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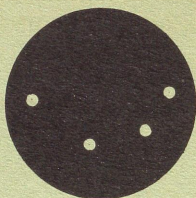
If We
Believe in Peace—
THEN
WHY
VIETNAM?



Is it possible that the vision
of a majestic river
harnessed for the advance of
twenty million people
by an unprecedented piece of
international cooperation
would so command the
imagination of the nations
that the present grueling
conflict could give way
to a struggle for
more abundant life?

Gilbert White
from "Lower Mekong"
from THE BULLETIN FOR THE ATOMIC SCIENTISTS

IT
WAS IN
AUTUMN



It was in Autumn, when
The rice was as gold as the sunshine,
And I was walking
Alone in the field,
Toward my town,
Toward my house,
Leaving the black, chilly, wet
Hiding cave far
Behind me and
I was singing,
I was leaping,
I was running,
I was laughing,
I was breathing
Deep
The clean autumnal air,
Cool and nice. The rice
Smelled, smiled; locusts
Leaped; dragonflies
Flew round me and
Up in the blue,
Blue sky.

When suddenly,
A small black swarm
Of airplanes
Appear
Above the mountain, and
They come fastest
To my town, and
One finds me,
Begins to
Chase
Me, and
I run,
Run,
And run
Breathless
Into the rice field,
Hid myself
Deep among the rice,
Lying into the water,
And it shoots me.

The machine-gun,
And shots with
Thunderous sound
Approach and
Pass just beside me
Ten inches away
From my right arm
Splashing the water
Whole upon my body.

I was lying,
Trembling,
Forgetting myself,
I do not know how long,
But I felt it's a long,
Long time, and finally
It's gone, all planes were
Gone away, and I stood
Up, standing up
Continuously,
As if I lost myself,
As if I just woke up out of
My bad dream,
Looking toward the sky
Into which they disappeared.

1. Do you agree with those who feel that more military effort in Vietnam is doomed to failure?

Yes No Don't Know

Questions

2. Do you feel that the situation in Vietnam calls for a political rather than a military solution?

Yes No Don't Know

3. Do you favor the withdrawal of American troops, "military advisors" and military support aid from Vietnam?

Yes No Don't Know

4. Would you favor including the Chinese Peoples' Republic in the negotiations to bring peace to Southeast Asia.

Yes No Don't Know

5. Would you support a reconvened Geneva Conference and the use of the good offices the United Nations to implement their decision?

Yes No Don't Know

6. Do you read full news reports of what is happening in Vietnam

Yes No

or only the headlines?

Yes

7. Would you support an internationally controlled project to develop the Mekong River basin, and thus set up new working patterns between the four nations which would be primarily involved: Cambodia, Laos, Thailand and Vietnam?

Yes No Don't Know

Adapted from questionnaire used in Pasadena, California

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

If thoughtful and religious people in America do not soon impinge upon our Government's fatal and immoral policy, we shall be led further into a series of events beyond our control which we shall not be able to stop. China cannot long permit our continued intervention without weighing direct intervention herself. Who dares forecast after that? I await with anxiety the awakening of American's conscience.

Bronson P. Clark
from "Algeria and Vietnam: Telltale of Disaster"
in FRIENDS JOURNAL, July 15, 1964

We
Have
to
Ask-WHY?
and
WHY
NOT?



Drawing from CHRISTIANITY AND CRISIS, November 2, 1964

What Vietnam has needed most from the U.S. or from some company of free nations, is a kind of foreign aid that doesn't fit into our present categories of military-economic-technical assistance: political aid. Even nation-building has too often been conceived in clinically apolitical terms. The Free World has failed to devise an adequate program of political aid to the vulnerable states of the Third World. We have failed to nurture the institutional roots for indigenous government itself, perhaps out of an exaggerated fear of being called "imperialist." The UN Trusteeship Council, on the brink of going out of business, might have been developed as an organ of international political aid to new states.

Alan Geyer
from "A New Kind of Foreign Aid,
Vietnam's Greatest Need: Political Aid"
from CHRISTIANITY AND CRISIS, November 2, 1964

... It is even possible now to hear officials of this government talking casually about how easy it would be to "provoke an incident" in the Gulf of Tonkin that would justify an attack on North Vietnam.

James Ruston
from THE NEW YORK TIMES, October 2, 1964

Gen. Taylor and his team at least prevented, or helped prevent, the drastic and final deterioration that many expected to occur this fall. But one of the most important factors in the present situation is the reported conviction of Gen. Taylor that no alternative now remains except to "change the terms of the problem."

Joseph Alsop
from "Rude Awakening"
from THE NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, November 4, 1964

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WE ARE TRAPPED IN A SITUATION WHERE NO TRADITIONAL MILITARY VICTORY CAN BE WON IN SOUTH VIETNAM REGARDLESS OF HOW MANY MORE TROOPS AND HOW MUCH MORE EQUIPMENT IS POURED IN.

David McReynolds and A.J. Muste
from MEMO ON VIETNAM

Our attention has been called to an article in the French magazine Realités last May which has not been published in its English language edition, though of great interest to Americans. The article "Vietnam- A New Korea" was written by Edgar Ansel Mowrer, who now edits a NATO publication, Atlantic Community. This article makes some interesting revelations (1) that Brigadier Gen. Edward A. Lansdale, ret., who helped Magsaysay defeat the Huks in the Philippines, favors a joint declaration by the U.S. and South Vietnam calling for an anti-Communist revolution in North Vietnam (2) that as Diem's military adviser from 1954 to 1956 Lansdale had already organized commando raids on the North (3) that 3,000 Vietnamese, many natives of the North, had been trained in Special Forces for further action of this kind (4) that after some tentative attempts at "counter belligerency" the Kennedy Administration, over the objections of Assistant Secretary of State W.W. Rostow, called off the operations as "too difficult and too dangerous" but that (5) a number of American military chiefs still favor them. Mowrer also says he was informed that in September, 1963, Kennedy ordered Averell Harriman to draw up a plan of neutralization for South Vietnam by stages, beginning with the elimination of Diem. In our issue of August 24 we called attention to an article in Le Monde (Aug. 7) which said U.S. training of commando units against the North began in 1957, three years before the rebellion broke out. Mowrer dates them even earlier.

from "Why was This Revealing Article on Vietnam Never Published in English?"
from I. F. STONE'S WEEKLY, October 12, 1964

When France finally gave up, the U.S. refused to sign the Geneva Accord of 1954, which ended the war. And we prevailed upon a new government we had chosen to back in South Vietnam not to sign it either. We began to send military aid early in 1955, and we, along with South and North Vietnam, were found by the International Control Commission to be in violation of the treaty.

For 10 years we have claimed that North Vietnam was violating the accord by sending in help to the rebels against the South Vietnamese Government. But our solution was not to go to the parties who signed the agreement and who were responsible for its enforcement. Nor did we go to the United Nations, the sole international body with jurisdiction over threats to the peace.

Instead we multiplied our own violations by joining in the fighting. Each time we increase the number of American boys sent to that country to "advise" the local troops we violate the Geneva Agreement of 1954. Every jet planes, every helicopter, every naval vessel we furnish South Vietnam or man with American servicemen is a violation, and so is every military base and airstrip we have constructed there.

Yet we hypocritically proclaim to ourselves and the world that we are there only to enforce the Geneva Agreement!

Wayne Morse
from "We are Pursuing Neither Law Nor Peace-
The U.S. Must Withdraw"
from CHRISTIANITY AND CRISIS, November 2, 1964

We do not believe the public would approve the reasons for this war or the way in which it is being fought. We do not believe that most Americans want the war extended, and certainly not to the point of open conflict with China - one in which ten or hundreds of thousands of Americans as well as Chinese would have to die to cover up the blunders of the C.I.A. and the general incompetence of the State Department. And certainly no one, except for the extreme Right, really wants to risk a nuclear war on the issue of whether or not we shall continue to defend an oppressive and undemocratic minority government in South Vietnam. . . .

David McReynolds and A. J. Muste
from MEMO ON VIETNAM

If the United Nations were to designate this area for international development according to the plan already drawn by the four nations there is a strong possibility that peace could be achieved in common pursuit of agricultural and industrial growth. This is a solution to Southeast Asian violence which would make sense to every peasant in the rice fields and to every American taxpayer.

Gilbert White
from "Lower Mekong"
from THE BULLETIN FOR THE ATOMIC SCIENTISTS

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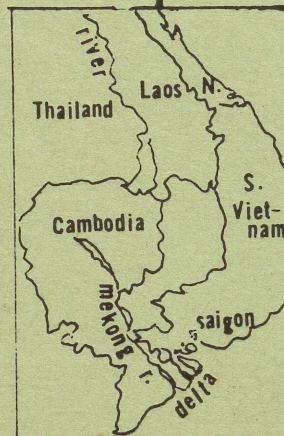
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Lower Mekong

A PROPOSAL FOR A PEACEFUL
AND HONORABLE RESOLUTION
OF THE CONFLICT IN SOUTH
VIETNAM

by Gilbert F. White



Reprinted from the

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December 1964

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THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

A peaceful and honorable resolution of the conflict in South Vietnam and Laos may be found in a bold plan for land and water development which already unites factions in four nations of Southeast Asia. For seven years, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, and South Vietnam have been working with little publicity and without disagreement on a huge development program. These four countries, which do not cooperate in anything else, have reached accord on development of the Lower Mekong Basin.

Work already is under way in drawing engineering designs, moving earth for dams, building power plants, cultivating pilot farms, and training village technicians. Even guerrilla troops have not halted field work.

If the United Nations were to designate this area for international development according to the plan already drawn by the four nations, there is a strong possibility that peace could be achieved in a common pursuit of agricultural and industrial growth. This is a solution to Southeast Asian violence which would make sense to peasants in the rice fields and to American taxpayers.

There are three well-publicized choices for the U.S.:

The current combination of military, political, and economic assistance to local governments opposed to the Vietcong in Vietnam and to the Pathet Lao in Laos could be continued or stepped up. Many observers argue that the United States cannot hope to settle the conflict or stabilize the two governments if it relies on this course of containment.

The United States could carry the war to North Vietnam in an effort to cut off support of guerrilla activity. This would be morally reprehensible and desperately dangerous. At best it would create another Korea; a new border guarded by armies would contribute new rigidities to the search for world peace. At worst a big war might unfold.

The area could be neutralized under an international agreement that would establish a peacekeeping force. As a political measure, this would oblige the United States to step down from its unhappy military position without improving the dim prospect for continuing political stability in Vietnam, Laos, or neighboring lands.

The Lower Mekong River may be the key to a fourth course of action, a more constructive and humane one than any of the others. For the imaginative scheme to manage the winding streams and alluvial soils of that great basin now provides a framework within which all

THE COVER photograph, by Gilbert F. White, shows rice fields under water near the head of Grand Lac, in Cambodia.

Vietnam: The Fourth Course

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN SCIENCE



nations could join their technical, financial, and police assistance under the United Nations flag in working toward a concrete goal. The attractions of taking positive international action based on indigenous plans for the Lower Mekong are obvious. The difficulties of getting agreement are great and have not been fully assessed. But they should be explored with all of the energy and skill now going into war plans. Even if the specific framework suggested by Mekong experience were to prove impracticable, other viable and constructive solutions may lie in this direction.

Planning for the Lower Mekong was begun by a committee of the four countries under auspices of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East in 1957. The basin below the Burmese and Chinese borders includes virtually all the area of Cambodia and Laos, the Korat Plateaus in northeast Thailand, and the Delta and southwest interior of Vietnam. It embraces half the population of the four countries. It is a huge area drained by an untouched river of the dimensions of the Columbia.

The committee set out to gauge streams, explore damsites, chart soils, study farming, and do all the other things needed to design a program of managing water and land for the welfare of its twenty million people, mostly rice farmers. The survey effort was unique in dealing with the entire lower basin as a unit before construction began, in doing this under United Nations guidance, and in calling upon technical help from other nations. Always before, nations have joined in river development, as in the Indus or Rio Grande, under pressure of contending claims. In the Mekong, they started with a clean slate and a generous supply of both water and land. As yet there are no serious conflicts. They lacked essential data, and decided to defer construction until more facts were in hand.

More than \$14 million has been spent to date on basic studies. These now involve twenty other nations and eleven international agencies. The U.S. Bureau of Reclamation helped with a reconnaissance study. Lieutenant General Raymond Wheeler, former chief of the Corps of Engineers, headed a United Nations mission which recommended a series of detailed investigations. France was the first to offer direct assistance; Canada flew the aerial photographs; the United States studied the hydrology; Australia investigated damsites; geology; Japan sent reconnaissance engineering teams; the Philip-

pines did detailed mapping; France surveyed soils and fish life. The studies and organization became more complex. India sent a team to design a large dam; Israel contributed agricultural engineers. The names of the Netherlands, Pakistan, the Scandinavian countries, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, the International Labor Organization, the World Health Organization, and the Ford Foundation began to appear in progress reports.

The Food and Agriculture Organization designed pilot farms, and the World Meteorological Organization advised on flood forecasts and hydrology. These and many other basic surveys are being put together by an international staff and Advisory Board under the Committee's guidance.

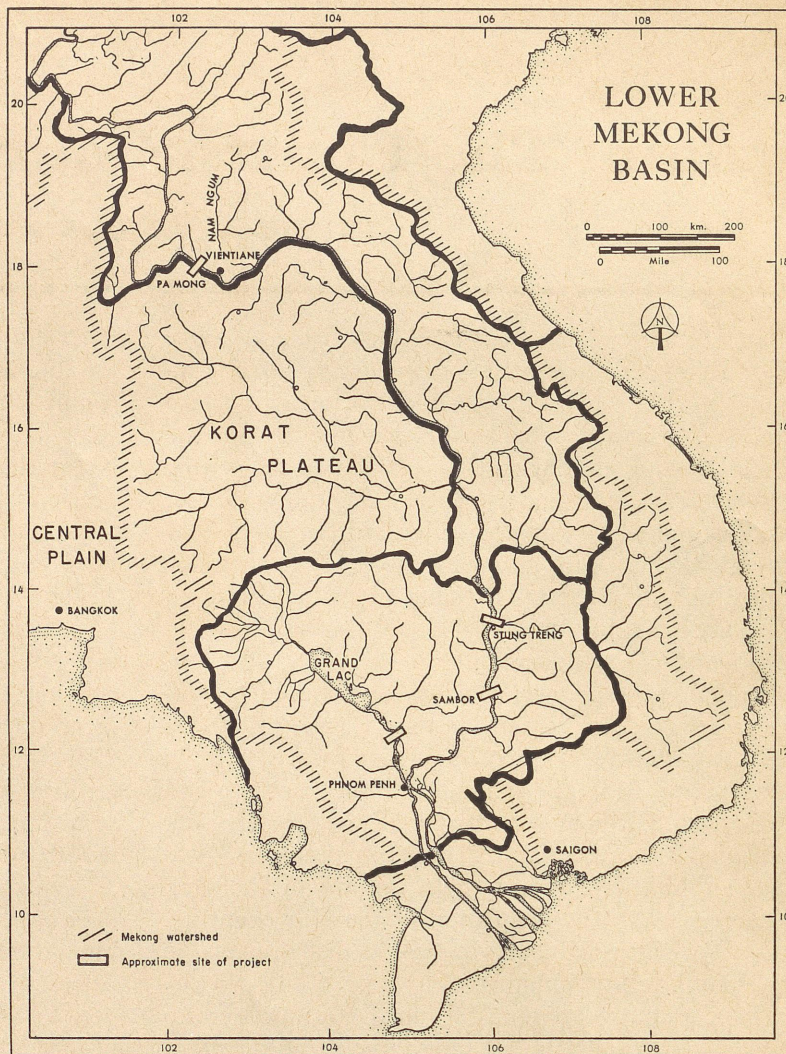
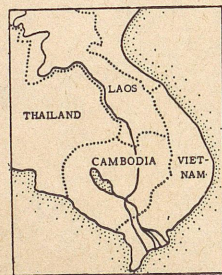
With all of these nations in the picture it might seem impossible to get anything done. There was no model to follow. Skeptics in Bangkok and Saigon and Washington called the idea visionary. In fact, there have been delays and administrative snarls, but the work has moved surprisingly well. An Indian survey team uses American hydrology, Philippine maps, and Australian geology to design a dam in Cambodia which also would benefit Vietnamese farmers downstream.

The total U.S. contribution to Lower Mekong planning has cost less than four days of military aid in South Vietnam, now reported to exceed \$1.5 million per day.

Burma has such a small and inaccessible part of the upper basin that it has not taken part. The People's Republic of China has at least 74,000 square miles in the upper basin. This lies in a long narrow segment, most of which is steep gorge cutting through high dissected plateaus. While China has not participated in the planning for the lower basin, integrated development of the entire basin ultimately should include the upper reaches. Hydroelectric storage there probably would benefit the regimen of the lower stream, but even if China were to divert its entire share into other basins—a most unlikely prospect—there still would be enough water in the Lower Mekong basin to care for major works now planned. North Vietnam does not have a part in the basin. However, if large-scale hydroelectric installations were to be made along the mainstream above tidewater, its cities would be a possible market for the power.

Much of the planning centers upon improvement of agriculture by supplying water for irrigation of a second crop in the dry season and by preventing drought losses.

LOWER MEKONG BASIN



Stream regulation would cut down the heavy dislocations caused by annual floods. There are massive opportunities to increase output of rice and to diversify crops in the Delta, around the Grand Lake in Cambodia, and in the winding alluvial valleys upstream. Channel, terminal, and shipping improvements would be essential to rebuilding the commercial life of the Delta. Hydroelectric power plants on the tributaries would provide cheap power for urban and commercial growth, but the marketing of large blocks of power would depend upon development of industrial complexes. These have been actively discussed by Japanese interests.

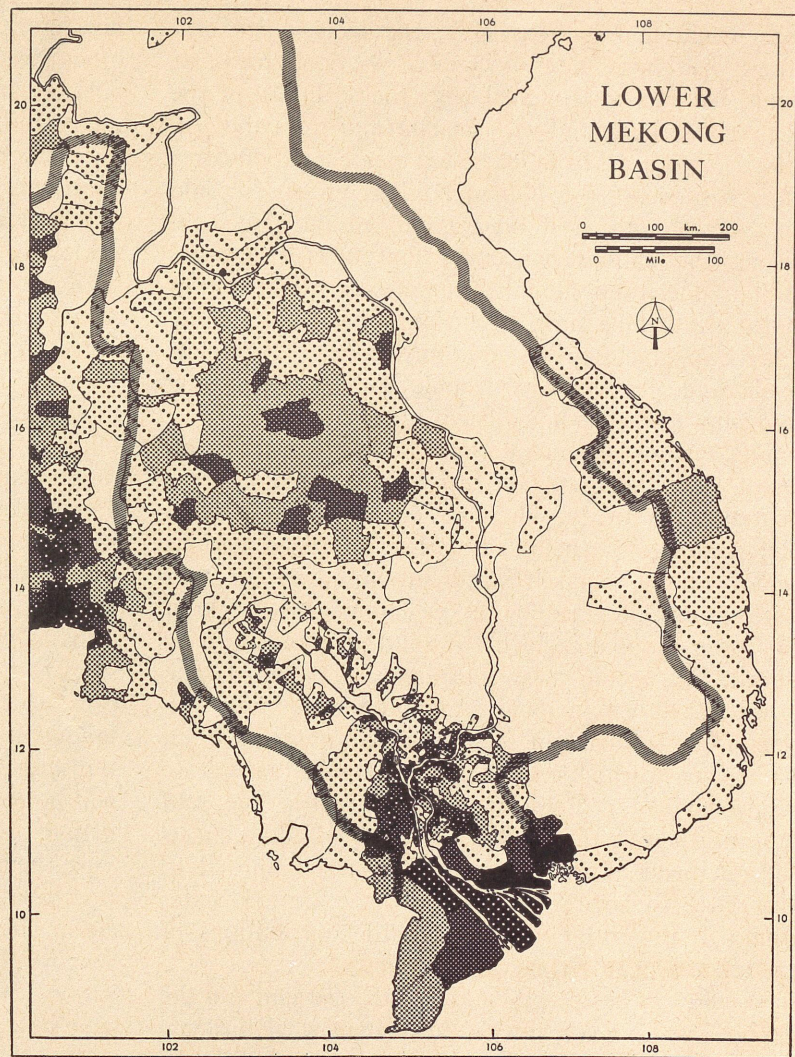
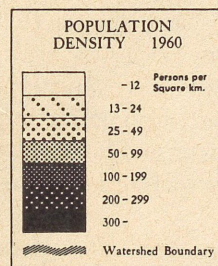
In no case would the simple construction of a dam, irrigation canal, or power plant alone guarantee economic growth. Roads, credit, seeds, and other village improvements are essential if a Thailand farmer is to adopt effective irrigation. Astute economic promotion must precede the sale of power. Engineering must march hand in hand with technical workers who will get their feet wet in the rice fields, and who will understand that the preoccupation of the villager is with a way of life adjusted to monsoon rains and the annual

drought. The best in social study and judgment must be marshalled along with scientific and technical knowledge.

Funds have come from the four countries, other participating nations, and the United Nations Special Fund. All committee decisions have been unanimous. French and English are the official languages, and the common bond is concern with rice cultivation, water flow, and power output. Diplomatic relations among the countries may be strained or broken, but the Lower Mekong activities continue without interruption. When Cambodia's borders were closed to all Thai commerce and diplomats, the Mekong Committee met in Phnom Penh with its full complement of Thai delegates. Indeed, the Committee is the only agency in which the four countries regularly participate. Enthusiasm for a massive common effort thus far has overridden shorter-term hostilities on political issues.

With the major outlines of a program in hand, work already has begun on construction of several tributary projects. West Germany is loaning funds for a multiple purpose power and irrigation project in the Nam Pong tributary basin in Thailand. France is helping with two small power and water supply projects in Laos. Part of

POPULATION DENSITY



the United States AID program supports water control and village development schemes that fit into the general plan in Laos and Thailand. In Cambodia, one multiple purpose undertaking has begun under Australian engineering supervision and a second will be ready to start if funds can be found.

More extensive water and land improvement projects are in early prospect. High priority is given to measures to rehabilitate the deteriorated inland water transport system so essential to the economy of the Delta by rebuilding waterways, barges, terminals, and ship repair yards. A combination power and irrigation dam in the Nam Ngum basin near Vientiane in Laos would bring large-scale rural improvement and cheap electricity to the doors of the capital. To meet the needs of growing population and to raise the level of living above the present per capita income of \$60-\$100 annually, much heavier investments will be in order. These allocations should be related to national growth requirements in other sectors. The very large main-stem projects take time to design (projects the size of Hoover Dam are on the drafting boards) and no doubt will be deferred for some years, but expenditures of the scale of \$200 million

per year may not be unreasonable over the next two decades. Much of this can be on village improvement schemes that benefit the farmers directly and promptly.

To approach this level of investment, innovations in financing and security are needed. Rather than relying upon separate loans or grants from contributing nations, the Mekong countries should have a central financial agency to receive and supervise expenditure of funds. All four countries probably would gain from unified administration of help from the outside. It is possible that the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development might be enlisted to play this role. Commitment to finance a long-term program would in itself be an earnest of intention by donor nations to support sound social growth along the river.

But heavy financial support will not come unless the security of the area can be assured more confidently. The United Nations might be expected to provide a blue-helmeted watch and ward service for those sectors of the project area where security is threatened. It could do this on the invitation of the country concerned. Cambodia and Thailand would have no immediate need beyond protection of their borders. Laos and South Viet-

nam would find it essential in the areas where civil unrest has been intense. United Nations measures would have to be launched with the authority of the General Assembly and with guarantee of costs and personnel contingents from interested member nations. In a more basic sense the United Nations presence would be effective only if it were grounded on agreement among the nations concerned that present national military operations should be suppressed. Reduction of violence will take time in the most favorable circumstances, for the guerrillas and army groups will be slow to disband and will have trouble finding and settling into work in their home villages.

This type of agreement would be fundamentally different from the cease fire that is envisioned under a neutralization treaty. The four countries, the United States, North Vietnam, and other interested nations would commit themselves primarily to advance a great development program for the welfare of the people of the lower basin on which the four governments have agreed. This would mean withdrawal of national military units. It would require support for a United Nations force to maintain security of the program—from Delta canal to Laotian rice paddy. It would substitute a development goal for an indistinct battle line, and it would permit the United States to withdraw gracefully in favor of an international force committed to that goal. Financial obligations of the United States would in the future be linked with contributions of money and people from other nations.

Would this be acceptable to North Vietnam and the Pathet Lao? No one can say for certain what ultimate position they would take. Developments to date are encouraging. None of the important field work has yet been halted by guerrilla activity. It is known that the head of the Pathet Lao is highly sympathetic to multipurpose water programs in his country. The goal of harnessing a river's resources to serve the common man is widely hailed in both Communist and non-Communist countries, and the People's Republic of China and the USSR have been distinguished practitioners of the idea. Neither has raised formal objections to its embodiment in the Lower Mekong. And while Cambodia for political reasons has cut off United States bilateral assistance, it is willing to accept help through the Lower Mekong channel.

A proposal for expanded international cooperation in the Lower Mekong would give a new choice to elements which have pushed guerrilla action in South Vietnam and Laos. By outright opposition they probably could block an enlarged venture toward goals they respect. On the other hand, by withholding opposition they could get the integrity of national governments in the two countries guaranteed by a United Nations presence devoted to advancing those aims. Thereafter, a weak United Nations administration with flabby assistance from the outside no doubt would favor growth of

dissident groups, as in Laos in recent years. But a vigorous international effort aimed at bettering the lot of villagers and city workers might stabilize the governments and in time enable the people of Laos and South Vietnam to choose by nonviolent means the government they want.

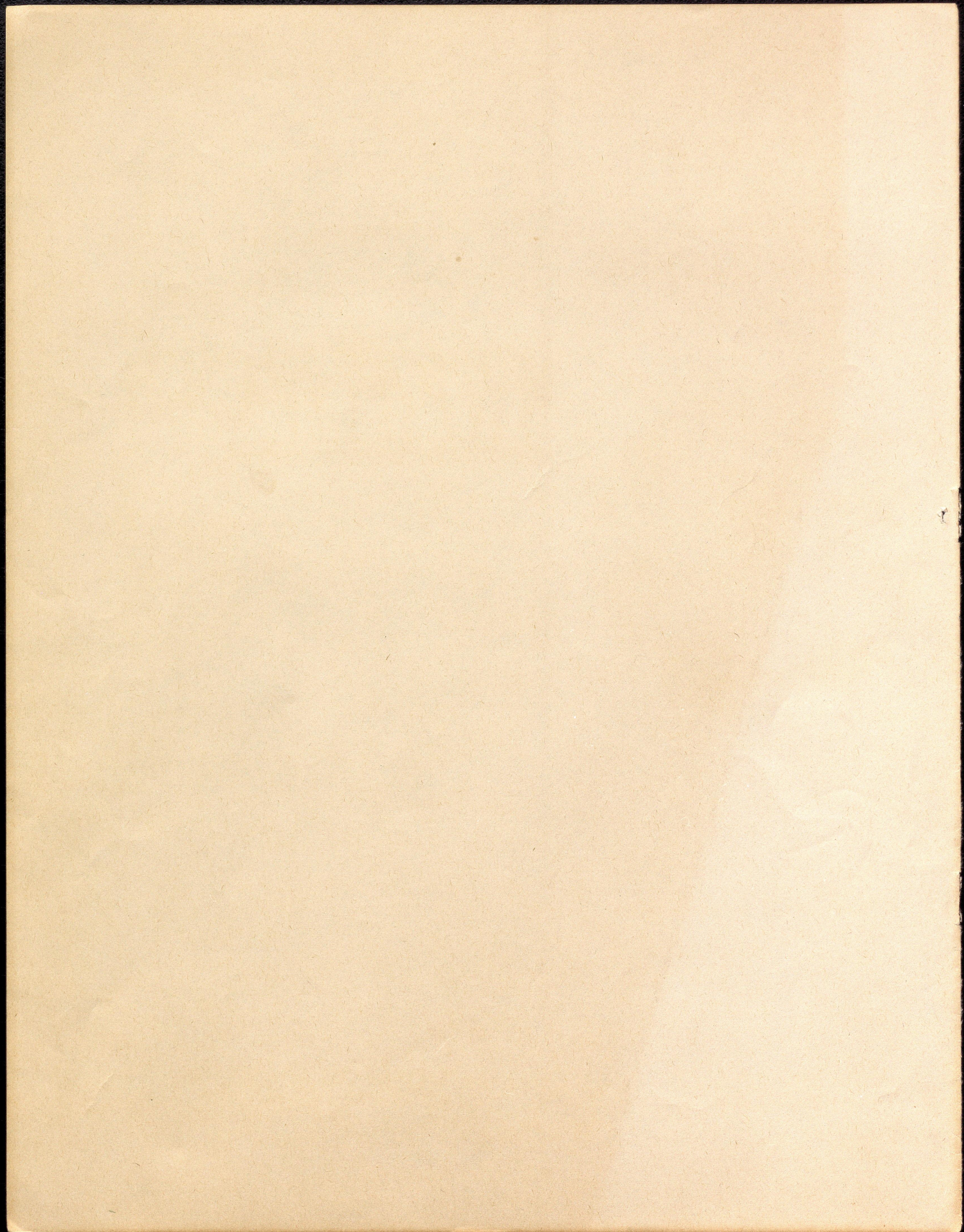
Is it possible that the vision of a majestic river harnessed for the advance of twenty million people by an unprecedented piece of international cooperation would so command the imagination of the nations that the present grueling conflict could give way to a struggle for more abundant life? Could this mean to a world increasingly aware of its network of mutual responsibilities what the Tennessee Valley Authority meant to proponents of national development thirty years ago? The Mekong Committee's files are beginning to bulge with the necessary technical plans and surveys. Such investigations must continue. What is needed immediately, however, is incisive analysis by the United Nations as well as by the interested nations of practical steps to negotiate on a new basis of a common human cause. Just as the river's planning has called forth a unique degree of collaboration among scientists and nations, new forms of political and economic organization will be required to translate plans into village and city action.

If the Lower Mekong program in its present form does not prove a complete way out of the Southeast Asian dilemma, it at least suggests a route that is challenging. This is a way calling for international collaboration in advancing the economic welfare of peasants who long months ago had enough of terror in the night. It builds on plans shaped by the four nations and commands their support. It draws technical assistance, financial help, and necessary police protection from a score of other nations under the United Nations flag. In such a venture the United States could with honor and deep conviction invest its men, experience, and capital as a member of an international team. The route is broadly plotted, its technical foundations are laid, but its political surface is yet untried. That testing warrants all of the ingenuity, careful logistic planning, and determination on both sides that marks the current undeclared war of attrition in the Mekong swamps and hills. Nothing less than the same searching appraisal now should be made of a constructive solution.

It is just barely possible that out of this most incredible of places—the swirling political caldron of Southeast Asia—may come a new pattern for international action in harnessing nature's riches to achieve peaceful change.

Additional reading:

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OPPORTUNITY

★ ★ ★ ★ ★
 What is behind the feeling that pushes people into desperate negative action? Why does life seem so meaningless to so many? What do we do about a society in which men feel useless, unknown, de-personalized?

Translate these questions into our individual and corporate responsibility and opportunity as Christians, and we are confronted with today's role for the Church and for each of us who are members of it: the necessity to articulate and demonstrate what we mean by love, the kind of love which gives meaning to living.

—Lloyd W. Halvorson, addressing an AFSC Monthly Meeting in Pasadena on "Opportunities for the Church in 1965"

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"To Open Men's Minds"—

AFSC Appeals to President Johnson for New Vietnam Approach

In an appeal to President Johnson, Colin Bell, national executive secretary of the American Friends Service Committee, calls for an all-out effort to look at Vietnam with new eyes, "to open men's minds to the sort of thinking which will match the need, and return us to a course of political action of which we can be proud as a nation."

The letter to the President asks for consideration of "A Proposal for a Peaceful and Honorable Resolution of the Conflict in South Vietnam," offered by Gilbert F. White in the December Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists. Major excerpts from this article appear on Page Four of this REPORTER.

Colin Bell's letter to the President said, "We are all involved in the fact that the United States is playing a major role in a situation fraught with suffering, death, degeneration of spirit, and a pervading sense of futility...
 "Virtually impossible di-

lemmas challenge men to seek solutions among the 'unthinkables.' We believe the American people must now face this challenge squarely."

The petition to the President declares that to turn from war to rehabilitation and economic development would be enormously difficult. The letter adds that while recognizing the difficulty of establishing agreement with the guerillas, world opinion in general would support such action, and perhaps influence the response.

Those going into stricken areas without military protection would not be free from danger. "But neither are arms able to provide security," the letter stated. "Risks must be taken in any event. We believe that enough capable people from various parts of the world would volunteer if such a cease-fire were called for and the possibility of a long-term cessation of combat opened up."

International Friends Join UN Program

Heberto and Suzanne Sein, Mexican Friends; Walter Martin, Phillip and Myrtle Radley, British Friends, and Edward F. Snyder, American Friend, are currently serving with the Quaker United Nations Program.

Friends from different parts of the world join the Quaker team for varying periods during the General Assembly, bringing special skills and knowledge relevant to issues with which Friends are concerned.

Heberto Sein is a freelance interpreter for United Nations' conferences in different parts of the world.

Walter Martin is senior representative for the British Friends Service Council in East Africa. The Radleys were in South Africa from 1958-61 on behalf of British Friends.

Edward Snyder heads the Friends Committee on National Legislation in Washington, D. C.

Hong Kong Family Planning Program Geared to Reach Some 30,000 Women Yearly

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—The AFSC and the Family Planning Association of Hong Kong have signed an agreement to undertake a joint program in that city with an expected outreach to some 30,000 women each year.

Under the new program, the AFSC will make it possible for the Family Planning Association to establish a special clinic to serve residents of the Li Cheng Uk Resettlement Estate and surrounding areas.

Since 1959, the AFSC has maintained a community center program in Li Cheng Uk and has long been concerned that many of the mothers are burdened with



Odetta

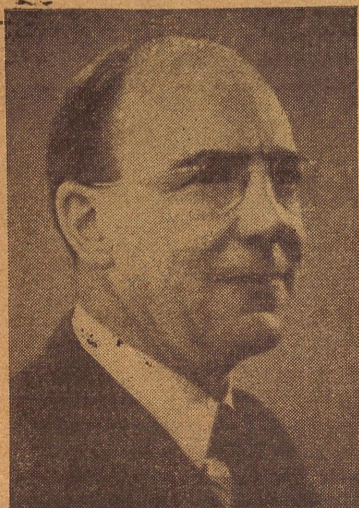
Odetta, called one of the truly great contemporary voices in folk-singing, will bring her songs to friends of the AFSC and Pacific Ackworth Friends School for the annual benefit on behalf of the two Quaker institutions, Saturday, March 27 at 8:20 p.m. at the Pasadena Civic Auditorium.

Reservations for tickets

are now being filled. Checks should be made to Odetta Concert and sent to the Odetta Concert Office, 46 North Los Robles, Pasadena. Tickets are priced at \$4.50, \$3.50, \$2.75 and \$2.00.

In the capitals of Western Europe and cities of the United States, Odetta has shown herself to be an interpretive artist of rare gifts able to effect communication with her audiences. She was born in Birmingham and came to Los Angeles at the age of six. After finishing high school, she found employment as a housekeeper during the day so that she could study music at night.

Her first professional performance came in a West Coast production of "Finian's Rainbow." She sang in "Cinerama Holiday," played a straight dramatic role in "Sanctuary," and has made several record albums.



COLIN BELL and (r) GILBERT F. WHITE whose Vietnam proposal is outlined on Page 4. He is AFSC Board Chairman.

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Secretary's Letter

Dear Friends:

Colin Bell, executive secretary of the American Friends Service Committee, spoke to our Monthly Meeting on the subject, "How Shall We Keep Humanity Human?" He began with a story of a trip he made on a tiny, two-car make-shift train twenty years ago through central China. The Japanese had just retreated from that area. "In the middle of a wide plain we chugged to a halt before a shallow eroded stream, not many yards across, over which the rail, with ties attached, wavered drunkenly because some vital supporting piles were non-existent. This was a place where steel was not to be come by and the timberline was far away. . . . But humans were plentiful!

"Several score of Chinese—villagers who had been sitting waiting for the train—rose up and moved to their appointed positions, to bend their backs under the ties to act as living substitutes for the dead and vanished wood. The guard told us all, the passengers, to stay put but my companion and I couldn't do that, so while we and some others found our way across, the truck-train inched its way to the other side. I imagined I heard vertebra cracking and discs slipping during the process, but the peasants emerged grinning and happy to be the wonder of us all: as the poet would have it, 'the cynosure of neighboring eyes.'

"A nameless bunch of Chinese, hearty, ignorant by the standards of an electronics age (but far from stupid), patient, enduring, immeasurably poor—but each of them a precious human personality, unique, priceless, a child of God and a brother man. . . .

"This story from China illustrates one of the dehumanizing influences which press upon us—namely, the sheer number of us humans. How are we in this half century when three billion humans are going to multiply into six or seven billion, to keep ourselves free of the unspoken feeling that many of God's children are somehow expendable? Not all, of course; not ourselves, for example. The problem of sustaining a loving relationship with billions of fellow men is quite beyond every man's puny reservoir of goodwill. Yet God unequivocally sets the challenge before us, and we must try.

"We are, it seems to me, in danger of dehumanization not only by the sheer numbers of people, but also by the sheer weight of things we need to know in order to make judgments. The discovery of knowledge and its availability to all of us in many forms serves as an enrichment of our lives, but it can also serve as a confusion to our spirits. . . . What has the Service Committee to say and do in such circumstances? Are we a humanizing or rehumanizing influence? This is a question which must lie always on our souls. . . .

"It has been said that Jesus in his short life and ministry did not really concern himself with the political issues of his day. But let me suggest that his whole life was a witness against the dehumanizing influences of his age. Take a look at the Gospels and note how deliberately Jesus constantly crossed the dehumanizing barriers of his day—how his heart went out to the most underprivileged, how he found evidences of great potentiality in Roman centurions and Samaritan women and Syro-Phoenicians, how he chose for a disciple one tax gatherer and invited himself to supper with another—men who were 'soft on Romanism' and 'full of unJewish activities' . . .

"Read his life with this in mind and you will see how clearly he was saying, 'Keep love moving across the social and political barriers, and you will uncover the infinite potentialities of the human soul.'"

Colin's visit to this region was all too brief; he saw too few people and time would not wait. But he left a strong and moving advice in this talk and I am glad that it is now mimeographed in full and available to any one who asks for a copy.

Sincerely yours,

Edwin A. Sanders

Executive Secretary

New Date:

High School Conference Postponed

The February 19-21 High School Conference on "The Individual and the Crowd," with Justice William O. Douglas as speaker, has been postponed until the weekend of March 19-21. Justice Douglas is unable to come to California for the February date but will be able to meet with the high school participants in March.

At the time the REPORTER went to press, the place for the March 19-21 Conference had not yet been determined. The new date will also mean a change in some of the resource leadership. Costs will remain the same: \$17.50 for the weekend.

MONTHLY MEETING

Saturday, February 6, 1965

Place: Neighborhood Church, 215 W. California Blvd., Pasadena.

4:00 p.m.—Mary Esther McWhirter, national director, Children's Program, AFSC, Philadelphia: "Preparing Boys and Girls for the World Today and Tomorrow."

6:00 p.m.—Picnic supper. Bring own dinner and service, including cups for tea and coffee.

7:00 p.m.—Clarence E. Pickett, AFSC executive secretary emeritus. "The AFSC—Its Role at Home and Abroad."

YOUTH PROGRAMS

Children's Program: "The Power of Goodwill"—continuation of experiment with dramatics. **Evening:** Stories from "Candles in the Dark," told by Mary Esther McWhirter who helped prepare this anthology.

Junior High Students: Discussion on disarmament.

High School Group: Franklin Zahn will show slides of housing project in India where he worked with Fellowship of Reconciliation.

College: Lois Hamer, back from Thailand, will report on her experience with the Peace Corps.

Pre-school child care available.

Volunteer Tells Why He Gave Up Good Job to Share Life in Algeria

By MALCOLM P. CROOKS
With the AFSC Team in Algeria

Why help Algerians when there are poor Americans who need help?

I am one of about 20 American and English volunteers working in Algeria for the Quakers, trying to help people who need almost everything. I gave up a good career job to do this; my wife left our new house; my children came to a school to be taught in a foreign tongue.

Why?

We came to help bring Quaker assistance to Algeria because of the overwhelming need of the people for education and training, for clothes and food, for medical assistance, for technical aid of all kinds.

We came to Algeria because after 130 years of colonialism, after seven years of war bitter beyond the conception of most Americans, these people need friendship. They need to feel that human warmth really does exist between the peoples of different nations, religious and political ideologies.

"This Is Our Community Leader"

Soon after I arrived in Algeria, I remember standing in the back of a Quaker classroom where children were being taught arithmetic. I asked Chris Ward, our community development worker, why we were teaching literacy. Wasn't this something the children would get when schools opened next year? Shouldn't we be working instead with the community leaders, helping them in many village projects which were so urgent?

I remember very clearly his reply, accentuated against the background of a handsome, shaggy-haired boy reciting multiplication tables but who, by his age,

should have been explaining measurement by triangulation.

Chris said, pointing to the youngster, "That fellow is our community leader. If he doesn't learn his multiplication tables this year, he'll probably never learn them because next year he'll be too old to enter school. He and most of the others in this room are victims of the war, deprived of school for two to four years.

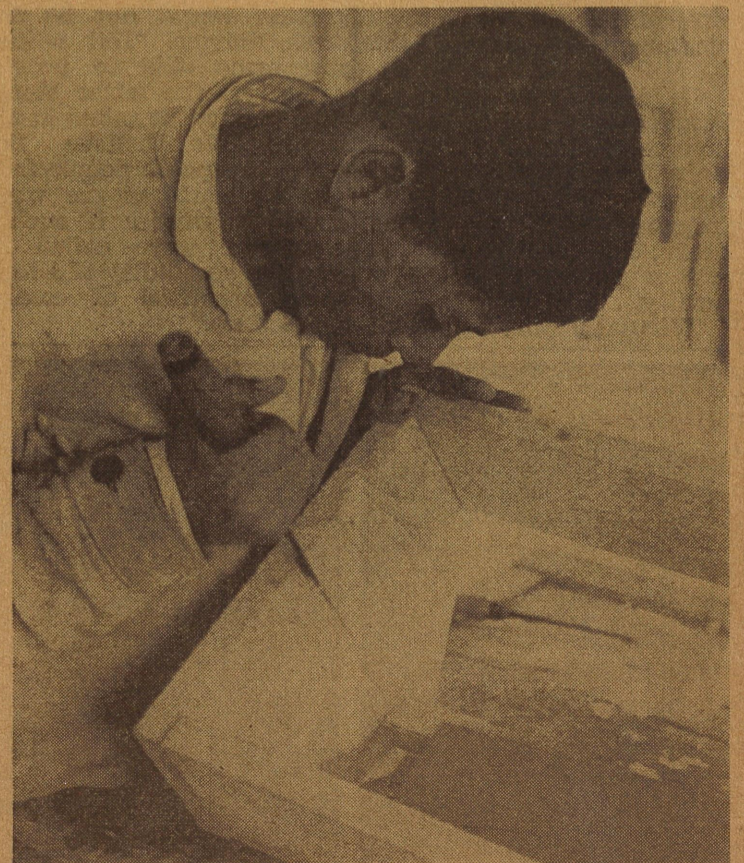
"If it weren't for this classroom, many of these children would not have the opportunity to go to school next year, or maybe never again, because they would be too far behind.

"This boy," Chris conti-

nued, "is the potential community leader we must work with. Algeria's future rests with him and his generation."

While I feel a responsibility for my fellow Americans back home, I also feel that my country and I have a serious responsibility toward the other peoples of the world. There are many to help my American neighbors. There are few to help my Algerian neighbors. We have a vast, thriving economy, well-organized schools, medical and social institutions to support the present drive to improve conditions of the poor American.

Algeria lacks all these things.



PICTURE OF YOUTH learning carpentry might be entitled, "Praying Hands in Algeria, 1965."

A Proposal for a Peaceful and Honorable Resolution Of the Conflict in South Vietnam: The Fourth Course

By Gilbert F. White

Condensed from article in Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, December, 1964

A peaceful and honorable resolution of the conflict in South Vietnam and Laos may be found in a bold plan for land and water development which already unites factions in four nations of Southeast Asia. For seven years, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand and South Vietnam have been working with little publicity and without disagreement on a huge development program. These four countries, which do not cooperate in anything else, have reached accord on development of the Lower Mekong Basin.

Work is already under way in drawing engineering designs, moving earth for dams, building power plants, cultivating pilot farms, and training village technicians. Even guerrilla troops have not halted field work.

If the United Nations were to designate this area for international development according to the plan already drawn by the four nations, there is a strong possibility that peace could be achieved in a common pursuit of agricultural and industrial growth—which would make sense to peasants in the rice fields and to American taxpayers.

Three Alternatives Rejected

There are three well-publicized choices for the U.S.:

1. Current combination of military, political and economic assistance . . . could be continued or stepped up. Many observers argue that the United States cannot hope to settle the conflict by this course of containment.
2. The United States could carry the war to North Vietnam. This would be morally reprehensible and desperately dangerous. At best it would create another Korea; at worst a big war might unfold.
3. The area could be neutralized under an international agreement that would establish a peacekeeping force. This would oblige the United States to step down from its unhappy military position without improving the dim prospect for political stability in Vietnam, Laos or neighboring lands.

Fourth Course Urged

The Lower Mekong River may be the key to a fourth course of action. The imaginative scheme to manage the winding streams and alluvial soils of that great basin provides a framework within which all nations could join technical, financial, and police assistance under the United Nations.

Difficulties of getting agreement are great. But they should be explored with all of the energy and skill now going into war plans.

Planning of the Lower Mekong was begun by a committee of the four countries under auspices of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East in 1957.

More than \$14 million has been spent to date on basic studies. These now involve 20 other nations and 11 international agencies. The U.S. Bureau of Reclamation helped with a reconnaissance study. France was the first to offer direct assistance; Canada flew the aerial photographs; the United States studied the hydrology; Australia investigated damsite geology; Japan sent reconnaissance engineering teams; the Philippines did detailed mapping; France surveyed soils and fish life.

Studies and organization became more complex. India sent a team to design a large dam; Israel contributed agricultural engineers. The names of the Netherlands, Pakistan, the Scandinavian countries, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, the International Labor Organization, the World Health Organization, and the Ford Foundation began to appear in progress reports.

Military Costs Compared

The total U.S. contribution to Lower Mekong planning has cost less than four days of military aid in South Vietnam, now reported to exceed \$1.5 million per day.

Much of the planning centers upon improvement of agriculture by supplying water for irrigation of a second crop in the dry season and by preventing drought losses. Stream regulation would cut down heavy dislocations caused by annual floods. There are massive opportunities to increase output of rice and to diversify crops.

Channel, terminal, and shipping improvements would be essential to rebuilding the commercial life of the Delta. Hydroelectric power plants on the tributaries would provide cheap power for urban and commercial growth.

In no case would the simple construction of a dam, irrigation canal, or power plant alone guarantee economic growth. Roads, credit, seeds, and other village improvements are essential if a Thailand farmer is to adopt effective irrigation. Astute economic promotion must precede the sale of power. Engineering must march hand in hand with technical workers who will get their feet wet in the rice fields. The best in social study must be marshalled along with scientific and technical knowledge.

Gilbert F. White, professor of geography at the University of Chicago, has served as consultant to the Lower Mekong Coordination Committee for Laos, Cambodia, Thailand and Vietnam. He has also served as a member of the UNESCO Advisory Committee on the Arid Zone Research, and as chairman of the United Nations Panel on Integrated River Development.

He is chairman of the national Board of Directors of the American Friends Service Committee and was formerly president of Haverford College.

Work Has Begun

With major outlines of a program in hand, work has begun on construction of several tributary projects. West Germany is loaning funds for a multiple purpose power and irrigation project in the Nam Pong tributary basin in Thailand. France is helping with two small power and water projects in Laos. Part of the United States AID program supports water control and village development schemes that fit into the general plan in Laos and Thailand.

To meet the needs of growing population and to raise the level of living above the present per capita income of \$60-\$100 annually, heavier investments will be in order. Expenditures of the scale of \$200 million per year may not be unreasonable over the next two decades. Much of this can be on village improvements that benefit farmers directly and promptly.

Security Essential

Heavy financial support will not come unless the security of the area can be assured more confidently. The United Nations might be expected to provide a blue-helmeted watch and ward service for sectors of the project area where security is threatened. It could do this on the invitation of the concerned. Cambodia and Thailand would have no immediate need beyond protection of their borders. Laos and South Vietnam would find it essential in the areas where civil unrest has been intense. United Nations' measures would have to be launched with the authority of the General Assembly and with guarantee of costs and personnel contingents from interested member nations.

In a more basic sense the United Nations' presence would be effective only if grounded on agreement among the nations concerned that present military operations should be suppressed. Reduction of violence will take time, for the guerrillas and army groups will be slow to disband and will have trouble finding work in their home villages.

Different from Neutralization Treaty

This type of agreement could be fundamentally different from the cease fire envisioned under a neutralization treaty. The four countries, the United States, North Vietnam, and other interested nations would commit themselves to advance a great development program for the welfare of the people. This would mean withdrawal of national military units. It would require support for a United Nations force.

It would substitute a development goal for an indistinct battle line, and it would permit the United States to withdraw gracefully in favor of an international force committed to that goal. Financial obligations of the United States would in the future be linked with contributions of money and people from other nations.

North Vietnam Response

Would this be acceptable to North Vietnam and the Pathet Lao? No one can say for certain what ultimate position they would take. Developments to date are encouraging. None of the important field work has yet been halted by guerrilla activity. It is known that the head of the Pathet Lao is highly sympathetic to multi-purpose water programs in his country. The goal of harnessing a river's resources to serve the common man is widely hailed in both Communist and non-Communist countries, and the People's Republic of China and the USSR have been distinguished practitioners of the idea.

A proposal for expanded international cooperation in the Lower Mekong would give a new choice to elements which have pushed guerrilla action in South Vietnam and Laos. By outright opposition they probably could block an enlarged venture toward goals they respect. On the other hand, by withholding opposition they could get the integrity of national governments in the two countries guaranteed by a United Nations presence devoted to advancing those aims.

An Abundant Life

Is it possible that the vision of a majestic river harnessed for the advance of 20 million people by an unprecedented piece of international cooperation would so command the imagination of the nations that the present grueling conflict could give way to a struggle for more abundant life?

What is needed immediately is incisive analysis by the United Nations as well as by the interested nations of practical steps to negotiate on a new basis of a common human cause. Just as the river's planning has called forth a unique degree of collaboration among scientists and nations, new forms of political and economic organization will be required to translate plans into village and city action.

If the Lower Mekong program in its present form does not prove a complete way out of the Southeast Asian dilemma, it at least suggests a route that is challenging. It builds on plans shaped by the four nations and commands their support. It draws technical assistance, financial help, and necessary police protection from a score of other nations under the United Nations' flag.

Economic Poor Must Be Involved in Planning, AFSC Tells Meeting

The AFSC participated in a National Conference on Poverty in the Southwest held at Tucson, January 25-26 in connection with the Economic Opportunity Act. The invitation included AFSC staff from the Pasadena, San Francisco, Houston and Des Moines offices all of which have programs concerned with the economic needs of the Southwest.

Robert W. Gray, associate executive secretary in Pasadena, presented a paper pointing out that for almost 50 years, the American Friends Service Committee has reached out to the poor in many parts of this land and across the world.

"Our work has shown us the syndrome of poverty: inadequate education, poor jobs or no jobs, poor housing. We have seen these problems combine to create an ever more permanent 'poverty class,'" he said.

VISA Program Has New Assistant

Jolee Robinson, former AFSC college secretary in the Dayton, Ohio Region, has been named to assist Barbara Graves, national director, Voluntary International Service Assignments.

Fifty VISA volunteers do community service in Germany, Guatemala, India, Tanzania and the United States.

After graduating from the State University of Iowa, Jolee Robinson went to Duke University Divinity School where she received a degree in teaching and research in religion.

National Recruiter Seeks Applications

Roger Fredrickson, from the AFSC Personnel Office in Philadelphia, has been interviewing in Pasadena for two-year appointments to VISA and for summer projects — both student participants and project leaders. VISA is open to college-age volunteers; other projects are planned for high school and college students. Applications continue to be welcome. Information is available from the Pasadena AFSC office.

His paper goes on to state a basic AFSC philosophy: "We are convinced that no program will produce lasting results unless it gains the participation of the poor. Many say that people at the bottom of the economic ladder cannot realistically be involved in shaping programs which affect their future. We believe they can. We believe they must."

AFSC Experience

Programs which have given the four AFSC regions experience from which to speak include self-help housing projects and a labor co-op in Tulare County—in cooperation with farm workers; work with American Indians in southern and northern California, in Arizona and Colorado; an AFSC Employment-on-Merit Program in Texas; aid to men released from prison in California. The AFSC is also exploring possibilities for a community project in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado where many villages face all the problems of poverty.

The Conference was scheduled to open with a welcome from Governor Goddard of Arizona and an address by Sargent Shriver, director, Office of Economic Opportunity. Workshops provided for the direct participation of attenders for the two days of the Conference.

Nonviolence in Affairs Of African Nation Will Be Explored by AFSC

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—An AFSC representative has been appointed to work in Lusaka, capital of Zambia. He is James E. Bristol, a program director of the national Peace Education Division, whose special assignment will be to find practical application for nonviolence in the internal affairs of the new republic.

The assignment, which has the support of Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, is an outgrowth of AFSC efforts since 1957 in the field of political reconciliation in Zambia and Rhodesia (both formerly part of the Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland).

Early last summer, James Bristol was in Zambia conferring with Presi-

Rights Leader To Speak at Friends House

Septima P. Clark, a supervisor of teacher training in the Citizenship Schools of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, will speak Saturday, February 20 at 10:00 a.m. at Friends House, 980 No. Fair Oaks, Pasadena.

Discussion will center on "The Disciplines of Participation" and all interested persons are invited to meet with Septima Clark.

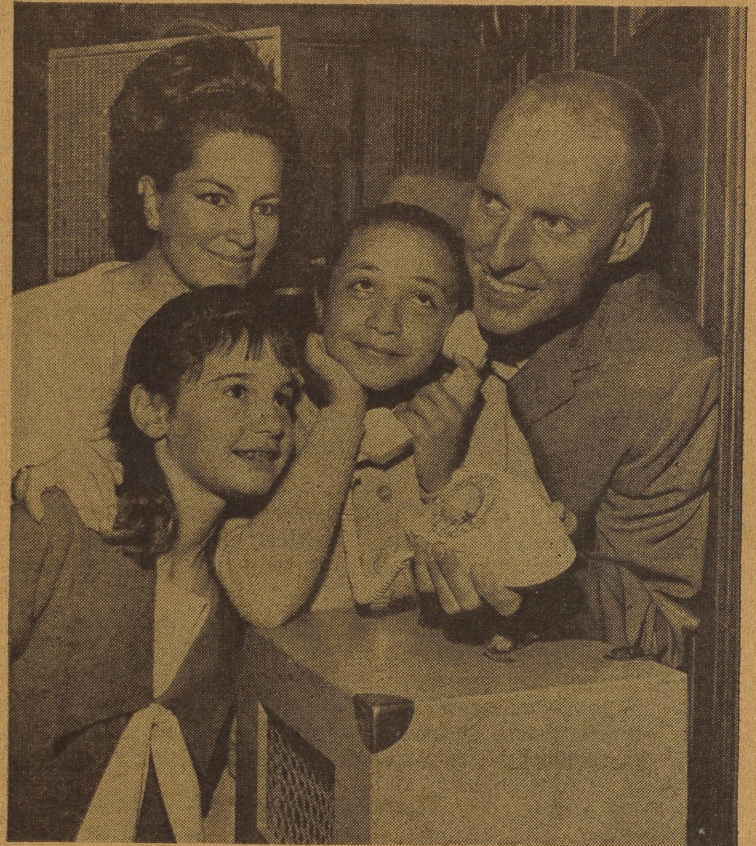
The civil rights leader is author of "Echo in My Soul." She lost a teaching job in South Carolina because of her convictions and in a Tennessee community was arrested, she said, "... to scare me, the only Negro resident, so I would leave. I stayed."

Swarthmore Has AFSC-Oriented Scholarship Fund

A \$20,000 bequest has been given to Swarthmore College for scholarships to students of the social sciences who are interested in the work of the AFSC. This will be known as the Edna Pownal Buffington Fund.

Colin Bell said, during his Pasadena visit, that he would be glad to channel applications from qualified students in this area to the proper committee.

The Joy of Talking to Home



A highlight of the Pasadena visit of 22 Mexican boys and girls through the AFSC School Affiliation Service, was a telephone call from Los Angeles to Mexico City. Flora Elizabeth Olvera is "on the line." With her is her American friend, Jeanne Youtz, and Jeanne's father, John Youtz, district commercial manager of the Webster Office of the Pacific Telephone Company, and Elba Ramirez, one of the four

Mexican teachers who accompanied the children on their December visit.

John Youtz arranged the telephone conference in cooperation with David Carroll, district commercial manager of the Pasadena office of the Telephone Company. All the children had an opportunity to speak to their parents in Mexico City who were gathered together in a similar conference room. The Youtz family were "adopted parents" during the visit.

New Immigration Bill Gets Broad Community Support

A Los Angeles Conference on Immigration, believed to be the first such large community event in the nation following the introduction of the new Immigration Bill in Congress, was held Monday, January 18.

The House Bill, introduced by Congressman Emanuel Celler, is numbered H.R. 2580. The Senate Bill, introduced by Senator Philip A. Hart on behalf of himself and 25 other Senators, is S. 500. Senator Thomas H. Kuchel of California was one of the co-sponsors.

The Conference revealed a deep concern on the part of many groups in the Los Angeles area for better immigration laws which, as President Johnson said, would not measure a man by where he comes from or how he spells his name.

Vincent Monaco, an executive of the American Committee on Italian Migration, came from New York to address the Conference. He deplored the inequities of the present law with its racially discriminatory provisions, and outlined the benefits expected from the new law.

Father Monaco was joined in a panel discussion by Judge Philip M. Newman, former legal consultant for the Mexican Government and the Mexican Consul-General in Los Angeles; Frank Chuman, past national president, Japanese-American Citizens League; and Susan Adams, director, AFL-CIO Community Service. Each spoke about that aspect of immigration related to experience in their respective fields.

William T. Kirk, president of the International Institute of Los Angeles, presided at the Conference held at St. Peter's Catholic Church.

Sponsors

A broad cross-section of the community co-sponsored the Conference, including the 60-member Community Relations Conference of Southern California; the local American Committee on Italian Migration, the AFSC, Public Affairs Commission of Council of Churches in Southern California, Division of World Relief of Episcopal Diocese of Los Angeles, Friends Committee on Legislation, International Institute, International Rescue Committee, Japanese-American Citizens League, Jewish Federation-Council of Greater Los Angeles and the Christian Community Concerns Committee of Southern California Baptist Convention.

WANTED

Houses or apartments for sale or lease to minority families. Your help is needed to enlarge AFSC's open occupancy listings. Call on neighbors advertising property for sale or rent; assure them of your willingness to assist in a neighborhood welcome of a minority family. Urge them to list property with AFSC.

HELP WANTED

If you know minority families who might be encouraged to buy or rent open occupancy homes or apartments, tell them about listings at the AFSC and assure them that Fair Housing or CAP 14 groups are ready to welcome.

dent Kaunda, other members of the government and with educators. They discussed possible methods of interpreting nonviolence and encouraging the use of nonviolent methods and techniques.

James Bristol has served with the AFSC in several assignments here and abroad, including two years as director of the Quaker International Center in Delhi, India. He will conclude his present assignment and leave with his wife, Dorothy, and 21-year-old daughter, Christina, for Lusaka next July.

Broken Hill Program

The AFSC has a program of urban community development at Broken Hill, Zambia which began in March, 1964. Staff works with indigenous groups on problems created by a rapid influx of rural people from tribal backgrounds; large numbers of unemployed and untrained youth; and lack of adequate facilities and qualified personnel to meet educational needs of citizens.

ROSSMOOR LEISURE WORLD
Laguna Hills, California 92653

Andy Noonan



Mr. R. Varma
7655 Mar Ave.
La Jolla, Calif.