is now not asking for only peace, as the President would believe, but rather they are pleading for a re-examination of national priorities. Students discount the domino theory for Southeast Asia in favor of a more isolated policy which would call on this country to use its rich resources to make this Nation that which will take concern and care for the person and his cries for justice and equality in the American social system. If this country were to place a new concern for humanity and life as the basis for new priorities, there would be little resources left for a war or for large space extravagances. The student is asking to know that his leaders are thinking and feeling.

The student on today's campus is apprehensive about the future which will be his. The student at Wittenberg also reflects this concern. He is alarmed by impending polarization which is cutting off communication to a point where students cannot talk or listen with others and where those who are entrusted with the responsibility of this country allude to the fact that this generation of intelligent leaders is not really capable of leading and that their thoughts and desires can be discounted. Today's Wittenberg student is very concerned about a war which has been given him and for which no one will accept the responsibility for control. This concern has grown to a point where it is affecting the life of the young person as a student. He no longer can be a student in the early sixties sense of the term. In these days, the student at Wittenberg studies and spends many of his waking moments analyzing his own position to his Nation and to other people, his fellow men. This concern is having an almost crippling effect on the student as a scholar. Its effects are showing up in counseling cases as being a major factor in the present turmoil which faces the student each day of his life. The student is asking to know that his leaders are thinking and feeling.

Students are beginning to realize also the fact that this war in Southeast Asia is a very expensive operation. One estimate seems to place the cost of fighting at \$2.7 million an hour. While I talk here the United States will spend over \$450,000 on the war alone. Students look at their cities, the pollution which has destroyed Buck Creek or the smog which hangs in a violet orange over the city of Dayton; the lack of substantial housing for lower income families. These students look at the Government allotment of almost \$300,000 to Wittenberg by the Government for loans and scholarships and then see its actual money amount to less than \$87,000. When domestic problems seem to be challenging the Nation so blatantly as the cities now do and as educational limitations seem to threaten, it is tragic that our present priorities are not in these areas. The Nixon administration has adopted a policy in the dispersion of money toward education which will cut off public grants and Government loans to the lower middle class student. The effect of this on our campus seems to threaten a decrease of the middle of the student society in favor of

those lower classes which can receive large amounts of financial aid and of those upper classes which can pay their own way. Education will then be even less based on those who really deserve an opportunity, but rather it will be based on this lopsided distribution of funds. The student feels these concerns and wants to know that his leaders are thinking and feeling.

In view of these last few weeks, I should emphasize the close connection between Kent State, one of our neighboring schools, Ohio State, another neighbor, other campuses, our own, and the war in Asia, especially the decision to go into Cambodia. This is the type of action, an expansion for expediency, which shocks and angers young people. This is the type of action which disillusiones the young about their Government. The frustration which builds finds release in many varied ways and depending upon its intensity, this way may be violent. This doesn't speak of a student group bent on destruction of the system and its institutions, but rather concern which has no vent. Concern which is contained and which alienates people because of its visible futility. In spite of their hopes, peace is still distant and death is still present. In this climate, the student is actually aware of real or imagined threats upon his own existence. The basis for this concern is alignment with other groups of this Nation which have not been heard, groups which are still disenfranchised, such as the migrants of California or the Blacks of most anywhere. These groups speak out, and current curbs on this freedom, whether real or imagined, pose a serious threat to students who can now line themselves up with these other minority groups. This Nation is in critical need of spending the same energy it now spends on peace through quiet, which is often interpreted as repression, in new areas which would open the forum of debate and allow students, Blacks and others to appreciate the same freedoms as our Government leaders enjoy. At Wittenberg, partly because we are students close to schools closed in turmoil, but mostly because we are students, we feel this closely aligned frustration as an outgrowth of the student status among the leaders of this country. We then want to know if the leaders are thinking and feeling.

While I cannot speak for each student, there are certain things which are being asked by the students on our campus. Foremost, students are pleading to get out of Southeast Asia. The question cannot be a question of only Cambodia, but rather it must be the larger question of fighting an undeclared war for a people whose idyllic life styles do not permit them the sophistication to decide between the rhetoric of two seemingly opposing government systems, democracy or communism. This is a war, which we cannot win by fighting in our present manner, but which we cannot afford to fight in such a way as to insure our victory. Further, war is recognized to be that which is against life and therefore it is bad. Its tragedy is furthered when there is little justification for such a war, when the resources spent in maintaining the conflict so seriously sap our ability to fight threats to our own lives at home—threats of poverty, hunger, lack of education, and deteriorating cities—that we cannot stand up and seriously say, "We are fighting both now and we're doing the job well." When a war creates the fissure which is separating this country, if in no other direction than one of the leaders from the people,

then that war must be ended. Our pride as a Nation should be in our ability to make peace and to do so at home even more quickly than in the world. If this would be our credo, we would not need to fear world prestige. What students now see in the Congress is that maybe their leaders are thinking and feeling.

Students would elaborate on this immediate call to end the war by asking that the Government rethink its program for the draft. It seems absurd that a Nation at peace, since Congress has declared no war, should draft its young men at a rate of 20 to 30 thousand men a month. This type of program discourages the young to use the initiative which they may have gathered in their formative years to give of themselves for their fellow countrymen. The response to Vista and the Peace Corps should convince the leaders that students are feeling a loyalty to this country which includes loyalty to humanity through help not destruction. Students only ask that their leaders think and feel this also.

Looking ahead, students want the Congress to realize the high need there is for national commitment to our cities, to education, to housing, to hunger, to jobs, and to pollution. These are those things which may destroy the quality of life as we know it. To think what kind of impact \$500,000 every 10 minutes could make on the educational world, on the world of slums! Repeatedly, students are told that some things do not rank high enough on the list of priorities to receive the immediate money. In view of all the possible constructive uses of money at home and in the world, how can war be the number 1 priority? As soon as money is cut off for Vietnam, it is imperative that this money not disappear, but that with the same vigor it be recommitted toward our own life styles. For this to happen our leaders must feel these needs for which the quality of our lives speak.

In closing, I would add that there has come an end to complacency. It has become a sin more loath than killing, for it has been the cause of the conditions to kill. The student population is feeling this end. At Wittenberg, the radical student is not involved in war protests or writing his Congressman, it is the moderate who can no longer watch this Nation continue on its path of no direction. It is the moderate student who feels the impact of Cambodia, Kent, Augusta, and Jackson, and who now looks to leaders of this country, of our States, and asks, "Are you listening? Are you thinking? Do you feel what has happened?" Through panels such as today's it seems that one could answer the students affirmatively, "Yes, we feel this turmoil." But the key to the end of the present student-adult split will be whether having that light, our leaders will speak out honestly of this and its related crucial issues.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you Mr. Anderson. Mr. Fascell.

Mr. FASCELL. I have no questions.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hicks.

Mr. HICKS. Thank you Mr. Chairman. As I listen to you I understand that you are not happy with the situation as it is, but we got to where we are now in Southeast Asia over a long period of time. As you look back, what in your view is the point where we should have stopped? Or are you saying that we should do nothing for anyone outside of the borders of our country? Or are you saying we don't send any people anywhere outside of our country?

Mr. ANDERSON. No, I'm not trying to espouse a sort of isolationist policy. However, I think possibly with the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution the Congress gave away some powers to the Presidency, the executive branch, at which point perhaps it should have been more closely analyzed as to whether getting into Southeast Asia, we would be able to get out again. It seems that we've gotten into a condition now that there really is no way we can win the war over there because it's a different kind of war style, yet we can't afford to really declare war and fight the war so that we can win. I think this is the product of poor advice either to the Congress, or to the Executive Branch when the decision was made to go in there. I think there are many things we can do in other areas of the world but I think in Southeast Asia we may have made a mistake going into this particular area.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Anderson I have a question. When President Nixon took the oath of office there were a half million men under arms operating extensively in South Vietnam. He announced a policy for the total withdrawal of our ground combat forces. To what extent do you feel that as Commander in Chief he has a duty to take such action as required to protect the lives of those forces during the withdrawal period?

Mr. ANDERSON. I think he has very much authority to protect those lives during withdrawal.

Mr. FINDLEY. Responsibility in other words?

Mr. ANDERSON. Responsibility. I think though the problem is that the fact of the matter is we are not really withdrawing that many men, we're still not pulling out from Southeast Asia. We're expanding to protect troops who are still fighting in Southeast Asia. This expansion is really what's making the moderate student speak out because he was willing, I think especially after the Moratorium in November and the promise of more troop withdrawals, to say "fine, we're getting out, the President is the Commander in Chief; there are many things about the Southeast Asian situation that we do not know, which we will not know and cannot pretend to know." However, any expansion such as we have now in Cambodia was almost like a stab in the back to many of the moderate students who would go along with the President's position. It is at this point where the students now wonder, the students at Wittenberg now wonder, how responsive the President is to this cry for withdrawal. If the expansion into Cambodia was necessary to protect troops during withdrawal then I think while certainly no student at Wittenberg would favor the idea of more killing, it certainly could be more understandable because of the long end. But the extension into Cambodia is not, as we understand it, an expansion for ending the war through withdrawal, but rather for protection of our troops while they are still in South Vietnam.

Mr. FINDLEY. Are there any other questions? We thank you very much Mr. Anderson for taking the trouble to be here and for presenting your statement.

Mark Weinstein is the next witness.

Mr. Weinstein is from Queens College, Flushing, N.Y.

Mr. WEINSTEIN. Thank you.

STATEMENT BY MARK WEINSTEIN, QUEENS COLLEGE

Mr. WEINSTEIN. Respecting your knowledge and the technical assistance available, I have not come to speak concerning military appropriations or foreign policy, but rather, I wish to discuss student involvement as a member of that group and reflective of its views. During the past few years while attending Queens College of the City University of New York, I have witnessed and been an active participant in the most dramatic awakening of American college students since this country began. The privilege of dissent is no longer solely reserved for the radicals of Columbia or Berkeley, but now objections to our military involvement in Indochina have become accepted in Alabama, Ohio, New Jersey and the rest of America.

I ask you to consider, as I have, why students have become active in their objections to American foreign involvement. Our actions do not represent a sudden student response to foreign policy decisions. Rather, we should have sensed that the process of awakening which began some years ago, perhaps at Berkeley and Columbia, is now reaching all America.

In 1968 the report of the Cox Commission concluded that today's college student was more intelligent and better informed than any other group of students in the history of the country. These statements were echoed by President Nixon in his inaugural address when he described today's students as the best educated and most politically conscious in the country's history. The death of President Kennedy was perhaps the first of the many frustrations that affected the normal idealism of youth. Students in 1964 were the first to pick up the banner in opposition to American involvement in Southeast Asia. Early dissension took the form of "fasts for peace" and fund raising. No one listened or seemed to care. With the escalation of our involvement in Vietnam greater numbers joined the movement on the campuses and although people did not seem to care, they had to listen; their voices were stronger and more clearly articulated. This was the era of the peace parade. The government's response was continued war escalation. Senator Eugene McCarthy's bid for the Presidency offered new hope for the students and gave them an outlet for legitimate political behavior within the system. At last, someone in Washington seemed to be listening and the students again had hope. Robert Kennedy was assassinated. Eugene McCarthy was defeated by the regulars, while heads were broken in Chicago. All their campaigning and primary victories were ignored in back room committees. No one had listened—student protests became violent and leaderless.

The War in Vietnam has again been escalated. Frustration is at its peak. However, the student call is not to violence, not to destruction of property, nor a call for withdrawal or disillusionment. Students all over the country are mobilizing to constructively channel their efforts into the electoral campaign. With their numbers, with their knowledge and resources they are going to demand to be heard and demand that their representatives be responsive to issues. When a representative makes a vague statement before a body of voters there will be a student there to demand that he be specific: "Are you

for or against the war?" "You want withdrawal of American forces: are those combat forces only, or all American forces?" No longer will students stand by and let political rhetoric cloud the issues.

You may ask why are students today so concerned and involved in political action. Perhaps it is because students today have been brought up under the cloud of nuclear holocaust and with the realization that the United States could now destroy all of civilization. This has made students concern themselves with other people. Perhaps it is mass communication which has introduced the student to other civilizations and other peoples—it is very difficult to wage war against a known enemy who sees, breathes, and feels, rather than responding to impersonal newsprint. Perhaps it is because students have been educated about the problems of the day and cannot be satisfied with merely possessing this knowledge when they see the government of their country moving toward catastrophe. Perhaps it is because students were brought up at the conclusion of World War II when the theme was "America could do no wrong." They were brought up at a time when America and her ideals were: democracy, concern for the world's peoples, involvement in the issues of the day, the asking not just of why, but why not. It is not sufficient to tell an informed person that America is fighting for "freedom" in Vietnam when the facts show that the Vietnamese government has 40,000 political prisoners, that they have closed all elementary and secondary schools and the University of Saigon for an indefinite period, that the runnerup peace candidate in the last election is now serving a prison sentence for his political involvement. It is not sufficient to justify the American Southeast Asian involvement on the basis of a vague containment policy that was addressed to a monolithic, Russian, European-oriented policy and not to developing countries experiencing anticolonialism and nationalism. It is not sufficient to refer to the involvement of earlier presidents when it is known that they pointedly qualified and limited their involvement and America's commitment. It is not sufficient to call forth the SEATO treaty when Vietnam is not a member. How does one respond to these inadequate justifications which take the lives of our brothers and friends and threaten our own? Students do not expect the value of a human life to be wasted to prove America's right by force, when wrong in fact and value. Students are demanding the rights of any informed and concerned citizen—honest, educated, informed answers to their questions, not equivocations, vague and emotion-laden terms or simplistic rationales.

Senator Fulbright wrote: "No country has ever been great because of its foreign policy." If a country is internally great and internally strong and lives up to proud and honorable ideals it will of necessity have a strong influence in the world. Students feel that the priorities are misplaced in American society. They are concerned with the issues of race and justice and the environment. They see their country bogged down in an unjust war without meaning and without justification and sapping the country's vitality, its energy, which should be channeled toward the more important issues.

When we consider the student movement let us remember that the protesters are not only the older college students who will vote in the next election, but the anguish is equally intense among high

school and junior high school students. This is clearly evidenced by the tremendous influx of such students into "grass roots" political organizations in order to work for candidates viewed as supporting the peaceful aims of the student movement.

At the Free University of Queens College we have addressed ourselves to construct a free and realistic alternative to the formal, closed educational system. We have brought together faculty, students and concerned members of the community to interact and formulate political action groups. In our open structure participants attend workshop discussions as a viable addition rather than replacement for the conventional educational system.

Mass media has publicized the student peace movement in this country as a violent operation. There is no doubt in my mind that the vast majority of students are diametrically opposed to violence as a form of protest, but there is a small minority of students who have indeed restored to violence as a means of dissent. They fear they have exhausted all nonviolent means of petitioning the Government, and violence provides them the only medium through which their operations can be properly publicized. But they accept the possibility of nonviolent political change. In the past few days you have seen scores of young people come to Washington to lobby for peace. Prior to election day in November many of the universities will close their doors for two weeks and allow students to campaign and take an active role in Government. For the moment we have seen the end of the peace march. Students will be going to the voter on the street, and try to influence the vote, not the media. The average student desires to work within the system. He is giving the system another chance, however, he is afraid the system will not work. Think for a moment, what are the implications if Government fails to respond to legitimate political action.

My fellow students and I sympathize with the families of the dead soldiers, for many of the men who have died are our friends and brothers. Our goal is simple; eliminate the possibility of more tragic deaths. The end is not worth the cost. There are ample political and economic reasons for both involvement and withdrawal of American troops, but in the final analysis the possibility of more deaths must be the overwhelming force calling for the cessation of American involvement in Indochina. We must remember that Vietnamization does not represent the end to the killing. We perceive the death of the Vietnamese peasant as a loss as the death of an American soldier.

The war continues and mortality figures rise. Almost every American knows someone who has died in Vietnam. During the past year, the sentiment in America has been growing distinctly against these deaths and this war which causes them.

My mother like many others of her generation, rejects the student peace movement as a worthless endeavor. They say: "War is inevitable, why not accept this as a fact?" My response is that students have learned to question the validity of this assumption. Who says there must always be war? Is that a statement like a geometric theorem, invariable and for all time? I plead with my mother and all people that they must understand that we can no longer accept the theory that wars are inevitable, for if they are, total destruction is within the realm of possibility in this age of nuclear capability.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you Mr. Weinstein.

Mr. FASCELL.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you Mr. Chairman. I think we all need, all of us, to question all axioms constantly, so I would certainly agree with that proposition. I don't know why some students express fear of the political system, or the systems; or that the establishment won't respond to legitimate political action. The point is that if you have votes, you win; if you don't have the votes, you lose. Why do you express the sentiment, or leave the implication of horror if the Government fails to respond to legitimate political action? I don't see how it could fail to respond if those seeking change are in the majority.

Mr. WEINSTEIN. I think this coming November will be a very good indication for the future of this country. Students will be going out and campaigning for the candidates of their choice. They'll be working within the system. They're not giving up on the system. In the coming primaries in June, universities all over the country have students actively involved. I'm sure many of you are in primaries or elections where students will be working for or against you. You must realize, you know, students are a viable source in force politics.

Mr. FASCELL. Well, we all know that.

Mr. WEINSTEIN. Well, students are working. They came to Washington last November and we had a President tell us that what we did was of little consequence.

Mr. FASCELL. Oh, I see.

Mr. WEINSTEIN. We're a great number. Students are willing to change. They're giving up, saying, "The President has turned us off; we're going to forget the country; we're going out and burn buildings." We're willing to try, we're willing to work, and we are working.

Mr. FASCELL. Well, I congratulate you.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hicks.

Mr. HICKS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I concur and join with Mr. FASCELL in his statement and say that it is very simple; you convert your mother and the rest of the students do the same, and Congress will respond. They're going to do just exactly what their constituents want them to do as they can best determine what their constituents want. And those who don't determine what their constituents want, don't get back here. It's that simple, and I applaud the students going out. I think that what you are saying here, or at least I gather from the tone of your voice, is that Congress better tremble a little bit if students take to the hustings, as it were. But that's exactly what they should do. They did it in New Hampshire; they did it around the country, and they just didn't win. And the fact that they went to Chicago and got their heads busted is probably because of the way that they went to Chicago. But I think if they don't go that way, that they are are going to be listened to just as they're listened to in Congress. One of the Members was telling me the other day that his college people were concerned because they couldn't get a meaningful dialogue going. You can't get a meaningful dialogue going marching downtown, screaming obscenities and breaking windows and then going out and start knocking on doors. I think that as soon as

they realize that, you are going to find that people are going to listen and that in due time if you're right, you're going to prevail. Thank you.

Mr. WEINSTEIN. Well, let me say this. You know that we talk in generalities about the students, but there are universities throughout the country that have done away with grades and finals for the semester. But they have an alternative. They are working on something. You know, students are coming to class at my university—the name of my university is Queens College at the City University—we've changed the name of this university as a temporary measure. Students and faculty have gotten together at faculty meetings and student meetings. We are now calling it the Free University of New York. This is in addition to the regularly scheduled classes. We are holding workshop discussions. We schedule approximately 125 workshops a day. Every evening we have a community action meeting where community members are invited in. This evening Congressman Rosenthal is speaking to the group. Every evening we get a member of our city council, an assemblyman, State Senator or Congressman to come and address the community. We are bringing the community to the college. We are encouraging the community to come to us and listen to us. We are also going to the community. Over the past few weeks many of us have spoken to churches, synagogues and political clubs. So we're not marching down the streets and burning flags, we're going out and getting people. This is not just characteristic of my university, but of universities throughout the country. I think it's important that, you know, that we realize that students aren't all violent—a very small minority are violent. As you well realize, violence sells newspapers, and violence gets publicized very easily.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Robison.

Mr. ROBISON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm pleased to welcome a fellow New Yorker, although he's from "downstate," as we call it, and I'm from "upstate." I think, just as Mr. Fascell suggested and then Mr. Hicks carried forth with the thought, that in our position, we cannot help but be concerned with respect to your attitude and that expressed by other young people regarding the implications of what may happen if, to use your words, "if Government fails to respond to legitimate political action," which means it either responds your way or it doesn't "respond." I happen to be a Republican; I've been here 13 years, and in all that time I've never been yet in the majority in the House of Representatives—I've always been in the minority. I suppose I "could" have felt all through those 13 years that the Government was not responding to "legitimate political actions" as far as I was concerned. My only suggestion in regard to this is that I think there is a tendency on the part of some of you to want to give up too soon, or to say that you will. I hope that's not the case. I think what you're doing now is right. I think the focus of the student activities on the fall campaigns is right, even if that means in my instance you are going to campaign for my opponent or some other people like you are, because this is working within the system. And even if that doesn't succeed in November, don't forget, there are follow-on elections, and this is what we have had to learn—to live with the fact that this system does work, but it takes time to

make it work. I know you all are the "now generation." You want action now. Go ahead and respond.

Mr. WEINSTEIN. Well, generally I find it very frustrating to hear you gentlemen, and many other people say, that students are violent, they go around marching down the streets and burning flags and whatever other things that we do. And rightfully some students are accused and do do these things. And as I said in my prepared text, the great majority of students do condemn such actions, but there are a very vast majority of students who are active, who are opposed to the war and our involvement in Indochina. We have a Free University at Queens College where some of the workshops, we've organized like a regular university. We have classes, instructors, rooms, scheduling. You know we're not doing away with all the bureaucracy and all administration. We find these things are definitely necessary. Some of the titles of this morning's workshops are: "Cold War," "United States Involvement in Southeast Asia," "Social Control and Institutional Repression," "Moves for a New Congress." I could go on, you know, 125 of these a day. They are led by faculty members—qualified faculty members—students who are interested, community members who come to campus. You know, we're not out burning flags, we're doing things constructively. Every afternoon there are meetings throughout the community that student and faculty members go to address. We speak to people, we hand out leaflets, we don't burn flags. I think it gets many students very aggravated, very annoyed, and I think it may cause some flag burning when congressional leaders tell us we burn flags when only a very, very small minority of students do these things.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Thomson.

Mr. THOMSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mark, I was a little disturbed to hear you say that all of the elementary and secondary schools in South Vietnam have been closed. We just had a briefing the other day from our AID Director in Saigon who pointed out that between 1954 and the present time, the number of students in the elementary schools in that country have increased from 400,000 to a little over 2 million.

Mr. WEINSTEIN. But, did he specifically say that the schools were open and functioning on a 9 to 3 basis?

Mr. THOMSON. Well, we understood that they were open and functioning, and I wish you would elaborate on your statement and give me the basis for your information.

Mr. WEINSTEIN. The New York Times.

Mr. THOMSON. Very good.

Mr. WEINSTEIN. I can't get any closer to reality. There are certain things the Government doesn't tell us. Maybe there is a reason why you know the schools are open but the media has led us to believe the schools are closed.

Mr. THOMSON. Maybe the Times does not tell it all, either.

Mr. WEINSTEIN. All right.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you very much, Mr. Weinstein. Our next witness is Mr. Thomas Gowen of Haverford College. Mr. Gowen.

STATEMENT BY THOMAS L. GOWEN, JR., PRESIDENT OF THE
STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION, HAVERFORD COLLEGE

Mr. GOWEN. As I see the present situation and as I think the vast majority of those I represent see it, we have two major problem areas relating to the war in Indochina. The first is in the realm of foreign policy the second in internal affairs.

In the eyes of most young people our foreign policy toward South-east Asia is senseless and immoral because it is based on a number of false assumptions and regardless of such is wasting thousands of lives and billions of dollars.

The first false assumption is that we are preserving the right of democracy for the people of South Vietnam by fighting the so-called Communist aggressors. Now tell me gentlemen do you really believe that the Thieu-Ky government is a free and democratic government? Do you really believe that with such a substantial portion of the population either supporting the Vietcong or not caring who governs them that Thieu and Ky are worth fighting for? Having seen the way they conducted free elections and knowing of the incredible corruption within their government I certainly do not. And this is a very critical point because no matter how much Nixon tries to assure us on this point it is not likely that we are going to believe him. I think we could all agree that Thieu and Ky don't justify the loss of another American life and as a matter of fact I think many students believe that the demand of the North Vietnamese that we discontinue support for the present regime before they will continue the talks in Paris is a reasonable one.

Thus eliminating the first rationale for the war as I think many people have, we are left with the reason best described in colloquial terms as "you have to stop communism somewhere." This line of reasoning seems to have a hold on many Americans who do not have sufficient information to know that communism is not by any means a unilateral force. That a North Vietnamese invasion of South Vietnam does not by definition mean a Russian or Chinese invasion of all of Southeast Asia that will eventually spread to South America and then to the United States itself if it is not stopped. What these people are not told is that American presence in Southeast Asia is probably the only thing that has prevented the Communist powers from openly fighting each other. Just as the American bombing has reinforced the will of the North Vietnamese to resist rather than weakened it, American presence in Asia has forced the Communist countries together at a time when otherwise they might have been torn asunder by internal disputes. Their behavior is in simple conformity with one of the oldest laws of international relations, that of uniting against a common enemy. Furthermore it seems reasonable that if the Americans withdrew from Asia the need of the Communists to unite would disappear and they would again be divided by internal quarrels and traditional hatreds.

So if we admit that we are realistically neither preserving freedom for a little nation half way around the globe nor saving ourselves from the threat of communism we have no positive ration-

ale for fighting the war. And yet it continues. And yet Mr. Nixon has the gall to ask for patience for his Vietnamization program and the audacity to invade Cambodia without even consulting the Congress. And of course American boys continue to die, 217 last week, and American dollars continue to be wasted at a phenomenal rate when they are needed badly at home. Now he tells us that there would be a bloodbath if we pulled out too quickly. Frankly I don't think that we can worry about a bloodbath, that would annihilate a small minority of the Vietnamese population, particularly when we are killing so many more by staying there and fighting, because our own country is being torn apart by this awful war.

As a student body president I think I can speak with authority to the Congress about the depth and breadth of sentiment on the campuses against the war. I think I can tell you about the feeling of despair that is prevalent upon the campuses, and about the particular desperateness of the present crisis.

I think you know that the right wing is becoming more militant as the polarization increases. The situation is getting very dangerous.

There was a time when only the most radical students would think of opposing their government on war policy. But that time, I'm sure you know is long past. The peace movement for years has been drawing heavily from the ranks of the moderate students. But it was the President's decision to invade Cambodia regardless of internal consequence that made even the moderates think that the situation had reached the desperate stage and had at the same time caused most of the conservative students to join the ranks of the peace movement for the first time. Even the traditionally conservative and inactive athletes have now joined the active opposition to Nixon's war.

Last week it was impossible to conduct classes at Haverford not because radicals had disrupted them, not because building had been burned, but because almost everyone was so deeply revolted and concerned by the action Mr. Nixon took in Cambodia. We were so concerned because we saw our President escalating a senseless and futile conflict (and I think he would be invading Thailand by now if the country hadn't said no) without the consent of the Congress or even of several important members of his own cabinet. We were deeply distressed because Nixon had by now made it perfectly clear that he not only didn't care what we thought, but that he was consciously working to alienate youth from his silent majority. As the New York Times said he had not yet learned the difference between winning elections and governing.

We were lucky at Haverford. We were able to mobilize the community and bring the entire college to Washington to protest directly to the Congress. For many students this was their first active protest against the war, a sign that opposition to the war is spreading, but for many others our effort in Washington was seen to be the last chance they would give the system. Unfortunately many students have already given up, and are already too bitter to try the system one more time. However, for some reason or other, many students have turned back to the system to give politics and the representative system another try. I implore you to listen this time for I fear that if we fail again and the war drags on much

of the young population of our country will be permanently alienated.

How can you listen and how can you help? This hearing today is a start for which you are to be commended but we must soon have action. I think the first thing that must be done is that the Congress must realize that we have had absolutely enough of this war, and that no withdrawal from Southeast Asia can be considered a responsible one if it takes more than a year because the stress on our own society is too great.

Therefore vote for the house version of the McGovern-Hatfield bill and get all the troops out within a year.

Second, particularly for those of you who are Republicans, continue to stress to Mr. Nixon that his credibility is very low on college campuses and that the policies he had enunciated through Spiro Agnew and John Mitchell have seriously lessened the willingness of any students to trust their government.

Third remind him that one of the best ways to fight inflation is to cut the federal budget and that the country could quite easily stand a very substantial cut in the defense budget. We certainly don't need the war and the ABM as a start and eliminating them would take considerable pressure off the economy as well as free money for much more urgent domestic needs.

Fourth and finally end the draft soon. The draft is the most offensive and unfair aspect of American society for all but the very poor and because of the distrust and hatred of the military that has developed during the course of the war it will continue to be so even after the war ends. Since a presidential commission has already indicated the feasibility of moving to an all volunteer army, I say let's get on with it.

Thank you very much.

Mr. BOLAND. Your statement is a well prepared statement. I don't know if I agree with it in every instance, but your language is rather magnificent—very descriptive. I have a problem with your paragraph on page two, the last paragraph on the page—a problem with it, because I read some of the stories recently with respect to Haverford coming here in a body and I thought it was a very impressive demonstration of the feeling of Haverford, and I think perhaps those who saw and heard you and read about you and your school were impressed too, and it puzzles me a little bit that you would say that many of those who came saw it as their last efforts in Washington to be the last chance that they would give the system. You really don't believe that do you? Do you really believe that?

Mr. GOWEN. I don't believe that myself. But there are certainly students, and I think we probably consider them the more radical students on the campus although they are not members of SDS or anything else, particularly, who do believe that. I read that quotation in a number of papers, and a number of reporters told me that this is what the students had told them and I certainly know that I have been in contact with some who are. I think the more important thing now is to note that opposition of the war is spreading among the students who have never been actively opposed to it before. These people are willing to work in the political system and they

have not been alienated yet. But they are now at the point where they are strongly opposed to the war, strongly enough in many cases to be working for several weeks, daily in political campaigns in primaries in Pennsylvania.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Robison.

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Gowen, I find it difficult, too, to lead a cheering section for the Thieu-Ky government. They are not my idea of perfect democratic leaders, and I think many adult Americans feel the same way as you have expressed yourself. But one of the difficulties of getting out of our problem over there is, of course, the Thieu-Ky government and what to do about it. You suggest to us that what we must do is to withdraw our support from that government and, if we did that, what do you envision might happen? How would we go about doing it? Just by going home?

Mr. GOWEN. I think we can just go home. It really doesn't concern me too much what happens to the Thieu-Ky government. I don't think they are worth supporting in any way, and I really don't think Communist government would be that much worse, if at all worse, than they are.

Mr. ROBISON. The theory of continuing the war during the process of withdrawing therefrom, and making a collateral effort to "Vietnamize" what may be left of the conflict is apparently one of trying to produce, somehow, a political settlement. That is worth reaching for, if it is possible, is it not?

Mr. GOWEN. I think so.

Mr. ROBISON. So that we do not leave that area of the world a battleground for other people to fight over, after we have gone. Now, with respect to that political settlement it is my understanding that the Nixon administration, our Government, has proposed elections, and has proposed—in which proposal President Thieu has concurred—setting up a coalition electoral commission, which would mean that the Vietcong, who live in and are indigenous to South Vietnam, would participate in setting up the elections. Should we not still strive in this direction? Is there not something short of just plain withdrawal as Mr. McGovern, Mr. Hatfield, Mr. Goodell, and so forth urge? Is there not something we can still try to do, in your judgment, along the negotiation front to expedite the chances of a political settlement? Is withdrawal the only answer?

Mr. GOWEN. I think the cost of anything but withdrawal is probably too high. As I said, I don't consider a withdrawal that would take more than a year to be a responsible one and I think that I'm basing this judgment upon the domestic situation, the stress, the concern, the feeling of desperation on the college campuses, and the polarization in society.

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Gowen, the cost to which you refer is not just in terms of the cost of lives and of further expenditure of American treasure in Vietnam, but the cost as well of domestic strife and so forth here.

Mr. GOWEN. Right.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Gowen, do you feel the students with whom you associate are willing to abide by the time-tested rule of the majority? I get the question from your statement that maybe there is a suffi-

cient disenchantment with our system, that they are unwilling to abide by what the majority of the American people seem to be willing to support. Am I correct on this?

Mr. GOWEN. I think that we should look at that question by saying that I think there is a major difficulty in the minds of most students, and I don't know if it is terribly apparent to most of them, but since there is such terrific agreement on the college campuses—when we voted to come to Washington, 605 students indicated opposition to the war and five indicated support for the President's position—that is how widespread unanimously the feeling is. And when students are on a college campus, for 9 months of the year, it is very hard to understand how people have strong views outside in a great majority. I think that in some ways that feeling is fairly justified because I suspect that of the whatever it is we call the silent majority, 55 percent, probably 40 percent of those people really don't care very much, one way or the other. You have your people who are asking for peace with victory and I suppose they feel strongly enough about their position, but most others wouldn't care very much if we did withdraw and wouldn't care very much either if we stayed in. So I think the problem is that the intensity of feeling is very great on the college campuses and this produces the frustration with the system.

Mr. MIZE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FINDLEY. I'm glad to, of course.

Mr. MIZE. Did you say there were 600 students who were against the policy and only five supporting?

Mr. GOWEN. Yes.

Mr. MIZE. Would you think that feeling is that widespread over all of the 71½ million students?

Mr. GOWEN. I think it certainly is in the East, and the indication is that it is spreading to the West. And I'm basing a lot of my conclusions on the type of student at Haverford who is now vocally opposing the war. They say it is even the conservative athletes who have now called off their baseball schedule to work politically.

Mr. FINDLEY. We now have a record vote in progress. The second bells have rung. The next witness on the schedule is John D. Cooper. He is scheduled for 1:30. If there are no further questions for Mr. Gowen, we do thank you very much. I will entertain a motion that we adjourn until 1:30, giving each of us a chance to answer the call on the floor.

Mr. FINDLEY. Our next witness is Mr. John D. Cooper from Hampton Institute. Mr. Cooper.

STATEMENT BY JOHN D. COOPER, HAMPTON INSTITUTE

THE BLACK STUDENT AND VIETNAM

Mr. COOPER. Congressmen, fellow students and guests: In order to gain any understanding of the black students' views on the Vietnam conflict, it is necessary to bear two facts in mind. First, that for us, the conflict in Southeast Asia does not approach the importance of the racial confrontation occurring right here in the United States. Black students, indeed all black people, are becoming

increasingly sensitive to the need for our men and women to dedicate themselves to the black community. Therefore, we stand strenuously opposed to the draft, which sends so many of our young brothers to die in Vietnam when they are badly needed to fight oppression in America.

The second point is that in continuing our opposition to this conflict we will stress not only its immoral and illegal aspects, but its inherent racist nature.

Perhaps the best way to convey the opinion and the spirit of the antiwar movement among black students would be to read this statement, prepared at Hampton Institute and now being circulated as a petition to be sent to Congress.

Whereas, the war in Vietnam is for the benefit of certain vested interests (capitalists) and is not in the interest of the larger American public.

Whereas, many of the American men required to do the fighting and so put their lives on the line, did not have the opportunity to make their views known (regarding Southeast Asian policy) and so should not be required to support Government policies over which they have no control.

Whereas, this is an illegal war in which the U.S. Government is engaged:

1. The Geneva Agreements have been violated by the United States on several occasions.

2. The war is being fought without the expressed consent of the American public—and this consent would only be evident if a declaration of war were voted through the Congress.

Whereas, the present hostilities are in imminent danger of mushrooming into a global affair—Cambodia is just a sign of what could happen as we move closer to Red China,

Whereas, we recognize the right of every sovereign people to self-determination—the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong are waging a guerilla war which has the support of the populace.

Whereas, the United States is infringing on the rights of Vietnamese people to self-determination—the United States blocking of the elections in Vietnam is a violation of the Geneva Agreements and an act which is disdainful to the United Nations.

Moreover—thousands of Vietnamese people are being murdered because they choose to select their own type of government. The United States is fighting a war, not just against an army but against the majority of the population. The only hope of winning the war would be the extermination of virtually the entire populace. The French learned this lesson in Algeria when they destroyed FLN, the military arm of the resistance, and discovered that the hostilities were far from over. The people fought tenaciously and courageously under the motto of "Resistance, Resistance, Resistance!" If the Vietnamese people support the guerrillas, and it's obvious whose side they are on, then no military machine in the world is strong enough to bend their will. That is why the American soldiers find themselves fighting women and children and that is why whole villages are destroyed and hundreds of civilians massacred. Nothing short of the extermination of the Vietnamese people will win the war in Vietnam, and those who support the war and cringe at the atrocities committed by America have not traced our situation to its logical conclusions.

The United States support of the South Vietnamese Government is an attempt to impose this Nation's foreign policy aims on another people, a foreign policy whose ideology is fanatically anti-Communist and racist. The American public must be made aware that we are fighting a war in which we are the aggressors—a war which can never be justified.

Further—that the murder of the students at Jackson State and Kent State by the police and military, which are controlled by the fascist capitalists is just another example of how opposition to government policies has been and will be handled.

In the name of freedom, justice, and humanity we call for:

The unconditional and immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam and Cambodia;

The cessation of all types of aid to the South Vietnamese Government;
 The United Nations supervised free elections which were agreed upon at the Geneva Conference;
 The impeachment of the President and Vice President of the United States.

Black students have become especially incensed over President Nixon's handling of the war, and Congress' lack of dispatch in checking him.

The recent operation in Cambodia and the resulting murder of the dissenters, especially white students, represent a turning point in America's policy abroad and at home. But President Nixon has no mandate from his "silent majority" to operate as he sees fit in Vietnam. For him to have called on such a body in the first place is a political farce in a Nation which calls itself a democracy. Representative democracy must operate as the voice of the people—a voice which is being heard in those demonstrations that Representative Findley has termed "inadequate." Hundreds of thousands of people have chosen active dissent to show their opposition to the Vietnam conflict and we do not believe President Nixon has really listened.

It is up to you, as representatives of the people to end the war now or you will leave to the people the task of ending it themselves.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you very much, Mr. Cooper. Mr. Boland.

Mr. BOLAND. John, does this statement reflect the majority of the student body at Hampton Institute?

Mr. COOPER. Yes, I believe it does.

Mr. BOLAND. On page 3 "in the name of freedom, justice and humanity" you call for the impeachment of the President and Vice President of the United States. That is a rather difficult procedure to go through right now. I don't think it would be a very popular one in the Congress, in fact I am sure it would not get anywhere. But it expresses your opinion and the students you represent.

Mr. COOPER. My personal opinion is that the President does need some type of check before he can carry his power over this conflict so very far. This happens to be the opinion of the people at the rally where this was read—that the check that was needed was the impeachment of President Nixon, since it was he who specifically initiated the Cambodian problem.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hicks.

Mr. HICKS. Since I didn't hear enough of the statement, I will pass, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Mize.

Mr. MIZE. You say the cessation of all types of aid to the South Vietnamese Government—does that apply also to the South Vietnamese people?

Mr. COOPER. United States aid has tended in the past to completely ensnare the government of the country which it involved. And I would like that to be stopped. If it is possible to aid the people without aiding the government, then I would definitely be in favor of that.

Mr. MIZE. Thank you.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. McCloskey.

Mr. MCCLOSKEY. I just want to commend the witness for the statement about the silent majority and the impropriety of a political leader referring to his constituency as a silent majority.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Cooper, when Members of the House introduce a bill they put their names on it. Quite often, as occurred just a few minutes ago, when we answer to a rollcall our name is recorded. To what extent were the individuals in the student body at Hampton recorded "yes" or "no" on this set of resolutions?

Mr. COOPER. Overwhelmingly in favor of it.

Mr. FINDLEY. Was it a voice vote at a rally or was a ballot taken?

Mr. COOPER. No, it was read as a speech at a rally and then later on people determined that it should be circulated as a petition, so it is being circulated now.

Mr. FINDLEY. A majority of the students have signed it at this point?

Mr. COOPER. Yes.

Mr. FINDLEY. Are there other questions? Mr. Hicks.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Chairman, I would just offer this observation on the little bit that I heard, that the resolution so far as it suggests impeachment of the President and the Vice President on the basis that they need some sort of a check is an indication to me that the students have not thought this through quite as well as they should have. That is a very serious and drastic measure and I think that the system has a good deal in it that can provide a check on the President of the United States without going to the extent of impeachment.

Mr. COOPER. I think that President Nixon and Vice President Agnew have gone out of their way to antagonize student views of their policies and I think this is the reason behind this.

Mr. HICKS. Are they suggesting that impeachment should take place because they have antagonized students or because they went into Cambodia?

Mr. COOPER. Obviously because President Nixon has overstepped his powers.

Mr. FINDLEY. Any other questions? I will ask one further question. I am sure you realize that a President does have terrible decisions to make, especially in the circumstances of President Nixon, called upon as he is to extricate our country from a war which was in progress when he took office. What weight do you think the President is required to give to the complications of a withdrawal program that would result if the Thieu government were suddenly to fall? Do you think he has to take that into consideration as he makes plans for the withdrawal of our troops?

Mr. COOPER. No, I don't. Because Thieu is not representative of the majority of the Vietnamese population. The Vietcong were and still are the nationalist party of Vietnam.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you very much Mr. Cooper. We appreciate very much your taking the trouble to appear here today.

The next scheduled witness is Kathy Grieb. Kathy is from Hollins College, Roanoke, Va. Her home is Chestertown, Md. Please proceed, Kathy.

Miss GRIEB. Do you all have copies of our statement?

Mr. FINDLEY. Yes. Would you identify the girls who are with you?

Miss GRIEB. I would be happy to.

Mr. FINDLEY. And the young man.

Miss GRIEB. From my right, there is Susan Griffith, Nancy Griffin, Dee Dee Kerswell, and Bob Scheelen.

Mr. FINDLEY. Please proceed.

STATEMENT BY KATHY GRIEB, HOLLINS COLLEGE

Miss GRIEB. We wish to express our appreciation for this opportunity to express our opinions on Vietnam, Cambodia, and related issues to interested Congressmen. We share your views that effective channels of communication are seriously lacking. Most of us have written letters to President Nixon, to our Senators, and to our Representatives in the House—and will continue to do so. Many of us have participated in teach-ins at Hollins and circulated statements and petitions around Roanoke, Va. We have talked to our neighbors, our families, our friends, those who agree with us and those who disagree. We have sent telegrams, been given time on radio and television, given statements to the press, held vigils and sit-ins, and many of us came to Washington, D.C., on May 9. We have done these things because we are concerned and troubled and worried about our Nation.

Since letters and petitions either do not seem to be received or are not effective; since demonstrations, even rigorously marshalled peaceful demonstrations, only earn us nicknames, like "bums" or "Jeremiahs" or "choleric young intellectuals"; we clearly need alternative means of expression. Some of us are supporting boycotts to influence major lobbying groups to take a stand. Most of us have renewed our efforts to work through political channels. Our hope is in you, the members of the House and Senate. Above all things, we shall continue to speak out and work for peace in the Far East and at home, because we love America and what it stands for.

We need long-range foreign policy goals. It seems to us that several times when our President, wanting to end the war, tried to do it by sudden escalation (as in Cambodia now), we only found ourselves more entangled. More and more responsible, concerned citizens, not just "tired old radicals," have added their voices to this feeling of discontent. It is time the President listened to his people. It is time we got out of Vietnam and Cambodia and Laos.

There have been students at Hollins for a long time who have been critical of the involvement and escalation in North and South Vietnam. Now we are joined by another larger segment of students, many of them moderates and conservatives, who are beginning to question and oppose Government policy. They are surprised and upset by our invasion of neutral Cambodia and our air activity in Laos, and extremely distressed by the brutality with which student protests have been silenced. We feel that murder, deliberate or thoughtless, is too strong a penalty for expressing dissent in a democracy, whether in Ohio, or in New Mexico, or in Mississippi. We feel, in fact, that these tragic events are symptoms of a widening communication gap between those in authority and the people they are supposed to represent.

This breakdown of channels is exemplified by President Nixon. We believe that he is out of touch with many of the people and their goals, although he does not seem to realize this. We believe

he is out of touch with the Houses of Congress, especially when he takes their legislative actions personally, instead of recognizing the much graver issues involved. We believe he is out of touch with members of his own Cabinet. We believe that all three of these important groups ought to be heard by President Nixon. We feel that the people and the people's representatives should know more about Government policy and should have a say on such critical issues as invasion of neutral countries, particularly for a war that is no longer generally supported. We feel that congressional amendments cutting off funds for an undeclared war strengthen the constitutionally ordained separation of powers.

We feel that the majority of the country is, by now, regretting that we ever entered into the Vietnamese civil war strife. That the war in Vietnam is still "undeclared" adds more weight to their questions. We feel that the argument which says, in effect, "since we are in, we might as well stay" is a very weak one on several levels. Many wrongs do not make a right. Our reputation as a champion of freedom has suffered enormously as a result of our behavior in Vietnam, not only our clear aggression, but also our cruel chemical devastation, our relocation camps, incidents like My Lai—and now Cambodia and Laos. We have continued to support an unpopular military dictatorship in Vietnam, much as we have in Greece, Spain, Guatemala, and the Dominican Republic. We think it is about time our Government courageously admitted its mistake and set about correcting it, following the example of France in the Algerian situation, by first of all getting out. A specific, definite, public timetable (as recommended by W. Averell Harriman) should be set up and followed. Then we should work through the United Nations for reconciliation of North and South Vietnam.

In addition to casting serious doubts on our role as a world leader, we are also working against our own stated aims for the Vietnamese. We found a country in a war to free themselves from foreign control, strongly nationalistic though divided. Because we are destroying Vietnamese crops, villages, and civilians, we feel that it is natural for them to accept Communist economic and military aid in an effort to get us out of their country, just as they would want to expel any foreign power. We should remember that the Vietnamese people have been extremely distrustful of Communist China in the past, that Ho Chi Minh was an intense nationalist, and that he was regarded by the majority of Vietnamese as their national leader, supporting an autonomous Vietnam. Whatever the case, we believe that it ought to be up to the Vietnamese people to choose their own government. If they do not want to become a "little America," we have no right to force them to be.

We are also concerned with the present inflationary conditions of our economy with respect to the war in Indochina. Our country needs a serious reordering of priorities in terms of budgetary allotments. We feel that such an elaborate build-up of defense arsenals, such investments as the ABM and MIRV, not only hinder enormously the progress of the SALT talks, a major hope for world understanding, but also make it impossible to feed the hungry at home and abroad, impossible to assist the welfare department so that the

poor can have food, clothes, and housing; and impossible to solve many of our pressing problems in education, health, and welfare.

We ask you, as our elected Congressmen, to take the initiative and work to represent the will of the people. Students are no longer willing to support candidates who are merely against the war. We need peace candidates who are dedicated, not because it wins votes, but because they serve the people. We need active leaders and voices on our behalf. Hollins is one of many colleges cooperating with Princeton's "Referendum '70", a program designed to separate serious peace candidates from those who mouth the words to get votes. We feel that this issue is important enough to our country that we need to draw the line sharply this time. We will only support people who work for peace. And we will support them whole heartedly. We will work for them this summer and next fall and two years from now as well.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you Kathy. Mr. Fascell.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Miss Grieb, I think if we are going to be specific and we want to do what you suggest, those who will be candidates, and those who are, would like to know what you mean by working for peace if it doesn't mean simply being against this war.

Miss GRIEB. We think that the Senate in particular is very active right now in supporting specific legislation which works for one of the policies we suggest: to set up definite specific public timetables for troop withdrawal from the Indochina area, and further limits funds to be used in that area, either limits or cuts them off in interval time periods. Does that answer your question? Would you clarify it for me?

Mr. FASCELL. I understood you to say that you were going to support candidates who were for peace, not simply against the war. I am just trying to understand what that was. Now what you have answered is that your definition is that you are against this war, that meets your criteria which is exactly opposite to what I understood you to say, originally.

Miss GRIEB. May I refer this question to another member of the panel?

Mr. FINDLEY. Identify yourself, please.

Mr. SCHEELLEN. I am Robert Scheelen. President Nixon has said he is for peace and most of the Congress have said they are for peace as well. However, I don't feel they are actively working for it, for instance, by supporting some of the legislation that is presently before Congress for instance to limit funds for the Southeast Asia area.

Mr. FASCELL. I understand now what your definition is. I think it is important to understand that when a candidate gets on the stump this fall and says he supported the McGovern-Hatfield amendment, the Cooper-Church amendment, the Leggett amendment, and the Reid amendment as his contribution to peace, in your view that is not making peace. Therefore, there could be a grave misunderstanding.

Mr. SCHEELLEN. That is exactly what we mean. Those are the people we are going to support.

Mr. FASCELL. OK. I just wanted to be sure. [Laughter.]

Mr. BOLAND. Kathy, you say on the first page, we need long-range foreign policy goals. I think this is an aim that all of us want. I think the statement is a good statement and I think also that the majority of the members who serve on this particular committee, a committee on which I do not serve, the Committee on Foreign Relations, feel that way, too. I think that for the first time in many a moon the foreign policy goals of the United States, are coming under considerable spotlighting in the House of Representatives, which has not been done before, so speaking for myself, I would agree with that statement. With respect, following up what Mr. Fascell said, on supporting peace candidates, and that you are not really going to support a person just because he is against the war, he has got to be much more active than that. I think you realize don't you, that back home in a lot of areas there are Members in both Houses of the Congress who oppose the war, maybe not quite as active as any of you would like to have them, but whose constituency back home are really in favor of the position that the President takes or are in favor of our position in Vietnam. Now how do you feel about that type of Member of the Congress? What would be the position of your students in supporting him?

Miss GRIEB. We feel that Congressmen are elected to represent the people. We feel also that if Congressmen feel particularly crucially on moral issues that they should work to support what they believe is right. Obviously, the two come in tension and the more concerned and thoughtful a candidate is, probably the more so they will come in tension. Being from Virginia, we are not unaware of that problem. [Laughter] We want to give all the support we can to candidates who are having trouble back home. That's why we think it is particularly useful for candidate to know where students stand on these issues so that they can draw on support. And there is no reason why students can't get out and work for the same ideas that they believe in.

Mr. BOLAND. Is Hollins co-ed?

Miss GRIEB. No, Hollins is a women's college, we do have a small graduate department in creative writing and in psychology that is open to men.

Mr. BOLAND. Well, isn't Bob lucky. [Laughter.]

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hicks.

Mr. HICKS. I will be happy to yield to Mr. McCloskey.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. McCloskey, Mr. Hicks is offering to yield his question to you.

Mr. McCLOSKEY. I have this question. I think it is extremely impressive to the Congress, when students come from the heartland of America, certainly I would consider Roanoke, Va., the heartland of conservative philosophy. [Laughter.] And I am wondering what luck you are having in convincing the adults in your community that they should vote solely for Congressmen who are willing to vote to cut off the funds for the war? What luck have you had out in Roanoke and the Shenandoah Valley and southern Virginia?

Miss GRIFFIN. I'm Miss Griffin from Hollins. I worked in the community circulating the petition, trying to get signatures from people in Roanoke to send to their Congressmen showing their support for the amendment cutting off funds limiting the President's authority

in Cambodia. I would say that of all the petitions we circulated, we had 50 percent who signed it who felt that funds should be cut off, and 50 percent who would not, who thought Nixon was doing the right thing. So that it is one indication; it is sort of half and half.

Mr. McCLOSKEY. Then you've really got to keep learning and repeating the arguments you've expressed here today. I haven't heard a better statement than Miss Grieb made on the reasons why this war might be ended. I've not been sure that all the students who have come here have fully understood the impact of this war on inflation, housing needs of this country, the environment. I think those ideas, those concepts, are the arguments you have to arm yourself with if you are going to convince that great middle America to support these candidates. Good luck to you.

Miss KERSWELL. Mr. McCloskey, I'd like to add that we also had petitions in October during the moratorium, and we've gotten a much, much better response more favorable to stopping the war now than we did in October, so that I feel there has been an indication of change in Roanoke, in the heartland of America, toward the war.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Frelinghuysen.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm sure all of us are as anxious to stop the war as you. It's not quite clear to me why you think this timetable approach is the way to do it. Is it because it's about the only weapon that Congress has?

Miss KERSWELL. The statement that Mr. Herriman made, it was in the newspaper several days ago, was that the Thieu government had "pulled the rug out" from under Mr. Johnson and turned the tables on Mr. Nixon, something to that effect, and that they would not effectively negotiate until they knew that there would not be American troops; that there had to be a public timetable so that negotiations could meet with some sort of successful end.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Well, are you suggesting that a public timetable is going to make it more likely for the North Vietnamese to negotiate, or make it more likely for the South Vietnamese to recognize that they must do something?

Miss KERSWELL. That the South Vietnamese recognize that they are not going to have American troops there for longer than they need to work seriously toward the peace talks.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. And you think that it is a matter of the South Vietnamese making concessions and it doesn't matter what the position of the North Vietnamese government is?

Miss KERSWELL. No, sir. That's not what I mean. But I think that both sides must be willing to work for the peace talks to get anywhere.

Miss GRIFFITH. Sir, may I add to that by saying that having a public timetable would also make our President and our Government stick to the timetable so the American public would know when the troops are coming home; and hopefully if it is a legislative timetable, the President would have to stick to it and the troops would come home.

Mr. FINDLEY. Are there other questions for this group? If not, we thank you very much for your statement and for taking the trouble to come here.

The next witness is Wayne Braffman, Brown University, and Mr. Frelinghuysen will be pleased to note that he is from Glen Ridge, N.J.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I regret to say that is not in my district, but I am glad to see that there is someone from my State who is testifying.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Braffman, please be seated.

Mr. BRAFFMAN. Yes, I'm Wayne Braffman and this is Rich Smith, who is from Mr. Frelinghuysen's district.

Mr. SMITH. Politics. [Laughter.]

STATEMENT BY WAYNE A. BRAFFMAN, BROWN UNIVERSITY

Mr. BRAFFMAN. I suppose that at this time the proper thing to do is to thank you for granting us the privilege to come here and voice our opinions. In reality, though, all you have done is to recognize our right to speak here. Tragically enough, it took the murders of four students and an uprising of national proportions on our campuses to open your ears. Now that we are here, I sincerely hope that you are listening. I must admit that when I first learned of these hearings I was extremely skeptical. I believed them to be a token gesture to pacify students, just as token troop withdrawals had pacified much of the Nation before the Cambodian invasion. This initial reaction has since given way to the feeling that perhaps those Congressmen involved are actually sincere, that they really are interested in student opinion. Maybe I am allowing my youthful ideals to blind me, but my remarks today are made on the assumption that this is the case.

We frequently hear warnings of doom from those who maintain that Congress must not enact legislation that will end the war by means of an immediate withdrawal. They fear a constitutional crisis and permanent damage to the Presidency if such measures are taken. On the international level, supporters of the war predict the decline of American prestige in the world community. They say we risk becoming a second-class power. Some claim that if we do not halt Communist aggression at the 17th parallel, the rest of Asia will fall to our foe. Still others foresee the mass murdering of American sympathizers among the Vietnamese upon our departure. I am sure, however, that you have heard these arguments and countless others, as well as the respective counter-arguments.

For that reason, I will not burden you by repeating those worn-out statements. My approach is somewhat different, perhaps a bit more fundamental. I do not intend to theorize or speculate, but merely to describe the situation as I see it.

My basic premise is this: As an economic animal, man acts so as to further his own interests. He indulges only in those activities which he feels will be beneficial to him. This facet of human nature is reflected in man's institutions as well. In addition, just as an individual must care for his loved ones, an institution also has multiple responsibilities. The prime function of the institution of government, for example, is to ensure the safety of and to improve the standings of itself, the other institutions of the country, and the citizens who created it, although not necessarily in that order.

At this point, then, one thing is clear. We are not at war in Southeast Asia because we care about the Vietnamese people. Our concern is not for Asian welfare, but for American welfare. The President has done nothing that will end the fighting. He has only made provisions to lessen American casualties. He cares not for Asian boys, but for American boys. You do not slaughter hundreds of thousands of people if you care for them. You do not destroy homes and cities to express your concern for a nation's well-being. Our soldiers try to win friends by murdering Vietnamese men and raping their women. In the name of democracy we support a military dictatorship that imprisons political opponents and suppresses dissent. During the Tet offensive, a philosophy was evidenced at Hue to the effect that we would retake the city even if it meant destroying it in the process. This seems to be our approach to the entire war; we will keep Vietnam "free" and uphold the right of self-determination for the Vietnamese people even if we must kill them all to do it. This is an untenable position for us to maintain.

I do not ask you to admit this to anyone, for that would be political suicide which is obviously not in your best interest. However, I do ask you to admit it to yourselves. If you are honest and shed your self-righteousness, you will see the truth in what I have said.

Why then are we fighting in Southeast Asia? Evidently, it is in our best national interest, for surely we would not intentionally harm ourselves. Or would we? The common sense answer is "no," but harming ourselves is precisely what we are doing!

The continuation of this war is directly responsible for our internal disintegration. Our economy buckles under the strain of wartime inflation, a recession, and a high level of unemployment. Our people seriously question the merits of all three branches of their government. They are unsure of the validity of what they are told by the news media as conflicting accounts of the war are commonplace. Most disastrous of all, the fragile coalitions that hold this society together are breaking down because of the war. Radical elements seek violent confrontation and revolution. Reactionary blue-collar workers attack peaceful dissenters as the police stand by helplessly. Intellectuals and students are isolated from and held suspect by the rest of society. Minority blacks see a dominant group that wages racist wars at home and abroad. The National Guard is deployed for the purpose of protecting property instead of lives. Families are destroyed as children are pitted against their parents in debate over the war. I feel this more acutely than anything else I have mentioned. I lost my family in November because I felt that I had to speak out against this war. Believe me, it hurts.

These divisions can only deepen as the war is prolonged. We can no longer afford to ignore the fact that our entire social structure is crumbling. When compared to this reality, the consequences of American withdrawal predicted by proponents of the war are trivial. National reunification must be our top priority. The first step is to immediately end American involvement in the Vietnam war. There can be no further delay. Time is running short.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Braffman, thank you for your statement. It is obvious that your convictions are very deeply held. My question is,

if, in working through "the system," as it is often called, you find that your ideas don't prevail this November, or in the near future, are you willing to abide by the decision of the system and continue to work through it?

Mr. BRAFFMAN. Personally, I am. My fear is for a great number of other students who are not, and the best comparison I can make is what students are feeling now, comparing it to what blacks have felt. For so many years, we have told the blacks, work within the system, change will come. Just wait and it will happen. And what happened? We got a few laws passed, but nothing is really changed. So what happened in 1967—we had outbreaks in the cities. That showed frustration at work within the system. The same thing is happening now among students. We have been told the U.S. Government gives you the opportunity to make it change. All right. So we are taking advantage of the opportunity right now. But what's happening is that we are starting to realize that although the opportunity is there, the possibility, the probability to actually effect change is not. More and more people are beginning to believe that you cannot change it, and they are being turned away from working within the system. And I see this happening and I really fear that if Congress doesn't act this summer, then a lot of people will be further alienated. You are driving people to the left all the time, the more you delay, and I am very concerned about it.

Mr. FASCELL. What is the system?

Mr. BRAFFMAN. The system?

Mr. FASCELL. Yes, what is it?

Mr. BRAFFMAN. The system is the institutions that were here when I came here. I was born into a world—

Mr. FASCELL. You mean the governmental institutions?

Mr. BRAFFMAN. Pardon?

Mr. FASCELL. The governmental institutions which were here when you were born?

Mr. BRAFFMAN. All institutions: governmental institutions, economic, social institutions, all the institutions of our Nation. Churches, everything.

Mr. SMITH. I would like to add that not only do I regard the system as the governmental institutions that we have today, but also the bureaucracy, the customs that seem to surround them. Now, I am not in any way in favor of changing what has been set up through our Constitution. I admire the Constitution. I think it is one of the greatest documents this world has ever seen, and I admire the system that was set up through it and has gone down through the ages. But I particularly feel that the average person on the street has to be able to approach the Government more easily. I didn't know I could get this close to a Congressman until I came to Washington last week, and I am really grateful for the opportunity, and I think more citizens need to know of it and this opportunity should be made available to other citizens.

Mr. FASCELL. There are two amazing thoughts here, Mr. Chairman. One is that the witness is just now discovering the existence of the system, and I am not being critical. The other is that neither witness in his definition of the system ever included people. The great

majority of people; or any people; or those who disagree with you. The structure is not against you.

Mr. BRAFFMAN. That's the thing I have serious doubts about the system or society on the level that we face it today. It is so massive, so immense, you can have a dissenting minority of 22 million in this country and the system can take no account of those people, because you still have got 180 million who do believe in the system and whom the system benefits. From the scale that we exist in today, you can't afford to ignore those minorities any more and the system is not as responsive to those minorities as it should be.

Mr. FASCELL. By your complaint if you mean that a majority is not going to adopt the point of view of the minority, I would agree with you.

Mr. BRAFFMAN. But still the majority has the power even though it is not supposed to be this way, to hold its opinions over the minority.

Mr. FASCELL. How will you change the opinion of the majority by changing the structure, or changing the system?

Mr. BRAFFMAN. I personally don't believe this. I see faults in this structure, I see faults in every other structure I have looked at as well and I'm willing to work. But I'm saying that people are being alienated by the lack of response from the system.

Mr. FINDLEY. We will have to yield to Mr. Boland, now.

Mr. BOLAND. I'll yield to Mr. Frelinghuysen.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Thank you, Mr. Boland. It is a pleasure to welcome two friends from my State and particularly a constituent of mine. I hope that he realizes by now that my door is always open and I would guess that the average Member of Congress is just as responsive. I would doubt very much whether our ability and willingness to hear only began a week or two ago. I would guess that if you had been seeking our attention, we would have been only too glad to respond. And I would hope that anyone that writes a letter gets an answer, at least from my office.

Mr. BRAFFMAN. I would certainly agree with that, but I would say that look how long it has taken students to discover these channels, and students are supposedly the more intellectual elements of our society. I don't know if this is the fault of our educational system or what. But it has taken students many years to discover these channels to come down to Washington to see their Congressman. And that is really unfortunate because we needed this communication before.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. The sad part of it is that they come in the 8th grade. I have had several with me on the steps of the Capitol only today, but they don't come as often when they grow up. And this is perhaps the time when the communication is needed more. My question really is the wisdom of the basic proposal which you make, Mr. Braffman, and that is for immediate withdrawal. I take it your conscience would not be pricked if there should be disastrous consequences in South Vietnam, if we should precipitously withdraw. You would not feel, even though the Nation might, a guilty conscience about what might happen there if there should be a vacuum and there were not a gradual withdrawal such as is being undertaken right now?

Mr. BRAFFMAN. Two points on that; this is what I don't understand. We've spent how many years there murdering their people, hundreds of thousands, and all of a sudden we are concerned about who is going to be killed.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Are you not concerned, Mr. Braffman?

Mr. BRAFFMAN. Yes, I am, but I'm saying that I don't believe that it is an argument because we can sit there and kill people, the longer we stay, the more we kill. And all of a sudden you are worried about these people. Now that is the basic premise of my argument. When I talk about immediate withdrawal, I am thinking in terms of the Hatfield-McGovern amendment, and right now language is being worked on to include facilities for those people who do fear reprimand. I know both my Senators are working on that, and I do support that amendment if this type of language gets written into it. Yes, I do care about those people. But don't use those people as an excuse for not withdrawing as soon and as fast as possible.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hicks.

Mr. HICKS. I yield to Mr. Monagan.

Mr. MONAGAN. Thank you very much Mr. Hicks. Mr. Braffman, you have spoken about what we have been doing in Vietnam and about the effect of our military activities there. I suggest that your position is somewhat simplistic and ask you about the other side of the picture, what about the people that are in South Vietnam that we are providing protection for? What about the million refugees that came down from North Vietnam? Do you think that is amusing, do I gather that from your reaction to the question?

Mr. BRAFFMAN. I don't think it is amusing at all.

Mr. MONAGAN. You are smiling.

Mr. BRAFFMAN. Once, again, I have been arguing this for many months and I have heard these arguments. That's why I didn't bother you with those type arguments.

Mr. MONAGAN. Well, you are not bothering me. I think it is not a question of dialectics, it is a question of basic facts in appraising this situation. I consider it to be an important factor in determining policy.

Mr. BRAFFMAN. Once again, with the amendment that is being drawn up now, provisions will be made for those people. And I'm really looking forward to this amendment coming up. And I am concerned about those people. But I am also concerned about the people we are destroying by continuing to be there. How many people are killed that are not reported by bombing raids, and the like? Civilians that are being killed. I'm also concerned about them.

Mr. MONAGAN. Well, I'm happy to hear that because you don't mention that in your initial remarks. You've also talked about the possibility that there would be a turn to the left, even though you yourself would not be inclined to move in that direction, as I understand it. Based on what the left has done and what we can see in other countries, in Czechoslovakia where the left has been in control, what would you say that the left could provide here that the present system would not provide?

Mr. BRAFFMAN. Once again, I don't approve of what I see happening on the left. I am just as wary of them as I am of the people on the right. But, I do say that now, because of what's happening

and what has happened, I can identify with and understand their frustration and I can understand what leads them to this.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Braffman, I regret to tell you that your time is up. I regret that we don't have more time at this point for further dialogue, but I do hope that such an occasion will come.

Mr. T. G. Ellison of the University of Virginia is next on the schedule and while he is taking his seat I would like to review for the benefit of those who may have arrived just recently—I am grateful to those members who have come in—the procedure that we have adopted. The six regular panel members are recognized in order. Now if any individual member of the panel wishes to yield his opportunity for a question to someone who has stopped by, as several have, that's the time to make your wish known. We do ask that each member ask only one question.

Mr. Ellison, you may proceed. I see you have some company, if you would identify your friends, please.

Mr. ELLISON. Let me identify who I am first. I am chairman of Virginia Veterans for Peace. I'm a fourth-year student at McIntire School of Commerce at the University of Virginia. Another thing I would like to point out is I have had to amend the speech and edit it a bit because it was a little lengthy. It is hard to write about Vietnam and not say all you want to say. So I hope you will bear with me as far as the time goes.

Mr. FINDLEY. I must tell you as I announced at the start, when the 10 minutes are up we will have to terminate your presentation.

Mr. ELLISON. Well, let me get started then.

STATEMENT BY THOMAS GRIFFITHS ELLISON, UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

Mr. ELLISON. Good afternoon, gentlemen. My name is Thomas Griffiths Ellison. I am chairman of Virginia Veterans for Peace and a fourth-year student in the McIntire School of Commerce at the University of Virginia. I have not come here today primarily as an official spokesman of our organization, rather I wish to speak first as a concerned citizen, second as a concerned veteran who served in Vietnam in the Third Division of the U.S. Marine Corps, and third as a concerned student at a university where misunderstanding, not violence, brought violence. I neither purport to be an expert on constitutional law nor an experienced and well-versed student of diplomatic history. What I would like to speak about is the undeniably brutal effect our Nation's commitment to Indochina is having upon the Nation's youth, in particular, those who have fought in this undeclared war.

To illustrate this, I would like to relate the course of my own metamorphosis from the son of a naval military officer to a combat Marine in Vietnam to my present position as a veteran for peace. I was brought up in what ex-Commandant of the Marine Corps General David M. Shoupe terms a militaristic society. Our society is indeed militaristic: 20 percent of the adult population of this country are veterans of military service; in fact, over half of this Congress hold positions in the various services' reserves or in the

National Guard. General Shoup has analyzed our environment well. If I may quote:

Whole generations have been brought up on war news and wartime propaganda. The few years of peace since 1939, have seen a steady stream of war novels, war movies, comic strips, and television programs with war or military settings. To many Americans, military training, expeditionary service, and war are merely extensions of the entertainment and games of childhood.

General Shoup's observation is further substantiated by Noam Chomsky in his book, "No More Vietnams":

America has institutionalized even its genocide, . . . the fact that the extermination of Indians has become the object of public entertainment and children's games.

In January 1966, I enlisted in the Marine Corps for 2 years. My motives were clear: I was incensed at the atrocities of the North Vietnamese against our captured pilots, and I felt a chauvinistic and patriotic urge to do something about this. Parris Island and subsequent infantry training at Camp Geiger had somewhat of a bewildering effect upon me and my comrades in arms. I gained a false sense of security from the Corps. I became a trained killer, and unaware to myself, I became more of a racist than the most bigoted member of the Ku Klux Klan. But at that time I was not disillusioned. Indoctrination was effective. The world's problems could be solved through military reactions, and I would follow any orders given to me by a superior. In fact, had I been a National Guard member at the time of Kent State, I would have fired unhesitatingly into the crowd when the order was given. In retrospect, the person I had become was frightening and dangerous. And idealism or concern for humanity I once had was replaced by the role of a hard marine I then played.

An extension of psychological reconstruction was further enacted at the Marine Corps staging area. I was completely familiarized with the concept: "The only good Gook is a dead Gook." Very little differentiation was made between the South Vietnamese populace and Vietcong or NVA troops. I almost swallowed this postulate completely, but I was fortunate enough to attend the annual Vietnamese language course. We were not only taught the basics of the language but also the culture. I then began to respect the Vietnamese as a people contrary to the opinions that were institutionalized by superior noncommissioned and line officers and drilled into those enlisted personnel who did not have the desire or did not have the opportunity to learn the truth about the Vietnamese.

What happened to me and the other men in my outfit in I-Corps, has established itself well in my memory. I doubt I will ever forget the good and the bad times. The joy of a warm can of beer or "Winstons" in our C-rats while on operational status still brings a smile to my face. But I am not here to speak about smiles. Last week, 168 American lives were ended because of your inaction to end the war! Five-times-decorated M. Sgt. Donald Duncan states the case well:

Those people protesting the war in Vietnam are not against the boys in Vietnam. On the contrary, what they are against is our boys being in Vietnam. They are not unpatriotic. Again the opposite is true. They are opposed to people, our own and others, dying for a lie, thereby corrupting the very word, democracy.

The first K.I.A. I saw was the death of a friend of mine in our very first fire fight. It was in the very same area Bernard Fall so appropriately named, "The Street Without Joy." My friend died from a misaimed shot from within our own company perimeter. Subsequently, a very large logistical camp was named for him after we secured the area. I can assure you that he would trade whatever honor there is in that for his life.

Obviously, though contrary to the beliefs of many of our more powerful veterans' organizations, there is nothing romantic about this war. "Wings of gold upon his chest," "duty, honor, and country" rallies, and other misguided supposedly patriotic attempts to gain a lasting peace through waging an eternal war have not rallied the country to a new God-endowed manifest destiny.

However, I specifically came here today to speak about the dehumanization, resulting from militaristic conditioning and actual experiences in the combat zone of Vietnam. The psychological imbalances and violent reactions of the Mike Sharps, the Charlie Whitmans, the Captain Medinas, and countless others are a result of many stimuli. I can empathize with these men. Of the over 80 active members of Veterans for Peace in Charlottesville, over half—including myself—carry the memories of their own personal Mylai-4's. Gentlemen, I can assure you, it makes it difficult to sleep at night.

I am not a psychologist. What makes me qualified to expound on the subject? Experience! Experience not gained from flying in by helicopter for a day or two, but experience gained from being an exhausted and frustrated combat Marine for extended periods in the field.

Personally, I felt three areas in which stimuli acted in such a way that I believe I or any other Grunt (as we infantrymen proudly called ourselves) would be forced to the point where any one of us was perfectly capable of committing wholesale murder on innocent civilians in Vietnam.

First, in the combat environment of Vietnam, no greater frustration can be experienced than not knowing who the enemy is. As one recent returnee stated, "It is utterly impossible for a GI, especially a scared GI in the dark, to make any differentiation between a VC and a civilian." The general policy of "shooting anything that moves" conditions one to fire at will, even if women and children are the targets. This problem is further illustrated by our unrealistic and inadequate attempts at pacification and Vietnamization. I worked in a civic action program for 2½ months. I can say with some authority that relocation in northern I-Corps does not work. Why? Our Government faces a somewhat dual and contradictory problem in pacification. One day it is necessary to napalm a Vietnamese village to liberate it from VC infiltrators. The next day we begin to pacify the burned and embittered survivors. They must surely wonder if we are liberating them to death. But liberate them we will. And those who are too ignorant to realize they must be liberated must be pacified, so they will not interfere with the liberation of their more enlightened brethren whose enthusiasm for liberation has been greatly enhanced by their participation in the profits of the economic boom the United States has brought to their hapless land.

In addition, the people of Vietnam are not pacified. They are merely tired and apathetic.

Thus, we are asking one hell of a lot from our troops in demanding they fight for a populace which only wants an end to the hostilities, regardless of who the victor may be.

I know all too well the fear of not knowing whether or not a village was friendly. I also remember a desire to shoot to kill and ask questions later.

Secondly, many of us saw our buddies maimed, killed, and mutilated. Many of these deaths were the result of an absence of danger landmarks and poor leadership, specifically on Hamburger Hill, Hill 117, Operation Chinook, and countless other ventures. Frustration, despair, and a desire for revenge increased the potential for incidents similar to Song My. Those companies which suffered continual losses on the field because of traps, sniper fire, etc., were most likely to commit atrocities; whether on the scale of Mylai-4 or smaller is immaterial. Considering our previous conditioning to kill, I understand the satisfaction and the alleviation of frustration that is felt from finally getting involved in something other than a sweep and clear operation, where all you do is sweep and clear elephant grass, or search and destroy operations, where you mostly destroy vacated villages and desecrate Vietnamese religious shrines.

The third stimulus actually involves two conditions that not only exist in Vietnam but prevail throughout the military establishment. One is the relationship between most officers and enlisted men, particularly in the Marine Corps. The other is the evidence of racism in and out of combat zones. In combat zones, it is relatively easy to dehumanize members of an alien race, which of course, results in the loss of our own civility. But racism exists outside of the combat zone, too. I will never forget one of my D.I.'s antagonizing a young black by continuously calling him "boy." But let me elaborate on both of these problems.

In view of the conditions of today's military services, I believe psychologically balanced and intelligent men make poor soldiers. Why is this so? The very dichotomy that is established between the officers and enlisted men, in a theory X manner, could hardly be improved upon as a means of instilling jealousy and hatred. Enlisted men are indoctrinated to kill, kill, kill and yet to be good non-combat soldiers, they must sublimate their aggression into forms of behavior that the military can tolerate. I can think of no better way to lose the respect of one's men than that displayed by Col. Joseph Bellas, when he commented on the Thanksgiving mess hall boycotts last fall. I quote: "They're young, they're idealistic and don't like man's inhumanity to man. As they get older they will become wiser and more tolerant." It is because of the attitudes of Colonel Bellas and men like him that I am here today. If I must passively accept "man's inhumanity to man," then I should most assuredly prefer to regress to early childhood before I knew about Redskins, Krauts, Japs, and Gooks.

The immorality of our presence in Vietnam was adroitly stated by Maj. Gordon S. Livingston, M.D., Ret., who criticized Colonel

Patton's inaccurate body count policy and was subsequently requested to resign from the Army:

In the end what I objected to was not so much the individual atrocities, for these can be found in any war; war itself is the atrocity. What compelled my stand was the evident fact that at an operational level most Americans simply do not care about the Vietnamese. In spite of our national protestations about self-determination, revolutionary development, and the like, the attitude of our people, on the ground, military and civilian, is one of nearly universal contempt. This arrogant feeling is manifested in a variety of ways, from indiscriminate destruction of lives and property to the demeaning handouts that pass for civic action. Finally one need only listen to a conversation between Americans concerning Vietnamese to appreciate the general lack of regard. The universal designations for the people of Vietnam, friend or enemy, are Gooks, Slant Eyes, Slopes, and Dinks. On the whole, this has no conscious pejorative connotation as used casually, but it does say something about our underlying attitude toward those for whose sake we are ostensibly fighting. How can we presume to influence a struggle for the political loyalties of a people for whom we manifest such uniform disdain is to me the great unanswered, indeed, unanswerable, question.

I am as guilty as the next man. I burned villages, fired at innocent civilians, and developed disdain for the people. It was quite conceivable that my outfit could have had the same breakdown of morale and psychological integrity that resulted in the massacres at My Lai-4.

In conclusion, I would like to make several observations concerning the present debate on the Church-Cooper and Hatfield-McGovern amendments. The organization I represent endorses unanimously the amendments as they now stand.

It has been said recently that those citizens and representatives of our Nation who demand immediate legislation to force the President to act upon his own guarantees and promises of withdrawal of all American troops from Cambodia by July 1, are in fact, embarrassing the President. We veterans of the Armed Forces of the United States wish to take exception to this rhetorical suggestion. On the contrary, it is the present administration of this Nation, with its peace-through-extension-of-war policy, which is embarrassing us!

The issue is simple. We have proudly served our country in her military ranks from the battlefields of Germany to the streets of Hue. Today, we have joined the battle on another front. In a word, we are now fighting in a constructive manner in order that our country demonstrate to us, its loyal sons, that it remains a polity of, by, and for the people.

Our legislators have failed us, the people, because we have failed them. The citizens of this Nation have succumbed to the balance of terror proposition that is in effect; the idea persists that declared wars are obsolete in the postatomic era and Congress must allow the President full rein.

Certainly, this idea has no relevance to our present war in Indochina. To our organization, the members of which served under Mr. Nixon and former Presidents, the question of limitation of Presidential powers is moot. None of us wishes to limit his power as Commander in Chief during declared wars and national emergencies. Nonetheless, we do demand that the Congress retrieve the constitutionally delegated powers of war policy that the executive branch

has obviously usurped. I believe this usurpation to be the crux of the issue.

Sophistries from the mouths of our elected legislators concerning the difficulties of the nuances of constitutional interpretation only aid the arguments of those extreme elements which espouse the proposition that truly representative government is impossible and that anarchy must prevail. I believe our system can work, but only if the ruling echelon of the administration and Congress is receptive to the desires of the people. If we cannot, by studying our own Constitution and laws, determine who has the right to make war, then those sacred ideals upon which this country was founded and for which we gave our youth and blood, have descended into a chaotic abyss from which there is little hope of retrieval. Brig. Gen. William Wallace Ford stated in 1967, "The time has come, however to strike down the implication that whoever does not follow blindly and uncomplainingly in the steady expansion of this war is somehow unpatriotic. Stalwart heroes of the Army and of West Point, who also learned well the motto 'duty, honor, country' have counseled against a land war in Asia—MacArthur, Ridgeway, Gavin, and former USMC Commandant Shoup. I besought my newly elected representative in 1964 to try to keep us from further involvement in Vietnam. I voted in 1964 for the Presidential candidate who opposed escalation of the conflict. I am still trying. I consider it the highest patriotism." My presence here is, I believe, in this tradition of patriotism.

The proposal is plain. Are we, the people, truly represented by our elected officials? Is the mandate for redirection of national policy and plea for social change heard?

In essence, do you, our elected representatives, in the name of a Nation once proud, right, and a haven for the oppressed of the world, have the courage to reassert yourselves as the constitutional body which decides the Nation's destiny in war and peace?

Thank you, gentlemen.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Robison.

Mr. ROBISON. I would like to yield to my colleague, Mr. Morse.

Mr. MORSE. I don't have any questions, and I would just like to thank the gentleman for his presentation.

Mr. THOMSON. I'm glad to yield my time for questioning to Mr. McClory.

Mr. McCLORY. Well, thank you. This is very important testimony and very impressive. The question that I would like to pose is this: First, I would like to know whether or not you found that the enemy you were fighting in Vietnam was as anxious as you indicate you are now for us to withdraw, to lay down their arms and encourage peace; and second, do you feel if we would have a precipitous withdrawal, can you give any assurance that this is going to result in peace in Southeast Asia?

Mr. ELLISON. Obviously, I can't give any assurance—I'm not President of the United States. He seems to be the only person who can assure us of anything.

Mr. McCLORY. Doesn't the other side have something to say about that?

Mr. ELLISON. I'll answer your question. One thing I would like to point out, I wish you would read the rest of my testimony because I didn't get to my point that I wanted to make. Personally, I believe that the Vietnamese war is a civil war. I believe this because of my experience I found in Vietnam while working in civic action. I lived in a village for 2½ months. I taught English in the high school there. I learned the people. I learned their ways. I like them. But, as far as the bloodbath so many people claim is going to occur when we withdraw, if we withdraw quickly, which is what I want, the only bloodbath that is going to occur in Vietnam is if we leave a more stable government in Vietnam than we found. The Vietnamese people do not respect their government.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Ellison, you can make your point in answer to my question. Do you believe the majority of the people in the United States agree with you today?

Mr. ELLISON. Again, we get to the minority-majority thing. No. I don't think the majority of the people do believe. I think a significant minority do. But the reason the majority of the people do not agree with the views of my organization and the students of this country, is because I don't think they are well informed enough to know what's going on over there. There is fantastic censorship of the press, both ways.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Boland.

Mr. BOLAND. I tried rapidly to read the rest of your statement and as one who was involved in this war I must say that it's a very interesting statement in many ways. War of course is hell, whether it's a moral war or whether it isn't. In this one, a lot of people have some qualms as you do, I can understand your position. What about a war that is moral. What about a war that really concerns the destruction of the United States or the system, as many would like to call it, in which we live. You don't think in that kind of war you have the type of atrocity that you have witnessed with your own eyes and in which you may have participated while you were in Vietnam?

Mr. ELLISON. The statement I ended with, the quote, says of course, war is the atrocity itself. I think you asked me probably about three questions. One, if our country ever had to go on the defense as far as aggression goes, and my time will be up in a year as far as honorable discharge goes, I'm still in the Reserves, I would without any doubt in my mind go down to the nearest station and put a uniform on. But, I don't believe what is happening in Vietnam is in our national interest. I don't believe we should be there. And because of the atrocities that are happening there when in fact it is an immoral war, the only position I can stand on is that we should get out as soon as possible.

Mr. BOLAND. Let me ask you this, on the last page you indicate: "Is the mandate for redirection of national policy and plea for social change heard?" What do you really think? Do you think the mandate for redirection of national policy and plea for social change is being heard?

Mr. ELLISON. I think the fact that we are here today, it is now being heard. I think it's also been repressed, for a great many years, especially the problem with the blacks. I don't think anyone wanted

to listen to them. Since we are here today, I can see you all are listening, but I question whether the direction that we the youth of America want to take is going to be taken. One thing, I'll ask you a question if it's all right, how come the guys over there fighting, the people in my outfit, people that died at 18 or 19, why don't they have the vote in this country?

Mr. BOLAND. Well, to speak for myself, I hope they get it.

Mr. ELLISON. I'm glad to hear that.

Mr. FINDLEY. I think you'll find general support for that in this group. Are there other questions?

Mr. MONAGAN. Pursuing the point that Mr. Boland brought up, I think it is an important one. You have indicated your opposition to this particular war on what you say are moral grounds. What I'm wondering is how this morality is determined? In this case one of the points that has been made in the past has been there hasn't been any declaration of war. But let's suppose that it was determined that it was important for our national interest to become involved militarily in the Middle East. How would you go about determining the morality or immorality of a particular conflict? Do you reserve this right to yourself in each individual case.

Mr. ELLISON. I believe that right is guaranteed under the Bill of Rights.

Mr. MONAGAN. Well, in other words, you reserve to yourself the right to determine whether the act of Congress in a particular case is moral or immoral?

Mr. ELLISON. Congress cannot dictate the morality of individuals.

Mr. MONAGAN. Well, Congress, under our system, presumably has the right by representation to call upon your services, and you are saying that you would not respond? In other words, even though Congress determined by a democratic process that this was a conflict that was important to the security interests of the United States—

Mr. ELLISON. If it was a conflict that the Congress determined was important to the security interests of the United States, I would go. But Congress has not determined that Vietnam is, and I have determined by the experience of being over there that it is not.

Mr. MONAGAN. I can see that you have made that point and I wondered exactly how far you pursued that logic. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FINDLEY. Are there other questions? Mr. Smith from New York.

Mr. SMITH of New York. Mr. Ellison, I think you stated that you taught school and knew the Vietnamese and liked them. I gather from your statement that this kind of attitude on the part of our young men over there would be that of a small minority. Is that right?

Mr. ELLISON. Yes, sir. There is a very small minority working in pacification efforts. I was one individual out of 20 in Cam Low village. There were perhaps three of the 20 that liked the people. The rest of them referred to them in exactly the terminology that I used and did not respect them whatsoever. And I might say that the three people that did respect them were college dropouts and

the others did not have the education to realize what was happening. Mr. FINDLEY. We are very grateful to you and your colleagues for this very stimulating statement.

The next witness is David L. Thomas from Haverford College. Is Mr. Thomas here?

STATEMENT OF DAVID L. THOMAS, HAVERFORD COLLEGE

PRESENTATION OF THE WHITE HOUSE FAST

Mr. THOMAS. Across from the White House in Lafayette Park, there are two men who have pledged not to eat until the U.S. troops are withdrawn from Cambodia. Brian McDonnell, who is the assistant director of the Health and Welfare Council of Delaware County, Pa., began his fast 19 days ago on May 3. He was joined on May 10 by Vietnam Veteran Thomas Mahany. Both only drink water.

In directing our action at the President, we feel it important to express our solidarity of intent with all who reach for peace. We hope that, together, we may put an end to this war. That is why I am here.

In a letter to President Nixon dated May 3, Brian McDonnell explained his action over the Cambodian incursion. "The Presidential policy statement of April 30, 1970, further reflects the intentions of the Government of the United States to seek peace in Southeast Asia through military force. This violent approach to world affairs will lead to increased military conflict and fewer peaceful resolutions."

In a telegram of support, Representative George Brown of California wrote, "I am disappointed that the President has not answered your letter of May 3." We share his disappointment.

Nonviolent dissent is a relatively new method of expression in America, although it has existed in other parts of the world for many years. Representative Allard Lowenstein telegraphed Brian that "your individual act of sacrifice and courage is in the tradition of Ghandi, Martin Luther King, and others who have touched the hearts and inspired millions of men through history."

Individual nonviolent action, such as fasting, reaffirms the worth and integrity of one human being. By denying himself food, a man demonstrates the weight he attaches to his belief. This is a means of communication—the physical being—which belongs totally to the communicator. At the same time, however, fasting is an action which unites people in brotherhood because every human being can identify with the sacrifices which a person makes by denying himself nourishment.

Nonviolent dissent must also reaffirm the humanity of the person with whom one differs. Brian McDonnell emphasized this in his letter by assuring Mr. Nixon that "My protest is directed against you as President of the United States and implies no accusation against you as a human being."

The significance of these two men's action is based on their commitment to live, to protest, in a manner consistent with the goals they seek. Their message goes deeper than the withdrawal of U.S.

troops from Cambodia. They are expressing a nonviolent approach to living, both in world affairs and in their personal lives.

Peace among men must proceed from our commitment to curb aggression and seek resolution of violent conflict through peaceful means. A peace resulting from military victory only settles us further in our violent approach to solving our problems. Such a peace cannot last—even if it might be attained.

Every day in Lafayette Park, Brian and Tom speak with many people of varying opinions about war. Supporters of the fast distribute leaflets of explanation to those who pass through. At lunch time many Federal employees either miss lunch or delay it to be with us. At times as many as 300 people have gathered to discuss with the fasters their intentions and beliefs, and to share their personal questions about Cambodia. The warm response we have received has been very supportive and encouraging.

The fast differs from most other forms of dissent in its relatively long duration. There are, furthermore, few peak experiences which make it sensational. It is a long-term commitment to live in accordance with nonviolence, a commitment which extends beyond the end of the fast.

And yet we find nonviolence appealing. We are, along with those we have befriended in the park, slowly learning to reorient our criteria for satisfaction. Personal growth or a sincere conversation are becoming increasingly gratifying. Recently I was quite moved when I received a phone call from a 62-year-old Federal employee who had never been involved in protest. She offered to take Brian's place.

I believe that this reorientation of our values is as important as short-term change such as the withdrawal from Cambodia. The two must go hand in hand. A growth in our individual and collective attitudes is necessary if we are to decrease our traditional tendency toward violence. Our natural tendency should and must be in the direction of peace. Violence must become the exception rather than the prevailing solution to our problems.

I have come to you to ask your support and assistance, as well as to offer ours, in reaching our common goal of peace. We have very much appreciated the telegrams of support from Congressmen Brown, Edwards, Lowenstein, and Scheuer, and the visits of Congressmen Mikva and Ryan on the Capitol steps last Tuesday.

I hope that this initial cooperation and dialogue will grow into a concerned effort toward peace on the part of all of us. Brian and Tom, and we who support them in their action, invite each of you and your colleagues to come share some time with us in Lafayette Park. Perhaps together we may find added strength to struggle for a common goal of peace.

WALLINGFORD, PA.,
May 3, 1970.

President RICHARD NIXON,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR PRESIDENT NIXON: The Presidential policy statement of April 30, 1970, further reflects the intentions of the Government of the United States to seek peace in Southeast Asia through military force. This violent approach to world affairs will lead to increased military conflict and fewer peaceful resolutions.

I appeal to you, President Richard Nixon, as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces, to immediately withdraw all U.S. troops from Cambodia.

To demonstrate the importance of this appeal, I will stop eating until the United States troops are withdrawn from Cambodia. This is not an attempt at coercion but an indication of the weight I attach to the expansion of American aggression. By refraining from food, I am denying myself something all consider important.

Until the troops are withdrawn from Cambodia, I will place myself on the public domain—in Lafayette Park facing the White House—and take only water. I will remain there, in constant vigil and fast, starting 4 p.m. Sunday, May 3, 1970, leafletting passers-by to inform them of the appeal.

My protest is directed against you as President of the United States and implies no accusation against you as a human being.

Respectfully yours,

J. BRIAN McDONNELL

PITTSFORD, N.Y.,
May 18, 1970.

President RICHARD NIXON,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR PRESIDENT NIXON: I am a Vietnam veteran on fast against your invasion of Cambodia. I have taken no food since May 10 and will take none until U.S. forces are withdrawn from Cambodia. I spend each day in Lafayette Park with two other men who are fasting, and with a group of supporters.

I also spent 3 years at West Point, and during my service in Vietnam I saw everything with which I was confronted at West Point being implemented in a very distasteful way, a way that is based upon something other than defense.

The United States is only defeated when its principles are defeated, and you are defeating these principles. The idea of saving face over lives is tragic.

Your policy concerning the war in Indochina is immoral, and immorality invites violence. If you do not change your policy soon, the violent factions of dissent will band together in open revolt—and that would be most unfortunate for all of us.

I am fasting because it is time that people who believe in nonviolence show their beliefs in the most vehement manner possible. If people do not put non-violent concepts into practice now, nonviolence may be lost forever.

I would like to meet with you and ask you exactly what your intentions are in Indochina.

Why do you support a Government made up of generals?

Why do you support a Government that imprisons its critics?

Why do you destroy cities just to seize a few hundred rifles?

I do not believe that you are listening to all of your advisers. You are listening to the military; and the military in this country has developed into something that has no feeling for the people, only for itself.

You cannot continue to allow an organization like this to control our country. You must start listening to the people and to your other advisers.

Respectfully yours,

THOMAS F. MAHANY.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you, Mr. Thomas. Mr. Fascell.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. The crux of the problem, of course, is a commitment to nonviolence, and a decision by the people, all people, that the military is an outmoded diplomatic tool.

Mr. THOMAS. My response to that is that the evidence that we have seems to be on the other side. We have found ourselves very influential among the people that we have contacted. We have distributed information to, say, 40,000 people, almost all of whom have read it. We don't have more than maybe one or two people a day, out of, you know, hundreds and hundreds who pass through the park, who will destroy one of our leaflets or throw it in the wastebasket. I think this kind of communication is what nonviolence is about.

It's communication, talking to people, convincing them, as many of you have suggested.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Boland.

Mr. BOLAND. Well, I'm certainly impressed, Mr. Thomas, with your spirit and your dedication and your demeanor, your presentation; I think it's a very persuasive one. And I'm also impressed by the sacrifices Brian McDonnell and Tom Mahany are going through at this present moment. I'm sure that it is a very dramatic illustration of how deeply they feel about it and at the expense of, I'm sure, great personal physical discomfiture. I know too that you are pleased with the reaction you do get from people who go through the park, through Lafayette Square, and converse with you. So in a sense you are doing precisely what you think you ought to do in your protest, and it is a protest in nonviolence as you so well described here, and it is a protest that one individual can do that carries a considerable amount of weight. I want to commend you on your statement, and if I have the opportunity sometime to walk through Lafayette Park within the next day or so, I intend to do so. Thank you very much.

Mr. THOMAS. I hope you will.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hicks.

Mr. HICKS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I commend the young man for his statement. I assume we've been trying to do that for at least some 2,000 years. I believe that Christ espoused a good many of these matters that you talk about, and the Society of Friends, at least for the last 5 years, have been around to my office talking about this. But certainly you've got to start some place and you've started; but do you think this country is in a position to unilaterally disarm?

Mr. THOMAS. I don't think that we're talking about unilateral disarmament here. I think we're preparing the way for peaceful action. I think that we have to change the attitudes of the people simultaneously with the change in our structure and the change in our policies. I think we can afford, as concerned human beings, to do both. I think we must.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Robison.

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Thomas, your's was certainly an idealistic speech, and in many ways a moving statement. I congratulate you on it. It's a statement that shows the underlying emotion and sincerity that moves you to make such a statement. Now, looking toward the future, and accepting the idea, at least, that there's a deep yearning for peace in the hearts of the people of all nations, how do you think that your generation can move in more constructive and better ways than our generation has to develop the kind of world you envision, in which violence would be the exception rather than the prevailing solution?

Mr. THOMAS. I feel that communication such as what we're attempting now is the basis for change. We certainly are seeing this now: our press coverage has increased. Now I'm talking very practically. This is not only idealistic. I think idealism is practical in many cases.

Mr. ROBISON. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Here it is. We were on CBS this morning, we've been in the newspapers, we've reached an awful lot of people, and those people are responding. And that is the response that allows people here to maybe come closer to expressing their personal commitment along with their constituents. I've been received very graciously in many Congressmen's and Senators' offices. This morning Senator Hatfield was extremely sympathetic. I think that we're working on all fronts. I think we're being practical, and I think we're infusing our idealism into the people here.

Mr. ROBISON. Specifically, do you see hope and value in some such device as the Peace Corps as we have known it, or perhaps in an expanded role of that organization?

Mr. THOMAS. I've known many Peace Corps volunteers and I've worked with the encampment for citizenship, which draws many of them. The Peace Corps in its idealism is a magnificent idea. Unfortunately, when the United States, for instance, has trouble with Peru, then the first people who are hurt are the children who don't get their powdered milk for breakfast. That's unfortunate. I think the basic idea of America offering its resources to people who request its help is a very valid way of demonstrating our concern for our fellow man.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Thomson. Any other questions? Mr. Monagan.

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Chairman, I can see the desirability, as you say, of preparing the atmosphere for the nonviolent approach. But as a practical matter, I think in international relations, you'll concede that disarmament is not a one-way street. What I'm wondering is how you would suggest that this nonviolent approach be brought home, for example, to leaders of the Communist Party in the Kremlin and the people that support them?

Mr. THOMAS. I don't believe that we are making strong efforts towards disarmament. I'm quite familiar, through my father, for instance—who works for the defense industry and yet is also against the war—that we are not making these efforts.

Mr. MONAGAN. I say I concede the desirability perhaps on this side, but what about the other side? I mean, from what we read, they have 67 ABM sites, their navy is increasing, they are moving into the Middle East. How do we get the nonviolent approach across to the other side, who, after all, are the cause of our armament?

Mr. THOMAS. I think a very good example to explain my view on this is the thing which happened in 1956 in Vietnam. North Vietnam has traditionally, along with South Vietnam as a unit together, been a very nationalistic country. They were very united, comparatively, under Ho Chi Minh. I believe that our violence, as well as the violence of the French before us, has driven those people who are nationalistic, to fight us and to ask for arms from China, who they have a long history of—

Mr. MONAGAN. That's our violence. I would like to have you direct your attention to the question that I asked, if you would.

Mr. THOMAS. OK. Then let me go further into the example. I believe that we can influence other countries to disarm, to lower their violence, by lowering our own violence and not incurring violence such as the Cambodian incursion. I think that a commitment, such

as bill 609, that's in the Senate at the moment, is one of many ways of establishing our commitment to stop violence. And I think this is very influential among other people and people from other countries, especially the press from other countries, have been extremely sympathetic to us.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Thomas, we're very grateful to you for your very moving presentation.

The next witness is Cally Lewis of Mary Baldwin College, and I believe Murphy Davis is also present. It is my understanding that they will present somewhat differing viewpoints from the student body. Cally Lewis, please.

STATEMENT BY CALLY C. LEWIS, MARY BALDWIN COLLEGE

VIETNAM: MY VIEW

Miss LEWIS. The first thing I need to say is that I cannot speak for anyone but myself. I am delighted to express my own opinions and beliefs and views, but that is all they are—mine. I know that there are other students at Mary Baldwin who agree in general with my views, but I can present only my views. Those that I know best and whose views are most like mine disagree with some of my points. Those who are in less agreement with me would have to express their own views. I speak only for myself when I say anything beyond: "There are those on the Mary Baldwin campus who are not unalterably opposed to the present position of the United States in Southeast Asia."

The keystone of my belief about Vietnam is that there probably is no "right" answer. There certainly is no easy answer. To question the morality of our presence there is useless. Morality is a very individual matter. No two people apply the same standards in the same way. It lends itself to no absolutes, nor even to more-definite-than-not formulations. When debates about Vietnam get around to the morality issue—and they always do—I feel as if I were listening to a broken record. Round and round we go and where we stop depends on how long we can stand it. The point is that we are there. No discussion can change this basic fact. The question is first "Can we get out?" and if so, then "How can we get out?" I am not sure what the answers are. I have heard much valuable debate and much bombast by people who know the situation and by those whom I suspect of being totally unaware of the complexities involved.

It seems to me that the chief goal of the foreign policy of any nation is—or ought to be—ultimately the security of that nation. I hate to sound cynical and selfish, but no one will look out for our interests if we don't. Ideally, of course, there should be no need for any nation to place its welfare before that of the rest of the world's; but we do not live in an ideal world. Admittedly, no nation can afford to act without consideration of the rest of the globe, but this cannot be the paramount consideration. Any elected official is responsible first and foremost for the well-being and security of those who elected him, regardless of whether he is the dogcatcher in Podunk or the President of the United States. To neglect this duty is to shirk the responsibilities and to betray the trust vested in him

by his election. If U.S. security requires involvement in Southeast Asia—or in the U.N. or NATO, for that matter—then that is what must be done. Whether our involvement in Asia is necessary is a matter of opinion and interpretation of facts. I have heard very convincing arguments on both sides. The past several administrations have felt that it was necessary. Until someone presents a better argument against involvement than I have yet heard, I will support the Government policy, if not as an absolute good, then as one of a group of alternatives, all more or less undesirable. If we can now afford to leave Southeast Asia, militarily at least, then so much the better. It is a happy occasion when what one wants to do and what he must do coincide. Given the process of Vietnamization as an aid to U.S. withdrawal—which I suppose is as good a beginning as any—the move into Cambodia, whatever its results, has its justification. It has its dangers, too. But I have no better suggestion to make as to how the U.S. should get out, and since I don't, it seems to me that all I can do is to support the Government—which is, after all, mine—until I have what I feel is a better solution.

I regret the death and destruction that U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia has caused. I also regret the death and destruction caused by World War II. One of the themes that World War II historians play repeatedly—with little variation—is to berate the nations and their leaders for their lack of concern over the invasion of Ethiopia and Manchuria. If the world of the thirties learned the hard way that it was truly global and that what happened anywhere could affect everyone, how much more global is the world of 1970, when trade, transportation, and communication are so much more rapid, placing any point on the globe within easy reach of any other point. To refuse to acknowledge the rest of the world, then as now, is not only foolhardy, but also dangerous. And not to be involved is impossible, at least for any nation that wishes to have any control over its future. I cannot maintain that our action in Vietnam has prevented another world war; I cannot even maintain that it can never lead to one. It does seem to me, however, to represent an effort to find a path to, if not true peace, then to warlessness. In seeking this precious and elusive goal, trial and error is a slow, painful, and costly method, but it is the only one we have. Error has shown that ignoring the situation only worsened it.

I am a history major. In my work, I have been struck by one constant point throughout history. It is not how you played the game, but whether you won or lost that matters. Only the successful, the victorious are right, even when they were more lucky than skillful or intelligent. History is, above all else, pragmatic. What works is what interests the historians more than what fails. But the chances of making the right combination of decisions are slim. And the results can be a long time in being determined. All a man can do is to try to make the right decisions. Even angels can do no more.

I have a great deal of respect for many of my friends who are protesting our involvement in Southeast Asia. And I suspect that I am a little jealous of them. I wish that I could see things as clearly as they do. I think that the only way I shall ever see that clearly—if indeed, I ever do—is to continue to read and study and reason, actions which I can best carry on within the framework of

the academic community. For this reason, I deplore the acts of some student protestors to close down the academic community. I acknowledge their right to protest, but I expect them to acknowledge at the same time my right not to protest and to continue my work in the manner that I see fit. Maybe my refusal to take a stand based more on my own opinions than on opinions here in Washington is a form of laziness, of escapism, but I don't think so. For me, at least, it is a form of intellectual honesty. I see too many sides to the problem to be able to make a definite decision of my own. And until I feel that I have a better solution, a better personal decision, I feel that the Government is entitled to my support—not uncritically and unthinkingly—but in the absence of any better alternative.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you very much for a superb statement, Cally.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Monagan.

Mr. MONAGAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I do want to compliment Miss Lewis on a certain amount of perspective that is not always apparent in some of these statements. But I really am disturbed by your conclusion which seems to indicate that if you have the power and succeed, that that is the sole criterion by which a national policy should be governed. I'm sure that Hitler said something very similar to this. Now should a great country such as ours base its policy only upon whether we can crush some other country, and if so, how can we object to what was done in Czechoslovakia, for example?

Miss LEWIS. Well, I would like to make a distinction there. I said that history determines what is right by what succeeds. I do not think that in the process of making history, that this is a valid basis to make a decision.

Mr. MONAGAN. Well, I'm happy to have that clarification, because it did seem to imply that you agreed with that conclusion.

Miss LEWIS. No, sir.

Mr. MONAGAN. Thank you.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Thomson.

Mr. THOMSON. Well, I just want to say that we're very pleased to have a little light along with a great deal of heat we've been getting.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Mize.

Mr. MIZE. I hope you won't mind if I send a copy of your statement to my daughter. [Laughter.]

Mr. FINDLEY. I think you can tell clearly, Miss Lewis, that your statement was attended very carefully and with great admiration, and I thank you very much for making this contribution.

Miss LEWIS. Thank you, sir.

Mr. FINDLEY. Murphy Davis is next on the schedule. Miss Davis is also from Mary Baldwin College. Miss Davis, I hope you'll identify your colleagues on this occasion.

Miss DAVIS. On my left is Miss Good from Chambersburg, Pa., and on my right, Carson Pease from Charlotte, N.C. As will become apparent to you, we come from a student body where there is a wide diversity of opinion, and I would like to speak in general terms for another sort of opinion on the campus.

STATEMENT BY MURPHY DAVIS, MARY BALDWIN COLLEGE

Miss DAVIS. There have always been difficult problems in discussing U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia because our policy is

deeply entrenched in rigid conceptual patterns, cliches, and stereotypes. It is imperative that we come to clarity on what we mean by such terms as "freedom," "honor," "self-determination," "aggression," and "democracy." When President Nixon addressed the Nation on November 3, 1969, his speech was heavy with emotion-laden abstractions of this sort; he spoke of preserving American "honor" and "prestige" and "saving face" in the world. As a result of this tendency in policy speeches, it has been extremely difficult for many people in the country—indeed, some of the policymakers themselves—to extricate themselves from an emotionally based premise in order to make some rational evaluation of our situation in Asia.

We encounter a problem of somewhat the same nature often in speaking of history. We cannot be bound in our thinking by equating present situations and conflicts exactly with what has gone before. We would of course be more than foolish to ignore historical precedent, but if we cannot use history as a tool for creative thinking and a creative seeking of new ways to approach problems, then we become slaves and pawns of history.

The U.S. war in Southeast Asia is symptomatic of a very rigid method of thinking about world situations. Much of our policy in Vietnam seems to have grown from the simplistic and somewhat distorted notion that we are fighting against a Government that is Communist and evil and on behalf of a Government that is "democratic" and "good" and in line with what is in the American ideology a duly-elected Government. Our official position—up to the President's most recent policy statements—has remained one of inerrancy. We have made no mistakes in our policy and we have no apologies to make to any nation or people of the world. The official picture of this war still presented to us is one of the "good" at war to overcome the "evil." This is a rigid position to say the least. From such a basis, it perhaps makes sense to think in terms of pure military strategy rather than a negotiated peace. Our country has blatantly ignored provisions of the Geneva Accords; we have assumed a military obligation to Saigon that never had any legitimate basis for its existence. We have kept Vietnam divided when it was never intended that the country be two political entities. Now years after our first advisers were sent to Saigon, the situation still requires more than 400,000 American troops and the kind of firepower that far surpasses anything that North Vietnam can put on the field—even with Chinese and Russian aid—just to keep the Thieu-Ky regime in power. Of course the policy of Vietnamization is designed to get us out of the present situation without being "humiliated", but the question of how many more years and lives it will require and what will be finally established by it is another issue indeed.

Within the past month now the President has sent troops to war in Cambodia on his own decision. He did this because he felt that it was strategically necessary and he personally assumed all responsibility for the move with a subtle implication that all should admire his courage. But the important issue is that in such an action the President blatantly ignored the constitutional provision for division of power. Moving into Cambodia to clear out enemy pockets that had been there for quite some time was no immediate emergency, and it seems very strange indeed that he consulted with not even one

Member of Congress before taking such a decisive step. This was the crossing of an internationally recognized border by American and South Vietnamese troops into a country to which we were never invited. This seems to be a serious usurpation of power by the President and it seems imperative that the Congress immediately reassert the power it is constitutionally due. The Constitution was written with the specific idea of protecting the American people from the misuse of military power by making the dispatch of military power a joint responsibility of the executive and legislative branches of Government. The President's appeals to patriotism making the Cambodia move a test of "our will and character" encourage emotionalized evaluation of the situation. But we must come to grips with the actual realistic implications of this unprecedented move. For Congress to continue to abdicate its power will perhaps mean political self-destruction. We must face up to the fact that this has been a President's war from its very beginning. It remains an officially undeclared war and all policy, objectives, troop commitments, bombing orders, and withdrawals have been made from the Presidency. Congress has voted appropriations to support the war, but the basic decisions have all been made by the Chief Executive.

So America is still idealistically trying to bring freedom to Vietnam when she herself is enslaved by conceptions of herself and set solutions to her problems which are no longer applicable. Freedom depends upon devising new alternatives for the present, unique situations. A real leader should be able to undercut the assumptions of posed historical situations and think creatively about new alternatives. This means a resolute refusal to be bound by whole-system views and assumptions from historical alternatives. History must be no more than a tool in our policymaking; when it comes to control our thinking, we are enslaved indeed. Our present situation—whether domestic or foreign—must be seen as unique and requiring its own evaluations and attention not dependent upon methods of thinking and action from past situations. Such a method requires careful scrutiny of these present situations and abandonment of the rigid patterns of conceptualization.

The war issue is driving deep wedges between sectors of our society. In spite of President Nixon's inaugural promise to "bring us together," we are more divided than would have ever seemed possible to many. Students are dying on their own university campuses at the hands of "law" enforcement officials, and our President tells us that "violence begets violence." In Augusta, Ga. six black men are dead of gunshot wounds in the back also in the name of the law. The war or something in our national ethos has instilled within us a warlike spirit. Our Nation officially sanctions violence and that violence comes out in all the My Lai's, the murders at Kent State, Jackson State, Chicago, and now Augusta. Sadly, this violence also calls forth and nurtures an equally irrational counter-violence in the streets of our cities and all over the country. A movement has begun in this country and I cannot believe that it will be stopped now.

I appeal to you as Members of Congress to give us the kind of responsible leadership we need. We are tired of the inconsistencies and unfairness we see in our national policies. We are told that we must not be humiliated in Asia and that we must remain there in

order to "save face". What face are we saving? We are being humiliated by our Government's unwillingness to admit to any error. I am not ready to believe that our system is beyond hope of being saved; I do believe that in the matter of the war in Southeast Asia we have not been a responsible enough citizenry when we should have long ago brought public pressures on you our Congressmen to reassert the legislative power that you are constitutionally provided.

We must do everything within our power to immediately bring to a close our involvement in this hideous war we have helped to create. Only when we are out of this war altogether will we be able to reorient our priorities and seriously deal with the domestic problems which, if left unaltered, will rip us apart as a Nation.

Mr. FINDLEY. I'm sure my colleagues on the panel will agree that your statement, as well as that of your associate who was just heard, speaks very well for Mary Baldwin College. Mr. Fascell.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Miss Davis, you certainly have made a very cogent and penetrating analysis. I compliment you on it. I wonder if what's missing is missing by purpose, or whether I should draw an inference from what has not been touched upon? In doing what you suggest and advocate, are we to be as elected officials, totally unconcerned with the results, except as it may affect us domestically? Is that what you're saying?

Miss DAVIS. Do you mean the results of our withdrawal from Southeast Asia?

Mr. FASCELL. With whatever you suggest.

Miss DAVIS. No sir, I don't think I'm advocating that. I think we certainly have a responsibility to the country of Vietnam, in view of what we have, for the past 11 years of fighting, done to the country. It's ravaged, it's politically divided, it's defoliated, millions of people have been killed. But I feel that the most responsible thing we can do for that country is get out. We've messed in their politics far too long.

Mr. FASCELL. That is a factor, and I'm glad to have you respond to that. You can't respond to these other factors of course. But I just have to raise them because if we were going to pursue this excellent presentation, I think we would have to pursue it in the same clinical manner in which you've approached it so far. What happens or what does the United States do following the pursuit of this policy if the pressures are applied to us in the Middle East or in Berlin or in some other place, whether it's by the Russians or the Red Chinese or somebody else? And whether any of these problems are related? Is that a factor?

Miss DAVIS. I think one thing that I tried to point out in my statement is that I think part of the fault of what has happened, part of the responsibility for what has happened in Vietnam—

Mr. FASCELL. Has been our rigid conceptualization about what might happen?

Miss DAVIS. Right. Right. But I think it very definitely has to be laid on the shoulders of the American public for not being aware of what we were doing. It's a very easy thing to say we must trust the President, we must trust his knowledge of the situation. But it's irresponsible citizenry to abdicate our power to one man, and it's not the kind of system we're supposed to be living in. I seriously

condemn the American public for the way we have sat back and let these things happen.

Mr. FASCELL. We're all included in that condemnation. I would hope and I'm going to presume on my time, Mr. Chairman, that you have the opportunity to analyze the related factors. I'd like to read such an analysis by you.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Boland.

Mr. BOLAND. Well, it's apparent, as it is in the Congress and in the country, that there is a division at Mary Baldwin. I must say that both sides have articulated their opinions extremely well in what are magnificent statements. Fine language, and very thoughtful statements. I am concerned, Miss Davis, about one of your statements on the second to last page which indicates that our Nation officially sanctions violence. You really don't believe that, do you, as a nation that we really sanction violence?

Miss DAVIS. In a very subtle sort of way, but what is our involvement in Southeast Asia if it's not violence?

Mr. BOLAND. Well, when you speak of the Nation sanctioning violence, of whom do you speak?

Miss DAVIS. I speak of the President, the Congress, and the people of the United States.

Mr. BOLAND. What about your statement that "a movement has begun in this country, and I cannot believe that it will be stopped." Now, what movement are you referring to?

Miss DAVIS. This has been referred to by several of my predecessors making statements. There's an intense rise in the impatience of many students in viewing our national problems in foreign affairs and domestic problems. As someone pointed out earlier, this feeling of frustration has been known to our black brothers and sisters for years and years, and they've tried to tell us about it. But it's been hard for us to see. And now many of us are beginning to see that, perhaps, there is a repressive element in our society. There are many of us who are still willing to work through the system, but there are many young people who are becoming extremely impatient.

Mr. BOLAND. Well, I think your presence here today is an emphatic demonstration of the fact you are willing to work through the system. And there is an opportunity of course to change some of the things that students like yourself and a lot of others who are here today are concerned with. Change doesn't come overnight and no one expects it to come overnight. At the same time I recognize the fact, as most of you do that, perhaps it comes too late. Sometimes the wait is too long. But it does come, and the experiences I've had in this Congress with respect to some of the problems that affect the blacks, affect the poor, the disadvantaged; this Nation has taken great strides. It's taken great strides really because there have been people like yourself, like people who are here, who have supported those who enter public life who believe in some of these programs. Some of the great programs that have been passed over the past 20 years in the administrations of President Eisenhower, President Kennedy, President Johnson, and some even in this administration, are programs that are attuned to trying to solve the very, very difficult problems that this Nation has. And this Nation has more difficult problems than perhaps any other nation on the face of the

globe because of the composite of the people who live in this Nation. But there is an effort being made, and your very presence here, and your concern about it, I think, really indicates that people are listening. I just want you to go back and tell those at Mary Baldwin they're listening on both sides of the question, too, as I would tell Miss Lewis. Thank you very much.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Fascell.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Miss Davis, do you think that Congress can legislate a change in the attitude of the American people?

Miss DAVIS. That would be extremely difficult. It would. And this is why I continue to emphasize the point, that it's the responsibility of all of us to see that some attitudes and patterns of conceptualization are changed by grassroots efforts. We've been a very irresponsible public.

Mr. FASCELL. Haven't we too long relied upon new programs and infusions of money to correct our social ills?

Miss DAVIS. Yes we have, but some of the programs are still very slow.

Mr. FASCELL. Isn't that a rigid conceptualization?

Miss DAVIS. Excuse me? What?

Mr. FASCELL. Isn't relying on legislative programs and the use of funds to correct our social ills a rigid conceptualization that we better start changing?

Miss DAVIS. Well, if that's what we rely on solely.

Mr. FINDLEY. Miss Davis, one of the topics that I hope that you and your colleagues on the campuses will give more thought to and I hope we on the Hill will as well, is attempting to deal with the gray area in the Constitution dealing with the relationship of the Congress and the President as Commander in Chief. Mr. Fascell and I have both introduced similar resolutions which deal with this question. They attempt to define the circumstances in which a Commander in Chief does have reserve powers and can act with dispatch without prior consent of Congress. They also establish a requirement that the President must report formally to the Congress very promptly after the act, and thus give the Congress a means of review and passing judgment as to whether this action was within the scope of the President's reserve powers as Commander in Chief. We think it would act as a useful restraint. In the case of the Cambodian incursion, the President would be required to report promptly to Congress why he did it, and then the Congress could deal with this report and pass judgment as to whether it was within the constitutional framework. Do you have any comment on that?

Miss DAVIS. I have a copy of your resolution, and I'm very curious to know if this, in fact, is capable of preventing another situation like we've encountered in Cambodia. The President is obligated to report to you, but he is obligated and not pressed any farther to seek the advice and consent of the Members of Congress.

Mr. FINDLEY. Well, it recognizes that there probably will be future circumstances when the President as Commander in Chief does have to act with dispatch and perhaps with secrecy. But even in those rare circumstances, which I would hope would be very narrowly construed, he does have a responsibility to the legislative branch. We're

trying to provide a mechanism through which this responsibility can be fulfilled.

Well, we're very grateful to you for your appearance.

The next witness is Mr. Neil Oxman of Villanova University. Is Mr. Oxman here?

Mr. OXMAN. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

**STATEMENT BY NEIL A. OXMAN, STUDENT BODY PRESIDENT,
VILLANOVA UNIVERSITY**

Mr. OXMAN. Mr. Chairman, I would first like to thank you for myself—and if I might take the liberty to do so—for the other young people who have testified and will testify before this panel. I only hope our words will truly be heard and not merely listened to.

I make no claims to be an expert on foreign or military matters. For this reason alone, what I and what many of my fellow students have said has been for the most part ignored by this administration. But I can, and have, and am now observing marked events that are taking place, both abroad and at home, which are drastically changing the face of this Nation.

We have watched a President come into office and claim that he has "a secret plan for peace in Southeast Asia." He also said that he will "lower our voices and bring us together."

And yet, what I see today, is an escalation of the war in Southeast Asia, a raising of our voices and the greatest polarization of young versus old, black versus white, rich versus poor, and left versus right, that we have ever seen.

And, I am observing, from the point of view of a student who is an activist, but has not gone to the point of violence, foreign policy and military matters that have been handled with an air of deception in what appears to me to be a plan that is telling the American public to believe that we are following course *x* when we are actually enacting course *y*.

I do not mean to imply that the President sits with Messrs. Kissinger, Laird, and Mitchell and purposely plots out schemes that are the exact opposite of what we are truly following, but the strong sense of secrecy with which this administration is handling itself cannot have any good effects.

In September 1969, Senator Mansfield, in his report to the President and to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee upon his return from Southeast Asia, strongly urged Mr. Nixon to collaborate closely with Congress in making the decisions that affect the Nation's foreign affairs. In Vietnam, in Laos, and in Cambodia, the President seems to have done just the opposite.

I cannot believe that the Congress of the United States is going to allow the President to act unconstitutionally and wage war in an illegal manner any longer.

I strongly feel that the time has come for all Senators and Congressmen to stand up to the people of this country and say either one of two things:

(1) That the Congress declares war against the people and the government of North Vietnam and in doing so has the legal right to

continue fighting there and in Southeast Asia until a time when they believe a victory has been won, or

(2) That the Congress declares that our ventures into Southeast Asia have been a grave mistake and that Congress shall declare a timetable—preferably not later than June 1971—for withdrawal of all American troops from Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam.

I think that a statement like this is the first priority of Congress at this moment, and has been years late in coming.

I also believe very strongly that the Congress cannot let the administration come up with compromise alternatives to legislation like the McGovern-Hatfield bill in the Senate, but Congress must set the direction that it wants to see this country evolve towards.

We cannot let "secret plans" be our guide any longer. I do not believe that there ever was a secret plan or that there is one now. For this reason Congress must enact its own plan to pull this country out of the mire that we have become bogged down in.

Once this has been completed, I believe that there are a few more basic objectives—that have been stated time and time again—that we must accomplish if we ever want to live in peace on this planet.

First, we must recognize one thing very, very clearly. We must establish that our goal is not to act as the world's policeman or as a unilateral peacekeeping force for the people of this planet. This concept and policy is neither advisable nor good for the future of the United States and the rest of this world.

We must move to strengthen a body like the United Nations and to make it become more than just a "forum for invective."

We must also see a changing of our forms of aid and our types of foreign policy toward all countries—particularly those of the third world—combined with a reversal of our national priorities and a drastic cut—up to 40 percent—in the budget of the Defense Department.

I cannot believe that today when we are supposedly working toward a final reconciliation of mankind that we are in need of a standing army of 3 million men.

I cannot believe that the American people are allowing the Defense Department to spend over \$3 billion last year for spying purposes when our schools and colleges are going broke.

And, I cannot believe that year after year Congress is appropriating almost two-thirds of every tax dollar toward some aspect of the military.

We cannot let these trends continue any longer.

I am sure that the civilians of South Vietnam—rather than have millions of rounds of ammunition sent to them, would instead want to receive the equivalent of all the surplus wheat we dump in the ocean, or the tons of potatoes that farmers in Maine have burned, or the billions of dollars we pay people in this country not to grow food.

And, I am sure that the prestige of this Nation would skyrocket upward if we took all the money that we are willing to spend for antiballistic missile systems and bought medical supplies for the sick peoples of Asia and Africa and South America and even the United States.

Permit me to sound trite and use the term again "reversal of national priorities" but Congress cannot sit on its hands and let millions of Americans continue to remain ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed, and ill-educated while we lavish billions and billions into armaments and war and the military-industrial complex in this country grows mightier.

It is tritism by this time but it is still true and we must begin to correct those ills that go along with that tritism.

I realize that in only 10 minutes of testimony I will not be able to come up with the cures for this Nation's ills or the panaceas for our country's foreign policy but let me conclude by saying this: Congress right now must seize the initiative and try to fill the gap that the President has created between those on the left and himself. For if Congress does not fill this gap the only alternative for many people is not redress of grievances constitutionally but violence. Let us hope that that situation will not occur and we can begin to change the direction of this Nation and make this world a better place for my generation to inherit.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you Mr. Oxman. Mr. Hicks.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Oxman, in your early remark that you hope you're truly heard, not merely listened to, I suppose that translates into the fact that you hope that you get what you're speaking for. My question to you is how far out in front of his actual district do you think a Member of the House of Representatives can be in bringing about what it is that you're asking for? The corollary to that would be how willing do you think that students will be to maintain a sustained effort over a period of time, which might be several years, in order to help bring these districts to the point of view that you have, assuming as a fact that it would be desirable to reach that state.

Mr. OXMAN. I think right now the students of this country are willing to work towards these goals for a few more years within the framework of this system. But there's so much frustration and so much dissatisfaction with what is going on now, that I could not see it continue for 4, 5, or 10 years, and still have the present results come about. I think very strongly that you'll see it until November and possibly afterwards because of the election. I don't know how much farther after that if we don't get our results.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Thomson.

Mr. THOMSON. I'm interested in your repeated reference to secret plans. You say we cannot let "secret plans be our guide any longer." I do not believe there ever was a secret plan or that there is one now. Within the last year 115,000 Americans have been withdrawn from Vietnam and the President announced in April that he intended to withdraw another 150,000. That wasn't very secretive; it was on nationwide television. Did you miss that?

Mr. OXMAN. No, I saw that, Congressman. What I'm referring to is the fact that I don't believe that the President withdraws troops on any set pattern but withdraws troops—in fact there was a piece in one of the papers this morning that he's thinking about announcing another troop withdrawal just to placate many of the students who are screaming down his back, and many of the Members of the Senate and the Congress, only because that is what they want and that is what is good politically. Now, I think the President acts on

political motivation. I really don't think he has a plan, I don't think he had one during his campaign when he said he had a plan to end this war quickly, and I don't believe in what he's telling the American people to be true.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Mize.

Mr. MIZE. I have no questions.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Fascell, do you have a question?

Mr. FASCELL. Do you mean if Congress does not fill this gap the only alternative for many people is not to redress their grievances constitutionally, but violently. Is that a personal belief held by you?

Mr. OXMAN. No, no, it's not personal.

Mr. FASCELL. That's an opinion?

Mr. OXMAN. Yes; yes, sir. But in talking with many people at Villanova, which is a rather conservative campus in schools around the mainline area in Philadelphia, if someone doesn't fill the vacuum that seems to be, have been created between the President of the United States and what many people on the left want, in response to the great problems of this country, then there are people around who are going to burn and who are going to riot, and you know it as well as I do.

Mr. FASCELL. Oh, I agree; I agree with you. But you know the thought that occurs to me, Mr. Oxman, is this: If war is immoral, and war is bad; if war doesn't really conclude anything; if it is negative; and is outmoded, doesn't the use of violence also indicate a failure of the intellect?

Mr. OXMAN. Yes, sometimes. What I was referring to was that I think it was the role of Congress now to seize that initiative; I said that before, and I—

Mr. FASCELL. Right. I understand. I think we're on the same railroad track. We're in agreement and Congress will seize the initiative if that's the will of the majority of the people in the United States, as the Congress sees it.

Mr. OXMAN. May I ask you a question, sir?

Mr. FASCELL. Certainly.

Mr. OXMAN. Do you always act upon what the people—doesn't the Congress ever get ahead of the people of the United States and try to solve the—instead of going from crisis to crisis in the United States, doesn't Congress try to go from preparation to preparation in order to meet what might inevitably be a crisis? Isn't that a role of Congress sometimes?

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Oxman, you know you could debate that forever, but there is no such thing really as "the Congress" except on paper. There are individual Congressmen. Maybe you can get a consensus. Maybe you can get unanimity of opinion. Maybe you can get an agreed thrust towards a direction. Maybe you can pass a law. But Congress by itself doesn't administer it, doesn't implement it, doesn't execute it, and Congress doesn't speak with one voice.

Mr. OXMAN. Why do you say that—

Mr. FASCELL. It may respond to my action. It may respond to my leadership, and I may get enough votes for what it is that I propose. Congress doesn't operate in a vacuum; it doesn't operate as a unit; it doesn't have a director general telling it what to do. The whole

essence of representative democracy is try to distill from the constituencies what the will of the constituencies might be, and that's a very difficult job at best. My job would be easy if in my district, every day, on every issue, we took a vote, and the people could tell me what I was supposed to do. It would be a simple thing. I wouldn't have to weigh in the balance all of the factors. I wouldn't even have to convince my colleagues of what their position ought to be when it's different from mine. And I get very frustrated when their position isn't exactly like mine. You know, I'm only one out of 435. But that's the whole essence of the problem.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Mize.

Mr. MIZE. You say the President's announcements of troop withdrawals are politically motivated. Now, when the President does terminate our military role in Southeast Asia, are those who have been so vocal in expressing their dissatisfaction with the war going to take credit for it, and say that they pressured the President into making these political actions?

Mr. OXMAN. I think some of the students in this country are acting as a catalyst to get the President moving occasionally.

Mr. MIZE. Then in the future, is that the way we're going to decide all issues?

Mr. OXMAN. I would hope that we wouldn't have to decide all issues like that, because I would hope that the President could see the problems before they reach the magnitude of Southeast Asia, and I hope the Congress could see the problems before we have twenty million or so people starving in this country, and prepare for those problems, and meet those crises before they become of that magnitude. And that's what I would like to see happen in this country. I think that's what all of us in this room would like to see.

Mr. MIZE. Well, we're wrestling with them every day. Believe me, we do share your concern.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you very much, Mr. Oxman, for your presentation. The next witness scheduled is Ross Lominitz, from New Mexico Tech, but so far he has not reported in. Is he present? Ross Lominitz?

If not, we will hear from John Cook, of Kalamazoo College, Kalamazoo, Mich. And while he's approaching the witness chair, I know I speak for all members of the panel in expressing our appreciation to these young Americans for taking the trouble, investing the money, investing the time and energy that is so well represented by these statements. Mr. Cook.

STATEMENT BY JOHN R. COOK, KALAMAZOO COLLEGE

Mr. COOK. I come to you as a political science major from Kalamazoo College who is working this spring as a Senate Intern. My purpose is to express my emotions and thoughts on the recent Indochina events and campus reactions. I do not pretend to be an expert in either area. What I hope to do is give you the impressions of a young American; impressions which I believe represent the thoughts of many other concerned students. I am not one who believes in violence. I believe the American system is still potentially viable. Recently though, my faith has been severely shaken.

As I listened to the President the night of April 30, I was overcome with both anger and fear. I was angry that my President seemed to no longer represent the best interests of my Nation but it was fear that truly overwhelmed me. I was not and am not afraid of dying but I do fear the decision I had to make that night. I knew that I could no longer be apathetic toward the situation. There is a certain indescribable point, where a man must stand behind his convictions instead of ignoring them in the face of adversity. I had reached that point and I realized that I could not participate in the immoral war. But what could I do? I cannot even vote. The only immediate legal action feasible was to peacefully participate in a demonstration here in the Capitol, which apparently had no effect on the President. To be able to live with myself, I know I must make a bigger commitment than just participating in a protest or even testifying in front of this committee. That night, I decided that I would not be a member of any American army involved in Southeast Asia. This kind of decision left me with only two alternatives: Jail or leave the country. I am not willing to go to jail, therefore the American Government has forced me into a moral position where it may be necessary for me to leave the United States. I cannot stress to you enough how much it hurts me to make that decision. I love my country and the thought of leaving it appalls me. If I left, I would be giving up law school, my friends, my family. My entire life as I have planned it would be destroyed. But what is a thinking human being to do? The President talked of honor, in fact, the well-being of the Vietnamese seemed lost in this grasp for honor. It is a mere chauvinistic drive. A truly great honorable man or country can and will admit that it has made mistakes and will go on to try and correct these errors instead of disclaiming them in the name of honor. When a nation is so engrossed and overwhelmed with its own power that honor becomes a goal instead of a guide; the integrity and honor of the individual in that country is forfeited. I may only be 20, but I am a man and my honor as a human being would be compromised should I support the present actions of my President.

These reactions, I believe, may help you to understand the feelings of many young people at this moment. My generation has always been considered the concerned generation but now they are compelled to act. Even my most conservative friends write me and plead "John, what can we do?" The constitution guarantees the right to assembly but that right is met with bullets and bayonets. The tragic events at Kent State and Jackson State have caused a polarization among previously nonalienated students like myself. When I saw the students with their business suits lobbying in the Senate I had a feeling that these were "my people." At the demonstration where some were far more radical than I, I still felt that these were "my people," unified by a common frustration.

This frustration can be alleviated by men like you. If you support, and when the time comes, vote for measures such as the McGovern-Hatfield amendment, much of the anxiety and distrust can be dispelled.

As late President Kennedy said, "Those who make peaceful revolution impossible, will make violent revolution inevitable," and gentlemen, you are "those" people.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Fascell.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you Mr. Chairman, Mr. Cook, I'm sorry you had to reach that kind of personal conclusion. Those kinds of decisions are indeed difficult and personal. I hope that whatever action Congress can take would be taken so as to relieve your anxiety and the anxiety of many people who obviously believe just like you do. The thought that concerns me, I just wonder what your reaction to it is, when the effort is made, made as hard as anyone knows how to make it in this Congress, and the exact language or the exact amendment that you advocate is not passed—we have already had four different votes in the House on this issue or part of it not too long ago and they all failed (we did manage to get a hundred and forty-six votes in support). Then, what's your thinking going to be?

Mr. COOK. Sir, I am willing to stay with this country as long as I can and support it. Possibly the President's move into Cambodia will work. If it does, then maybe he'll be a hero. If it doesn't, at the present time I'm not prepared to get a gun—

Mr. FASCELL. I wasn't asking you with respect to your own personal decision on whether you'd leave the country or wouldn't leave the country. That's something you have to struggle with within yourself. What I meant was, representing the kind of thought and feeling you do, the anxiety, the frustration of students, and the strong support among the student groups for the McGovern-Hatfield amendment and for the Church-Cooper amendment, supposing both of those fail? It's been given a real go, and it will be given a real go in the Senate, maybe it'll get over to the House. It may pass in the Senate and die in the House. Now what's the attitude going to be among students? Is that the end of the ball game? Are you going to burn the football, and the stadium, or are you going to try again? I know there's going to be more anxiety and we're going to be more frustrated, but aside from that, what do you personally think the reaction is going to be if that event should occur?

Mr. COOK. There will be a few, I think, who are now considered radical—which is a bad word to use, automatically categorizing someone—but there will be a few who may take up arms, sniper fire, or riot. But I think the worst reaction as far as the government goes will be the amount of students who before were apathetic, who before were moderate, who will be no longer that way. They will become frustrated, you will bring in a new group. The longer this kind of thing goes on, the more people that will join me.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, may I say we welcome the participation of people who are not apathetic. We want them to be committed to a point of view. Nothing wrong with that.

Mr. COOK. Gentlemen, though, if this kind of thing keeps up, apathy sometimes turns into frustration instead of just turning into commitment. You know as well as I do that if you write your Congressman or your Senator, you usually get back a form letter, especially in the—

Mr. FASCELL. No, I don't know that at all. That's not true and I answer over a hundred thousand letters a year. That's not true.

Mr. COOK. Well, it is true in the Senate. [Laughter.]

Mr. FASCELL. I have no further questions.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hicks.

Mr. HICKS. We have heard a number of young people today sit where you are and say that they can't convince their parents on this matter. And yet they're sitting here trying to convince Congress. Now, certainly we want to hear the views of the young people. But shouldn't they be convincing their parents and the rest of the country? You're not saying you're going to opt out of the system, that the system doesn't work if people won't listen to you, but listen doesn't mean that they've got to agree every time, does it?

Mr. Cook. No, of course not.

Mr. HICKS. What Mr. Fascell was saying was we're giving it a go here, those of us who feel like you do, and we lose, and we did lose, at least Mr. Fascell and I lost the other day—we only got a hundred and forty-six votes. But does that mean that you should go to Canada or elsewhere, or are you going to stay and help change this so that there are enough people here so next time there will be a majority vote for our position.

Mr. Cook. Of course, I do not intend to leave immediately if this does not, if nothing happens. But we can always talk, these are always the words used, all right, if it doesn't work this time, go back and try again. With myself I do not know when the point will come when I'll say, "I've tried enough." My parents, as far as my parents are convinced, I'm doing the right thing. My Grandmother's volunteered to go to—

Mr. HICKS. Just this one point, and I thank you for indulging me, Mr. Chairman. Look at the movement that has occurred since New Hampshire and Senator McCarthy. And if it hadn't been for Cambodia, wouldn't you have been satisfied—reasonably satisfied—with the direction that the war was winding down?

Mr. Cook. Let's say I would not have been as violently opposed to it. Satisfied maybe is not the word.

Mr. HICKS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FINDLEY. Well, Mr. Cook, you have presented one of the most frank, personal reports we've had, and I admire your frankness. With Mr. Fascell and others, I wonder if you're really doing what is best for your country—by even contemplating abandoning it to those who you feel are not doing a good job. If your love of country is really as great as you say in your statement, it would seem to me that you should stay here and fight it out and try to make the country what you would like to see it, recognizing that it isn't all that you would desire.

Mr. Cook. Yes, sir, that is what I intend to do. If it comes to the point that I am drafted, though, the only thing I can do to avoid this war is not to go. Now, like I say, there are not a whole lot of alternatives. I can go to jail, I can leave the country, or I can fight if I'm drafted.

Mr. FINDLEY. Is there any other question? Well, thank you, Mr. Cook, we're very grateful to you.

The next witness is Dick Moss of John Jay College of Criminal Justice, New York City. Mr. Moss. Please identify those who are with you for the record and then proceed.

Mr. Moss. This is George Leifer, Larry Finn, Ivonne Hughes, and Kenneth Wiseman.

STATEMENT BY DICK MOSS, JOHN JAY COLLEGE OF CRIMINAL
JUSTICE, THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Mr. Moss. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee: We would like to thank you for giving us this opportunity to present our views on the war in Southeast Asia and its relationship to the domestic crises facing our Nation today. We are especially interested in discussing with you how the current social and political situation affects students at our school, which specializes in the education of law enforcement personnel and civilians who have a vital interest in the criminal justice system.

The John Jay College of Criminal Justice is a 4-year liberal arts college and a branch of the City University of New York. Our institution is unusual, however, in that of its 3,000 students over 75 percent are members of various law enforcement agencies, particularly the New York City Police Department. I myself am a member of the New York City Police Department currently on academic leave.

Recent events at our college have demonstrated that many members of the John Jay College community—administration, faculty, and students—are very concerned and upset about what has been happening in Southeast Asia and on our Nation's campuses. On May 7th, the faculty of John Jay College passed the following resolution:

In light of the recent invasion of Cambodia and the tragic deaths on our Nation's campuses, we, the faculty and staff of John Jay College, feel that our Nation is facing a crisis of such magnitude that action to resolve this crisis must take precedence over "business as usual."

Therefore, we resolve that all normal activity at John Jay College be suspended indefinitely and that all students, staff members, and faculty be relieved of all further academic obligations this semester in order that they may devote all their time and energy to engage in whatever action they deem necessary to resolve the present crisis.

Thus the faculty clearly expressed its dissatisfaction with the war and its feeling that the United States is facing "a crisis of such magnitude" that action to resolve this crisis had to take precedence over normal academic activity.

The student body also held a referendum on the question of whether or not to close the college for the remainder of the semester as a means of symbolic protest against the escalation of the Vietnam war. The result of the vote was that 48 percent of those voting (most of whom, again, were policemen) voted to close the college and demonstrate their dismay and alarm at the present trend of our national policy. In addition, many students who voted to keep the college open were also extremely unhappy with the direction of our national policy, but felt that closing the college was not the best means of expressing dissent or resolving our problems.

The closeness of the student referendum at John Jay indicates that many educated policemen are displeased with the present course of our foreign and domestic policies. Why is this so? It is because the student who is also a policeman is often most acutely aware of the deleterious effects the war in Vietnam is having on our society.

It is obvious, for one thing, that the war is so splitting our body politic and breeding such hostility towards the institutions of our

society that the basic respect for law and justice, upon which our system is based, is threatened.

It is insane for our country to follow a foreign policy that often leads to violent confrontations between policemen and our own students—the future leaders of our society. Moreover, the increasing probability that a policeman will often have to use violence against students—some of whom may be his friends—makes it more difficult for police departments to recruit and retain competent, concerned young people. (In a similar vein, a civilian student at our college who was offered an appointment to the National Guard the day after the tragedy at Kent State is refusing this appointment, and risking imprisonment, rather than chancing being put in the position of having to use violence against a fellow student.)

As students, policemen (and police training generally) are suffering from the massive drain on our resources that the Vietnam war entails. To take just one example, the LEEP program, which finances the college education of actual and potential law enforcement officers, is threatened with insufficient funding because of the drain, by the war, on the budget. This would mean that many law enforcement officers who would like to get a college education will not be able to do so; and this would obviously affect the quality of law enforcement.

Moreover, and most importantly, to the extent that the war utilizes resources which are vitally needed to rebuild our cities, develop our human potential, and resolve our other social problems it directly contributes to those conditions which breed the crime and social unrest which is making the job of the policeman increasingly unattractive.

These are problems which could be corrected if our resources and energies were directed toward helping our own people and nation.

Therefore, we recommend the following:

(1) that the Cooper-Church and McGovern-Hatfield amendments be passed by the Congress, without any compromise;

(2) that our national wealth be directed immediately toward the total elimination of hunger and poverty in America, toward providing decent housing for every citizen, toward providing the optimal education for every child, and toward providing justice for all members of our society;

(3) that the Congress use all available means to encourage local and State law enforcement agencies to recognize and utilize the value of a college education for their personnel;

(4) that the Federal Government do its utmost to discourage the use—and even the presence—of lethal weapons to deal with campus and civil disorders, so that under no circumstances will the tragedies of Kent State and Jackson State ever occur again; and that one concrete step the Congress could take in this direction would be to fund the research, development, and utilization of nonlethal techniques.

Finally, as a means of demonstrating to students and other young people that our leaders truly respect the voice of youth, that they truly wish to change our society for the better, and that they are truly open to new ideas, we recommend that the Congress abolish its own seniority system so as to insure that younger and fresher voices

in the Congress—now and in the future—will have a meaningful voice, and will be able to participate meaningfully, in the formulation of national policy.

I thank you again for providing us with the opportunity to make this statement before you.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Fascell.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Moss, I certainly agree with you that in time of moral crisis, every individual has to make a moral commitment. These days and times are probably no different than any other days and times. I know of a thousand cases and I'm sure everybody here knows of others where people have done just that. Third year medical students who have quit medicine in order to actively participate because they feel there's a higher priority than their own medical education in order to become involved in the affairs of the country. I'm sure that's true of a great many other students and educators around the country. If one judges that the problems confronting the country require more attention and priority than they are receiving and he so makes that judgment, then by all means he ought to make it. That's what the system requires and demands. Many people are arriving at decisions which you attempted to make at the college. I gather that the college did not close down. Is that correct?

Mr. MOSS. Normal academic work for the most part has been suspended.

Mr. FASCELL. That's for this year. But not permanently?

Mr. MOSS. During the 2 years as before we'll be closed down again to participate in political activities.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Boland.

Mr. BOLAND. I yield to Mr. Reuss.

Mr. REUSS. Thank you Mr. Boland. I'm very encouraged, Mr. Moss, by your appearance here this afternoon, and to know that people like you and your colleagues at the table are engaged or are about to engage in a career of the enforcement of law and justice. I think we need people like yourself.

Mr. MOSS. Might I interject something, sir, that I feel the real tragedy is that those of us who have received education because of the nature of our domestic crisis today, we're withdrawing. I myself am resigning from the police department, Patrolman Finn from the Newark police department is resigning.

Mr. REUSS. That is a source of great sadness to me to hear. But let me ask you this question about white/black relationships. What can you tell us about the feeling of black people whom you come across in your daily work, over such recent events as the ugly events in Augusta and Jackson, the Carswell appointment, the go-slow-on-integration approach, regimentation of the Government, and so on. Have you detected any change in the attitude of black Americans, as a result of the events of the last few months?

Mr. MOSS. Well, if I might take perhaps what I consider a typical example, my father, who is perhaps 2 hours short of his doctorate and had 2 years of medical school and became a civil servant, and I suggest co-opted, and a somewhat rigid man in his late sixties, suggested to me, which shocked me, that perhaps the only way you're going to deal with this is for the shot-at students to open back with

automatic weapons. This isn't a radical black panther talking. This is an educated black man who's worked through the system and has adopted all the cliches which we hear so often today. If his despair has reached this point, I hate to think what the less educated person in the black community feels.

Living in Harlem and in Bedford-Stuyvesant all my life, I know that there's not an apathy, but one develops some type of cushioning against this type of traumatic event which occurs repeatedly; that dual system where the Nation was enraged about Kent State, and yet we see very little being said about the fact that we were slaughtered in the southern district of this Nation. I think that's more the concern, the apathy on the part of the Congress towards this type of carnival which is allowed to prevail.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hicks.

Mr. HICKS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. You indicated that you thought that the seniority system should be changed. Have you thought that through and do you have any concrete suggestions as to exactly what ought to take its place?

Mr. MOSS. Yes, my criticism of the seniority system is twofold. First, as Republicans I don't believe that the liberal Republican wing, while I consider myself a liberal—not Republican, hasn't made any real effort to develop itself in the South. Therefore you have them fighting among two races, either Wallace or Nixon. And you have a one-party system in effect in the South. Hence you have men who come up who face no opposition to their tenure in the Congress and consequently they grab ahold of the Nation and they strangle it. When we have a person who moves for the southern strategy and you have chairmen of different committees who are primarily from the South, the major committees, then I believe that the Nation is being run by maybe a quarter of the people, or less.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Mize.

Mr. MIZE. Yes, Mr. Moss, I too would like to express my sadness that you and your colleagues are withdrawing from the law enforcement calling, because I think a lot of us in this country feel that one of the hopes for unity in this country is educated law enforcement officials. I think we have felt that with an upgrading of the educational advantages for law enforcement officials, hopefully along with it would come compassion, better community relations, and all of these things that education can mean. So I would say that I would join my colleague in expressing sadness that educated law enforcement officers are withdrawing.

Mr. MOSS. Might I interject something, sir, that I too am sad, but after being in law enforcement for approximately 4 years, I realize the efforts I make as an individual in a mammoth organization of 30,000, are nil. That the only way an education for patrolmen is going to help—we have people who have doctorates who are walking the streets—is that the Federal Government, who gives the money to the State and local law enforcement agencies and to the States for policing, that they make these agencies much more responsive, not only to social change—we're existing in the New York City Police Department under rules that were established in the 1800's. And they simply amend it and amend it. One goes into the force and

you have about three pages of instructions with amendments which run out to about 400 or 500 pages.

Mr. MIZE. Supposing that the New York City Police system is too large, too massive. What about educated law enforcement officers, of whom you would be an example, going into smaller towns, where they need perhaps the leavening influence of educated men in this profession?

Mr. FINN. I work in the ghettos of Newark each and every day and I can understand how you say the hopes of the Nation are in having a better educated policeman to improve upon the community relations programs and to express compassion in general. However, when a policeman, who is educated sees the events that are taking place in our Nation at the present time, also finds himself being put on the firing line to oppose people who are expressing views that are identical to the ones that he holds, it's not likely that that policeman will continue in the agency that puts him in that position for very long. More and more policemen from outside of New York City are attending John Jay College for the purpose of upgrading the police department in the New York metropolitan area. However, as they become educated, they also see that unless some change in the national policy takes place, that they are going to be put in what we consider an untenable position for people who do feel that our Nation should have the best.

Mr. FINDLEY. Well, gentlemen, we're very grateful to you. I'm sorry that the time for this discussion is up. We hope we'll have an opportunity to talk with you further. I'm particularly taken by your suggestions in item number four. I think this a field in which the Federal Government should be taking a lot of new initiatives.

The next witness is Mark McClafferty of the University of Delaware. Please identify those with you.

Mr. MCCLAFFERTY. We have George Utz, he's a graduate student at the University of Delaware in entymology; we have Bob Halstead, who is a senior at the University of Delaware; I'm Mark McClafferty, I'm president of the Student Government Association; we have Dennis Robinson, he's a sophomore in political science, and last of all, Bob Canning, and we're all from the University of Delaware.

Over the past year, I can recall the October moratorium, the November moratorium, the April moratorium, and as the year progressed, it seemed like the participation in the moratoriums was less. On April 15, we had several speakers from the National Moratorium Committee on our campus, and I recall that we had about a hundred students out of 8,300 undergraduates there to listen to the speakers. In the past 3 weeks, with the announcement of troops going into Cambodia and the murder of four students on the campus of Kent State, I would have to say that the political mood on my campus has changed from one of perhaps apathy to one of activism. The students are now concerned with our move into Cambodia as they've never been before. I think before this time, there was somewhat of a trust, you might say, of the Nixon administration. And since that time, I would say this trust has gone. First of all, I would like to start out by saying I'd like to thank you for inviting me here today I invited several people to come down here with me.

They refused to come. I think this is a tragedy when the youth of America feel that they cannot come before Congress to present their views and have Congress listen to them. I hope that's not the case here today, and I hope that this is the start of a new dialogue between the political leaders and the students of this country.

**STATEMENT BY MARK McCLAFFERTY, STUDENT GOVERNMENT
PRESIDENT, UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE**

Mr. McCLAFFERTY. I would like to thank Representatives Findley, Fascell, Thomson, Boland, Robison, and Hicks for taking time to listen to their constituents.

The situation in Indochina has been thrust into the forefront of all discussion by all Americans in the past 3 weeks. The concern as to the future of the war by students is also echoed by many Americans in the silent majority. We are not here to discuss the constitutionality or correctness of the President's decision to send U.S. troops into Cambodia. What is at the heart of the situation is the long-range geo-political implications of these operations.

Ever since different nationalities have lived in Indochina, national enmities have been evident. The political development in Indochina has historically been hindered by the Vietnamese distrust of the Chinese, Cambodians' distrust of Thai and Vietnamese designs of domination, and the traditional rivalries between the ethnic tribes of this region such as the Meo of Laos, the Khmers of Cambodia, and the Montagnards of the Vietnamese Highlands.

In light of history, the situation in Indochina must be viewed in nationalistic rather than in purely military terms. In Vietnam, we are involved in what is essentially a civil war which in no way directly involves the national security of the United States. By our excursions into Cambodia, the United States has forced Communist activity deeper into the heart of Southeast Asia. Thus, we have given renewed validity to the Domino theory.

In Cambodia, South Vietnamese troops will remain after the U.S. troops are withdrawn at the end of June of this year. A foreign diplomat remarked recently that, "the A.R.V.N. may end up being your Frankenstein monster. It may drag you, kicking and screaming, deeper into Cambodia than you ever intended to go." The Thieu-Ky Government in Saigon has a defacto military alliance with the Lon Nol Government in Phnom Penh. Actually, the Cambodian Government has essentially given over defense of its eastern provinces to Saigon. There are several reasons why it is advantageous for Saigon to maintain troop commitments in Cambodia:

- (1) It relieves domestic pressure on the present government;
- (2) It has raised the troop's morale to be fighting in Cambodia rather than in Vietnam; and
- (3) The A.R.V.N. presence in Cambodia reflects President Thieu's continued determination to seek a military solution in Indochina.

By our continuing support of South Vietnamese troops within Cambodia the United States is in the position of indirectly supporting the Lon Nol Government. Prince Sihanouk is the national hero of present-day Cambodia and General Lon Nol is in a position of

unpopularity with many peasants and even some members of his own armed forces. The heightening of nationalistic tensions between Cambodians and Vietnamese is directly related to the length of time A.R.V.N. troops remain inside Cambodia. Within the first weeks of the Lon Nol Government's rule, wholesale massacres of Vietnamese peasants living in Cambodia took place. The longer U.S.-backed South Vietnamese troops remain in Cambodia's eastern provinces, the better chances that the Sihanouk-Khmer Rouge-Populist forces will gain a substantial amount of popular support. Thus, we find ourselves supporting a government in power in Cambodia that is to say the least on shaky ground with or without a South Vietnamese presence.

When considering the logistics of South Vietnamese army units in Cambodia, we must hope the troops will not become over extended. We must work with the basic assumption that the United States will provide some basic support operations for the South Vietnamese to be properly supplied. We ask, how far is the United States willing to go in support of these troops in Cambodia?

Thus far, I have only spoken of direct effects on South Vietnam. For the United States, the gravest political implications come from the danger to President Nixon's "era of negotiation." United States-Soviet relations at the SALT talks in Vienna could possibly have been dealt a severe blow in credibility. In Warsaw the Chinese Communists have refused to attend this week's conference due to the entry of United States troops into Cambodia. And it is more apparent than ever that the Paris peace talks have been given a back seat to the military. President Nixon's plan for Vietnamization of the war is in danger. Only 1 week before the crossover of U.S. troops into Cambodia, Secretary of State Rogers said: "we have no incentive to escalate. We recognize that if we escalate and get involved in Cambodia with our ground troops, that our whole program (Vietnamization) is defeated." There is a paradox when President Nixon withdraws troops and at the same time threatens the enemy with increased military activity if the need arises.

It is obvious to many people that Mr. Nixon is seemingly obsessed with preventing the United States from being militarily defeated in Southeast Asia. What virtue is gained in the winning of any war?

To quote former Secretary of Defense and Presidential Adviser Clark Clifford: "President Nixon's policy of making our withdrawal dependent on his three criteria:

- (1) The level of enemy activity;
- (2) Progress at the peace talks in Paris; and
- (3) The speed with which the South Vietnamese take over the fighting. Even a cursory study discloses that items one and two are controlled by Hanoi, while item three is controlled by Saigon."

The possibility of deeper involvement in Indochina looms on the horizon. With Bureau of the Budget predictions of only \$22 billion for new program initiatives to alleviate domestic problems over the next 5 years, the United States must refrain from "protecting our national interests" at the expense of the people overseas and make it our only national interest to serve the people of the United States and the people of the world for whom poverty, starvation, and envi-

ronmental abuse present far greater danger to their national security than the Indochina situation.

Thank you.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you, Mr. McClafferty, for giving us an overview of the implications of recent actions.

Mr. Boland.

Mr. BOLAND. What is your major?

Mr. McCLAFFERTY. Political science.

Mr. BOLAND. I would say from your second paragraph that you've got a good Asian Department at the University of Delaware. I want to express my appreciation to you for coming down here today and those who accompany you. As you've indicated, you would hope that this would be a continuing dialogue between the campus and the Congress, and we hope that this will be maintained. You come here with the express hope and belief that there are Members of Congress who are listening, on both sides of the aisle I might say, Republicans and Democrats, and the fact that you have some belief in the system by your very presence here, which indicates that, I think gives to those of us who serve in the Congress a clear indication that there is a responsibility on the part of us to listen, and we do, I think a great many of us do. Your statement on Vietnam reflects the opinion of many Members of Congress. I don't know whether it's a majority or not, but it reflects certainly the opinion of many Members of Congress and I think you presented it very well, and it is my hope that those of you at the University of Delaware will continue to join as you have today in this nonviolent, peaceful, and I think very persuasive way of getting your own point across. Thank you, Mark, for being here.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH of New York. I too want to echo Mr. Boland's expression of thanks for coming down here and for being concerned, and for presenting to us your views.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Mize.

Mr. MIZE. Well, I would only want to add that it's obvious your concern is deep rooted and sincere. I would hope that you would concede that we share that concern. Believe you me, we do.

Mr. FASCELL. Any other questions? Mr. McClafferty, gentlemen, thank you very much for coming here and giving us your views.

The next witness is Mr. Andrew Feinstein from Wesleyan University.

STATEMENT BY ANDREW FEINSTEIN, WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY

Mr. FEINSTEIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. My name is Andrew Feinstein. I am a student at Wesleyan University in Middletown, Conn. My home is in West Hartford, Conn. I am here on my own and at my own expense. I represent the students on strike at Wesleyan. I am appearing because I believe that a group of responsible Congressmen can do a great deal in ameliorating the problems of war and racism. It is indeed heartening to be able to testify before a group of men who generally disagree with me about the war. I also feel that students have been amiss in not explaining their concerns to Members of the Congress.

At Wesleyan, the strike has not meant the cessation of classes. Rather, those who have chosen to support the strike have been given the opportunity to work on canvassing, the newspaper, and research on the issues of the strike. Those who have chosen to, have been allowed to continue their normal course of studies. The strikers, nevertheless, are, for the most part, required to complete their assigned work but with allowances made for lateness. I have with me a copy of the card which each student had to fill out for each course. It lists the available options and may be of interest to members of this committee. In addition to the activities of the strike, workshops have been held throughout the last 2 weeks. These workshops were conducted by faculty members or knowledgeable people from outside of the university and dealt with subjects related to the demands.

In this brief statement, I hope to establish the case for a quick, scheduled withdrawal from Indochina. In addition, I will explain briefly, the other two demands of the strike: One dealing with the actions of the police and the courts in relation to blacks, particularly the Panthers, and political extremists; the other dealing with the possible bias of Government grants to universities and the relationship of the University to the Government.

The recent expansions of the war into Cambodia and Laos have served as catalysts for the reactivating of student opposition to our activity in South Vietnam. This opposition has been on moral, military, cultural, political, humanistic, religious, and economic grounds. I base my opposition to the war on two factors. First, from a military standpoint, we appear to be no closer to winning this war than we were 5 years ago. Every increase we have made in our war effort has been matched by the enemy. I contend that it is impossible that we ever win this war militarily. The reason for my contention is that we appear to be fighting an indigenous force; moreover, this indigenous force apparently has the support of the rural people in Vietnam. It thus appears that the very people for whom we are trying to gain freedom, shelter and protect the enemy from us.

Second, our strategic interests are not being served by being in Vietnam. Vietnam does not guard any major waterways or occupy a unique position in relation to either China or Russia. Vietnam is, effectively, worthless for the security of the United States.

We are thus fighting a futile and unnecessary war in Vietnam. I, therefore, would urge the passage of the Hatfield-McGovern amendment, a piece of legislation that is eminently responsible in that it calls for a quick, yet not precipitate withdrawal. It, therefore, minimizes the problems cited as a result of such an immediate departure. President Nixon in his November third speech, stated that a precipitate withdrawal would result in a bloodbath in South Vietnam, the making of the United States into a second-rate power, and an identity crisis within this country. The evidence is hardly clear on any of these possible results.

The bloodbath in North Vietnam, which the President cites as a precedent, has since been repudiated by General Giap as a strategic mistake. The National Force for the Liberation of Vietnam is an astute enough political force to understand that the most effective

way of dealing with the opposition is not to kill them, but rather to co-opt them. For the NLF, the most effective way to maintain power would be to use the present structure, putting its men in at the top. I would have no fear for the lives of the current leaders of South Vietnam. They are undoubtedly prepared to leave for Europe in case of a Communist takeover. Thus, it does not seem to me that a bloodbath would immediately result from a withdrawal of American forces.

It is hard to see how a withdrawal would turn the United States into a second-rate power. By pulling out, we would be conserving our military strength instead of expending it. Furthermore, there are no other countries in the world who are able to assume a position of greater power than we might have. Mr. Nixon also stated that a precipitate withdrawal would mean that our allies would lose confidence in America. The President did not elaborate as to who those allies were. They are certainly not Britain or France, both of whom have fallen somewhat short of total support for the United States policy in Vietnam. The impression that one gets from the foreign press is that respect for the United States has suffered markedly as a result of our war in Indochina.

The final result that the President saw in the event of an immediate withdrawal was that America would lose confidence in itself. The President said, "Inevitable remorse and divisive recrimination would scar our spirit as a people." I think that the notion of a "spirit as a people" is a myth. The great majority of people in the United States, or any other country, approach politics as a pastime. Most vote every 2 years and care very little about what happens in between. This is particularly true in foreign policy. Our international relations hardly touch most citizens, unless they have a relative or friend in the armed services. It seems, therefore, to be at least an overstatement to say that an immediate withdrawal would result in a scarring of the national spirit.

Furthermore, all three results that the President has outlined as consequences of an immediate withdrawal seem to be true right now. There is a bloodbath going on in Vietnam. Our extensive bombing raids are killing civilians and destroying the land. Not only are large areas of land in Indochina virtually uninhabited, but we have also left 3.5 million bomb craters which fill with water and breed malarial mosquitos. We have thus produced a wasteland, in many parts of Vietnam, which may not be inhabitable for many generations. The war also seems to have turned the United States into a second-rate power in terms of guerilla warfare. We were totally incapable of defeating a small and ill-equipped band of local irregulars, and have since been forced to fight a much larger war. This would not seem to show a great deal of strength on the part of the United States. Furthermore, our image in Europe has greatly suffered as a result of this war, leaving our only strong allies in Asia. Finally, to the extent that a war might scar the national spirit, Vietnam has certainly already done so.

Despite the fact that the President's analysis of the results of a precipitate withdrawal is erroneous, the measure which I am supporting does not even go so far as to call for an immediate withdrawal. The Hatfield-McGovern amendment merely calls for a

scheduled withdrawal from Indochina. The Congress, in passing this measure, would merely be exercising its constitutionally delegated authority to control the budget. The Congress would also affirm its power to help in the setting of the policy of the country. I think that his amendment could be the most important piece of legislation that the Congress could approve at this time.

Students at well over one hundred colleges are now on strike over three demands. The second one calls for an end to the war in Indochina. The other two demands, I think, should be called to the attention of this committee. The first demand calls for the end to political oppression in the United States. This demand can be interpreted in many ways, but it is not necessarily an attack on our judicial machinery. It is rather a criticism of the ways in which the judiciary has acted to suppress political activists. Let me use three examples to elucidate this demand. Bobby Seale has now been in jail, without bail, for well over a year. Whether guilty or innocent, he, as chairman of the Black Panther Party, has been out of circulation. His jailing has been an effective damper on continued activities of the party. No matter how one might feel about this party, this is not the proper or legitimate way to respond to it. Second, eight men in Chicago have been sentenced to excessively long jail terms as a result of contempt citations, partially caused by the intransigence of the judge. Third, there have been two separate cases which involved bombings in New York City. A group of whites who were indicted with bombing were released on \$20,000 bail each. A group of Black Panthers who were charged with conspiracy to bomb, although they destroyed none of the buildings that they were accused of conspiring to destroy, was asked for \$100,000 bail each. For a lesser crime the Panthers were asked for five times the bail. The judicial system will probably in the long run fairly adjudicate all these cases. Nevertheless, all of these cases have shown inequities in the judicial system. I feel that this is an improper use of our judiciary. I would suggest that the Congress establish a special committee to study judicial procedures against political dissidents, and adopt ways to make the judiciary more equitable.

The third demand asks the universities to cease their compliance with the military. This includes classified research, Reserve Officers Training Corps, and military recruiting. Although this is primarily an internal matter for the colleges, Congress has enacted an amendment on NASA grants and is now working on a similar bill setting conditions on other grants to universities, making it very hard for a university to disentangle itself from the military. Colleges are not allowed to receive grants if people involved in political protests are going to use some of the money. This has made it very difficult for some colleges to accept the money in good faith. I feel that the Congress ought to take action in order to repeal the measure on NASA grants and reject the bill coming up about other grants to colleges.

These three demands have been supported with equal weight by the students participating in the national strike. I have spent most of my time in this statement on the second demand because this committee is made up of experts on foreign affairs. I would hope

that committees that could effect action on the other two demands would hold similar hearings in order to fully explore student feeling on these issues. I would like to thank the committee for giving me this opportunity to state my views on Vietnam and would hope that I in part have helped to show the depth and strength of the feeling against the war throughout the United States.

Thank you.

Mr. HICKS. Thank you very much young man. As long as there isn't anyone here I'll indulge myself in asking a number of questions. How is your congressional delegation, Senators and Congressmen from Connecticut, how do they vote, in accordance with your feelings? Do you know?

Mr. FEINSTEIN. Of the two Senators, one is very much in sympathy, Mr. Ribicoff, and one supports the President, Mr. Dodd. In the congressional delegation, five presently, Mr. Daddario supports these measures, Mr. Giaimo as far as I've heard does not, Mr. Meskill is presently running for election in Connecticut and has been very reluctant to take a stand, and the other two I don't know about, sir.

Mr. HICKS. Wouldn't you say that if you want Congress to take action that that's the easiest way and the quickest way to get it—to be sure that those in your own State represent the views that you think that they should take? And wouldn't you say that that is true throughout the United States?

Mr. FEINSTEIN. I would agree with that.

Mr. HICKS. Wouldn't you say that, as an early labor leader, I think it was Mr. Green but I'm not sure, said that we should reward those with whom we agree and those with whom we disagree we should try to remove from office? Now isn't that the greatest impact that students are going to have if they can get out and convince the people in the community that their views are correct?

Mr. FEINSTEIN. I think for the first time in the student movement, this has been happening.

Mr. HICKS. Didn't it happen in New Hampshire? Don't you think that the country listened, don't you think that President Johnson listened to students as the result of what they did in New Hampshire?

Mr. FEINSTEIN. What happened in New Hampshire was not followed up throughout the country, particularly in Chicago.

Mr. HICKS. Well, but whose fault is that? Students want to point the finger at somebody else. We have been hearing today some of the finest statements that I have heard any place, one right after another, but the students must understand that they can't come to Congress here and talk to legislators that have to go back out to their districts and get elected to come back here, and expect them to react just to what the students have to say if the people back in their constituencies don't feel the same way. Legislators aren't going to be too much further out in front of their constituencies than their constituents want them to be. Even the Senators aren't going to when they get down to within 2 years of their elections. They are out in front when they've got 4 or 5 years to go, if you'll examine carefully in most instances.

Mr. FEINSTEIN. Well, there have been efforts to go to the people in particular districts and there have been efforts for students to

work with candidates who support their views. There are quite a few problems with that, one being that it's rather hard to find people who actually support our views who aren't one-issue candidates. A candidate could support our view on the war but also be very opposed to our view on political oppression in this country.

Mr. HICKS. Get your own candidates.

Mr. FEINSTEIN. The problem with that is the party machinery is so structured its hard for an outsider to break in.

Mr. HICKS. There's no question that it's hard to change the system but that's what you're talking about, isn't it—having the system respond to your view? As I have sat here and listened, I've heard "Respond or there may be revolution." Now which do you think is going to be easier, to tear the whole thing down or to work within and change the system by working with it?

Mr. FEINSTEIN. I would agree with you that we ought to work within the system, however, the failures during the 1968 campaign, the McCarthy campaign, seemed, up until the issue of the strike came up, the invasion of Cambodia, the killings at Kent State, they seemed to have, the 1968 campaign seemed to have turned off a lot of students towards political activity. As much as they worked, they were still in effect powerless in order to get their candidate in.

Mr. HICKS. Don't you think that's why the regular party people succeed, because they don't turnoff, they continue to work? If they lose this year, they are back next year.

Mr. FEINSTEIN. I hope that happens.

Mr. HICKS. I hope that it happens, too, because I think that's the most salutary thing that I have heard coming out of the student discussions—the fact that they say "We are going on; we are not going to stop just this year; we are going out to work in 1972 and work within the system." Those who are not working within the system or who are setting one group against the other, from my standpoint as a Democrat, make it very difficult for the Democrats like myself. If we are going to succeed we've got to have a number of groups working together. If the other side can drive these wedges between us so that you've got the blue collars at the students' throats, and the Chicanos down in the South against everybody and the Blacks and the construction workers at each others throats, the Democrats won't succeed. So from a practical viewpoint I would prefer to see the students out working within the system and trying to get all these groups to work one way.

Mr. FEINSTEIN. I think students would be more likely to cluster around candidates who have been outspoken in support of our views, i.e. opposition to the war.

Mr. HICKS. I have no question but what they would, but that's been a minority of the people. You've got to get enough so you've got a majority. You can't move the system with a minority. There are 435 Members in the House of Representatives and you've got to get 218 if everybody is present before you prevail on an issue. The fact that you may just cheer when Mr. Lowenstein has something to say or a number of these other men that you identify with, that doesn't do it until you get enough more here so that you can count up 218.

Mr. FEINSTEIN. Well, in the interim we have been working and many of us have been down here for 2 weeks now talking to people in the Congress and we hoped that this would have some effect.

Mr. HICKS. I commend you for it and I hope that you don't opt out in the event that you can't convince the majority of people in your State to send down just exactly the person that you want. Keep working within the system. Thank you very much.

Mr. FEINSTEIN. Thank you.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Kendler. Let's see that's your statement?

Mr. KENDLER. Yes, sir.

STATEMENT BY KEN KENDLER, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT SANTA CRUZ

Mr. KENDLER. We, as Americans, students, and representatives of the University of California at Santa Cruz and the Santa Cruz community, have, in the past few weeks witnessed events which threaten the future of our country. We have come to Washington in dedication to the responsible change that we feel is now both urgent and necessary. In order to bridge an already too wide gap which exists in our Nation and to preserve our country's tradition of dissent and responsible legislative action, we need your immediate attention and cooperation.

We support all efforts to disengage American forces from Southeast Asia as soon as possible. We thus support the McGovern-Hatfield amendment and the counterpart bill in the House. But we also see it as necessary for the United States to renounce the logic of the war in Vietnam. We are not satisfied with the President's plan of Vietnamization, which continues to support a military regime which has never been representative of the people. We deplore an American foreign policy which views the support of a right-wing dictatorship to be justified in the name of stopping communism. America's role in the underdeveloped world should be one of aiding the now appearing nationalistic movements instead of opposing them and thus pushing them into the communist camp.

However, we have come here today to address ourselves to problems closer to home. Never in our lifetimes has this country been so divided. Major public figures make political hay out of increasing this sense of division while certain students, in frustration and despair, take to violence. Six students, the innocent ones, have been killed.

We need not here dwell long on the crisis which faces our Nation, for we are all too familiar with it. Simply, the crisis is a crisis of faith. Most students do not know what to do now. We can enter into the political system from which we have felt alienated for so long by committing ourselves to action in the up-coming political campaigns. Or, we may continue in our apathy, continue founding our communes in the woods. Or, we can turn to violence. The first path, that of entering the system, is without doubt the hardest. But it is crucial that the majority of us chose that path. We have found an idea which we believe could, if implemented, help direct student energy toward that course. We see our idea as appealing

to all Americans interested in the future of our country, not just the liberals or those against the Indo-China war.

The idea would be for Congress to show its faith in the students of America and its willingness to listen by inviting student speakers to address a Joint Session. A resolution to this effect was introduced into the House last Thursday by Congressman Tunney and co-sponsored by Congressman Brown and 21 other members of the House. A modified form of the House resolution will be introduced into the Senate early next week. The Senate resolution calls for five students, one each from a parochial university, and universities from the west coast, Midwest, east coast, and South to address a joint meeting at any time before June 15 about "the Indo-China War and the Cause of Peace." These students shall represent not only their own schools but also the universities in the area from which they come.

We see the Joint Session as having two effects. First, we see it as going far to correct the considerably tarnished image that the American public now holds of the student. It has been frequently noted how media coverage has concentrated on student violence rather than the far more numerous student attempts at constructive change. The joint session could help correct this image and thus facilitate communication between the generations. The Nation via the media coverage of the joint session would see that students can conduct themselves in a responsible and intelligent manner in front of the most distinguished body in the land, the U.S. Congress. The country might even find that students have some things to say that deserve to be listened to. Second, we think this joint session could change the student's image of himself. Congress, by this symbolic gesture of concern and attention, would force students all over the country to question their disillusionment, to question the prevalent attitude of cynicism which now exists on our campuses in regard to the responsiveness of our Government.

We realize that this resolution is unprecedented. Joint sessions are only held on special occasions such as the state of the Union message by the President and the appearance of foreign dignitaries. However, we feel that the present crisis is unprecedented as well. Widespread violence and the accompanying bitterness and hatred is foreseeable in the near future on the campuses of our Nation. We must act now to prevent that violence from ever occurring, by showing all students that their energy can be put to use and can produce changes. The students of America are all watching Washington now to see what response is given to the efforts of their fellows here. Many of them would like nothing better than to see us fail. If, for example, the McGovern-Hatfield amendment fails to pass, they will justify their radicalism or apathy by saying, "I told you so." We here in Washington have seen what we think are the subtle effects of student lobbying. But we know that these results are not concrete enough to satisfy the doubts of those back on the campuses. Impatience is a fault of the young. For once, we ask you to accept our faults and respond to them. It does not speak well for our times that such a spectacular move as calling a joint session is needed to reinstill in the young people of our country a faith in their Government. But our experience on our campus, in all urgency and candor,

is that the situation is that grave. A joint session might seem a mere symbol to those of us here now. But it could mean everything back home on the campuses and in our communities where such an expression of commitment on your part might give moderation its very life.

A mood of hope has recently reemerged on our college campuses. We can, without reservation, call it a renaissance of interest in changing our country through authorized channels. This hope must not be allowed to die before it can give fruit in action. We, students of the University of California at Santa Cruz, offer to you, the leaders of this Nation a plan to help the hope survive. Our country, due to several factors the most important of which has been our tragic involvement in Southeast Asia, is in shreds. It is divided and it is bitter. We, the young people of this land, possess the energy and idealism needed to save the country, and events in the near future shall determine whether this energy shall be used as it should or be lost into frustration and violence. The resolution we have offered addresses itself to the central issue, that of mutual trust. Congress can offer its great influence to help this country by recognizing what is good in our land and helping that goodness to survive. We ask for a gesture on your part, for no one else can give it. We ask for recognition for what we are. We ask for your trust. And, we ask for your help so that we, as a Nation, might stop expending our energies fighting ourselves and unite, in common trust, to face our problems with all our energies and resources at hand.

Mr. HICKS. Now was it your school that burned down the bank?

Mr. KENDLER. No, sir, that was the University of California at Santa Barbara.

Mr. HICKS. This is Santa Cruz.

Mr. KENDLER. Yes.

Mr. HICKS. But that is the sort of thing you are worried about?

Mr. KENDLER. I think we all should be worried about that.

Mr. HICKS. Well, now, how do you think that the California delegation represents your point of view?

Mr. KENDLER. Well, we have gone around in our weeks in Washington to most of the members of the delegation and we have found some, particularly Congressman Tunney. I can show the list of people that have sponsored this resolution from California.

Mr. HICKS. Well, not necessarily by name but generally, half of them, a quarter of them, none of them?

Mr. KENDLER. We have found considerable support.

Mr. HICKS. From California?

Mr. KENDLER. Yes, sir.

Mr. HICKS. Do you intend to try to make your views felt in California this fall and summer so far as the general electorate is concerned?

Mr. KENDLER. Yes.

Mr. HICKS. In general, do you feel that all college students who are concerned should make their views felt in that fashion?

Mr. KENDLER. They should. The question is whether they will or not.

Mr. HICKS. You spoke of this joint session of Congress. Why do you feel that the students, a group of seven and a half million

people, even if they all felt alike, are any more entitled to present their views to a joint session of the Congress with its attendant television coverage than any other group of similar size?

Mr. KENDLER. Well, I tried to explain that in my statement. Our answer basically is that we are a very disenfranchised group. We realize we are not the only ones. We feel that the urgency of the moment now speaks to us. We see division in the Nation.

Mr. HICKS. Do you take responsibility for any of that division?

Mr. KENDLER. Yes.

Mr. HICKS. Do you think that by this appearance before the joint session of Congress you might heal part of that division that possibly you are somewhat responsible for?

Mr. KENDLER. Yes, that is what we believe.

Mr. HICKS. It's a novel idea. I might say, that based on what I have heard here today from the young people who have presented their views, I would be very much in favor of it just from the impact that your statements have had on me. But it might be somewhat difficult to convince other groups that you say are disenfranchised if not disenfranchised, that they shouldn't also have equal time.

Mr. KENDLER. Well, the question before us is the role of the Congress. How exactly should they respond to the needs of the people. I understand the difficulty. It's very difficult for me to answer the question why only we should be allowed to speak.

Mr. HICKS. You certainly recognize the fact that you don't speak for the people, all the people, or I would say at the present time a majority of the people. That's why I think that the best idea that I have heard is that you should go into the land and convince the people so that you are speaking for a majority of the people.

Mr. KENDLER. I agree with you but I seriously doubt whether we shall or not, and we are both agreed as to whether we should. The problem now is how we can make the people, how we can convince us—my fellows and the students of this land to do that. And this is how we have addressed the resolution. The point is that it is the young people now that are disaffected, especially the young, and I think in some sense, I can't claim special privileges for us, but being young we need a certain treatment. As I said we are a group that is impatient and I wish that weren't true and I wish we had maturity. Now go out and commit 10 years or 20 years or 5 years, even the next year of our life to a political campaign. That is a very difficult thing to do when you are 19 or 20 years old. There are so many other things you would like to do and things you haven't done, and now we are faced with this problem. There are plenty of other things I'd rather do in the next 6 months than work on a political campaign and I am sure my fellows feel the same. And we as a Nation, now, students must work this way, but how do we convince them to? That is the problem.

Mr. HICKS. How do you convince them that they don't really achieve any purpose by burning down a bank? Or blocking a highway?

Mr. KENDLER. You convince them by showing them their energies can be utilized better in other ways.

Mr. HICKS. If you fellows that have been here today, you people that have been here today, can't convince them, they can't be convinced because this is as articulate and well presented a group of thoughts by young people as I ever hope to hear. I am quite certain that all the members that were here and heard this today have the same feeling, only they can say it better than I. As we've gone back and forth to vote here, I've heard that expressed time and again. Your problem in every instance is that if you are talking to the people that feel like you do, you are wasting your time. There are some that you can convince who don't think the way you do, but you are going to convince them more quickly if you are back talking to their constituents because there isn't anyone in the House of Representatives that isn't trying to represent his constituents. He may be trying to lead them a little bit, but it's just not possible to be out in front too far, too often. And you know you can't help the country if you're not back here.

Mr. KENDLER. I understand that. As I said, you know, the question now as we both understand it is what students should do; but I am just not sure they will. I hope they will. I hope we can take all action to direct them towards that goal.

Mr. HICKS. I wish you the very best. The bell's rang again and I have to go vote. I want to thank all who are in attendance and all who testified today.

Mr. KENDLER. Thank you very much.

Mr. HICKS. Norman Taylor? Is Norman Taylor here? Mr. Fascell should be back here in just a minute. You are from Florida? Would you prefer that he heard your testimony? Would you like to proceed then, now? I'll wait for the second bell and hope that somebody gets back over here to take over.

Mr. TAYLOR. I think we won't be that long.

Mr. HICKS. Would you care to identify those who are with you?

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes. Mr. Ralph Jasper, Miss Sheila Flemming, Mr. Anthony Godbodt, Miss Constance Proctor, Mr. John Banks, and my name is Norman Taylor, president of the Student Government Association at Bethune-Cookman.

STATEMENT BY NORMAN TAYLOR, BETHUNE-COOKMAN COLLEGE

Mr. TAYLOR. To: United States Senate and House of Representatives. From: Student Body of Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach, Fla.

Dear Sirs: We take the following positions on U.S. foreign and domestic policies:

We strongly urge that all military forces be immediately removed from Vietnam and Indochina in general,

We urge that military spending be cut by one half of the present cost and that the money be redirected to domestic problems,

We demand that the United States immediately begin a nation-building campaign,

We demand that the present draft system be abolished and replaced by an all volunteer military,

We demand that no armed police, national guards, or other repressive agents be employed on college or University campuses to quell any activities,

We demand that the wealth of this country be shared by all Americans with insured capital,

We urge that a committee of blacks and other minority groups be formed as a special committee in the administration's Cabinet and that it remain until racism is no longer the American "way of life".

We demand that black people have the right to self determinism without discrimination or economic reprisals by the U.S. Government.

Mr. HICKS. I'm kind of at a loss, sir, to know how to respond, either with questions or any statement. You speak of being the black minority, yet we've been listening to students all day long talking about being in a minority. I suppose you are going to have to do the same thing as the other students and that's to either do it within the system or without the system. If you do it within the system, you're going to have to form coalitions just the same as anyone in a minority has to do, or you're going to have to sell the people in the various constituencies on making specific changes. Certainly, no one can in the abstract, dispute the fairness of a great many of the matters you mention. Nonetheless, you want, as I take it, specific changes made by Congress. Now if you were here earlier you heard what Mr. Fascell had to say about this numbers game here. You've got to have the votes. 146 won't do it, for example. You have to have 218 in the House of Representatives if all the House is present. How do you propose that this be done, within the system or outside of the system? And Mr. Fascell is here now. These people are here from Florida.

Mr. FASCELL. Yes, I know.

Mr. TAYLOR. If we're talking about within the system then I think black as well as other minority groups must have the right of self-determinism. What we have in many of the cities of the United States, is actually colonialism, in that the blacks are not represented even in their local governments, proportional to the population in the particular cities that they reside in. With exceptions of a few places like Gary, Ind. and Cleveland, et cetera, et cetera. So when you talk about working within the system, I think you know the blacks have tried, and still are trying to run for political offices that will insure blacks of the kind of treatment from the Government that they would desire. However, I think on the grand scale we have been unsuccessful because of the racist institutions in this country which deny and will not permit blacks to any proportional degree to be represented in policymaking bodies.

Mr. HICKS. Do you think those are breaking down, can you see evidences of them breaking down? Or is it that it is not breaking down fast enough, just as we're not getting out of Southeast Asia fast enough?

Mr. TAYLOR. Right. We aren't getting out of Southeast Asia fast enough, and I cannot see the breakdown, as you call it, and as far as blacks getting political control within their own communities, no, I cannot see that.

Mr. HICKS. They've got control of all the basketball teams, almost. [Laughter.]

Mr. TAYLOR. Well, this is something they could not keep us from entering, athletics and music as many of you say has been one of the things that we've been able to get to the top in, but—

Mr. HICKS. But that had to start with Jackie Robinson and it has continued to move; it has moved satisfactorily, I take it.

Mr. TAYLOR. That doesn't put food in the mouths of the 22 million blacks in this country.

Mr. HICKS. But it is a step in the right direction.

Mr. TAYLOR. This is not enough though.

Mr. HICKS. Now when you say self-determination, what do you have in mind specifically?

Mr. TAYLOR. I'm saying that blacks must have control of their own communities. The communities in which they reside. Since we will, I think, concede the fact that blacks do live in communities to themselves when the blacks cannot control the economy within that community, and they do not have a part in the policymaking; this is colonialism. So therefore, blacks are colonized right in America itself. So we can very easily sympathize with foreign countries who do not have the right themselves to make the policies that govern them.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Fascell.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you Mr. Chairman. Mr. Taylor you're not by your position eliminating the possibilities that blacks are participating and are in positions of power by virtue of their participation?

Mr. TAYLOR. It's so obvious, I cannot do that.

Mr. FASCELL. I wasn't quite sure what your point was, because I can only talk about my own community. We have a black who is elected to the city commission of Miami, for example, and she is very effective. She got elected by a majority of white votes. Now if you're going to pursue determinism to its ultimate in the Miami community you'd have to take a black area, make it a separate city, and turn it over to the blacks. You're not advocating that?

Mr. TAYLOR. No.

Mr. FASCELL. I just wanted to be sure. But where they have an opportunity, let's say, in an all black community you would want all black opportunity?

Mr. TAYLOR. That's right.

Mr. FASCELL. Both from the standpoint of making policy, participating, and the economics.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Frelinghuysen? Do you have any questions?

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. I'm sorry Mr. Chairman I wasn't able to hear all the witness' testimony. I have no questions, and I regret I was voting and unable to get here any sooner.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Taylor, I share your anxiety about Vietnam and your desire that our troops be withdrawn at a faster pace than has been evident. But at the same time I know that I can't sit where the Commander in Chief sits and comprehend fully the problems he faces. Do you feel that there can be a justification in order to carry out an effective withdrawal program for military action which will help keep the enemy off balance? In other words, it's a distressing problem he has, and I'm sure you'll agree with that. Do you acknowledge that it can be essential under certain circumstances for the Commander in Chief to order military action in order to accelerate the withdrawal?

Mr. TAYLOR. If the President is sincere with withdrawing from Vietnam, I concur wholeheartedly. But if the President is delaying

for any reason, I cannot concur at all. But I do think, and I urge even if he does and is sincere about withdrawing troops, that these troops must be removed immediately.

Mr. FINDLEY. Are there any other questions?

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, I just want to say that I'm glad that the contingent from Bethune-Cookman is here and had an opportunity to be heard even if at the end of the day. We appreciate your waiting. Of course, as you know, the schedule was all made up, and there was no way we could get you in before. And I'm curious, how did you find out about this?

Mr. TAYLOR. We received communications on it.

Mr. FASCELL. You mean that somebody advised you or you got a letter or telephone call?

Mr. TAYLOR. We received letters, telegrams, telephone calls.

Mr. FASCELL. Good. We're delighted you responded and took the trouble to come.

Mr. TAYLOR. Thank you.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Taylor, I'd like to thank you too, and to explain that we had an unexpectedly complicated floor situation today in the House of Representatives. It absolutely required that we shuttle back and forth in order to vote on very important measures that are being considered—amendments to the social security program providing increased benefits, tying it with the cost of living, amendments which I know are of concern to everyone in our country. So we felt the necessity for leaving our chairs momentarily, and that's why we could not be here for the entire statement.

I would like to add that this does conclude the schedule for today. Tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock promptly we will resume our hearings and I am glad to report also that tomorrow the quorum bells will not ring because the House will not be in session. So we can proceed on an uninterrupted basis starting at 9 o'clock in the morning. If there is no other business, the committee will stand adjourned until 9 tomorrow.

(Whereupon, the Ad Hoc Committee adjourned, to reconvene at 9 a.m., Friday, May 22, 1970.)

HEARINGS ON STUDENT VIEWS TOWARD UNITED STATES POLICY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

FRIDAY, MAY 22, 1970

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AD HOC COMMITTEE

PAUL FINDLEY, CHAIRMAN

EDWARD P. BOLAND
DANTE B. FASCELL
VERNON W. THOMSON

HOWARD W. ROBISON
FLOYD W. HICKS

Washington, D.C.

The committee met at 9 a.m. in room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Paul Findley (chairman of the ad hoc committee) presiding.

Mr. FINDLEY. Our first witness today is Ed Rosenthal of Rutgers University. Ed, we welcome you to the second day of hearings on student opinion on the policies of the United States in Southeast Asia.

STATEMENT BY EDWARD LEE ROSENTHAL, RUTGERS COLLEGE

Mr. ROSENTHAL. In this time when the papers receive many letters about how parental guidance is missing in the protesting youth, I would beg your indulgence to expand on a bit of direction from my early youth.

Often when I had done something foolish, something which did not turn out well for me, or when I had done something wrong, but cared not to admit it, I would displace the blame of the incident by shifting the guilt to someone else by saying, "But he told me to do it." Time and again I was admonished, "Would you jump off the Empire State Building if he told you." Of course, I embarrassedly answered, "No."

Not that the Congress is in the same position that I was but I wish to draw from this lesson what I would like the Congress to do.

In my mind, this approach avoids the emotionalism of the Hitler analogy, but still underscores the importance of the avoidance of blind obedience. The lesson implicit in the statement is that one must make one's own decisions. The evaluation of the facts must be accomplished and a decision must be drawn so as to reach an individual opinion. My question to the Congress is whether they will let us fall off the Vietnamized "Empire State Building"? My question to the Members of Congress is whether they will undermine the basic principle of democracy, that of an informed, con-

cerned and active citizenry by urging irrational faith in the course of our foreign policy?

I won't hit you again with the list of facts about the war for I am sure that you are familiar with them and will be reinforced throughout the upcoming debate, for the time of teachins are over and the time for action has come.

The problems that the war has caused in the economy, our foreign image, in the tackling of the problems at home and the polarization of our population are all obvious. However one point that I take issue with is that the Nixon administration has separated what has happened before the ascendancy of their administration to what has come during it. This is ridiculous. War, especially this one, does not come in 4 year sections. One must deal with the whole situation and the problem of the initial involvement cannot be cut off from the reasons for leaving now.

Perhaps you too will come to the conclusion that I and millions of my fellow citizens have come to, that we don't belong there. That our presence there is a vain search for the Communist menace and a showdown with it, in the best tradition of American Westerns. That our continued presence there is just as suicidal and futile as jumping from that Empire State Building.

To continue in the line of the story, what we seek from Congress now is the safety railings to prevent falling over, if we have not already. Efforts such as the Church-Cooper amendment, the repeal of the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, and the Hatfield-McGovern proposal in the Senate and similar ones in the House are efforts to set up those railings. One of the problems with this war is its dangling nature. One is never sure where either side is going to strike next. One is never sure if this war is going to end. Measures such as these will not give "aid and comfort" to the enemy but rather extend it to an American people sick of war.

Several facts cannot be rebutted, nor their tragedy answered to. Over 40,000 men have died. Over 250,000 men have been wounded. About 35 billion of our tax dollars go to the war in Vietnam each year. To quote a peace slogan, "Not one more life." We cannot allow any more American lives to be lost in this senseless encounter. Compound to that all of the Asians who have been killed and countless lives disrupted, and the depth of the tragedy is overpowering. Some say war is hell. I say, get the hell out. I challenge you to put yourself in my place and enter a war that is hopeless, to perhaps be the next in line to die, I think this will explain our urgency. Perhaps we must exercise what World War II poet, Piet Hein called "the subtle act of losing face * * * what weaker minds would call disgrace."

Working on the strike committee at school, I composed a letter which some of your colleagues may have received which said that expanded military ventures only succeed in the loss of more lives. Several days ago, I read in the paper that 217 Americans were killed in war last week, the highest since mid-August. This stark statistic reinforced my conviction that the Cambodian expedition dubious in effect militarily, dangerous politically, and based on a still more dubious principle of Vietnamization has only in the final analysis ascended to that end. The logic still escapes me as to how withdrawal is aided by further military aggression.

I am 17 years old and have just survived my freshman year in college and it is true that I am scared to take up a gun and perhaps die in a war, but even more sharp is the repugnance that I feel for the specific war that I would be called upon to fight in. I am being asked to give up my life to sugarcoat the paragraphs in history of the present President of the United States. I am being asked to travel to a far-off country to defend a corrupt government which exists without the support of its people. I am being asked to support the repression of an internal struggle in a foreign land only muddled by the United States, its political paranoia and economic self interests. Beyond the conceptions of the World War II generation is that the moral and national causes which impelled our participation in that war are not present in the Vietnamese situation and, yes, I am scared to die, but if I have to die I would confine it to a just cause not this one.

Perhaps a better statement to make would be that I prefer to live for my country rather than die because of it. I would rather see my activity directed towards the betterment of this country rather than dying in defense of decadent status quos. I would not like to join the Army through the process of the draft. The military to me represents the potential and actuality of killing, a thought morally repulsive to me and many of my fellow students. I would rather join forces to combat the evils of this society, the racism, the poverty, the pollution. I would rather serve my 2 years in the Peace Corps, VISTA, inner city programs, efforts to combat pollution and promote conservation, or in other areas to positively better my country and to spread good will abroad. Once again it is up to the Congress to provide the leadership for the bettering of our society, to reorder the priorities from an emphasis on the military and death to an emphasis on people and life.

It is difficult to describe the frustration among my peers with the current status quo. It is even more disturbing to report their disenchantment with the political process and politics in general. I fear for this country. I fear deeply that this spasm which the Congress has felt from the young may be the last straw. In the words of Justice Douglas on the American Revolution, "But a vast restructuring of laws and institutions was necessary if the people were to be content. That restructuring was not forthcoming and there was revolution." And to describe today—"Whether it will continue to adhere to its tactics, we do not know. If it does the redress, honored in tradition, is also revolution." To place my personal position to use contemporary jargon "that's not where I am at." However there are many who are. And still many more who will be. In America today we have experienced brief spurts of violence. If the Congress fails to answer the call of peace and humanistic change, then I stand fearful of the future.

Are my fears of violent rebellion unfounded? I think not. History has proven that such upheavals occur neither in times of total repression—a situation I will not ascribe to America today—not in a time of prosperity—a situation evident in our economy and murders at home and abroad disqualifying the United States. It occurs in a situation which Crane Brinton, the noted historian, termed as "cramp". The historical situation seems to be ripe. The mood appears

volatile. All that is needed is the sparks. Yet one always says that the country contains its safety valves and therefore this will not happen. I contend that if the Government remains unresponsive, the safety valves prove ineffective for they are not used.

Yet I fear even more for revolution in the classical sense may be an outdated and useless method for modern military and police tactics would make the uprising a massacre. Real repression will set in, and the prospect for real change even more illusive. The possibility that arises from the situation is weighty in itself. I implore you, the Congress of the United States to summon the foresight necessary to carry us through these difficult times.

Perhaps many could not support the revolt in the streets but still more could not support an unresponsive government. Politics itself is in the doghouse with the youth of today. Politicians, even delvers in student politics, have been put down as meaningless and superfluous to the real problems and their real solutions. As politicians this aversion must be rectified for a democracy cannot exist when people will not participate in the governance and politics of it.

In the words of a girl who spent the summer as an intern in Washington, "It is odd that students are turning to the political system now, when all indications say that they shouldn't. You have to grab the chance." I must echo—You have to grab the chance. This is not only the chance to end the war but to build a better society. Perhaps my prophesy of revolt is a bit too drastic, yes, even romantic, for there is another course open to youth today. One in my opinion is worse than any communist threat, worse than any revolution, and that is withdrawal from politics. If the Congress does not respond the people will stop feeding the stimulus. Already the foreshadowing is foreboding with the aversion to politics I have noted. I reiterate, democracy cannot exist where people divorce themselves from their government.

To quote Justice Douglas again

That revolution—now that the people hold the residual powers of government—need not be a repetition of 1776. It could be a revolution in the nature of a political regeneration. It depends on how wise the Establishment is. If, with its stockpile of arms, it resolves to suppress the dissenters, America will face, I fear, an awful ordeal.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you, Mr. Rosenthal. Before we begin the questioning, I'd like to welcome those who are here this morning and to state just a few facts about these hearings. This is an informal, unofficial panel representing a group of us who had the intense desire to provide a suitable forum for college students in which they could present their views on Southeast Asia policy. On this panel are Dante Fascell of Florida and Vernon Thomson of Wisconsin, both members, like myself, of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs; Edward Boland of Massachusetts, a senior member of the House Committee on Appropriations and Floyd Hicks of the State of Washington, a member of the Committee on Armed Services. Howard Robison of New York, a member of the Appropriations Committee, was with us yesterday but had to return to his home state today. After the 10-minute oral presentation by witnesses, we will take turns on the panel, each asking one question of the witness in rotation and then when the 10-minute period is up we will go to the next witness.

Mr. Fascell.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you Mr. Chairman. Mr. Rosenthal, are you saying that the Congress or the establishment should grab the chance to do what you want it to do? Or, we'd better do it, or face the consequences?

Mr. ROSENTHAL. No, my statement is not a threat. My statement is an hypothesis of what might happen. My first statement, as I said, was individual decisions should be made. My individual decision is that this war is wrong. This war is immoral; this war is useless. Many people have come to that conclusion. I wish not to impose my point of view on the war on the Members of Congress. I wish to express it. I wish to say that both goals which I alluded to, one being ending the war in Vietnam, another one a better society—stopping pollution, poverty and racism—seem to be goals which I certainly hope that Congress also shares. What I do see though is that I think that by getting out of Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, that perhaps we can join forces with the youth of today in trying to combat these problems. I sense an intense frustration. I sense two methods, two reactions to this frustration. One is withdrawal, the other one is violence. I find both of them to be undesirable.

Mr. FASCELL. I wasn't quarreling with your observations. I think that these are probably valid. But what I was questioning, however, was that if "the system, the establishment" or the Congress, didn't do what you suggest, then we're all lousy, we're stupid, we're cynical, we're not responsive, we're not to be trusted, politics is bad, and the system is bad." I don't follow the logic of that, but that is your point.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Pretty much, I guess. My point is that if the system remains unresponsive, to the need, the needs of peace and the need for solving our internal problems, then democracy depends on this government being responsive to its people. And if it's not being responsive to the needs of its people, then I fear, as I said, I'm personally not an advocate of this violence. I do not advocate violence in any form whether it be revolution on the streets or it be in Vietnam—

Mr. FASCELL. I've gone beyond my time, but I think we will agree that the response should be to all and not some.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Boland.

Mr. BOLAND. You've indicated, Ed, that you don't think the government is responsive to the needs of the people. Do you really mean that, that it doesn't respond to the needs of the people, that this system under which you and I and all of us live, doesn't respond, or doesn't it respond rapidly enough?

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Perhaps the latter. However, when I look at—to explain the view of today's youth—when we look out and we see the Defense budget and we look at the budget for education—it seems to us to be rather dichotomous. As I said, military represents death, education represents life, to us. And we see the racism, we see the poverty in the ghettos. These problems all plague us and the observation of our country at war, and the possibility of more lives being lost in a war that has been recognized as hopeless, is just amazing.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hicks.

Mr. HICKS. No questions.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Rosenthal, I heard about a year ago Herman Kahn of the Hudson Institute, forecast that the United States now has the capacity as an economic unit to mobilize to the extent of perhaps four hundred billion dollars a year in case of war emergency, way beyond what we did in World War II. If that's the case, it would seem that our Nation could produce what's needed to deal with the problems of pollution and other domestic problems and at the same time continue to invest about \$30 billion a year in Vietnam, if it has the will. What's your reaction to that?

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Well, I certainly would hope the country could be mobilized to solve these present problems. However, one thing I have noted about the war in Vietnam. The question to me is the hopelessness of it. How can we win that war in Vietnam? By defoliation? By mass killing? In other words, by disruption, by clearing out areas? And to me, this defoliation of Vietnam, the displacement of the villages and things like that, it's a terrible crime in itself. The question is, do we want to remain in Vietnam? Does it serve our national interest? In effect, does it serve the interests of the people in South Vietnam? And I would tend to say it does neither. You know, we just don't stay in a war because we have the ability to do it. I understand the military has the ability to fight, what is it, two large wars and one small one; but just because we have the ability to do it, doesn't mean we should go out and fight these wars.

Mr. FINDLEY. I certainly agree. Are there any other questions? If not, thank you very much, Mr. Rosenthal, for your statement and for taking the trouble to be here. It was a very helpful contribution.

Mr. Najam of Harvard Law School. Do I have your name correct, Mr. Najam? You are a resident of Bloomington, Ind. Welcome, Mr. Najam.

Mr. NAJAM. Thank you, sir. Let me begin by identifying myself. My name is Ted Najam, I am 22 years old, I am a graduate of Indiana University where I served as student body president last year. I am currently at Harvard University Law School and though I have lived, worked and demonstrated in Washington before, on this particular occasion I have been here for 2 weeks working for the Hatfield-McGovern amendment, No. 609.

STATEMENT BY TED NAJAM, HARVARD LAW SCHOOL

Mr. NAJAM. I wish to thank Congressman Findley and his colleagues for extending this invitation to young people so that we may present our views on national policy as it relates to Southeast Asia. Those of us who have come to Washington indicate by our presence that we still have some faith in this system. Many of our brothers and sisters have already given up and have either dropped out or have turned to destructive endeavors. Each of us must object in his own way. I am here today to register my indignation over what is happening to my country, hopeful that we may regain our senses and find our humanity before it is too late.

It should be obvious that the United States must terminate its Southeast Asian misadventure immediately if it is to retain credibility abroad and viability at home. Our continued presence there

has diminished rather than strengthened our stature in the world community and it has deeply divided our people.

In order to justify our activities in Southeast Asia, members of both parties in both the executive and legislative branches of government have continually relied upon a distorted version of the history and politics of the area. In so doing, the significance of nationalism as the principal driving force in the developing nations of the third world has been obscured. And the American people have been misled.

From the beginning our intervention has been characterized by the misapplication of a military solution to a political problem. While we profess a deep commitment to self-determination, while we claim to be helping the South Vietnamese defend themselves from an "invasion" from the North, we have in fact been participating in their civil war. And in the name of freedom we support a corrupt regime which refuses to broaden its political base, which imprisons its political opposition, which restricts freedom of the press, and which ties our hands at the conference table.

I object to this folly. I object to a brutal and immoral war for which my brothers have been conscripted and sent to die. I object to the cold bureaucratic jargon which has obscured the agony of this war: kill ratios, body counts, search and destroy missions, protective reaction, pacification, and now the ultimate in Pentagonese, Vietnamization. The fact is that we have killed and wounded thousands of human beings, have left thousands homeless, and have bombed and scorched the earth for no good reason. It is difficult to understand those who deplore violence in the streets and on the campuses but who at the same time perpetrate this kind of violence abroad.

Now the President has sent combat troops into Cambodia in order, we are told, to shorten the war. This kind of inverted logic makes as much sense as pouring gasoline on a fire to put it out. The President has also told us that he will accept full responsibility for this invasion and for its consequences. This is a preposterous assertion. In fact, the entire American people must bear the responsibility for and the consequences of this decision.

Opposition to our presence in Southeast Asia has now reached the point at which this Nation may well be ungovernable until we get out. Not until we extricate ourselves from this mad adventure will it be possible for the divisiveness, the self-doubt, and the despair which haunt our people to give way to some sense of harmony. And I am confident that there will be little business as usual on the Nation's campuses until this senseless foreign escapade has been concluded. If this were ever in doubt, the massacres at Kent State University and at Jackson State College have assured that. It has become open hunting season on students, and white middle-class America is now beginning to understand the terror that black America has known for some time.

The inflammatory rhetoric of the Vice President has exposed a frightening lack of perception. He has appealed to people's fears and prejudices rather than to their intelligence and good sense. Notwithstanding Mr. Agnew's assertions, the discontent among the young people in this country is not confined to extremist elements

but it is widespread. It runs deep, from the ghetto to the suburb, among the sons and daughters of both poor and affluent America. And it will not just go away. While young people do not have all the answers, we are raising hard and legitimate questions. And most of us are no longer willing to give public officials the benefit of the doubt as a matter of course. We are tired of rhetoric. We are tired of obfuscation. We want the truth.

The most fundamental question before the American people is whether we can successfully retain control over our own political institutions. This government belongs to the people, and it is incumbent upon those who hold the public trust to provide honest, unequivocal, and nonpartisan leadership. Since that leadership is not coming from the White House, the burden rests squarely upon the Congress.

The issue is the war. It must be stopped. It is not worth one more life. It is not worth one more dollar. It is not worth the stress it has placed upon the fabric of our society.

I urge Members of the House of Representatives to support and to work for an amendment to the Military Procurement Authorization Act (H.R. 17123) to cut off funds for all military activity in Southeast Asia. Such legislation is clearly within the constitutional prerogative of the Congress. Mister Justice Jackson said, "While Congress cannot deprive the President of the command of the Army and Navy, only Congress can provide him with an army or navy to command." *Youngstown Sheet & Tube v. Sawyer*, 343 U.S. 579, 644 (1952). In fact, only a few months ago, Congress exercised this power when in the 1970 Defense Appropriations Act it prohibited the use of funds appropriated by that act "to finance the introduction of American ground combat troops into Laos or Thailand."

Clearly the President's authority as Commander in Chief arises only after the Congress has exercised its authority to "raise and support armies," as provided by article 1, section 8, clause 12 of the U.S. Constitution. If our system of checks and balances is to have meaning, Congress must exercise its proper constitutional role and check the unauthorized assertion of Executive power. Congress must act immediately to bring U.S. participation in this war to an end, not just in Cambodia, but in all of Indochina. To do otherwise is to abdicate its responsibility to the American people.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Fascell.

Mr. FASCELL. No questions.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Boland.

Mr. BOLAND. Ted, you've indicated that you've been down here working for the McGovern-Hatfield-Goodell resolution. As you know, that doesn't pull us out of Southeast Asia immediately, it sets a particular date. Throughout your statement here you indicate we ought to get out tomorrow. What really is your position here?

Mr. NAJAM. I would agree with you that that is misleading. By "immediately" I mean setting a specific time at which our troops will be home—absolutely by the end of the fiscal year 1971. I do not consider that to be a precipitous withdrawal, I consider that to be an orderly withdrawal which can be accomplished without endangering the lives of our troops. That is what I mean by immediately.

Mr. BOLAND. I can assure you that there are a number of Members on this side of the Capitol building that share that conviction, too. What specifically are you doing in this area? You say you are down here working, or you have been down here for the past couple of weeks—you came down here a couple of weeks ago and have been here ever since, working in the interests—you have been working in passing the McGovern-Goodell bill. What have you been doing specifically?

Mr. NAJAM. Well, of course, my first obligation was to visit the Indiana congressional delegation, both the House and Senate. I've seen most of them.

I've been telephoning, writing material, working on petitions, various kinds of activities. Some of it's rather mundane actually, but it's needed.

Mr. BOLAND. Have you been getting anywhere?

Mr. NAJAM. I think we've been making progress. We are in contact with people around the country, funds are coming in, petitions are coming in; we're trying to build or establish and bring together the grassroots support that's there and hasn't quite yet found itself.

Mr. BOLAND. Well, I want to commend you for doing what you're doing. You're taking part in the political process and you are satisfied you are making some headway, and I think doing what you are doing, and feeling that you are getting someplace, does indicate that if you work within the—favorite expression—within the system, that actually the system does respond and can respond.

Mr. NAJAM. Congressman, I might add that the system has not yet responded, only certain Members of the House and Senate have responded, and I also might add that the situation in the House of Representatives is much more dismal with regard to the kind of legislation that the Hatfield-McGovern amendment represents.

Mr. BOLAND. Well, as you say, the system has not responded but the system does respond with this kind of activity.

Mr. NAJAM. I hope it does.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Thomson.

Mr. THOMSON. No questions.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, have we got time yet?

Mr. FINDLEY. Sure, go ahead.

Mr. FASCELL. Do you want the truth?

Mr. NAJAM. Yes, sir.

Mr. FASCELL. Why should the Congress respond to a minority group of leaders who are out here lobbying to get an amendment passed? Do you assert that you represent the majority view in the country?

Mr. NAJAM. I think that the distinction between the majority and minority views is one that has been overstressed, sir. This government—

Mr. FASCELL. How is it overstressed? How is the Congressman supposed to judge?

Mr. NAJAM. I'm about to explain that, sir. This Government cannot govern effectively if a sizable minority of its people is unwilling to cooperate with it. The idea of ruling this Government by poll is abhorrent to me.

Mr. FASCELL. It is abhorrent to me, too, and the Congress, therefore, has to exercise its judgment in determining what the people want. You say you don't know yet. You haven't been able to coalesce the grassroots opinion to support the cause you're for, even though we may be for what you're for.

Mr. NAJAM. That's not exactly what I said, sir.

Mr. FASCELL. Oh, I'm sorry.

Mr. NAJAM. I would suggest that this society is about ready to split at the seams. I'm looking toward our institutions to respond, to save us from that dilemma.

Mr. FASCELL. If society splits at the seams, why wouldn't the institutions split at the seams?

Mr. NAJAM. That's precisely the point, sir. I have faith in our institutions. I hope that they are sufficiently flexible. I would add that I think the central question facing this country is whether our traditional ways of conducting the public business will prove to be sufficiently responsible for the powerful forces at work in our society. I'm not altogether sure that they are. That's why I'm here.

Mr. FASCELL. I appreciate that, and I'm not arguing with your position at all. I want to know what the truth of the subject is. We are not an inanimate structure. We are people. We respond to people. We don't work in an elevator shaft, going up and down.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Najam, on page 2, you speak very critically of inflammatory rhetoric. And I agree, that inflammatory rhetoric has no place, especially in periods of great tension such as we have today. And yet I wonder if possibly here and there you may have slipped into that same situation yourself. In the preceding paragraph you say, "It has become open hunting season on students." Is that really the truth? We have at least 1,200 institutions of higher learning in this country. We have thousands of high schools, elementary schools. It is true there have been some brutal killings, but is it really correct to say that it has become "open hunting season on students?" Isn't that inflammatory rhetoric?

Mr. NAJAM. I'd like to respond by making several points. First, I'm not the Vice President of the United States, and I think that as a public official he has a greater responsibility to refrain from rhetoric which would divide this country than I as an individual citizen do. I would draw that basic distinction. To answer your question, open hunting season on students is a bit excessive. It is a dramatic way of stating the kind of things that many students feel. In a strict sense, it is an overstatement. But I think to explain, we have an expression among young people. It's called "bringing it all home." I think that the killings at Kent State and Jackson State College do bring it all home to a significant number of young people who have heretofore been concerned, yet not really aware that this can and is on occasion a very brutal society. I think I mention this because I feel that it has served as an awakening. Just one example. The kinds of people who have appeared to protest in Washington over the last few weeks are significantly a new breed, a new constituency. It's not just the old peace people who have been reinvigorated by the President's invasion of Cambodia. It is a lot of people who have been shocked and who have not up till this time participated or been moved to act. But in a strict sense, you're right.

Mr. FASCELL. That's a significant political analysis. You should have said that earlier.

Mr. NAJAM. Well I said it now, so at least I got it in. [Laughter.]

Mr. FINDLEY. We thank you very much, Mr. Najam, for your statement.

Mr. NAJAM. Thank you for your time and attention.

Mr. FINDLEY. It was very helpful.

Next on the schedule are John Marron and his associates. Is John Marron here? John Marron and three colleagues from Johns Hopkins University. John, am I correct that with you are Spencer Warren, Tim Kana, and I assume that Steven Buckingham is not here. Is that correct? Please proceed.

STATEMENT BY JOHN MARRON, JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

Mr. MARRON. Today we find ourselves trying desperately to live up to the letter and spirit of the Constitution, which demands by its democratic conception the silence of the majority of people it represents, so that a single representative voice can be heard. Between this silent majority and the representative voice of the administration, there exists an extensive system of checks and balances that mediate the many different voices of the not-so-silent minority which remains. The fact that we are meeting here today is testimony that, despite the cynicism of the radical or the blind faith of the reactionary, the Constitution and the ideals of democracy are still alive and well. I would like to thank all the representatives responsible for this dialog, not for the opportunity to speak, but for their obvious willingness to listen and to translate the various words of the not-so-silent minority into the one quiet voice that the administration may listen to.

Early in August of 1964, two U.S. destroyers came under North Vietnamese attack in the Gulf of Tonkin. This incident led immediately to the Tonkin Gulf Resolution which the administration rammed through Congress with little debate and without sufficient knowledge of the actual sequence of events. Thus, August 6 became a turning point in the escalation of the war. The constitutional powers of checks and balances had failed. Because the administration was either unwilling to investigate the incident thoroughly or "for the public good" decided to classify this "secret information" there arose from the people of the country a deafening silence which allowed the administration to make an inevitable human mistake. It was not until February of 1968, nearly 4 years and thousands of Vietnamese and American lives late, that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee reexamined the Tonkin Gulf incidents and found that: The administration had suppressed information; the destroyers, *Maddox* and *Turner Joy*, were actually on a spying maneuver; and at some time the destroyers had illegally crossed international boundaries into North Vietnam waters.

Does this render President Johnson's "constitutionally legal" justification for the war, all these years, null and void or do we let it set a precedent for all similar undeclared acts of war, such as the Cambodian invasion. Strict constructionists would, of course, disagree and show that there have already been many precedents for Presi-

dent Nixon's action on May 7 and for our 10-year intervention in Vietnam.

In *Fleming versus Page* (1850), Chief Justice Taney states that, "He (the President) may invade the hostile country, and subject it to the sovereignty and authority of the United States; but his conquests must not enlarge the boundaries of this Union, nor extend the operation of our institutions or laws beyond the limits, before assigned to them by legislative power." Was Cambodia's inability to dispel the Vietcong from their country to be considered an act of a "hostile country?" Were their requests for arms and supplies an open or secret invitation to send "military advisers" to Pnom Penh or for 40,000 troops to penetrate from 22 to 35 miles into their country? Have we not enlarged the boundaries of the United States by making South Vietnam the unofficial 51st State in the Union?

The Prize Cases of 1863 allowed Lincoln to advance his "war power" by enforcing the blockades of Southern ports, after the attack on Fort Sumter. Speaking for the majority of the court, Justice Grier sustained Lincoln's theory by saying:

If war be made by invasion of a foreign nation, the President is not only authorized but is bound to accept the challenge without waiting for any legislative authority. And whether the hostile party be a foreign invader or states organized in rebellion, it is nonetheless a war, although the declaration of it be unilateral.

The *United States v. Curtis Wright Corp.*, which suspends the authority of Congress if it does not delegate its power, allowed FDR to say that, "In the event that Congress should fail to act, and act adequately, I shall accept the responsibility, and I will act * * * out of the inescapable responsibility to the people of this country." I believe that, indeed, President Nixon's motives are to save as many lives in Vietnam as possible, but unfortunately, the final cost in lives here and abroad will be much greater. Joseph Story wrote in his commentary: "The propriety of admitting the President to be Commander in Chief, so far as to give orders, and have a general superintendency was admitted. But it was argued that it would be dangerous to let him command in person, without any restraints, as he might make bad use of it. The consent of both Houses of Congress ought, therefore, to be required, before he should take actual command." Both Presidents Johnson and Nixon have not asked the Houses of Congress to "advise and consent" on their proposed military defenses of democratic foreign governments. Under the aegis of the Tonkin Gulf resolution, they have ordered full-scale bombing and defoliation of North Vietnam, the increase of troop levels to over 500,000 men, and the waging of a fatal ground war in Southeastern Asia. Is this the "bad use" of military power of which Joseph Story spoke?

It is true that Woodrow Wilson, in 1918, resolved the question of an independent American command on the western front, and that Truman in 1945 ordered that the bomb be dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, but the American people and the presidential military advisers were generally in agreement. From the start of the Vietnam war, however, military advisers have continually struggled to wage war despite the interference of politicians from back home. A certain minority of the public, primarily the academic-journalistic

complex, also protested the waging of the war, not for reasons of strategy and politics, but on moral grounds. The President has been the victim of onslaughts from both sides, but continued to make the decisions that were humanly possible to make. Tragically, for the country and the President, they have been the wrong ones.

"The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States," but the President and all those that support an undeclared war shall not be President or representatives of the people any longer if their supporters do not vote them into office next term. We, as students of voting age, intend to do just that in this election, the next election and in as many elections thereafter as it takes to restore the values of peace to this country. The days of Washington rallies are over. We have become numb to the deaths of 40,000 Americans in Vietnam, to astronaut's possible deaths in space flights, to the diet of violence from every media, and even to the deaths of those in Augusta, Kent State, and Jackson State. We are told that when we practice dissent, we must expect such violence. This numbing process is an addiction to still further means of satisfying our great need for peace. Some say revolution, whatever that has come to mean as a fashionable phrase. Some say democracy. And some say, like me, I would rather get out and do it myself. Robert Packwood of Oregon, the youngest man in the Senate, commented on the May 17 "Meet the Press" program that if a million to a million and a half college students work for peace candidates next November; that if the voting age is lowered to 18; and that if every 21-year-old student voted; there would be such a ground swell of political opinion as to upset all future priorities of this country. I couldn't agree with him more. In the 1968 election of the eligible 21-25-year-old people, only one-third voted and President Nixon won by 0.7 of 1 percent. This in itself is significant, but coupled with 4.8 percent unemployment, the GNP deflator at 6 percent instead of the announced 5 percent, the failure of law and order, and the increase of racial tension; one can only guess where the vote for the system, but against the men responsible, will lead. I think that all the far-sighted people in my age group want to be there to find out. Thank you for your time.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you very much, Mr. Marron. Mr. Fascell.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Marron, we have had some excellent presentations here since we started yesterday morning. They have been well thought out. The people who have spoken have been articulate, emotionally involved, and committed, but I dare say that on page 4 starting with your last paragraph, we finally got to the root of the subject as far as this Congressman is concerned. I think you've finally brought it home. You've told it like it is. You've got to the heart of the matter. What really counts is what you've got in that last paragraph which says, "Those of us who believe like we do are going to keep at it until we get everybody convinced that this is the right thing to do." I admire you, I salute you.

Mr. MARRON. I think it is necessary to develop how one comes to the last conclusion. I think some of the rest may be filler in the sense that it doesn't come to the point, it is more or less a diffuse

argument, recitation of court cases, and what has happened before. But I think that it is necessary for the country to realize that students aren't just reading the pamphlets they find in their mailboxes.

Mr. FASCELL. I agree with you.

Mr. MARRON. They are not just getting leaflets. They aren't just listening to the New York Times or the Village Voice or whatever. They are reading other newspapers. They are reading congressional reports, and so forth.

Mr. FASCELL. I think having a sound base for your conclusion will support your actions.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Boland.

Mr. BOLAND. I would agree with my colleague, Mr. Fascell. I'm sure that all of the members who sat on the committee yesterday—and there were a great number of them who came in and sat in addition to those who comprise this ad hoc committee—a great number of Members of Congress are interested in this and the reaction of students. What Mr. Fascell said with respect to the statements is true. The statements that were presented yesterday and those that have been presented this morning I think have been extremely well done. The language has been put together well. I think it extremely fine language, and yours is no exception.

And as Mr. Fascell indicated, one of the ways to correct some of the things that you object to and a lot of those who will appear and have appeared object to is by going out and doing something about it, and this is by taking part in campaigns. It is true that in the last presidential election only one-third of those between the ages of 21 and 35 voted. This has been true with practically all elections, too. It is rather amazing that this has not changed. It may change this year. You indicated that perhaps it will. So in many contests around the United States the students will be pouring in on behalf of their particular candidate. My question to you is what happens if you lose in those contests?

Mr. MARRON. I think the upshot of the McCarthy election shows that although students at the time were somewhat frustrated and some were giving up hope, shows that because of the media, there were other issues, because students will always need issues. Hopefully they won't just need them when they are in college, when they are in the vacuum of an education that provides a great amount of time, a great amount of ideas that they can use within their own ranks and also just friction with the system. But hopefully they will go after their college years, out, not only into their communities, but also come to Washington, come to the bodies of representative government and can express their own views, perhaps in a different way, but at least register their opinion.

Mr. BOLAND. You know, you are going to be dealing with a great number of people when you are campaigning in particular areas around the United States, and you're going to be dealing in areas where a lot of people may not agree with all of the things that you desire, of course.

Mr. MARRON. I come from Phoenix, Ariz., and I think there are quite a few people in that area of the country who disagree with a great many of the things I have said.

Mr. BOLAND. I think that is probably true. But I would hope that those who do get involved in contests—I think you ought to be care-

ful about the particular candidate that you may support. I think you've got to look at the whole man. Not just in regard to the peace issue alone, or the war issue. I think there are a lot of other factors that have to be considered here. Would you agree to that?

Mr. MARRON. Oh, definitely. But I think that peace or war are partial to many of the other issues at this particular time. I think that as a starting point, that they are valid issues. I agree that one should go on and look much deeper—to community problems, municipal problems, and national problems.

Mr. BOLAND. There are a great number of people back home who will be looking at the total man. Not just what his outlook may be on just one issue.

Mr. MARRON. I agree, that's why I brought up the problems which are going on within the economy right now because if you hit someone obviously in their pocketbook, that they're going to see that.

Mr. BOLAND. Thank you very much.

Mr. WARREN. Congressman, may I add something to that point? My name is Spencer Warren. Regarding that, "What would we do if we lost." The excuse for a lot of the violence today on the part of students is that the system doesn't work. But I'd like to say that I don't agree with that because I think that if we look at 1968, there was a very strong possibility that Robert Kennedy would have won the Democratic nomination and perhaps the Presidency. Now the system cannot be asked to compensate events such as assassinations. Additionally, I think that students tend to feel that if they can't get people to agree with them, then the system is failing. This isn't true. Vietnam is not a question of an inalienable right such as free speech. If they can't get people to agree with them, then they are in a minority, they get outvoted and that's it. I would like to make an elaboration, if I may, about the failure of law and order. What we mean by that is the increasing lawlessness in our country today, and I think this ought to be the main context in which we view the Vietnam conflict, apart from the military right or wrong of the Cambodian invasion, or the success of Vietnamization, et cetera. But we speak today of increasing lawlessness. First of all, by the President and his unilateral action in invading Cambodia. Apart from the specifics of the debate upon the constitutionality of this, I think everyone would agree that the Constitution does not mean that one man should have the right to lead our country into war, and I think this is what President Nixon has done in Cambodia. His justification for this could be used to attack Russia or China for that matter by saying we are protecting our troops by cutting off sources of weapons for the enemy. This leads to increasing lawlessness by the Government, and this is apparent, of course, in Jackson, Miss., and in Augusta, Ga. In New York we have, I suppose, America's modern day brown shirts wearing construction caps. There are reports that the police just watched and some even aided the construction workers when they were beating students and other people. This is what really concerns me because even if we win the war in Vietnam, if freedom is destroyed in this country as we continually slide down the road toward lawlessness, and terror and violence replace the rule of law, then this country will just go right down the drain.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hicks?

Mr. HICKS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I want to commend the last speaker here, Mr. Warren. One of the things that disturbed me yesterday was the number of young people who kept saying how frustrated they are going to be if they don't win. I think that the response that you take is the proper one—to get out and work, and if you can get the votes, then you win. I think the vote on the amendment the other day to try to restrict funds on the military procurement bill showed about the proportional representation that you've got here in the Congress based upon how many people got elected on that. About 146 in the House, or some such number. All you can do is get out and work, and if you win, fine. If you don't, go back and try again.

I commend your statement. Both of you.

Mr. WARREN. Thank you.

Mr. FINDLEY. Let's go to the next question. Mr. Thomson. Mr. Mize. Are there any other questions?

Mr. WARREN. Yes, I'd like to address this to Mr. Hicks in regard to what he just said. I think that the statistics of the 1968 election just point out the fact that the people that we should direct our political campaign action toward are our own age group. If we can get our own age group to vote. I'm quite certain that the people that our age group as a whole wants will be in. In this day and age, presidential elections, congressional elections, senatorial elections, you name it, are decided by, not millions of votes, but tens of thousands and even thousands of votes, and, yes Mr. Fascell, even hundreds. I think that this just points up the fact that if we can get our own age group to vote, then we are in.

Mr. FASCELL. You've got it made.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you very much for a very good contribution.

The next witness scheduled is Bob Hubbard of Xavier University. Mr. Ford will present the statement, is that correct?

STATEMENT BY MICHAEL F. FORD, XAVIER UNIVERSITY

Mr. FORD. Good morning gentlemen. It is indeed an honor to address this gathering, and we are grateful for your interest in our opinions. The possibility of our having a meaningful exchange of ideas is enhanced by our shared frustrations as well as our mutual concern for the solution of our Nation's problems. Indeed, frustration is seemingly one of the only factors that is shared by most Americans today. This virtual ubiquity of frustration leads us at once to investigate it further. The psychological reactions to frustration are for the most part, aggression, apathy and withdrawal, fixation, and regression. Americans today are exhibiting these reactions in varying degrees and forms.

I am here however, to speak as a student, particularly as a student representing my university.

The touchstone for student frustrations seems generally to be resultant of a helplessness in attempting to effect a change in policies that they feel to be immoral, illogical, or perhaps most importantly, inhumane. On our campus, our most recent reactions have not been typical ones, at least in our geographical area (Ohio), as obviated

by the fact that we were one of the two major universities in the State of Ohio that remained open throughout the recent campus disturbances. Opinion on our campus concerning Southeast Asia and national policies in general, runs the gamut from those who are in agreement with the present policy, to those who are diametrically opposed. This polarization is not unusual, yet the volume of concern, regardless of which direction it may lean toward, is unusual. This concentrated interest on our campus seems to have been effectively channeled, through administration and student compromise and effort. Tranquility on our campus was maintained and we submit that perhaps this is so because students thought that they were heard. This approach, we feel, is appropriate to educational institutions, but evidence surrounding us indicates that this method is ineffective on the national level. As students fail to effect change on national issues that they regard as vastly important, then their frustration is multiplied. The psychological reactions of student frustrations are here illustrated clearly. Aggression has been, and is increasingly being used as an out by some, as indicated by recent violent campus outbursts. The violence we speak of is sometimes emotionally initiated, yet some violence is calculated with the consideration that people do listen when violence is utilized. We do not intend to imply that we condone violence for students, nor do we condone it for anyone else, however, we do empathize to an extent with some of the initiators of the violence, knowing their frustration. Apathy, too, is in evidence to the extent that some students think that the chance for their effecting change is virtually impossible. At this time such a group among the student population may be considered as the silent minority rather than a majority. The silent number will increase only as the majority feels they are faced with an insurmountable frustration in their efforts.

We feel that a dialogue such as this would be incomplete if we were not to offer some tangible solutions to our shared dilemma. We are not disregarding the value of spontaneous discussion, however we think that this occasion provides an outstanding opportunity for us to offer what we think to be some constructive solutions.

First, realizing that student opinion is varied on national issues, we think that for us to take a definite stand at this time on any particular issue, would not serve any function beyond that of releasing a pressure valve for ourselves and for you as well. Rather, we are urging that a constructive channel be opened to receive the physical and intellectual energies of the student population. Consequently, we are strongly urging each of you as legislators to vote for, and to attempt to garner sufficient support for the Voting Rights Act of 1970, which if passed, would permit young Americans to vote at age 18. The vote is the classic form of American political participation, and the students are ready for it. We feel that the urgency of the situation warrants action by the U.S. Congress in this area. Hopefully, they will take the initiative rather than allow the inevitable delay that would result if it were to go through the State legislatures. Southeast Asia is, we believe, merely an example of a more basic problem. We are merely asking that students be permitted to participate in the governmental process which affects us so greatly.

Second, we suggest that the gentlemen of Congress include a youth advisor on their staffs, who could serve as an information source for the congressman as well as for the constituency. We applaud the President's creation of such a position in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, in the Office of Education, and we regret the difficulties which that office has run into. However, we suggest that an extension of such a program could conceivably provide valuable experience, an information base, and an opportunity to increase sensitivity for all parties involved. Such an arrangement would permit youth to participate in the governmental process beyond the mere stuffing of envelopes.

Third, we are urging that hearings such as these be scheduled on a continuing basis. We regard this occasion as an excellent opportunity for us and hope that others may be afforded the same opportunity. Along the same lines however, we do not intend to indicate that communication in such areas is to be a one-sided affair. To insure this on our campus, we are sponsoring a forum on political education. This forum will not be intended merely as an opportunity for student expression. We are inviting each of you to come to our campus to express your views to us in November, and we will ask you questions. Hopefully, other universities will follow suit, and perhaps we might learn to empathize as we are expecting you to do.

We ask that you, as well as students, deal with the world as it is and not disregard things because they are new or because they are old.

Admittedly, the fact that today's student population has been brought up in a technological society where news media is capable of transmitting information with great speed, and where movie and television conflicts are resolved in short periods of time, could lead us, unreasonably perhaps, to demand too much too fast. Yet, on the other hand, we also feel that the government in its frustration falls into a psychological fixation of its own whereby its adaptability to change is reduced through stress and outmoded tradition.

We endorse strongly the growing youth movement that is attempting to work within the system. Yet, we think that the system, as it is now, has atrophied relative to its potential participation; which is the fault of the people, not of the system. We further think that our system was originally constructed intentionally to provide for change, not to prevent it.

The cry for participation by youth must be answered lest aggression and/or apathy reach epidemic proportions. If this were to occur, we will have reached a point of social entropy and, resulting from this, we would ultimately face anarchy.

This issue is furthered by the awareness of ever-present dichotomies in our society. The dichotomy of pursuing peace through war, or the social polarities in our system are dealt with only after the fact of a tragedy such as in Kent, Ohio, or in Mississippi. By definition a social problem is considered a problem only when it is recognized by, and I quote, a "significant group within society." By the time a problem is recognized it has usually reached monumental proportions. I feel that the function of government must extend beyond dealing with problems after the fact and even go beyond dealing with problems in the present because the complexity

of such problems might lead us to consider them even after they have already passed us by.

Reviewing information on Vietnam, prepared by the Vietnam information group of the National Security Council, I noticed that the Chairman of the House Committee on Internal Security went to great lengths to prove that participation in antiwar demonstrations regardless of motivation would be aiding the cause of the Communists. Such a statement seemingly contradicts the American way of life and would indicate that if we did not agree with the policy, and we say so, we are aiding communism rather than furthering democracy. So we have another dichotomy.

For government to deal with and prevent fatal social polarization it must anticipate conflict and attempt to deal with it before it happens.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mike, I'm afraid I have to interrupt at this time, but we do have a 10-minute question period coming up, and I must say that of all the splendid statements that we have heard, I think your presentation was one of the most constructive and useful we have had. It went right to practical proposals, and I congratulate you and whoever else had to do with preparing it. Mr. Fascell.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I just want to say that the constructive suggestions made in the prepared presentation are excellent ones. I have no problem following all three, and I am following two of them already, maybe all three of them, since I have been to a campus. I'd like to hear the rest of your points. That's my question.

Mr. FORD. I was almost through anyway. I was saying that the Government should try to anticipate the problems and deal with them before they happen. This operation could possibly revitalize the country which is divided by misunderstanding and frustration. Hopefully, the leaders of our Nation will follow the words of Gandhi when he said, "There go my people. I must catch up with them, for I am their leader." That is all I had to say.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Boland.

Mr. BOLAND. How large of a student body does Xavier University have?

Mr. FORD. It's a fairly small university with approximately 2,100 undergraduates, and 6,000 overall including graduate and night schools.

Mr. BOLAND. You have indicated, Mike, that there is a diversity of opinion of course, with respect to our actions in Southeast Asia and Cambodia; that it's probably what, split down the middle, is it?

Mr. FORD. No, I wouldn't say that it is evenly split. I would estimate that a little over 50 percent might be questioning the actions in Southeast Asia.

Mr. BOLAND. Of the 2,100 students, how many would you say came from Ohio?

Mr. FORD. I would say at least 60 percent.

Mr. BOLAND. That's interesting. I have been in Cincinnati and think it's a great city. I've been at Xavier University, too. I think it's a great university. I join with Mr. Fascell and the Chairman in complimenting all of you on this statement. It is a fine statement,

and again I say they all have been fine but some a little more impressive than others, and this is one of them.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hicks? Mr. Thomson? Mr. Mize? Are there any other questions? Well, you can tell that we're very impressed and appreciate very much your statement. Thank you.

The next witness on the schedule is Kirk Portman. Is Mr. Portman present? He had not checked in a few minutes ago, so we will move on to the next one. Mr. Bruce Taylor of Rutgers University. Is Bruce here?

STATEMENT BY BRUCE W. TAYLOR, RUTGERS UNIVERSITY

Mr. TAYLOR. Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, fellow students: I welcome the opportunity to offer the following statement on behalf of the Direct Political Action Committee of Rutgers—The State University. We would say, however, that we do not consider such a statement to be a sufficient presentation of our position. We only offer this statement as one further way to express our opinions about the U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia.

Mr. Chairman, the conflict in Southeast Asia has dominated the lives of many students at Rutgers and in the State of New Jersey. We have grown up while the war has widened. Our lives have been dated by deaths. According to the Defense Department, by the week ending February 26, 1970, 1,094 New Jersey residents had been killed in Vietnam. Many of us know of a fellow student who has graduated, been drafted, and died.

More young people have been brought into the political process on this issue than any other issue of our times. Despite all this, it has only been in recent weeks that the opinions of the young have been sought out. It has been and is our feeling that where attitudes have been ignored or disparaged, where minds have remained shut, there is a basis for much of the violence so casually attributed to the young.

To many Americans, the events of the past 3 weeks have been shocking as well as revealing. Americans who had supported three Presidents in their foreign policies, finally took the time to stand back and make a careful and logical analysis of what has happened over the past years. None of this is new to students. What is new is the growing demand on the Congress of the United States to represent the interests of the people on this issue.

It is with dismay that we have witnessed that, while administrations have changed, foreign policy has remained the same. The presidential elections of 1964 and 1968, the first many young people took an active role in, were, in part, calls for a new foreign policy. It is our belief that those calls have gone unanswered, that the changes that have occurred have had little effect on the posture of the United States around the world.

The policies of the past did not serve us well when they were new; a determination to act by them now can only lead to tragedies similar to the one we now see in Southeast Asia. Our foreign policy has been unimaginative, almost unthinking. Blind reflexiveness has been substituted for creative problem-solving. We have responded to the overthrow of democracy in Greece with sublime apathy, while com-

mitting half a million troops to Vietnam, where democracy has never been. We have offered assistance to nations and then demanded that they allow U.S. military bases to be built on their soil. We have spoken of our alliance commitments to Southeast Asia where those commitments are so tenuous while we have observed the weakening of our European alliance. Isn't it ironic that much of that weakening is due to the fact of our involvement in this war? The results, then, have been the loss of 45,000 American lives and the lives of more than half a million of Vietnamese, the waste of billions of dollars to war while in our own country we have not dedicated ourselves to resolving great internal crises, and a growing disillusionment on the part of many concerned Americans.

It is our feeling that the President of the United States has dictated policies and ordered actions without, at the same time, providing leadership to the people. "Credibility gap" was a popular phrase during the last administration but, certainly, there has been no gap quite as wide as the current President has left with us. Reports that the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense did not support the Cambodian actions do little to garner support among the people. Early reports on the success of Cambodian operations based on the flimsiest of evidence, also suggests to Americans that all is not that it is stated to be. President Nixon's recent actions have not added to a foreign policy consensus on the part of Americans. Indeed, quite the reverse has occurred.

We feel that the President of the United States serves the people poorly when he speaks of the defeat and humiliation we face if we do not pursue his current policies. The President should be reminded, as should those of his supporters in Congress, that our involvement in Indochina in the past 15 years has proved to be a continuing erosion of American prestige around the world.

We feel that the President misled the people when he spoke of the United States as the "peacekeeper in Asia." The President should be reminded that, for whatever reasons, we are viewed as warmakers rather than peacekeepers. To perpetuate the myth that we are regarded widely as mediators there is to further the divisions at home and among our allies.

It is our position that Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon have committed their country to a policy which is inconsistent with the reality of Southeast Asia. The history of that area of the world is one of foreign domination and peoples versus peoples. The Chinese, the French, the Japanese, and now the United States have played a role, whether we admit it or not, of interloper. The fact that the U.S. initial involvement in Indochina was a stand-in for the French and that many of the political "leaders" of South Vietnam since 1954 were pro-French multiplies the confusion of our people and our policies.

It is our position that the President has not served the people with his remarks about "the most powerful Nation in the world." The President should be reminded, as should his supporters in Congress, that power can be creative and constructive as well as absolute and destructive. Nations should not be judged on the basis of brute force or of stubbornness but on the basis of whether their power can be used effectively towards the peaceful resolution of conflict. Vietnam

has certainly not been an exercise in efficiency. It would, perhaps, not have been an important criticism if the results had not been so tragic. We have not only lived with these mistakes and miscalculations but many have died because of them and will continue to do so until radical shifts in our way of foreign-policy thinking and action occur.

How can you in Congress respond to these problems? We firmly believe that the issue now is whether the representatives of the people can reassert their constitutional prerogatives in matters of war and peace. Some say this is a hopeless task, that too many years have gone by to accomplish it. That is the talk of men who are resigned to the continuing erosion of constitutional protections of the people. Those that argue that the President must have the power to protect troops in the field ignore the fact that, had the Congress been vigilant, those troops may not have been in the field. We are as interested in protecting American lives as anyone who speaks for the current administration. In fact, we believe more so. To this end, we urge passage of the Church-Cooper and McGovern-Hatfield amendments with the addition concerning air support which are presently being discussed in the Senate. In addition, it is long past the time when the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution should have been repealed. These actions would, in our view, be active reassertions of the prerogatives we have spoken about.

Some Congressmen have voiced reservations about the constitutional delicacy of limiting Presidential war powers. Where were those Congressmen when the constitutional right of the people's representatives to decide on this war were being ignored? Where were those Congressmen when the executive branch committed the people of the United States to such a dishonorable task? Where were they when the Congress abdicated its responsibilities in the face of executive power? Our representatives have defaulted to the Executive in almost every area? Unprecedented executive actions have led us into war—unprecedented congressional actions must get us out of war.

For many years, this Congress has disavowed that it had any responsibility for the war in Vietnam. Why, after the Cambodian invasion, many Members of this House said, "I disagree but what's done is done." You can no longer take such a position! We will not let you! We wish to make clear that we hold you responsible for this war in the future.

History books tell us that the debates between the Jeffersonians and the Hamiltonians were resolved a hundred and seventy years ago. And yet, we face the same crisis now as we did then. We would remind you that that debate ended in a victory; those that favored the power of the people's representatives over the power of the Executive. We can afford no other conclusion in that same debate today.

Thank you.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you very much, Mr. Taylor. Mr. Fascell?

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Taylor, your statement is a very clear presentation and very pointed. I think I can agree with everything you said, except I think I must add this, that where you say had the Congress been vigilant, those troops may not

be in the field today, you are absolutely right; except that the Congress by voting for all the appropriations, the Congress by passing the practically unlimited authority contained in the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, supported all the actions of the President, and that regardless of how it is interpreted, there is one fundamental interpretation, and that is that the Congress interpreted the will and desire of the American people at that time.

Mr. TAYLOR. I agree with that.

Mr. FASCELL. So as that predicate, you see, I think we can lead to your next step, which I have no trouble concurring with.

Mr. TAYLOR. I agree with that, but on the specific issue of military appropriations, it has been clear that these questions on the Vietnam war have not been made an issue except by a very few Congressmen. I don't know how many Congressmen voted last year, very few, under 40 in the House, I think, voted against military appropriations.

Mr. FASCELL. Of course, the vote is picking up as the Congress responds to the mood of the country—

Mr. TAYLOR. This should be no excuse to continue the position which Congress has taken which has really been acquiescence.

Mr. FASCELL. Only if the Congress decides or interprets that at the grass roots that is the real feeling that exists.

Mr. TAYLOR. I would hope that you would be leaders of the people as well as representatives.

Mr. FASCELL. When are you a leader and when are you not? One thing is for sure, if you're not in the Congress you can't be a leader in the Congress. As one President has reportedly said, "It's tough nowadays to tell when you are a leader. You're never sure whether your people are following you or chasing you." [Laughter.]

Mr. TAYLOR. My own Congressman's votes on issues are not consistent with many of the opinions of the people in his district. They may respect his opinion because he does try to provide leadership.

Mr. FASCELL. I can't characterize all of the Congress as courageous men, and I can't characterize them as all cowards, but everybody in the Congress has cast votes which had a political liability in his own district. He had to go home and face it and try to educate his people and get re-elected to Congress. But it is a question of interpretation, and I quite agree with you. The only point I wanted to make was that at the time of the Gulf of Tonkin resolution there were only two votes against it in the entire Congress. All the great peacemakers were here but they weren't hearing what their people were saying, evidently. Now we are all hearing it. That's the big difference.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Boland?

Mr. BOLAND. I don't know that actually the Members of Congress were not hearing what the peacemakers were saying back when the Gulf of Tonkin resolution—as a matter of fact, we didn't have any peacemakers in those days. I think that was part of the problem. I imagine, Bruce, that you were not at Rutgers in those days. I don't know what the attitude at Rutgers was at that time. I know what it has been over the past few years, though. [Laughter.]

Mr. TAYLOR. It will continue to be that for a long time until this war ends; and I believe that is 75 percent or 80 percent of the student population, not 50 percent.

Mr. BOLAND. And I think you recognize there is a split of opinion back home over this issue, too, and I dare say that a great number of Members of Congress who share your views, have a constituency back home that perhaps does not share those views. There is a great split in middle America and there is a great split among age groups with respect to this issue. There are many Members that do have problems back home—

Mr. TAYLOR. I would hope that Members of the House especially, who felt that they had this kind of opinion back home, could make a decision, and then go back to the people and try to influence the people; and I think that hasn't been done to a large extent.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hicks.

Mr. HICKS. Well, I would just point out to the young man what he probably already knows, that Senator Morse I believe was one of the two who voted against the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, and while I understand that the young people think that his replacement is very adequate, nonetheless that is just one of the practicalities. If the country moves, the people in Congress move, maybe not quite as fast as you would want to have them move, but as Mr. Fascell so pointed out, you can't lead the people if you are not here. So you can be out in front a little ways, but you can't be out as far as perhaps you would like. So you want to help, all of you young people, and many yesterday said that was what they intend to do. I applaud it. And the young man that pointed out that only one-third between 21 and 25 registered and voted is some indication. I assume all of those over 21 are registered.

Mr. TAYLOR. I hope so.

Mr. FASCELL. If they're not working in any other campaigns, I'd welcome them in mine. [Laughter.]

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Thomson? Mr. Mize?

Mr. MIZE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. You say there has been no change in our foreign policy for too long. What is your opinion of the announced Guam doctrine of Mr. Nixon?

Mr. TAYLOR. Well, first of all, I think that the President of the United States had to make that statement sometime during his administration. It is clear that if people in this country support the President's action in Vietnam right now, they surely do not support any extension of these activities in the future. And his was a statement of limiting involvement around the world. But I don't think that the Cambodian invasion, for example, is an extension or a following of the Guam doctrine. I think it is an abrogation of that doctrine. I think it is saying we are going to take the burden, and we are going to keep taking the burden. So I don't know if the President is sincere in that statement, but I don't think the Cambodian invasion, which is the most recent example, follows that doctrine. I think it is against it, it's contradictory.

Mr. MIZE. Thank you.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Taylor, I wish that all the American people could be piped in, so to speak, on the dialogue we've had these past 2 days. I find much to admire and agree with in your statement. There is one part that I question. On page 2 you have at the top, "It is with dismay that we have witnessed that while administrations

have changed, foreign policy has remained the same." Now that's a generalization, but I wonder if you can fairly apply that to Vietnam, because the buildup of military force in Vietnam came to an end and the reverse occurred, and the force level is definitely down. Can you really say that our policy in Vietnam has remained the same?

Mr. TAYLOR. I agree with that, but that's in numbers. The Cambodian invasion was defended on the same grounds that we got into Vietnam, that we had to protect troops in the field, which is the same exact reasoning. Now we do have lower numbers of troops, but certainly until every troop has left Vietnam many people are not going to be convinced that we've reversed our position. And I think that is a fair point; we've been in Vietnam 10 years now. The indications are that it's going to take many, many years to get out of Vietnam, not 2 years or 4 years but many more years. So until that happens, until we settle these entanglements, which I think we shouldn't enter into—

Mr. MIZE. Wouldn't you agree though, that foreign policy cannot be static?

Mr. TAYLOR. Oh no, definitely not. And I don't advocate isolation or anything of that sort. I say the power we do use, should be used effectively. I don't think it has been used effectively.

Mr. FINDLEY. Any other questions? We're very grateful to you for this very fine statement.

Our next witness is Dave Kramer.

Mr. KRAMER. I'd like to introduce Merl Arnold. He too is a former Marine and a Vietnam veteran. He is the recipient of the Silver Star, Bronze Star with a Combat V, three Purple Hearts, the Vietnamese Legion of Merit, Navy Unit Citation, two Presidential Unit Citations, Navy Commendation, four Vietnam Campaign Ribbons, 13 Combat Air Medals, was a member of the 2d Force Recon in the Marine Corps, and spent 26 months in the country of Vietnam.

STATEMENT BY C. DAVID KRAMER, STUDENT ASSOCIATION PRESIDENT, SHIPPENSBURG STATE COLLEGE

Mr. KRAMER. I am here today to relate to you my views concerning the war in Southeast Asia.

It certainly is not necessary to have been in Vietnam to understand our involvement in the war. But, I do feel it is important for me to preface my remarks by saying that I have been there.

As a former Marine and as a veteran of the war in Vietnam, I have not reached my opinions solely on emotion. I am not basing my opinions solely on what I have read in newspapers, on what I have seen on television or on what I have discussed with my friends and colleagues.

My present opinions are based on all of these factors.

In recent months, I have asked myself many questions:

—How many students are sincere in their protest of the war? And how many students are merely joining the "bandwagon"?

—How many Congressmen are sincere when they say they want peace in Southeast Asia? And how many Congressmen are merely joining the political "bandwagon" to reap the profits of peace at the November election?

—What is the price of a human life? How many lives were lost at the siege of Khe Sahn and who has it now? How many lives were lost at Hill 881 and who has it now? How many lives were lost at Hamburger Hill and who has that now?

The list of questions is an endless one and touches many facets of the social, political, economic and moral life of America.

Answers to the questions of war and peace are expressed on the college campuses in many and diverse ways.

On some campuses, students have fire-bombed military-related buildings. This does not contribute positively toward a solution to this complex problem.

On some campuses, strikes and boycotts of classes have been called. On other campuses, memorial services and peaceful demonstrations have been held. These tactics collectively have stimulated a response. President Nixon sought out demonstrators 2 weeks ago at the Lincoln Memorial at 5 o'clock in the morning. These hearings were set up, in Republican Findley's words, "to help make our representative form of government work for our young people."

On my campus, Shippensburg State College in Pennsylvania, classes were suspended for 1 day for a Day of Dialog, during which more than 1,000 students, and faculty members met in small groups to discuss the war in Southeast Asia and, in particular, the invasion of Cambodia.

But the relevant topic today concerns the cause of student dissent on the college campuses.

We see this dissent manifested in many ways, but are we seeking the reasons for this dissent? If we were to investigate the problem, we would find, for the most part, young people who are frustrated. They believe that killing is wrong, but they see their country hopelessly involved in the game of war. They believe that war is not the answer to international differences. They see their leaders murdered in Dallas, in Memphis, and in Los Angeles. They see their brothers and sisters die senselessly in Kent, Ohio, and Jackson, Miss.

We do not seek revolution.

We do seek to change what is wrong in this country and we resent being ignored when we speak.

There are injustices in this country and we will not rest until they have been corrected.

We must understand that frustration is the root cause of dissent on the college campuses—frustration that was started by an unresponsive Government and is being deepened by an unresponsive Government.

The foes which threaten the future of America are not to be found in a jungle 10,000 miles from home. These real foes are the enemies at home. And these enemies are not college students. They are not the "bums." They are not the "effete corps of impudent snobs." These enemies are ignorance, incompetence, and superstition.

These enemies can be found in every facet and on every level of American life. They can be found on college campuses, in the ranks of the military and the police, in high schools and at PTA meetings. They can be found in Hometown, U.S.A., and, indeed, they can be found in the Halls of Congress.

I think the message from the college campuses and, indeed, from America, is pointedly clear: End American involvement in the Southeast Asian war.

Obviously, this cannot be accomplished in one week. But I am here today to encourage your support of the amendment to end the war, which is being prepared for a vote in Congress. Passage of this resolution would, in effect, end the conflict in Indochina by December of this year unless there is a specific declaration of war. Passage of this resolution would appear to allow American fighting men to be withdrawn from battle zones safely. Passage of this resolution would restore the faith of many of our people—both young and old—in the representative form of government.

In my opinion, there is a special role for youth in the making and changing of policies. This role was well defined recently by Marvin E. Wolfgang, chairman of the department of sociology at the University of Pennsylvania. He said: "One of the privileges of youth is having the ability to afford to complain and question. The older generation becomes immersed in running the system and must rely upon the younger to provide the pressure needed to question and reform it. Even when they show displeasure at the tactics of student protest and riot, the older generation may have sneaking suspicions that youth could be right about many things."

I think Mr. Wolfgang is right. Concerned young Americans are complaining. They are questioning. They are pressing for political action to end a futile war in Indochina. The overwhelming majority of concerned young Americans are working peacefully and persistently to reach this goal. And, in my opinion, the majority of concerned young Americans are right.

Mr. ARNOLD. To go along with what David said, I find myself along with many other veterans for the first time questioning the reasons for some moves. For instance, I was at the siege of Khe Sanh. Why do we use so many people and then just get out? Why did we take Hamburger Hill four times and then leave it? I was also on 881. Some people, mostly the veterans, are now wondering why. These are the reasons veterans are now starting to question. As far as students rioting, any time students use violence we pay no attention, but to see this go on and then expand the war into other countries and keep the same policies that we have, as far as limitations as to what we can and cannot do, that the veterans are now questioning, and I find myself now asking many, many questions.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you, gentlemen. Mr. Fascell.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Kramer, on page 3 of your statement, let's take a quick look at that. Starting with the paragraph, "We must understand that frustration is the root cause of dissent on the college campuses, frustration that was started by an unresponsive Government and being deepened by an unresponsive Government." In light of the two paragraphs that follow, don't you think that we very well and probably should amend that language to be an unresponsive people.

Mr. KRAMER. Yes, I think that's quite correct.

Mr. FASCELL. That's what we really mean?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Arnold, with respect to your view, don't you think that the problem is the inability in modern times to apply military strategy in order to bring about a political decision? In other words, if taking Hamburger Hill militarily had no purpose except to maintain your military position in South Vietnam which was to bring about a political decision, the question then is, which you've raised: How long is it going to take to bring about the political decision?

Mr. ARNOLD. One of the main questions I raise is, we spend so many lives taking this hill, then we get off of it; we leave it. The enemy then retakes it, and then we have to retake it again. Not once or twice, but three or four times.

Mr. FASCELL. All I say is that the difficulty in understanding that as part of a military tactic is that the whole military operation is designed to bring about a political decision which isn't coming about.

Mr. ARNOLD. I just want to make one statement. One of my main questions is that we've spent so many lives taking these hills, areas, and then we leave it to bring about this political situation. Then why do we expand into other countries and continue on the same level that we are? When I was up at Khe Sanh when we were bombing, the enemy had very little supplies, we started to get relief, they weren't hitting us as much. When the bombing had stopped, they put us on the front line again; there we are facing new supplies. Now this is what I mean. To me this just doesn't make sense. Either do it or don't do it.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hicks.

Mr. HICKS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm interested in what these young men have to say because they were there. Based on a newspaper article that I released objecting to the Cambodian incursion, I received a number of letters from parents who have young men in Vietnam at the present time advising me that my view was wrong, that the young men who are over there—99 percent of them—approved of what was going on because they had been frustrated so long in going so far and stopping such as you were at Khe Sanh. Are you saying come home or go all out, invade everything over there, smash it and get a military victory?

Mr. KRAMER. In my opinion the time for a military victory is probably 3 years past. At least 3 years past. The time right now, as times are now in 1970, a military victory in South Vietnam is a futile attempt and we could never do it. From the point that you say parents who presently have sons in Vietnam, I can speak from personal opinion that a person who is in Vietnam has an entirely different mental outlook on the situation while he is involved in a combat type situation. Many times if I would have been permitted to do certain actions while I was in Vietnam I certainly would have done it. I can't elaborate any more than that. I think when persons who currently are in Vietnam come back home to America for a year or so, they will look at the situation in an entirely different light.

Mr. HICKS. Do you say then that if we're going in, we should go in like we did in the Dominican Republic or like the Israeli's did—all out, smash—if you're going to do something, otherwise don't do it. And that we've erred in the past?

Mr. KRAMER. No longer. No longer. Maybe in 196—

Mr. HICKS. Well that's what I mean, when we did it, or if we're going to go again any place, that it's an either/or proposition, is that your view?

Mr. KRAMER. No, sir; it's not. I maintain a dove-type position as far as war goes. As far as any type of war goes.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Thomson.

Mr. THOMSON. No question.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Mize.

Mr. MIZE. No question.

Mr. FINDLEY. You gentlemen come here with a unique background shared. I would say only by one previous witness, and undoubtedly Mr. Arnold's background in Vietnam far exceeds that of the other one. Mr. Arnold, from your extensive experience in the field, do you have any appraisal or estimate as to how quickly our Commander-in-Chief could withdraw our forces from Vietnam?

Mr. ARNOLD. Are you asking me for a time?

Mr. FINDLEY. Yes. How quickly could he do it, with due regard for the safety of those who remain during this withdrawal period?

Mr. ARNOLD. To be honest with you, my scope of the situation was very limited, and I'm afraid I could not answer that question truthfully except to say that I wouldn't want to be one of the guys left behind.

Mr. FINDLEY. With that in mind, the Commander-in-Chief can be, I think, forgiven for resisting some of the public pressure brought against him in the interest of men remaining in the field. Would you not say that is true?

Mr. ARNOLD. Oh, yes.

Mr. FINDLEY. In the same light, it is conceivable that military initiatives like those in Cambodia can be justified in order to facilitate the withdrawal of forces. Is that beyond possibility?

Mr. ARNOLD. I do believe this, from being on the Cambodian border and chasing a hard-core NVA unit up to the river and then having to stop. And they proceeded to mortar us from the other side of the river; we were not allowed to call in air strikes in our own defense. The only thing we could use was small weapons fire. Therefore we had one other choice, get out of that area. I can see the frustration. We knew the supplies were over there, and I can see a military reason for going into Cambodia. But the one thing I do question is there were so many restrictions on us at times like that, that unless this is changed, I feel that to be quite honest, it's like getting guys killed or wounded for an illogical reason.

Mr. FINDLEY. Are there other questions? For my part, and I know I speak for my colleagues, we very much appreciate your appearance here. You've made a great contribution. Thank you very much.

Mr. ARNOLD. Thank you for your time.

Mr. KRAMER. Thank you.

Mr. FINDLEY. The next witness is Richard Ball, of Michigan State University, East Lansing. Is Richard Ball here?

STATEMENT BY RICHARD BALL, MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

Mr. BALL. I feel somewhat uneasy and hypocritical here today because, even though I am a college student myself, I am of the firm

belief that students are the last people the President should listen to when he makes foreign policy decisions. So, I am not here to make some emotional plea that "I just want to be listened to." Rather I am here because I feel obligated to present a viewpoint that, I would guess, will be in the minority during these hearings, and, in fact, to plead with the President not to listen to the irrational rantings of my fellow students.

Originally, when I began writing this statement, I had launched into a systematic defense of the President's position in Vietnam, but all of this had to be cut out in the interest of time.

Thus I will not start at the beginning, but rather with a brief defense of Mr. Nixon's Cambodia decision.

All seemed to be well with the President's critics until April 30 of this year when Mr. Nixon decided to take military action in Cambodia. The President decided he had to order the Cambodian sanctuaries, held by the North Vietnamese, cleaned out if our troops in South Vietnam were to be safe and if our troop withdrawal program was to proceed on schedule.

I believe this action to be perfectly reasonable and sound. Remember that when the President announced his troop withdrawal program, one of the three factors that were to determine its pace was specifically the level of enemy activity. Through continued use of the Cambodian sanctuaries, the North Vietnamese had been increasing the level of fighting in Southeast Asia. Mr. Nixon was faced with an obvious dilemma, either clean out the sanctuaries, or risk the lives of American troops. This risk would be especially great if the enemy were allowed to keep up its activities while American troops were being steadily withdrawn. Not only were American lives at stake, so was the success of the troop withdrawal program.

By taking no action at all, the President would have obviously abdicated his role as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. Given all the factors involved in this decision, I believe the President made the right and sensible choice.

It is a fallacy to believe this action was an escalation of the war. The President has clearly explained the intent of his decision was to capture or destroy vital North Vietnamese supplies that would be directly responsible in the coming months for American lives. These goals will be accomplished and American troops withdrawn by July 1. Penetration into Cambodia will be no more than 22 miles. If the North Vietnamese reenter the sanctuaries, they will be driven out again by South Vietnamese soldiers. This point, and the fact that the South Vietnamese are handling a major portion of the present Cambodian operation, is significant proof that the Vietnamization program is proving successful.

I want to emphasize that, if we look at what has happened in Vietnam *since the President took office*, we can see definite progress being made there. I am of the opinion that gradual withdrawal, training the South Vietnamese to handle their own fighting, is the best possible way to bring our troops home. If this real progress was going to continue, the President had no choice but to take the action which he did.

It is my opinion that the uproar that ensued on our college campuses after the President's decision was grossly unfounded and

highly irrational. And, it is reprehensible that educated, intelligent people of the press, as well as respected Members of Congress would have publicly contributed to this disorder caused by a minority of college students.

To the aforementioned elected officials I say that, though the publicity of joining hands with the students may today look attractive, you will lose in the end for substituting politics for reason. An act, I am proud to say, the President of the United States did not follow.

But there is an important point I wish to discuss today; that is the charge of war critics that this war is somehow "immoral."

I believe that the communism professed by the North Vietnamese is a suppressive type. And, although I do not necessarily feel that a democracy is the best form of government for every society, I do think all societies should be allowed to choose their own government. The North Vietnamese leave no room for choice.

In this regard, as the leader of the free world, the United States has a distinct responsibility to protect smaller struggling nations from totalitarian rule. Let me qualify that by saying that in Vietnam, we are *not* trying to force on the people a democratic government. We are attempting rather to protect their basic right of self-determination. I believe this to be a noble act, an obligation, a *moral* duty.

When Mr. Nixon took office and was given the opportunity to change our policy in Vietnam, he decided he could not leave that country unprotected, for we would then be a party to the massacre of tens of thousands of South Vietnamese by the Vietcong. It is apparent that the North will stop at nothing to place the South under its totalitarian rule.

It is clear that the aggressor in Southeast Asia is the North Vietnamese. The U.S. Government has made repeated peace offers to Hanoi and been rebuffed. Hanoi has said that if the United States stops the bombing and begins to withdraw troops, both of which have been done, they would negotiate. They have not. The United States has offered to negotiate every point made by the North, save the fundamental right of the South Vietnamese to choose their own government. Still Hanoi refuses to talk seriously.

Let us also remember that the North has consistently violated the Geneva accords of 1954, which they signed, by carrying on aggression in neutral Laos and neutral Cambodia. The Communists had been in Cambodia for 5 years before the President took action.

Hanoi has further violated the Geneva accords by using American prisoners as hostages, not telling worried families if their husbands, sons, fathers are alive or dead.

There is evidence that the United States has been involved in war atrocities, and our military is directly responsible for many of these actions. But it seems to me that no reasonable person can defend the actions of the North. Let me reiterate that the United States has offered to negotiate on every point but one—self-determination of the South Vietnamese people. We are not trying to force our political ideas on a poor ignorant people, rather we are protecting them from a Communist government that would resort to wholesale slaughter and political oppression to gain its objectives.

I cannot help but feel that our cause is noble and just. Yet we must constantly listen to the idealists who claim the war should not be fought because our actions are immoral.

I agree that killing another person is never a righteous act. In this respect a war can never be justified. But I maintain, realistically, that wars are necessary if a maximum number of people are to live in peace and freedom.

Then there are those who would say that we should stop spending money in Southeast Asia and use it for domestic problems. These people are, of course, motivated by the highest of humanitarian ideals.

But since when are the South Vietnamese people less human than Americans? I submit it would be a selfish and immoral act for this country to quit and give up the defense of the South Vietnamese people. For some mysterious reason, would not the slaughter of the Vietnamese harm the liberal conscience to which human dignity and freedom are of the highest order?

I do not see how the position of the radicals makes any sense at all.

Who are these people who claim that the Vietnamese war is immoral?

From my experience as a college student, I have observed that the ranks of demonstrators are filled with several types of people.

Some protest the war because it is unjust and immoral. But one wonders whether they are simply afraid to go into the military, to face the horrors of discipline, or to stand up and defend the ideals of a country that guarantees them the right to dissent.

Some are lured by the fantasy of the mass movement with its publicity and potential for power.

Some are thrilled by the fact that a wonderful opportunity is presented where they can lash out and throw rocks at the authorities. This is really great because they are proving they don't have to listen to anybody. And, too, the thought of being caught up in a real revolution is an exhilarating one. Unfortunately, these types don't stop to realize that the result of their revolution will be the very repressive society they think they live in now.

I cannot believe that most of those who make up the youthful masses really know why they are there. The movement is simply an environment that offers an escape from the competition and frailty of the real world. For the real world is where their idealistic fantasies will be shattered. Perish the thought of their discovering that the earth is not a place of peace and love, and never will be.

On the night of the President's news conference I was depressed by the unrest in our country. I was especially depressed by the fact that college administrators allowed the rights of the serious-minded majority of students to be trampled upon by a vocal, violent and irrational minority, in fact using their students to voice their own dissent against the President's policies.

I was depressed as I listened to members of the press malign the President's decision, actively contributing to the uproar by misrepresenting the President's action as an escalation.

As I drove through the streets of Washington on that Friday night, it was plain to see that most of the young people were wandering aimlessly, not quite knowing why they were here or where they

were going. The next day these same people protested the war and mourned the death of four Kent State students by basking in the sun, frolicking in the city's pools and fountains and generally celebrating a holiday from the classroom. Two weeks after observing Earth Day they lined the streets with trash and raised an unhealthy cloud of dust over the ellipse.

But the most depressing thing of all during that weekend was that the President indicated he might listen to these people. The thought that the President of the United States might actually let a group of mindless wanderers influence his foreign policy frightened me. My faith in Mr. Nixon was shaken a bit until I realized that no reasonable and responsible person could be influenced by the garbage mouths of David Dellinger and Rennie Davis.

The real reason I'm here today is not so much to defend the President's foreign policy, but to plead with responsible Government officials not to let a small band of irrational youths influence Government policy. Let them wield their influence the same way millions of Americans do, at the ballot box.

Let us put student violence and unrest in its proper context. Who can really believe that those who resort to violent actions are upset because they oppose Government policy? Their troubles are not political, they are socio-psychological. They make up a listless mass, at the mercy of a few power-hungry, attention starved leaders. Hardly a problem that a change in Government policy would solve.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Fascell.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Ball, your statement is certainly a clear expression of your point of view, and I would dare say, however, that after listening to the statements of the students who have been here these 2 days so far, I can't quite characterize them all as a listless wandering mass who don't know what they want and don't know what they are doing. That might be true of those running around the reflecting pool, I don't think it is true of those who have appeared here.

Mr. BALL. That point, Mr. Fascell, was made, and I took it right out of the Washington Post.

Mr. FASCELL. Yes, well, I understand that, I have been in a lot of groups myself, in fact, I have raised a few so I could get elected. But the only point I was making, I was asking you, if you have been here any time at all, you would agree that there is a difference between the presentations made here before this panel and whatever observation you would care to make or characterize a group that is protesting.

Mr. BALL. I listened to the presentations this morning. I agree that they are excellent, although we have to remember that the opposition and I are arguing from two very different basic points of view, which I believe are idealism versus realism. I listened to the three students from Johns Hopkins and these were the three I was most impressed by. They say that they will go out and work in this coming election, even though they may not be of voting age, for peace candidates. That's fine. Because people like me will be working against them.

Mr. FASCELL. We understand that, and I think a point is well made to draw the distinction between idealism and pragmatism.

However, somewhere between the two there may be some people, too.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hicks.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Ball, wouldn't you say that we have been Vietnamizing that war since President Eisenhower first sent the advisers over there? That was what we had in mind the entire time with the possibility when we took over in 1965. Would you agree that that's nothing new, this Vietnamization?

Mr. BALL. I believe that Mr. Nixon is a significant change from that of the Johnson administration from the limited knowledge I have of this war, and I believe my resources—

Mr. HICKS. Well, go behind the Johnson administration, go back to President Kennedy and President Eisenhower. Weren't we trying to Vietnamize at that time?

Mr. BALL. I guess that I would have to accept that.

Mr. HICKS. We were trying to train them to defend themselves. Now don't you think the country has moved, that is, a substantial portion—whether it's the majority or not we will have to determine this fall—but don't you think that they have moved to where the country is tired of this war regardless of how moral or immoral it is? They are just tired of it?

Mr. BALL. Exactly. I feel that way myself. The point is, when Mr. Nixon took over—and here is another basic difference between me and the demonstrators that I believe what he says when he speaks on TV—he said that he could not completely and immediately withdraw those troops because, and I pointed this out in my statement, the South Vietnamese would be submitted to massive killings by the North. So the point then is, how do we get out of there as fast, as soon as we can given the circumstances right now, today that we have there? I believe that the President's policy is the best way.

Mr. HICKS. And you think, do you not, that the country was fairly well calmed down after the November 3 speech and up until April 30, you mentioned, when all this rose again. Now don't you suspect that was because these fears immediately jumped up again that he wasn't going to continue?

Mr. BALL. Exactly. But I believe those fears were the result, like I pointed out in here, that the papers, those who analyzed the President's speech immediately after he made it, contributed to the fallacy that this was an escalation—

Mr. HICKS. That's your point of view and their point of view is that they are, I guess, a little skeptical. Thank you.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Mize.

Mr. MIZE. Well, this would be pure conjecture on your part, I'm sure, but of the 7½ million students, what percentage would you say support the President as opposed to those who oppose his policies?

Mr. BALL. That's a very difficult question. Now on my own particular campus, I would say one-fifth of the 40,000 there, and that I believe would be a liberal estimate. However, if I were to guess at the number of dissenters on the U. of M. campus, which is only 90 miles away from us, the numbers probably be more.

Mr. MIZE. You mean one-fifth would support the President or one-fifth would be in opposition?

Mr. BALL. One fifth would be in opposition. Of the 7 million—

Mr. MIZE. Well, maybe I had better withdraw the question as it is a little impractical.

Mr. BALL. Well, it would be pure conjecture, but the thing is, a lot of these people are, I believe, opposed because now it is fashionable to be opposed to the war. A lot of people are indeed tired of it, like I am myself, and would oppose the war for those reasons because they are simply tired of being there. I believe that those who are against the war because of immoral grounds, so to speak, not because they are just tired of being there, but those who oppose on immoral grounds, I would guess are in a small minority; that would be my guess.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Ball, we appreciate your appearance for a lot of reasons. You helped to give balance to the testimony that we have received and this is an appropriate occasion, I think, for me to state that already no matter what transpires from this moment on in today's hearings the impact of the presentations made by college and university students here during the past two days has certainly done much to counter-balance the totally distorted impression of these students which so many people have. It has demonstrated quite clearly that there are responsible voices, voices that don't always agree on the war, and they are willing to present their arguments in a very logical, sensible, constructive, manner, and we thank you very much for it. Thank you.

The next witness on our schedule, Joyce Kossak from Chatham College, has sent word that she will not appear today. May I ask if Robert Walsh is here at this time? Is Robert Walsh here? Will he stand if he is here?

We are just a bit ahead of schedule and one of the witnesses scheduled this afternoon who is here now, John Hunter, is willing to go on the stand now. We appreciate it very much because your cooperation will enable us to be on schedule and maybe even get a few minutes off for lunch in about an hour. So we appreciate your testimony. Jonathan Hunter, Juniata College, of Huntingdon, Pa. You have a companion with you, please identify yourselves and proceed.

Mr. HUNTER. I would like to identify the gentleman sitting with me as Carl Kendik, whose home is in Clearfield, Pa. He is a fellow student of mine at Juniata.

STATEMENT OF JONATHAN C. HUNTER, JUNIATA COLLEGE

Mr. HUNTER. By this time, the war in which we are engaged and the problems growing out of this conflict have been studied and scrutinized by almost every segment of our society. Consequently, there is little opposition that I can personally raise which will be new or more eloquent than that which has preceded. However, I still feel it necessary to iterate our contentions again and again until such time that we can find some movement toward what we seek. I also feel it necessary to reiterate these contentions to build the groundwork for proposals that we don't take the same actions as we have, for I feel those actions to be mistakes.

My contentions, then, basically are these:

1. It is time to live up to the fact that we have no right to break international commitments, no matter how right we think we are. It's time we lived up to the Geneva accords, even when they go against us. We can no longer obey only those laws which benefit us; that is anarchy. We can no longer delude ourselves with statements that our original armed intervention was completely just, above-board and in pursuit of democratic ends.

2. We had no right to introduce troops into a neutral country without their request. Military expediency doesn't justify violation of international rights, especially by a supposedly moral nation.

3. It is time Congress, or the people, made the President live up to his commitments. We were promised that the war would not be widened and that there would be no commitment of ground troops in Cambodia. Where are we now? A few months ago we were emphatically assured that there would be no commitment of ground troops in Laos, and yet where are we now? If the administration can no longer be trusted to live up to those goals which were the basis of its election, which stirred the hopes of the American people, and if we find hope squelched and bitterness rising, dividing brother from brother, then Congress, representing the people, must act. At the very least, it is the constitutional duty of Congress to set up limits within which the President can act. Even more important is insuring that those guidelines are enforced. We can no longer afford to play "Chinese roulette" through war by Presidential edict.

These, then are the contentions which are behind my opposition to the expansion of the war into Cambodia. I suppose the most important challenge I have raised is to cynical expediency. We can no longer call ourselves a just nation, if we continue to wage war for reasons of expediency, be it financial, military, or political.

The question now is how best to go about making wise changes, how best to alleviate the dangerous and frightening rift between young and old, how best to steer our country into commitments for life rather than death, how best to go about the business of alleviating, with a little hopeful idealism, the pessimism which riddles our Nation? Always, before this day, my recourse was to demonstrate, which all too often resulted in riot, the foiling of my goals and, more recently, the killing of my peers. Today I have been given the opportunity to speak directly to my government. Finally we are being listened to. However, I must ask, is there yet any real assurance that we will be heard? Is there any hope that we will have real effect on our Government?

My peers and I have learned our lessons well. The schools we attended for 12 or more years have taught us many things. The streets have also taught us bitter lessons. One of the things I have learned best is that all too often our political machines respond not to what is right or wrong or best for us, but to power—financial and electoral power. The body that can deliver votes speaks more loudly than any other.

Suppose the vote extended to 18-year-olds; our Government would be forced, for the first time, to take a new look at its approaches to programs and problems. I believe, frankly, it is time that the instrument of international "debate," the youth used by our army, had some say in the course of that debate. We are here dealing with the

original revolutionary ideals of America; it is not legitimate that a man be asked to be a tool of Government, either military or economic, unless he has some voice in that Government. This struggle for representation caused a revolution in 1776, and it is causing one in 1970. If you really want to get youth off the streets, do something constructive rather than destructive for a change. Give them the vote.

Some of you may still raise the question of maturity. Well, gentlemen, you spend 12 years educating a person, you spend 12 years teaching him about our Government and its ideals, goals, and institutions. Don't you trust the establishment?

There is one other issue which I would like to deal with here. I am not naive enough to believe that granting the vote will eliminate all violence in the streets. I think, then, that it is time we took a serious look at what is really happening out there when people get clubbed and shot. You know part of the responsibility for what happens rests on Congress and the administration. If your watchdog bites somebody a court of law will hold you, rather than the dog, responsible. So you, along with the rest of us, have to deal with something very serious. Because a youth is throwing rocks and busting up things he is clubbed senseless. When a man loots in Chicago he can be shot. You know what's happened? We've placed the value of a store window above the value of a human life. We've justified the destruction of human life for material goods. Just how sick can we get?

So you see it is time, it is really time. Congress has a responsibility. Let's level with each other. Don't be naive enough to think we're dumb. As I said, we have learned our lessons well. We know "where it's at." We know we need power to accomplish our goals. We know you can give us part of that power. We're tired. We're tired of listening to the same old justifications over and over, year after year, president after president. We're tired of our wise leaders talking to us about winning this war as if they were football coaches urging us on to a conference championship. We're tired of what we see as an immoral war that has lasted almost half our lives and all our conscious life. We know that if our Government wants to play King George and Parliament, there are plenty of people around who will be more than willing to play Thomas Jefferson.

It's time.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you very much, Mr. Hunter. Mr. Hicks.

Mr. HICKS. I'll pass.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hunter, on page 2 you use the word expediency—"we can no longer call ourselves a just Nation if we continue to wage war for reasons of expediency, be it financial, military, or political."

President Nixon, in explaining his reasons for sending forces into Cambodia, described it not as expediency but as a military necessity to save the lives of American forces remaining in South Vietnam. There is, of course, a conflict that you recognize on page 1 where you say we had no right to introduce troops into a neutral country. The President has grave duties because he is Commander in Chief as well as President. He has grave responsibilities to men that were in the field when he took office. There is a conflict there, between his

responsibilities as Commander in Chief and, as you put it, the broad general proposition that a nation has no right to introduce troops into a neutral country.

How do we resolve this conflict? Have you any suggestions?

Mr. HUNTER. As you say, it is a very serious conflict, and I wonder, though, whether resolution can be as we have done? Saying that, well, for saving lives and the military withdrawal, we must invade a neutral nation. I wonder if it was really necessary to invade Cambodia to protect human lives or American soldiers in Vietnam in the withdrawal. I wonder whether any move into Cambodia could even really do that. I wonder if because of the very nature of the type of war we are fighting, and even though the fact that we have seized many arms and many tons of food, the very nature of the war and the enemy we are fighting, I wonder if it even is possible, militarily possible to achieve such a goal. You know I really feel that it is impossible. That as it was announced yesterday the headquarters which we are after has now been reestablished something like 23 miles into Cambodia. So now we can't attack it because of our 21-mile limit. When we are fighting and dealing with such a mobile enemy it seems so hard to think that we can militarily accomplish such a goal, and so I think we must consider even more seriously the political and moral ramifications of that act.

Mr. FINDLEY. Any other questions? Mr. Hicks.

Mr. HICKS. Your statement here, "Will I be heard?" That really translates into, "will I win," does it not?

Mr. HUNTER. No; not necessarily. I believe that when we understand the system of a vote, a person, you know, you can sit here and you can listen to me, but if you do not have to listen, I am not necessarily heard. Now if my peers and I had the vote, then we would become a constituent of the power structure. And then we would have to be heard.

Mr. HICKS. Did you hear the statement this morning that some young man made that only one-third voted between 21 and 25 in 1968?

Mr. HUNTER. I think that's irrelevant; I really do.

Mr. HICKS. If you've got the vote but don't use it, you think that's irrelevant?

Mr. HUNTER. Well, the thing that is irrelevant about the statement is that we don't have the vote. So it's impossible to predict how many would or would not vote.

Mr. HICKS. Well, the 21's have the vote, do you consider them old?

Mr. HUNTER. No; I do not, but—

Mr. HICKS. In your other analogy here between King George and the Thomas Jeffersons, do you think today that that is analogous?

Mr. HUNTER. Not completely, but I think some of the analogy holds true—

Mr. HICKS. You are not represented, is that what you mean?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes; I'm not represented because I cannot exercise a vote in my Government and at the same time because of my age, I'm 19 so I'm prime draft age, I may be asked to be an instrument of my Government.

Mr. HICKS. If you could vote, you would more willingly be drafted?

Mr. HUNTER. Yes.

Mr. HICKS. Thank you.

Mr. FINDLEY. Any other questions? You had a comment to add to this?

Mr. KENDIK (from Clearfield, Pa., Juniata College). Aside from the military considerations of the movement into Cambodia, which I am sure the President and his advisers probably have more information on than we do, I think the President's true responsibility lies to the majority of the American people, and it seems to me that either he didn't consider or he gravely misjudged the social ramifications of his move within this country when he sent the troops into Cambodia. Juniata College was unfortunately required to close the school for a week, about 3 weeks ago, and this is very sad because most of the students there came for one purpose—to get an education; and this was denied to them. The reason that Juniata College closed was that there was so much tension between the college community and the community of the town of Huntingdon in which Juniata is located, that the administrators of the college, and I believe wisely so, decided that it was not safe for the students to remain at that institution.

Mr. FINDLEY. May I ask at that point, what happened that caused the administration to feel that it would not be safe for the students to remain there? Were there episodes of stones being thrown or rifle shots or anything of that sort?

Mr. KENDIK. No sir; there was absolutely no violence. We held a peaceful rally on one of the lawns on campus. It got very good coverage in the local newspaper, and there were some threats made against the college from the community. The point that I would like to make is that it seems that the President has succeeded, whether he had intended to or not, of dividing the country to such a degree over so many issues that reasonable discourse between the parties is no longer possible. And when reasonable discourse between people is no longer possible then education stops. I think that is basically why 400 colleges and universities had to shut down. Like I said, I don't honestly believe that the President intended this to happen, but I think the Congress as part of our checks and balance system should have the wisdom, perhaps, collectively, to see these things. And I think the Congress must now exercise its authority and its power in our federal system to advise the President and maybe limit some of his actions which the Congress may see as damaging to the country.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you very much. Do you have a question, Mr. Mize?

Mr. MIZE. Just one brief question. In my State, the University of Kansas with about 18,000 students shut down. Down the road 80 miles, Kansas State University with about 15,000 to 16,000 students stayed open. For the life of me, I can't understand why some shut down and some didn't. Do you think it was because of feeling the community more than what was actually going on on the campus?

Mr. KENDIK. Certain communities, college communities, and their surroundings react differently, of course, due to the fact that there are different situations, but I think as you look across the Nation the reaction—you know, I think you could see that this was a time

of great tension among all people in the college communities and all the communities. And I think any action that perpetrated this type of tension would be, you know, should be considered a very wrong action. And I'm afraid when you consider the total ramifications of President Nixon sending troops into Cambodia, I just consider it a wrong action.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you very much, gentlemen, for your presentation. I'm sorry the time is up.

The next witness is Robert Walsh, of Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, R.I. We're very glad that Congressman Tiernan has joined us and appreciate your participation here today.

Mr. TIERNAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

STATEMENT BY ROBERT WALSH, RHODE ISLAND SCHOOL OF DESIGN

THE CASE AGAINST THE STRIKES

Mr. WALSH. Members of Congress, I am indeed grateful for the opportunity to address you this morning on behalf of the anti-strike coordinating committee of Rhode Island. This group is a coalition of students from seven colleges and 15 high schools united in their opposition to the current student strikes in progress across the Nation. I do not intend to represent the views of the ASCC as being indicative of the opinions held by the vast majority of college students in Rhode Island. On some liberal campuses such as Brown University and the Rhode Island School of Design, we are almost certainly in the minority. We do feel, however, that our views are shared by the overwhelming majority of high school students, the general public, and by numerous college students, faculty, and administrators throughout the State.

My qualifications for addressing you this morning are as follows: First, I am State chairman of the anti-strike coordinating committee of Rhode Island; secondly, I am a junior at Rhode Island School of Design and vice president of its student council. I am also a 1961 graduate of Brandeis University, a bastion of liberalism at which I bought ham sandwiches from Abbie Hoffman while listening to Herbert Marcuse vilify the society that gave him refuge, placed him in the upper income bracket for academics, and heaped honors upon him for openly advocating the destruction of that same society. After Brandeis, I served in the U.S. Air Force for nearly 5 years, first as a guided-missile launch officer and then as a staff officer in an airborne early warning and control squadron. Upon my return to civilian life, I became an assistant editor of a smalltown newspaper and subsequently was employed by General Electric as a specialist in advertising and sales promotion. I returned to school to study industrial design at Rhode Island School of Design in 1968.

I mention all of this because I feel that this experience has given me a broader outlook on world affairs and the domestic crisis than is possessed by most of my college contemporaries. In spite of this, I am forced to admit that I, for one, do not know all the answers to the great issues of our times. I am somewhat envious of my university colleagues who are so secure in the knowledge that they are

right and the establishment is wrong; I am awed by the erudition they display on their picket signs and at the certainty—nay, the ferocity of their convictions. Perhaps if I had limited my educational inputs to antiestablishment invective from the left and socialized primarily with radicals and other campus agitators, I would also know how to effect the immediate elimination of the numerous ills afflicting our society. Unfortunately, I remained rather apolitical, placing my educational goals on a higher priority than advising the President on how to conduct his affairs.

During the past year, however, I witnessed a series of crises and campus disorders, and found myself unable to remain aloof from the issues, both local and national, that have been creating such outrage at the college level. I wanted to learn objectively what was behind the turmoil; I wanted to do something to help ease it if I could. The more I became involved, the more I noticed a strange coincidence: at the heart of every local issue, whether it was the Vietnamese war, the ecology movement, or agitation for more scholarship aid, the same core group seemed to be leading the fight against the Nixon administration, the military-industrial complex, and the college administration. Certain radical elements were always ready to ridicule or shout down students or administrators with a more moderate viewpoint or who attempted to refute the perverted "facts" promulgated by these radicals. Led and encouraged by a young humanities professor who teaches a course entitled "Ideology and Utopia," a committee of "concerned students" released a list of demands to the Providence papers in which they suggested that if their demands were not met by the end of the month, physical violence would occur. At the same time, the more militant ecologists were openly discussing direct physical action against industrial polluters; strangely enough, many of these ecologists were also "concerned students." Throughout the months of March and April there were demonstrations and angry meetings over one issue or another; as soon as one would die down, another would erupt. The committee of concerned students brought in Karl Braden, a so-called community organizer, to assist them in their war with the school administration. At a rally during which Mr. Braden was to speak, one of the "concerned students" made a highly emotional speech during which he gave out a good deal of misinformation regarding the administration's response to their demands. As a member of the financial aid committee and vice president of the student council, I attempted to set the facts straight, but was immediately made the object of obscenities and other verbal abuse by several coed members of the "concerned students." It became apparent to me that they were not interested in hearing facts—it might cost them an issue.

When the President sent U.S. troops into Cambodia, and the tragedy at Kent State occurred, the ultimate issue was provided. On Monday evening, May 4, the news became widely known on our campus. I discussed the possibility of a strike or similar gesture with the student council president; we felt that it would not be possible to hold an assembly in which voting could occur until some time on Tuesday, and no official action was taken. By 11 p.m. the local radio stations were announcing that Rhode Island School of Design was on strike, and that classes were suspended. By Tuesday

morning, the word was out to most of the student body, and large numbers of students did not attend their classes. A meeting was hastily called, attended mostly by those students who had not gone to their regular classes, and a strike vote was pushed through, thereby sanctioning an illegally called strike.

Unsure of my position, but fearful of the supercharged emotionalism that was present, I called vainly for moderation; I suggested that the proposed march on Washington would be dangerous and counterproductive; I suggested that it would be more fruitful to work within legal means and to investigate the possibility of holding a national referendum to determine how the Nation felt about the war. Again I was shoved aside by one of the same radicals who had earlier mouthed obscenities at me. It was then I came to realize that it was time to assert my rights; to cry out in vigorous protest at the usurpation of political power by a talented, vocal minority, at the educators and administrators who so readily relinquished their responsibilities, and at the radical altering of my life by forces over which I had no control and no effective voice.

On May 8, a very few of us formed the ASCC because we found ourselves, as one of our members put it, in the position of defending the basic principle upon which the universities were founded: free exchange of ideas in an atmosphere devoid of political, religious, or philosophical commitment, as well as the Nixon administration's policies in Indochina. The strike has caused the violation of the former in protest of the latter.

In the days following the strike, so many issues were added that one wonders why the students hadn't struck before; the issues ranged from university involvement through investments in war-related industries, the political neutrality of the university, to military recruiting, social and racial injustice, and even women's liberation. I think it has become quite clear that the strike can no longer be regarded as an act expressing opposition to one Presidential act, but rather an all-inclusive movement designed to destroy our present form of government.

I believe that the arguments used by those opposed to the war are both politically and militarily naive, and contrary to the facts. The strikers claim President Nixon "violated the neutrality of Cambodia" when he dispatched troops to clean out the privileged sanctuaries existing within that nation, and further limited their radius of operation to about 22 miles inside the border. The fact of the matter is that the Communists sent approximately 40,000 troops into Cambodia beginning in 1965; neutrality, as defined in international law, is the refusal of a nation to allow itself to be used as a base for any belligerent nation. I fail to see how President Nixon violated Cambodian neutrality since neutrality ceased to exist when Cambodia became a sanctuary for the Communists. If the strikers are truly concerned with Cambodian neutrality, why have they never spoken out against the presence of VC and NVA troops there? At the present time, after all, NVA troops are besieging the capital and several other major cities, are they not?

Perhaps as a result of a backlash against the excesses of the McCarthy era, the domino theory has been discredited among the liberals. I hold that this theory is more valid today than it was 10

years ago; you have only to read the published aims of Chinese communism and to note that in all 10 countries of Southeast Asia there are occurring incipient wars of national liberation, regardless of whether the country has a history of colonialism or not. Even India is under attack by revolutionary Maoist parties, as witness the February issue of *Chingari*, the monthly organ of one of the Indian Communist parties:

"We assert that this is the era of total collapse of imperialism and world-wide victory of socialism . . . This is because the revolutionary people the world over have accepted Mao Tse-Tung Thought and grasped the limitless power of people's war, and the fighting masses in various countries of the world have already begun their sacred struggle to destroy Imperialism with revolutionary determination and boundless confidence . . . Today, China is the centre of world revolution and the base area of the revolutionary struggle of every country."

Remember, too, that Ho Chi Minh was appointed leader of the Indochina Communist Party in Moscow in 1924; whether he has used nationalism to further Communist goals, or vice-versa, it matters little—the danger is equal. Vietnam is no more a civil war than was Korea; South Vietnam has every bit as much right to exist independently of the North as West Germany has to remain separate and distinct from East Germany. Any government bent on exporting revolution becomes both morally repugnant and dangerous to its neighbors when it fails to make any distinction between foreign nations and its own subjects: Red China and North Vietnam are both cases in point. If Indochina is abandoned, then India will surely fall, too. Whether Indonesia and Malaysia can hold out is at best questionable; even Japan is not safe from Communist encroachment. The reason for U.S. presence in Southeast Asia is sound; to deny its peoples and resources to a self-minded agent of world revolution, *i.e.* Red China and/or its satellites.

We have failed to win in Vietnam because we didn't prosecute the war more vigorously from the very start—we have nearly always announced our moves in advance and fought with one hand tied behind our back, allowing the enemy to pick the time and place of each engagement; we have given him incredible aid and comfort. We have never bombed the dams in North Vietnam or the harbor of Haiphong, yet we have expended millions to knock out bamboo bridges and earthen bunkers in the South. Lack of will on the home front has committed us to a perpetual no-win policy in Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh once told the French: "You will kill ten of our men and we will kill one of yours. and in the end, it will be you who will tire of it." Like France, it is collapse of will on the homefront that will defeat us, not defeat on the battlefield. The President and his field commanders must not be further fettered by Congress; if Hanoi believes that public opinion or a divided Congress will force the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, there is little reason to negotiate anywhere. Historically, there is no credibility to appeasement; the only choice is whether to fight here or there. Thank you for the opportunity to address this distinguished panel.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you Mr. Walsh. Mr. Hicks.

Mr. HICKS. I'll yield to Mr. Tiernan.

Mr. TIERNAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Walsh, I would like to congratulate you on a very fine statement and welcome you here to the committee. I think the members of the committee have

been impressed by your statement. We certainly will heed the words you have included in the statement. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Walsh, President Nixon has stated that we are trying to end the war. He chose his words carefully. Not to win the war, but to end the war. And he has embarked upon a withdrawal program that he describes as irreversible. What goal do you think our Government should have as its military policy in South Vietnam? Do I assess your statement correctly, that you feel we should embark upon a policy that will have the defeat of the military forces of Hanoi as its objective?

Mr. WALSH. I think that the Communist forces, especially the Defense Minister of China, have made it quite clear that Vietnam is to be the testing ground for the whole world to see whether wars of national liberation, power growing out of the barrel of a gun, whether this concept shall be valid, whether it can be proved once and for all that wars of national liberation can succeed throughout the world, Latin America as well as Asia. If the United States is not able to prevent this war, so-called war of national liberation, from becoming viable in Southeast Asia and from spreading into the adjoining countries, I think that our credibility the world over will be seriously jeopardized. Everyone is aware of the fact that our forces in Europe are only token. If it were the aim of the Soviet Union and its satellites to push to the English Channel, they could do so on short notice.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Walsh, you have had considerable opportunity as a student to observe trouble-makers on campus, judging by your statement. Could you give us an appraisal as to the extent to which the trouble on campus is caused by outsiders, so-called floaters, people who move from one campus to another with the objective of causing trouble?

Mr. WALSH. As I mentioned in my speech, Mr. Carl Braden was brought in by the so-called committee of concerned students to address them. He indicated during his introduction that he had long been harassed by the U.S. Government and was considered to have been associated with subversive organizations. He also made the student body feel that this was unjust, that it was another instance of repression because he was not allowed to organize the poor people of the South. He was given rousing cheers for his attempts at organization. He met consistently with members of this rather radical group of students on campus, and other people from outside the campus have been on the Rhode Island School of Design campus scene for perhaps as long as 4 years, actively agitating and creating issues. This has been revealed to me by members of the administration of that school.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you very much, Mr. Walsh, we appreciate very much your contribution to our discussion.

The next witness scheduled is James Diamond.

STATEMENT BY JAMES W. DIAMOND, BROWN UNIVERSITY

THE NATION AND HER UNIVERSITIES

Mr. DIAMOND. Members of Congress, ladies and gentlemen: I speak to you this morning as the official representative of the Rhode

Island Federation of College Republicans. The federation is comprised of the College Republican Clubs at Brown University, the University of Rhode Island and Bryant, Roger Williams, Providence, and Salve Regina Colleges. The federation's executive committee has unanimously voted to issue the following statement:

College Republican students all over Rhode Island strongly endorse President Nixon's Southeast Asian policies. Our fellow students who never complained about the occupation of large areas of Cambodian territory by the Hanoi forces are striking this week in protest over the limited, temporary movement of U.S. troops into the enemy occupied borderlands of Cambodia. These students' reliance upon mass demonstrations and their tragic unwillingness to listen to viewpoints other than their own is a disgrace to the colleges they attend. For our part we resolutely oppose the strike. We applaud President Nixon's courageous decision to fight in Cambodia and, proud of his magnificent leadership, we have, this night (Wednesday), sent him a telegram pledging him our total support.

In his inaugural address, President Nixon appealed for national unity and he said that he would try to "bring us together." As a doctoral candidate in history I know that, with the exception of the last 3½ years of World War II, the American people have never been unanimous in their support of any war. In addition, as Kevin Phillips suggests, we are now passing through a major political realignment such as we experienced during the late 1820's or the early 1930's, and this, too, decreases the possibility of a complete national unanimity. On the other hand, except in the Civil War period, our Nation has always enjoyed, first, a fundamental political unity based on a common tradition of democratic constitutional government, and second, an even broader social unity of common American nationality, founded in a common language and a shared national heritage. At this point in our history, we cannot reasonably expect to enjoy political unanimity, but we must preserve that deeper, more fundamental unity of constitutional government and common nationality.

While it is always difficult to make accurate historical judgments about contemporary events, I believe that these fundamental unities are now endangered, and I am convinced that one of the sources of this danger is the growing estrangement between the American Nation and its academic communities. This estrangement long antedates the Cambodian crisis and even the war in Vietnam, and it will last long after our intervention in Southeast Asia has ended. Unless we resolve it, our Nation's future is imperiled.

Within our country's universities, this estrangement from the Nation-at-large is due in part to ignorance; many of the students, faculty, and administrators literally do not know that there are reasonable men who hold views different from their own. Faculty and administrators, particularly at the most prestigious universities, are liberals. For instance, at Princeton the faculty was polled and asked for whom they were planning to vote for President. Only 7 percent supported Richard Nixon, the same percentage which supported Dick Gregory. Similarly, at Brown the faculty is very nearly unanimous in its opposition to the President. Our club at Brown had been unable to recruit a single faculty member to speak or debate in support of President Nixon's Southeast Asian policies.

This situation is further complicated by the university's selection of speakers on political topics. The speakers hired by Brown and other liberal universities almost invariably advocate left-wing posi-

tions. Moderate and conservative views are seldom heard on these programs. Our Brown club received national publicity this spring for publishing a detailed, scholarly report on Brown's selection of speakers by two Brown graduate students in history. This report demonstrated that Brown "consciously has favored left-wing views in preference to all other political persuasions" in its speaker selections for the last 3 years. For instance in the academic year now ending, Brown hired five major speakers to demand an immediate U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, including a special convocation on October 14, 1969, staged in the words of Brown's acting president, Merton P. Stoltz, "for the benefit of those were supporting the Moratorium" and not for academic purposes. Apparently, it has been over 2 years since Brown has hired a speaker to defend any position on the war other than immediate withdrawal, and then the speaker was merely a University of Rhode Island graduate student.

Under these circumstances many faculty and most students at such schools seldom hear intelligent, articulate persons defending nonleft points of view, even though such points of view are widely held among the general population. Consequently, as the current strike indicates, it is only too pathetically apparent that the majority of the students and many of the faculty are completely unable to understand how intelligent, informed citizens outside our Nation's universities can disagree with them on the war and the other problems facing our Nation. At the same time, these students and faculty are aware that they have far more formal education than the average citizen. Naturally they are proud of this educational superiority and they consequently expect the American people to pay special attention to their views.

In practice, however, public opinion at large has refused to accept the views of our intellectual community on a large number of matters. On campus, this discrepancy is rationalized in various ways. Some students and faculty simply deny its existence and believe, in spite of all the evidence, that the majority of the American people do agree with them. This explanation is particularly attractive, for it allows advocates to claim that the National Government is being unresponsive when it fails to grant their demands for immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia. Apparently while almost all Americans favor withdrawal, a strong majority both in Rhode Island and in the Nation also support President Nixon's program of gradual withdrawal, Vietnamization, and the temporary incursions into Cambodia. However, when the administration acts on the basis of this broad popular support, these students and faculty see the administration as unresponsive because to the best of their personal knowledge and observation, almost all rational people oppose the President on the war. Nowhere is this naivete more apparent than in the sincere belief of many student radicals in the feasibility of a student-workers alliance against the war or their self-destroying slogan, "Power to the People!"

Another common method of rationalizing away the refusing of public opinion to accept the intellectual community's solutions for the war and our Nation's other problems, is to treat with contempt the opinions held by the bulk of the American people. Again, since on the major university campuses, the intellectual seldom sees compe-

tent, scholarly defenses of these opinions, many students and faculty have come to believe that these opinions are so inferior that no intellectually respectable person could possibly hold them. Repeatedly in debates these past weeks with faculty and students from colleges all over Rhode Island, I have personally encountered this blank incredulity at hearing an apparently rational and informed person defend the President's Southeast Asian policies in a scholarly manner. Indeed, quite frequently these persons have been so unused to serious scholarly criticism of their opinions that they have been forced to retreat into passionate emotional arguments, essentially devoid of factual content and based rather on their self-proclaimed superior "sensitivity" to the problems of mankind. Thus ignorance resulting from the one-sided nature of campus debate, a debate whose only choices are liberalism and radicalism, a debate which totally ignores the middle-of-the-road and conservative positions held by many Americans outside our Nation's colleges, combines with an arrogant pride in our alleged moral superiority as intellectuals.

At the same time conformity, the spirit of the herd, is just as omnipresent on our campuses as it is elsewhere. In some respects this sense of community is particularly strong among American intellectuals because of the long-standing tradition of anti-intellectualism in our country. Thus between an arrogant, ignorant, conformistic intellectual community and the Nation-at-large with its latent tradition of anti-intellectualism, a major split has arisen. It long antedates the present crisis although two aspects of that crisis, the intellectuals' bitter hatred of Richard Nixon since the Hiss case and the conduct of the war in Southeast Asia, exacerbate it. Unless this split between our Nation-at-large and our academic communities is healed, the future of our country will be imperiled. To resolve it I propose these measures:

(1) We should recognize that this divergence between our intellectuals and our people as a whole exists and is a deep-seated problem in its own right, not merely a function of the war in Vietnam.

(2) Either the Congress or the executive branch should conduct a thorough inquiry into the causes, nature, and possible solutions to this split between our people and our academic community. While I do not believe a problem of this nature can be solved by legislation or other governmental action, it can perhaps be somewhat alleviated by these means. This possibility should be closely explored in the inquiry.

(3) Pending the results of such an investigation, every effort should be made to improve communications between the academic world and the Nation-at-large. Today we see many efforts to explain the universities' positions to society often motivated by a missionary expectation on the part of students and professors that as soon as the general public understands their ideas, it will embrace them. This is not enough. We also must make efforts to explain the non-left positions held by so many of our people to our closed insular academic communities.

(4) Finally, Members of the House of Representatives have an excellent opportunity to begin immediately and individually, this two-way exchange, and at the same time, to benefit yourselves politically.

As we all know, organization and manpower are key components of a winning campaign. You know the situation in your own districts better than almost anyone else. Why not try to organize at least a small permanent campaign organization of your party in every college and later on in every high school in your district? The political benefits to you could be considerable and at the same time you would be providing continuous involvement in politics to interested students as a constructive alternative to demonstrations. You would increase student participation and confidence in our representative institutions, the very reason these hearings were called. Even more important, on every college and high school campus in your district there would be a small, well-organized group of politically capable and responsible students. Such groups are one of the best possible defenses against such a radical manipulation of student bodies as we have witnessed this month across our Nation.

Gentlemen, I hope what I have said will be of some utility to you and I thank you for the opportunity to appear before you.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you, Mr. Diamond, for adding a very important new dimension to our survey here. Mr. Boland.

Mr. BOLAND. I share the opinion of the chairman and commend you for coming here today and giving your views as you have. You indicated that there is a necessity for a two-way exchange between the academic community and the Congress, and this is precisely what this ad hoc committee is, as you know, attempting to establish. I think perhaps we are doing it pretty well. And the fact that we have had some diversity of opinion here on how this matter has been handled on the campus indicates that there are those who are concerned about conditions on the campus. I must say that I could not agree with you more when you stated that on the majority of campuses the debate has been one-sided. I happen to have some diversity of opinion on our Government's activity in Southeast Asia, but at the same time I recognize that on campus, the ability of those to articulate against the policies of the Government are really lodged, as you have indicated in the faculty itself and the vast majority of them are opposed to these policies and very little, if any effort is being made to familiarize the students with the other side of the question. I think this is a very important matter. I am delighted that you highlight it here, and I think what you state is precisely correct. I think we do need this two-way dialog, that there are other factors to many of the issues in which students are now involved. There are diversities of opinion, they ought to be listened to. One of the problems I have, you indicated here Mr. Walsh did too, a number of these issues are being taken by the radical community; they take the issue of ecology and other issues he mentioned you are concerned with, and use it as a vehicle to swell their own ranks. I hope that the past month or so has indicated to the silent majority on the campus that there is a way to meet some of these problems by their joining in the discussions on a campus, those who have stayed away and refrained from becoming involved. If they do become involved their voices will be heard and their voices may well be the voices of the opposition to some of the statements and some of the positions taken by those who are the loudest on the campus, and your statement here indicates that this is happening and I'm glad that it is,

because it augurs well not alone for the system but for the universities themselves. So I appreciate your coming here and expressing yourself as you have.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hicks.

Mr. HICKS. I yield to Mr. Tiernan.

Mr. TIERNAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I concur with some of the remarks of Mr. Findley and Mr. Boland, but would you tell me Mr. Diamond, whereabouts in Rhode Island do you live?

Mr. DIAMOND. 15 Euclid Avenue, Providence, R.I., about two blocks from your district, sir. [Laughter.]

Mr. TIERNAN. From it or in it?

Mr. DIAMOND. I live there, I'm a voter. I'm a legal resident, I have been for 2 years. Before that, I lived in Michigan.

Mr. TIERNAN. What year are you in at Brown University?

Mr. DIAMOND. I'm a doctoral candidate, sir. I hope to graduate in a year or so. I have only my dissertation left, only.

Mr. TIERNAN. The group that you represent before the committee today would have to be characterized as being not the silent majority, but the silent minority, at Brown University, wouldn't you say?

Mr. DIAMOND. Well, sir, we have never claimed to be a majority at Brown. We have over 100 members, we are the largest single political club there, one of the fastest growing. We hope to have 300 next year on a campus of 8,000. There is no doubt that there are many more radical students, but not as many as you would think.

Mr. TIERNAN. Well, merely because they have viewpoints different from yours, does that automatically make them radical?

Mr. DIAMOND. Oh, heavens no. Some of my best friends disagree with me on the war, and are quite liberal. The strike committee at Brown and all over Rhode Island, I think you would agree, sir, is a coalition of everybody, from people who just sentimentally dislike killing to really hard-core radicals. It is a huge tent that covers everything, rather like most political parties.

Mr. TIERNAN. I think that you have indicated in your statement that we who are in the political stream probably know the district better than you yourself have stated. I find that some of the statements are very broad, and I frankly question some of them because I find that there are many students who are not liberal but are very concerned about our participation in the war. I think we have to be careful when we speak of those things. What Mr. Boland said I find very interesting. You know that I have had an internship program where we take two students from all the schools and universities in the State into my office each week, and we have had very few students from the University of Brown. I don't think we have in the three years I have been down here, had more than two students apply to come down to our program. I find this incredible because I look on Brown University as one of the top institutions of learning not only in our State but in the country. But, I question, sometimes, their interest because they do speak of it on one hand in papers with academic conversations but then when it comes to actually doing it, I don't find the interest. I want to congratulate you for taking time to come down here. How is it you appeared as a witness? Were you contacted or did you learn of it through the newspaper?

Mr. DIAMOND. Dean Ackleman sent a batch of the press releases that Congressman Findley issued around together with a statement stapled to it about Senator Pell's meeting with students Sunday at Providence College and there were six or seven lying around and I was shown one of them, and we decided that I should come.

Mr. TIERNAN. Well I certainly want to congratulate you and also Mr. Walsh for coming down here, but I'm kind of disappointed that there wasn't someone who represented a different viewpoint than both you and Mr. Walsh have portrayed today.

Mr. DIAMOND. There was supposed to be, sir. My understanding is the man's name was Jerry Zeldis from the Brown University delegation of 14 members headed by Chancellor Tillinghouse. It was our understanding that he was to appear. I don't know about other people.

Mr. TIERNAN. Thank you, sir.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Mayne from the State of Iowa, we are glad to have you with us today.

Mr. MAYNE. Thank you Mr. Chairman. I want to congratulate you, Mr. Diamond for your very excellent statement. I gather that you are working toward your doctorate degree and already have the baccalaureate degree?

Mr. DIAMOND. Yes, and the masters and the pre-lims.

Mr. MAYNE. Where did you get those two degrees?

Mr. DIAMOND. From Michigan State University in East Lansing.

Mr. MAYNE. Are you generally familiar with the situation at the undergraduate level at Brown?

Mr. DIAMOND. To some extent, sir. Not as much as if I had graduated from there, but I'm supposed to keep an eye on it; it is one of the things I'm supposed to do in the College Republican Federation. Almost all of my friends are undergraduates; the graduate school is relatively small, political friends, I mean.

Mr. MAYNE. I know that in many of our institutions of higher learning throughout the country, much of the instruction at the undergraduate level is falling to graduate students. Is that true at Brown, to your knowledge?

Mr. DIAMOND. At Brown, in the history department, we have only one course where graduate students normally teach. It is the introductory course in European history, and they teach sections in it that meet once or twice a week. The main lectures are all given by a senior faculty member, the former department chairman. This is true at Brown to a much lesser extent than at other schools. We have a requirement that to receive a Ph. D. you must first teach, but they have to waive this requirement for most people because we literally don't have enough classes for the graduate students to teach. So this is relatively not true at Brown.

Mr. MAYNE. Thank you.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you very much, Mr. Diamond. I might say, Mr. Tiernan, that we did have Wayne Braffman from Brown University as a witness yesterday. He gave a very excellent statement, provoked quite a bit of discussion. We also had scheduled yesterday a James Zeldis and a group from Brown but even though they were set for 10 they were not able to appear. So we are very happy to have you Mr. Diamond, and I feel that your suggestions are very constructive. Thank you very much.

Mr. DIAMOND. Thank you.

Mr. FINDLEY. The next witness on our schedule is John Connolly. Is John Connolly here? He had not checked in a moment ago. Is he in the hearing room? If not, I'll call for Terry Easton. Terry Easton I understand is here and prepared. Welcome.

Mr. EASTON. Hello. Other people better than I who are more versed in foreign affairs and perhaps more capable of succinctly stating their views have already testified this morning from Johns Hopkins. I unfortunately could not be here this morning. Third, you may ask the question, "how is it I was contacted?" The dean of students made letters available to certain people at Hopkins and that's how I found out about this. And perhaps I can read this statement now, I won't read all of it, and you might ask some questions. Gentlemen I am employed full time by NASA's manned space flight network. I started working about three months ago. I'm on my lunch break here. The Division of the Executive Branch was kind enough to give me off an hour and a half to be here. Quite a few people at NASA are concerned, and there have been quite a few debates. Certainly this is the least militaristic of any of the Federal agencies, and we have had some lively debates on the subject.

STATEMENT BY TERRY EASTON, JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

Mr. EASTON. Gentlemen, I wish to take this opportunity to thank you for allowing me to present my views on the United States' involvement in Southeast Asia by way of this short statement. As you know, I am a graduate student in Computer Sciences at the Johns Hopkins University where I graduated this past semester with a B.S. degree. I was born and raised in a relatively conservative north Baltimore area suburb which is noted, among other things, for enabling the president of my high school PTA to become Vice President of the United States. My views, I feel, do reflect the growing numbers of younger people in my district and country. (Just for the record, my Representative is Congressman Long.)

Let me first comment about my personal philosophy of any military action by any country or group of people anywhere. I am opposed to participation in war in any form, and consider myself to be a conscientious objector as defined by current Selective Service regulations. Consequently, my personal views are perhaps more pacifistic than those of my fellow students. I believe that it is wrong to kill in any war, and for these personal beliefs feel that we should withdraw immediately. This view, of course, is not sufficient justification for my presence here today. There are much more concrete reasons why we should remove our forces from the Southeast Asian countries immediately.

As a student not only of computer sciences but also of the machinations of Washington politics and Government, I feel that the President has gravely transgressed his Executive powers and has placed our country in a crisis in which our direct security is threatened. I will develop this in detail shortly.

There are four major areas of dissatisfaction with our present foreign policy and the administration.

First is the Nixon administration's unpredictability, that is, where is the administration moving? Who knows outside of the Executive

Office Building what our next day's policy will be? Certainly, some of you must have, in the course of dealing with the administration, been frustrated in your attempt to obtain information which had been extended by past Presidents as a matter of courtesy. This unpredictability, which Mr. Nixon has repeatedly said is one of the strongholds of his administration, could by others be termed his irresponsibility—to Congress, to the American people, and to our NATO allies (as will be commented on later).

The second area of dissatisfaction is closely related to the first and centers about the question of legislative versus executive branch powers—Who makes the decisions? The justification to ship 7,200 M2 rifles to Cambodia made by Ellsworth Bunker recently (after the President denied we were shipping arms to that state) was the Foreign Assistance Act—yet this act clearly states that the President consult with Congress on such gifts. How many of you were consulted. As you are aware, repeated attempts by various colleagues of yours (and the American people's representatives) to discuss our U.S. foreign policy have repeatedly been thwarted by the President. Other examples which could be cited would include Congressman Friedel of Maryland who wrote to the Pentagon about important information and never received a reply. Do any of you have the sneaking suspicion that the President would be much happier if the Congress did not exist at all? Mark Twain called Congress "that grand old benevolent national asylum for the helpless"; many people are beginning to believe that it might be better if it were phased out—put to sleep due to lack of exercise. Now is the opportunity for Congress to reassert its important role in checking the powers of the executive branch and redefining our national goals and international foreign affairs policy.

The third area of dissatisfaction is also closely interwoven in the same fabric with the above two areas. It concerns the integrity and honesty of this administration. I will not develop this topic further than to point out that many of our Nation's leading news commentators are now raising this question daily.

The fourth area of dissatisfaction is the one I alluded to earlier, and concerns our national security. Under the present policies, the direct security of the United States is grievously being threatened due to our search for indirect security in Southeast Asia. Let me develop this.

First, there is no proof that Southeast Asia is, or ever has been, a direct security area of vital interest to the United States. Even Clark Clifford admitted that. One asks of oneself "how do they get from there to here?" In many boats?

Second, because of our new actions in Cambodia (and to a lesser degree in Laos), the Sino-Soviet split threatens to be patched up. This is truly a grave situation to concern every American. There has been more activity between Russia and China in the past few weeks than in the past few years.

Third, the SALT talks, meetings which were repeatedly delayed, are in danger.

Fourth, our invasion of a neutral country (not arguing if the regime of Cambodia is a CIA front or really genuine) causes our position against Russian and Arab invasion and aggression to be eroded.

Fifth, the lack of consultation with our NATO allies about this latest turn of events has been considered by all of them to be an insult, and this action represents a new enlargement of the war. Britain and France have been extremely hurt. Say, who are our real allies? Who do we really care about? Several corrupt Asian governments or the critical West European powers!

Sixth, and finally, it has been argued by others far more versed in economic theory than I that the war is undermining our entire economy. The results are obvious: Unbalanced budget; inflation; depression of the stock market * * *

For these and other reasons I believe that we should immediately extradite ourselves from this costly current foreign policy.

One final comment: I voted for Mr. Nixon in the 1968 presidential election with the hope and belief that he would be able to lead us back to a more honest and peaceful world society. I feel he has let me down, and am changing my registration to the Democratic Party. Thank you for allowing me to present this paper to you.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you very much, Mr. Easton. Mr. Boland.

Mr. BOLAND. I want to congratulate you on your statement. I also want to commend you on changing your registration to the Democratic Party. [Laughter.] In your reference to Mark Twain, I suppose when Mark Twain wrote it years ago it was probably true. I don't know that it is true today though. I think perhaps for the first time in many years the Congress is starting to assert its powers and its influence and its concern about foreign policy. I could not agree with you more than perhaps those down the avenue, I don't mean the White House alone, I'm talking about some of the departments of the Government, would wish that Congress would go away, and I think they would be delighted if there were no oversight by the Congress with respect to the programs of the departments that all the departments are engaged in. Without this oversight, of course, I'm afraid that the Government would be much more helpless than people feel it is today. But Congress is exercising some power and some influence now, and I think everyone would agree to this. So the statement you made is one that does concern Members on both sides of the aisle in this Congress, and again I say that I think we are perhaps moving to exercise the power that does remain in the Congress that is given to it by the Constitution. Thank you very much.

Mr. MAYNE. I just thought I'd ask you to develop a little further your reasons for believing that this development in Cambodia is threatening to patch up the Sino-Soviet split. All of the evidence available to me would be just to the contrary, it appearing that the Russians are extremely apprehensive about the fact that the new regime in exile has been incubated and hatched in Peking. Were you aware of the fact that the Russians are still recognizing the Lon Nol Government? They have their ambassador and other diplomats in other—

Mr. EASTON. That's an excellent point.

Mr. MAYNE. Yes.

Mr. EASTON. The reason I stated this I think that both Russia and from the readings—an excellent magazine, I'm sure you have all seen it, incidentally, is Atlas, which is a compilation—it is an American

publication—a compilation of European or rather other world papers translated for Americans to read and published monthly and many of my views are based on readings, including the Atlas and the Manchester Guardian and other papers—but from what I can understand if one can believe what one reads, the amount of diplomatic activity, true, Russia is concerned very, very briefly with the fact that Red China is essentially taking the ex-ruler of Cambodia under its wing. I think that more basically there is a basic fear now in Russia and Red China, from feelings I get, which may tend to override their differences. It may tend to cause their differences to be suppressed. I think they are really afraid of us in our actions in Southeast Asia.

Mr. WAYNE. But the SALT talks are continuing. They have not been broken off. It would seem to me that while this prediction, that there would be a healing of the Sino-Soviet split, was something the President's critics played very hard when the Cambodian decision was first announced, subsequent developments have shown this not to be the case, at least up to the present time. I do not see how anyone can say that the Russians and the Red Chinese are moving in concert on this. It seems to be increasing their distress with one another rather than patching it up.

Mr. EASTON. I don't think it's a short term. I don't think in the next few weeks at least, or perhaps even the next few months, you'll see immediate short-term actions other than a continuing series of interchanges, but I think that, as there are many pebbles in the road, this is one I don't think we should have allowed to be placed.

Mr. MAYNE. Thank you.

Mr. FINDLEY. Are there other questions? If not, we thank you very much, Mr. Easton, for a very good contribution.

The Chair will state that the next witness, Eric Shafer, is scheduled to appear at 12:30 and is present. But we are doing very well with regard to the schedule, and it is just about lunch time, so if there is no objection we will adjourn for 30 minutes, returning at 12:40, at which time we will hear Eric Shafer. We do have another cancellation later in the day so I think we can be right on schedule. Thank you very much. The committee is adjourned.

AFTERNOON SESSION

Mr. FINDLEY: The committee will be in order. We will now hear Mr. Eric Shafer of Muhlenberg College. Mr. Shafer.

STATEMENT BY ERIC SHAFER, MUHLENBERG COLLEGE

Mr. SHAFER. We speak as the members of a generation with a strong desire for world peace. We think peace is possible in our time and within the present government system.

In our opinion the present administration has failed so far to move to this end. This peace is not accomplished through a military victory, yet this is the apparent course of the present administration. We feel that this point has already been elaborated by our fellow students.

Far from decreasing our international respect, an immediate peace in Southeast Asia would increase U.S. prestige both at home and

abroad. The widespread controversy throughout the world over our involvement in Southeast Asia is ample proof of this. Further proof of this can be seen on nearly every college campus, including the Muhlenberg College campus.

Those who protest the war have often been accused of being unpatriotic. However, it is patriotism that leads us to protest a course of action which is detrimental to the welfare of the Nation. We want the system to work; we want to work within the governmental system. Radical elements say the system cannot work and must be overthrown. So far, the present administration's policy has proved them correct. We tell them that the National Government is aware of the need for a speedy end to the Vietnam war, and that violence at home will only hurt that cause; they tell us that the National Government is committed to great violence, and will freely use it on its opponents at home. The administration escalates the war, the National Guard in Ohio murders unarmed students, and the radicals are proved right again. We want desperately to believe that they are wrong. The events of the last 2 weeks, both at home and abroad, do not lead us to this conclusion.

The majority of Muhlenberg College students have indicated through several referenda their support of the immediate troop withdrawal from Southeast Asia. The present administration's actions have not followed this desire, leaving our students frustrated. This frustration was increased by the recent expansion of the war into Cambodia. Muhlenberg students gave a great amount of time in talking with people in the community, writing letters to national leaders, and other efforts to educate themselves and the public about the war. These efforts have further committed the majority of Muhlenberg students in their opposition to the war.

We support the Hatfield-McGovern bill in the Senate and similar action in the House. You, as our national representatives, must find a way to stop the Cambodian invasion immediately, bring the Vietnam war to a far speedier conclusion, and totally disavow violence as a tactic at home, not only for radical students (most public officials have found this easy), but also for the various official police-type groups. The cost of this war in terms of lost opportunities at home has long been clear; its cost in political terms for a whole generation of Americans, and thus perhaps even for the American system of government as a whole, has now become equally so.

Prepared by: Michael Kohn, editor-in-chief, Muhlenberg Weekly; Eric Shafer, president, class of 1972; Dennis Tribble, student body vice president. Also supported by: Karen Hamm, former student body president; Ron Keegan, president, class of 1973; Karen White, student body president.

MR. BOLAND. I don't know that what you say at the bottom of your first page is true that the National Guard in Ohio murders unarmed students, or the radicals are proved right again. Why would this be so that the radicals are proved right again? I know of no one in any official position of responsibility who has not deplored what happened at Kent, and what happened at Mississippi, and so I don't think this proves, that this says, that the radicals are right. I commend you for indicating that these are events which possibly could add to the radical movement, of course there is a radical

movement and there is a revolutionary group in the colleges, in and off the college campuses, as I have stated here before and I say to you now my concern is that those who have not been activists, can either be drawn into the revolutionary group on the college campus, on or off the college campus, and you see this possibility too, don't you?

Mr. KOHN. The point is, what we are trying to say is that we and the students we represent feel that the system has allowed the murder in Ohio and Jackson—

Mr. BOLAND. I don't know, I don't think you can say the system has allowed it. I think you have individuals who have exceeded their authority and gone way beyond the bounds of reason. So really it is not so much the system as it is some of the personalities within the system. In also with reference to the position of, I might assume the great majority of students at Muhlenberg—I presume you represent, in your opinion, the great majority of students at Muhlenberg—how many students has Muhlenberg incidentally?

Mr. SHAFFER. 1500.

Mr. BOLAND. It has a great reputation, and it is a great college, and I'm delighted that it does become active in some of the things that students are concerned with. What you are doing here and what you have been doing back at the college is precisely what a number of students are doing in many other areas of the United States and that is to bring your viewpoint home in a nonviolent way and proper way to those who perhaps have not thought about Southeast Asia very much, perhaps have not thought about some of the other problems and issues that have caused great distress not only to people but to the Nation itself. So I commend you for doing this. What about the community of Muhlenberg itself? What about the people of Muhlenberg? Do you think you are getting anywhere, do you think you are getting across to them?

Mr. KOHN. We circulated a petition around the community, and I think Senator Scott received 4,000 signatures from our college alone, from this community, and from Allentown we feel it's a fairly large number.

Mr. BOLAND. How would you describe the community of Muhlenberg or its environs—hawkish, dovish?

Mr. KOHN. Representative Rooney is the Representative from Allentown. He has taken a stand against the Cambodian invasion. I don't, from the newspapers which I think represent the people to a great extent, they have taken a stand in favor of Cambodia.

Mr. BOLAND. Well, thank you very much Mr. Kohn and also those who accompany you today. I certainly appreciate your statement and your involvement in the issues that you and the students of Muhlenberg consider to be of prime importance, of transcending importance at this time in the history of this country. Thank you very much.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Kohn, I sure appreciate your statement and the effort that your appearance here represents. The question that keeps lingering in my mind is whether in fact, what you want and what the President is determined to effect are really that far apart. He has said that the withdrawal policy is irreversible, he wants a speedy end to the Vietnam war, which is what you have said here.

He has not used the phrase "military victory." I recognize that this is an interpretation that you have placed upon the actions he has undertaken. Let me phrase it this way, if you were President and inherited the problem that President Nixon did inherit and were determined to bring about a speedy end of the war and return all our forces at the earliest possible date, what weight would you give to the problem of getting forces out of the country? In other words, you would have the necessity of promoting and preserving as much stability as you could in the local regions for as long as you could, would that not be the case?

Mr. KOHN. I think the Hatfield-McGovern bill covers the point as far as buying sanction for those South Vietnamese officials who would like to come here, and I think the elections should be held there supervised by a neutral force.

Mr. FINDLEY. But if the Commander in Chief could take some actions which would help make it possible for our troops to move to the air fields, to the seaports, to disengage, that is, to get out of the country safely, he should take such action, should he not?

Mr. KOHN. We feel that when you press forward, when you escalate a war, you are not trying to get out. It's just a roundabout way of doing it and not showing a strong desire for having immediate peace in this country and all over. You very safely get out by retreating, solely retreating over a year period, to air fields and pulling the troops out that way.

Mr. FINDLEY. Do you have any further questions Mr. Boland? Well we are very grateful to you. This is a great help to us, and thanks for coming in today. Thank you.

Mr. KOHN. Thank you.

Mr. FINDLEY. I'm not sure about the pronunciation—Mr. Jauch? From Wisconsin State University.

Mr. JAUCH. Mr. Randy Surbaugh will be speaking, he is the vice president of the student body.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you. Mr. Surbaugh.

Mr. SURBAUGH. As you now know, my name is Randy Surbaugh, I'm vice president of the student body at Wisconsin State University at Eau Claire.

STATEMENT BY RANDY SURBAUGH, WISCONSIN STATE UNIVERSITY AT EAU CLAIRE

Mr. SURBAUGH. We would like to express our thanks on behalf of ourselves and our fellow students at Wisconsin State University-Eau Claire for the opportunity to address the issues that concern 7,100 students and others who are not fortunate enough to be here.

Students on our campus are frustrated by the same issues affecting students throughout the Nation.

The realization of the futility of the attempt to win in South Vietnam, the extension of the still undeclared war into neutral Cambodia, the increasing trend toward militarization, the draft, repression of student dissent, and lack of concern over domestic issues have resulted in constructive and destructive actions across the Nation.

Signs of major concern emerged at our university in October with the moratorium activities. Discussion of the issues continued with no further overt action until the recent invasion of Cambodia and the tragedy at Kent State. At this time, these issues gained new relevance. Dialog had resulted in further frustration. Students sought a new means of expression.

Phenomenal interest was shown at an organizational meeting. From that point on, interest blossomed. A rally was held which drew a majority of our academic community. Continuing activities included a large, orderly march on the Reserve armory, a march on the Federal Building downtown, a boycott of classes and a tree-planting ceremony as a living memorial to the four students who died at Kent State.

The activities were successful. They succeeded in enlarging the awareness and sensitivity of a larger portion of our community, but they achieved no changes. Concern took a new shape. Students sought to be heard, recognized and understood. A new and strong force was felt in Washington and continues to be felt. Students are a rapidly expanding political force. They realize they must seek effective channels so that this strength is felt, voices are heard and changes are made.

The interest shown in this committee and the number of students visiting Congressmen and administrative officials provides evidence of a new student commitment to change through channels.

Caution should be exercised so that lack of action does not result in alienation. The most important test ever of the responsiveness of the system is now underway. We realize that change is not rapid within a system such as ours, but this should not be used as a rationalization for postponing action.

Reaction should no longer take the form of repression. Instead, we think that certain changes are necessary to prove our Government's responsiveness.

Government policy seems to be expansion in Vietnam rather than the promised withdrawal. The death toll rises weekly and it is of paramount importance that we immediately withdraw from Cambodia. We urge support of the Cooper-Church amendment and House Resolution 1000. It is time for Congress to assert its powers in determining policies of this country. All power to the people can be accomplished if Congress reassumes its position as representing the people on all issues.

We further feel that the Gulf of Tonkin resolution should not be considered a blanket approval of our actions in Vietnam. Impatience is rising again as a result of continuation of the still undeclared war in South Vietnam. It is not strictly the American Government that is involved in Vietnam; it is the American youth. Over half of the more than 40,000 war dead were under the age of 21, the college age, the age of those now taking action. We urge support of the McGovern-Hatfield amendment.

As a related point, we deplore the increasing militarization of our country. We have witnessed increased attempts to place an ROTC unit on our campus. We have thus far repelled these attempts to change the composition of our academic community. We urge the limiting of military spending, and a reevaluation of priorities.

Military as well as economic and political involvement overseas will not prove our strength as a Nation. National unification is a more prestigious and advantageous show of strength.

We hope that attempts to establish an all-volunteer army are stepped up so that anxiety over the draft can be eliminated.

Congress is at this time considering these points and we hope for serious consideration of our suggestions.

As a corollary to ending the war, we hope that the violence at home, particularly on our college campuses, can be eliminated as well. There are several ways of doing this. At present, those in positions of authority are resorting to repression. Repression only results in further violence. We have witnessed the use of ill-trained police and National Guard units at Jackson College, Kent State University, and the University of Wisconsin. We have also witnessed the results. Dissent turns to violence only when met with opposing force. The result of cooperation with a small number of law enforcement officials was seen at our university, where activities were completely nonviolent. We urge the very cautious use of the National Guard and Federal troops. We urge a review of mob control methods. The present system, based on State police tactics, has not been effective.

Violence also occurs when peaceful dissent does not produce results, when student voices are not heard. There is an increasing feeling that students are not being heard and that the only alternative is violence, civil war or revolution. A very simple method of changing the emphasis is by lowering the voting age so that constitutional rights are extended to our concerned youth.

Meanwhile, students throughout the Nation will continue to demonstrate this concern, directing the sum total of their efforts to the upcoming elections and lobbying for issues. Activities of this type will continue, violence and dissent will decrease, and peace for all will be accomplished only if frustration is reduced and the changes students desire are realized.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Boland.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Surbaugh, thank you for your statement and the indication that you recognize that change is not rapid within a system such as ours, not as rapid as people would like it. I guess about the only time you get rapid changes in some forms of government would be in totalitarian or dictatorships, and I'm sure that those of you at the Wisconsin State University would not want this kind of a change. Those legislative proposals which you are for are receiving consideration in the Congress. I would think maybe a couple of years ago they would not have gotten very far, but they are receiving considerable publicity within the Congress itself, and a lot of Members are becoming involved—a lot of Members of Congress are becoming involved in direct support of them. Though actually the nonviolent way the students have addressed themselves to the issues that they consider to be important to the Nation has made an impression here. As you have indicated, your group has talked to a great number of public officials and Members of Congress in the past few weeks, and you have been doing back home in Eau Claire many of the things that are being done in other areas in the United States. I do have a problem with your statement

about dissent turns to violence only when met with opposing force, in the sense that I'm sure that you and your fellow students would recognize that there is a responsibility on the part of college officials to protect a college against destruction and I don't know how you can actually do it if those who are committing the destruction, who are tearing the college down so to speak, don't stop when they are asked to do so, even when they are enjoined to, through legal action. So I suppose at times some force is necessary to protect the college, to be sure that it does remain standing. Would you disagree with that?

MR. SURBAUGH. I would like to say that I repudiate anarchy on campuses or anywhere else just as much as any one of the honorable Representatives here. What I'm saying in effect is that there has not been a necessary discretion used. It has appeared to students, among other things, that the property has been more important than the lives. We feel that the people are more important than the property. Again, I uphold the right to property among people, and there is much confusion in this aspect over what we mean by violence. I don't feel, as was outlined, that the people, that the forces being used by the Government, have been properly trained or properly equipped, or maybe overequipped would be the word. And in this essence I feel that there needs to be some further work done on exactly the means to keep things from getting out of hand. I do not agree with the violence at Madison in any form. I do feel, however, that, well I know for certain by being there, that very often the police use much more, for instance, tear gas, than is necessary for the protection of a certain area. Perhaps different means or a better evaluation. I think that by taking some time and effort and devising better means of initial mob control the outcome will be much better for all those concerned. I want peace on the campuses too and I don't think people will respond positively, students that is, to threats. If the cops threaten they will kick you off the campus if you raise your fists, then, of course, that's the first thing you're going to do. This is childish, and we don't feel that this is right but on the other hand we don't feel the same way. Anyone would resist such a threat. And we feel that it must be a better reason, method of the use of force. I'm not saying that it shouldn't be used at all, merely that in a number of instances there has been too much use of these means for protection, and the opposite is usually the result.

MR. BOLAND. Well, thank you. I appreciate your comments on it, Randy. Thank you very much.

MR. FINDLEY. Mr. O'Konski. Welcome to this panel. You have intimate associations in the State of Wisconsin, so we're doubly glad you're here.

MR. O'KONSKI. These students are from one of the eight, and the largest university, in my district. I met with them for about 2 hours yesterday, and we had a very good exchange of views. They are sincere, they are concerned, and they are serious, and I want to compliment them for taking the time to come over here and represent that great university and making this statement before this committee.

MR. FINDLEY. Thank you Mr. O'Konski. Mr. Surbaugh, was there any point at which police force was utilized during your protests, your marches and other activities on campus and in the community?

Mr. SURBAUGH. No, at Eau Claire we have been successful in this effort for a number of reasons. During the October moratorium we did have some slight difficulty which is not, I don't think, the direct fault of the police department; rather of one officer who really didn't know what he was doing. In our subsequent rallies, marches, and so on, we have tried very hard, and we have received very good police cooperation. For instance, if there is a small disturbance the police do not move in, and we haven't had anything like this in connection with a war protest. We have had in another incidence that happened on college campuses. We received good cooperation. We have instituted our own marshal corps, so to speak, for our marches. The People's Pigs, they're called. [Laughter.] But this is for regulating our own order. We're able this way to have a buffer force, and we can keep these two groups from confronting each other. The police cooperation at Eau Claire has been good. This is especially necessary in light of, there is, I wouldn't want to say how large, but there is a minority or a small group of people however, who are very antagonistic toward our types of actions, especially when they reach into the community, which we have tried to alleviate through a number of means. So at Eau Claire we have not had this problem because we have had the cooperation, and we were able to work with these people. The initial—

Mr. FINDLEY. May I interrupt at that point to ask you a question. I assume from what you say that you have been able to isolate pretty well the lunatic fringe of the student group. How were you able to accomplish this, and keep them from being in a position to cause trouble?

Mr. SURBAUGH. A number of, well I wouldn't call it lunatic fringe. They were more radical members perhaps, a revolutionary contingent or "bush radicals," they are called. [Laughter.] Not to deemphasize the point. However, we do not feel that violence was the means in this case, it has not come to that point yet. I don't think that the means we did this are too significant, other than through our use of marshalling in between. We tried to keep the group together. We stressed unity in the whole group. We tried to keep it from splitting. We tried to keep from isolating any one group such as the more radical group.

Mr. FINDLEY. Are there any other questions?

Mr. O'KONSKI. Incidentally, I might mention that the college newspaper "The Spectator," complimented the police of Eau Claire, Wis., for their tolerance and for their good behavior as a whole during this recent demonstration on the campus. There is good feeling between the two. There was little use of excessive force as a whole. The student body was pretty well satisfied with police behavior except for a very few incidents. They complimented the police for their action, am I correct in that?

Mr. SURBAUGH. Yes.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hicks.

Mr. HICKS. How much do you think the draft has to do with the unrest on the college campuses? Or on your college campus?

Mr. SURBAUGH. I hate to try and isolate it as such. Part of our problem is alleviated in that we're fairly close to Canada. [Laughter.] No, actually I didn't mean to be facetious in my answer,

I wouldn't want to isolate—this is certainly a factor, and the fact that I know some of the counties where I come from further north of Eau Claire have rather high proportionate draw rates than what there are, and there are a number of people who, we are quite opposed to the means that have been used in drafting people, at the present time.

Mr. HICKS. Would this volunteer army, if it came about serve to alleviate a lot of the tension on the campuses, do you think? Despite what happens in Southeast Asia?

Mr. SURBAUGH. Well, of course, the practicality of a volunteer army is affected definitely by what happens in Cambodia, and I feel that this is one thing that would alleviate. I'm afraid I have not had the in-depth research accomplished as far as proportioning out exactly how much of the problem this would alleviate. I would say that's certainly an important consideration of the tension at Eau Claire.

Mr. HICKS. You have read the speculations though that if we can get the troops down to a certain level, maybe it can be maintained on a volunteer basis, of those who have to go to Southeast Asia. The draft is not so onerous is it, if you don't have to go to Southeast Asia?

Mr. SURBAUGH. This too is another consideration. Taking the same problem, the problem of the draft is not the draft itself, it's the effect. If this is eliminated I think this would by a unifying factor in that people would not be so opposed to serving their country. It would, I feel, sort of bring back together the place of the military as the protecting agency in the United States.

Mr. FINDLEY. Ladies and gentlemen, we thank you very much for your presentation here today, bringing a report from one of the largest campuses in the country. This has been a big help to us.

Next witness is Mark D. Nozette, student body vice-president of Colgate University. Mr. Nozette.

Mr. NOZETTE. Mr. Chairman, I just want to say I made my statement purposely short so we could have more questions from you as well.

STATEMENT BY MARK D. NOZETTE, STUDENT BODY VICE PRESIDENT, COLGATE UNIVERSITY

Mr. NOZETTE. Mr. Chairman. I want to thank the committee for affording me the opportunity to speak this afternoon. I believe your initiative is a good one and I am sure you realize that the success of these hearings will not be measured by the number of witnesses that appear or the number of statements you elicit, but rather by the affirmative action you take after we have gone.

The enormous and spontaneous campus reaction to the President's invasion of Cambodia and the murders at Kent State illustrate beyond any doubt the sheer depth of feeling held by many young people against the current direction of American foreign policy. The heart of the matter is really very simple: Many of my peers do not wish to see lives taken—be they Vietnamese, Laotian, Cambodian, or their very own—for what they consider to be a worthless

cause. What you have been seeing on the campuses then is no youthful fling, but concern and frustration over a matter of life and death.

The actions taken to protest this latest escalation have been as varied as the campuses which have initiated them. Yet, other than creating a sense of turmoil or crisis, I doubt whether these exercises have been very fruitful. The war goes on, lives are lost, and the Nation's malaise deepens.

We at Colgate have had our own special project. More than half of our student body asked one of our alumni, Secretary of State William P. Rogers, to resign either from the Cabinet or from Colgate's board of trustees. Our hope, however, impolitic, was that his departure from the Nixon administration over a policy with which he was not in agreement, would underscore feelings against the war and raise doubts in the minds of those who have heretofore remained silent.

While we failed to get the Secretary's resignation, two points did become abundantly clear to us.

First, there is no communications gap between the Nixon administration and that segment of youth opposed to the war. They know what we're saying and we know what they're saying. The difference is one of basic policy—of admitting a mistake and acting accordingly, or of clinging to the same outworn slogans and premises which have been so manifestly disastrous and tragic in the past.

Secondly, we learned that regardless of how courteous this administration has recently been, it is not going to heed a bunch of students, especially when they have no political clout.

We all know how successful the President has been in using the media; we all know how easy it would be for him to isolate or discredit any one segment of opinion—especially youthful antiwar sentiment; and we all know how much this ability has allowed him to continue to hope for some kind of victory.

This increasing power of the President corresponds with the declining power of the Congress—a theme with which I am sure you are familiar. Besides all its other effects, this war is raising serious questions regarding the viability of a system of diffused power. The Executive is clearly the one closest to the people. And he shapes the opinion in your district, opinion which you then follow. Is this what is meant by an independent legislative branch?

We on the campuses and you on the Hill are thus in very similar predicaments. Neither one of us has been able to move popular opinion; neither one of us has been able to get the President to end this war. As long as he continues his slick and singular use of the media he will control popular sentiments. And as long as Members simply follow those sentiments, he will control the Congress as well.

Regardless of how you might wish to label yourself; regardless of how you might feel about the opinions expressed during these hearings; I am sure you cannot help but realize your own position. We are witnessing a crisis in leadership, a crisis stemming from the ability of the President to make the Congress his prisoner; and the inability or unwillingness of the legislative branch to escape.

This fall, students in all parts of the country will be working to change the situation. Elections are the only means which provide such an opportunity. We will be attempting to gain that illusive

political power for ourselves by restoring the legislative branch to a responsible position in the execution of foreign policy. We will be challenging members who have sat passively by while lives have been needlessly spent.

I believe, however, that this situation need not be one of confrontation for I think that your interests and ours correspond. There is no reason why you cannot use the opportunity of this fall's election to speak out—if not against policy then certainly against the process of its formulation.

Maybe this will force you to lead your district instead of follow; maybe you will have to endure political or personal discomfort for it is not an easy thing to oppose an incumbent President on foreign policy. But this war demands that kind of action, for considerations here go beyond military tactics to the heart of the constitutional system. I suppose I may even be asking you to risk your career but gentlemen, you have been asking us to risk our lives.

You know, with the various meetings and then Congressmen responding in their offices and everything like that. But you know after the thing dies down, after the excitement wears off what we are left with, it seems to me, is the same situation.

Mr. BOLAND. Well, I would agree that after the excitement has died down, there will be a problem of falling in the same situation, that is a possibility. I don't agree that will happen myself, from my own viewpoint. Looking at the discussions that have been held with students since a week ago Thursday, we've seen thousands of students and addressed thousands of students and addressed a few at a time. I think that these exercises have produced some results, some very dramatic results.

Mr. NOZETTE. Mr. Congressman, I wonder if I could say something? I've been privileged the past couple of weeks to participate in our university's Washington study program where I have been working in Mr. Rosenthal's office and seen a number of Congressmen, a number of other people participating in the program. I don't really believe that the students are going to sway people or going to get policy changes in essence just by going through the halls of Congress. I don't believe that Members, you know, think in those terms. They go back to their districts, and that's what is important. You know anything is good, that's not the point, but I just question the effectiveness in the long run.

Mr. BOLAND. I really don't think that the Executive is clearly the one closest to the people. He certainly is not in congressional districts. I'm of the opinion, I'm sure that it is shared by the vast majority of the Members of the House, that really the one public official who is closest to the people on a national level is a Member of Congress. I suppose the one public official back home who is closest is either the mayor or those who are on the board of selectmen in a small town. But in the consideration of national policy I have the firm conviction that Members of the Congress are. Because they are home an awful lot. They speak to a great number of people in the course of the 2 years that they serve here, and as a matter of fact I think that probably a Member of Congress does shape opinion in his district. He doesn't always follow either, often times he leads. I would venture to guess that in very many districts, and you can

comment on this, that there are a majority of people who agree with the President's policy, and yet there are a number of Members of Congress who take the opposite view in those very districts.

Mr. NOZETTE. You made a number of points. You know that I recognize that Members of the House would feel that they are the closest to the people; they very well may be. I haven't had that much experience with public life. I just base this on a number of factors—the studies that have been done at Dartmouth and Michigan State concerning voter identification with the Congressman where the number of people that know the Congressman's name is something like 60 to 65 percent and the number of people that know the President's name—you know you might talk to a lot of people but how many living rooms did you get into? You can compare it with how many living rooms through the television media that the President gets into. Concerning the idea of leading, it's a good thing, it's a courageous thing to see Members do that. But from experience I've had, both in courses and from working here, it seems quite clearly and maybe possibly good that Representatives, in a certain sense, that they follow the district. That is representation—that's one of the values that we have. The point is, there are times for other things—tradeoffs.

Mr. BOLAND. You mentioned voter identification. That brings to my mind, Mr. Chairman, the actual occurrence in my district some years ago when one of the large corporations was holding a seminar on public affairs and the identification of public officials. During the course of the seminar it would flash on the screen pictures of public officials and ask those who were there to identify them. These were people who were in supervisory capacities with the company, and this was back in the early 1950's.

They put on Senator Jack Kennedy from my State and of course the vote identification there, that is the identification of him, was about 98 percent. Of Senator Saltonstall the identification was very high. They flashed my picture on the screen, and I think 65 percent of them there said I was Dominic DiMaggio so I was [laughter] that was back in the early 1950's, but it has changed since then, and I think perhaps you'll find it a little bit closer. It takes time but I think we do accomplish these things.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hicks.

Mr. HICKS. Well, that wasn't bad identification, was it?

Mr. BOLAND. Well, no, because he was playing pretty good baseball in those days. [Laughter.]

Mr. HICKS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I just was wondering if you really believe, though, that the students haven't had an effect? Certainly they had an effect on President Johnson in the New Hampshire campaign. Do you have any doubt that President Nixon is not going to be out of Cambodia by June 30th?

Mr. NOZETTE. I don't know, I mean I would do anything to be wrong.

Mr. HICKS. Do you have any doubts?

Mr. NOZETTE. Yes, I do have doubts. Even if he is out, even if he gets out of Cambodia, there is no guarantee that he won't get back in. There is no guarantee—

Mr. HICKS. As a result of the student movement I have no doubt that he will not go back in. I have no doubt that he will bring peo-

ple home this summer to show how effective that Cambodia venture was, where I do have doubts that he would have, if the students hadn't come down here. I hope that they do what so many of them have said they are going to do, become interested in the political aspect of the fall election and 2 years hence. Because that is the only way that they are going to really make their voices heard. You can't come down here and say to Congress, "we know what's right so you go ahead and do it and if you don't do it you are not leaders." That isn't going to do it.

Mr. NOZETTE. Sir, I'd give anything to be wrong, if you'd be right. I mean, I think the President's sincere in his desire to get out. The only questions I would have is the question of how you do it. And I don't believe in talking about the first President to lose a war and, you know, wrapping yourself around the flag is really going to do that. Henry Kissinger made an interesting statement in a book that was prepared by Brookings Institution. He said, "when a guerrilla army does not lose a war, it wins; when a conventional army does not win a war, it loses." By that token, we have lost the war and if the President does not want to lose the war or he doesn't want to suffer defeat, you have to raise some questions about what he is going to do in the future.

Mr. FINDLEY. Just one question I'd like to have you comment on briefly. Once we are out of Vietnam with our military units, and I believe that day will come and I hope soon, what role do you think our Nation should have militarily in the South Pacific-South-east Asia area? Should it have any role whatever?

Mr. NOZETTE. I don't believe that we should pull out into an isolationist position. I do think the key to anything we do should be to our national interest as one Nation. I don't believe we should help other nations militarily, especially those nations that do not help themselves. I feel that the kind of powers we should have is to look to the middle powers—Japan, the Philippines, and people like Australians, nations like that, and they should have their responsibilities. We have our problems at home and that is what we should be looking to, and they have their problems there and that's what they should be looking to.

Mr. FINDLEY. I can almost conclude from this that you would embrace the Guam doctrine as the President stated it?

Mr. NOZETTE. I'm not exactly clear as to what the Guam doctrine is. I don't want to—Attorney General Mitchell says "judge us not by what we say, but by what we do." So I'll wait and see what the President does.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you very much.

Mr. BOLAND. Let me say, Mr. Chairman, I'm delighted, Mark, to hear you say that we ought not to withdraw into isolationism. I think this is one of the great dangers that faces the Nation—to become neoisolationist, to withdraw into the fortress of America. Students ought to recognize that perhaps better than anyone else except those of us who serve in public life, that we do live in a world of reality, and it's not the kind of world all of us want, of course, and I guess we'll never get that kind of a world. But we have to contend with forces which perhaps are alien to our own and consequently withdrawing into America or becoming isolationists I

think probably would sound the death knell of this Nation, and I'm delighted to hear you say that that's not the direction you would want to travel. It is not the direction in which I would want to travel, although I disagree with the way in which we are traveling.

Mr. NOZETTE. Congressman, I too am pleased that you would say that you want to deal with reality, because I think that to consider ourselves the policemen of the world or act that way, whether our rhetoric indicates that, is too dangerous a situation, and we have to be aware of that as well.

Mr. BOLAND. Thank you very much.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you very much.

The next witness is Miss Sara Mrsich—I'm sure I don't have the pronunciation right—of Good Counsel College, White Plains, N.Y. Sara, tell us how to pronounce your name as a starter.

Miss MRSICH. It's Mrsich, you weren't too far off. Good afternoon. I'm very pleased to be here.

STATEMENT BY SARAH MRSICH, GOOD COUNSEL COLLEGE

Miss MRSICH. What I will do is express how U.S. foreign policy as a whole, since 1945, appears to me and some of my fellow students. Then look specifically at the Vietnamese war and the Cambodian issue.

In 1951 Edward Hallett Carr in his book, "The New Society," summed up what was then, and still seems to be the guiding force of America's foreign policy:

The new American diplomacy is directed to the establishment of power in British nineteenth-century terms. It does not want to fight any more than nineteenth-century Britain wanted to fight; it does not seek to conquer territory; it does not seek to defend or promote an ideology. It wants to see power so comfortably balanced in Europe (and Asia) that it can leave Europe (and Asia) politically alone, and get on with the business of running the international economy.

I am sure the point on ideology will be challenged, for this is the point that is essential. The Government has presented all their foreign policy decisions in terms of ideology—we are the bastion of democracy, we must keep the world free, the whole concept of our policy of containment. The obvious contradictions of what we say and what we do has caused a credibility gap and yielded a cynical, unbelieving youth.

When the Government's policy is challenged, all too often the only answer offered is that we must be practical. Youth interprets this "practicality" as vested self-interest, economic self-interest. From our conduct in foreign affairs questions have arisen which no one in Government has attempted to answer. I ask them again: Who are we to dictate to other countries how they should run their affairs, or which form of government they should establish? Would we ever accept that kind of treatment? How can we expect other nations to accept it? And more importantly, what will it reap for us and the world in the future?

We are a nation in a world in revolution. Former colonial possessions, who once thirsted for freedom, want more now. They realize that freedom is an empty promise if they do not have the means

to subsist and to compete in the world. Economic and industrial development is now their goal.

For all the factions existing in Asia and Africa one thing unites them—hatred and distrust of the former colonial powers. For it was Western Europe who zealously guarded their progress, their industrial capacity. Only token attempts were made to develop the nations they ruled—more often they drained these nations of their natural resources and sent back the finished product. Everyone was happy, at least for a while.

But as Europe's grasp began to loosen and finally yield, dissatisfaction caused by this policy was obvious. Revolution wracked the third world; there was tremendous internal conflict caused by attempts to establish stable governments and move into the modern world. The nations of the third world are faced with problems which no Westerner can fully appreciate.

They are also faced with a dilemma—they must have help in order to develop. The only one they can ask is the West, or even more pointedly, the United States. Considering all things, we were in a fairly good position—we had pretty much avoided the stigma of most of the Western powers. Today we are probably the most stigmatized. Why?

First: We were not ready; we did not have the background, nor the knowledge, nor the desire to assume the position of world leader.

Second: We were practical, which meant we followed no cohesive plan, except containment, which really had little relevance to the third world, despite what we thought. Our foreign policy was hit or miss.

Third: Our foreign policy was topheavy—military aid far surpassing our economic assistance. Besides, the economic aid had strings attached and was poorly handled, on our part and that of the recipients.

Fourth: We were very self-centered—never sharing the responsibilities, problems, or decisions. We preached self-sufficiency and independence but we never tried to develop it within the third world.

This critique is not idealistic nor ignorant of the vast problems we faced then and are facing now. What it is, is a demand for a new program. A program which involves more time, thought, and effort than the policies we have been following. A program, which in the end, will be able to stabilize the world. It is the only way the United States can hope to survive. I hope that President Nixon's doctrine is followed and is given the chance it deserves.

Vietnam, because of the lives lost, the longevity of the war, and the futility of our situation, has finally made some people stop and think and react. Both sides involved in the debate over Indochina are guilty of mishandling the discussions, and if this continues, I fear to consider the consequences. Both sides must try to develop a true dialog, as we are having here, a continuous dialog. The Government is faced with the most responsibility here—because it is the Government.

I first would like to look at the Cambodian issue. I cannot condemn the President's action—I do question his judgment in not receiving permission—formal diplomatic permission from the Cambodian Government. I do question the shortness and simplicity of

his presentation—I could understand his reasoning but many of the students and professors in my school just could not appreciate it. I must disagree with the reaction on the part of some of our congressional leaders.

It appears that there are two main reasons why a move in Cambodia was necessary:

1. The stated reason was that this arms buildup threatened our boys that were in Vietnam and the ones going out (estimates of withdrawal, losses if major withdrawal begins). I think that is obvious.

Also, if Vietnamization is at least to have a chance to work and develop, this threat had to be eliminated. It gives them a short but hopefully lifegiving breathing space.

2. The unstated reason is that politically it will have a lot to do with the making or breaking of the President and will also have an effect on the congressional elections this November.

If the President is successful, his action would be viewed as positive, active step in a war that has been weighted in negativism and would increase his prestige with the silent majority.

He will also have crippled the Vietcong plans to begin major assaults which would undoubtedly affect our congressional elections. This, they (Vietcong) are very much aware of. I think one thing which should be pointed out to the American student and some congressional leaders is that we should not underestimate and misinterpret Hanoi.

From a moral point of view it will probably save more lives than will be lost. Tactically, it is the only thing that is really practical.

A sidelight is the plight of the Cambodian Government itself. Under attack by the Vietcong and the North Vietnam regulars, it could not even hope to hold its own. Therefore, an added feature of this action is that by diverting the Vietcong we help stabilize, to some small extent, the new Cambodian Government, thus preserving its "neutrality."

As to Vietnam itself—discussing the morality of our physical intervention is senseless in trying to deal with it now. The worth in this is that it has opened new lines of thought which had lain dormant before but will not in the future.

What we must look at now is the moral and practical consideration of our present position!

Immediate withdrawal now is the most immoral program that could ever be followed. The blood that would flow then could never be washed off. The cry is heard that we are killing more than would be killed if we withdrew. That is pure speculation or blindness—any form of totalitarian government depends on terror for its security. The murders committed in North Vietnam when the Communists took control will never be known as in the past when totalitarian forms of government were established. To knowingly submit a whole nation to this death and suppression, in order to escape from a very difficult problem, is despicable.

In practical terms we would put ourselves in a position more harmful than the position we are now in because of our involvement.

What can, what must we do? Perhaps we should live up to our public announcements. Really try to aid in establishing a stable

government. Do not play games undermining the existing government, weakening them so they have to do as they are told or fall (Diem). I do not suggest that the present government is perfect—but then neither is ours. It does, however, offer some freedoms. It is the lesser of two evils for ourselves and for the Vietnamese. Now it is trying to develop a nation which has been at war, in one way or another for almost 40 years. We must realize and appreciate this.

National survival sometimes necessitates superseding individual liberties. Did not we do this ourselves when we entered our own wars?

What can we do?

1. We must realize that no Asian nation likes the thought of having white men fighting on their side. Sometimes in dire necessity they must call for aid, but as soon as they are strong enough they want us out.

Selfish? Yes. But we would not be there if we did not feel we were getting something out of it, would we? What we get out of it depends on how we handle ourselves during the crisis.

2. We must realize the mentality of the Asians in this respect, the whole history behind it. Then perhaps we will realize we must, for foreign and internal reasons, avoid this policy of direct intervention.

3. We must realize that not every revolution means a Communist expansion. Also, that a democratic form of government is not essential in having good relations with a nation and that a democratic government is necessarily the best form of government for everyone.

What does this mean in Vietnam. Vietnamization is the only policy that can be followed. But we alone cannot do it. Nor can we expect the Vietnamese to want to do it if we have already condemned them and this program to failure.

We must begin to withdraw gradually, with each withdrawal followed by intensive study of all factors before the next one begins.

We must exercise patience. We cannot expect to do this overnight. We are dealing with human beings and human institutions.

While we withdraw, any decrease in cost of running the war should be poured in to repairing the damages caused by war. Physical withdrawal does not mean we can then ignore the Vietnamese nation.

Meanwhile, at home, as much information favorable and unfavorable that is possible to release must be released. The Government, because of the past, must show that it can be honest. Dialog must become more frequent. You must realize that democracy to many of today's youth is a farce; it does not work. It is a con game carried on by a bunch of politicians.

Politicians must make themselves more aware of what the United States is doing. I and many other students cannot accept what appears to us as hypocrisy on the part of our leaders. Reversal of stands in mid-stream—excused by new “insight”—does more to weaken youths’ faith in our Government than you could imagine.

Vietnam is an international and domestic test for the United States. We can walk away; condone by omission a blood bath; shrug off responsibility for the destruction and live as an example of duplicity and cowardice to the world.

Or we can finish what we began; fulfill the promises we made and help restore what has been destroyed. As we do this we must

examine what we are, and what we want to be, see the world in a new light, adjust ourselves and help form a world that is independent of our control rather than one which despises its "benefactor."

MR. FINDLEY. Miss Mrsich, we are very grateful to you for this statement. During the luncheon break, one of our guests here told me that he wished the entire Nation could be listening in today to get a better appraisal of what student America is really like. Your statement, together with the other statements, presenting a variety of viewpoints today, would serve a valuable purpose if somehow the entire Nation could be listening in, especially the adult population. It's my hope that the report of these hearings we have held these past 2 days will be read by the leadership here on Capitol Hill and also by the President. While President Nixon, I know, would be disappointed and disagree with some of the views presented today, I know also that he would be reassured at the understanding of our system, the confidence that students have expressed in it, and, particularly in your case, the understanding that you've so clearly shown of the burdens of his office. Mr. Fascell.

MR. FASCELL. No questions, Mr. Chairman.

MR. FINDLEY. Mr. Boland.

MR. BOLAND. Miss Mrsich, what is your major?

MISS MRSICH. My major? History.

MR. BOLAND. I must say, you've done awfully well at it. Your statement is well prepared and beautifully delivered. I don't necessarily agree with all of it. But it certainly shows that you have given an awfully lot of time and thought to it, and long before you ever arrived here this morning to present it to this committee, and present it as well as you have, you apparently have been studying our foreign policies. As you indicated, the policies since 1945 don't seem to have changed much and you quote from Edwin Allen Carr's book "The New Society," that the foreign policy, as he describes it in his work, is the same today as it was in 1951 and sometime before 1951 when he wrote the book. You disagree with his summation of what our American foreign policy is?

MISS MRSICH. Do I disagree?

MR. BOLAND. Do you disagree with what Mr. Carr says is the guiding force of our American foreign policy?

MISS MRSICH. If I disagreed with it I wouldn't have used it. I think he made a very true point when he published it in 1951, and I think it still holds true to some extent today, although I see it changing with President Nixon's new policies on foreign affairs that have come out. I think the United States has presented to the population a program which has been, like so many of my fellow students say, wrapped in the American flag. Whereas within the Government chambers, more rational decisions are being made and the way these rational decisions are being made are never presented to the American public. What they do is they wrap them up nice and pretty and hand it to you when its time for elections and they never let you see exactly what is going on and what the true issues really are. And I think this is what Nixon is trying to do, but the whole thing is it's something that has been going on for 20 to 25 years, and people aren't that willing to believe anymore. Especially some of the American students.

Mr. BOLAND. Well, again, I want to compliment you on your statement, and some of the thoughts you expressed there I think have been well put and well expressed. Thank you very much. Incidentally, how large is Good Counsel College?

Miss MRSICH. We have about 500 girls.

Mr. BOLAND. Do you have a particular teaching order there?

Miss MRSICH. The Sisters of Divine Compassion do run the school but we have a large lay faculty.

Mr. BOLAND. Thank you very much.

Miss MRSICH. You are welcome, sir.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Hicks.

Mr. HICKS. I take it that, contrary to what we've heard from many students in the last couple of days that they aren't being heard, that you haven't felt that there was any great requirement for your voice to be heard. Is that correct? The system has gone along pretty well as far as you're concerned?

Miss MRSICH. I think the system has gone along pretty well, but I think any system has to revise itself periodically, and I don't think the youth necessarily are the ones to do it, but I think that once in awhile we can offer some pretty idealistic ideas that maybe could be incorporated practically by the people who are running the Government right now.

Mr. HICKS. Do you approve of these students who say that they want to get out and get involved politically in the elections this fall to espouse their point of view, whichever it may be?

Miss MRSICH. Definitely. I think that's the only way to do it.

Mr. HICKS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Fascell, any other questions? Any further questions? Thank you very much for your presentation.

Miss MRSICH. Thank you, sir.

Mr. FINDLEY. The next witness is Peter Burling. Is Peter Burling here, from Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio? Mr. Burling.

Mr. BURLING. Right.

Mr. FINDLEY. And you have some company too. Please identify your companions.

Mr. BURLING. This is David Bowman and Rick Mellott.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you. Mr. Burling.

Mr. BURLING. After sitting here for three hearings yesterday—to justify preformed and relatively inflexible positions.

STATEMENT BY PETER BURLING, OHIO WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY

Mr. BURLING. Silence is a crime. Ohio Wesleyan is no longer a bastion for Richard Nixon's silent majority. We have talked, and we are talking. We have demonstrated, and we will demonstrate. We have acted, and we will act. Demonstrations by students may be inadequate. However, they do not create a false, unfair impression of college youth. We are concerned and we are frustrated.

We are frustrated that our 190-year-old system has deteriorated to the point where it does not work. The system does not work when it depends upon a silent majority. The system does not work when, in theory, it is dedicated to peace, but in practice, perpetuates war

on fluctuating grounds—and eventually justifies war by saying we are at war to protect troops at war. We are frustrated when our Congressmen concern themselves with individual acts of violence spawned from large groups of people and overlook that large countries, especially the United States, intent on economic, political, and cultural domination of other countries spawn massive organized violence.

We are frustrated because our system has become a cop-out. It has forgotten the people. It has replaced the people with corporation lobbies. It has replaced representatives with professional politicians. It has encouraged competition to the extent that cooperation has been made almost impossible. It has replaced law with the pig ethic.

What is a pig? A pig sits. A pig is fed, but it doesn't care who feeds it. It doesn't grasp why it is fed. The more it is fed, the more it wants. The more it eats, the closer it gets to the slaughter. We are imperialists. We dominate other countries politically, economically, and culturally. If we don't stop feeding ourselves we will go blindly to the slaughterhouse. The good we could do in the world has been lost in our quest for greatness in the world. Mr. Nixon, Representatives, we will be defeated if you insist on carrying out the system of imperialism. The third world is being born. It is time we stopped being a Nation of gluttons. An immediate, complete withdrawal from Southeast Asia would not be a loss of face, but a change of face.

We at Ohio Wesleyan have left the towers of the university to start a revolution of participation. You must do the same. We have an organization of almost the entire student body involved in a campaign of public information. We are out to stop the pig from killing us, from killing the world.

We have been joined by a coalition of other schools in Ohio. Our purpose is to educate, to stimulate examination of the roles in Government, and to bring economic power on Washington, when words do not work.

The communities surrounding us are receptive. They greet information. They are beginning to notice that free debate is foiled in deletions from the record. The Senate debate on Laos by Mr. Ellender and Mr. Fulbright on December 15 was deleted. To the people that means that even their "representatives" are deleted. The system has grown so large that it cannot report to the people that gave birth to it.

Peaceful protest has been tried. Our reception has been limited to Beagle dogs, football scores, and excuses by the legislative branch for relinquishing their responsibilities to the executive.

What will happen? If violence increases, it is not the instigation of radicals; it is not a subversive "red" organization. It is because the system has become massively incompetent, rigidly foreboding, and lost to the people. These hearings could have been viable 5 years ago. Today they approach an academic exercise. Action is needed. You have heard our opinions. What will you do? Will you remain silent? Is Congress the home of the silent majority?

That is the end of my formal statement, which is relatively informal. I came from Ohio State yesterday morning. Ohio's hot. Schools are hot all over the Nation. One of the reasons they are hot is because we hear a lot of talk and no action, on either side. I'd

rather spend the rest of the time rapping and maybe really get through to this. There is no press here now. One of the men who works in one of the committees down the hall said they gave up in disgust. Then he said—Mr. Thomson's back, Mr. Fascell's back—and he said even the committee's given up in disgust. Then he said the gallery has given up in disgust, because the only people in the gallery that are here are going to testify. So, let's rap, and Mr. Fascell, you've been shaking so, let's talk.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Burling, I'm sure if anyone was dozing, you've at least awakened the audience here with these comments. Mr. Fascell.

Mr. FASCELL. I don't know who this news guy is that got disgusted and went down the hall. You know, you punch pretty good. I just wonder whether or not you can take a punch?

Mr. BURLING. Yeah, shoot.

Mr. FASCELL. Well, I'm not going to punch! [Laughter.]

Mr. BURLING. Okay. Well done. Well done.

Mr. FASCELL. It's not well done. It's not even humorous or funny. It's a question of basic philosophy. You can't tell me that you're going to educate me and then start out by telling me I'm a liar, I'm a cynic, and that I have prejudged the testimony.

Mr. BURLING. Wait a minute. I'm not here to educate you.

Mr. FASCELL. Then why did you come?

Mr. BURLING. I wanted to state my position. I wanted to tell you what a lot of other students are thinking today, Mr. Fascell. That's all.

Mr. FASCELL. Okay. You're punching again I'm not.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Boland.

Mr. BOLAND. Well, I would think, Mr. Burling, that you say you sat here a couple of days, and you think it's an exercise in frustration, it isn't worthwhile and, fortunately, this is not the opinion of a great number of students who have traveled many miles to come here. I think the very indication that there are Members of Congress who come and spend the time as we do—this is not an easy task in these days, whether you believe it or not—to spend the time we have spent yesterday and today to listen to college students, because we want to listen to them, because we think they have something constructive to offer. I don't know whether you have offered anything constructive here today, yourself, but I must say what has been offered by a great number who have come here has been listened to by not only members of the ad hoc committee, but other members who have been joining us during these past 2 days. You, apparently, don't like the system, it's a system of imperialism, it ought to be overturned.

Mr. BURLING. Not necessarily overturned, sir. I've been caught in the middle of all this violence in Ohio. I was not an activist. I worked for Ed May in Connecticut. He was a Republican. I saw a lot of frustration on the part of students, and I tried to get in so I could find out how students were thinking and express that—this frustration. I myself am not for a violent overthrow of the Government, but you hear a lot of talk about that today. You have a lot of kids going off the short end. But I think a lot of modifications have to be made. Because the third world is growing. I had a con-

versation with a man named Edward Borstein, who worked with Fidel Castro and Che, and he has been intimate in Latin America. The third world is being born and if we continue on a type of policy, whether we intend to dominate politically, culturally, and economically—whether we intend to or not, we are doing it. See, I mean we can have good intentions, but these basic policies, these basic attitudes, see, I really think have got to be reversed.

Mr. BOLAND. Well, I think it's fine to get your opinion. You've indicated that this 190-year-old institution of ours has deteriorated to the point where it doesn't work.

Mr. BURLING. Yeah, it doesn't work at all.

Mr. BOLAND. Well, in your opinion it doesn't work, and one of the reasons why Members of Congress are willing to listen to people like yourself and a lot of others is to find out what's wrong with it and how we can make it work and can we make it work better. I don't say it works perfectly—I don't think there is anyone in the establishment, or in the system, who thinks it works perfectly. But I don't know of any other form of government that works any better. Do you think it works any better in—

Mr. BURLING. No, no, I tried to make that clear before when I said Russia, to me, is just as bad.

Mr. BOLAND. Or Cuba?

Mr. BURLING. And Cuba has got its problems too. Everybody does. I think there's some things you can do to get closer to the people. I've worn a tie and coat all my life, until 2 weeks ago. I've been going to boarding schools. I took it off and I went into a factory. I didn't tell anybody who I was, whether I was a student or not. My hair was shorter then. My hair has grown out in 2 weeks. And I started to listen to people in the factory and their frustrations. I really went to the people—I took off the tie and coat for just 2 weeks. Two weeks, that's all that's happened. And I remember Ed May and Abe Ribicoff and their campaigns, and they're so far away from the people, it's not even funny. So far away. So perhaps you can get to them by changing the politics within each of your parties. That might be a good way. Having, in other words for instance when a man is nominated to run for office, the nomination is usually controlled by a relatively small number of people in the party and—you could have like a referendum—

Mr. FASCELL. That's absolutely not true.

Mr. BURLING. Well, I certainly can't say your politics represent peoples' opinion, that is, people en masse. They represent a small group. I've seen manipulations of them. In Chicago, I saw, and Florida.

Mr. FINDLEY. I guess Mr. Hicks is next. Is that correct? Do you have a question, Mr. Hicks?

Mr. HICKS. I just wanted to make the observation that if this young man wanted to get adrenaline running, he did. He was very effective.

Mr. BURLING. That's really what I wanted to do, so maybe you'd pop up on me and start thinking yourself.

Mr. HICKS. I will point out that this is a pretty big country and officeholders are selected in a great many ways so you can't very well generalize how nominees get selected. But I was just wonder-

ing, if you want to change things, it's fine to come here, and you say, well we already had our minds made up. Let's assume that we did have them made up. At least it gave the students who came, who wanted to come, an opportunity to all come and put these views in one focal spot instead of just having them spread out in their own community where they may be considered to be nuts anyway, as they frequently are, in some college communities.

Mr. BURLING. My followup to that, sir, is what are we going to do with these hearings? As you said, I've got adrenaline going. Maybe you don't feel like mine was a constructive thing, mine was an attack to get adrenaline going. What are you going to do with the constructive things? Are you going to cut out some of those that didn't agree with your opinions? How are you going to publicize these hearings?

Mr. HICKS. This group right here doesn't have one opinion. You've got six opinions.

Mr. BURLING. All right, I've got Mr. Findley's opinion. Okay. But let's work and publicize these hearings. So, what are you going to do? Are you going to drop them dead? You said let's get them here—you've got them here. What are you going to do with them now?

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Findley, do you want to answer that question?

Mr. FASCELL. I'd like to comment on that. As far as I'm concerned, no agreement has been reached. I got your psychological gambit when you started, before you finished your statement. And it works sometimes, and sometimes it doesn't work. But I don't think punching is a good way to have a dialog. And I don't think it comes in here very well-founded, for you to accuse me, because that's what you did, and I'm going to be human. You prejudged my position, and you don't know what it is. You prejudged my decision with respect to the publication of these statements that have been made, in order to elicit an answer, which you haven't gotten yet, because you don't know what my position is—but you prejudged it.

Mr. BURLING. Well, then, shoot your position.

Mr. FASCELL. The point is, why didn't you ask me outright, instead of accusing me?

Mr. BURLING. Go ahead. State your position. State it.

Mr. FASCELL. We haven't decided yet, as far as the panel is concerned, and I haven't decided, but if you want an answer right now I am very happy to give it to you. As far as I'm concerned, if we decide to publish it, I think we ought to publish all of the statements, period. We should not excerpt, we ought not to pick and select. We'll let somebody else do that who wants to read it, if they do want to read it. I'm not sure yet that I'm willing to go to the expense and trouble to publish, because this is a personal decision since it's not yet an official act of the Congress. This is an ad hoc panel. We felt it would be useful to have the hearings, that's all—to furnish a forum. Now, is there anything else you want to know.

Mr. BURLING. I'd like to see what Mr. Thomson has to say.

Mr. FINDLEY. Well, I'll have to introduce Congressman John Zwach of Minnesota who is sitting in for Mr. Thomson. John, we welcome you aboard, and you've heard a very stimulating statement here. Do you have any questions?

Mr. ZWACH. Well, Mr. Chairman, I just came in here when this gentleman was pretty well finished with his testimony, so I have no specific comment in regard to his statement.

Mr. FASCELL. Now if this was a clever plot to get us on record, you didn't have to be that clever.

Mr. BURLING. No. I was curious as to what this man would say.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Burling, we are rotating on this panel, as we have from the start, each member does have a chance to ask one question, and that's why I didn't interject my own thoughts at the very outset. The panel was organized by six Members who felt deeply that student opinion is valuable in this country, that it's a serious mistake for the adult community, that age group above the student group, to assume that there is a monolithic structure to "the students," so to speak. We felt that we should provide the best possible forum. We have no sanction, no funds, as a panel, and the question of publication of hearings involves money as well as other decisions. For my part, I would hope that we can put the statements made here in print and do it in full. I would be completely opposed to any selection as a means of rooting out views with which I didn't agree. But how far we can go, we don't as yet know. Personally, I am so deeply impressed with the quality of statements presented since the first, and I think your statement belongs in whatever report is made, that I am determined to do all I can to see that the complete hearings are printed and made widely available. Beyond that I can't report. But we do appreciate your appearance and we're trying to stay on schedule. Our time is up. Go ahead and make one final statement, and we'll call it quits.

Mr. BURLING. Okay. Perhaps I typify best the almost irrational frustration of students today. We're not going to reach those students, like myself, in a room like this. I have not got the answer, Mr. Fascell, and I'll admit that. But somehow or other, you and I both have got to reach these people because kids are talking violence, heavy violence, and I mean they don't know what the hell they're getting into. They probably haven't seen a dead man except on television. And it's going to get real hot this summer, and we've got to reach them before. Right?

Mr. FASCELL. I totally agree with that, and one of the big problems is going to be the inability to communicate on a broad basis in an identifiable manner at a college campus. It's going to be extremely difficult. It can be done. A group of Congressmen are now trying to arrange to go to the college campuses and have that kind of a dialog. Now how successful—

Mr. BURLING. Sir, we have an immediate suspicion of Congressmen that are running.

Mr. FASCELL. Yes, but we run all the time. You know that. You worked in Ed May's campaign. "Politicians," and I do not like to use the word derogatorily and don't really respect anyone who does—but politicians run all the time. What's wrong with that? You say you spent 2 weeks in a factory, talked with the people. Well, I've spent over 20 years doing the same thing. Now, maybe I've read them wrong and maybe I can't communicate. Maybe they can't communicate with me, and if so, I'm going to be a dead dodo come November and they'll get a smart man who knows how to communicate. What's wrong with that?

Mr. BURLING. I don't think people vote because a man communicates with them.

Mr. FASCELL. Well.

Mr. BURLING. Well, back to work with the money people, I guess.

Mr. FINDLEY. Glad you came, Mr. Burling.

Mr. FASCELL. He never took the chip off his shoulder.

Mr. FINDLEY. The next witness is Lawrence Sutherland. Is Mr. Sutherland here? Let's see, I don't have your identification. Are you in college or not? I think you are not, is that correct?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I have gone to Mohawk Valley Community College, Utica, N.Y.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you.

STATEMENT BY LAWRENCE SUTHERLAND

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Congressman Findley and members of the panel. I should first begin by saying thank you for this opportunity to speak to you today, and I sincerely hope that similar channels of communication are left open for at least the near future. This may not bridge the so-called generation or communication gap, but at least a good start is being made here today.

I came here today to speak about the Indochina war. I did not come here to make highly emotional moral judgments on the rightness or wrongness of the war, neither did I come to accuse anyone of facism, as unfortunately some in my peer group have. Rather I have come to present, what I believe to be, at least one sound argument against the war and the need for all sides to be heard on this issue.

In this conflict, which has lasted almost 10 years we are reminded time and time again of the need for our country to remain strong, to be a leader among nations. Those who support the President say that to pull out immediately or without first attaining a "Just Peace" would forfeit our right to be called a great Nation. But is victory—in this case a just peace—always synonymous with greatness? Let me read you an opinion on this that appeared in last Friday's Evening Star, by syndicated columnist Carl Rowan.

Victory Doesn't Always Equal Greatness

As the agony continues over American involvement in Indochina, one grim question beclouds the prospects for American withdrawal:

How can the United States continue to be "a great power," "a first-class nation," if she walks out of this struggle with anything short of victory?

President Nixon has said that if the United States accepts "the first defeat in its proud 190-year history" it would prove itself "unworthy to lead the forces of freedom in this critical period."

Pleading for public support for the venture into Cambodia, the President explained:

"It is not our power but our will and character that is being tested tonight. The question all Americans must ask and answer tonight is this: Does the richest and strongest nation in the history of the world have the character to meet a direct challenge by a group which rejects every effort to win a just peace, ignores our warnings, tramples on solemn agreements, violates the neutrality of an unarmed people and uses our prisoners as hostages?"

Millions of Americans surely found those words a powerful argument for supporting "Operation Total Victory." Who can deny that this Nation's future influence in much of the world is partly at stake in Indochina. Our strength, our integrity, our morality, our compassion—all these and more will be seen by the world as clues to our claim to leadership.

But the patriotic urge to have our country remain "a world power" can blind many of us to the true dimensions of leadership in these times.

We take such pride in calling our country the "strongest nation in the history of the world" that we overlook the reality that the United States is far from omnipotent.

The last 5 years have taught us that, unless we are prepared to unleash thermonuclear war, the United States is not a great power in the conventional military sense. We simply cannot cope with ground struggles against the North Vietnamese, the Viet Cong and perhaps the Chinese, even as we help protect Korea and Europe.

So there are some stark limitations on the amount of "leadership" a nation can maintain today through military force alone.

If the ability to crush other countries with tanks and bayonets were the key to leadership, the Soviet Union would be far ahead of us. From Estonia to East Germany, in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, Russia clearly has taught us a thing or two about subduing and subjugating the weak.

But who knows better than the Kremlin just how fragile are these victories of "leadership" that must be nervously safeguarded by occupying armies?

I want America to be a leader, too, although I confess to wondering whether the average American knows as much happiness and fulfillment as, say, the average citizen of Great Britain, whose power has faded along with her empire.

I am certain of one thing: Not even our nuclear arsenals can force the world to hold us worthy to lead "the forces of freedom" if in striving to prove our wickedness and stupidity at home.

If we become a racial hellhole, with blacks being shot down in the flaming streets of Augusta, Ga.

If we become a sinkhole of fear and oppression, with students being shot down on campuses and war protesters being beaten by self-styled patriots while the police look on in amusement * * *.

If we ignore the hungry and harassed of our land and turn a deaf ear to the sick and needy of neighboring lands * * *.

* * * No one will be following, however many scalps we manage to bring out of Southeast Asia.

In these critical times, proving a worthiness to lead involves a lot more than capturing a Cambodian sanctuary. To forget that, is to cause this Nation to lose its soul while trying to protect its ego.

I think Mr. Rowan's article is worth careful consideration, not just by those who support the President on Indochina, but by some of those who would call for a policy of isolationism. The United States I believe, should help other countries in time of need, but we must face the reality that the military force has proven no real solution.

As a practical solution to extricating ourselves from Indochina, and one that will best heal our divided Nation at home, I feel that the McGovern-Hatfield amendment to the Military Procurement Authorization bill is the best solution presently under consideration. Unfortunately I don't believe this amendment is very well understood or even known to the average American, the so-called great silent majority.

When the Gallop or Harris people do a survey and ask the American people their opinion on the war, we almost always have a majority supporting the President. In New Jersey and Virginia we recently have seen supporters of the President's policy elected Governor of their State. And while these elections certainly involved more than support or opposition to the President's policy in Southeast Asia the indication seems to be that most Americans, and particularly the average middle-American, does support President Nixon in his conduct of the Indochina conflict. Specifically, most Americans—with a sizable minority dissenting—favor the gradual withdrawal of American troops as the South Vietnamese army

becomes better able to take over the fighting. A policy which could take years to complete, with highly questionable results.

This brings me to the main point of my message to you today. What I propose is this: That some weekend in June, preferably the 6th and 7th, the American people be given the opportunity to hear all of the options for a settlement to the Vietnam war by responsible spokesmen. If presenting all of the solutions would not prove feasible then possibly the debate, or weekend of reevaluation, should center on the two most obvious alternatives: The Hatfield-McGovern resolution and the President's stated policy of Vietnamization.

To implement this "Weekend of Reevaluation" free television time should be given for a debate between the two opposing sides and every effort made to reach the largest possible audience. In order to reach as large an audience as possible, President Nixon, himself, should communicate to the American people the necessity of such a reevaluation and debate. If his present policy is really sound, then he should have no fear of a loss of public support. If it isn't then the President, who represents a government of the people and by the people should consider another policy in Vietnam.

In conjunction with a forum on the national level, efforts should be made through local governments to educate their citizens on the war through debates among civic leaders and actual facts on the war not normally brought to the public attention.

It should be made important that this weekend become not just another time for protest, but a time for rational discussion of where we are and where we may be going under our present policy in Vietnam.

After the weekend is over, the people should write their Congressmen particularly their Representative, expressing their approval or disapproval of the President's Vietnam policy.

Surely this is a fair and honest approach to a problem that has divided our Nation along ideological lines for too long.

I would be the last to guarantee the success of such a forum, public apathy and maintaining the status quo are always hard to alter. Counterproductive demonstrations in the past have also tended to make communication between opposing sides difficult, if not impossible.

But if our country is a true democracy, with majority rule and the right of minority opinion to be heard, then the time for such a forum is long overdue.

I thank you for this time and hope that you will give this proposal your thoughtful consideration.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you, Mr. Sutherland. Well presented and well timed. Mr. Fascell.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Sutherland, it is an interesting proposal. Of course, we need the widest public debate, discussion and understanding of all the issues and certainly the one that is the most important should receive the kind of attention you are talking about. I would hope we could increase the dialog in every possible way among the people of the United States in order to arrive at a fundamental decision as rapidly as possible.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. May I ask the committee something?

Mr. FASCELL. Sure.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Is this committee in any way, as I understand it, empowered, or in a position, that it could recommend to the President such a proposal as I've outlined?

Mr. FASCELL. Anybody can recommend to the President. We on this panel could do so individually and, if we decided to do so, as a panel, could make a recommendation to the President. What we will do in that case, I have no idea, but any of us have the right to individually. We are not an official committee of the Congress. We're an ad hoc group. I'd like to just ask you a question, if I may—turn it around a little bit. I'm curious. You were here when Mr. Burling was before the committee, weren't you, the man that just preceded you?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Yes.

Mr. FASCELL. He stated that he was extremely nervous in appearing here. Can you tell me why? I should have asked him if I had the chance.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Actually, I think I'd have to agree with him myself.

Mr. FASCELL. Do you feel that way, yourself?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Well, I did in the beginning, but I'm not quite so nervous now.

Mr. FASCELL. I'm sorry I missed the opportunity to ask him because I think we got off on the wrong foot.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Boland.

Mr. BOLAND. What about your—yours is a community college, I take it?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Well, I did attend Mohawk Valley Community College up in Utica, N.Y.

Mr. BOLAND. How old are you, incidentally?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. I'm 20. And I did attend that last year, but the Army gave me a place and I served there for 3½ months until I got a medical discharge because of my knee.

Mr. BOLAND. Well, how hot is the campus at your college?

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Well, when I was there it was more like lukewarm. I wouldn't call it actually anything. I think there was more apathy than any kind of involvement. I can attest to this from personal experience. Last year I attempted two projects on the campus in conjunction with the Circle K organization on the campus. One was an aid to Biafra campaign and the other was to lower the voting age to 18. And neither of these got any mass support from the students. Now, back in November I was up there and they did have a moratorium rally and about two, possibly three or four hundred out of a student body of about 2,000 participated or didn't go to classes. Now, if the situation is changed, I don't know. I haven't been up there in a half-year.

Mr. BOLAND. Thank you very much.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Zwach.

Mr. ZWACH. No questions. I'm a good listener.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Sutherland, your statement is not completely unique, but I would say in a class, a rather select group among those who have appeared, because you have made a specific proposal, and I appreciate that very much. It's one of perhaps 10 specific proposals that have been presented to us which are each, in my view,

new at least. It was my hope, and I'm sure the hope of the other members of the panel, that something new and constructive and helpful could emerge from these 2 days of hearings. Your statement helps to assure that that will be the case. Thank you very much.

Mr. SUTHERLAND. Thank you very much.

Mr. FINDLEY. The next witness is Steve Orlov. Steve Orlov of Colby College, Waterville, Maine. Steve, you're welcome.

Mr. ORLOV. This is William Alford.

STATEMENT BY STEPHEN R. ORLOV, PRESIDENT OF STUDENT GOVERNMENT, COLBY COLLEGE

Mr. ORLOV. I am here today because you asked me to come, and because I believe that you gentlemen sitting before me have a sincere and concerned interest in what the youth of our country are trying to say and do. I congratulate you and I thank you for this concern.

But in coming here today, I am asking for more than concern from you. It is a long step to travel between concern and constructive action. I do not question that President Nixon has a concern for student opinion; I do not question that President Nixon has a concern for the welfare of our country; and I do not question that President Nixon has a concern for the people of Vietnam. What I do question is the basic logic and motive behind his concept of constructive action.

I would like to classify myself as an average student in this country. I am frustrated. I have not yet reached the point at which I will resort to violence; however, I know I am approaching that point as time goes on. This feeling has stemmed from my educational development. I am not as ignorant or as naive as I once was. As my education continues to broaden and grow, I see myself becoming more and more objective. Because of this objectivity, I question what I am told, no matter who may say it. I speak out and I dissent and I demonstrate when I feel that something is wrong. Well, I know something is wrong. Our Government realizes we do not belong in Vietnam. They admit it. Yet, the fact remains that we are still there.

Our President is seeking a military solution to a political problem. Cambodia did not have a large army because its former ruler operated by persuasion and negotiation. For 15 years—or until the United States presence finally forced a broadening of the war base into Cambodia—that small country was neutral and peaceful.

Our Government is supporting in Thieu a dictator who shut down the newspapers and the universities, and who jails his political opponents. The runner-up in the "election," a Vietnamese patriot, Mr. Dzu, sits in a Saigon jail, along with the president of student government of Saigon University.

Some say we are in Vietnam to fight Communism. Well, I question what they mean by Communism. The Vietnamese people who are fighting the Saigon government are not the friends of Red China. In fact, they have been fighting the Chinese for 1,000 years. Ho Chi Minh was not fighting for Red China; he was not fighting for a worldwide Communist movement; he was fighting for Vietnam and for the Vietnamese people.

I strongly believe that the Chinese actually hope that the United States will remain in Vietnam. They realize the internal problems arising within our country because of this action; they realize that by staying there we are quickly losing the position of respect we once had in the world; and moreover, it allows them the opportunity to have an increasing influence in Vietnam for the simple reason that as long as the United States backs the Saigon government, the Vietcong must depend upon military aid from China. This dependency on the part of the North Vietnamese stems from the fact that they must fight Americans; it does not stem from a need of help to fight South Vietnamese. The best way to prevent Red China from increasing its influence in Vietnam is for America to withdraw all her forces from Southeast Asia and allow the South Vietnamese and the North Vietnamese to unite in whatever way the majority so desires.

In saying this, you must realize that I put no faith at all in President Nixon's Vietnamization of the war. The Saigon government is corrupt; it is unstable; and of most importance, it does not have the support of the people of Vietnam. It simply cannot and should not exist now or when we do leave Vietnam. As for the mass-slaughter so strongly prophesized by President Nixon—The people we are fighting in Vietnam have been fighting against the Japanese, the French, and now the Americans for 25 years. Their countryside is destroyed, their villages are burnt and bombed continually, they have no economy, and peace has only been known to many of them as a goal they are striving for, rather than as a reality in which they have lived. They are not interested in killing off the remaining Vietnamese. Yet, even if there are some Vietnamese who do fear for their lives once the United States withdraws, then we could offer them asylum. After all, they are just as human as Americans.

The rights and wrongs of our intervention in Southeast Asia are the subject of continuing debate by you gentlemen in our Congress. Simply stated, our purpose supposedly was to buy the people of Vietnam time to build a country. But in doing that very act, we are dictating to the people of Vietnam exactly what image they should mold their country into. We do not have that right.

Moreover, we have bought that time at a tremendous cost to ourselves in an inflationary economy; in an internal political-intellectual conflict; and in the lives of Americans and Vietnamese.

The leaders of our Nation have made many promises to us, yet the action which soon follows has too often been contrary to those very promises. Just 10 days before his Cambodian speech, the President made another speech, announcing the withdrawal of 150,000 more troops in the next 12 months. He said he made the decision after full consultation with his commanders in the field. He expressed no reservations, no doubts, no security risks to the troops. The President told us that negotiations are the key to a settlement of the war. And yet, just 10 days later, he told us that the Cambodia venture was indispensable to that troop withdrawal and to the attainment of peace in Vietnam.

Our Government has lied to us about our military involvement in Laos. I read in the papers that American soldiers were not in Laos;

yet, I also spoke to a Marine lieutenant who had been wounded in combat duty there last year. In view of these happenings, how can anyone expect me to believe what is being said by our governmental leaders? I can no longer listen to their rhetorical promises; I can only judge by concrete action and results.

And so I am here today asking you where are these concrete actions? It is exactly this that student dissent is asking you today. You question why the student movement is tending toward violence more and more. Well, one could compare it to the experience of riding in an airplane with a man who has his elbow jutting into your throat. You feel the pain and the pressure, so you ask him to remove his elbow from your throat. Yet, his ears seem to be closed, so you ask a bit louder. Again there is no response, so you start demanding that he stop it. You begin making threats, but again there is no response. There is nowhere to run and you are choking to death. The only alternative left open to you is to push him away.

Well, I personally am not pushing him back yet; I have not resorted to violence, yet; but I am screaming loudly in his face telling him to get out of Vietnam. It has been 7 years now, and I do not know how much more pressure or pain I can take before I begin pushing back.

Yes, gentlemen, I come here today to ask you what shall I do?

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Fascell. There is a question mark at the end of that last sentence, so maybe you have the answer for him.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Orlov. It's a very fine statement, obviously given with a great deal of commitment, conviction and emotion. Who will you push back? Because that's important, it seems to me, the whole point.

Mr. ORLOV. Well, it seems to me there are three alternatives open to the students in this country and to the people who are fighting for peace. They can either sit back, and continue the status quo, or they can demonstrate peacefully, or they resort to violence. Now what I'm questioning is the results we have gotten from demonstrating peacefully.

Mr. FASCELL. Maybe they have been counterproductive. I don't know. I haven't been able to evaluate it myself. I'm not sure that a violent demonstration would be productive, it might be counterproductive. That's the reason I asked you, in your illustration at the end of your statement, who are you going to push back in order to get your way? Because that's important. If you said, "Well, now wait a minute, Congressman Fascell, you don't agree with me so I'm going to go out and get hold of you. Next time we'll have a new representative up there," I would understand your point easily.

Mr. ORLOV. It's too slow of a process.

Mr. FASCELL. Too slow of a process. That's what I was afraid of and that's the message I got with this other thing. So the way to effect change is to go around all the elected representatives some way?

Mr. ORLOV. No, the way to do it is to make your views known as quickly as possible.

Mr. FASCELL. Without having to wait for the November election.

Mr. ORLOV. Well, it's been 7 years now.

Mr. FASCELL. I see. O.K. I'm trying to grasp that point. In other words, the issue wasn't hot enough in the last congressional elections in order to get Congress to act?

Mr. ORLOV. That's right.

Mr. FASCELL. But it is hot enough in this congressional election coming up in November. But that's too slow a process, by the time the Congress gets back in—reconvenes in January or February, it will be too late—is that the point? In other words, this is the last clear chance, as you see it? That's what I'm trying to find out.

Mr. ORLOV. Well, in coming here today I've tried to express the frustration of the students in this country.

Mr. FASCELL. I think you've done that extremely well. As student after student has done here.

Mr. ORLOV. Are you questioning whether or not I feel that the election coming up in November is our last chance?

Mr. FASCELL. No, no. What I meant was, I passed over the theory of replacing the men in Congress who do not support your point of view. You said that's too slow. So I've tried to relate that to the coming election in November. Then I was trying to find out from you whether the last clear chance for the Congress to act was between now and November in your view? That's what I was trying to get at.

Mr. ORLOV. Well, it depends—

Mr. FASCELL. You see the new Congress won't come in, obviously until after the 1st of January.

Mr. ORLOV. Maybe what I'm trying to say is this. What we're trying to do—I don't know if you want to use the word such as pressure, it's the only word I can relate to—

Mr. FASCELL. That's all right. There's nothing wrong with pressure. We live with it all the time. Sure, use it.

Mr. ORLOV. Well, this is the thing we are trying to place upon the Congressmen right now, and what I'm trying to say is that for 7 years now we've tried to do this peacefully, and we haven't seen many results.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Boland.

Mr. BOLAND. You've seen no results at all, you don't think?

Mr. ORLOV. I've seen some results, but I've heard a lot of promises.

Mr. BOLAND. I think one of the dangers, Steve, and I can appreciate your position, and I would hope that some of us could help you push back the pressure and the pain that you experience and you ask—what shall I do? I guess, doing what you are doing. Demonstrating, by getting involved personally perhaps, in campaigns that might change the makeup, or the image, of not only this body, but other bodies. You think that process takes too long though. And I don't think it can be done by violence, and I don't know whether you really deeply believe that it can be done by violence. It's simple. Violence begets violence. There isn't any question about that. There are a great number of people today who are concerned with violence, and they are not very easy to handle either. So, I don't think you attain the objective by resorting to it. I think, perhaps, it takes awhile, which is what people are disturbed about. There's no question about that. But that again is part of the process of the system with which we live and the change has to come, I think, through non-

violent methods rather than through violent methods. Now, I can understand, and you know I admire your passion and your emotion and that you are deeply involved in this, and I think that's good. But I think you have to look at it dispassionately too.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hicks.

Mr. BOLAND. Do you want to respond?

Mr. FINDLEY. Excuse me, please go ahead.

Mr. ORLOV. Well, maybe I can try to relate it to the racial problems in the country. For 200 years the black people sat back, and did nothing. You saw what that got them. Now they are starting to demonstrate, and they are resorting to violence to a certain extent. And they are making people aware of their problem, making people aware of the suppression that is being placed upon them. Again, what we're trying to do is to express to you as loudly as possible the frustration we are going through, and it just seems that we haven't been able to do that through peaceful means. Because Congress hasn't responded to us yet.

Mr. BOLAND. Well, you are saying Congress has not responded to you yet. I think there has been great response for the position and the feelings that you hold on both sides of this Capitol. A few years ago, you know, you could count them on the fingers of both hands. But I think actually this has grown because people have become concerned and they have been impressed by the way in which those who oppose particular policies that are enunciated by the Government do it the right way. I think it hurts your cause, and it certainly hurts the cause of those of us who are in the Congress, or those who are in the Congress, who feel as you do, to resort to violent methods to obtain that objective. That's one way you can't attain it. Now, you say well, all of these changes come too lately, they're too slow. Yet the progress this Nation has made over the past years in areas of health, welfare, education, poverty—I think we've made tremendous strides here. Now we haven't solved all our problems, and I guess probably a lot of them are not soluble, but the fact of the matter is that this body has responded, I think, in rather dramatic fashion in a number of these areas that you're interested in, that the blacks are interested in, and so many Members of Congress are interested in. But we don't do it because there has been a violent demonstration, because we fear the violence. I don't think we react to the violence. I think we do react to an expression of public opinion that carries with it the kind of weight that dedicated people such as you carry. I think we get more accomplished that way and I'm concerned that in violent demonstrations, of course, the reaction is just the opposite. And I don't think we get very far with violent demonstrations.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hicks.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Orlov, you're from a Maine college. Supposing that you demonstrated violently in Maine, whom would you hope to change? In Maine? Mr. Fascell from Florida probably doesn't get too concerned over the violence that you may perpetrate in Maine, so you've got to be directing your actions at somebody. I notice you're from Hull, Mass. Who represents Hull?

Mr. ORLOV. Excuse me.

Mr. HICKS. Who represents Hull in the House of Representatives—do you know? Hull, Mass.? That's where it says your home is.

Mr. BOLAND. I would think it would be Congressman Burke. Aren't you around Nantasket?

Mr. ORLOV. That's right.

Mr. BOLAND. Either him or Hastings Keith.

Mr. ORLOV. Mr. Keith, I believe.

Mr. HICKS. With violence, could you change his views? Would you want to change his views, Mr. Keith's views?

Mr. ORLOV. Certainly.

Mr. HICKS. Is he opposed to your view, do you think? Or do you even know?

Mr. ORLOV. No, I don't know him. Most of my political activity has been in Maine.

Mr. HICKS. Well, who in Maine do you want to change?

Mr. ORLOV. Well.

Mr. HICKS. You don't want to change Mr. Kyros, you don't want to change Mr. Hathaway, you don't want to change Senator Muskie.

Mr. ORLOV. We had Mrs. Smith and Mr. Muskie up at Colby the other weekend. I wrote a telegram asking them to come, and I had it signed by the presidents of the student governments in every single college and university in the State. It was a very frustrating thing, because I had to stand up at the podium next to Mrs. Smith and repeat the questions that were being asked to her from the students. I had met her a few minutes before, and I had some feeling for the woman, yet she wasn't relating to the questions being asked. I mean, when you consider how much power, and how much respect this woman has in the Senate, I just wonder what our Congressmen are doing. She simply could not relate to the questions being asked her.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Orlov, I'm sorry that the time for your participation is gone, but we do appreciate your being here, and we feel you have made a very dramatic presentation.

The next witness is Marc Krizack of Johns Hopkins University. Mr. Krizack.

STATEMENT BY MARC LEE KRIZACK, JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

Mr. KRIZACK. America's involvement in the Vietnam war has forced many people to reevaluate our foreign policy in order to see where that policy errs and where it is in need of revision. It is my contention that a drastic revision is needed in American foreign policy if we are to avoid future Vietnam-like situations and if we are to create a world in which America can maintain her leadership role.

America's foreign policy has been based, in part, on three interrelated ideas. The first is what Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. calls "Stimsonianism," the view that "an orderly world requires a single durable structure which must everywhere be protected against aggression." The Stimsonian view declares that aggression must not be allowed to go unpunished, or it will quickly spread to other countries, destroying the world order. Related to Stimsonianism is what is known as liberal evangelism, America's selfrighteous view of her saving mission to the world. Stimsonianism and liberal evangelism flow together in America's almost pathological anticommunism.

It is here that the hypocrisy of American foreign policy is blatantly revealed. The United States claims to be fighting in Vietnam to preserve the right of a free people to determine their own destiny. The United States' saving mission is to protect the people of South Vietnam against Communist aggression and to spread the American political arrangement of liberal democracy. Yet it is quite obvious that America does not aid the spread of liberal democracy. Time and time again we have given our support to corrupt military regimes around the world. In South Vietnam itself, beginning with Diem, the United States has set up a long succession of puppet dictatorships right up to the present Thieu-Ky regime. These regimes in South Vietnam have been but a few of the military dictatorships actively supported by the United States. The constitutional government of Brazil was overthrown by a military coup in 1964 with the aid of the CIA. In Brazil today there are some 20,000 political prisoners, most of which have met torture in one form or another. The United States gives aid to Greece where a repressive, fascist, military dictatorship has removed the democratic freedoms of speech and the press while the jails overflow with political prisoners.

In Latin America the United States gives military and economic aid to those governments which will protect American business interests. We attempt to overthrow those governments that seek to nationalize property and socialize natural resources. Political scientist Richard J. Barnet argues that the American view of the world situation is that "order and stability, however unjust or undemocratic, are to be preferred to political turmoil or revolution." It can hardly be argued that political order and stability do not serve America's interests. Yet America's present course of action can only lead to further instability and will be detrimental to America's interests. Military dictatorships and political repression maintain order and stability for only a short period of time, for they will strengthen the opposition, increase its supporters and thus create the seeds of a regime's own destruction.

Vietnam is only the first of what will most likely be many wars of national liberation. Latin America looks as if it will be the staging area for the next of such wars against the United States. In fighting a guerrilla enemy, the United States will be forced to fight a limited war unless we are willing to continue that uniquely American experience of destroying a country in order to save it. This seems quite unlikely since we would not be willing to destroy the very natural resources which we seek to control. If the United States decides to resist the attempts of these underdeveloped nations to nationalize industries and socialize resources and determine their own destinies, then we will most likely find ourselves in other Vietnam-like situations.

If America is to avoid future Vietnams, and if we are to follow a course of action which will be in our own best interests, then we must reexamine our Nation's role in the world in order to determine what actually is in our national interests.

The Stimsonian view of the world in which America plays the role of policeman against aggression must be discarded. Instead, the United States must view the world as tripolar. Instead of confronting all aggressors, we should confront only Russia and China

where their aggression threatens the United States. America's foreign policy must also be purged of its staunch anticommunism. Communism is no longer the monolith which it once was. In Vietnam, China, and Czechoslovakia we have seen that communism is second to nationalism.

If America is to avoid the potential Vietnams which lie so near in the future, then we are going to have to side with nationalist movements. This may mean relinquishing economic holdings. But as long as these holdings are relinquished to nationalistic regimes, even if they are Communist, America will not be endangered since the tripolar world balance of power will be preserved.

Ever since World War II, the United States has chosen military intervention rather than negotiations vis-a-vis countries that come into conflict with America's stated national interest. We are just not accustomed to real negotiations. In Vietnam, Cuba, the Dominican Republic and other countries around the world, the United States chose a path of coercion over noncoercion, because it was seemingly the easier path to follow. America has often intervened militarily when there has been a weakening of the internal political situation in an underdeveloped country. It is time that America learned to deal with her own power. America is left with only two viable alternatives. The first is to engage in political-institution building. If we choose this path, then we must seek to establish well-organized, broadly based, independent, complex political systems in place of the unstable, fractured, and narrowly based personalistic regimes we presently support.

Or, we can take the advice of General David Shoup who said, "If we would keep our dirty, bloody, dollar-crooked hands out of the affairs of these nations, they would arrive at a solution of their own."

Whatever America chooses to do, it will be to no avail if 64 percent of our taxes continue to be spent for military purposes. America is facing a massive problem in housing, education and health, not to mention the environmental crisis.

It would be a mistake for us to return to our pre-World War I isolationist state, yet it would be disastrous for us to continue at our present level of involvement around the world. If America is to survive, we must encourage the development of the backward nations into independent modern states, independent of not only China and the Soviet Union, but independent of the United States as well.

Mr. FINDLEY. I think we left off questioning with Mr. Hicks, so I'll start with Mr. Thomson.

Mr. THOMSON. No questions.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Zwach, do you have a question?

Mr. ZWACH. I just want to say that I appreciated your statement.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Boland.

Mr. BOLAND. I think you have a very scholarly statement here and apparently you put some time into it. What is your major?

Mr. KRIZAK. Prelaw, political science.

Mr. BOLAND. You apparently put some study into the foreign policy of the United States, and I think you raise an interesting question, that our policy ought to be—did you say tripolar?—in the United States and Russia and China. As I say, it's an interesting

point. It's a point that I think can be well taken. I don't know now that the United States is actually engaged in what is called or what Arthur Schlesinger and you refer to here as the Stimsonian policy. I think this was probably true and may be true to some extent today, but I think we're gradually moving away from it. As I understand the policy, it's one where we are to be the policemen of the world. Is this it?

Mr. KRIZAK. Yes.

Mr. BOLAND. I think there have been enough declarations by people who serve in both branches of the Congress, the Senate and House side, that this is not to be the policy of the United States, although they do express some concern that it has been. But hopefully this policy is changing. I don't know of anyone in the political leadership of either party in the legislative branch of Government that really contends that we have to be the policemen of the world. I think you make a good point, and I would think though that the majority of those that are here would agree with you. As I say, I'm interested in your comments that the United States ought to view the world as tripolar. I think we're trying to do that. I think we do have problems of confrontation in some parts of the world. What about the Middle East—do you have any opinions on it? What should be the confrontation there?

Mr. KRIZAK. In the Middle East I'm in favor of an imposed settlement only because I see the only real solution as one side winning and the other side losing, because if both sides feel they're right, it's a question of one side being pitted to destroy the other side. Israel is for preservation, the Arab States feeling justified because of loss of their homeland, et cetera. So I'm in favor of an imposed settlement because it will save lives for the time being.

Mr. BOLAND. Thank you again for your statement. I think it was well done, well presented, with a lot of thought. Thank you.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hicks.

Hr. HICKS. No questions.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Krizak, you state your support for an imposed settlement in the Middle East. What force would impose the settlement?

Mr. KRIZAK. It would probably have to be a neutral type of thing such as was arranged through the Geneva accord with Poland or Canada, some type of group. In terms of what, a military force?

Mr. FINDLEY. You made the statement that you favored an imposed settlement and that presumes some supranational authority or at least an outside authority to impose certain conditions and make them stick.

Mr. KRIZAK. The big four powers are in favor of an imposed settlement and if they would be willing to commit neutral troops I should think that would impose a settlement.

Mr. FINDLEY. You state, I think very properly, that if America is to survive we must encourage the development of the backward nations into independent, modern states. That I would assume presupposes that we would also do anything reasonable at least to protect their independence in order for them to be independent states. And if that's the case, the dilemma that confronted President Kennedy, President Johnson, and now President Nixon in regard to

South Vietnam is that South Vietnam seems to be under a threat from outside the borders of that nation. So you have a dilemma.

Mr. KRIZAK. I disagree with that. Article nine of the Geneva accords says that military demarcation would in no way mean a political boundary. Vietnam is one country, and when I talk about full independence I only consider aggression from another country. North and South Vietnam are one country, and if it's going to be a Communist government, it's going to be a Communist government. And we should not intervene in the sovereign affairs of another country.

Mr. FINDLEY. I must say a pretty persuasive case can be made for the contention that most of the recent day problems of U.S. foreign policy have related to these so-called artificial states like South Vietnam, South Korea, Israel and so on. Well, I thank you very much for your statement. Are there any other questions?

Mr. KRIZAK. Would we have time just to speak a little bit about what was said previously about the liabilities of the political system—

Mr. FINDLEY. Please do.

Mr. KRIZAK. I was just listening to some of the comments. Mr. Hicks asked about the relation of the draft and student dissent. First I'd like to say that people right now are starting to look beyond the Vietnam war. A lot of students are saying we'll get out of Vietnam one way or another. Nixon's going to have to get us out one way or another. The question is which way do you want to get out? But I think now that students are looking beyond Vietnam and are seeing Vietnam as only a manifestation of a real problem. People are looking to a system that has been unresponsive to the needs of the people. Now you talked about violence begetting violence, and you seem to place the responsibility on those, on dissenters for violence. I'd like to suggest that there's been violence in America ever since the beginning of our history. I would say that the violence of a child not having enough to eat is just as drastic as the violence of an American soldier shooting a Vietnamese person. It's just more subtle—that's why it's probably much less noticed. I think that you talk about, we have a chance to work against you in elections, but I think that doesn't matter because I think an elected official does not serve just those who elect him. He serves everybody, those who elect him, those who vote against him, every one of the people. I would suggest to him that with approximately 30 million people in America living inadequately, America is not serving the needs of the people and never has. The only violence you're talking about is the violence of people finally waking up to the problem and saying, "Look, it's not going to happen any more." I suggest that if you want to stop this country from the open violence that you're talking about, you have to stop the violence that's being created by the system itself, violence that does not allow poor people a chance to improve themselves, the violence of people not having enough to eat, enough clothing, enough shelter, violence that spends all our money on the military and not enough on the domestic needs of the people. I'll say that if you are really concerned about preventing violence that is caused by dissent you'll solve the problems that are created which dissenters are dissenting against.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Krizak, we appreciate very much your additional comments too.

The next witness is Harold Gordon of Drew University, Madison, N.J. Is Mr. Gordon here?

STATEMENT BY HAROLD C. GORDON, DREW UNIVERSITY

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, I come before you today as a college student and a concerned American citizen to express both my support for President Nixon's position on Cambodia and my sharp disagreement with the student protests and disorders which have erupted across this Nation in recent weeks. It is my opinion that the President's action was a decisive step toward ending the war in Southeast Asia and as such deserves the support of all Americans.

When President Nixon began his term of office last year he faced a situation in Vietnam which was perhaps best described by the late Senator Robert Kennedy in his book "To Seek a Newer World":

Withdrawal now is impossible. The overwhelming fact of American intervention has created its own reality. All the years of war have profoundly affected our friends and adversaries alike, in ways we cannot measure and perhaps cannot know. Moreover, tens of thousands of individual Vietnamese have staked their lives and fortunes on our presence and protection: civil guards, teachers and doctors in the villages; mountain tribesmen in the high country; many who work for the present benefit of the people, who have not acceded to the Vietcong even though they may not support the Saigon government. Many have once already fled from the dictatorship of the North. These people, old in their ways and strengths submerged by the American presence, cannot suddenly be abandoned to the forcible conquest of a minority.

For these and other reasons, the President concluded that the only way in which the United States could honor its commitment to the people of South Vietnam and still work toward a settlement of the conflict was through a twofold policy consisting of Vietnamization and the withdrawal of American troops, while at the same time making every effort to engage in meaningful negotiations with the North Vietnamese representations in Paris; our only nonnegotiable point being the right of self-determination for the people of South Vietnam. Since President Nixon announced that course of action in May of last year, he has withdrawn 115,000 American troops from Vietnam. The Communists have responded to this gesture with propaganda at the peace tables and in the field with increased infiltration into Laos and Cambodia as well as into South Vietnam. This reaction to his efforts was duly noted by the President and during an address to the Nation on April 20 of this year in which he announced the proposed withdrawal of 150,000 more troops by 1971, he repeated a warning he had given on two earlier occasions that if increased enemy activity threatened the safe withdrawal of our forces he would not hesitate to take "strong and effective" measures to deal with the situation.

Ten days later, the President took such action. In a televised address to the American people he announced that in reply to an appeal for aid from the Cambodian Government he had authorized a joint American and South Vietnamese expedition into Cambodia aimed at those areas which the North Vietnamese had gradually converted into strategic sanctuaries over the past 5 years and had

recently expanded for the purpose of launching a major offensive against the Allied forces in South Vietnam. The President stressed that this was not an invasion of Cambodia inasmuch as the offensive would be directed solely against those areas occupied by the estimated 40,000 North Vietnamese troops who, by their presence, had flagrantly violated the neutrality of that country. He also emphasized that this was a limited action aimed only at driving the North Vietnamese from their sanctuaries and destroying their military supplies, and that upon the attainment of these objectives our troops would be withdrawn. The President made it quite clear that this move was the only way to forestall a major Communist offensive which would not only jeopardize the lives of American and South Vietnamese forces but would endanger the success of the policies of Vietnamization and the withdrawal of our troops.

While the President has since stated that this exercise will not be completed until the end of June, we may already observe substantial results: thousands of weapons and tons of ammunition and supplies have been captured, notice has been served upon the enemy that he can expect repeated attacks by the South Vietnamese forces should he try to reestablish his sanctuaries, and 6 to 8 months of precious time have been bought to continue training the South Vietnamese Army. These are factors of the greatest importance in our efforts to secure a just and honorable settlement to the conflict in Southeast Asia.

It has been the frequent charge of certain critics of the President's policy that in the light of the tragedy at Song My it is immoral to claim that our purpose in South Vietnam is to protect the people of that country and assure their right of self-determination. In reply I would say that there is considerable difference between an isolated misfortune of war and the systematic massacre of thousands of peasants by Ho Chi Minh when he consolidated power in the north in 1954 or the brutal suppression of a revolt which broke out in his native province in 1956. In addition, I would point to the estimated 3,000 bodies that were discovered in the mass graves at Hue as a grim warning of the blood purges which would surely follow a hasty American withdrawal from Vietnam. Were we in fact to make such an immediate withdrawal the consequences would be such that no nation could ever rely on our promise of support again, that thousands of Americans would have died for nothing, and that we would be guilty of betraying the people of South Vietnam. It therefore behooves us to support the President's policy on Vietnam as our best hope for an honorable peace and to view his recent stand on Cambodia as a decisive step toward that end.

It is regrettable that so many college students have seen fit to actively oppose the President on this issue, and while I respect their right to dissent, I urge you to consider the circumstances and results of that dissent. In recent weeks we have seen student protests carried out in an atmosphere of hysteria, violence, and tragedy which far exceeds anything that took place when Lyndon Johnson was sending troops into Vietnam, and yet these were directed against a President who has already withdrawn 115,000 troops from Vietnam, who has promised to withdraw 150,000 more over the course of this year, and who has made every conceivable effort to find a meaningful solution to the conflict. We have also seen some students conclude

that there are no effective methods of protesting the President's policy short of disrupting the entire academic process and either closing down the university or subjugating its educational function to political dissent. It appears that it was quite impossible for some students to content themselves with such protests as writing to their elected officials or circulating petitions or engaging in any other modes of dissent which could easily have been accommodated within the normal academic routine. It appears that a Presidential act calculated to shorten the war and save American lives was deemed so infamous that even before its success or failure could be determined, violent disorders and mass demonstrations had to be organized to stop it in spite of the tragedies which ensued and the recently stated opinion of Sam Brown of the National Moratorium Committee that the mass demonstration has lost its effectiveness.

Such drastic attempts to politicize the university bode ill for the future particularly since the militant students who initiate such action are frequently in the minority but exert great pressure on their fellow students. It is difficult for a student to attend class, for example, if that action will be interpreted as signifying complete approval of President Nixon's policies. I would respectfully suggest, then, that when you listen to the protests of the activist student that you consider that there is such a thing as a silent majority on many of our campuses as well, made up of students who may or may not fully approve of President Nixon's actions but who, for reasons of their own, esteem their opportunity for a college education too highly to divert time from their studies to take to the streets. It would be a great mistake and indeed a great tragedy to think that the radical few speak for the responsible many.

In conclusion, I would like to express my sincere and deep appreciation for the opportunity which you have provided for me to make my views known. Your efforts to provide college students with a constructive and orderly way to present their opinions are to be highly commended.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Fascell.

Mr. FASCELL. No questions.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hicks.

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Gordon, how would you estimate this division in the college community? What percentage would you say takes your point of view and what percentage would you say more nearly take the point of view that we've heard more often expressed?

Mr. GORDON. That's a very difficult question to answer, because if you consider the campuses in one area of the country as opposed to—

Mr. HICKS. Take your campus.

Mr. GORDON. My own campus? I would say that on my own campus the majority of students are opposed to the President's policy on Cambodia. In this case, I'm talking about a silent minority. But I think that it is true that on other campuses you can say that there's such a thing as a silent majority on the campuses. I know I'm sounding a little bit like the sort of thing that Russell Baker makes fun of—how can you tell if a silent majority exists if it doesn't have any opinions on anything? But the fact is so many students who work their way through college, who attend on scholarships and as such

have to keep a significant grade average, are unable to take part in counter-protests and very frequently these very students support the President.

Mr. HICKS. Thank you.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Thomson.

Mr. THOMSON. I have no questions.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Fascell, please.

Mr. FASCELL. Do you recognize a protest of any kind as a sheer political movement? Any kind of protest?

Mr. GORDON. I'm not quite sure I understand the question.

Mr. FASCELL. Do you personally recognize protest as a political movement? Any kind of movement, for any purpose, on any college campus?

Mr. GORDON. I recognize it as a political act, obviously on the basis of what I said.

Mr. FASCELL. I mean it's designed to do something, isn't it?

Mr. GORDON. Yes, it is.

Mr. FASCELL. It's designed to shock the conscience of the American people, change the vote, involve the student or whatever its purpose, don't you agree with that?

Mr. GORDON. I agree that it's an effort to influence our legislature, but I don't approve of it.

Mr. FASCELL. I don't know about whether it's an effort to influence our legislators. Do you agree personally that it's a political act? That's the point.

Mr. GORDON. Yes, I do.

Mr. FASCELL. If the silent majority on the campus don't do anything, do you agree that that's a political act?

Mr. GORDON. Do you mean simply declining to express an opinion is done politically?

Mr. FASCELL. You were making it very clear to us that we should be totally objective in analyzing what's going on on the campus and not be misled. That there is only a small radical group; but the great majority, as you saw it, was silent; they wanted to go to class and keep the academic institution open. We want to be objective in that analysis. So I'm asking you if one group out here is actively protesting in order to make a point, whatever the point is, and the other group sits back and wants to continue with its education; the fact that they don't participate, isn't that a political act? You may get a difference of opinion as to how active the participation ought to be, when one wants to analyze that problem you're confronted with the proposition that if you want the university to run and the other one wants it to be closed for a political act, you've a difference of opinion that has to be resolved. Do you agree with that?

Mr. GORDON. Yes, sir; I do.

Mr. FASCELL. How are you going to resolve it if the majority you allege doesn't do anything? Or say anything? That's what I haven't been able to understand.

Mr. FINDLEY. Do you have a question, Mr. Thomson?

Mr. THOMSON. No questions.

Mr. FINDLEY. I must say, Mr. Gordon, that your presence here shows that you and your college associates who have come here these past few days are engaged in political acts, and I think everyone here thinks it's highly commendable.

Mr. FASCELL. I would agree with that, Mr. Chairman. I didn't want my question to be misinterpreted as perhaps it has been. The purpose of a dialog is to be able to take a point and deliberate on it. To question my logic as well as the logic of the witness, and I think that's the whole idea. It doesn't have anything to do with whether or not I happen to agree or disagree with the particular position.

Mr. FINDLEY. Any further comment, Mr. Gordon?

Mr. GORDON. It seems I was not quite clear myself. The point I was trying to make was that I'm very concerned about the politicization of the university in the sense, not that the students are politicized, but that the university becomes politicized. And when it reaches the point that the university declares time off for politics—in other words your politics are more important than your education—the university is taking a political stand, and that I think is taking a political stand, and that I think is wrong. As you gentlemen are only too well aware the trend in this country is toward public colleges, public universities, community colleges and universities. If the university becomes politicized I fear that it will lose the traditional status it has always enjoyed as a community of scholars. If it enters the political arena, the political arena will intervene in the affairs of the university. State legislatures will decide what courses will be taught, which professors will be hired, or the budgets of universities will be voted on as public question. And this, I think, is a very serious situation.

Mr. FASCELL. There is no question about the fact that the role of the university in the modern society is undergoing a fantastic transition. The effort of youth in universities to politicize itself or the effort of students to use the university to achieve a political purpose is going to have serious consequences in the university system. That is quite separate and apart from the proposition that war or peace is the number one priority in the country. If you want to close down an academic institution till that issue is decided, that's a totally different question.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Gordon, thank you very much.

Our next witness is Cynthia Pringle. Cynthia Pringle of Carlow College, Pittsburgh, Pa., and I see you have some companions with you. While you are approaching the chairs, girls, I'd like to mention that we are coming close to the end of the day. There are two more witnesses on the schedule, and in addition I understand there is one who was not here on time earlier in the day, and there might be one or two more who would like to be heard. For my part, I'm going to stay until everyone who has now expressed a desire to be heard has been heard, but we do have to move along, so we'll hear from you, Miss Pringle, and we appreciate your coming.

STATEMENT BY CYNTHIA PRINGLE, CARLOW COLLEGE

Miss PRINGLE. "We the People of the United States in order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common Defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

These national priorities were set forth by our forefathers in the preamble of the Constitution. It was written 180 years ago and brought us together as a nation. Now these fundamental goals must be interpreted in relation to the needs and demands of the 20th century. "To form a more perfect Union," we must deal with the poverty, racism, and other social injustices which are weakening and dividing our country. Because of a "lack of available money," 10 million Americans go to bed hungry and 22 million Americans remain below even the Government's minimal poverty line. Because of "a lack of available money," the administration has proposed reducing the Federal share of medicaid payments while elderly couples dependent on social security benefits average \$118 a month. The excuse of a lack of money does not solve these problems and keeps us further away from our more perfect Union; yet there seems to be money available for our military machine, as the appropriations for defense consume the major portion of the Federal budget. In 1967 an estimate of military-related spending was \$100 billion. This was more than all Federal, State, and local expenditures on health, education, old age benefits, welfare, and unemployment. Senator Stuart Symington, a former Secretary of the Air Force, advised Congress that "the Nation's total investment in what we acknowledge to be unworkable or obsolete missiles totals over \$23 billion."

Another national priority set forth by the preamble of the Constitution is to establish justice. The court systems of today make it most difficult for the poor to get fair trials while the rich are able to take advantage of all the best legal procedures. New and better effective means must be established in our courts so that all, regardless of status, can obtain a fair trial.

A third national priority is "to insure domestic tranquility." Five years from now 20 million Americans will leave rural poverty because they can no longer live adequately, and will be forced to immigrate to the cities which cannot feed, house, educate, and employ them. Also 20 million Americans live in dilapidated, rat-infested housing, and 40 million live in poverty with little access to medical or welfare care.

In 1968 President Nixon stated that "Bring Us Together" was to be the theme of his administration. But if you look within our country, you find it divided and overwhelmed with poverty, crime, racism, and unemployment. Yet the people see vast sums of money spent on military enterprises which seem to have become the only priority in America. Are our priorities based on our system of values? If our priorities are based on our system of values then we must examine the values closely. It seems that our system of values is based on world prestige. We need to work internally within our country and establish the goals set by the preamble of our Constitution.

It is said that America is the land of the free and the home of the brave. But where is our freedom? Congress seems to be pre-occupied with protecting "the free world" while freedom at home is being denied. Our Congress and President have not adequately communicated with the people of this Nation and this can be seen by their actions and not by what they say. Where is the freedom, justice, and liberty promised to every citizen by our Constitution?

Now you are listening because you realize that our cries are valid. But what constructive action will be taken by Congress to bring the military-industrial complex under control? What constructive action will be taken by Congress to meet the needs that free Americans have been crying out for. The greatest challenge facing our Congress and representatives today is to bring America together and to begin now to tell the public the true facts. It is also their responsibility to reevaluate our national priorities and to reassert control over the military bureaucracy and policymaking decisions. Members of Congress who are not willing to undertake their responsibilities will not remain in office to represent the people of the United States, because there are many of us now who are going to continue to work for peace and freedom within our country.

It is those of you now in Government who must each reevaluate your own positions and priorities in respect to what the people need if we are to accomplish the goals of the preamble of the Constitution. It is you that have the responsibility to continue in these difficult days what the framers of the Constitution began.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you, Miss Pringle. Mr. Fascell.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Miss Pringle, you certainly are very clear in your position. I concur with your ultimate conclusion. We do need a reordering of priorities. We do have to examine our system of values. I think we all need to do that constantly. I would only suggest the quickest way to bring about the kind of reordering of the priorities, rethinking of the systems and values by which one lives and would like to see his Nation live, is to get more people to think like you do. Then the Congress would respond, the President would respond, and we'd get the job done. I don't know of any other way to do it. I've never seen a convert made by shooting him first. That's why I've really never understood violent demonstrations except in a political sense. It makes an impact on the media; people read about it; they get concerned; and they want to listen. There is another way. Do you agree?

Miss PRINGLE. Yes, I do agree. I don't think violent demonstrations now will really solve the problems, but what I do think is needed are people to go out and to communicate with the community, to campaign for representatives in our Government. I think the biggest problem now is to educate a lot of people in the United States. I think a lot of people don't really understand what's going on. I think it has to be brought out.

Mr. FASCELL. Or to get them to agree to your set of values for mankind or the American people as you understand them or you would like them to be.

Miss PRINGLE. Yes.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you very much for coming.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Boland.

Mr. BOLAND. You'll pardon my ignorance, how large is Carlow College?

Miss PRINGLE. Carlow College is, well we have a thousand students in the student body. There are about 200 part-time students.

Mr. BOLAND. Well, I certainly want to commend you for your statement and commend the college itself for sending this delega-

tion here. I must admit I didn't know there was a Carlow College, but—

MISS PRINGLE. Well, we were originally called Mount Mercy College and we changed our name last year to Carlow.

MR. BOLAND. But your presence here, representing the college as you do and those who accompany you, of course, indicates, no matter what the size of the college, there is some activism on small college campuses, not alone on the war in Southeast Asia, but on other issues. And you have raised some of these issues here with your statement. You ask what constructive action will Congress take to meet the needs that free Americans have been crying for? And you talk about a number of issues—education, housing, welfare, poverty, and the elderly. You know that a great number of efforts have been made in these fields, and great progress has been made in these fields over the past dozen years or so. You would agree with this, would you not, that the Congress has not closed its eyes to the fact there are problems in all the fields which you mention in your statement, but there has been an effort on the part of Congress and the executive department and the legislative to meet some of these very serious problems that do affect a great cross section of our people in the many fields that you mention in your statement? You are familiar with those then, I would think?

MISS PRINGLE. Yes, I read a lot about the poverty and the racism and the unemployment in our country and I see all the statistics and get very concerned. I'm just hoping that Congress will continue to be concerned and try to get something done constructively as far as the legislature concerning these issues because I think a lot of people in our country are being deprived and I think they need help and I certainly want to help them.

MR. BOLAND. Well, I agree with you and I commend you for your concern. I think Congress is listening in the areas of education, housing, welfare, and poverty and once again it's a question, as you've indicated here, it's a question of money and if we stop some of our activities we will be able to take this money and put a great deal more of it into the fields that do give us anxiety in this Nation ourselves. You talk about the domestic tranquility, and I think we can get that tranquility if we try to solve some of the problems in the fields you have mentioned. Thank you very much for a fine statement, Cynthia.

MR. FINDLEY. Mr. Hicks.

MR. HICKS. Miss Pringle, I want to commend you, too, on your statement and say that while I agree with Mr. Boland that Congress has done a great deal, we in this Nation haven't done nearly enough. And I concur in your hope that we'll continue ahead; and with the young people like we have had here the last 2 days really being interested and going out into the country, I'm sure that this Nation is going to move ahead. Thank you again.

MR. FINDLEY. Miss Pringle, on page 2 of your statement you state that "Congress seems preoccupied with protecting the free world while freedom at home is being denied." I think I know the areas you have in mind, but would you elaborate just a bit on the instances in which you feel that freedom is being denied here in this country?

MISS PRINGLE. Well, the fact that we have racism and the fact that there is unemployment, even the fact that students can't dissent peacefully—

MR. FINDLEY. They cannot dissent peacefully?

MISS PRINGLE. Well, I have heard of instances where on campuses students have tried to dissent peacefully, but, you know, where immediately, the National Guard or something came in and was breaking it up. I think the fact that students do dissent and have dissented, I mean something's being done now. I think it has been helpful in that respect. I think people are saying, well, okay, now, let's listen, you know. And when you say demonstrations are worthless, violent demonstrations to me are worthless. The demonstrations as a whole will help people to look and say, well what are these kids talking about, and to that extent I think they are worthwhile. Otherwise, as far as freedom, when I see people hungry in the streets and when I see people who can't communicate to representatives—this is a good example, the fact that we can sit here and talk to you. This is, you know, exercising, I would say, our freedom of speech, but is something going to happen? Like I think all of us want something to happen and we hope that you will, with us, take action.

MR. FINDLEY. Well, I'm sure that all of us share your hope that we will act to meet these broad problems that still confront our country, and we certainly thank you for your part here today.

Now, according to the original announcement we would be adjourned in 5 minutes. Obviously, we will not, but it may well be that some who are working with this project will find it necessary to leave. With that in mind, I do want to make just a comment at this time.

These hearings were organized apart from the official committee structure of the Congress. We received, very happily, the cooperation of Chairman Morgan of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, who made available the space here. But the staffing, the organization, the detailed work, communications by phone and by letter and otherwise have all been contributed by volunteers—members of my staff, the staffs of each member of this panel, who have undertaken this extra chore in addition to their regular duties as a member of the staff of a Congressman. Several of them are still here in the room today. This represents a lot of effort on the part of many people on a bipartisan basis, a sincere effort, I think, to make possible this forum for college student opinion. And I want to express my deepest appreciation to everyone so involved and especially to my colleagues on the panel. I am especially impressed with the diligence of all the members of this panel and I am pleased that all but one of the original six are here in the closing moments of the 2-day hearings. The one who is not here, Mr. Howard Robison, of New York, explained when he accepted the responsibility that he might have to be in New York today, and such was the case. But it has been a gratifying experience for me, and I certainly appreciate all the fine cooperation.

MR. FASCELL. Mr. Chairman, I think I would be remiss at this point if you didn't allow me to comment before you get to the next witness. This will be very short. All of us, and I'll take the liberty

of speaking for all of us on the panel, thank you for your initiative and enthusiasm in bringing together this ad hoc panel and giving us the opportunity to sit with you to hear the students for these 2 days. It has been a very stimulating and rewarding experience. I know beyond any question that it has been educational for every member who has been on this panel. I express my appreciation also to the students who came from all over; who mustered their courage to come into this awesome and august room and allow us the opportunity to talk with them. We owe our thanks to all of the students who went to the time and the trouble to analyze the problems; to prepare their statements; to respond to the questions; and to spend their money, to come here. They think that this issue is a serious problem. We think it's a serious problem. We need the best effort, attitude and understanding in order to arrive at the immediate solution which everybody seeks.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you very much, Mr. Fascell. One final word. During the 2 days we've had a wide variety of student opinion expressed, and this variety of opinion has been expressed in the presence of the articulate students who have held opposing opinions. Without exception throughout the 2-day period the courtesy of the audience, the spectators, the students who had spoken but were anxious to hear what their student colleagues had to say has been impeccable, and I want to thank you very much for that, too.

The next witness is Greg Walden of Graceland College, Lamoni, Iowa. Greg Walden. Please proceed Mr. Walden. We'd like to know the name of your companion.

Mr. WALDEN. Jack Ryan from Marycrest College.

Mr. RYAN. It's in Davenport.

Mr. FINDLEY. Davenport, Iowa. Please proceed, Mr. Walden.

STATEMENT BY GREG WALDEN, GRACELAND COLLEGE

Mr. WALDEN. It wasn't until last October that I became actively involved in opposition to this war, and, indeed, to the assumptions, priorities, and life-styles which Americans have come to accept as normal. I had never endorsed the war, but I had accepted it as a part of America's necessary freedom-defending policies in the world. I had been nurtured on Dr. Tom Dooley's 1950's accounts of the "Communist devils" in Indochina. I had been led to firmly believe the righteousness of anticommunism right on down through Robin Moore's "The Green Berets," John Wayne's film by that name, and Bob Hope Christmas specials, which were especially entertaining in their appeal. The "Vietcong" took on demonous imaginary proportions. Quite frankly, they were just plain "Communists," none of whom possessed even faintly remote traces of such characteristics as respect for human life, freedom, self-determination, or any kind of laudable virtue. Here they were, shelling a school, jamming sticks into teachers' inner ears, massacring civilians. All this evidence was enough to keep me acquiescent. After all, who was there to tell me any different? Not my parents, or teachers, or ministers, or friends, or even my enemies. No one. More fundamentally, the war did not seem to affect me directly. It projected a newspaper-story-like remoteness.

So, in high school, and on into college, I concerned myself with sports, theatre, and academics, maintaining a high grade-point, being

troubled by the usual problems and personal worries of the age, which seemed to be all that life really involved. This year, though, has seen life crash in on me. I don't mean to imply that I "have arrived." What occurred, however, was an enormous broadening of perspective. My responsibility and relationship to human and all life slapped me in the face. Perhaps this took place because I had the luxury of being a student, and also because my education seemed to lack relevancy and a sense of constructive direction. I don't know what all contributed to it. It actually is surprising that such an occurrence could take place, as I was situated at a small college in an isolated rural community.

With the advent of the moratorium, I became involved. The observance itself proved to be largely a novel 1-day "holiday" upon which spokesmen in support of the war reassured the school populace of America's benevolent objectives: In the meantime, I began reading, writing, and subscribing to periodicals which monitor progressive change in society—*ADA World*, *Tempo*, *The Progressive*, *The New Republic*. I ordered materials from the Friends, and discovered a whole new side to my long, one-sided anti-Communist indoctrination. And, unbelievably, it made human sense. It gave some real substance to the political and biblical appeals to brotherhood, justice, and truth. Since that time, the pursuit of knowledge and action concerning Southeast Asia, the draft, the military-industrial establishment, environment, race relations, nuclear weaponry and other social concerns has been my eager endeavor.

At this time, I refuse to be silent and inactive. For the sake of my own conscience, this Nation, and humanity at large, I simply cannot play out my life in the privileged, uninvolved role which my parents, schooling, and society have laid out before me. To do so would mean ignoring those who suffer at my expense, or, more broadly speaking, at the expense and expanse of this affluent American society.

These hearings concern Southeast Asian policy. Other closely interrelated concerns, yet particularly the war in that region of the world, asks us several serious, gut-level questions, which demand honest answers. The most basic of these may be: What kind of people are we? What kind have we become? We think and say we know: trustworthy, invincible, peace- and freedom-loving, mighty but just—the list pouring forth from our history texts, Veterans' Day and Fourth of July speeches is endless, not to mention the numerous other sources of mass ethnocentric indoctrination. Our national ideals and liberties are cast in the Constitution and Declaration of Independence, we say. But the framers of those documents were slaveholders.

What kind of peace-loving people are we that we have made war and devices of destruction the central activity of the Government? Why would such a freedom-loving nation allow its youth to be coerced by laws which usurp their freedom to choose life-styles and futures? What kind of people are we that we so readily and even anxiously hate and destroy each other over such trivial differences as style of dress and length of hair? How is it possible that our social conscience is blighted by "benign neglect," while profitmaking and its companion, exploitation, continue unabated? And, to focus on Southeast Asia, how could such a people endorse the destruction

of an entire country and its peasant populace in order to save face in a world community where respect for us declines with every additional military intervention?

I come from a college which is typical, I suppose, of small colleges. All my attempts to bring the outrage and tragedy of Vietnam home to my campus this year met with indifference or token involvement. Until 2 weeks ago. Now the formerly apathetic campus and rural community have sat up and taken notice. Cambodia, Kent State, and pending congressional action have all hit home. The President simply went too far. The reaction has been overwhelming. Even such a delegation as is present here would have been inconceivable 3 weeks ago.

In a time when reconciliation is crucial, we receive indifference, or polarization rhetoric. When moral leadership is so desperately needed, we receive the ambivalent, regressive strategy of this administration. When constructive criticism, justice, and progressive realism are vital, we receive antiquated world view, and legislation more repressive than that of the McCarthyite 1950's. Erosion of trust and confidence in the Government has become widespread, all with good reason and justification.

The falsehoods underlying our involvement in Southeast Asia, passed on from administration to administration, have come to roost. The endless optimistic reports now have a stale, hollow sound. The military has begun to lose hold of its sacred position in the public eye, a posture heretofore more and more firmly entrenched over the past three decades. Most tragic and unfortunate, this administration's continued adherence to, and perpetuation of, the big lie has resulted in polarization of alarming proportions.

I have come to realize that this is a revolutionary world. Change is the byword. Yet the United States, by plan or accident, has set itself up as the chief obstacle to peoples around the world who only desire self-determination, and the freedom to direct their own future on a basis of equality with all nations—no more than we demanded two centuries ago. The case in point, of course, is Indochina.

I feel that the President's plan of "Vietnamization"—more accurately termed "Saigonization"—is a hoax which has been repeatedly attempted and defeated (e.g. in 1965). It is merely a change in strategy and rhetoric directed toward the persistent goal of military victory. All economic and political consequences aside, our destruction of Vietnam is costing this Nation its soul.

As a student, but more importantly as a person, I see the need for radical change in order to make the people again sovereign, and in order to make Government responsive to the human needs which presently go unattended. The people now call on Congress to reassert its constitutional obligations. If the Congress now refuses to reclaim the responsibilities it has abdicated since World War II, then the validity of the political, social, and economic structure of this Nation will be even more seriously called into question. Violence, the result of ultimate frustration, may result. As the late President Kennedy said, "If we make peaceful revolution impossible, we make violent revolution inevitable." Therefore, my plea is that you act now to turn this Nation's preoccupation with death and killing into a humane concern for life and living. Thank you.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you, Mr. Walden. Mr. Ryan.

STATEMENT BY JACK RYAN, MARYCREST COLLEGE

Mr. RYAN. Four students are shot to death at Kent State. A week later, two more students die in Jackson, Miss. For the first time the college community realizes the tragedy of its passive acceptance of the status quo. The college student can remain silent no longer. This statement represents an attitude which is growing not only at Marycrest College, but on campuses throughout the Nation.

Gentlemen, what I am about to ask you, as men with the awesome power of changing, consider an alternative. The historical pattern is violence. America has accepted this pattern as inevitable. Thus our Nation has deteriorated into a semimilitary state ingrained with violence and caught in a spiral of fear and hatred.

We have consistently attempted to counter military force with military force and have succeeded only in fostering an endless progression of increasingly greater military conflicts and threats. We have waged "Holy Wars," forgetting that in a holy war both sides believe God is on their side. It is now evident, perhaps for the first time, that no one can win a war.

The devastating effect of this pattern on our society is clear. The mass murders of recent wars have distorted our respect for the invaluableness of a single human life, distorted it so greatly that property is valued above a human life. Gang wars, violence in the streets, delinquency and most forms of violence in our country come as a direct result of Government desecration of human life.

More subtle violence also characterizes this semimilitary state. A man is not free to speak against the military-industrial complex when he fears that doing so would leave him jobless. The silent majority is afraid and understandably so. In several southern States, over 25 percent of the economy is directly connected with defense projects. War has become a frighteningly large part of our economy. When 70 percent of the Federal tax dollar goes to national defense, leaving only 30 percent for all other needs, government becomes an enemy of the people, not a service to them. When young men are told to die in a war and are not given a vote, this is "taxation without representation."

But the greatest tragedy of America's violent pattern is best seen in the people it has proposed to help. War has become an accepted part of Vietnamese life, life which has almost no meaning at all. Through "Vietnamization," the hope is to prepare these people for perpetual war. This is a characteristic result of the growing insanity of American violence. It is the same insanity which can accept the mass murder of Biafrans and the bombing of children as the unfortunate consequences of war.

The alternative is nonviolence. Violent means have clearly failed. We have little to lose and everything to gain. It is time to radically restructure the concept of nationalism. The function of the U.S. Government must become that of channeling overwhelming resources so that all people might share our prosperity. The "melting pot" must call no man a foreigner and cannot accept the division of united humanity by artificial lines and borders.

Immediate withdrawal of troops from Indochina is not sufficient. Congress must take direct measures to reverse the tide of the military-industrial complex, and work for its destruction.

National priorities must be reexamined and human life valued above all else. We, as Americans, have the power to end the forces of poverty and hunger. Let the accomplishment of this be the source of our national pride rather than our military power.

Nonviolent action is not only, then, the moral and ideological alternative, but the only alternative which offers any future at all. The college community will not sit idly by while the patterns of violence grows through further commitments in Asia or by suppression of dissent in the States. The war demands that we participate in many ways if it is to continue. We shall refuse and hope that Congress will support us.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Fascell.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you Mr. Chairman. Both of you have certainly expressed a very important philosophy of life that is the basis for the whole movement and direction of any government. And yet I wonder just exactly how far one can go in the application of that except to try to get a majority of people to his point of view. For example, do you advocate, Mr. Ryan, in your last statement, as a philosophy of life, that everybody in the United States should take the vow of poverty?

Mr. RYAN. No sir, I really don't understand how you find this in my last statement.

Mr. FASCELL. Well, because if profit is bad, and that is explicit in your statement, who is going to be gainfully employed, which is another way of saying, why be gainfully employed? Isn't that a philosophy of life?

Mr. RYAN. I didn't say that property was evil. What I would like to see is a distribution of property so that there will be no more people who are hungry and there won't be filthy rich people, and filthy poor people.

Mr. FASCELL. I can understand that. And I don't know what you mean by filthy rich or filthy poor for that matter and I don't want to get into that kind of philosophical discussion either. I can understand translating the productive output of a military-industrial complex to nonmilitary production. But I don't understand the word destruction, you see, of the entire military-industrial complex; as a way of life, I don't understand that.

Mr. RYAN. What I'm proposing is that we might put say a billion dollars this year into building tanks—I'm just taking this number, I don't know how much goes into it—and that will create a certain amount of jobs for people and use a certain amount of material—

Mr. FASCELL. We're on the same track.

Mr. RYAN. That billion dollars would be put into making tractors, plows and constructive implements, or into remodeling of our cities.

Mr. FASCELL. I understand, I just wanted to be sure. If we took the money we spent in World War II, for example, only in the United States, we could have built every human being in the world a three-bedroom, air-conditioned house with indoor plumbing.

Mr. RYAN. Exactly.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Boland.

Mr. BOLAND. Greg, I'm grateful to you for your presence here. I've got to give a Memorial Day speech on Monday, and I can almost take yours. [Laughter.] You know, what gives me heart, really, is

that there are so many students like you that I have met, not just over the past month because of reactions to what's happened in Southeast Asia and the incursion into Cambodia, but students that all of us have met, members of this panel, and Members of Congress, have met, students who really are part of the affluent society such as you are, students who were just living in your own world not paying too much attention to what was happening around you and as you said in your statement you have the luxury of being a student and you were getting high grades, high marks, but suddenly you realized that this really wasn't all to it; that there was another part to life and that there were others who didn't live such as you did, didn't have the luxury nor the advantages. I think, this is probably one of the hopes of America in that there are so many students who feel the same way, and who probably come from the same level of society as you come from and are willing to do what you and Jack Ryan are doing here today and what you have been doing apparently over the past many weeks and will continue to do in the future. So there is a real hope for a change here and the change doesn't have to come inevitably through violent revolution. I think it can be done nonviolently, and I think this is a very fine demonstration of it. Because some of the things you talk about, I think we're trying to meet, I'm sure the Congress is trying to meet, and those of us who serve here in the Congress have been trying to do it, and I think practically all of them who are members of this panel have too. So I want to commend you for your statement, it is a very fine statement, and commend Jack Ryan for his presence here too. Thank you very much.

MR. FINDLEY. MR. HICKS.

MR. HICKS. One or both of you gentlemen spoke of the high percentage of money that we're spending on armaments. I serve on the Armed Services Committee. Do you have a percentage figure you think this Nation should reasonably spend on its military system?

MR. RYAN. Yes, I think zero percent should be spent on the military system, on violence and killing.

MR. WALDEN. I'd like to make a statement on that. I think a reassessment needs to be made of just what do we mean by defending this country and I think, well, I would propose transarmament, not disarmament. I mean, not an arbitrary cutoff, you know, \$70 billion on defense this year, none next year. I think there needs to be a gradual scaling down and reconversion to civilian goods and services and so forth. But I would investigate the possibility of a nonviolent national defense as the only defense in the nuclear age. Because when we—

MR. HICKS. What do you mean when you say that?

MR. WALDEN. Nonviolent national defense? I don't mean an armed force to defend this Nation because when you take into account the possibility of a foreign invasion by a conventional army, the chances are practically nil. Therefore we must assume any attack would probably be nuclear in this age, I would say.

MR. HICKS. Well, could I stop you there? It's practically nil under present circumstances, would it be practically nil if we had no Navy, if we had no conventional forces?

MR. WALDEN. Well, this is the point; in a nonviolent national defense, the whole civilian populace is mobilized to resist nonviolently.

It's much easier to visualize a person as an enemy when they are being violent with you. We're not going to suffer no casualties, but in relating to people, for example the invader, as persons with understanding rather than with weapons and making a human to human bond this way and using the application of noncooperation with the invader as has been instance in history, I think the animosity and the destruction would be much greatly, or more greatly lessened.

Mr. HICKS. Thank you.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Walden in your statement on page 3, I believe, you refer to legislation more repressive than that of the McCarthyite era in the 1950's. Could you be more specific?

Mr. WALDEN. I would cite the recent no-knock law, the measures of preventive detention, the legislation under which the recent Chicago trial was prosecuted and so forth. I think those would be sufficient just briefly.

Mr. FINDLEY. And Mr. Ryan, in your statement you speak of suppression of dissent in the States. Now beyond the Kent State and Jackson tragedies, do you have any examples that come to mind of suppression of nonviolent dissent in the States?

Mr. RYAN. Perhaps the one that comes most directly to my mind was the last Democratic National Convention where just literally thousands of people met and for the most part were meeting non-violently, en masse, but nonviolently, and were met with overt violence by the police department.

Mr. FINDLEY. Are there any other questions? We thank you very much, gentlemen, for coming here today and helping us with this examination of student opinions.

The next witness is John McNeal Wilson, of Williams College, Williamstown, Mass., and his home is Chattanooga, Tenn. John Wilson. We would appreciate it if you would identify your colleagues so we'll have it on tape.

Mr. WILSON. Yes, sir. First, things have changed slightly. It is now a Williams College-Wesleyan College delegation. Pete Harnik, to my immediate right is also from Williams, Bob Neal, at that end of the table, is from Wesleyan.

Mr. FINDLEY. Which Wesleyan College is that? What State?

Mr. WILSON. Connecticut.

Mr. FINDLEY. Connecticut. Thank you.

Mr. WILSON. This is Fred Hollister, who is also from Wesleyan, and John Corless from Wesleyan. Secondly, I believe my statement as prepared is a little bit less than 10 minutes. Is it okay if I depart from my prepared statement a little bit?

Mr. FINDLEY. Say what you want to but I do feel we have to stick with the 10 minutes for the oral presentation, then we'll have questions.

Mr. WILSON. Yes, sir. Thank you.

STATEMENT BY JOHN McNEAL WILSON, WILLIAMS COLLEGE

Mr. WILSON. First, we'd like to thank the gentlemen on the panel for giving young people this opportunity to speak within the system. It is both educational and an invaluable lesson in citizenship.

Second, we would like to say that we are not here to slap the President in the face. In our judgment, neither the Church-Cooper nor the Hatfield-McGovern amendments would "tie the President's hands." However, we do believe that Presidents, Senators, Representatives, and generals are human and are capable of misjudgments and errors as we know that we may be.

In this testimony, we are concerned with three principal areas. First, we are concerned about the credibility gap of DOD which various administrations have chosen to make their own. Second, we are concerned about what appear to be brutalizing effects on our American soldiers in Vietnam. Third, we question how much self-determination the South Vietnamese have under the Thieu-Ky Government. Finally, gentlemen, what we ask of you is how many more lives, American and Vietnamese, now Cambodian, and how many more scarce tax dollars is our effort in Vietnam worth?

In 1967-68, I was a special services librarian at Camp McDermott, Nhatrang, South Vietnam. In November 1967, there was a Vietcong attack on the airfield at Nhatrang. Five rounds were fired from a recoilless rifle. One or more rounds hit the gas tank of a computer-filled airplane which was on the ground. The mission of this plane was to coordinate air strikes and artillery fire on enemy positions under attack. I was told that it cost millions of dollars. From 2 miles away, we could see the flames and smoke for between 2 and 3 hours. The next day, a friend told me that he had seen this plane being carried to the dump. The following day, I saw a mimeographed newsheet put out by the Army in which was a two paragraph story by AP datelined Nhatrang. It said "night before last, Nhatrang airbase was attacked. Five rounds were fired. Several planes were lightly damaged." At this point, I ceased to believe the Army PIO.

In President Nixon's speech to the Nation, April 30th, he said:

Tonight, American and South Vietnamese units will attack the headquarters for the entire Communist military operation in South Vietnam. This big control center has been occupied by the North Vietnamese and Vietcong for 5 years in blatant violation of Cambodia's neutrality.

I recalled an operation called Operation Junction City. In the New York Times of February 24, 1967, on page 1, column eight, under the byline of Tom Buckley, there is the following quote:

American troops have begun what appears to be the largest offensive operation of the war in Vietnam. They drove today through swamps and jungle near the Cambodian border in search of the secret headquarters of the Vietcong.

Gentlemen, the reason I am here today can perhaps best be explained by a headline on the front page of the New York Times dated March 23, 1967. "More of the same" in war foreseen by U.S. officials. For 20 years, different generals, different administration officials, and different Presidents of different countries have been promising that the war in Indochina will be won. I fail to understand how this administration and this Congress is still able to trust the intelligence and advice of the Pentagon on this war.

I would like to refer to an article in the March 26, 1967, New York Times, page 1, column seven, bylined Hedrick Smith:

The Defense Department is withholding a new Senate report that charges that ammunition shortages have forced field commanders in Vietnam on some occasions to change the planning or the execution of their military operations, congressional sources said today.

The report still classified as secret . . ."

Gentlemen, I ask how long is our Congress willing to tolerate apparent mistakes and apparent incompetence in DOD hidden behind secret classifications?

While I was in Nhatrang, the Tet offensive of 1968 occurred. At this time, I heard a rumor that Koreans were torturing prisoners. From a friend of mine who was transferred to special services from a combat unit, I had heard of another incident of Koreans torturing prisoners and one of an ARVN pushing prisoners out of a helicopter. I had been in Vietnam for 6 or 7 months at this time. I accepted these reports with disgust, but it did not occur to me to relay these reports to CID. I thought "war is hell." However, I never believed that American troops could engage in such war crimes on a large scale.

I have read Seymour M. Hersch's report on My Lai in the May 1970 Harper's. In my judgment, Mr. Hersch's report is responsible, well documented, and objective. I request that if you have not had the opportunity to read it that you do so.

In this report, you will find that the men allegedly involved at My Lai went through an increasing process of disregard for the lives and persons of noncombatants. Allegedly, it began by beating prisoners. Then, allegedly, there was the murder of an old man. Then, allegedly, there was a rape murder. Finally, allegedly, there was My Lai. These men must have their day in court. However, I am very disturbed at what seems to happen to American boys in Vietnam.

Furthermore, the My Lai incident was almost successfully covered up by higher commands, allegedly. One can only fear that perhaps there have been more My Lais.

I do not like the North Vietnamese or the Vietcong. I am aware of their selective assassinations in Vietnam. I am aware of Hue after Tet. I am aware of the North Vietnamese peasants who were killed in Ho Chi Minh's home province shortly after the Communists took over the north.

However, I am also aware of alleged corruption and repression by the Thieu-Ky regime in South Vietnam.

In September 1967, after the first South Vietnamese national elections, Truong Dinh Dzu, runnerup in the presidential election, said that he considered the election to be "illegal and incompetent." Furthermore, spokesmen for him said that "the generals apparently do not want a normal political life in South Vietnam." Dzu also charged that many voters in the Gia Dinh and My Tho districts were unable to vote because South Vietnamese soldiers controlled the voting places and limited the supply of ballots. For these and other reasons, Dzu said that two-thirds of Thieu's votes "were obtained by fraud and that without cheating, Thieu would have had only 10 percent of the nation vote."

Later that month, Dzu and five other defeated candidates formed an opposition party to oppose the government, and declared that "we solemnly denounce the oppressive and corrupt practices of the government." In the following months, Dzu was arrested twice and served two short prison terms on questionable charges. Finally, Dzu was arrested because he was "indulging in activities under the guise of peace and neutralism in line with the Communists which weakened the nation's anti-Communist spirit and had a damaging effect on

the war effort of the people and the armed forces." He was convicted for his opposition to the Saigon regime and sentenced to 5 years in prison.

Finally, gentlemen, I ask you simply how many more lives is this effort worth? Can we not get out of this war much more rapidly than DOD or the administration now seems to think? We are asking this Congress to study these questions and hopefully speed up the withdrawal from Vietnam from its present projected time span.

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Wilson, I commend you on a very thoughtful statement and obviously balanced in your analysis of the situation as you see it. And I think it is imperative to use this kind of approach in arriving at, quote, "a new decision." I don't know any other way of doing it except the manner in which you've approached it, I commend you.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Boland.

Mr. BOLAND. Did Williams shut down?

Mr. WILSON. That's hard to answer, sir. Williams students voted an indefinite strike, except 150, I think about, did not want to go out on strike. Therefore the students say, what are we going to do that, so the faculty is offering take-home exams, papers, and a revised class schedule for those who want it. Those of us who, like myself, who have come to Washington have taken incompletes and must do this work before October 15 next year.

Mr. BOLAND. What about Wesleyan?

Mr. HOLLISTER. Yes, Wesleyan student body voted in a meeting of the community, 800 out of 1,300 students voted to strike, but yet students who voted not to strike have the opportunity to complete their courses. Those of us who are striking are in the sad situation as John is at Williams, we have to complete our work over this summer or before the term is over.

Mr. BOLAND. Well John, I want to commend you for your statement and what Williams and Wesleyan and Amherst are doing in this area and what they propose to do and the activism of the student bodies of all those institutions. I would say that Williams doesn't exactly have the filthy poor attending it, it's a very affluent school. Of course, I live up in the area, at Springfield, I'm not too far from it. I've been at Williams many times in my life and also I've been through Wesleyan, too. So, your willingness to come down here and to express your opinions and feelings to this committee are appreciated by me and by the whole committee, particularly coming from schools like Wesleyan and Williams, I appreciate your presence. You have a fine statement, it's an indication of your concern, John. Having been over there, seen some of the activities in South Vietnam, I think, your statement does get that much more credibility and attention, I think, than others we've listened to. So, thank you very much for coming here.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hicks?

Mr. HICKS. Mr. Wilson, I'm not certain that I grasp the full thrust of your statement. Are you saying that we should get out now because we didn't do very well when we went over there?

Mr. WILSON. No, sir, that's not the thrust of my statement. I think being an army vet, I'm kind of a dirty old man to the student movement perhaps. I am very much aware, for example, the support

troops such as I was one of, are pretty incompetent. The casualties in my unit were six, I think, four of them were shot by other Americans and two of them were shot by themselves. If these men come up against VC or any NVA combat veterans, I'm sorry there will be another Dien Bien Phu. I was not supporting the moratorium in November. I don't want an immediate withdrawal because it is unfeasible. I don't want air cover removed right now. That's one of the things that protect the place and keeps people like the troops I was with from getting slaughtered. I don't want the Navy pulled offshore. However, it appears that we are, in the process of Vietnamizing, it appears that we not only have a commitment to protect our boys, which is true, but it appears that we have a commitment to preserve the Thieu-Ky government which I presume the President or the State Department or someone seems to think is self-determination for the South Vietnamese.

Right. The Communists are not good. They have done terrible things as I mentioned in my statement later on. However, the Thieu-Ky government is pretty repressive, they do have censorship of the press, they have closed papers. You know, at one point I believed enough to volunteer for the draft, not quite enlist, and go over there. I always have seen this as a choice between the lesser of evils, and have become convinced now that it is not worth any more lives and any more money to commit any efforts to preserving Thieu and Ky.

Mr. HICKS. Then you think a year is ample time to get us out?

Mr. WILSON. I believe so, but I don't know. I have not studied problems of how to withdraw, but it seems to me that we could do a much more rapid withdrawal than what seems to be anticipated at present, leaving support troops behind for the ARVN.

Again, I like the Vietnamese. I have friends over there. I believe that the democratic system is the best that can be done. I just can't see that it's feasible, and I just don't think it's worth all the lives and money that it would take to keep somebody like Thieu and Ky in power. I think we ought to get our boys out as quick as we can.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Thomson?

Mr. THOMSON. No questions.

Mr. FINDLEY. Well, we thank you very much, Mr. Wilson. Your statement is very helpful, I think, and I wish we had lots of time for questions, but we do have three more groups yet to hear. Thank you very much.

The next witness is one who was scheduled at noon and apparently was just a few minutes late getting here, so he's been waiting patiently here since that time. His name is David McKenzie, he is the spokesman from La Salle College in Philadelphia. Is Mr. McKenzie here? And you have with you John Mason and Michael Kutzer. So please proceed, Mr. McKenzie.

Mr. McKENZIE. Yes sir.

STATEMENT BY DAVID McKENZIE, LA SALLE COLLEGE

Mr. McKENZIE. Gentlemen, we at La Salle have debated for the past 5 days over what we would offer today and even whether we should stand here before this committee.

We are not here for ourselves alone. We come as representatives for our fathers, brothers, uncles, and friends. These are the people who

feel the oppression, economically and socially. These are the individuals who have been called the "silent majority." However, as evidenced across the Nation in the past few weeks, those that used to be silent are silent no more. For those with positions to take are rapidly realizing that silence is no way in which to have that position heard.

We quite candidly question our reason and the eventual effects, if any, that it will have. In a spirit of honesty, we must state that we mistrust and are admittedly skeptical of a system which has shown nothing but insensitivity to the needs of the people it supposedly serves. In all honesty, we have seen nothing but blatant contempt and heard nothing but abrasive statements uttered by an administration whose goal was to "bring us together." An administration who has totally disregarded the appeals and requests of those that are to be the future leaders of the society in which we will all find ourselves. An administration who has unleashed an impudent and mindless politician in the person of the Vice President, on the children of the country who elected it.

This, most unfortunately, is the spirit upon which we begin to address you, the men elected to govern us.

As we are all quite aware, and most especially you gentlemen who have been in the midst of it all, the Vietnam war has precipitated the most atrocious and abominable lies that this country has witnessed in its present time. And even worse than these lies themselves, they have been thrown to us as bones of pacification. We merely ask, How can anyone believe its Government, in the office of its President, who punctuates troop withdrawals with the invasion of a neutral country? Under the guise of a political martyr, which he hoped would marshal political sentiment from his visible silent majority, he scoffs at dissent among the young, and Vice President Agnew has dedicated his time to an all-out campaign in stifling any progress that may be made by the young who have found it necessary in this country of ours, to take to the streets in peaceful dissent.

We have witnessed our fellow students being gunned down in the streets of Ohio and Georgia by militia that in the first place should have never been carrying loaded arms.

We have seen priorities set at levels of defense rather than health, education and welfare and consequently many areas of this land of ours have found themselves in conditions that I am most certain their elected officials have never accustomed themselves to.

Regarding the violence which is currently so prevalent in our streets, we ask you, the upholders of justice, what the causes are. We ask you to question the cause rather than effect. Are these purveyors of violence the reason behind or the end result of a society that for all intensive purposes is malignantly misdirected, by an administration that in itself appears to exhibit the same illness. We wonder if the critics have considered the anger, frustration and desperation these people have been driven to by our unmoved and unsympathetic society. A society that you, the elected officials, are fostering. There comes a time in a politician's existence, when he must cease concerning himself with politics and take a moral stand. A stand that we have, as of yet, not seen.

In light of this implication of yourselves being responsible, we now ask you to ask us. For through discussion we hope to attempt to accomplish what our fellow students have attempted to accomplish in the streets.

Thank you.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you very much. Mr. Fascell?

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'd just like to ask what brought about the debate for 5 days, and how it was finally resolved that you should come, which you did, and I'm grateful that you did.

Mr. MCKENZIE. I guess it was decided last night that a group would come down. We found out that Mr. Connolly, who was originally supposed to be here, did not come. I think a number of students, especially at La Salle and I think in the Philadelphia area, are kind of disappointed. We were here on November 15, and the President announced to the world that he was watching football. You know, it appears as if Congress is not willing to take a stand on the war during an election year. I find, myself, utter frustration among students with the Government that supposedly serves them, and that's what the discussion was about at La Salle. This statement is very short. We had an eight-pager last night that we threw out and another group was working on a longer statement. We didn't want to go into Vietnam and a long history of it because we figured other people would do it. We just wanted to explain the frustration that the students are feeling toward their Government.

Mr. FASCELL. You just wanted to get to the point, and you did that very well.

Mr. BOLAND. Yes, I'll say you did very well. Was it worthwhile coming down? You know you debated for 5 days about coming down, and finally you arrived. Was it worthwhile do you think from your point of view and the students' point of view at La Salle?

Mr. MCKENZIE. I think it was quite interesting. I didn't understand when we came here that this was an ad hoc committee, and I did understand that Friday is not usually a Congress day. So I had questions about that in my mind, actually whether they were meeting today. We did come, and I can see that some people apparently are willing to listen and find out what the students are thinking. However, a lot of of the skepticism comes from the fact that until four nice middle-class kids were murdered at Kent State, no action was taken. And I think that if the students at Jackson State had been killed and not the students at Kent State, then we just would have taken it as another group of black people killed, and I don't think there would have been hearings and I don't think there would have been this upheaval over Cambodia.

Mr. BOLAND. How large is La Salle College?

Mr. MCKENZIE. There are 6,400 undergraduates.

Mr. BOLAND. Thank you very much.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hicks?

Mr. HICKS. I just wonder if the students as a class know that probably the most accessible people in the world are Congressmen. Senators may be a little different, but the Congressmen are the most accessible people in the world and if the students haven't seen them before, it's because the students didn't want to see them. Now, this

particular meeting that Mr. Findley put together gave a focal point for a goodly number of you to come together and present a lot of different views. But every Member of Congress has been seeing students for the last 10 days as they come down and see the Members. They are happy to see them at home and they are happy to see them anywhere. That's the job of Congressmen. I don't know of any that don't do it.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. McKenzie, I want you to know that long before the Kent State killings there were Members of Congress, House and Senate, who were deeply concerned and openly involved in all sorts of initiatives trying to call attention to the futility of what's going on in Vietnam and trying to reverse the course of events. I won't mention names, but several on this panel were closely involved with me, and for my part beginning a year ago I began to put in the Congressional Record the list of war dead periodically as a means of showing as accurately as possible the human cost of our involvement there. So this effort didn't just begin with the Kent State killings, awful as they were. Many Members of the Congress I think were out in front risking their own political positions by being as outspoken as they were and taking the action they did. This is not to say that we did all we should have done or that we began as soon as we should, but the effort did predate the Kent State killings by quite a bit.

Mr. KUTZER. Can I interject this? You know your putting the war dead in the Congressional Record, well that didn't prevent the Kent State killings or the killings in Mississippi or Georgia. That's what we are here for, we've seen this tokenism. We want it to stop. You didn't stop any killing in Vietnam, you invaded a country, and now there has been killing in our homeland, and now you are here and will it go on? Will there be more hearings and will there be more killings?

Mr. FASCELL. Well, let's turn it around, if I may, Mr. Chairman, since that was kind of a poke at you. There is tokenism the other way around, too. Demonstrating on a campus is nice and you talk to yourself.

Mr. KUTZER. And people realize that kind of violent action.

Mr. FASCELL. Isn't that tokenism. I'd rather have constructive action. You're shaking your head as if you disagree with me. But I'd like to know why. Congress is just as responsible for not talking to the students at the time you wanted us too. Maybe we're responsible because we didn't translate a dire need for personal communication at the time the students were protesting on campus, last year and the year before. The Congress has never worked that way. Maybe we will have to now if that is going to be the new system of representative political action in which the country will embroil itself. From now on maybe the message will get through to the Congress, that when you have a protest in northern Michigan at a university, the Congress will have to dispatch communicators to find out what the protest is about. It may have been erroneous on our part to have relied on the normal acceptable channels of communication. That could be a mistake, and I'm willing to change it if that is what we are talking about. But I submit that this initiative by Congressman Paul Findley and this panel cannot be classified

as tokenism any more than a college demonstration that seeks to make an impact on the consciousness of the American people. That was the only point I was trying to make. I'm not disagreeing with you, but you shake your head and say they're not the same. I don't understand that, and therefore I really wish you would explain it to me.

Mr. KUTZER. You're decrying these protests.

Mr. FASCELL. No, I don't decry the protests.

Mr. KUTZER. You've termed them tokenism. That is what you have asked for—peaceful protest. We've given you that. We've given you two Washingtons. The President watched television on one occasion, and on the other occasion met with eight students. Is that tokenism? Just laughing in your face?

Mr. FASCELL. No, that might be misdirected political pressure.

Mr. KUTZER. And now, the pressure is going to burning ROTC buildings, the pressure is going into the streets and riots. That's another type of pressure.

Mr. FASCELL. Believe me, I'm not being argumentative. I'm just trying to point out that it may be misdirected political pressure. That's all I'm trying to say. But you don't agree with that?

Mr. KUTZER. We realize it's misdirected.

Mr. FASCELL. But how can you have the effect you want? I'm saying to myself, and I wish you would answer truthfully, am I getting through to this person? When you shake your head like that when we are talking, that's the question I ask. If you don't agree, then I wish you'd tell me because I am trying desperately to communicate.

Mr. McKENZIE. Mr. Fascell—

Mr. FASCELL. See, you are shaking your head again as if to indicate that I am not getting your answer.

Mr. McKENZIE. I think he's trying to—I don't know if I'm finishing the point that Mike started, but I think that a number of students have seen and have found out that a large demonstration is worthless. I go to them and put my body there, but I don't believe that they have any effect. I think that the demonstrations on college campuses have turned from rallies to things—I guess the only purpose they serve is that your immediate frustrations are let loose because you feel like you have done something which I think—

Mr. FASCELL. I wasn't quarreling with that—

Mr. McKENZIE. You know, what's happening now is that the post office in Washington has been overburdened with mail from home. I know during a 4-day period at La Salle we gave out over 100,000 pieces of literature in the city of Philadelphia for people to write to their Congressmen. I think that this is the direction that the movement is going to take. I was very frustrated in last week's primary in Pennsylvania. We sent hundreds of students out just from our college just to work for peace candidates, and because they didn't have the support of the party in the primary they didn't do well. I guess we question the system at the grassroots, and that's the problem.

Mr. FINDLEY. We thank you very much, Mr. McKenzie. It's been a very stimulating discussion.

We now have two other representatives, Hans Sellge of Ohio State and Mark A. Kalish of the University of Illinois. We will hear from Hans Sellge first.

Mr. SELIGE. Thank you.

STATEMENT BY HANS SELIGE, JR., OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

Mr. SELIGE. Last year upon graduation from the engineering department of Ohio State University, I took a job with the Knolls Atomic Power Laboratory under General Electric in Schenectady, N.Y. The prime function of the laboratory was to design and build prototypes of nuclear reactors for naval ships. The operation was created and operated by Vice Adm. H. R. Rickover of the Navy Department.

Within a very short time I became familiar with the tremendous complexities of the research program and the overwhelming expense involved in maintaining such a program. My investigations which finally led to a trip to Washington, showed that in 1965 a total of \$24.6 billion was allotted to defense-oriented functions alone, of which a substantial amount of dollars went to the so-called military-industrial complex. It is not without intention to provide military research with a private enterprise label, for how else can it not look socialistic. Universities were allotted \$200 million. Our Nation's total military expenditures were over a trillion dollars. That means \$1,000 billion since 1946.

The American people are devoting more resources to the war machine than is spent by all Federal, State and local governments on health, education, social security, housing development, and support of agriculture, yet millions of Americans are living in poverty, starvation, and are unemployed.

One out of every five working men is employed by the Defense Department.

Following this I wrote a letter to the local newspaper expressing my concern over our continuously rising military buildup. The management of the laboratory did not take kindly when I suggested in the article that unchecked military power results in the birth and growth of diabolic demagogues. I further encouraged that employees further along the hierarchy of the corporation such as engineers, managers, and executives be alerted of this threat. I further stated a danger in the reversal of the trend of using arms as deterrents to enemy aggression to arms as a means to it's own end.

I received a substantial response to the letter from employees at the laboratory and encouraged them to raise questions. But everyone I talked to was afraid to criticize for possible intimidation. I then proceeded to draft a statement to be sent to Vice Admiral Rickover. Three hours after the letter was finished I was called into a meeting with my management and the personnel manager who proceeded to state: "We respect your right as an American citizen to express your viewpoints but if you send that letter your existence here at K.A.P.L. will have to be terminated."

I then discussed the nature of criticism with the corporate lawyer who stated: "We cannot tolerate any politically, socially, or economically oriented criticism in any fashion to the admiral as long as you are an employee."

I did not send the letter, however I was terminated from K.A.P.L. on May 15, 1970 due to incompatibilities with their objectives. I might note that my resignation date was to be July 12, 1970.

K.A.P.L. never read the letter to Rickover. It is ironical since the body of the letter referred to the fears caused by pressures resulting from control over management by the Navy Department. The fear expressed by management in the reaction of the letter exemplified my point. As a result of my dismissal, several employees are on a writing campaign protecting the freedom of speech and expressing their deep concern over our military posture. Since I have left, one other engineer resigned for similar reasons and one high-level manager is relocating into private industry because of military reasons. My message is that military opposition has not only been met on the street, on the campuses, but now is mushrooming into the heart of the military machine, the industries. Five engineers from a missile plant in California left their jobs because they could not dare to admit to themselves that they were actually part of the development of a killing instrument instead of pursuing their profession in constructive manners.

I am on a campaign where I am continuing to stress the need for engineers and managers to reconsider not only the military objectives of their company but also their individual relationships to the company. Hopefully, constructive action will result. About seven technical employees contacted me by telephone and asked me how they could help. I continually stress the dangers resulting from the subordination of the individuals to the military, that if proper perspective is to be placed for man in his relationship to his world he must reassert and maintain the sovereignty of the individual.

Dr. Foster, Director of the Defense Research and Engineering, stated in his 1970 testimony to the House Armed Services Committee that: "Peace is an unstable equilibrium, which can be preserved only by acknowledged military supremacy or equal power." Soviet Russia's research and development program has been lagging the United States ever since at least 1945. Figures released by the Defense Department indicated that in 1960 the United States spent twice as much on R. & D. functions as U.S.S.R. while in 1968 the ratio dwindled to a 3-to-2 ratio. Based on this trend the Secretary contended that within a very short time the Soviets will take over our R. & D. capabilities and consequently alarmingly urged our needs for an increased R. & D. funding. He further stated that: "If you want a given military capability, inferior technology forces you have to use larger and larger numbers." In essence this says that because the United States far dominated U.S.S.R. in R. & D. the U.S.S.R. is forced into stepping up their R. & D. We, do to future indications that Russia may be ahead in R. & D., are in turn stressing a need to increase ours. Yet Mr. Foster has the audacity to conclude that R. & D. activity actually reduces the arms race. This logic fails to reach me. Furthermore the net difference in dollars between the United States and the U.S.S.R. is actually increasing; that is, United States is spending an ever-increasing amount of dollars on R. & D.

This forces me to question the credibility of our military leaders insofar as making proper decisions on military matters.

Yesterday a young lady testified she would follow Richard Nixon's policy because she had no reason why not to trust him. I hope she is present today.

In summary I am afraid that our Government has not learned the lessons of history's continuing message; that weapon production inevitably leads to war. Our forefathers have incorporated a check and balance system to filter the power of decision into the hands of many publicly elected people. If however this check and balance does not function properly, it is the right and duty of the American citizen to try to check the power themselves. This is government by the people and for the people.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you very much Mr. Sellge, we appreciate your statement. Mr. Fascell.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you. Mr. Sellge, I agree with you that the individual has a responsibility. I commend you for the evaluation and the personal decision which you made. The only way change is going to be brought about, whether it's with regard to the continuation of a military establishment; or the use of military forces to settle international disputes; or to terminate wars; or to do whatever it is—the individual himself has to make his own commitment and set his own priorities. That's what you did and it cost you your job, didn't it? We find so many people are so busy changing somebody else that they forget to change themselves. I respect your personal commitment. I notice you are from Ohio State. We had a witness here earlier today who said things are going to be hot this summer. What about Ohio State?

Mr. SELIGE. I left the campus since the disturbances have become a part of their life so I can't comment on this. I know when I left, the movement against the military was weak, but since our Cambodian intervention it has just magnified tremendously.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you very much.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hicks.

Mr. HICKS. No questions.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Thomson.

Mr. THOMSON. No questions.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Sellge, I'm troubled by the experience you've had over employment and I'm not sufficiently conversant with the law to know whether there is a violation that possibly has occurred on the part of your employer. But if you would like to have someone look into this, if you'd write to me or any member of the panel, I assure you that an inquiry will be made to at least ascertain what rights may have been violated and give you a suggestion as to what can be done.

Mr. SELIGE. I appreciate that. At one point I contacted some lawyers as far as any legal implication, and the comments I received were that the corporation itself can make their own decisions in this.

Mr. FINDLEY. If you want that looked into further, just let one of us know. Thank you very much for appearing.

The last witness today is Mark A. Kalish of Chicago, a student at the University of Illinois. Mr. Kalish.

Mr. KALISH. Thank you. First of all, I'd like to point out that there is kind of a sparse gathering here and most universities in

the United States do have final exams this week and that accounts for it.

STATEMENT BY MARK A. KALISH, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

Mr. KALISH. I'd like to thank you all for your time and consideration. After hearing all of the testimony thus far I can assure you that this type of discussion can only lead to better communication and understanding between the Government and the student population. This is the type of participation on the part of the legislators that students are striving for.

I don't think that I can add much to what's already been said, but I would like to add a new perspective to the situation in America and Southeast Asia.

Many of the members of the "older generation" feel that the campus disturbances are Socialist- or Communist-inspired. This is not so. Young people have a great faith in the free enterprise system and the democratic republic form of government. Most students feel that this is the best form of government. But the sad fact of the matter is that students do not believe we still live in this system. The government is a strange mutation of the democratic republic and free enterprise system so strongly fought for by Thomas Jefferson. The strongest voices heard in Washington oftentimes is not the voice of the constituency but that of a powerful lobby. And how many corner foodstores are there in your district?

Students are often asked, "What do you want, what type of government is better?" The only way I can respond to that is to say that what we are working for here in Washington and throughout the world is for a more humane society.

Student dissent must not be stifled. In fact, it must be encouraged. For if things are not questioned or changed, a stagnant system is produced. Another effect that suppression of dissent is the alienation of youth.

The repression of dissent which I have just stated must be avoided, does in fact exist in your own home State, Mr. Findley. The Illinois Legislature has told the Governor that if order is not restored and kept at the University of Illinois that all funds will be stopped or reduced. This type of government repression of free speech and dissent can only serve to worsen the situation between the Government and the youth of this Nation.

Another case in point and one that strikes a little bit closer to home for me is my brother, Steve. As student council president of his high school Steve saw fit to call for and organize a strike of classes so that the students of Sullivan High School could meet with other high school students and students of Northwestern University for the purpose of discussing the issues confronting the United States at home and abroad. For my brother's efforts he will possibly not be graduating from high school. One instructor's interpretation of patriotism is "America—love it or leave it." So my brother will be flunking physical education for his activities. Once again this type of repression must be stopped.

As many of the other students have said, I agree that the war in Vietnam is both illegal—because it is an undeclared war—and immoral

because we are in perpetuation of a civil war. The American myth is being destroyed. We have lost a war. We are fighting an ingenious enemy, a jungle fighter, just as a British fought against an ingenious and subversive jungle-fighting colonialist in 1776. We believe a house divided cannot stand and yet we support a civil war. Rather than accept a change in the American myth our leaders have chosen to match our actions in some cases to the American myth. This is wrong. The American myth has become outdated by a new society and a new morality.

In conclusion, I would like to encourage the committee to have the transcript of these meetings published so that other legislators could share what I think are very fruitful discussions.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Fascell.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Kalish, I certainly join you in your efforts for a more humane society. Goodness knows the world could stand it.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Hicks.

Mr. HICKS. The hour is late but I have just this one question, and incidentally, the room was filled yesterday. You agree though if we're going to have rules or laws that they ought to apply—I'm thinking of your brother here now—I spent a number of years teaching schools and I can't imagine school being run with the students deciding when they're going to attend class and when they're not.

Mr. KALISH. I hate to answer a question with a question, but do you personally think the—when I say strike I don't mean an extended strike—do you feel that the suspension of classes in the universities and high schools around the Nation were justified after the invasion in Cambodia and the Kent State murders?

Mr. HICKS. I think that those that were justified were those where they went to the administration and requested it and got permission. Those where they went and were turned down, I don't think were justified.

Mr. KALISH. I can't agree with you. At the University of Illinois no classes were suspended for the strike until they went out and they broke buildings. I don't condone any type of violence.

Mr. HICKS. Let me ask you right there, when they broke the building, if that particular student is apprehended, should he—

Mr. KALISH. As I said, I don't condone any type of violence. He should be prosecuted, yes. But I think a great problem in America today is that the Government might be going a little too much by the book. A government that isn't flexible cannot function I don't think.

Mr. HICKS. How do you change that?

Mr. KALISH. I think the answer you're looking for is to change by vote or through legislation.

Mr. HICKS. Exactly.

Mr. KALISH. When I say flexible, it should be able to adopt in a specific case, like the Kent State murders. I think the Kent State murders were the turning point in what I personally call the second American revolution.

Mr. HICKS. Yet in California they're adapting to the point where the students are deciding at the University of California how a class will be conducted. If the prof doesn't like it, they run him out.

Mr. KALISH. I never supported that.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Thomson.

Mr. THOMSON. No questions.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Kalish, in your statement you mentioned my home State and the State legislature. I have not seen the law to which you refer, but your statement leaves the implication that dissent and order are mutually exclusive because, according to your statement, the Illinois Legislature told the Governor that if order is not restored and maintained then all funds will be stopped. That is a harsh reaction I agree. But you are not objecting to the maintenance of order on campus are you?

Mr. KALISH. No, let me rephrase it then. In place of order we'll put in dissent. The State legislature in Illinois is somewhat conservative and they don't like any of these punky college kids disturbing things. If I might make another note, I don't know how in touch you are with the students at the University of Illinois but after the Kent State murders there was quite a bit of disruption in the community. One visiting associate professor from Harvard University lost four teeth and nearly lost an eye for blocking a garbage truck. Whereas the students at Northwestern University blocked off a U.S. highway and not one policeman was seen. Now that's not to say that I condone any type of disruption but I think if it was possible for them to avoid any type of bloodshed at Northwestern, it's certainly possible to avoid bloodshed at the University of Illinois. The fact that it's a State institution should not be a license to beat students and make mass arrests.

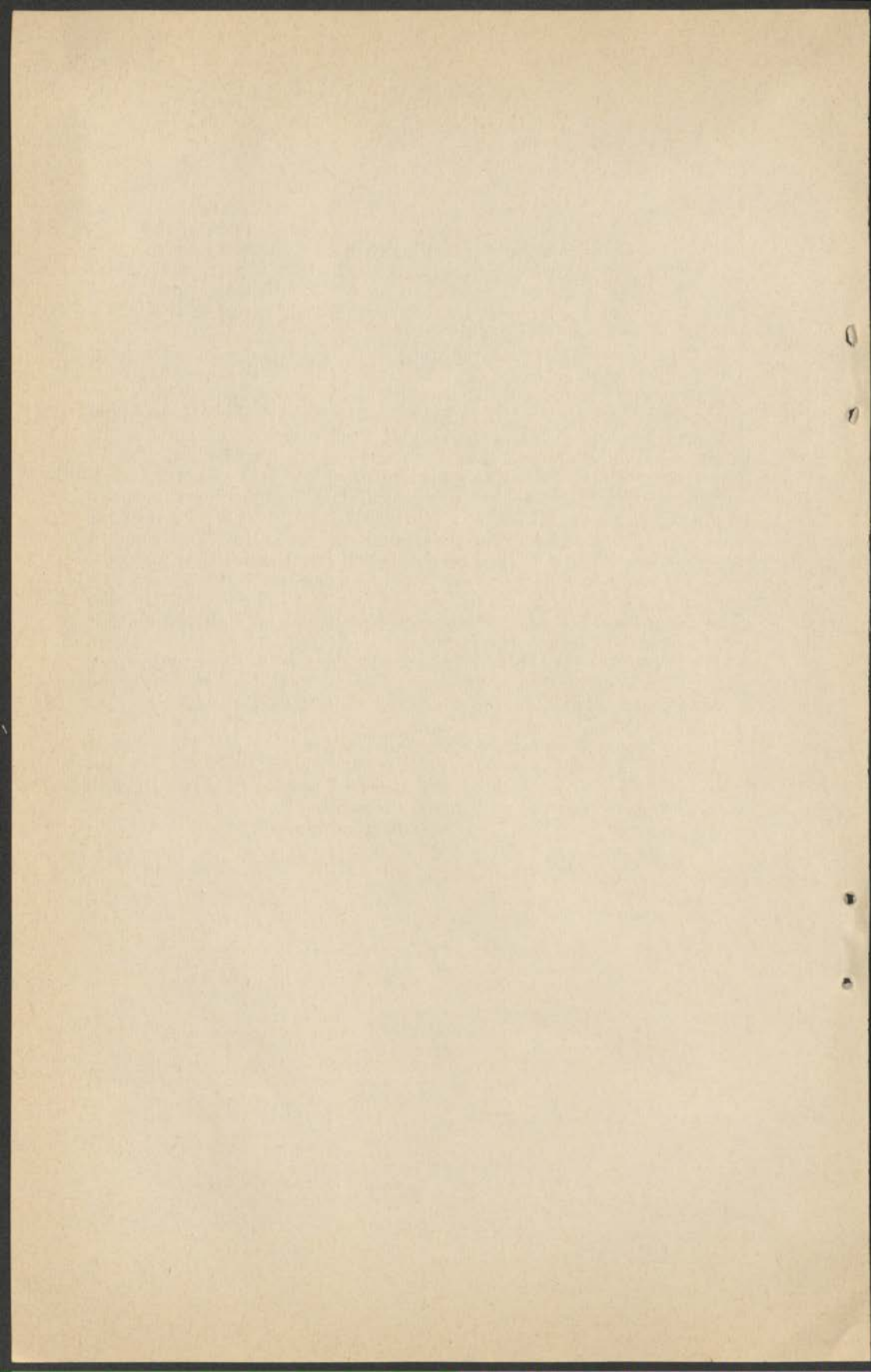
Mr. FINDLEY. Nor should being a student at a State university give him any special privilege to interfere with the rights of others?

Mr. KALISH. No; I never condoned that. I said specifically that I don't.

Mr. FINDLEY. We thank you very much. Are there other questions?

If not, without objection we'll declare the hearings adjourned and I do so with a repeated statement of appreciation to all who contributed so generously to make these hearings a success.

(Whereupon the Ad Hoc Committee adjourned.)



APPENDIX

The following statements were submitted for the record by students whose requests to testify came too late to be accommodated.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY CHRISTINE E. FISHER, MILLS COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

Mills College of Education has been a leader in preparing teachers for early childhood education for more than half a century. Our students are dedicated to this work. It was, therefore, an act of desperation when the students and faculty voted on May 8, 1970, to suspend classes for the duration of the semester as a protest against continuation of the escalating war in Southeast Asia.

Our decision was more than a protest against the war. It was a recognition of the immoral character of the war, the transfer of violence to the campus—bringing death to students of Kent State, and more recently, Jackson State—and the dangerous sundering of American society. Further, our decision was a protest against the Nixon administration—an administration which promised peace, but has expanded the war. Moreover, we question the administration's apparent attempt to suppress the academic community's opposition to present Southeast Asian policies.

We have strong hopes that we can work successfully within our democratic system to put our country on a new track. To that end, we are working to:

- Help elect a peace-oriented Congress;

- Petition and organize support to win passage of such legislation as the Hatfield-McGovern amendment;

- Reorient our national priorities to assure equality in education and opportunity for all Americans;

- Attempt to solve the great problems of the cities, of poverty, and of our environment.

As citizens and future teachers, we are interested in life, in peace, and in freedom. We implore your immediate help and support.

I wish to thank the panel for the opportunity to express the deep concern of the students of Mills College of Education for the future of our country.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY JACK R. HOLT, NORTHEASTERN ILLINOIS STATE COLLEGE

Northeastern Illinois State College is a commuter college with an enrollment of around 7,000 students. The college is oriented toward the training of elementary and secondary teachers. Just recently it has offered a liberal arts degree. Most students at Northeastern are primarily interested in obtaining their degrees and going into their prospective fields.

There has never been a violent confrontation of any sort at Northeastern even with the wide range of views concerning most issues.

As with most issues, the U.S. policies in Southeast Asia is represented by varied degrees of support or condemnation. However, the consensus of opinion from the vast majority would indicate a strong desire to withdraw all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia. The feeling is: one, it was a mistake going into Vietnam in the first place; two, the U.S. support of the Thieu government is a wasted effort since it is so corrupt; and there, shock at, and disappointment with, President Nixon's decision to send U.S. troops into Cambodia.

The most vocal protesters at Northeastern can depend on 25 out of 7,000 students to demonstrate against anything regardless of the issue. At the recent dismissal of one popular faculty member, the protesters mustered between 75 and 100 students. With the move into Cambodia, even with a 2-week late start (due to a recess between semesters), a protest movement has been going steady

for over a week. This protest has involved approximately 15 percent of the student body.

The sincere wish of all factions at Northeastern Illinois State College is to withdraw all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia immediately.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY THEODORE C. AGRESTA, NORTHEASTERN ILLINOIS
STATE COLLEGE

Congressman Findley asked the presidents of colleges to assure students received ample notice of this hearing. On our campus we heard of it on the 18th of May. A meeting was held at 3 p.m. the 19th, and from the eight people who showed up four volunteered to go. All this is by way of saying that I do not pretend to be representative of my student body. Yet I have been active enough on campus to have formed a fair impression of student reaction to recent developments.

First, as regards Southeast Asia. We want out! More than 40,000 lives have been given to a war we must now know we cannot win without provoking world war III with the Communist Chinese. Does anyone doubt that that would be suicide? Then let it come now. For the military would persuade the President that we need never cross the borders of China. They would suggest the horrors of war are glory, and in whispers just loud enough for dissenters to hear, that war offers a way to rid the country of dissent; they dare not add it offers a way to weed out misfits, i.e. blacks and poor whites, from the country's pure WASP stock. They suggest, in short, a prolonged war limited to Southeast Asia, and I say ave 1984. Does this mean we students all see the military as an all-consuming evil? By no means. We are not so foolish as to think that power vacuums remain unfilled. We know how vital a strong military is to our well-being as a nation. We ask only that it be limited to use as the Constitution demands and not be allowed to set up a parallel government of its own.

Second, as regards student dissent and society. It has been said there are no heroes left on our campuses. Yet one must admit there is enormous reverence for some long-haired revolutionaries. Hundreds of thousands have died fighting for their ideals. But I won't play games. I'm referring to men like Christ, Thomas Jefferson, and Washington. Students' ideals of justice and reverence for life have not come out of thin air. Our parents taught us the meaning of those words; we learned them in Sunday school before we learned how to read. If a generation gap exists, it is between the young adult who tries to live as he has been taught and the parent who says, "Do as I say, not as I do." Dissent frequently seems to be directed against the system. Yet, the question continues to be asked, "Is the system corrupt or does the system corrupt." Many of us feel the system offers opportunities to change it, that it is not corrupt. And many of us feel that when the system appears corrupt, the corruption is in the men who run it, that it need not corrupt good men.

There are no documents more revered by most students than the Holy Book of their own faith and the U.S. Constitution.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY DONALD GIRARD AND JERRY BARAM,
NORTH ADAMS STATE COLLEGE

We, a majority of the students at North Adams State College in Massachusetts, wish to express our thanks to the members of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, for the opportunity to state our beliefs in respect to current U.S. policies. Your invitation is an expression of faith in the ability of American college students to act as responsible citizens, and this is our principal desire—to act as responsible citizens.

There are those among us who say that college students should be seen and not heard. We should not involve ourselves in national affairs. We should not express ourselves on national issues. This we cannot do, for being students does not absolve us from the responsibilities of citizenship. When we see our country following a policy which we deeply and sincerely believe is wrong, we must speak out. We are obligated to speak out. If we fail to do so, we are not fulfilling our obligations as responsible citizens.

We believe that the present policy of President Nixon is wrong. Consequently, we have spoken out against it. We are here today to speak against it, and we shall continue to oppose that policy.

Other witnesses appearing before this panel have stated the reasons for the student reaction to Mr. Nixon's Indochina policy. Their reasons are our reasons.

We believe that this panel may gain a greater insight into the scope of national unrest if we describe the response of the student body at North Adams State College, and the surrounding community.

North Adams State College is one of the smallest schools in the Massachusetts State college system. The college is situated in the city of North Adams, an industrial city of conservative political orientation. The students reflect a similar social and political character. They have never before in the history of the school come together on an issue of national importance.

On May 5, in reaction to the Cambodian incursion and the Kent State killings, a meeting of the entire academic community was called to discuss the situation and decide on a course of action. Approximately 600 of a possible 900 students, faculty, and administrators came to the meeting, which was conducted in such a way that all sides could voice their opinions. The ground rules were: (1) That we should act—if action was decided upon—as a community; and (2) that a strike, if voted, should be understood not as an action against the college but as a peaceful means of addressing ourselves to the Government. At the end of 90 minutes of deliberation, a vote was taken and the result was 480 in favor of striking, and 104 against.

The faculty and administration then convened to decide on its response. The result of this meeting was a vote of 35 to 4 in favor of supporting "the strike action of the student body in its desire to influence the Government." Formal classes were discontinued, although all classes were met informally so that the rights of nonstrikers would not be infringed upon.

The following 7 days saw intense activity in the form of letter and telegram writing to Congress and college alumni; leafletting at churches, stores, banks, and schools; door-to-door canvassing of the city to explain the strike to the citizens and ask them to sign antiwar petitions; conduct of a strike information center which compiled factsheets on Cambodia and Vietnam and which exchanged calls with the news media and strike centers throughout New England.

On May 12 formal classes were resumed, but active strikers were allowed to stay out to continue work, with options given to them for the completion of academic credit. Another full-scale canvass of the city took place on May 21 to gather signatures for the Hatfield-McGovern amendment.

It is impossible to list all the things that have happened in this remarkable fortnight. We know that a vast amount of learning has taken place among the striking students, and we have seen a visible change in the opinions of the people of North Adams. But the main point is that something totally unexpected came to pass at North Adams State College. Barely felt feelings, inchoate anger, and half-formed opinions coalesced into a beautiful expression of sincere regret at what our country is doing to itself, along with vigorous efforts to redirect our Government's policy toward a more rapid withdrawal from Southeast Asia.

North Adams State College has been a solid member of the silent majority, but the recent invasion of Cambodia has changed our feelings of support to feelings of outrage, despair, and helplessness to influence Government policy. We feel the Government cannot afford to ignore this change in the feeling and thinking of a small conservative, rural, Western Massachusetts College because it may be a more significant bellwether of public opinion than the more prestigious colleges.

A deep concern of our college community is what will happen to hundreds of thousands of concerned and involved students if their working through the system produces no change in speeding up America's withdrawal from Southeast Asia.

Gentlemen, our experience has convinced us that it would be a tragic mistake for our Government to interpret the current popular outcry as emanating solely from the Nation's student population. Discontent within the Nation permeates all segments of our society.

We ask only that you act to alleviate this discontent and give real meaning to the slogan, "Bring us together again."

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY JAMES E. HOUSE, INDIANA STATE UNIVERSITY

I came here today because I believe in "the system." I believe we can make this a better country if the youth can be heard and if the older people will try to understand. The youth of this country is the foundation of this country for in the future, "the torch will be passed" to our generation. We now have an administration which will not try to understand us or listen to us, but even resorts to prejudicial name calling. Students who peacefully disagree with the administration are called "effete snobs" and even for a time "bums," but people in the Southern part of our country who turn over a bus and endanger the lives of innocent children are called "angry parents." There is no doubt why so many youths from our system are looking for another system instead of trying to change things within this system. The reason is the Vietnam war, and our involvement in Southeast Asia.

Let us review our involvement. Some people point to a letter in 1954 by President Eisenhower as our initial commitment in Vietnam. In that letter President Eisenhower said the U.S. Government "expects that this aid will be met by performance on the part of the Government of Vietnam in undertaking needed reforms." We promised them aid if they would "straighten up" their government. What was the nature of the aid that was promised by the Eisenhower administration? On August 17, 1965, Eisenhower said that it was generally understood that this aid would be "only economic aid." This can be construed in no way as a military commitment in Vietnam. I might add that those needed reforms were not, and never have been undertaken.

Others say our commitment was through the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO). If these people would examine this agreement, they would find that we agreed to exhaust all channels for finding peace before we enter upon a course of war. So, you see, we have and are continuing to violate our own promises and signed agreements. It is no wonder that the youth are disillusioned with a war for which they didn't ask and which is in complete violation of our previous agreements. When President Kennedy came into office, he resisted attempts to place men in Vietnam. He did increase the number of advisers, but in so doing he said that it was "their war" and we cannot fight for them; they must fight for themselves. But then President Johnson came along and he escalated. He committed land forces to fight in Vietnam. He placed the weight of battle, which should have been undertaken by the Vietnamese, on the shoulders of American troops. Little by little we became more embroiled in the war until there were 500,000 men fighting. Each step was promised to be the last step, but each step only brought a widening of the war and another, even deeper step. We were caught in a vicious circle from which the administration said there was no escape, save total surrender by the enemy. As the senior Senator from Indiana, Vance Hartke, said, "Escalation breeds escalation." This seems to have been proven true. Now President Nixon, under the guise of withdrawal is widening the war into Cambodia and Laos and asks why don't the youth of this Nation support me. How can he expect us to support him when he purposely deceived the people when he said, during the 1968 campaign, that he had a solution to the war in Vietnam? How can he expect us to support him on this issue when he usurps powers given to Congress by the Constitution by widening the war into Cambodia?

President Nixon is using the argument that we are there, so we must see it through. Sophocles said in the Antigone, "All men make mistakes, but a good man yields when he knows his course is wrong, and repairs the evil." We are not repairing the evil by keeping our troops in Vietnam or by widening the war. We have one and only one course, immediate withdrawal. Our present course is proving that unpopular, undemocratic, and dictatorial regimes can stand with American support. We are ruining our image and our country. This must stop. To stop this we must withdraw. The President was and is running a war with total disregard to the wishes of the American people. We must bring the rule of this country back to the people. The time is now. The opportunity is ours.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY DONALD RAUH, NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

Many of my peers and compatriots feel that in standing against the military adventurism of Presidents Johnson and Nixon, that even in opposing militarism and in demanding "peace, not war," they have broken with their parents. I am

fortunate that in becoming a pacifist I have joined, not broken from my parents.

My father received his M.D. from Harvard and practiced both neurology and psychiatry. Although he served as a doctor during World War II, he was a true pacifist. Not only did he believe both world wars could and should have been avoided, but he believed even the American revolution was wrong, and that we should have waited for our independence as did the Canadians.

One week before his death on August 17, 1966, he and I had a long talk. Since our involvement in Vietnam was resulting in unnecessary deaths, he opposed it. In my ignorance, I had swallowed the administration's deliberate lies and believed even in the foolish domino theory. I was a hawk—believing strongly that we should bomb and mine Haiphong harbor, bomb Hanoi and the rail linkages between Red China and North Vietnam. It was not until 6 months after my father's death, and after many arguments with my friends at school lasting until 3 and 4 in the morning, that I recognized my father's wisdom and the fallaciousness of my arguments.

Even then in August of 1966, he felt you gentlemen, in part due to your damnable seniority system, were destroying this country. You were appropriating tens of billions for war (defense), nothing for pollution control, and little for medical research. You were also tacitly granting the executive branch the power to make war.

This year President Nixon vetoed the HEW bill as being inflationary and then signed a war bill 3 times larger. You Congressmen are also at fault; you passed the war appropriations bill. Nixon is also asking less for pollution this year than last, and one should also note that no action is being taken against car manufacturers, 60 percent of whose new cars do not meet the Federal standards for pollution control. The executive branch actively suppressed this information until Ralph Nader exposed it to the public.

I fear my father was correct; we will destroy ourselves. I have at least learned the wisdom of pacifism and will under no circumstances serve in the Armed Forces of this country unless I personally see no alternative but war. Even if Congress declared war in Southeast Asia now, I would refuse to fight.

I will enter the medical scientist training program at Case Western Reserve University this summer. It is a 6- to 7-year program granting both an M.D. and a Ph. D. During those 7 years, I will work to turn this country from her self-destructive path. If, however, in 7 years this country has not turned around and repudiated militarism, I will leave you to your folly and move to a semicivilized country—if one can be found.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY TOM PETTY, BROWN UNIVERSITY

The Allied entrance into Cambodia and the recent tragic events on the college campus have mobilized popular concern relating to the U.S. policy in Southeast Asia as never before. Congress in the last 3 weeks has been lobbied hard by those who, for a variety of reasons, oppose that policy and suggest alternatives from immediate unilateral withdrawal of U.S. forces to the legislation of a planned withdrawal similar to either the Cooper-Church amendment for Cambodia or the McGovern-Hatfield amendment for the whole of Southeast Asia. Arguments concerning the more pragmatic questions involved—such as the domestic, economic, political, and emotional damage of the war, the lack of support for our policies within the United Nations and among those nations we consider our allies, and the reestablishment of the Congress constitutional authority over the question of war and peace—have been presented very articulately by other witnesses before this hearing. I wish to raise briefly two moral questions which I feel have been generally ignored by a traditionally pragmatic political process of negotiation, concession, and compromise, exemplified by the U.S. Government.

The first question deals with the lack of an objective perception of U.S. foreign policy. Most of my generation was instilled as children with the notion that the United States is the great protector of freedom both at home and abroad and follows a foreign policy of peace and integrity. And yet as young adults we learn that the United States has continually supported reactionary, repressive governments in South America, Africa, and Asia—led in many instances by the military branch of the country. We discover that the United States supported a leader in the southern sector of Vietnam who voided the

Geneva accords by preventing national elections from being held in 1956 as scheduled and whose government was reported by the International Control Commission to have committed significantly more politically repressive acts and atrocities than the government of Ho Chi Minh in the northern section during the period immediately following the Geneva accords. The governments following the Diem regime have not been much more representative of the people; and the current Thieu-Ky regime, with only 35 percent of the vote in the last election, has imprisoned numerous political opponents on trumped-up charges—hardly an illustration of political democracy in action. The past incursions into Laos and the more recent one into Cambodia—military incursions over political borders without consultation—violate the SEATO agreement and the spirit of the United Nations Charter. And yet the United States still feels justified in turning around and self-righteously pointing an accusing finger at Russia for placing pilots in Egypt—pilots who have yet to attack Israeli planes or positions. This type of political hypocrisy has hallmarked United States foreign policy for quite a long time; and its continuation dispels the claims of political righteousness with which many citizens have been indoctrinated.

The second question which I want to raise is to what extent a nation under God should base its policy on ethical considerations. My own opinion is that we should either base our policy along broad ethical guidelines or else admit that Uncle Sam has been taking precedence over God. The ethical tradition of the West has offered three basic approaches to the question of war and peace: pacifism, the crusade, and the just war. Pacifism, which holds that no war is justified in God's sight, has historically been adhered to infrequently and without regard to national self-preservation. The crusade approach, under which the end justifies the means, appears to be the approach we are taking in Southeast Asia, but has historically been condemned as unconscionable. The approach which is best adapted to both ethics and to modern foreign policy is that of the just war, which crudely measures the means used in order to assure that they continue to be justified by the end. My own opinion is that the overwhelming damage which we have wrought in Vietnam in terms of life and land, combined with the tremendous loss of American life and the repercussions of the war at home and abroad are not in any way justified by the end we are serving there—the support of an undemocratic government and the stifling of true Vietnamese nationalism, a force which has been historically much stronger than communism. It is not easy to deal with such Biblical passages as "thou shalt not kill" and "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war anymore"; but I suggest that the United States must either deal with these issues or else remove such pretenses of a "nation under God" as the inscription of "In God we trust" on our currency.

If it is agreed that the United States is obligated to base its policy on ethical grounds and that our war in Indochina is not a just war, then the question of a proper remedy arises. I suggest that a unilateral U.S. withdrawal program be instituted providing for an end to all U.S. military presence in Indochina by June 30, 1971, with the condition that if such a goal is not logistically possible, the target date be extended to provide for the fastest possible extrication of the United States from Indochina.

The United States is currently enveloped in a socio-political crisis which is polarizing the disparate elements of our society. The Government must respond sagaciously to this crisis and lead the country back to the ideals of justice, democracy, integrity, and trust in God upon which it was founded. I urge the Congress and the President to complement the political process with an appreciation for, and an application of, these ideals and the Western ethical tradition.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY ROBERT JULIAN, PATRICK PARISH, ANTHONY TRIPOLI,
AND R. RICHARD VOGEL, UTICA COLLEGE

It is with great difficulty that one tries to understand the national events of the past 2 weeks. The invasion of Cambodia by the United States, the slaying of students at Kent, at Jackson State, the street battle in New York City, and the increasing isolation of those national legislatures who oppose the war; there are the events which should be foremost in the minds of those who try to understand what has happened in the last 21 days.

The United States may very well be the most powerful nation in the world, but in its strength lies its inherent weakness. True freedom of expression is a difficult concept for anyone to accept, for all too often the instinctive response to intellectual opposition consists in the silencing of one's opponent. The invasion of Cambodia served as a catalyst which set in motion the thought processes of virtually every American.

In the hours following President Nixon's address concerning Cambodia, the attitudes of many Americans underwent a significant change. This change could place this Nation in a social situation unique in American history. Polarization is, of course a well-known term used to describe the flocking of moderates to one or another extreme point of view. Richard Nixon, who pledged to bring us together, polarized the Nation by invading Cambodia.

The changes wrought in the thought processes of this country and the polarization of which I speak cannot be expressed in national terms. To understand the effects of the Cambodian invasion one must look to the community. The city of Utica is, perhaps, ideal for such a consideration. The city of Utica, nestled in the Mohawk River valley, a community of 100,000 is neither very large nor very small. The people of Utica have been described as solid, conservative, and hard-working. Included in this community are the students of Utica College, of Syracuse University, and of Mohawk Community College, like most students everywhere, reacted to the events in Cambodia with pronounced yet cautious concern.

It is significant that the Utica community, like most others in this Nation, reacted far more strongly to activities at local colleges than to the President's deployment of American troops in Cambodia. Confused by isolated, but well-publicized instances of violence on some campuses, Uticans were strongly opposed to all types of student antiwar activity. On succeeding Sundays, the Utica Observer Dispatch printed editorials strongly chastizing students for their antiwar position. By reporting a few sensational incidents on campus, the newspaper overlooked the fact that Utica College's peace activity was wholly without violence. The newspaper completely overlooked the 280 students working for peace on the various committees established by the Utica College Peace Committee. (See below.)

The newspaper found it plausible to report on the suggestion of a single faculty member that the college make an "Impeach Nixon Move." The paper also gave only token acknowledgement to the Utica College peace organization. The newspaper readily printed a letter from a part-time faculty member who teaches one night course, complaining of the school's academic policy of giving those working for peace the opportunity of working out acceptable alternatives. Buried in the same article was a report of a meeting between the college's Foundation Board and Utica College Peace Committee representatives. The result of that meeting was a statement by the Foundation Board applauding the peaceful and constitutional conduct of the Peace Committee.

In response to the image being painted by the media, the community is hostile to the activities taking place at the college. Students at Utica College are actively trying to tell their story to the community via a speaker's bureau, door-to-door work, and press releases. Yet the adults have been polarized and the moderates radicalized in virtually the same manner that students have been activated.

The result is a clear indication that dialogue between generations is becoming more and more difficult. The example of the widening service between Utica College and the Utica community is one that is being sadly repeated across the country. The wedge that widens the gap is the tendency on the part of a local publication to play to the emotions rather than to reason.

The youth and the adults of all communities, be it Utica or anywhere in America, must learn that to listen is the first step toward understanding. To strive for understanding means that all must remain fair and rational.

Without a doubt, it is very difficult for the adult world to understand the idealism of youth. It is easier to take the radical element of our youth and regard them as the rule rather than the exception, simply because idealism and singleness of purpose are uncomfortable coming from a sibling. Yet the perspective of peace, brotherhood, harmony, reason and understanding is necessary in each community if this Nation is to survive. The perspective of youth reflects a vibrant desire for this, best expressed by George Bernard Shaw in the lines: "You see things as they are; and you ask 'Why?' But I dream things that never were and ask 'Why not?'"

The Utica College Peace Committee is a spontaneously organized group working for a real peace in Southeast Asia. At its base is the belief that this country was founded on the fundamental principles of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. And that these principles must be shared by all peoples in all nations. Shared without the outside intervention or coercion of "liberally" minded individuals, that is, this society. With these precepts in mind, the Utica College Peace Committee, now numbering 350 active members, has added structure to its first loosely organized group.

This structure is viewed as the most productive and realistic approach to a within-the-system peace movement. Its four main subsections include, political, economic, public and coordinating committees. There are also groups in inter-college liaison, media relations, and in-group information.

The specifics of that structure are as follows:

Political Action Group.—This group is currently working in at least two politically important areas. Realizing that the question of support to administration policies can be at times shady, the UCPC's Political Action group is working on the feasibility and actual implementation of a state wide (N.Y.) referendum designed to test a Nixonian doctrine. Furthermore, this group is compiling dossiers on the major candidates for public office in the areas most influenced by the college's community. In instances where those candidates appear to be most capable, the group will organize "MacCarthy" type campaigns designed to give active support to said candidates. In addition, the group is aiding in procuring speaking dates to educate the surrounding community of the efforts toward peace.

Economic action group.—In this capitalistic system, the most appropriate form of force is that of economic pressure. In view of that, this group is coordinating efforts for the national boycott of certain war-related industry and the redemption of United States savings bonds, all in expressing disapproval of the governmental policy in Southeast Asia. As of this writing, approximately \$3,500 have been pledged in redeemed Bonds.

Public action group.—Here, the main thrust is to bring the ideals and activities to the attention of the community. This group has set up speakers bureaus and a research center to give UCPC's point of view a ring of unrefutability. Its further role is to provide the manpower for the canvassing activities.

Coordinating committee.—This group puts all this together.

The prime roles of the other specific groups are mainly to organize the activities within the entire Peace Committee and communicate those actions to the news media.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY VICKIE MITCHELL, ANNA MARIE COLLEGE

Mr. Chairman, and distinguished members of the panel, my name is Vickie Mitchell. I am a student representative from Anna Maria College in Paxton, Mass. The following are some of my views concerning U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia. I would like to elaborate upon:

1. Cultural differences between the United States and South Vietnam;
2. The strong ideals of today's college students concerning the necessity of communication and trust; and

3. The importance of re-directing national funds toward domestic programs.

The United States cannot hope to impose Western democracy upon an Eastern culture. I say impose because no attempt has been made to understand the culture and to determine what form of government would be most appropriate for Southeast Asians. From this involvement, the United States should seriously consider reevaluating the entire U.S. foreign policy.

As a college student, I personally feel that the United States has not made the best use of its channels of communication. I even venture to say that we have not exercised communication even in our own country, for many college students as well as adults do not understand why we are fighting in Southeast Asia. Let us not equate communication with agreement as it would be absurd to think that everyone will agree on anything.

I do not want to encourage a selfish attitude of the United States, however, I feel that the main concern of the government should be domestic problems. We are all aware that these problems include poverty, racism, aid for higher education, and ecology. If the priorities of the national budget were reevaluated, more funds could be allotted for the alleviation of these problems.

In my opinion, these three points are major contributors to national unrest of the United States.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY ANNE L. BOEDECKER, VASSAR COLLEGE

I appreciate this opportunity to come before you. I have no illusions that you will agree with me. I just hope you will listen with an open mind and think about what I say.

This will probably be my last contact with the traditional political system. Let me explain why. I've been involved in the Peace Movement off and on for 3 years. I campaigned for McCarthy in 1968, I've canvassed and leafleted. I've organized students and collected money for Biafra. I've marched and I've fasted. I've given speeches and written articles. I've read and I've talked and I've listened. And I've waited. I've waited and waited and waited for some indication that this Nation was moving towards peace. And I've seen none. I feel that my efforts have been in vain. Instead of McCarthy we have President Nixon. Instead of peace we have war and violence at home and abroad.

The war in Vietnam continues and has spread into Cambodia and Laos. I can see no end to this war except for the total destruction of Southeast Asia unless the United States accepts defeat and withdraws all troops. I cannot believe President Nixon when he says it will all be settled soon. I've heard that too many times before.

The war at home against dissent continues, and has spread onto college campuses. First we saw looters being shot and demonstrators being gassed and clubbed. Then we saw Black Panthers being murdered and arrested. Now we see students being shot and killed. Do you realize what this means to us? When concerned students see pictures of Vietnamese peasants and Black Panthers being gunned down, they react with horror. When they see their fellow students being gunned down, they're not only horrified but terrified. They know that it could just as easily be any one of a million students in the coffin of each of those Kent State students. Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew have openly declared war on students, in words and in deeds. Any one of us could be next.

It has been said that a common enemy brings people together. I see this happening all around me. Students who once were so far apart that they could never agree on anything now stand solidly together in opposition to the war and to Richard Nixon. Every act of repression brings us closer together. A common oppressor has brought together Asians and Americans, whites and blacks, men and women, young and old.

The more we are repressed, the more we will speak out. And the more violent the repression, the more violent will be our reaction to that repression. Any psychologist will tell you that frustration leads to violence. And we are very, very frustrated. We've been working for change for years. We've used all the legitimate means open to us. We're deeply committed to our beliefs and seek effective constructive ways of fulfilling them. But everything we do is either totally ineffectual or is met with violent repression. So some people, in their anger and despair, turn to violence, either in self-defense or in an attempt to achieve their goal. Their rationale is this—if this system cannot bring peace and freedom then we must destroy it and build a new one that will.

And this system, this social, economic, and political structure, has not shown itself capable of bringing about either peace or freedom. Ours is a violent society. If this is not obvious to you, please, open your mind and take a good long look at the world around you.

Our social system is both sexist and racist. Because of racism, millions of men, women, and children suffer from malnutrition, lack of proper medical care, poor housing, poor education, drugs, police brutality, and the dehumanization of prejudice and discrimination. Because of sexism, thousands of women suffer from illegal abortions, illegitimate children, prostitution, unemployment, and discrimination.

Our economic system is based on production for war. We all know by now that the economy did not really recover from the depression until World War II. And we have been involved in hot and cold wars ever since. Can you imagine what would happen if military spending were even cut in half? Contracts would be canceled, factories would close down, thousands of people would be out of work. Cutting off all military spending would create a depression so deep that 1929 would look like a bump on the graph. What kind of an economic system is this that cannot survive without wars? I'd say it's a pretty lousy one.

Our political system has not shown itself to be very capable of either. The ideal of democracy—that of power residing in the hands of the people through their chosen representatives—is a myth. The real decisions that affect us most are not made here by you, our representatives. They're made in the White House, in the Pentagon, and in headquarters of large corporations. Why? Because that is where the real power is. The power in this country is in the hands of those people with the most money and the most military strength. And you and I have very little of either. That's why I believe that what I say here today and what you decide about what I say will accomplish next to nothing. I just want to explain, to anyone willing to listen, how I feel.

I'm struggling to become human and sane in a society which is neither. I want peace and I see war and violence. I want love and I see hatred, racism, and sexism. I try to work peacefully for change and all my actions are frustrated. I see no hope of working through our present system. I'm totally disillusioned.

I know that I don't speak for a majority of my fellow students. Many of them have yet to go through all that I've been through. When they do, I believe they'll feel about the same way I feel now. And I know that the number of disillusioned and frustrated students is far greater than the number of students out smashing windows and burning down buildings. The rest of us are waiting for our chance to take effective constructive action. And while we're waiting we're studying and talking and listening and learning. Every day we grow in numbers. Every day more and more people become disillusioned with traditional politics. I don't really know what will happen when we get to be a large, well-organized, well-disciplined, and dedicated group of people. I can't rule out the possibility of a full-scale violent revolution.

That may either sound absurd or frightening to you. If I were you I would be scared, because I know how serious I am when I say those words. To me, they're still words, but to many people, especially Asian and Afro-American people, these words are a reality. And if the word "revolution" even becomes a reality to you and me, there is absolutely no question in my mind as to which side I'll be on. I'm willing to die for the chance to create a better society and ultimately a better world. Thank you.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY DONALD D. BLAUSTEIN, GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

I would like to suggest for your consideration what one graduate student thinks is probably the chief underlying reason for so much of the student unrest and dissent in our colleges and high schools as well. I gave a similar analysis before a House subcommittee the day after the demonstration but it is obvious that little or nothing seems to get initiated from these hearings. Therefore I would like to give my analysis. This will be brief.

The struggle on the campuses is like the struggle of the blacks, and like the earlier struggle of the labor unions; it is a struggle to gain recognition and status and it is an attempt to if not gain power, influence power. One had only to be around a campus when the strike was going on to realize the satisfaction many derived from controlling their own destinies, playing the role of medics and lawyers, deriving real ego gratification from a real contest for power and recognition. In a society where more and more younger persons are increasingly aware and sophisticated to the realities of America, and where these people feel alienated from the structures of Government enough so that they form a type of counterculture, it is logical to assume that this powerless group would seek to elucidate power in their own form—thus the student strike. The critical factor is that this is a powerless group and they know it. Many can be drafted without being able to vote. Surely conscription without representation is far worse than taxation without representation. None can hold real political power. Few have the economic resources to effect those in power position like the lobbyists of the special interests. Thus the question becomes when you have over one half the country under the age of 27 years of age how do you make this mass of people believe in the credibility of the system when there is systematic exclusion of them.

The question becomes one of trying to absorb people into the system so that they can perceive their stake in it. This is absolutely essential if one is truly interested in a viable governing apparatus. The age requirement must be low-

ered to 18. Perhaps more importantly the age requirement to run for Congress should be lowered to 21 and for State offices as well. The precedent already exists in Great Britain and would be a positive way of showing faith in many young people. Certainly the protest of a Congressman who was 22 would bear more weight than that of a streetwalker if only a little.

Certainly I would recommend finally that the Congressmen be more personally involved in his district which means to be seen in his district. Often the unseen Congressman becomes an abstraction viewed in the ugliest way by his constituencies. The late Senator Kennedy, I was informed, had thought of a plan to occasionally move the White House to various parts of the country to personify the role of the Presidency. He realized the dilemma that existed of a big bureaucratic state that suffocates the individuality of its members. Perhaps I am mistaken on the details of the idea but the thesis is an interesting one and one that shows great perception.

One can only hope that perceptive Congressmen will seek not in a sense of anger, but rather in a sense of understanding to grasp the deep anger and real doubt so many have for the system and seek to make adjustments in our system that will recognize the numbers and the talent of so many.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY DAVID A. KEENE, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

I want to thank Congressman Findley and the other House Members for providing college students with this forum. I represent Young Americans for Freedom, which has 51,000 members nationwide and is represented on major college campuses through 513 chapters.

I think we would all agree that the right to dissent must be protected in a free society, but we must also recognize the difference between dissent and disruption—between legitimate protest and criminal violence. There is a danger that many students in America are being urged to confuse the right to speak with the nonexistent right to be listened to.

We in Young Americans for Freedom disagree with official policy in many areas, and this has been true in years past. But we realize (even as students) that we are part of the larger society as a whole, and therefore, we will work through the democratic process and through the media to persuade that our views on many issues are correct.

One reason that many students are opposed to our policies in Vietnam is because they are not taught to view the conflict within the context of history. In this regard, I would like to submit the following text of the YAF issues paper, "Vietnam: A Time for Choosing," which explains the position of Young Americans for Freedom.

VIETNAM: A TIME FOR CHOOSING

The confusion and division surrounding the issue of Vietnam has often resulted from viewing the conflict from too narrow a perspective. The problem must be viewed in the context of all Southeast Asia. It must be viewed in the context of the nature of communism. An overall view must ask: (1) the reasons for American involvement; (2) the reasons that our involvement did not bring swift success; and (3) where our policy should be headed now.

WHY WE ARE IN VIETNAM

The Communists are open in stating their plans for world domination. In 1965, Lin Piao, Communist China's Minister of Defense, stated:

If North America and Western Europe can be considered the "cities of the world," then Asia, Africa, and Latin America make up "the rural areas." And the struggle of world revolution today hinges on the struggle of the "rural" Asian, African, and Latin American people against the "imperialism" of the "cities."

If the United States can be defeated in Vietnam, he concluded, the people in other parts of the world will see still more clearly that U.S. imperialism can be defeated and that what the Vietnamese people can do, they can do too.

The war in Vietnam is the result of the announced attempt by the Communist regime in North Vietnam to conquer South Vietnam. On December 14, 1961, President Kennedy wrote to the President of South Vietnam:

The situation in your embattled country is well known to me and the American people. We have been deeply disturbed by the assault on your country. Our indignation has mounted as the deliberate savagery of the Communist program of assassination, kidnapping and wanton violence became clear . . . the campaign of force and terror is supported and directed from the outside by the authorities at Hanoi.

In Communist propaganda, this form of aggression masquerades as a "war of national liberation," a phrase first used by Soviet Premier Khrushchev in 1961 to describe the type of indirect aggression the Communists have undertaken in Vietnam. It is used to give the impression of a war fought by a local population to throw off foreign domination. Such a description reverses the situation in Vietnam. The "liberation" offered by the Communists means domination by Hanoi.

We are in Vietnam so the people of that nation can build a life of their own choosing. It should be remembered that Vietnam isn't the first place where Americans have fought. In two world wars and in the Korean War, Americans went to far lands to help other peoples fighting for their freedom and independence. We answered the call for help from our allies in Europe. Can we do less for our allies in Asia who desperately desire freedom?

Some say that South Vietnam is not worth saving since it is not an ideal democratic state. We remind these critics that while South Vietnam has no history of democratic practice, it is moving in the direction of greater rights for its people. Few nations have attained democratic perfection, fewer yet have tried to do so in the midst of a major war. And history does not support an argument that evolution toward democracy or a free society would be hastened by a Communist victory. Such graft and corruption that remains should not make the real issue of Vietnam: A Communist attempt to engulf all of Southeast Asia through military conquest. Consider the following facts:

1. Today, North Vietnamese troops are in Laos, South Vietnam, Cambodia, and Thailand. In each of these countries they are trying to overthrow existing governments of these countries.

2. Red Chinese "advisers" are training the North Vietnamese troops not only in North Vietnam, but also in Laos and Cambodia.

3. Vast sums of material aid have been poured into North Vietnam from both the Soviet Union and Communist China in order to further the territorial aims of the Hanoi regime, belying the claim that this is a purely local affair.

4. It took a bloody war in Korea to establish the principle that Communists would not be permitted to expand through overt aggression. The same principle, as applied to covert aggression, is now at issue.

From the beginning of the war until the present time, untold atrocities have been committed by the Communist forces in the name of "liberation." From the early assassinations of which President Kennedy wrote, to the horror of the Tet massacres, the North Vietnamese have shown their utter disregard for human life. For example, following the Tet offensive in 1968, over 4,000 men, women and children were found in shallow graves in and near the city of Hue. These victims had their hands wired behind their backs and had been shot in the head. At Dak Son, over 200 women, children and old men were burned to death by Communist flamethrowers.

These Communist massacres are planned and organized. They are an integral part of Communist war policy rivaling in brutality the atrocities perpetrated by the Nazis in World War II. The perpetrators are rewarded and promoted, not tried by courts martial.

The United States has proved time and time again that it seeks no territory, no bases for aggression, no favored position. We seek a world without war, a world safe for diversity. But we have learned the meaning of aggression. Aggression breeds on success. The appeasement of aggressors must lead to eventual surrender, or to a larger war. This was the lesson of Munich.

The results of this conflict not only involve the future of South Vietnam, but also the future of the United States. Our own security is involved in Vietnam. As President Nixon has pointed out:

A nation cannot remain great if it betrays its allies and lets down its friends. Our defeat and humiliation in South Vietnam without question would promote recklessness in the councils of those great powers who have

not yet abandoned their goals of world conquest. This would spark violence wherever our commitments help maintain the peace—in the Middle East, in Berlin, eventually in the Western Hemisphere.

OUR PAST FAILURE

Sir Robert Thompson was the principal architect of the British victory over the Malayan Communist guerrillas in the 1950's. In his book, "No Exit From Vietnam," he points out the chief reasons for the early failure of American strategy.

In the early years of the war, the American military strategy totally failed to grasp the nature of a "people's revolutionary war." Instead of concentrating on building a stable South Vietnamese Government capable of controlling and eliminating the guerrilla insurgency throughout the countryside, the policy was one of "destruction of the enemies main forces on the battlefield." While American troops were winning on the casualty charts and preventing the quick deterioration that seemed likely in 1965, the organization and structure of the enemy within South Vietnam was never threatened.

Nor were sufficient military measures ever taken effectively to interdict supplies reaching the guerrillas from the north. At the very best, this strategy has provided a covering action, permitting the South Vietnamese Government to restructure itself and to obtain a broadened base of support. But it could not win the war for, in a people's revolutionary war, if you are not winning, you are losing, because the enemy can always sit out a stalemate. It was, therefore, a no-win strategy.

WHERE ARE WE HEADED NOW?

We must continue training and arming the South Vietnamese to defend themselves. Properly equipped and trained, they should be able to handle problems of internal insurgency requiring only assistance in material from the United States. The South Vietnamese should assume total responsibility for the battlefield operations. We should provide only a shield against overwhelming foreign aggression.

No guerrilla war has yet been resolved at the conference table. It is in the rice paddies and jungles of Vietnam that the ultimate decision will be made, not in Paris. Any document ultimately signed can only ratify the victory or defeat which the people of South Vietnam achieve or suffer there.

Because of our sympathy with less fortunate people struggling for their freedom and our awareness that the history of our world is destined to be affected by events in Vietnam, YAF pledges its full support to the cause of freedom in Vietnam.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY POTE P. VIDET, PHILLIPS EXETER ACADEMY

Mr. Chairman, as I am a foreign student studying in the United States, I possess an outsider's perspective of American foreign policy, but at the same time I have had the opportunity to participate actively within basic governmental operations of this country. I am deeply grateful for a chance to express my independent views on the recent student protests and the issues confronting Congress regarding the President's Cambodia decision.

The student movement as a political force is a phenomenon rarely achieved in any country. It has been said that an overaged government cannot truly absorb new ideas, and that the only source for innovation and change is in the unconquerable idealism and energetic spirit of youth. I am pleased to see students actively taking over the responsibility of questioning and examining the actions and aims of a democratic government. The students lobbying on the Hill have shown their ability to influence opinions and their leadership in inducing constructive change.

I, however, seriously question the sincerity of the student movement as a whole. My first doubts emerged on Earth Day when I joined 5,000 kids congregated on the Washington Monument grounds for a free concert and a mass celebration of the environment. After the celebration was over, I stared unbelievably at the crumpled fliers, paper cups, and Pepsi cans scattered over the greenness of the monument grounds. Many of the students, who had formed the nucleus of the April 22d crusade, could not find a moment of their time to pick up the mess they had created. Their hypocrisy and the tragedy of the

incident was evidenced in their unwillingness to really care, to make personal sacrifices, and to become totally involved for a cause.

I am not sure if the same conclusions can be applied to the concern of students over Cambodia. I believe, however, that the majority of kids who attended the demonstration in Washington on May 9th forgot why they were there. Many went because their friends went. Others could not find basic, concrete evidence to back up why they were against sending troops into Cambodia—other than the fact that everyone else was. A lot of kids demonstrated because it was a fun thing to do on a Saturday afternoon. Rather than sincere protests, hundreds made known their opinions on Cambodia by swimming nude in the reflecting pool and by pouring chicken blood over their heads. Those who were at the May 9th demonstration know that it was not a serious manifestation of student disapproval of the President's position. It was more of a love-in.

What is most remarkable is that some students act contrary to their stated ideals. A faction of the student movement, while abhorring bloodshed, condemning hawks, and defining war as a no-no, advocates change through violence—whether the change be constructive or destructive. Messages for peace lose their significance when accompanied by the burning of buildings and the throwing of stones. It is a pity to see certain meaningful demonstrations smothered by meaningless yells of "pigs" and "fascists."

I am not trying to be cynical of the validity of student demonstrations, but certain facets of their protests must not be overlooked when one attempts to weigh their value in the formation of a foreign policy. My main criticism is that many students are just as narrowminded and prejudiced as some House committee chairmen. Many close their mind to those over 30 and those with short hair. I am not trying to make judgments on either the establishment or the antiestablishment. We all are guilty of a detressing lack of objectivity. I just wish to bear some light on the other side of arguments to which students are blind.

A multitude of students are calling for the impeachment of President Nixon because he has usurped his President power, i.e., sending American troops into Cambodia without consulting Congress. Those who advocate such action are hitting on the issue. Some historians may recall that Congress furiously accused George Washington of unlawfully acquiring power because the President issued the Declaration of American Neutrality without the consent of Congress. Presidential power has been steadily mounting since the Roosevelt Administration because Congress has lacked the will to assert its authority over the White House. With the discovery of nuclear arms in our modern industrial society, it is evident that an enormous extension of military power must be invested in one decisionmaker. Thus the fundamental issue lies not in whether the President extends his power as Commander in Chief, but how he extends this power.

For example, if the President withdraws all American troops from Vietnam tomorrow without consulting Congress, is he not usurping his power? I doubt if the question of presidential authority would have been raised on any of the campuses in this Nation. Would the argument have been raised had the Cambodian issue been popular?

I have heard many students argue that the sending of American troops into Cambodia without the official request of the Cambodian government is an unjustified act. Americans who back such reasoning are revealing their hypocrisy. Communists—North Vietnamese and Vietcongs—have been using the Ho Chi Minh Trail through the neutral country of Laos and through the sanctuaries in the neutral country of Cambodia for the last 5 to 7 years, without the official consent of either government. But no student or organization in the United States have raised their voice against this offensive act on the part of the Communists, which directly violates the Geneva Agreements of 1954 and 1962. Students have never singled out North Vietnamese and Vietcong intrusions into Laos and Cambodia for criticism. They were, however, quick to criticize the sending of American troops into Cambodia. Many Americans have chosen to forget that there are 40,000 North Vietnamese troops unlawfully stationed in neutral Laos and about 50,000 in neutral Cambodia.

Unfortunately, due to the lack of time available, I cannot pursue other arguments that are circulating on the Hill today. I, however, would just like to point out two grand misconceptions of most Americans: (1) That the majority of the people living in Southeast Asia are peasants, and that they do not care

what sort of system they have to live under so long as they can till their lands and grow their food. So they might as well live under the Communist system, and feel no difference. Therefore the United States can withdraw all their armed forces and assistance from this part of the world, and let it be under the Communist domination; the natives would not care. (2) That Americans should care nothing about what would be the fate of the people in Southeast Asia, because it is a distant land and is of no significance both strategically and economically to the United States. Americans should be concerned only with what is happening within her own borders.

I am sorry I don't have the time to counter these points. But that can wait till another time.

Meanwhile, thank you, Mr. Chairman, for this opportunity. I have spent hours working over this paper. I hope you will spend a moment thinking over them.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY ROBERT POLACK, COLLEGE REPUBLICAN
NATIONAL COMMITTEE

United States involvement in the war in South Vietnam is both necessary and honorable. The United States is bound by treaty to the defense of an invaded South Vietnam. (The war is not a civil war; South Vietnam was invaded by North Vietnam.) The United States must keep her treaty commitments, as any government must keep commitments, if we are to continue to deal with other governments on a credible, diplomatic basis. The defense of South Vietnam from Communist invasion, in particular, is necessary in the long run to our national security and is, consequently, in our best interest.

The United States seeks neither territory nor economic advantage. Furthermore, without a well trained and well equipped South Vietnamese army, it is only U.S. presence that prevents the sure genocide of over 1 million South Vietnamese Catholics and anti-Communists by the North Vietnamese and Vietcong.

Let me make it clear. While I support current U.S. policy in the war in South Vietnam, I cannot justify the equivocal and almost disastrous previous U.S. policies. Only under President Nixon has the war been prosecuted in an effective and honorable fashion. That Vietnam war which the new left and many students are protesting and which much of the news media and some elected officials are condemning is not Nixon's war. That Vietnam war is the war of the two previous Democrat administrations. It was initiated by, conducted by and inherited from those administrations, and it is the political, halfhearted, no win manner in which the war was conducted by them that is directly responsible for the kind of war in which we are now engaged and for the level and nature of U.S. involvement in that war.

President Nixon recognizes the U.S. commitment to the defense of the South Vietnamese. President Nixon further recognizes that this commitment and responsibility can be met without direct U.S. military participation in the war. Through his policy of Vietnamization, President Nixon, unlike his Democrat predecessors, is working effectively both for a just and lasting peace in South Vietnam and for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam. I applaud the President's recognition of the U.S. commitment in South Vietnam, and I actively support his position and his policy of Vietnamization.

Under the Nixon administration the United States has withdrawn over 250,000 troops and has offered to withdraw all U.S. troops if Hanoi will withdraw all of theirs. The United States has declared that it will not retain any military bases. The United States has reduced its air operations in South Vietnam and has halted the bombing of North Vietnam since November 1968. Politically, the United States has, in meeting with the National Liberation Front at the conference table in Paris. The United States has offered to negotiate supervised cease-fires under international supervision to facilitate the process of withdrawal. The United States has proposed free elections organized by joint commissions under international supervision, and we and the South Vietnamese government have agreed to be bound by the outcome of such elections. The United States has further agreed to discuss all subjects and has expressed its willingness to negotiate all issues except self-determination for the South Vietnamese.

The President is pledged to disengage the United States from direct military participation in the war in South Vietnam. His recent deployment of U.S. troops

into Cambodia to destroy enemy sanctuaries is consistent with, in fact necessary for, successful Vietnamization and continued deescalation. I support the President's political and military actions to withdraw U.S. troops from South Vietnam while effecting a just and lasting peace in Southeast Asia. I support the President's policy of Vietnamization and his temporary deployment of U.S. troops into Cambodia.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY MARIANNE SOLLAZZO

PRESIDENT RICHARD M. NIXON: Barring the events of the past month, your policy has been, as I understand it; a decreasing but firm military stance, and an eventual negotiated peace in Vietnam. What can we gain by such a policy?

Ideally, the establishment of some sort of democratic government in South Vietnam. Realistically, we may have to settle for a coalition of some sort. The driving of all Vietcong back above the 17th parallel.

For how long would such a government last in war-torn South Vietnam?

(a) A democracy implies a well-educated voting citizenry. How prepared are these people to govern themselves? Remember, unlike colonial America, they are living on a subsistence or below subsistence economy.

(b) A capitalistic economy implies that people have enough left over and above subsistence, furthermore, to make investments. The war has not helped the South Vietnamese economy; and even with a great infusion of U.S. aid, I would doubt that such an economy could be stabilized very quickly. It would take years, if then.

(c) Do not forget, too, what happens to our aid to many underdeveloped nations. Much of it gets siphoned into corrupt governments, and thus far, the South Vietnamese Government has not proven itself any different.

(d) It would be naive to think that supporters of the North would be entirely expelled, or cease to exist or rise up at all in the South. They will preach nationalism, self-development, prosperity for the peasants, and will appeal to any dissatisfaction of the peasant-farmers, exploiting whatever corruption they find. They will also probably appeal strongly to the Buddhists. Since economic recovery will be slow, they will undoubtedly have a good case, and eventually, the war will begin again. This time, it will be much shorter, however. The South Vietnamese will concede or be killed, and Vietnam will once more be united under a nationalistic, totalitarian, and probably more Peking-oriented dictatorship than would have occurred in 1946, or 1956, if Ho Chi Minh had risen to power.

(e) What will happen in Cambodia will depend on whether or not Prince Sihanouk returns to power. If he does, Cambodia will remain stable. To a certain extent it will be communistic, but "Cambodian communistic," not "Peking-communistic." The same applies to Vietnam—Vietnamese communism will serve Vietnam and no one else. These people will not be dominated by any foreign power, democratic or communistic. Although, I admit, the longer we stay, the harder it will be for postwar North Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia to free themselves from the increasing military ties they are making with Peking and Moscow to fight us off.

In the light of these results of your present declared policy, let us consider now, what would happen were we to withdraw immediately:

The same result would occur more rapidly. The difference—the number of American, South Vietnamese, and North Vietnamese lives lost.

A North Vietnamese massacre? Not if we handle the situation correctly, and offer those opposed to the Vietcong, our asylum before pulling out. Those left would be only loyal Vietnamese, with whom the North has no quarrel, and whom it would be to their disadvantage to kill.

You have said:

"I would rather be a one-term President, than to be a two-term President at the cost of seeing America become a second-rate power and see this Nation accept the first defeat in its proud 190-year history."

True, and I am sure that this and not mere pride is your main concern, Mr. Nixon; that an admission of defeat on our part would cause the democratic nations of Southeast Asia—Thailand, the Philippines, Taiwan, and South Korea to lose faith in us as a military ally. But this psychological blow cannot cause their governments to become communistic, unless the seeds of revolution have already been sown in those countries by mass dissatisfaction of the people

with their present form of government—which would only mean that democracy was not adequately meeting their needs, as they perceive them at the present time. For the root of very kind of Communist uprising in Asia, in this century, has been nationalism and inner-discontent—not Soviet or Chinese imperialism. (Seeking aid from the U.S.S.R. and China has always been a reaction to Western entry and opposition.)

Still, the fear of indirectly allowing all of Southeast Asia, to become communist, if it so chooses, through unrealistic, is, even moreso, not worth the loss of one more human life.

We are in an advanced and secure enough position to be least of all affected by such a turn of events. Our position as a first-rate power would remain entirely untouched. These countries could not hurt us either economically, or militarily, nor would they want to. Nationalism would dictate that they develop themselves first. During this period of development, which will not be very short, we would have time to initiate diplomatic relations with Red China, and all these countries. The prospects of their retaining absolute communism (if there is any such animal) as we seem to conceive of it now, are slim, in light of the agricultural record of Communist nations. Most likely, as they mature, they will begin to look to Japan as an example, and begin to adopt the necessary balance of socialist-capitalist economy that would insure their well-being.

In the meantime, we should help economically when asked, treat them with respect and understanding, and work to make our country a fit example of democracy at work. This, and neither blind isolationism, nor "total victory," is our surest hope for the future.

Now, Mr. President, you have sent troops into Cambodia to attack enemy sanctuaries, and have resumed limited bombing of North Vietnam. You have declared that both these actions are solely for the protection of your Vietnamization program. Although this program is still not the answer, as I have attempted to explain above, your actions of the past 2 months are even more potentially dangerous. What are Lon Nol's qualifications as a nationalist and leader of his people? It seems that you are traveling the same sorry path of those before you in supporting a leader who may not have full national support, just because he is anti-communist!

Even before you addressed us:

"Prince Norodom Sihanouk attended a 2-day summit conference in southern China with North Vietnamese Premier Pham Van Dong, Vietcong leader Nguyen Huu Tho, and Prince Souphanouvong, chief of the Pathet Lao rebels in Laos * * *. It was still possible that the Communists might try to set Sihanouk up at the head of a provisional government in the occupied portions of Cambodia, *for many of that country's peasants fervently hoped that their prince would return.*" (Newsweek, May 11, 1970, p. 28) (italic mine)

The Pathet Lao are already helping to supply Sihanouk's supporters in Cambodia. This appears too much like a tragic rerun of the story of Ho Chi Minh. Sihanouk is being listened to by both Chou En Lai, and even Mao, himself. Once again, the United States has driven a nationalistic leader to seek support from Peking. If you are worried about the balance of power, this is where it is tipping! Sihanouk, in an interview televised Saturday, May 9, 1970, stated that the Vietcong respected Cambodia's integrity as a country—their sole purpose there, was to attack South Vietnam, which Sihanouk did not really mind too much because (and I have not heard anyone refuting these remarks) South Vietnam has demanded Cambodian territory on their mutual border, and control of some Cambodian offshore islands. This is imperialism as Sihanouk sees it, and, if it is true, I would have to agree with him! Granted, should the Indo-Chinese present a United Front, we could declare war and, even if it involved China, we could probably conquer all East Asia, but think of the aftermath. How could we administer such vast territory? Do you really think, after reading Asian history that these people would passively accept foreign domination for any length of time? They would be much harder to advance economically than was post-World War II Japan. By overextending ourselves in this manner, we could then easily become, as did Britain, a second-rate power; and this is, of course, pure speculation, but it looks as if, by that time, we could well be succeeded in first place by Japan, and where would we be then? Japan has opposed all along, our increased intervention in Indochina.

I have not even spoken of the danger of playing around with nuclear war, which overrides this whole argument as reason enough to keep from provoking a full-scale Indochinese war.

Please stop this senseless war, which in the long run can gain us nothing and only cost us more in lives and internal unity. Withdraw immediately, and show the world that the United States is mature enough to admit its errors. Stop underestimating the Asian people, overestimating the unity, longevity, and nature of communism, and prolonging this tragic mistake!

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY MIKE MYERS, XAVIER UNIVERSITY

I have read the presentation which our delegation has drawn up to present to you. I do agree with its main thrust in total and believe it is representative of much of Xavier University. However, I feel that my particular feeling about this whole problem goes much deeper and cannot be given justice in a 10-minute presentation. For this reason, I have prepared this written statement to aid you in your insight. This statement is, I think, indicative of the feelings of a small, vocal minority at Xavier and a larger minority at other universities.

For most college students, World War II is almost as impersonal an object of study in history as is World War I or the Spanish-American War. As far as students are practically concerned, there has always been a Pentagon; there has always been nuclear capability; there has always been an Asian war. Before World War II, the entire American military numbered 134,000 men. Today we have 3½ million men under arms worldwide; half a million of whom have been specially trained for riot control domestically. The military-industrial complex is very real to students, and it seems to them that America cannot go on with the present militarily-oriented system with its \$80 billion a year budget; allowing racism, pollution, the cities, etc., to receive token attention and unenforced laws; and still remain anything like the "land of the free."

The only point of government is to safeguard and foster life. This Government has seemingly become preoccupied with an institutional system of death. So-called defense now absorbs 60 percent of the national budget and about 12 percent of the gross national product. Students who a few years ago were working in Appalachia on weekends; tutoring inner-city people several hours per week; or campaigning for doomed peace candidates now view such efforts as futile "finger-in-the-dike" action against an all-pervasive sea of misguided priorities.

Those who are not inherently a part of this structure; that is, students, teachers, artists, the blacks, and the poor; can only demonstrate their concerns in their own life-style, in protest marches, and ultimately, in frustrated violence. This becomes especially true when the response is "benign neglect" or reactionary tactics and rhetoric. The "silent majority" is understandably afraid of all this; but the fear has not led to concerned awareness (which is the basis of a working democracy), but rather to a violent indifference retreating even farther into a defensive "status quo."

It is a tragic polarization which can only be conquered by communication, which is why we are here, and we do thank you. Violence cannot be justified; but it is a form of a passionate plea after verbal communication has broken down. Violence, indeed, only begets violence; but there is a consistent violence in this country that makes throwing rocks look like child's play. It is the violence that puts the business of death above the business of life, and property above human need. And it is fast becoming the American way of life.

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY DAVE KAISER, COLLEGE REPUBLICANS OF MINNESOTA

President Nixon continued his course of dividing our Nation and alienating the young by rubbing salt into the open wound of the Nation's conscience, by widening the Vietnam war into Cambodia. In my opinion, the President clearly overstepped his constitutional authority, and is guilty of a breach of faith with the American people.

The College Republicans of Minnesota cannot watch silently as the young people of our State and Nation protest the President's recent decision to illegally extend an immoral war into Cambodia.

We join with our fellow students and all young people in deploring and condemning this action.

We join with students everywhere in mourning the deaths of the four Kent State students in Ohio.

Those people that think that the students of America enjoy protesting, enjoy violent confrontations with police and the National Guard, enjoy being harassed by the supposed forces of law and order, enjoy being tear-gassed and beaten by the supposed forces of law and order, and enjoy being shot and killed by the supposed forces of law and order, had better think again.

We do not condone violence by anyone anytime. But we do deplore and condemn those actions taken by officials of our government that bring about the need for protests and demonstrations.

Any individual with a social conscience and humanitarian ideals has no choice but to join with us in our concern for the state of our Nation today.

There is something gravely wrong with a country when the leader of that country withholds a few million dollars from health, education and welfare programs because that extra spending causes inflation.

There is something gravely wrong with a country when that country spends \$90 billion on more effective ways to kill, and that does not cause inflation.

There is something gravely wrong with a country when the students of that country feel that the only way that they can effectively communicate with their leaders is through mass protest.

There is something gravely wrong with a country when its leaders hold in contempt and reject the will of a large segment of the population.

There is something gravely wrong with a country when its leaders attempt to suppress the constitutional right of dissent.

There is something gravely wrong with a country when in 1 day five American's are killed by a hostile force in a foreign land, and when in that same day four Americans are killed by other Americans on one of our Nation's campuses.

What is wrong with this Nation is a war in which we are sacrificing our resources and best young men in a fruitless effort, and one that is termed a mistake by our own Government, while our domestic problems go unsolved.

This nation could return to domestic peace and move toward progressive reform if the leaders of our Nation would only listen to the voice of the people and return our troops home.

I praise Anthony Moffett, the former Presidential youth advisor for his determination and courage. I also praise Walter Hickel for his effective representation of the problem in his letter to the President.

I believe that this is the number one issue facing America.

I believe that it is the issue that will make or break the Republican Party, and more importantly, make or break America.

We have an opportunity to restore hope and faith among the young of our Nation, let us not lose that opportunity with precipitous action.



