

"Despite a lot of high sounding talk about academic freedom and the independent spirit of inquiry, most university people are basically whores. Flash a big enough check at a college president, and he'll be panting and sitting in your lap. For a smaller check, he'll practically order his best friend to leave a department chairmanship and go to Wallawallowoo for five years to run a foundation research project, provided there are a few bucks in it for the university."

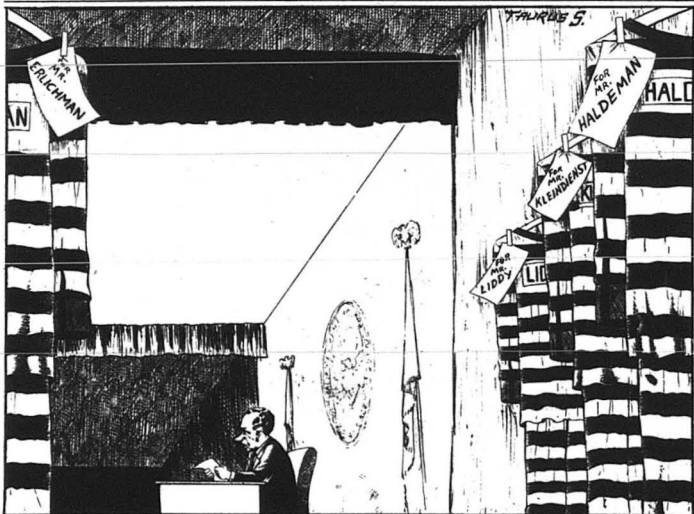
from **The Money Givers**
Joseph C. Goulden

The Pointer

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NO. 23



"As the man at the top, I must accept overall blame for what happened in the 1972 Re-election campaign. (...however,....)"

Amnesty: Can We Admit We Were Wrong?

By G.E. Rutkowski

Editor's note: The plight of the war resister, exiled from America has gotten worse. Sweden, once a haven for those resisting military involvement in the Vietnam war, is all but closed. Canadian legislation of Nov. 3, 1972 makes it all but impossible to obtain immigrant or landed status from within the country. The implementation of the new law could result in the deportation of many who have found refuge there. The maximum penalty awaiting those classified as draft evaders or as military deserters is five years imprisonment.

The Peace Studies Program at this university sponsored a colloquium of veterans and exiles on the question of amnesty. The program, entitled "Amnesty: Shall They Return," was held May 1 at 7:00 p.m. in the Wright Lounge of the University Center. Approximately 30 students, faculty and townspeople attended.

Two men exiled in Canada took part in the program via telephone from Toronto. Jack Calhoun, a former Second Lieutenant in ROTC and a graduate of the University of Wisconsin-Madison, has been an exile since leaving the United States in 1970. Steve Grossman,

of Chicago, a former member of the Peace Corps, has just arrived in Canada. He is classified as a draft evader. Calhoun and Grossman were joined in the pro-amnesty argument by Mike Aird, secretary of the local chapter of the Vietnam Veterans Against The War. Aird served in a reconnaissance company in Vietnam. Two Stevens Point businessmen argued against federal amnesty. They were: Jim Feigleson, a Korean War veteran and partner in the City News Service, and John Tompkins, a Vietnam Veteran who spent six and one half years in the Army and who is now the owner of the Stereo Shop. Richard Christofferson, of the Political Science department, acted as program moderator.

Each panelist was allowed to make a 10 minute opening statement. Feigleson spoke first: "...I personally feel America is the best place to live in the whole world, I feel that it is our responsibility as citizens to adhere to our government's requests and to defend our government's international positions, regardless of our personal views." He cited the "legal means" to register opinions, and said, if we accept the rights of a citizen, then, "we have to accept the call of our country when she feels she needs our services. I am op-

posed to amnesty for draft evaders and deserters."

Aird, in his opening remarks, asked how we could demand that anyone fight in a war which politicians have been campaigning against as illegal and immoral since 1968. Aird said it is commonly accepted and taught that killing is wrong with one exception, i.e., in war, since there is a 'cause,' servicemen can kill. "When most servicemen got to Vietnam, or prior to this, they could not find any cause for the killing. The Vietnamese people didn't want us there." Aird concluded, "Because of the divisions in this country over the Vietnam war, how can we expect anything but total amnesty for everyone...The politicians that got us involved, the people who supported the war, those who had the courage to oppose the war, those who exiled themselves, or were put in prison, or deserted because of their opposition should be given amnesty."

Tompkins served in Vietnam for a year and a half as a door gunner in a helicopter. He left the service after six and a half years when he became "fed up" with running reconnaissance missions into Laos while President Johnson was saying Americans were not in Laos. He said, "I do not agree with the

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Hamilton Landslide In Record Turnout

In the largest student turnout in years, Jim Hamilton, student controller, gained the student senate presidency for the 1973-74 academic year. Hamilton's closest opponent, John ("Skee") Shabino, was swamped by a thousand votes. The breakdown on the presidential race is as follows:

Hamilton:	1367
Shabino:	367
Fritsche:	50
Write-ins:	47

Interviewed moments after the victory announcement, Hamilton briefly stated, "With the continued support of those students, I will do everything I said I would do." Hamilton praised the voters and the campaign workers who made the landslide possible.

In the vice-presidential contest Gary Winters took a similarly smashing victory over Larry Gordon. The vote totals were Winters, 1385 and Gordon,

376 with one ballot spoiled. Winters could not be reached for comment at the time of this writing.

In the uncontested race for the treasurer's post Richard O'Konek polled 1318 votes. were 512 write-ins, including one vote for Richard Nixon. One ballot was spoiled.

Outgoing president, Joe LaFleur, commented on the heavy balloting: "The significant thing is the number of people that voted. That ought to stand them on their ear somewhere." LaFleur said he is going to write a letter to each and every regent, pointing out that student power and student government now enjoys broad-based support on this campus. LaFleur noted, the total vote of 1831 shows this to be true.

The new officers assume their duties at the last official meeting of student government to be held next week.

Nuclear Generator In Rudolph Generates Opposition

On April 24, almost 300 townspeople and other concerned Central Wisconsin residents, including a group from UWSP, attended a Citizen's Forum at the Rudolph School. The topic under discussion is the possibility that a site in the town of Rudolph may be chosen for the construction of a nuclear generating plant.

A year ago, four state utility companies had expressed the need for such a plant and had begun looking into over eighty possible sites. Recently however, the utilities announced that they had cut the choices down to five, which included the site in Rudolph which is in Wood County. Other possible locations named were in Sheboygan, Jefferson, Kenosha, and Grant Counties.

In late March, the Stevens Point Journal had stated that the site was north of Biron and about a mile southeast of the Village of Rudolph, most of it being north of County Trunk P. The site is only a mile west of the Portage County line.

According to rough estimates, the total investment in such a plant could approach \$900 million. One advantage given for the Wood County site is its closeness to transmission lines that run to Minneapolis and Chicago.

Lyle Uppdike of the UWSP Environmental Council, one of the groups that had members at the Rudolph

meeting said that environmental groups have to start working early to try to inform the citizens of the possible hazards of such a plant. Uppdike noted that in the case of the nuclear power plant, on Lake Michigan at Point Beach, near Two Creeks, Wisconsin, opposition had strongly developed only after the licenses had been applied for resulting in little that could be done to stop the construction of the plant.

Although the exact size of the site and production that would be involved has not yet been determined, the utilities will have the power of condemnation in acquiring the land. Uppdike commented that if the utility companies came up with the permits and satisfied all other requirements, landowners in the area could be faced with condemnation.

Plans suggest that once the site is selected that it will take at least six years to build the plant. It would probably be at least 1975 before construction could begin. Also, an environmental impact statement must be presented to the state and federal agencies for approval before construction can begin.

Uppdike noted that the people of the Rudolph area certainly were concerned, but not committed as of yet. "Because the meeting was organized so quickly, nobody for the utility

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Hamilton Outlines Student Government's Future

Editor's Note: Student government elections were held on Monday, Apr. 30. Jim Hamilton out-pollled two other candidates in the race for student body president, reportedly capturing some 70 per cent of the vote. Also elected were Gary Winters, Vice President, and Richard O'Konck, Treasurer. On the day after the election, the Pointer asked Hamilton about the future of student government under his leadership.

Pointer: "What are the most most immediate changes we will see in student government under your leadership?"

Hamilton: "That's an easy one because, while I was campaigning, the biggest thing that I hit on was that I want to involve dorms more in what's going on, so I will implement the University Planning Board. Before I go into that, I will say that also I'm going to make changes in the structure of student government, and that next year we will have a parallel committee structure similar to the faculty's. Now their responsibilities will be exactly the same type of responsibilities. Formerly Joe (outgoing president Joe LaFleur) has been able to appoint all three members to the faculty committees. What I'm going to do is appoint one senator and tell him to appoint two students at large, that he can work with and that are interested in the area, such as business majors who are interested in the business area, and just these different types of things. When I can get people together, then the rest of the committee, these three people, will also make up student committee, and that chairman won't have voting privileges unless there's a tie.

There will be two more senators on it, and there will be two assembly people; I'll appoint the senators and (vice-president-elect) Gary Winters will appoint the two assemblymen. That's a six-member committee—two non-government people, two senators and two assembly people. There would be five standing committees; the same as the faculty, with a couple of sub-committees; (such as) one on campus planning, one on parking, and this type of thing. The way this campus Planning Board will be set up will be with five senators, (and by the way, I have to get a hold of the President's Hall Council to see if they accept this, if they want to do it, but this is what I'd like to see anyway) five representatives from President's Hall Council, who they'll pick at large, any way they want to. The president of the President's Hall Council and myself will be co-chairmen of the planning board. Then there will be the student senate controller, because he knows about money matters all over the campus, and there will be three other assembly people who are not 'dorm representatives because they are already represented on this board. Our sole function will be to meet, hopefully, every other week. I realize people don't have that much time and all this, but when the problem arises, we'll definitely meet. Whoever wants to call a meeting can, basically, if there's a problem. I hope we can meet at least once a month, and possibly twice a month. So these are the biggest changes I'll make, and I think if we can get our input from the student government level and from the dorm level, and get this input into the chancellor, that we'll have a damn good chance of getting a lot of the things that we want through."

Pointer: "We are all well aware of the cutbacks (faculty members, etc.) associated with a dropping enrollment at this institution. How will student government move to insure that necessary cutbacks are made with an eye to the quality education students deserve?"

Hamilton: "Well, this is really going to be hard, because of the areas of tenure, and the problems facing tenure, but what we can do is have campus-wide evaluations. Now I know that Skee (John "Skee" Shabino, Hamilton's defeated opponent in the election) is interested in this, and I've been interested in this for two years. I hope that I do have a good working relationship with Skee, and maybe he can organize some of these things. But what we want to do is, if we can't force a tenured teacher out of his position, or out of his job, we can still inform students as to what kind of course, that is, what kind of instructor this guy is, and all this type of thing. What we found, over the last few months, is that people who wanted to come to this school and wanted to take a certain major we didn't offer, didn't switch to another major, naturally, they just went somewhere else. It's the same way with courses; if they come to a course that they don't want to take because the instructor is bad, and it's required, well then they just take

another course; they don't bother with it. And if we can have these evaluations out, no underclassmen will get burned, as they normally do. At the end of the day (registration day) classes are filling up all over the place, and they don't really realize what this teacher is like, or they can't do anything about it. It's a tough problem. We'll also be looking in the university for where they can save money—Gesell Institute for instance; that's not a university function, basically, and that's quite a large budget. The administration has been faced with this now, now that they have to close out Gesell; this will save us quite a bit of money. There are studies being done in the budget office that are going to come out shortly, saying that they are overstaffed in administration, and this type of thing. So this is what we'll go for, these types of things. But I'd also like to see a lot of credits offered for testing, where you could test out. Then we wouldn't have to have the large number of faculty members in classes that are just rudimentary; elementary classes that most people can just test out of, and we can get right into the heart of the courses.

Pointer: "As the outgoing student controller, what steps will you suggest be taken to guarantee students a maximum return (in services, activities and benefits) for their money?"

Hamilton: "As student controller, we did set up this year the advisory committees; I've gone into those before, so I won't go into them again. One of the other positive things, is that we set every account on a revolving basis. Now this will have more of an effect on income makers, but it will also allow us to get people thinking self-sustaining. In other words, next year unless University Film Society comes in with a very large request, they will be self-sustaining; they will never have to come before student senate again for money. This is what we want to try to promote. What this also does is promote extreme efficiency within an organization. If it comes toward the end of the year and it doesn't look like they're going to be able to keep within their budget, they have to eat it; it has to come out of next year's budget. Formerly they just went over and said 'We need this, we need some extra funds here, or we need them there,' and there wasn't really anything we could do about it because we had to cover them, in a sense. But now we won't have to cover these groups... What this does, in effect, as I said before, it makes them more efficient and it also makes them more realistic toward the budget factors. We won't have any huge requests anymore; we won't have \$150,000 requests. And, by the way, this year when the groups did come in for their requests, they were quite reasonable, well-put together, and I think that the students that were involved in the making of each individual budget did a fantastic job.



Pointer: "How do you intend to increase student interest and confidence in student government? How effective can that government be?"

Hamilton: "This is really an interesting question. I was over at Pray-Sims Hall to give a little talk, about fifteen minutes, and then I said 'Okay, are there any questions?' One of the questions was 'Well, there's so much apathy on this campus, how can you hope to get anything done?' I got really mad, I really did. I tried to hold my temper, but I guess I lashed out, and I said 'Listen, apathy can be over one week from today. It can be over if we get 2,000 people to vote,' and they laughed. And we got 1,800 (to vote). So apathy is dead; everybody wants to do



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something, now all we have to do is channel everyone's energies into what they want to do, where their interests are, and this type of thing. I really don't think it's going to be that hard, but I am going to work at it. I'm not just going to say, 'Well, it'll happen, I'll just let it come, and that's that.' I want to channel these energies, now, that we've accumulated over this election. The issues are plain, and the problems are plain, and now we have to come up with some solutions. One of the things I plan to do this summer is go around to as many of the orientation groups as possible, hopefully all of them, and just acquaint myself and the freshman with the government of this university and what we're doing and what we're trying to do. If we can do this this summer, if we can do it next summer and the summer after that, and just keep it up, and involve freshman right when they get on the campus; to tell them exactly what's going on, what to look out for, this type of thing, as far as the administration, faculty and staff are concerned, and other students. Then, I think, we'll have a real effective organization in two years."

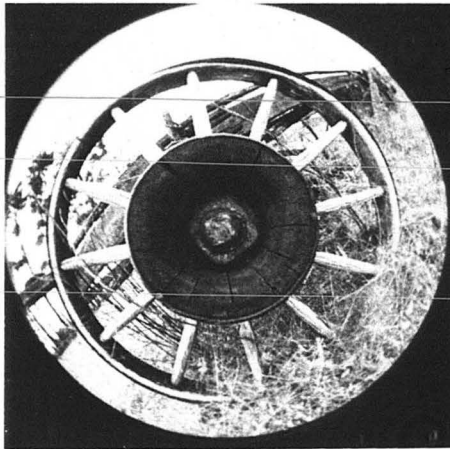
Pointer: "Are there matters you would like your constituents to be considering between now and next fall?"

Hamilton: "Absolutely. I want to say, first of all, that everybody that voted for me shouldn't forget that they voted for me, because I need their help now. I need it more now than I did even before the election, because now we have to implement the things which we want to do. They should just try to be aware as possible of what's going on. If they don't like something, they shouldn't keep it to themselves, they should pass it on to somebody. They should find out who their senators are, and if they have a problem or anything like this, they should just tell him or her. They should say 'Listen, can you do anything about it, will you look into it?' I really steadfastly promise that we will, we'll try; we'll try to cover everybody's problems and everybody's needs, and that's all we can do, is try."

Farm Workers

To Speak

There will be a symposium concerning the pending Grape Boycott on Tues. May 8 at 7:30 p.m. at St. Joseph's Church Hall, 1709 Wyatt Ave. Brother David Jorgenson and Pablo Lopez, both of Milwaukee, will conduct the event which is sponsored by Friends of the Farmworkers.



"In Just Spring"



Photos by Tony Menzer
and Roger Barr

Nix-on Justice: The Kent State Example

Reprinted by permission of David E. Engdahl, University of Colorado Law School, 1972.

ITT, the wheat deal, Watergate and charges of political sabotage, are colorful stories readily turned to political profit in an election year. They tend to obscure, however, other grave abuses which are even more insidious because they are more subtle.

On Oct. 12, a complaint was filed in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, charging the Attorney General of the United States with "willful, arbitrary, capricious, bad faith, discriminatory, and lawless abuse of discretion" in refusing to permit the Kent State University shootings of May 4, 1970, to be investigated by a federal grand jury. The plaintiffs include not only the parents of the young people who were killed by Ohio National Guardsmen on May 4, but also one of the members of President Nixon's Commission on Campus Unrest.

Immediately after the tragic event of May 4, 1970, the FBI commenced a thorough investigation which occupied approximately 100 agents for several weeks and produced some 8,000 pages of testimony and other evidence concerning the shooting. In July, 1970, the FBI findings were summarized in a document prepared by the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice. This Justice Department Summary, never released to the public, showed many of the stories that had circulated after the shooting to be false. The Summary concluded that there had been no riot at Kent State University on May 4. The assembly of students had been peaceful and quiet until after the National Guard, without apparent legal authority, began to disperse them. Only one guardsman required any kind of medical treatment for injuries on May 4. That guardsman was treated for a bruise but remained on duty and participated in the shooting some fifteen minutes later. No guardsman even claimed to have been hit with rocks immediately before firing. The guardsmen were not surrounded; they still had ample teargas to use if it were needed; there was no sniper. National Guard officers on the scene told the FBI that there was no danger to the lives of the guardsmen, and that it was definitely not a shooting situation. Yet several of the guardsmen had to be physically restrained from continuing to fire. No warning was given to the students, and several of the guardsmen admitted aiming their fire at specific persons. There was no encroaching mob endangering the guardsmen. Only one victim of the shooting was closer than thirty yards from the firing line, and 10 of the 13 victims were more than one hundred yards away. Several were mere passers-by. The much publicized claim that the guardsmen's lives were in danger, was apparently fabricated subsequent to the event. These were the conclusions, not of some biased observer, but of the Justice Department itself.

A documentary motion picture released in October, 1972, narrated by E.G. Marshall, and produced by Alva I. Cox, Jr. makes graphically plain the accuracy of these findings.

Since the FBI could not put witnesses under oath or compel testimony, as a federal grand jury could, several questions remained unanswered. In particular, the Justice Department Summary noted that without further investigation it could not be determined what had started the shooting "aside entirely from any question of specific intent on the part of the Guardsmen or a predisposition to use their weapons."

The President's Commission on Campus Unrest examined the FBI findings as well as a great deal of other testimony and evidence, and concluded that the shooting was completely "unnecessary, unwarranted and inexcusable". Although it had been given the power to grant immunity and compel testimony, the Commission declined to exercise this power specifically because it had been assured by the Justice Department that criminal prosecutions were contemplated. To avoid interference with the expected prosecutions, the Commission not only declined to use its power to compel testimony, but also refrained from specifically accusing particular persons of criminal actions on the basis of the FBI's findings and their own. Subsequently, members of the Commission have been among the most vocal critics of the administration's refusal to proceed with a federal grand jury.

A private study published in the Congressional Record on July 22, 1971, and scheduled to appear in book form January, 1973, advances a credible argument that the Kent State shooting was the result of a prior agreement among certain guardsmen.

Witnesses report that Cavalry Troop G gathered in a huddle before marching up a hill to the spot where the shooting would take place. Those same guardsmen a few minutes earlier had knelt and aimed their rifles at a small group of thirty to fifty students in a parking lot separated from the guardsmen by a chain link fence. That time, although an officer fired a pistol (perhaps as a signal) the riflemen did not fire. Nearly all of the victims of the subsequent shooting, however, fell in that same parking lot. And it was several of the members of Troop G who turned in unison 135 degrees as their sergeant gestured with his pistol, and then, retracing a step or two, opened fire.

Certainly this "conspiracy theory" cannot be either confirmed or refuted without further investigation, utilizing the means of testimonial compulsion available to a federal grand jury. The evidence already available, however, is strong enough that James Michener, the Pulitzer Prize-winning author whose own impartial and meticulous investigation of the Kent tragedy became a best

seller, has termed the conspiracy argument "irrefutable."

For more than a year after the FBI investigation and the Justice Department's Summary were completed, Attorney General John Mitchell maintained silence. Inquiries made to the Justice Department were answered with vague indications that the matter was undergoing further study. A score of Congressmen and Senators, as well as students, parents of the dead victims, and others concerned over the unexplained and seemingly inexplicable delay, repeatedly called for the evidence to be placed before a federal grand jury.

Finally, late on a Friday afternoon (when press coverage would be minimal) and after Congress had adjourned for its summer recess, Mitchell announced on Aug. 13, 1971, that he had determined that no federal grand jury investigation would be had. He tersely declined any further comment.

The response of those who had made themselves familiar with the known facts of the shooting was immediate, and has been continuous ever since. The parents of the dead students released a statement expressing shock and dismay at the decision. They had been confident from earlier indications that justice would be done. But now they expressed their bitter conclusion that the

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"...If anyone cares to entertain himself by throwing a stone into the stagnant complacency of contemporary human interests, it matters little whether he cast a pebble or a pearl."

--Anonymous

Amnesty Continued

draft laws that were in effect in this country. I don't agree with the war. I'm probably as liberal as anybody else, but I don't think that a man wins or solves anything by running away from his fight. Tompkins said he would like to see exiles return, but believes draft dodgers should do alternate service.

Calhoun outlined the experiences in America which led to his decision to leave rather than serve in Vietnam. He enlisted in ROTC as a freshman in 1964 with what he called "small-town Goldwater influences." In 1966-67 Calhoun said he saw the government was lying about Vietnam. He decided he could not serve in that war, but was still in ROTC. "I had to stay in ROTC because they had a way of doing things that if you were to drop out in the last two years that was a automatic 1-A draft classification." Calhoun said he suffered from a serious skin ailment for four years and was told by a ROTC major that he would receive a physical discharge. The major was transferred and "once the sergeants heard I wanted to get out of ROTC they made certain I stayed in." In 1968 Calhoun, then commissioned by ROTC, began 2 years of graduate work and tried to use the legal system to get out of the military. Although he had a four year history of skin ailments, a serious emotional problem and letters to prove both, his appeals were refused. Calhoun underwent his sixth physical examination and army admitted he was unfit for service. In spite of this the Fifth Army reversed the decision and state politicians working on the case could do little when the Surgeon General upheld the decision. Calhoun was willing to continue working with mentally retarded children, a volunteer job he had begun in 1967, but no alternate service positions were available. Rather than be drafted for Vietnam service, he fled to Canada.

Steve Grossman continued the conversation from Toronto, "There is no room in a just

society for punishing people whom we now must admit were right. We need to pull that feeling out of our hearts and turn it into some kind of action. That is where the pain is. The war has hurt us so badly, the loss has been so great that it's very hard to do that thing we've been told since we were children; 'admit you were wrong.' That seems to me to be very necessary if anything positive is to come out of the war." Grossman called for unconditional, non-punitive amnesty for all. "Any amnesty that will treat draft dodgers and deserters a different way is going to draw a class line right between the middle of the working class, right between the white and non-white." Grossman said more than 60,000 men, women and children exiled in Canada and Europe have been affected by the no-amnesty position. He said there are an estimated 200,000 jailed or underground war resisters in the United States. To that can be added a half a million men who have received less than honorable discharges for "rattling the cage while in the service."

Christofferson opened the floor to questions and statements from the audience. Gib Halverson, a Vietnam Veteran addressed Feigleson. Halverson said he believed one owes a higher allegiance to the constitution than to a particular administration. He added, "I think it's time to realize there is no such thing as freedom of speech, or of the press, or of assembly in Vietnam. We're not fighting for constitutional principles, we're fighting to keep a dictator in power." Tompkins agreed with Halverson but still maintained, "Those who did not have the

convictions to stay and fight in one way or another should come back and be accountable."

Questions from the floor included three asking where amnesty can be found for those who fled to school to evade the draft, those who served in Vietnam and those who were never called but stood and are as guilty as anyone. Grossman answered, it is not productive to feel guilt over not having taken a different view of the war at an earlier date. He said, "The point is to begin right now in the present with what we have learned in this point of time about the war and act upon our new premises."

Tompkins, who had to leave early suggested, "I would like to be a little birdie there with a camera and take a picture of the look on the U.S. Marshall's face when all 60,000 of you turn yourself in at once." Grossman questioned whether that type of organization would ever be possible. Feigleson, under pressure from audience questions regarding an earlier statement said, "I knew this would be a learning experience when I decided to come here. You are on the way to changing my mind. You have been very kind and I thank you."

Aird summed up the pro-amnesty discussion by saying, "The Vietnam war is basically a moral issue. If you are right morally to oppose the war then the only way we can get around this issue is to have some form of denial of the war through the government. That denial would be a total amnesty." Calhoun suggested interested persons contact ANNEX, an exile publication. Calhoun is on the board of directors of ANNEX and their address should be available through the Peace Studies office on this campus.

Exchange Students Find Experience Rewarding

Editor's Note Following is an interview with two exchange students from Grambling University in Louisiana who are attending UW-SP this semester. Joyslyn Sams is a Senior Special Education major. Edward Lewis is a Junior Business Administration major. Both students live in dorms at UW-SP.

Pointer: "What is the purpose of the exchange program?"

Sams: "The purpose of the exchange program is to make white students aware of a black environment and black students aware of a white environment. A similar exchange program is now going on at UW-Whitewater and UW-Eau Claire. Everyone in the program feels that it provides a good opportunity to experience cultures other than your own."

Lewis: "The purpose of the exchange program is to provide a student with experiences in different cultural and academic surroundings. Both black and white people benefit from exposure to each other's culture."

Pointer: "How would you compare the academic environment of UW-Stevens Point with Grambling University?"

Sams: "To me, I feel that at Grambling you must really work and go out of your way to get information. Here at Stevens Point, instructors tell you how to do assignments and where to find the information. At Stevens Point, everything is mapped out, all you have to do is follow the guidelines. I've come to the conclusion that it is easier here than at Grambling. But talking to students here, they think it's hard at Stevens Point. If they went

to Grambling and really had to work hard, they would see the difference."

Lewis: "The classes here are mostly lectures and are less demanding than those classes at Grambling. At Stevens Point, all that is required is usually passing the tests. At Grambling, students are given more assignments, book reports, and class participation is required. Fifty per cent of the course grades at Grambling is usually based upon class participation and group projects."

Pointer: "What are the major problems you have experienced thus far in your semester at UW-SP?"

Sams: "I didn't have any major problems, but getting closer to students in the dorm did prove difficult at times. At first, people over-expressed themselves. I thought it was a "put-on" at first, but after a while you can see "where they are coming from." I usually tell people that "If you're for real, be for real" because I'm not paying for the act they may be putting on. Generally, things are cool, but the other night some guys in a car yelled "Hey nigger, get off the street." I said, "You're not talking to me because I'm not a nigger." In going out in the community, people occasionally turn around and stare. One thing that gets me is that although people around here aren't exposed to many blacks, you can go to local high schools and kids will use terms like "nigger." I've always wondered why these children would use the term "nigger" if they haven't been exposed to black people. I've concluded that they are only repeating what their parents or some old person has said. You can't blame the kids, since they don't understand the meaning of

the things they say, but this can't continue because it's only hurting the kids. I hope that through the presence of black students on this campus, the close-mindedness evident in this community can be broken."

Lewis: "It's taken quite a little time to get adjusted to being the only black student in a class but I have not experienced any major problems. The biggest adjustment I've had to make has been in regard to the weather. Never in my life have I fallen on ice so much or seen so much snow. Students are constantly reminding me that this was a "mild" winter compared to previous years. Also, it takes time to adjust to the different dress styles on campus. Blue jeans and sweat shirts appear to be the most common style on campus. Realizing that many students come from small towns and have seen few blacks, it is understandable why they are curious when they see me wearing different clothes and braided hair. But despite this, I have received many compliments on my style of dress."

Pointer: "What is your reaction to dorm life at UW-SP?"

Sams: "Personally, I would rather live off campus. But I think an exchange student should live in a dorm since you are exposed to more people that way."

Lewis: "Since I did not live in a dorm at Grambling, dorm life at Stevens Point is a new experience. Dorm students here are treated as adults. Everyone here has a dorm key and can come and go as he pleases. Unlike Grambling, girls at Stevens Point do not have curfews. Social life at Stevens Point centers upon going out to bars and nightclubs. Entertainment is limited as far as getting a big-name group like the Temptations, Chi-lites, O'Jays, or Al Green. At basketball games people seem to be half frozen or depressed as evidenced by little display of enthusiasm for the basketball team."

Pointer: "What role do you believe the university should fulfill in society?"

Sams: "The university is a society within itself but it also deals with the community surrounding it. I think that people in the community should be familiar with everything going on in the university. Also, the university should seek support from the community."

Lewis: "The university should be an institution to prepare people for the future. You come to college and you receive an all-round education. College should prepare you for the future both financially and socially."

Pointer: "What are your reactions to the exchange program?"

Sams: "The exchange program is very good. People from UW-SP and Grambling both benefit from it. Each school learns a great deal from the exchange of each other's students."

Lewis: "The exchange program is very worthwhile. Since this was Stevens Point's first semester with the exchange program, some minor problems did occur. When we arrived, many people in the university did not know of the program's existence. It took a while to get things straightened out. After this semester, it will be easier for exchange students to register for classes and go through other procedures. Overall, being an exchange student has provided a change in academic atmosphere and new experiences in human relations. Upon my return to Grambling, I will actively promote Stevens Point and the exchange program."

Pointer: "What are your views upon attending a predominantly white institution?"

Sams: "When I first graduated from high school, I would not have considered going to a white institution. In high school, black students were harassed and had to struggle to graduate. At Grambling, I learned that there was no sense in being close-minded. I decided to apply for the exchange program to better understand white culture. In looking back at this semester, I can say that I enjoyed it. I've answered a lot of questions that I had and now understand things better than I did before."

Lewis: "A person coming from a black environment will have some adjustment problems. But, I don't see adjustment to a white environment as having a color basis. I took into consideration the possibility that 'since you have different color skin, people will look at you differently.' But, overall, being an exchange student at UW-SP has been a rewarding experience both culturally and academically; an experience I will always remember."



Edward Lewis and Joyslyn Sams are UW-SP's two exchange students from Grambling University in Louisiana.

Administration Pleased With Student Complacency

By John Anderson

Editor's Note: The following article is a news release issued by John Anderson of the University News Service on April 12, 1973.

Only a thread of life remains in the University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point's era of radical student journalism.

The lifespan was three years, beginning at a time of widespread student contempt nationwide over the federal government's handling of the

Vietnam War. It will end with the close of the spring semester.

Local critics of the press often were brow beaten by youthful crusaders who sought with fervor to turn collegiate attention from such things as homecoming and winter carnival games to war, social injustices, poverty and so forth.

And as it emerged amid a national trend of student militancy, so the radical press of UW-SP is dying as American

collegians appear headed for what many observers believe to be an era of complacency.

In short, the campus newspaper, *The Pointer*, has a new editor whose philosophy of such publication differs sharply from his predecessor.

Robert J. Kersieck, 19, a communications major from Spencer, was selected for the post by a seven member UW-SP

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Endgame: The Tactics Of Peace In Vietnam

Reprinted by permission of Ramparts, April 1973.

By Noam Chomsky

The Paris Agreements signed on January 27, 1973, are entitled "Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam." Whether or not this will prove an apt designation remains to be seen. The historical precedents are not encouraging. Neither is the White House to the settlement.

There are, at the moment, two very different versions of what was signed in Paris. The first is the text itself. The second is the version of the Agreements that is being presented by spokesmen for the U.S. government. The text itself is very close to the position the "enemy" has maintained for more than a decade. Washington's version, which differs in fundamental respects, reflects the long-standing position of the U.S. government. We may ask whether the U.S. government version is merely rhetoric for home consumption or whether it is the framework for policy. It is probable that Nixon and Kissinger themselves do not know the answer to this question. They will feel their way, determined just how far they can go on the basis of the domestic and international response. One factor of no small importance will be the manner in which the U.S. intervention of the past is perceived within the mainstream of opinion in the United States.

The Paris Agreements state: "Foreign countries shall not impose any political tendency or personality on the South Vietnamese people" (Chapter IV, Article 9c). The White House "summary of basic elements of the Vietnam agreement" states: "The government of the Republic of (South) Vietnam continues its existence, recognized by the United States, its constitutional structure and leadership intact and unchanged."

This government (GVN) has the right to "unlimited economic aid" and "unlimited military replacement aid". The latter will maintain in existence one of the more powerful military forces in the world (in terms of equipment at least) and a vast police apparatus. Furthermore, as Kissinger remarked in his press conference of Jan. 24, the U.S. maintains the right to provide "civilian technicians serving in certain of the military branches." He did not add that the U.S. will undoubtedly continue to train pilots and other personnel in the U.S. and elsewhere. Kissinger further explained that the U.S. has adhered to its principle of refusing to "impose a coalition government or a disguised coalition government on the people of South Vietnam." The Paris Agreements, however, are broader. They require as well that the U.S. refrain from imposing on the people of South Vietnam a right-wing autocracy based on the military and a narrow urban elite, and consisting largely of former collaborators with French imperialism—namely, the Saigon regime. No serious observer can doubt that the GVN was "essentially a creation of the United States," in the wording of the Pentagon Papers, or that this regime has been maintained in existence through U.S. force. To take one

crucial moment of recent history, it is generally conceded that the U.S.-imposed regime was on the verge of succumbing to a South Vietnamese revolutionary movement by late 1964, despite massive U.S. aid and direct U.S. military participation in combat and combat support for at least three years. General Thieu, for one, understands the present situation quite well. He has observed, in a recent interview, that "The French abandoned us in 1954, and because of that, half of Vietnam fell to the Communists. If the United States does the same thing now, the other half of Vietnam will go." In 1954, France abandoned the quiescent regime it had established, and half of Vietnam fell to what the U.S. government had ruefully conceded, years before, was the nationalist movement of Vietnam. General Thieu and his colleagues, most of whom fought with the French against the nationalist movement of Vietnam, quite naturally felt that their future is dim if they are abandoned by the imperial power that replaced France. Washington, however, has now served notice that it intends to continue to impose the "political tendency" and "leading personalities" of the GVN on the people of South Vietnam. Given the historical circumstances and the context of the Agreements it is evident that for the U.S. to "impose" the rule of the GVN can mean nothing other than to recognize, supply, and directly support this regime, instituted and maintained in power by U.S. military might, as the sole legitimate government of (South) Vietnam. If words have any meaning, the military and police forces of the U.S.-imposed regime are mercenary forces—armed, trained, supplied and paid by the U.S. These forces could not have existed in the past, nor could they now, without U.S. direction and massive support, just as the Saigon regime itself has always been entirely dependent on the imperial power that created it and kept it alive.

A Question of Sovereignty

The central issue of the war since the early 1960's has been the question of sovereignty in the South. The U.S. government is announcing that, in violation of the Agreements it has signed, it will continue to impose the regime it created on the people of the South. In obvious defiance of the facts, Thieu asserts as the "one legal government" in the South. Washington agrees.

The announced intentions of the U.S. government become still more significant as we look further into what is implied by recognition of the GVN, "its constitutional structure and leadership intact and unchanged." Consider first its constitutional structure. Article I of the GVN Constitution which is unamendable, states that "Viet-Nam is a territorially indivisible, unified and independent republic"; the GVN "represent (s) the people of Viet-Nam." North and South. This might be dismissed as bluster, but not so Article V, which proclaims: "The Republic of Viet-Nam opposes communism in every form. Every activity designed to propagandize or carry out communism is prohibited." (Congressional Record, June 6, 1967, S7733.) This Article

provides the "legal basis" for the Phoenix program and for the various laws of the past years that outlaw not only communism but also "pro-communist neutralism." For example, "All plots and actions under the false name of peace and neutrality according to Communist policy . . . including "diffusion, circulation, distribution, sale, display . . ." in any form of material "aimed at spreading Communist policies, slogans, and instructions" and so on. Nixon and Kissinger must be aware of this when they announce that they will continue to recognize and support the GVN, under its existing constitutional structure, as "the sole legitimate government of South Vietnam," in Nixon's phrase.

"Shortly after the peace scare..."

Consider now the leadership which remains "intact and unchanged," with full U.S. backing. Its intentions are no longer secret. "According to the semi-official newspaper Tin Song South Vietnamese President Thieu has issued shoot-to-kill orders to his troops and police that would take effect with the announcement of a cease-fire. The report said the orders cover Communist demonstrators, rioters, and sympathizers; deserters; anyone who raises the Viet Cong flag or takes part in Communist propaganda campaigns" (Henry S. Hayward, Christian Science Monitor, Jan. 23). Thieu has "reminded the commanders" that police and armed forces are "authorized to shoot on the spot people who incite riots and applaud the communists," to "arrest summarily anyone who distributed Communist propaganda" or who "urged others to move to Communist-controlled areas." Furthermore, "anybody engaged in political activities as 'neutralist or pro-Communists,' or distributing currency to the Communists, are subject to arrest." These tactics, according to Tin Song, "Will remain in effect in Government-controlled areas after a cease-fire goes into effect," under "the authorities and powers granted by the Constitution and laws" of the GVN (NY Times, Jan. 23). "Saigon troops and police have been ordered to restrain the refugees forcibly if necessary" if they attempt "to return to their homes after a cease-fire is declared." According to articles planted by the GVN in the press, "half a dozen actions considered 'pro-Communist' are also punishable by death" (Peter Osnos, Thomas Lippman, Washington Post, Jan. 23).

"Saigon radio said troops and police had orders to shoot on sight anyone tearing down flags and banners or creating disturbances for the Communists" (Reuters, Jan. 24).

Shortly after the peace scare of late October, government-backed groups in Danang began distributing leaflets which "called on South Vietnamese to 'exterminate the Communists' before, during and after a cease-fire" (AP, Oct. 31). Thieu's closest advisor, Hoang Duc Nha, stated in an interview that with Thieu in power, communists "are afraid of an Indonesian-style coup even in a

coalition. They are afraid we would cut their throats" (Laurence Stern, Washington Post, Nov. 30). Nha is referring to the massacre of hundreds of thousands after the military takeover in the fall of 1965. The Thieu regime proudly boasts that the CIA-directed Phoenix program has been assassinating civilians at the rate of better than 1000 a month (Vietnam 1967-71: Toward Peace And Prosperity, Ministry of Information, Saigon, 1971, p. 52). After an abortive anti-Sihanouk coup in 1959, the Saigon government diplomatic representative in Phnom Penh told British reporter Michael Field: "You must understand that we in Saigon are desperate men. We are a government of desperados." It is all the more

numbers of persons suspected of being Viet-Minh or 'rebels.'" The Diem army conducted "massive expeditions" to peaceful Communist regions, arresting tens of thousands and killing "hundreds, perhaps thousands of peasants," destroying "whole villages... by artillery" in operations that were "kept secret from the American public" (Joseph Buttinger). Diem's forces were trained, equipped and advised by the U.S. His secret police "was largely the brain-child of a highly respected, senior U.S. Foreign Service professional," General Edward Lansdale, highest-ranking CIA man in South Vietnam, reported secretly in 1961, adding: "I cannot truly sympathize with Americans who help promote a fascist state and then get angry when it doesn't act like a democracy." These methods were temporarily successful in crushing the Viet Minh and

others in the South, in direct and immediate violation of the Geneva Accords, although the U.S. Military Assistance Advisory Group warned in July 1957, "the Viet Cong guerrillas and propagandists, however, are still waging a grim battle for survival" and still attempting to form groups "seeking to spread the theory of 'Peace and Co-existence,'" along with other similar crimes against the state.

As in the 1950's the U.S. commitment to the Thieu regime signifies an intention to violate the central provisions of the Agreements that have just been signed. It is easy to conjure up some unpleasant "scenarios." Suppose that refugees attempt to return to their homes or that PRG supporters or neutralists of the wrong type try to make use of the freedoms theoretically granted them by the Agreements; the GVN proceeds with its announced intention of preventing this by force, shooting to kill if necessary; there is resistance to government terror; Nixon appears on TV to announce that the U.S. will not tolerate such communist violence and lawlessness—the bombers are now on their way; the liberal press denounces both the "communist atrocities" and the retaliatory bombing." Whether or not something of the sort takes place, it is clear that Nixon and Kissinger have laid the basis for it in their response to the Paris Agreements.

Liquidation Of Prisoners In South Vietnam

Virtually the sole "progress" achieved by Kissinger between October and January is that the "question of the return of Vietnamese civilian personnel captured and detained in South Vietnam" is left resolved in the Agreements, whereas the 9-

cont. to p. 10



Student Government Suggests Administration Cuts

Student Government passed a motion last Tuesday, Apr. 24, recommending if there are more personnel cuts to be made they should be made in administrative areas rather than in faculty. The motion also recommended further analysis be done before more cuts are made.

The motion, presented by senator Gary Winters, was prompted by the recent cutting of faculty members in various departments.

Jim Hamilton, student controller, presented student government with the results of the Finance and Allocations Committee deliberations on where student fee monies will go for next year. Student government will decide on these recommendations at their next meeting.

Eric Nelson, chairman of the insurance committee reported that student government would have a choice between two insurance companies for

their insurance program they offer to the students every year.

The WPS policy, which is the policy student government offered the students this year has presented essentially the same policy for next year. The other choice is Rural Insurance, which is the company United Council has its policy with.

Vagueness of the Rural plan was cited as well as some drawbacks of the policy and student government will decide

on the plans at a later meeting.

Student government has been doing some general organizing lately and president Joe LaFleur presented descriptions and duties of two student government posts: student comptroller and assistant student comptroller. These descriptions were voted as policy statements by student government and the charter of the finance allocations Committee which had been drawn was voted into the bylaws of the constitution.

Also presented to student government and student assembly, in particular, was procedures and criteria for the recognition of student organizations at the university. This is an updated policy

statement on organization recognition designed to clear up any questions about active, inactive or new organizations on campus. Student government voted the new procedures and criteria as a policy statement and appropriate passages would be included into the bylaws of the constitution.

The organization also approved a policy about the flipboards in the University Center. They voted that these flipboards be 9" by 12" or smaller size and would come under the jurisdiction of student assembly if any problems arise. The policy statement was prompted by University Center officials who wished student government make a statement about the flipboards.

Kerksieck Cont.

Publications Board comprised of three faculty members, two representatives of the current Pointer staff and two members of the Student Senate.

Kerksieck has indicated he will do an extensive housecleaning job on policies followed by the current staff. The biggest change, he said, will be the kind of news he will print. He will focus attention on the campus.

"I think we've got to have a more balanced paper," Kerksieck said as he pointed out, as an example, that three pages in a recent edition were reprints of a magazine article about the affair at Wounded Knee.

He said he will expand coverage of student government.

Implying news coverage bias in the Pointer in recent years, he added that his staff will "not just try to find the good of something or just the bad of something."

Under current editor, Gary Rutkowski and two preceding editors, emphasis has been given in the paper to, editorial comment and lengthy think pieces. Kerksieck plans to have a page devoted to opinion too, but the space will be used almost exclusively for the publication of letters.

"We (the new staff) don't believe we have any more right to be heard than any other students," Kerksieck noted. His position on policies came to

light when he interviewed for the job, and the outgoing editor later expressed sharp disagreement.

Said Rutkowski: "Our editorials served to define our role in the university. They offered our readership an understanding of what a university should be, of what a student should be and how the Pointer worked or fit into the scheme of things...Without a critical eye on the world and the university, the student press is in danger of becoming a house organ to those groups and institutions within the university which are more concerned with hedonism than they are with scholarship..."

Even though its editors often described the current Pointer as a radical paper, there always was a question of how much support it enjoyed from the overall student body even in the radical era of higher education.

"Yes, the Pointer has been controversial," Rutkowski noted. "It was controversial because it dared to take a stand on the issues of our times. I do not know what the effects of the new editorship will be on the institution of the Pointer, but I can say there will be more students who will be aware of what band or activity is playing where on campus, and fewer student informed about what is happening in the world."

It hasn't been uncommon to hear students and faculty alike express hope the Pointer would

eventually resume more coverage of the kind of local news Rutkowski played down.

Daniel Houlihan, the longtime faculty adviser summed it up like this: "I believe Kerksieck will make many changes. In my opinion, the Pointer has been very narrow in the past few years and it's time for a change. I am confident Bob will do a good job. I am sure he will develop broader relationships and more student support."

The new editor has been disenchanted with the Pointer for some time and earlier this year was instrumental in the establishment of a small paper for all persons living in residence halls. His paper, entitled View Point, was devoted almost exclusively to campus news.

Kerksieck believes there will be no need to continue publication of View Point.

When he assumes the editorship this summer, he will be the 85th student to serve in that capacity for the Pointer since the publication was founded in 1895.

In the meantime, he'll be recruiting his staff and keeping his fingers crossed that the allocation he receives from student fees, as determined by the Student Senate, will not involve too large a cut.

Because the enrollment is declining and with several new organizations competing for the total sum of anticipated fees, Kerksieck expects the Pointer will be operating with several thousand dollars less than in 1972-73.

His answer to that problem simply is to run smaller papers.



The administration, it is rumored, has been sitting on its hands over the current budget cuts....

Letters Continued

you and me the students, more green areas and more beauty in our campus homes than any other factor.

The cost of one parking space: for the land that it rests upon, for the asphalt that we cover it with and the cost of maintenance, is several hundred dollars. Multiplied by the universities some 40,000 parking spaces and you've reached a figure of several million dollars.

Perhaps the millions spent in catering to this polluting menace, the automobile, should be put in relative terms. Why is the amount spent for parking lots greater than the entire amount spent to build the Environmental Science building. If we continue to spend more for those vehicles that destroy our environment than we spend to learn about or protect our environment, how can we continue to call ourselves a Natural Resources school? The university spent over \$200,000.00 last year to tear down the old Garfield School, cut down trees and eliminate a playground and green area. The parking lot that now occupies this area is seldom full. Next year with budget cuts, some of the faculty using this lot will not be retained. State funds are in

short supply, so let's use them constructively for a better environment for all of us.

The following are some suggestions that might help make our campus Environment better:

Whereas the University has made a commitment to a quality environment:

Whereas the motor vehicle has caused serious Environmental degradation:

Whereas the motor vehicle has taken away from the university and the community many beautiful trees for streets and parking lots:

Whereas the motor vehicle uses up quantities of oxygen, an element necessary for life;

Whereas the trees help to restore this oxygen through the process of photosynthesis

Be It Resolved:

That in order to restore and maintain a quality campus and community environment, the following action be taken.

1) A \$1 surtax be placed on All university parking stickers
2) a cent-mile surtax be placed on all university fleet vehicles
Be it further resolved that: This money be set aside in a special campus beautification fund, to be administered under the advisement of the University Environmental Awareness Council.

Respectfully submitted
Gary G. Klonowski

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And many, many more....

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Endgame Cont.

point plan of October indicated that they were to be released (Point 3). The Protocol on prisoners now states that "All Vietnamese civilian personnel captured and detained in South Vietnam shall be treated humanely at all times, and in accordance with international practice. They shall be protected against all violence to life and person..." There have been numerous reports of torture and murder in the prisons (see Holmes Brown and Don Luce, *Hostages of War*, 1973, for a recent summary). On December 29, 1972, two Frenchmen who had been imprisoned in Saigon for over two years were released. They reported beatings, torture and assassinations, with names and dates, adding that "all of this is under the control of American advisors who, we are convinced, are aware of everything that happens in the Vietnamese prisons" (Le Monde, Jan. 4, 1973). They also report that a few days before their release, "there were massive deportations to the Poulo Condor Prison camp," the scene of numerous reported atrocities in the past. They speculate that their sudden release may have been motivated by concern that they might witness what they expect will now take place: "a liquidation operation which might begin in the prisons." Amnesty International has since cited "evidence that selective elimination of opposition members had begun" in the prisons, and reports that "267 political prisoners were sent to Chi Hoa national prison in Saigon to the notorious prison on Con Son Island, home of the 'tiger cage' detention cells," adding that "300 prisoners travelling on a boat from Con Son to the mainland are reported to have been killed" (NY Times, Jan. 27, 1973). That U.S. officials are aware of what goes on in the prisons that are maintained with U.S. aid is hardly in doubt. The chief of the Public Safety Division in Saigon, Frank E. Walton, who publicly described Con Son as "like a Boy Scout Recreational Camp," signed a report on October 1, 1963 which stated that:

In Con Son II, some of the hardcore communists keep preaching the "party" line, so these "Reds" are sent to the Tiger Cages in Con Son I where they are isolated from all others for nine months at a time. This confinement may also include rice without salt and water—the United States prisons' equivalent of bread and water. It may include immobilization—the prisoner is bolted to the floor, handcuffed to a bar or rod, or legirons with the chain through an eyebolt, or around a bar or rod." (Brown and Luce).

A significant element of U.S. "aid" to the people of South Vietnam.

In his press conference of January 24, Kissinger attempted to show that the U.S. government had achieved its long-term objectives. His reasoning deserves careful attention. He distinguishes the following issues: "one, is there such a thing as a South Vietnam even temporarily until unification; secondly, who is the legitimate ruler of South Vietnam? This is what the civil war has been all about. Thirdly, what is the demarcation line that separates North Vietnam from South Vietnam?" Noting that the January Agreements have "specific references to the

sovereignty of South Vietnam" and "the right of the South Vietnamese people to self-determination," Kissinger alleged that "we have achieved substantial changes" from the October 9-Point plan announced by Radio Hanoi. This justifies the U.S. refusal to sign in October—and, by implication, U.S. military tactics since.

All of this is blatant deception. The October 9-Point plan explicitly provided for "the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination" and stated that "the South Vietnamese people shall decide themselves the political future of South Vietnam" through free election (Point 4). The January Agreement introduces no changes, substantial or otherwise, in this regard. Furthermore, the two plans are identical with respect to eventual reunification, "carried out step by step through peaceful means" (Point 5, October: Chapter V, Article 15, January). As for the status of the demarcation line, the Paris Agreements of January merely reiterate the wording of the Geneva Accords of 1954, in accordance with consistent public statements of the DRV and PRG.

Kissinger is attempting to confuse the issue of self-determination of South Vietnam (his issue one) with sovereignty within South Vietnam (issue two), bringing in the irrelevant matter of the DMZ (issue three) merely to becloud the matter further. The "enemy" has consistently taken the position with respect to issues one and three that Kissinger falsely claims the U.S. has now succeeded in introducing into the agreements, as Kissinger perceives, is what the war has been "all about": namely, who is to be sovereign in South Vietnam.

**"They reported beatings, torture,
 and assassinations...."**

Kissinger is pretending that, by recognizing the right of the South Vietnamese people to self-determination without external interference (in accordance with the DRV-PRG position), the Agreements grant the U.S. the right to recognize the sovereignty of the GVN as the "sole legitimate government" in the South. The Agreements, however, speak only of the "two parties" in the South, which are quite parallel and must reach agreement as to sovereignty within South Vietnam. The 9-Point plan of October named the two parties as the GVN and the PRG, and these are the two Southern parties that signed the 4-Party version of the January Agreements. When Kissinger speaks of the "civil war," he presumably intends his audience to understand "the war between North and South Vietnam." Similarly, in his news conference of Dec. 16, he presented the U.S. government position "that the two parts of Vietnam would live in peace with each other and that neither side would impose its solution on the other by force," and he claimed that this "modest requirement" was rejected by the other side. He slips easily from the notion of self-determination for the South Vietnamese people to the entirely different notion of

sovereignty of the GVN as their sole legitimate government. He is attempting to give the impression that the "two parties" that must peacefully resolve their differences are North Vietnam and South Vietnam, whereas the Agreements make it plain that these two parties are the GVN and the PRG. To the extent that there is a "civil war," it is between these two parties. Having reached agreement, they are to move towards reunification with the North, peaceably, with no external interference, removing the provisional demarcation line at the 17th parallel, which is "not a political or territorial boundary."

(Kissinger's Charade)

There is no evidence to support Kissinger's contention that his "modest requirement" has ever been a bone of contention. As I have already indicated, his identification of the GVN as the sole legitimate government in South Vietnam is not only without support in the texts, but is in plain violation of their provisions. The original and always primary source of external interference in the internal affairs of South Vietnam has been the United States, and apparently this will continue to be the case. One might dismiss Kissinger's evasions as merely a childish display, were it not for the fact that they may represent official policy. Furthermore, the mass media seem to be taken in, and continue to present Kissinger's conclusions as though they had something to do with the facts.

Exactly the same charade was enacted in October. On October 26, Kissinger conceded that the Radio Hanoi broadcast of the 9-Point program gave "on the whole a very fair account." He then offered the following paraphrase: "As was pointed

to the DRV initiative until after the election, when he would have more leverage. The mass media, with characteristic docility, chose to believe that peace was at hand and to overlook the fact that Kissinger was clearly rejecting the central provision of the 9-Point plan. Now apologists lamely argue that Kissinger's statement that "peace is at hand" was a "signal" to the DRV that U.S. intentions were serious. A telephone call would have achieved the same result, without any mysterious "signals," had this been the intention.



In mid-December Kissinger announced that negotiations had broken down, blaming DRV intransigence and overlooking the fact that the DRV was publicly calling for signing of the 9-Point agreement.

Typically, the mass media repeated this nonsense, and depicted poor Kissinger as caught between two irrational adversaries, Hanoi and Saigon. The terror bombing of urban centers in North Vietnam ensued. Though severe damage was caused, the tactic failed. The U.S. Air Force suffered substantial losses, and there were clear signs of resistance among B-52 pilots. Furthermore, there was an unanticipated and threatening international reaction. Nixon and Kissinger then formally accepted an agreement which is virtually identical to the 9-Points of October. But they continue to misrepresent the central terms of this Agreement in exactly the way they misrepresented the October plan, though more blatantly. The press remains obedient and silent.

The significance of these maneuvers becomes still more clear if we recall a little history.

In 1962 the NLF announced its official program, which has not materially changed until this day. It proposed that South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia form a neutral zone, and that "South Vietnam will follow an independent, sovereign foreign policy" with internal democratic freedoms and no external interference. Negotiations between the leaders of the "two zones" temporarily separated at Geneva in 1954 would lead to "step-by-step reunification," taking into account the different character of the two zones and observing the principle of "equality" and "nonannexation of one zone by the other." The U.S. government has been fighting for ten years to prevent the realization of this program, which it has now, in essence, formally accepted at Paris, while continuing to reject it in the Washington version of these Agreements.

It is quite obvious why the U.S. could not consider the NLF Program of 1962. Internal freedom in South Vietnam would have led to a political role for the NLF—in fact, a dominant role, if one accepts the assessment of high officials in the U.S. mission in Saigon in 1962 that about half the population supported the NLF

(could George Washington have claimed as much?), while virtually no one supported the GVN. The U.S. government expert on the NLF, Douglas Pike, who gives the same estimate of NLF support in 1962, notes that "in September 1963 the NLF asked the United Nations for help in establishing a coalition government in South Vietnam similar to the one established in Laos" by the Geneva Agreements of 1962. "The NLF in mid-1964 put forth feelers for a proposal for what appeared to be an authentic coalition government" (Pike, *War, Peace and the Viet Cong*,

p. 6; Viet Cong, pp. 359 ff. Substantial evidence that the NLF looked to the Laos settlement as a model, along the lines of their 1962 program, is presented by Georges Chaffard, *Les deux guerres du Vietnam*.)

But, Pike continues, nothing came of these efforts. It was absurd to propose a coalition because the GVN feared that if it entered into a coalition with the NLF, "the whale would swallow the minnow."

We know from the Pentagon Papers that the great fear of American planners was that the NLF would achieve victory through the strategy of neutralization and political settlement. They understood that there was no way to nourish the minnow, so they undertook to destroy the whale with the systematic bombardment of South Vietnam, the outright invasion and occupation, and the "pacification" programs. North Vietnam was bombed in the hope that it would use its alleged "directive powers" to compel the NLF to desist. U.S. terror programs in the South continued with mounting ferocity through the Nixon Administration, which also substantially extended these efforts in Laos and then Cambodia. To cite merely one example, Operation Speedy Express in the Mekong Delta province of Kien Hoa in 1968 slaughtered 11,000 of the "enemy" with 784 weapons found in the area—a good indication of the nature of this operation in a province where there were few if any North Vietnamese soldiers. More than 120,000 people were "pacified," and "the fabric of society long established by the NLF was destroyed."

Referring to the US 9th Division, which was responsible for these achievements, General Abrams said that "the performance of this division has been magnificent." Speedy Express is regarded as "one of the most representative—and most 'successful'—episodes in the history of the pacification in Vietnam" (Devin Buckley, *Newsweek*, June 19, 1972).

The information about Speedy Express probably came from the late John Paul Vann. For some remarkable insight as to how the top Americans on the scene understood their mission, one should read a memorandum that Vann circulated privately in 1965. In it, he explains that a social revolution is in process, "primarily identified with the

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"Shoot The Bastards!"

cont. from p. 4
 "system" may work for some, but that it does not work for all, and at times it does not work at all". Their continuing efforts during the past 14 months to persuade the Attorney General and the President to reconsider have met with delay and ultimate refusal.

Student leaders at Kent State University, including the President of the student Young Republican Club, initiated a petition to President Nixon urging reconsideration. Ten thousand Kent students signed the petition, as did thousands on other campuses. The signatures finally totaled over 50,000. The petition was greeted with delays and double-talk. The only prompt response that the students have received was in September, 1972, when they asked the White House to return the petition and signatures because they no longer had faith in their safe-keeping there.

The new President of Kent State University, a friend and confidante of President Nixon who has likened the power group which surrounds the President to the Mafia, has carefully avoided taking any partisan stance on the Kent matter. Yet even he has confessed that it has begun increasingly to appear that the administration knows something about the Kent shootings that it wishes to hide.

Entertainer Art Linkletter. Pepsi Cola President Don Kendall, and even Evangelist Billy Graham, all have been deputed at various times to urge the President to respond to the student petition. The word sent back through Kendall was that the President had given the petition "top priority" on the White House agenda. But still there was, and has been, no response. Even the moral counsel of various religious leaders has been ignored. The National Council of Churches has established a special fund to receive contributions toward the long legal battle for justice in the Kent matter.

Former Pennsylvania Governor, Republican William Scranton, who was Chairman of the President's Commission which investigated the shooting, has repeatedly urged that the facts clearly call for a federal grand jury investigation. According to Scranton the Commission's Executive Director, Matthew Byrne (since appointed to a federal judgeship) believes just as strongly that a federal grand jury investigation is needed. Commission member James Ahearn, former New Haven police chief and author of the book *Police in Trouble*, declared that a decision against placing the Kent matter before a federal grand jury was "inconceivable". Commission member Joseph Rhodes, Jr., has charged that the former head of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division lied when he earlier promised to make a fair decision on the federal grand jury question.

The full FBI report on the shooting remains secreted in the National Archives. Federal law prohibits government of-

ficials from withholding this material from Congress except on a valid claim of executive privilege. Beginning more than a year ago, the Senate subcommittee on Administrative Practices has been trying to secure the FBI report to examine it in connection with a proposed legislative investigation of the Justice Department's handling of the Kent State matter. Without even claiming executive privilege, however, the Attorney General refused and continues to refuse permission for the Senate to examine the report.

Occasionally Justice Department spokesmen have suggested that the decision against a federal grand jury might be reconsidered if "new evidence" appeared. Some "new evidence" has been offered, but to no avail. But the obvious fallacy of this excuse for inaction is that the discovery of new evidence is a principal purpose and function of the grand jury itself, which the Justice Department refuses to employ.

For example, it could be established that the shooting commenced on a signal or an order, that would strongly corroborate the theory that the assault was deliberate and would even tend to corroborate the conspiracy theory. The Justice Department claims that no order or signal was given. That view is based upon unsworn testimony given to the FBI by a National Guard colonel, stating that all orders are given orally and that no hand signals are used. But in separate legal proceedings other officers have acknowledged that there is an official hand signal for giving an order to fire. Moreover, that signal closely corresponds to the gesture which photographs and testimony show to have been made by a sergeant of Cavalry Troop G a moment before his men turned and opened fire. Only a grand jury with power to compel testimony could determine whether this was in fact a signal, or a mere coincidental circumstance.

The refusal to proceed with a federal grand jury is not characteristic of this administration. With anti-war activists like the Berrigans, VVAW, and Leslie Bacon, grand juries have been employed eagerly despite the most tenuous evidence. Even with respect to alleged crimes against civil rights, the kind of crimes that may have been committed at Kent State, the administration has sought and secured indictments on mere circumstantial evidence, sometimes even after an acquittal of the same person in a state court. But with Kent, despite 8,000 pages of FBI reports whose incriminating findings were pointedly summarized by the Justice Department itself, the Attorney General claims that he has insufficient evidence even to warrant a federal grand jury investigation.

Of course there was a grand jury investigation by the State of Ohio. It was led by special

prosecutors hand-picked by the Ohio Commander-in-Chief who had ordered the National Guard to the Kent Campus in the first place. They deliberately withheld the Justice Department Summary from the state grand jury, and introduced into evidence only certain carefully selected portions of the FBI report. As a result, the jury came out with a written report that was later expunged and destroyed by order of a federal court, and with a number of indictments against students and faculty which the State of Ohio itself, more than a year later, moved to dismiss for lack of evidence. The guardsmen were praised and none were indicted.

After the state grand jury's action was made public, special prosecutor Seabury Ford declared to the press that the guardsmen "should have shot all the troublemakers."

This "shameful act of dirty political connivance to whitewash Guardsmen and a discredited governor", as Senator Stephen Young of Ohio described it, is still celebrated in northern Ohio. On his seventieth birthday a few weeks ago, Seabury Ford was presented a cake by his friends and admirers. Lettered across its blood-red icing were the words, "shoot the bastards!"

The Nixon administration cannot be blamed for the iniquities of state officials. But federal inaction in the face of such a manifest failure of justice in Ohio becomes doubly reprehensible.

One can only speculate as to

the motive that might explain the apparently deliberate effort to bury the Kent State matter.

It is of course possible that the administration does have something to hide. Or perhaps the President's too-candid admission that he regards dissentient students as "bums" reflects a prejudice so profound that he simply does not perceive the issues posed by Kent. Most likely, perhaps, the administration fears that further investigation of the guardsmen's actions at Kent would diminish the utility of soldiers as a domestic peace-keeping force. Statistics show that National Guard troops have been used in civil situations more frequently during the last five years than ever before in American history. The rules under which they are now routinely used are contrary to frequently repeated constitutional requirements. Nevertheless, since this unlawful use of military power has proven effective, a "law order" administration may be disinclined to interfere. "Law and order," after all, is a requirement we impose only upon social outcasts and dissenters.

The lawsuit filed on Oct. 12 of this year in an effort to compel the Attorney General to permit a federal grand jury investigation is not at all certain of success. There never have been such sharp and calculated charges of "willful, arbitrary, capricious, bad faith, discriminatory, and lawless abuse of discretion" leveled against an Attorney General of the United States in legal proceedings. But the tradition of unlimited prosecutorial discretion has only recently

begun to be questioned by courts.

Most courts have taken the view expressed by Chief Justice Burger, that the only recourse against prosecutorial abuses is recourse at the polls against the President who is responsible for the prosecutor's appointment. That is hardly a sufficient recourse where many other issues are involved in an election, and where it conflicts with long-standing political loyalties, as it does for this writer.

There are haunting parallels between the Kent State tragedy and the Boston Massacre which occurred exactly two hundred years before. Both occurred in a climate of high public tension over various divisive issues, and both were left to fester as inadequately tended wounds. Both stand as symbols of the angry impatience of a government that refuses to come to grips with issues that profoundly trouble its people. The date of the Boston Massacre was commemorated each year as the administration in England hardened its policies of repression in the colonies. It may well be that this repetition of history will continue as we approach the two hundredth anniversary of 1776.

Editor's Note: Any person wishing to make a tax-deductible contribution to the continuing legal struggle for justice in the wake of the Kent State tragedy may send his contribution to:

Fund to Secure Due Process:
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 National Council of Churches
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Endgame Continued

NLF," and that "a popular political base for the Government of South Vietnam does not now exist." Furthermore, the social revolution is a desirable one. But it would be "naive" to expect that "an unsophisticated, relatively illiterate rural population (will) recognize and oppose the evils of Communism." Therefore, the U.S. must institute "effective political indoctrination of the population" under an "autocratic government" maintained by the Americans. It would be immoral to permit the unsophisticated peasants to be trapped, unwary, in a web of evil that they cannot comprehend. Since, evidently, "the aspirations of the majority" can only be realized "through a non-Communist government," as decent responsible men we must help the majority to realize their aspirations, though they happen to be so benighted that their dissatisfaction "today is largely expressed through alliance with the NLF."

exaggerated the figures for Phoenix assassinations, there is no doubt that it has the capacity to conduct campaigns of repression and extermination. Secondly, though the minnow remains a minnow, still Washington believes, perhaps correctly, that it has severely wounded the whale. It believes that the political base of the NLF has been severely weakened in the course of the American war against the rural society—what is described in the West as the defense of South Vietnam—against aggression. The success of the NLF, as such careful observers as Jeffrey Race have clearly shown, resulted from the appeal of its constructive programs to the population. The U.S. command may believe that these programs will not appeal in the same measure to a generation of refugees and Saigon cowboys. For years, the primary goal of the American effort has been to ensure that there do not exist any prospects

"ideological threat"—more accurately, the demonstration effect. Successful social and economic development in Vietnam under Communist leadership might provide a model that would be adopted by indigenous mass movements elsewhere, toppling the dominoes, spreading the rot, leading to Japanese accommodation, etc. This version of the domino theory was not implausible, though naturally one must discount the version that was used effectively to terrorize U.S. public opinion: the Communists (or in LBJ's version, the poor people of the world) would soon be landing in San Francisco if we did not stop them in Vietnam; or as Eugene Rostow once explained, if we lose South Vietnam, an inexorable process will begin, ultimately reducing the U.S. to the status of Finland, almost the status of Poland, vis-a-vis the Soviet Union.

Now, however, the threat of successful social and economic development is lessened. The devastation of Indochina by U.S. terror has reduced the prospects for successes that would be quite meaningful for the Asian poor. Furthermore, the "second line of defense" has been strengthened—in the case of Japan, it has been strengthened a bit too much to suit some elements of the U.S. corporate elite. The belief that the American investment has paid off is expressed vividly by the editor of the Far Eastern Economic Review in his annual surveys of the region. He writes of "the ring of success stories in East and Southeast Asia," with the Japanese economy serving as "the main factor in pulling the region together and providing the shadowy outlines of a future co-prosperity sphere... and neatly complement(ing) the economies of the region." "The U.S. presence in Vietnam has won time for Southeast Asia, allowing neighboring countries to build up their economies" and to counter subversion—along the lines of Indonesia and the Philippines. "American businessmen...are convinced of the potential of Asia and the Pacific Basin as the world's third largest and fastest growing 'market area' and are moving rapidly into the region. U.S. investment totals nearly 70 percent of all foreign investment in the region.

for social and economic development that are rooted in the domestic society of South Vietnam itself, for if such prospects exist, they will be pursued and exploited by indigenous forces and the U.S. will lose control. U.S. policy was therefore directed to the destruction of the existing society, a process that is called "modernization" by the more cynical academic ideologues. This policy had to guarantee that the only hope for survival lies in a foreign-based economy, dominated by local associates of foreign powers, with social and cultural patterns oriented towards the needs and interests of the industrial societies. U.S. planners may believe that his goal has been partially attained through the massive terror of the past eight years. If so, this would be another factor that would lead them to risk a shift to the political arena, revising longstanding policy.

There is a final reason, of some importance, I believe. U.S. planners may feel that their international goals have been largely attained. Shortly after Geneva, 1954, Dulles explained that "investment (in) Viet-Nam justified even if only to buy time (to) build up strength elsewhere in area." The dominoes might topple, if Vietnam were lost. Why was Vietnam regarded as so vital? Obviously, not as a military threat. U.S. planners did not expect Ho Chi Minh to set out in a sampan to conquer Indonesia and Japan. Nor did they fear that a Communist Victory in Vietnam would enhance the "militant and aggressive expansionist policy" attributed to china by CIA spokesman George Carver. On the contrary, the top-level analysis in late 1964, when U.S. escalation was being planned, predicted that a unified Vietnam under Communist leadership would have no ambitions beyond Indochina and would resume its "traditional hostility" towards China. What then was the mysterious mechanism by which "the rot would spread," if not military conquest? How would the dominoes topple, if not by military force?

What the planners feared, in their more rational moments, was what they called the

proceed with the invasion of the Philippines, to fulfill his duty "to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them, and by God's grace do the very best we could by them, as our fellowmen for whom Christ also died." Seventy-five years later, the true character of this enterprise is plain enough, just as the true meaning of the Truman Doctrine—"to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures"—is revealed by the state of freedom in Greece and Turkey today.

The Philippines followed a few weeks behind South Korea, where Park Chung Hee was granted virtually absolute power in a country that is almost entirely in the hands of U.S. and Japanese capital, and locally, in the hands of the Korean CIA—rather firmly, it appears.



The pattern is evident. It grows directly from the "Nixon-Kissinger doctrine," the principle that a conservative coalition of great powers will enforce global order, repressing movements of liberation or social change, operating through domestic collaborators who are provided with the most efficient tools of repression that can be devised.

Surveying the situation in East Asia, U.S. planners may feel that the investment in Vietnam has paid off, as Dulles and others hoped, and that they can risk abandoning Vietnam to its people.

(PRG Advantage)

The October 9-Point program, now in effect signed in Paris, differed in one significant respect from earlier PRG-DRV proposals: namely, it incorporated the U.S. demand that a cease-fire precede a political settlement. The reason for the change seems clear. After the "successes" of such post-Tet pacification programs as Operation Speedy Express, much of the countryside was under the effective control of the U.S.-imposed regime. For the PRG to have accepted a cease-fire in which the military and police forces of this regime could operate freely would have been to surrender. By October, the situation in the South was quite different. The offensive had succeeded in drawing U.S.-ARVN forces away from settled areas, permitting the resistance to reconstitute its "infrastructure." The Saigon army was severely battered, and military forces of the PRG-DRV were in a position to give some protection to the indigenous political movement of South Vietnam. More generally, all military forces were undoubtedly weakened by

the savage fighting and the colossal U.S. bombing attack. But it has always been clear to both sides that the conflict pits a massive U.S.-controlled military force with little political backing against an opponent that is politically powerful but relatively weak in military strength. As military forces are weakened, political strength—the comparative advantage of the "enemy"—becomes a more critical factor. Correspondingly, the PRG and DRV have much to gain if U.S. military force is effectively withdrawn and the terms of the Paris Agreements are more or less applied.

It has been widely argued that the PRG-DRV shift was motivated by Russian-Chinese pressure, a result of the successful Nixon-Kissinger great power diplomacy. Naturally, spokesmen for the Administration will offer this view, but although an argument

can be constructed, it seems to be rather implausible. Whatever the intentions of China and Russia may be, the fact seems to be that supplies continued to flow relatively unimpeded to the DRV. Recent visitors and journalists in the DRV report no signs of shortages. McNamara's analysts had predicted that mining of the harbors would have little effect on the flow of supplies, and it appears that they were correct. The changed situation in South Vietnam provides adequate grounds to explain the shift in negotiating position noted in the Hanoi radio broadcast of October 26 announcing the 9-Point plan.

While there is little reason to suppose that Russian-Chinese pressure impelled Hanoi to accept the Paris Agreements, nevertheless one should not mistake the intent of the Nixon-Kissinger diplomacy. The goal, plainly, is a coalition of great powers that will institutionalize the cold war system of imperial dominations with more rational controls, reducing the freedom of weaker states within the "spheres of influence" established by great power agreement. There is little novelty in this doctrine. In essence, it amounts to an agreement by the United States to accept the program advocated by Stalin at the end of World War II. It is possible that the PRG may suffer from the "successes" of this diplomacy. A concert of great powers may attempt to ratify the Washington version of the Paris Agreements. It is important to recognize that, in a sense, every state is a satellite of the U.S., in that they must recognize and somehow come to terms with the enormous power, military and economic, that the U.S. commands. The Vietnamese

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"The dominoes might topple if Vietnam were lost."

(The Agreement: Why Now?)

A similar analysis can be perceived throughout the historical record. To the likes of Dean Rusk, the Viet Minh were agents of foreign imperialism, while the French defended the territorial integrity of Indochina. Adlai Stevenson later condemned the Viet Cong for their "internal aggression" against the legitimate government, installed by U.S. force. The Joint Chiefs of Staff went so far as to define "political warfare" as a form of aggression (Feb. 1955), revealing thereby a precise understanding of the basic position of the U.S. government.

For ten years Washington has struggled to prevent the realization of the NLF program, demolishing the society of South Vietnam in the process. Now it has signed the Paris Agreements that incorporate the essential features of this program. What has led to this renunciation—formal at least—of long-established policy?

The primary factor is the local situation in South Vietnam. U.S. ground combat forces have been withdrawn and the local forces organized by the U.S. military (ARVN) seem to be in fairly poor shape. Desertions have been reported to be running at more than 20,000 a month, the highest level of the war (Daniel Sutherland, Christian Science Monitor, Nov. 28). ARVN has never found much enthusiasm for the American war, and the U.S. is in no position to undertake another post-Test accelerated pacification program.

A second factor is the likely domestic and foreign response to further U.S. escalation. Pitiably slight in view of the circumstances, it has nevertheless always been an operative factor in constraining state violence.

Thirdly, the U.S. government may believe—rightly or wrongly—that its local affiliates are better prepared for a political confrontation than heretofore. The reasons are two-fold. There is, in the first place, an extensive police apparatus that has been effective in crushing dissidence. Though the Saigon government, in its enthusiasm, may have

Book Review

"There Is No Wealth But Life"

by: James A. Jenkins

UNTO THIS LAST. John Ruskin. ed by John L. Bradley. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts; 1967. 97 pp.

Unto This Last is the work of a Victorian literary master, setting forth a non-Marxist critique of modern political economy. In refuting the popular theories of John Sturt Mill, David Ricardo, and the nineteenth-century utilitarians, John Ruskin seeks to re-define "wealth" and demonstrate that its acquisition is possible only under moral conditions; the foremost of those conditions being a belief in the existence and attainability of honesty.

Ruskin's criticism of political economy is, in spite of the brevity of the work, broad and it must be noted that sufficient treatment is impossible here. In the first of the four essays ("Roots of Honor") the Victorian argues that the political economy of the day is acceptable in theory but, practically speaking, it is a mechanical theory that does not fit into the world. Ruskin holds that the finest work will be done not when men are treated as machines but as human beings. Further, what is known as "commerce" is not commerce at all but cozening (cheating); it has no relation to the true end of commerce, which is providing for the nation.

The problem with businessmen, says Ruskin, is that they do not understand what is meant by the word "rich," as they commonly use it. As he puts it, "...the art of making our-self rich, in the ordinary mercantile economist's sense, is therefore equally and necessarily the art of keeping your neighbor poor."

For Ruskin, the understanding that the power of the rich depends upon the poverty of the workers rests upon a distinction between political economy and mercantile economy. Whereas the former is the economy of the state consisting simply in the "production, preservation, and distribution, at fittest time and place, of useful or pleasurable things" for the well-being of all, the latter signifies the accumulation of power over men and their labor, or, simply stated, commercial power. This mercantile economy is the "science of wealth" of the utilitarians and, according to Ruskin, is a perversion of true political economy. That Ruskin damns such a theory is evident in "The Veins of Wealth," wherein he states:

"And, therefore, the idea that directions can be given for the gaining of wealth, irrespectively of the consideration of its moral sources, of that any general or technical law of purchase and gain can be set down for national practice, is perhaps the most insolently futile of all that ever beguiled men through their vices."

The answer to the problem of a right economy lies with "justice," according to the author, and justice involves intelligence. Though he does not offer a definitional statement on justice, Ruskin works to describe its nature and, quite clearly, connects it to Judeo-Christian ethical principles. Significantly, "legality" and "illegality" are not to be standards for justice, for that which is legal may be far removed from justice. "The universal and constant action of justice is to diminish the power of wealth, in the hands of one

individual, over masses of men, and to distribute it through a chain of men."

Anticipating charges that he is a socialist, Ruskin makes a straightforward point on the possession of property: "Where-as it has long been known and declared that the poor have no right to the property of the rich, I wish it also to be known and declared that the rich have no right to the property of the poor."

Ruskin defines "value" as connecting to the creation and maintenance of life as a whole and he makes it plain that the value of a thing ultimately is not matter of opinion. Wealth, says Ruskin, is "the possession of the valuable by the valiant;" that is to say, those having the capacities to create and sustain life must have the means to fulfill those capacities. According to Ruskin, the end of true political economy is to use everything and use it nobly for

the end of sustaining life. "There is no wealth but life." He condemns the bastardized political economy of his contemporaries for failing to approach this end.

Unto This Last is a finely crafted, compelling social criticism and yet Ruskin must be taken to task for his conclusions. Though the "Preface" offers concrete proposals for the reform of work and commerce, the gist of the essays, especially "Ad Valorem," is that the solution to the problem rests ultimately with the individual human being; more precisely, the Christian is suggested as the base of correct action. "...All effectual advancement towards this true felicity of the human race must be by individual, not public effort." In so saying, Ruskin accepts the reactionary premisses of the utilitarians; hence, his plea for justice is in vain.

International Conference Condemns U.S.—Saigon

Reprinted by permission of the Guardian, Apr. 25, 1973
By Wilfred Burchett, Guradian staff correspondent.

PARIS—The US and Saigon have been condemned for their treatment of political prisoners and violations of the Paris accords by an international conference here, Apr. 12-14.

Called with only one week's notice because of the urgency of the problem, it was attended from representatives of 97 organizations including such well-known international bodies as Amnesty International, the International Commission of the Red Cross, Religious organizations and the Communist Trotskyist parties of France.

The scrupulously documented evidence made a mockery of dictator Nguyen Van Thieu's claims that there were no political prisoners and that the infamous "tiger cages" no longer existed.

An appeal, unanimously adopted by the conference, states that "in South Vietnam, men and women brought back to the mainland after years in the tiger cages of Poulo Condor today dragged themselves along on their hands. Others are condemned to a slow death in the cells built by American experts. Whole families have been arrested because one of

them is a suspect. Men and women have been thrown into prison, tortured and degraded. Three months after the signing of the cease-fire, 200,000 political detainees remain in the jails, convict prisons, concentration camps and numerous detention centers at provincial, district and village levels.

Liberty Abolished

"Human dignity is flouted, all liberty abolished, all political opposition to the dictatorship branded as common-law crime. A whole arsenal of emergency laws, irreconcilable with the letter and spirit of the Paris Agreements, remain in force and result in terror being turned into a method of government. The administrations of the US and Saigon, flaunting the most complete contempt for public opinion, simply deny its reality a refuse any controls...."

That agreement could be found among the delegates of such differing viewpoints to employ this language was due to the irrefutable nature of the documents presented by Saigon-based Committee for the Reform of Conditions of Retention in South Vietnam, printed by a Catholic priest, Fr. Chan Tin.

The Declaration of the conference noted that it was "with

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Nuclear Plant Cont.

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companies was present and several people attending expressed disappointment because of this. A subsequent program is however being planned there to hear the utilities' side of the story."

One benefit certain to be brought up would be the tax return to both the Town of Rudolph and to Wood County. According to statistics using the present laws, the return to the Town of Rudolph in 1979 could be over \$5 million. Although employment in the construction of such a plant is a possibility, the outlook for local employment in its actual operation isn't very high as judged by

figures showing the number of townspeople employed by similar plants throughout the state.

Guest speaker at the meeting, Jonathon Ela a representative of the Sierra Club said that we don't need these vast amounts of energy. He suggested a reduction in power usage, and a switch to more efficient appliances as a reasonable alternative.

Updike said, "These plants are getting bigger and bigger. Because of their newness, each one is in some way different from the rest. The chance of an accident may be small, but it's still there."

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Endgame Continued

people exert no such international influence. Russia and China may determine, for their own reasons, that their best interests require them to adopt tacitly the American view that further efforts by the PRG to realize the terms of the Paris Agreements are a violation of the status quo." It would be romantic illusion to discount this possibility, though it may prove to be the case, once again, that the amazing resiliency of Vietnamese revolutionary nationalism will be the decisive factor.

The crucial question, at the moment, is whether the U.S. will adhere to the Paris Agreements or whether it will pursue its expressed intention of violating them. It is interesting that a propaganda basis is now being established to justify the inevitable claim that the Communists are responsible for violations of the cease-fire. Walt Rostow, in one of his numerous Op-Ed columns in the NY Times, suggests that the present situation is similar to that in Laos in 1954, when Communist forces regrouped in Sam Neua and Phong Saly provinces. He asserts categorically that "The International Control Commission created in 1954 was never permitted to enter these two provinces...A unified independent Laos was never created" as a result of Communist political and military actions (NY Times, Jan. 12, 1973). Robert Shaplen comments that the ICC was "usually prevented by Indian doubts and Polish vetoes from

taking any substantive action," suggesting that this was a primary cause in the breakdown of the Geneva arrangements for Indochina in 1954.

The facts are rather different. Within two months of its formation in October 1954, the ICC in Laos was conducting on-the-spot investigations at Nong Khang, the provisional capital of Sam Neua province. A U.S. Military Assistance Advisory Group was illegally introduced into Laos under the cover of the aid program, staffed by military officers in civilian clothes under the direction of the former chief of US MAAG in Pakistan. It controlled most of the "aid" funds and had direct channels of communication to the Washington through the Pacific military command (CINCPAC). "A unified independent Laos was never created" because of U.S. subversion. The U.S. Ambassador admitted that he had struggled for 16 months to prevent a coalition, and when the Pathet Lao won an unexpected election victory in 1958, the government was quickly overthrown by CIA-backed right-wing groups after U.S. aid had been terminated, in accordance with the policy laid down in NSC 5612-1 of September 1956. By the fall of 1960, the U.S. was denying aid to the Souvanna Phouma government it still recognized, and the CIA and U.S. military were supporting extreme right-wing forces that were in open rebellion against this government. This was a period when Western journalists were

reporting that the Pathet Lao would surely emerge victorious in anything resembling a free election.

Apart from the public statements of the U.S. government, the vast flow of military supplies to South Vietnam since October indicates a clear U.S. intention to remain in massive force. Pentagon officials "estimate that it will take...up to two years...to train pilots, engineers and electronic specialists needed by the augmented Air Force," which is expected to have the capacity to provide air support at almost the level of U.S. Air support, according to the USAF officers (US News and World Report, Nov. 27). American officials in Saigon are reported to be "secretly planning a major postwar presence of United States civilians in Vietnam, with many of them doing jobs formerly done by the military." A spokesman by the U.S. military command refused to supply details, saying: "It's just not in the national interest to have these things known." Spokesmen for companies contracting for this work also state that the DOD has forbidden them to talk about it (Fox Butterfield, NY Times, Nov. 27, 1972). In addition, there will be AID, CORDS (the quasi-military pacification advisers), and a CIA contingent of unknown size, which may use an AID cover as it has in Laos since the 1962 Geneva Agreements. The CIA may well seek to employ its inter-Asian mercenary army, alongside the quasi-mercenary army of the Saigon regime. No serious observer can feel any confidence that the U.S. will renounce the general policy of subversion and illegal use of force against local Communist

"rebellion" in Indochina and throughout East Asia, as laid down in secret immediately after the Geneva Agreements of 1954 (Aug. 20, 1954; NSC 549-2, Government edition of the Pentagon Papers, book 10, p. 731f).

One final point. Suppose that Western force actually is withdrawn from Indochina. There is little doubt that the struggle will quickly be joined elsewhere, at the second line of defense, where U.S. and Japanese investment and interest are expanding in this area of considerable economic and

cont. to p. 15

CLASSIFIED ADS:
Wanted: Two fellows for handyman positions. Also 1, 2, or 3 girls for help with spring house cleaning between now and summer. Must have transportation. Phone Ext. 2889

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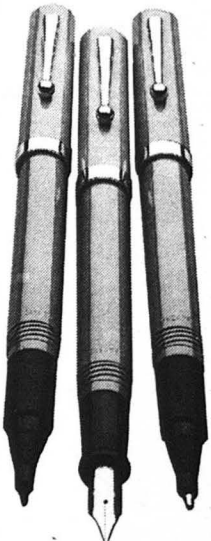


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Campus Newsletter

Saturday, May 5

Psychology Picnic: 2 p.m., Dr. Beck's Home (ID Acres) All senior Psychology majors, faculty in Psychology and Psychology Club members are invited to attend. See Psychology Secretary, Ms. Burroughs, 449 Collins Classroom Center for map to ID Acres.

University Theatre: 8 p.m., Jenkins Theatre, Fine Arts Building, "Sister George."

Sunday, May 6

Newman University Parish: Saturday 4 and 6 p.m., Newman Chapel; Sunday 10 a.m., Newman Chapel, 11:15 a.m. and 6 p.m., Cloister. Weekday masses Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, 11:45 a.m. and 4:45 p.m., Newman Chapel. Confessions, Wednesday, 4 p.m., Newman Chapel.

Lutheran Student Community: Service on "Care of the Earth," Saturday 6 p.m. and Sunday 10:30 a.m., Peace Campus Center. If weather permits, service will be held on back lawn of Peace Center, so bring blankets to sit on and wear appropriate clothing.

United Church of Christ: 1756 Dixon Street. Sunday worship 10 a.m.

St. Paul's United Methodist Church: 600 Wilshire Blvd. Sunday worship 10 a.m.; Rides: will pick up at Steiner 9:35; Delzell 9:38; Schmeckle 9:42; Watson 9:46 and Roach 9:50.

Frame Memorial United Presbyterian Church: 1300 Main St. Sunday Worship 9:15 and 10:45 a.m.

Church of the Intercession (Episcopal): 1417 Church St. Sunday mass 9 a.m. and 5:15 p.m. Friday mass 5:15 p.m. (\$35 supper after Friday Mass).

Planetarium Series: 3 p.m., Science Building. "The Evolution and Growth of a Star."

Suzuki Recital: 3 p.m., Michelsen Hall, Fine Arts Building.

Student Flute Recital: 8 p.m., Michelsen Hall, Fine Arts Building. Marilyn Schneider.

Monday, May 7

Meeting for French Majors: 5 p.m., 122 Collins Classroom Center. The meeting will be for all French majors.

Women's Intramurals: 6-9 p.m., Fieldhouse. Open facilities for all women in gymnastics, swimming and all courts in the gymnasiums. Bring your own swimsuits and

caps. Racquetball courts may be reserved from 5:45 to 6:15 by phone or in person—after that time they will be posted.

WWSP-FM Broadcasts "Dracula": 7:30 p.m. The program will discuss the myth and symbol evil Dracula represents. This discussion guests are Leonard Wolf, author of "A Dream of Dracula," and Michael Murr, professor of English at the University of Chicago.

Campus Television Meeting: 6 p.m., Studio Theatre in the Learning Resources Center. Anyone interested in finding out about campus television or interested in participating is invited.

Oratorio Chorus Concert: 8 p.m., Michelsen Hall, Fine Arts Building. Directed by Kenyard Smith.

Thursday, May 10

Pewaukee High School Choir Concert: 3:15 p.m., Michelsen Hall, Fine Arts Building.

International Cinema: 7 p.m., Auditorium, Main Building. "Rules of the Game."

Friday, May 11

Guest Artist Recital: 8 p.m., Michelsen Hall, Fine Arts Building. Shirlee Emmons.

Controller's Office Declares Dividend: The Controller's office has declared a 1 per cent dividend on the balances in Student Faculty Organizations accounts in the custody of Accounting Services at this University.

Student Organizations are encouraged to use the Student Faculty Organization structure for their convenience in not having to maintain checking accounts, buy checks, and pay service charges. Why not investigate the benefits of letting Accounting Services maintain the accounts for you at no charge and get dividends in addition. For details, see Mr. Troyanowski in Accounting Services, Room 003, Park Student Service Center.

Attention Seniors!!

A graduating senior has 30 days after the official end of the semester to complete work in a course in which he has received an incomplete. If courses or credits which are required for the degree are not on file in the Records Office by June 16, his graduation will be postponed until such time as his requirements are complete.

Conference Cont.

emotion and anguish" that the documents of this committee were examined, including "messages from prisoners and their families, accounts of arrest and interrogations and of deportations written by family members, information given in Prison News (apparently an underground paper which circulates in South Vietnam) verified lists of prisoners, numbers of whom have been held without trial, complete translations of laws and decrees of the republic of Vietnam legalizing all these measures in the most scandalously high-handed proceedings."

The conference had in front of it the argument used to condemn Fr. Truong Ba Can and three other priests to fiveyears' prison for having published an article on the 1971 Bishops Synod. It heard direct testimony brought by Jean-Pierre Debris, recently freed from Chi Hoa prison after two and a half years detention. It examined the interviews carried out by Judith Radiguet in Saigon with several families of prisoners accompanied by photographs of women atrociously disfigured by torture with boiling water and oil.

The part of the Paris Agreements providing for democratic rights has remained a "dead letter" under the Thieu regime. Although the Paris Agreement should take precedence over existing laws, the declaration points out that all the emergency war-time legislation remains in force, "angering the press, damning

all opposition parties and preventing freedom of movement in violation of Article 11...."

Refuting Thieu's attempts to deny the existence or belittle the number of political prisoners, the Declaration points out that Thieu's associate Hoang Duc Nhr, announced in September 1972 the arrest of 40,000 persons in the previous few months. The conference accepted the number of at least 200,000 political prisoners held today. Specific lists of names sent in by family members giving dates of arrest and place of detention and amounting to many thousands continued to arrive during the three days of the Conference.

"After having filled the prisons during the past years with people arrested for their opinions," continued the Declaration, "the Saigon government persists today in presenting these prisoners as common-law criminals in flagrant violation of Article 8B of the Paris Agreement which stipulates that the detaining parties must not refuse or delay the release of these persons under any pretext whatsoever, including the pretext that such persons are being prosecuted or sentenced for any reason whatsoever." Finally, the conference Declaration demanded:

"1. The release in the shortest time possible of all political prisoners claiming to support the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

"2. The release in the shortest

time possible of all political prisoners not claiming to support either side in the conflict in the presence of authorized witnesses--the International Commission of Control and Supervision or representatives of the National Red Cross Society."

"3. An end to all persecution and ill treatment of all political prisoners while awaiting their release."

"(4) A halt to arrests and in general a halt to all acts of repression contrary to the Paris Agreement."

This will be only the beginning of a international campaign of solidarity with the South Vietnamese people which will continue, in different ways, the work of internationalism done by the movements in support of Vietnam around the world.

Endgame Still Cont.

"strategic" importance. The struggle for national liberation and social change in the Far East and elsewhere will continue, and it will be resisted by imperial force. Apologists will speak of "defense of the Four Freedoms." The facts will speak of something else. What will happen within the advanced industrial societies is far from clear, but there is little doubt that it will have a significant, possibly decisive, impact on these inevitable conflicts.

(The last of the lengthy think pieces.)

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*From a letter from a Euromed participant

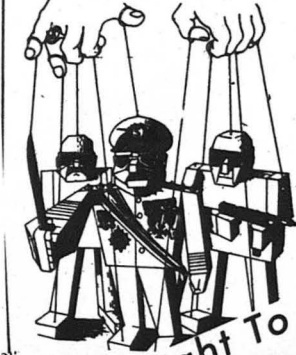
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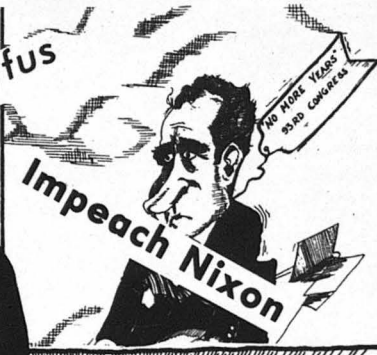
The Pointer: A Critical Eye On The University



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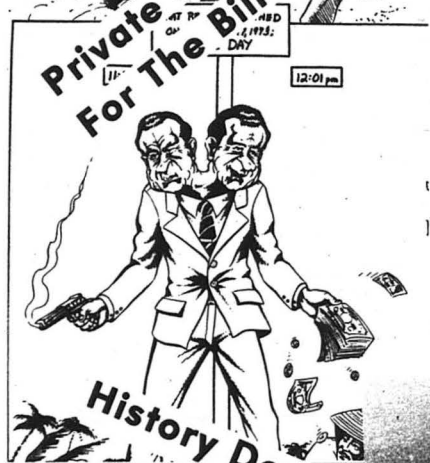
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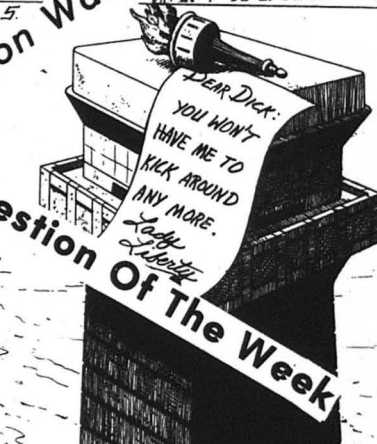
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Question Of The Week

Demonstrate! End The War.



New Editor Vows No Editorials