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Folder Title:
Civil Disobedience - Yale - Reverend William Sloan Coffin, 1967

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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| DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE | SUBJECT/TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION | CLASS. |
|--|--|----------|-------------|--------|
| 01. Letter | From Committee on Un-American Activities to George Bush RE: Dr. Benjamin Spock (2 copies) (2 pp.) | 11/08/67 | C | |
| COLLECTION George Bush Personal Papers Congressional File - General | | | | |
| FILE LOCATION Civil Disobedience - Yale - Reverend William Sloan Coffin, 1967 OA/ID Number Date Closed 10/20/99 | | | | |

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

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- F-1 National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- F-2 Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- F-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- F-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- F-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- F-7 Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- F-8 Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- F-9 Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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|--|--|----------|-------------|--------|
| 02. Report | From Committee on Un-American Activities RE: Dr. Benjamin Spock (3 pp.) | 11/07/67 | C | |
| COLLECTION | | | | |
| George Bush Personal Papers Congressional File - General | | | | |
| FILE LOCATION | | | | |
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*Full
Statement*

*Kiupman
Brewster*

November 2, 1967

DAVID ACHESON
ch - YALE FILE
SPEECH ON DRAFT

Coffin

Dear Mr. Acheson:

Thank you for sending me President
Brewster's speech. The first part I liked,
the second part I didn't.

Yours very truly,

George Bush, M. C.

Mr. David Acheson
Office of University Development
Yale University
Box 2190 Yale Station
New Haven, Connecticut 06520

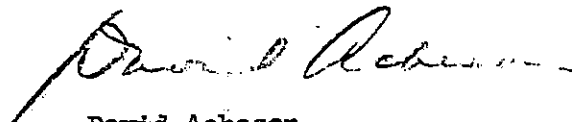
Photocopy from George Bush Presidential Library

OFFICE OF UNIVERSITY DEVELOPMENT
YALE UNIVERSITY
BOX 2190, YALE STATION, NEW HAVEN, CONN. 06520

October 30, 1967

To: Development Board Members
From: Executive Secretary

This past week-end President Brewster addressed the annual Parents Day Assembly at Yale. I believe you will be interested in reading the attached full text of his remarks concerning the current draft resistance controversy and the Chaplain.


David Acheson

Yale University News Bureau

New Haven, Connecticut 06520

787-3131, Ext. 344

Steve Kezerian, Director

Remarks of President Kingman Brewster, Jr. of Yale University
Parents Day Assembly, Woolsey Hall, Saturday, October 28, 1967

I would like to say a few words about the issues involved in the current draft resistance controversy.

The dramatics sought by its leaders and so amply gratified by the news media involve only a tiny segment of any university population. The fundamental issues, however, do touch and disturb any sensitive young man of military age, and do and should concern his parents.

At one extreme some very few are true pacifists who would not take another's life for any cause, even in self-defense.

Then there are some who are unwilling to kill another human being for a cause they do not believe, even though they do sense an obligation to the society which has made their life possible.

At the other extreme are a very few who would eagerly volunteer for any combat opportunity, whatever its cause or purpose.

Then there are many who would accept the obligation to serve when called, even though they may be opposed to the war and feel the draft law is unfair.

The balance between the obligation to personal values and the obligation to the social order is not easily struck; especially for those who feel the war is not justified either in terms of national self-interest or in terms of humanity generally.

I believe that the majority of your sons could well have written as a recent freshman did in his letter to the Yale NEWS:

"Such a drastic choice as civil disobedience must be an individual one, as one suffers the consequences alone. One cannot allow himself to be sucked into the frenzy of a mass sign-in. One must be absolutely sure that he is not only opposed to the War in principle but is also willing to suffer years of imprisonment, a certain degree of public shame, and a specter that will follow him until he dies . . .

"I truly admire those who are fortunate enough to have made up their minds as to how far they are willing to carry their dissent, or their approval. But I defend my right to be undecided--to carry my indecision right up to the day of my induction, if necessary. I will not sign an agreement which I do not intend to carry out. . ."

One reason the stage is so often monopolized by the noisy extremes is because the wiser, more modest heads among students and faculty alike are unwilling to endorse slogans which grossly oversimplify the issue.

I do not think your sons are well served by strident voices which urge draft resistance as a political tactic. This is especially distasteful when those who urge the resistance are too old to be able to share fully the personal and moral consequences of refusing to serve and thereby making it necessary for the nation to call someone else.

The President and Fellows of Yale University would not only permit but would honor and respect those who would, not for political effect but for personal, private reasons, witness their conscience by a willingness to pay the price of their disobedience. Society must exact such a price in order to assure itself that the motivation of the objector is truly conscientious rather than self-serving.

Precisely because the moral issue involved is one of the most fundamental ones which any man will ever face, and because its resolution either way should be a truly conscientious one, we deplore the effort to exploit it in order to dramatize a political viewpoint. The Chaplain's effort to devise "confrontations" and "sanctuaries" in order to gain spot news coverage seems to me unworthy of and to detract from the true trial of conscience which touches most of your sons and preoccupies so many.

If I disapprove of the Chaplain's pronouncements and actions why don't I forbid them?

As far as the Church of Christ in Yale University is concerned, I take considerable pride in the fact that its existence is not dependent upon the President and Fellows. Even if Mr. Coffin were not Yale's Chaplain, technically he could still be the pastor of that church, accountable only to its governing board, the Deacons. Even if they did not use Battell Chapel, they would continue to be a free independent congregation with members inside and outside the University.

As Chaplain, of course, Mr. Coffin is directly accountable to the President and Fellows. Would Yale be a better place if the Chaplain were not free to pursue his own convictions, including the preaching and practice of non-violent disobedience of a law he feels he could not in conscience obey? I think not.

We must not suppress or hinder or soft pedal the toughest moral problems of our times either out of conformity in the name of patriotism or out of timidity in the name of public or alumni relations.

I have great confidence in your sons' ability to keep their own counsel and to sort out the true from the false if they are allowed to make up their own minds. I would have no confidence in them at all if they were protected from exposure to all argument and sheltered from the risk of error.

Even though I disagree with the Chaplain's position on draft resistance, and in this instance deplore his style, I feel that the quality of the Yale educational experience and the Yale atmosphere has gained greatly from his presence. Thanks in large part to his personal verve and social action, religious life within and without the church reaches more people at Yale than on any other campus I know about. More important, the rebellious instinct which elsewhere expresses itself so often in sour withdrawal, cynical nihilism and disruption, is here more often than not both affirmative and constructive, thanks in considerable measure to the Chaplain's influence.

So I not only find it easy to condone what I disapprove--anyone who presides over a free university does that every day in the year--but I am also sure that your sons will look back upon Yale in 1967 as a better place to have lived and learned because of the controversies, including the draft resistance controversy, which so tax the patience of so many of their elders, including their President.

Sunday, October 29, 1967

'Aids and Abets' Draft Resistance

Yale Chaplain: 'Body on the Line' for Peace

BY JIM HOAGLAND

© 1967, Los Angeles Times
Washington Post News Services

Washington—The Rev. William Sloane Coffin Jr. crashed through the filmy curtain of water spray and October sun draped in front of Union Station's busily splashing fountain. Cars slammed to a halt as a policeman waved the Rev. Mr. Coffin and the 25 persons marching behind him across the street.

The husky, athletic-looking chaplain of Yale University was going to the Justice Department, to tell them that he was going to break the law, that he would break it until he was arrested or until the United States pulled out of Vietnam. He was, said young activists following him, "putting his body on the line."

On the steps of the Justice Department, where he vowed to "aid and abet" young men who

resist the draft, he introduced himself as "in more normal moments, the chaplain at Yale University."

But normal moments have been rare in the career of this handsome 43-year-old cleric. Long a rebel in the eyes of many, the Rev. Mr. Coffin has become, since February, an outspoken advocate of draft resistance.

He is, to some observers, the most charismatic figure to emerge this year in the splintered opposition to the war in Vietnam. He has the vitality and "cool" to relate to the young, as the titular peace leaders cannot, and has impeccable establishment credentials that make his dissent difficult to dismiss.

Many of the youths marching behind him would have been surprised to learn that he was an Army captain and paratrooper in World War II, and worked

for the Central Intelligence Agency for three years as a Soviet Union specialist.

The son of a successful New York executive who was also the president of the trustees of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, his education was predictably "Eastern Establishment"—Phillips Academy, Andover and Yale. He was ordained a Presbyterian minister in 1956.

He has consistently staked out positions to the left of his peers, then moved on to new stances when his once controversial views become more widely accepted.

His attack on fraternities at Williams College as "unchristian" when he was chaplain there in 1953 (two students fired a shotgun blast into his house during that controversy) and his early and militant involvement in civil rights are cases in point.

Now, however, the minister is riding the crest of a cause that

to most Americans is not merely technically illegal but also morally repugnant.

Conceding that his outspokenness has brought him under fire from Yale alumni, the Rev. Coffin said recently that "too many people want a chaplain to be a nice guy, but not a good man."

Parrying a question on his shift to more radical ground, the chaplain Coffin said: "The peace movement is broadening its base. More and more students are deciding to be radical in their commitment, not in their views. We cannot shield them, but we can expose ourselves to the same dangers."

In the March issue of the Yale alumni magazine, he asserted: "Does (a chaplain) tuck his conscience into bed with the comforting thought, 'well, I have done my best, the President continues to escalate the war, and the law of the land is clear'?"

"Or does he decide that having chosen the road of protest he has to choose to pursue it to the end, even if this means going to jail?"

The Rev. Mr. Coffin answered his question on Oct. 20 in front of the Justice Department. Aiding and abetting draft resisters is a felony, with a maximum penalty of \$10,000 fine and five years in jail. He signed a statement that he had "aided and abetted" and would continue to do it.

His stand has not caused him problems with Yale's administration: "They understand freedom of speech at Yale," he said.

After last weekend's peace demonstrations, he returned to his comfortable yellow house in New Haven, where he spends much time gardening, and playing the piano. His wife should be able to give him good pointers on the latter hobby. Her father is Arthur Rubinstein.

Synod Ends

YALE UNIVERSITY
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

HOWARD T. PHELAN
DIRECTOR OF
OPERATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT

RECEIVED November 17, 1967

NOV 20 1967

Mr. George H. W. Bush
1608 Longworth House Office Bldg.
Washington, D. C. 20505

Dear George:

This is a quick note of thanks to you for spending the time you took out of a very busy schedule to be at our Development Meeting last week. It was a great treat for us to have you with us. Everyone around here is still talking about your superb question from the floor about civil disobedience and the Chaplain. In bringing up the subject in the way you did you made a significant contribution to the success of the whole weekend and for that, we are most appreciative.

Needless to say, I very much look forward to working with you in the years ahead.

Very best regards,



HTP:vrc

GB/ch - YALE COFFIN FILE
R. B. GREENE

November 9, 1967

Dear Mr. Greene:

Thank you for your letter of November 5.

The case of Reverend Coffin troubles me very much. I have discussed it with the Justice Department and as a member of the Yale Development Board, I am planning to protest to the President of Yale this weekend. The Justice Department simply tells me that they are "studying the matter" and also that they are waiting for a Supreme Court decision on this whole question of draft cards very soon. You are absolutely right about the lack of law enforcement in this area, and I have protested and will continue to protest. Those who stormed the Pentagon and deliberately broke the law were given minimal fines and for all intent and purposes were turned loose. This was totally wrong.

I do appreciate your sending me your views on this important matter, and all I can say is I don't know why more isn't being done. We keep pushing the Administration to enforce the law and to take more forceful action, but this Administration simply is not willing to take the necessary action. They talk a lot about it, but they don't do anything. We have got to have a change in 1968.

Yours very truly,

George Bush, M. C.

Mr. R. B. Greene
8936 Pado
Houston, Texas 77055

8936 Pado
Houston, Texas 77055
November 5, 1967

The Honorable George Bush
House Office Building
Washington, D.C.

RECEIVED
NOV 8 1967
7th Dist.

Dear Sir:

The President recently said: "The time has come when the American people are going to rise up in revolt against lawbreakers." also he said: "I like crime like I like castor oil."

If taking castor oil is necessary to save one's life, I am sure most intelligent people would be glad to take castor oil.

Will you please tell me how I can "revolt" against two types of lawbreakers? 1 - Those who burn or destroy their draft cards and those who ~~aid~~ aid and abet men to resist the draft.

I have heard of none of these lawbreakers being arrested, tried, or convicted.

According to a recent newspaper article, the Rev. Mr. William Sloane Coffin, Jr., chaplain at Yale recently signed a statement that he had "aided and abetted" and would continue to do it.

If this is so, how can this man be arrested and brought to trial, and why has he not already been arrested?

Sincerely
R. B. Moore

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Pop

G. H. WALKER & CO.

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CLAYTON

*M. Korman
Walker*

October 30, 1967

Congressman George H. W. Bush
1608 Longworth House Ofc. Bldg.
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Pop:

= Just so you will be completely up to date on the Coffin affair, I am sending you the full release that was given out in New Haven Saturday on Brewster's statement. Also is attached an editorial from the New Haven Register the following day.

I don't know how you feel about it, but most of us here think Brewster's statement leaves much to be desired. Will be talking to you later.

All best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Herbie

G. H. Walker, Jr.

Encls.
GHWjr./lf

Photocopy from George Bush Presidential Library

President Brewster Discusses The Rev. Mr. Coffin

Yale President Kingman Brewster has taken an obviously necessary, yet courageous, step in disassociating himself and the University from the current goings-on of Chaplain William Sloane Coffin.

In upholding the Rev. Mr. Coffin's continued right to protest while disagreeing with his position on draft resistance, the President of Yale has put his finger upon one of the things that most repel and anger the American people as they watch the carefully fomented uprisings of campus and church. This is the high moral purpose that has been wrapped—confusingly—around a bald and bitterly partisan foray against the nation's Chief Executive and against government policy.

In his brief but firm statement Mr. Brewster declares himself against "draft resistance as a political tactic," against conscientious objection merely "for political effect," against the effort to exploit what must always be a deeply personal moral decision "in order to dramatize a political viewpoint." This is a stiff rejection of the shallow maneuvers recently observable here and in Washington.

The war in Vietnam is, beyond question, unpopular with most Americans. But national distress with the war does not—and cannot—mean a willingness to surrender to simplistic sloganeers our nationally accepted responsibilities in Vietnam.

Said President Brewster:

"The balance between the obligation to personal values and the obligation to the social order is not easily

struck; especially for those who feel the war is not justified either in terms of national self-interest or in terms of humanity generally. . . . Precisely because the moral issue involved is one of the most fundamental ones which any man will ever face, and because its resolution either way should be a truly conscientious one, we deplore the effort to exploit it in order to dramatize a political viewpoint."

Having defined the Yale position as opposed to the Coffin position Mr. Brewster remains, of course, continually exposed to further embarrassments—even if they be minor and even if they be graced by the chaplain's familiar "verve." We would like to make a point in this regard.

The Rev. Mr. Coffin has a flair for contriving what Mr. Brewster calls "spot news coverage." And the news in the Coffin "dramatics," to use another of Mr. Brewster's words, often arises primarily from the fact that the official spiritual adviser to one of the most distinguished centers of American learning is publicly involved in activities which do not represent Yale, its traditions, or even the college majority.

So it is not really the news media which have "so amply gratified" the publicity urges of anti-establishment leaders like the Rev. Mr. Coffin. They are much more amply gratified—and amplified—by the sanction, and the basic newsworthiness, that goes with a proud platform on a great, old campus. It is the institution that magnifies the man.

Now
for New
Homer Jupp
Lib-

Rev. Coffin is guilty of the following:

District of Columbia Code - Title 22, Section 105

In prosecutions for any criminal offense all persons advising, inciting, or conniving at the offense, or aiding or abetting the principal offender, shall be charged as principals and not as accessories, the intent of this section being that as to all accessories before the fact the law heretofore applicable in cases of misdemeanor only shall apply to all crimes, whatever the punishment may be.

The crime he is guilty of abetting is Violation of 32 C. F. R. Section 1617.1 - issued by Selective Service, which requires that a registrant keep in his personal possession at all times his draft card.

The individual who violates 1617.1 is then violating 462 (b) (6) U. S. Code .

Any person who knowingly violates or evades any of the provisions of this title or rules and regulations promulgated pursuant thereto relating to the issuance, transfer, or possession of such certificate, shall, upon conviction, be fined not to exceed \$10,000 or be imprisoned for not more than 5 years, or both.

Draft card burners violate Title 50, U. S. Code, Section 462 (b) (3)

Any person who forges, alters, or in any manner changes any such certificate ~~marked by~~ or any notation duly and validly inscribed thereon.

YALE CHAPLAIN FILE -
R. B. Greene - as

December 29, 1967

Dear Mr. Greene,

I wanted to thank you, on behalf of Mr. Bush, for sending the copy of your December 24th letter to the President.

As you may know, Mr. Bush left Houston the day after Christmas for Viet Nam. I feel sure you know that---from his previous letters---Mr. Bush is doing all he can regarding the Chaplain Coffin matter. Thanks again for the copy of your letter.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Hargrove Smith
Sec'y to George Bush, M.C.

Mr. R. B. Greene
8936 Pado
Houston, Texas 77055

To The Honorable George Bush

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT

December 24, 1967

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

RECEIVED

DEC 29 1967

Dear Mr. President:

Some time ago you made the statement: "The time has come when the American people are going to rise up in revolt against lawbreakers."

The newspapers have been full of accounts of men burning or destroying their draft cards, yet, apparently, there have been few arrests or prosecution of these men for breaking Federal laws; instead, some of these men have been "punished" by having their draft classification changed.

Also, some people have aided and abetted men to resist the draft; though, I, again, am unaware of any arrests or prosecutions.

According to the newspapers, the Rev. William Sloane Coffin, Jr., chaplain at Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, signed and gave the Department of Justice a statement that he had aided and abetted men to resist the draft-- a violation of Federal Law.

As I know you are interested in the prevention of crime, as you recently said: "I like crime like I like castor oil," I wrote you two letters within the past few months; however, as you are much too busy to answer all of the many letters you must get, my letters were forwarded to the Justice Department for answering.

Mr. Fred M. Vinson, Jr., Assistant Attorney General wrote, November 21, 1967 and suggested that I purchase a report on crime from the U. S. Government Printing Office for the price of \$2.25. He also stated: "As you are probably aware, maintenance of the peace and protection of private property are primarily within the jurisdiction of state and local government."

In reply to my letter of October 29 to you, Mr. Vinson replied that the Federal Bureau of Investigation investigates reports of violations of the draft law.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation advised me, November 6, 1967, as follows: "Voluminous data regarding the matters you mentioned has been furnished to the Department for its consideration." The matters I mentioned in my letter to them were the incidents of draft card burning and aiding and abetting men to resist the draft.

As I am concerned, too, about lawbreaking, I wrote several other people to find out what I could do about the apprehension and trial of these types of lawbreakers.

December 24, 1967

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT, page 2

In reply to my letter about the reported lawbreaking by the Rev. Coffin, Mr. Samuel J. Heyman, Assistant United States Attorney, New Haven, Connecticut, advised on December 5, 1967, that the proceedings of the Federal Grand Jury are secret. He did not state whether the reported incident concerning the Rev. Coffin had been or would be presented to the Federal Grand Jury for its consideration.

Representative George Bush wrote me, November 9, 1967: "The case of Reverend Coffin troubles me very much. I have discussed it with the Justice Department. The Justice Department simply tells me that they are studying the matter; and, also that they are awaiting for a Supreme Court decision on this whole question of draft cards very soon."

In a subsequent letter concerning the Rev. Coffin, Mr. Bush wrote: "I did have a talk with Yale's President, Kingman Brewster. In fact it turned out to be a full scale debate with him before 80 members of the Yale Development Board."

It seems to me that, if anyone breaks a Federal law, he should be arrested for his crime regardless of what the Supreme Court may or may not decide later.

If every citizen decides what laws he wants to obey and what laws he wants to disobey, we will soon have anarchy in this country.

If our laws are wrong, immoral, unjust, or unconstitutional, they should be changed by the legislative branch; however, in the meantime, I feel the Federal government should arrest and prosecute those who break Federal laws.

Mr. John Van de Kamp, Deputy Director, United States Department of Justice, Office of the Deputy Attorney General, in reply to my letter about Rev. Coffin, wrote me, December 14, 1967, as follows: "I encourage you to transmit any evidence of these violations in your possession to your nearest FBI office, to this office in the Department of Justice or to any Federal Grand Jury having jurisdiction over the particular violation."

According to the newspapers, the Rev. Coffin signed a statement that he had aided and abetted men to resist the draft, and I understood the statement was in the possession of the Justice Department.

Mr. Van de Kamp further stated: "While I know of no way you can effectively initiate criminal charges, your cooperation with law enforcement may be of real assistance."

It seems that my trying to cooperate with those who are charged with law enforcement has been of no avail, as almost everyone I have written seems to beat around the bush, while a reportedly self-acknowledged lawbreaker sits nonchalantly at home in New Haven playing the piano. ...and while Nero fiddled, Rome burned.

May God bless you and guide you in your duty, Mr. President.

Sincerely,

R. B. Greene

R. B. Greene

8936 Pado

Houston, Texas 77055

This is no personal grudge against the Rev. Coffin. He just happens to be the only concrete account that I know of.

The Action Chaplain from Yale

Presbyterian Minister Is at Forefront Of Civil Rights and Peace Causes To Sighs of Conservative Peers

By Jim Hoagland

Washington Post Staff Writer

THE REV. WILLIAM SLOANE COFFIN JR. crashed through the filmy curtain of water spray and October sun draped in front of Union Station's splashing fountain. Cars slammed to a halt as a policeman waved Mr. Coffin and the 250 persons marching behind him across the street.

The husky, athletic-looking chaplain of Yale University was going to the Justice Department to announce that he was going to break the law—that he would break it until he was arrested or until the United States pulled out of Vietnam. He was, in the words of a young activist following him, "putting his body on the line."

On the steps of the Justice Department, where he vowed to "aid and abet" young men who resist the draft, Mr. Coffin introduced himself as "in more normal moments, the chaplain at Yale University."

Charismatic Figure

BUT "NORMAL MOMENTS" have been rare in the career of this handsome, 43-year-old cleric. Long a rebel in the eyes of many of his peers, Mr. Coffin has become, since February, an outspoken advocate of draft resistance.

He is, to some observers, the most charismatic figure to emerge this year in the splintered opposition to the war in Vietnam. He has the vitality and "cool" to relate to the young, as the titular peace leaders cannot, and has impeccable establishment credentials

that make his dissent and frustration over the war difficult to dismiss.

Many of the youths marching behind Mr. Coffin would have been surprised to learn that he was an Army captain and paratrooper in World War II and worked for the Central Intelligence Agency for three years as a specialist on the Soviet Union.

The son of a successful New York executive who was also the president of the trustees of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Mr. Coffin's education was predictably "Eastern Establishment"—Phillips Academy, Andover, and Yale. He was ordained a Presbyterian minister in 1958.

It is the kind of background that led a Yale professor to remark, in 1961, when Mr. Coffin was arrested in the first Freedom Ride on Montgomery, Ala.: "We expect him eventually to mellow."

Mr. Coffin's critics on the faculty no longer harbor such hopes. He has consistently staked out positions more radical than his peers, then moved on to new stances when his once controversial views become more widely accepted.

Indeed, there was little in his post-CIA background to give them hopes in the first place. His attack on fraternal-

nities at Williams College as "un-Christian" when he was chaplain there in 1958 (two students fired a shotgun blast into his house during that controversy) and his early and militant involvement in civil rights are cases in point.

Now, however, the Minister is riding the crest of a cause that to millions of Americans is not merely technically illegal but also morally repugnant.

Conceding that his outspokenness has brought him under fire from Yale alumni, Mr. Coffin said recently that "too many people want a chaplain to be a nice guy, but not a good man."

"How can you be dedicated to educating conscientious young men, and then not stand by them . . . when they make a moral decision not to participate in an immoral and illegal war?"

"The peace movement is broadening its base. More and more students are deciding to be radical in their commitment, not in their views . . . We cannot shield them, but we can expose ourselves to the same dangers."

Even If It Means Jail

IN THE MARCH ISSUE of the Yale Alumni magazine, Mr. Coffin dealt with the same subject on a more personal level. But he believes that what

is happening to him is happening to the peace movement generally.

He said that after "writing letters, signing petitions, attending rallies, standing in silent vigils . . . many times and for years, does [a chaplain] tuck his conscience into bed with the comforting thought, 'Well, I have done my best, the President continues to escalate the war, and the law of the land is clear'?"

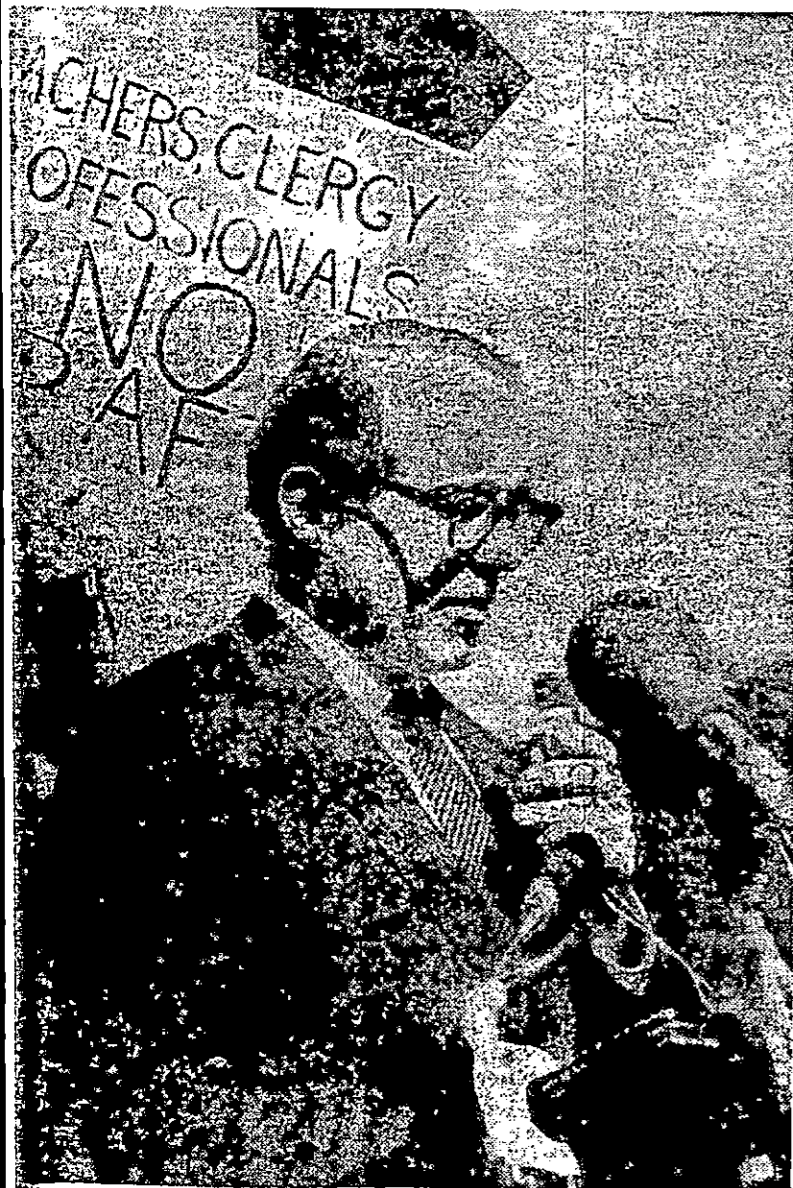
"Or does he decide that having chosen the road of protest he has to choose to pursue it to the end, even if this means going to jail?"

Mr. Coffin answered his question on Oct. 20 in front of the Justice Department. Aiding and abetting draft resisters is a felony, with a maximum penalty of \$10,000 fine and five years in jail. He signed a statement that he had "aided and abetted," and would continue to do it.

Mr. Coffin's stand has not caused him problems with Yale's administration. "They understand freedom of speech at Yale," he says.

From the students, who have watched him ride around the campus on a motorscooter with a pipe clenched between his teeth, there is wide admiration of his "bulldozing" manner.

After last weekend's peace demonstrations, he returned to his comfortable yellow house in New Haven, where he spends much time gardening and playing the piano. His wife should be able to give him good pointers on the latter hobby. Her father is Arthur Rubinstein.



By Bob Burchette—The Washington Post.

The Rev. William Coffin . . . "his body on the line."

LARRY MOSER
ch - YALE COFFIN FILE

November 17, 1967

Dear Mr. Moser:

Thank you for your letter of November 8 regarding Reverend Coffin.

As a Yale graduate and a member of the Yale Development Board, I have protested these actions and also the actions of the assistant chaplain at Yale who was arrested storming the Pentagon during the same pitiful demonstration. I have gotten the facts from the Justice Department and I have made a strong protest to Yale University.

The Justice Department tells me they are not sure Coffin has violated the law, but I have two specific references which I am confident he has violated. It is a disgrace to my University and, more important, to our country. I will do what I can and thanks so much for writing.

Please let me know if I may ever be of assistance to you or your family.

Yours very truly,

George Bush, M. C.

Mr. Larry V. Moser
5625 Overbrook Lane
Houston, Texas 77027

RECEIVED

NOV 15 1967

November 8, 1967.

Dear Mr Bush -

*give of
Comment
Re Coffin*

I refer you to U. S. News and World Report, 8-7-67 and 10-30-67. The earlier issue carries a speech by Congressman Abernathy (p. 33), and the latter an article by L. F. Powell, Jr., a former president of the American Bar Association (p. 66-69).

Both denounce what we politely refer to as "Civil Disobedience" when we choose to soft pedal anarchy and revolution. Both Mr. Abernathy and Mr. Powell are responsible American Citizens, and their messages cannot be refuted and should not be ignored.

I also refer you to the dispatch from our Houston Chronicle, 10-29-67, which tells of a W. S. Coffin, Jr., and of his thoughts. Coffin is either seditious, foolish, or a cheap publicity seeker, and he, along with so many others of his ilk, is dangerous because of the prime space always given him by the slavish and irresponsible media. He is a charlatan exerting undue influence - thanks to the pimping by the press - upon some of our impressionable youth ^{WHO ALREADY HAVE} more than their normal amount of trouble in getting things into proper perspective.

In recent syndicated columns, also in our Chronicle, David Lawrence and Wm. Buckley (articles reproduced herewith) say what our responsible elected representatives ought to be saying about the Coffins and the Blakes and the Browns - not to mention the Kings and McKissicks and Carmichaels, and all the rest, whatever their breed or 'cause'. Too much has been suffered in the name of freedom of the press, academic freedom, and other badly prostituted battle cries that these subversives raise and then hide behind.

So long as the mouth that mouths sedition and treason is black or merely dirty or covered with face hair, it spits hate and dissension without end under protection of our laws, while responsible citizens seethe in silence. (Why not seethe in silence? The media find no sensationalism in mere respectability, and so won't propagate good news of responsibility.)

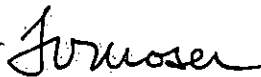
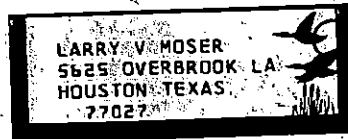
If our government had the guts and integrity to call Viet Nam a war, and to pursue it as such; if our elected representatives would see that laws already on the books were enforced so as to insure domestic order; if there were any sense of outrage left among us, maybe we could at least slow our national tobaggan ride to disgrace and oblivion among the family of nations.

November 8, 1967

How about you standing up and making a loud firm unequivocal statement, backed by the police powers already at hand, to say that the draft card destroyers can choose only between their own loss of freedom (stiff prison sentences) and permanent loss of citizenship (which they really don't value anyway) or military service; that the Joan Baez's pay their taxes or go to prison (as I must do); that the civil rights revolutionists -- ALL of them, even the "tame" ones -- keep the peace or similarly lose their liberty and citizenship (which they likewise seem to deplore)... (a truly peaceful demonstration needs only one person as a picket, not a mob of thieves and arsonists and killers); that state universities stop being jelly in the hands of unruly and undisciplined students, unruly non-students, and weak ineffectual, (or seditious, if you will,) faculty and administration members. My butt is very red and my patience is thin, and if you think I'll support any elected representative with my time and effort and money (as I have done for many years past) who doesn't stand up tall and yell out loud in behalf of law and order and national concert, then you are very badly mistaken. Be a leader: leaders are what we worked so hard to elect, afterall.

If this sounds unduly harsh to you, and if you can truthfully say to yourself -- not to me or anyone else -- that you have taken a firm public stand and have actually tried with all your might to do something to correct these deplorable acts, then obviously this should have been sent to some of your fellows because it doesn't apply to you. In that case, give it to him, who deserves it.

Sincerely,

Sorry time compels use of the duplicating machine, but there's only so much time left after treading the middle income treadmill to oblivion + high taxes. As usual, Yaborough doesn't bite the 5¢ stamp, let alone the rhetoric.

I very sincerely believe the country is ready -- hungry and anxious -- for a leader whose stand squarely on principle, no hedges, no compromise.

"CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE: PRELUDE TO REVOLUTION?"

Are the militant advocates of "black power" and the New Left blazing a trail that will lead to the destruction of this country? A distinguished attorney examines the implications of their calls for defiance of the law—and warns of the results.

By Lewis F. Powell, Jr., Former President, American Bar Association

A SPEECH THAT TOUCHED A TENDER NERVE IN CONGRESS

the grave.

Then we have seen some of our former Attorneys General—Kennedy, Brownell, and Katzenbach—make their journeys down to straighten out those “old mean folks” down there. Another great Southern-tripping expert has been the present

U. S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, Aug. 7, 1967

you know it.

Lay the blame where it belongs—in the White House, in the Congress and in the headquarters of the two political parties. You are right in blaming one another. You are both to blame.

Black Militants Talk Of Guns and Guerrillas

Open rebellion now has been declared by "black power" advocates. After one inflammatory harangue, a Maryland school and two blocks of buildings were destroyed. Then came a call for guerrilla warfare by Negroes plus a threat to "burn this country down."

"Black power" militants have been allowed, under existing federal laws, to incite Negro dissidents to insurrection.



—McGowan Photo

H. Rap Brown, Negro militant, exhorted crowd in Cambridge, Md., to "get yourselves some guns—burn this town down."



U. S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, Aug. 7, 1967

'Aids and Abets' Draft Resistance

Yale Chaplain: 'Body on the Line' for Peace

BY JIM HOAGLAND

© 1967, Los Angeles Times
Washington Post News Services

Washington—The Rev. William Sloane Coffin Jr. crashed through the filmy curtain of water spray and October sun draped in front of Union Station's busily splashing fountain. Cars slammed to a halt as a policeman waved the Rev. Mr. Coffin and the 25 persons marching behind him across the street.

The husky, athletic-looking chaplain of Yale University was going to the Justice Department, to tell them that he was going to break the law, that he would break it until he was arrested or until the United States pulled out of Vietnam. He was, said young activists following him, "putting his body on the line."

On the steps of the Justice Department, where he vowed to "aid and abet" young men who

resist the draft, he introduced himself as "in more normal moments, the chaplain at Yale University."

But normal moments have been rare in the career of this handsome, 43-year-old cleric. Long a rebel in the eyes of many, the Rev. Mr. Coffin has become, since February, an outspoken advocate of draft resistance.

He is, to some observers, the most charismatic figure to emerge this year in the splintered opposition to the war in Vietnam. He has the vitality and "cool" to relate to the young, as the titular peace leaders cannot, and has impeccable establishment credentials that make his dissent difficult to dismiss.

Many of the youths marching behind him would have been surprised to learn that he was an Army captain and paratrooper in World War II, and worked

for the Central Intelligence Agency for three years as a Soviet Union specialist.

The son of a successful New York executive who was also the president of the trustees of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, his education was predictably "Eastern Establishment"—Phillips Academy, Andover and Yale. He was ordained a Presbyterian minister in 1956.

He has consistently staked out positions to the left of his peers, then moved on to new stances when his once controversial views become more widely accepted.

His attack on fraternities at Williams College as "unchristian" when he was chaplain there in 1953 (two students fired a shotgun blast into his house during that controversy) and his early and militant involvement in civil rights are cases in point.

Now, however, the minister is riding the crest of a cause that

to most Americans is not merely technically illegal but also morally repugnant.

Conceding that his outspokenness has brought him under fire from Yale alumni, the Rev. Coffin said recently that "too many people want a chaplain to be a nice guy, but not a good man."

Parrying a question on his shift to more radical ground, the chaplain Coffin said: "The peace movement is broadening its base. More and more students are deciding to be radical in their commitment, not in their views. We cannot shield them, but we can expose ourselves to the same dangers."

In the March issue of the Yale alumni magazine, he asserted: "Does (a chaplain) tuck his conscience into bed with the comforting thought, 'well, I have done my best, the President continues to escalate the war, and the law of the land is clear'?"

"Or does he decide that having chosen the road of protest he has to choose to pursue it to the end, even if this means going to jail?"

The Rev. Mr. Coffin answered his question on Oct. 20 in front of the Justice Department. Aiding and abetting draft resisters is a felony, with a maximum penalty of \$10,000 fine and five years in jail. He signed a statement that he had "aided and abetted," and would continue to do it.

His stand has not caused him problems with Yale's administration. "They understand freedom of speech at Yale," he said.

After last weekend's peace demonstrations, he returned to his comfortable yellow house in New Haven, where he spends much time gardening and playing the piano. His wife should be able to give him good pointers on the latter hobby. Her father is Arthur Rubinstein.

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They know now that the establishment really feels threatened by our dissent and is willing to do anything to preserve itself."
This is the interpretation of what happened in the wild, bizarre hours

sides no one could answer the question of how a democratic society can fight a war if a multiplying segment of those who must be its soldiers organize against it.

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Those who preach draft evasion should be jailed

By William F. Buckley Jr.

AMBASSADOR ARTHUR Goldberg, dressed in white tie and tails, told the glittering throng at the annual dinner in honor of Alfred E. Smith at the Waldorf Astoria, New York City, "that the cause of free debate is ill-served by imputations of base motives, words of scorn and contempt, ill-tempered invective, and wounding epithets. And likewise the cause of orderly protest is subverted, not served, by unlawful acts of disorder or civil disobedience."

A former attorney general of the United States leaned over and whispered to his neighbor: "Goldberg was the foremost defender of the illegal sit-ins during the thirties."

No doubt Mr. Goldberg, a former member of the Supreme Court of the United States, would nowadays be willing to acknowledge the rashness of his position during the thirties. Yet he isn't the very best teacher under the circumstances; because too many pupils would reason that now that Mr. Goldberg is a member of the Johnson Administration, sure he is against illegal behavior.

We need desperately to hear from exiges of law and order who vigorously oppose the war in Vietnam, the necessity nevertheless to abstain from unlawful protest, even as Socrates-urged, in the passion of resentment against the failures of the generals, the need for fair trials.

A few days before Mr. Goldberg's speech the Rev. William Sloane Coffin, Jr. of Yale University, whose role it is to cultivate in his community any potential dislike of his country, its traditions and its ideals, announced that he was "considering" advising his students to return their draft cards to the draft boards.

And then this week Look magazine features an article by another divine, Dr. Robert McAfee Brown, an editor of Ramparts Magazine, who violates every one of the injunctions of Ambassador Goldberg. Dr. Brown, who teaches Christianity at Stanford, most

directly questions the motives of those who disagree with him—the Vietnam war "cannot be supported by thinking or humane people," he says, which certainly disposes of the problem of the majority of the American people and their elected officials.

Dr. Brown then comes quickly to the point, that he must himself "escalate" against America's escalation—he must preach civil disobedience and counsel his students to evade the draft.

And he knows exactly what he is doing. He even quotes the Military Selective Service Act, which states that anyone who "knowingly counsels, aids or abets another to refuse or evade registration or service in the Armed Forces" can be punished even as an evader himself; by five years in jail, or \$10,000, or both.

The trouble in America, epitomized by Mr. Goldberg's own difficulties in achieving credibility, is that laws are not enforced, and that we are all under the circumstances engaged, in a way, in law-breaking. The adage is that the best way to get a bad law repealed is to enforce it.

If there oughtn't to be any law discouraging seditious exhortations, then let us repeal those we have. But the very fact that the Reverends Coffin and Brown can proceed so certain of immunity contributes to that general disrespect for the law which, ironically, is the ultimate justification not merely of our presence in Vietnam, but of the very role of government.

Dr. Brown should be tried, convicted, and jailed. If our moral stomachs cannot assimilate that prosecution, why then let us change the law, and perhaps acknowledge that we are not left with the strength and purpose necessary to proceed with any conviction to fight wars that aim at the preservation of a society we have apparently lost confidence in: our own society.

Platonic appeals to self discipline, like Mr. Goldberg's, are not working, on intelligences however disparate, not working on Cassius Clay, not working on Robert McAfee Brown.

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THE WASHINGTON POST

'Be assured we are keeping her in a secure place'

Are clergymen talking too much about politics?

By David Lawrence

MANY PEOPLE are beginning to say that clergymen and church organizations are driving away parishioners by talking too much about politics—national and international—about which they know very little, and by failing to teach the all-important lessons of ethics and morality so essential today in countries troubled by disorder and violence.

Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, general secretary of the World Council of Churches and formerly the head of the United Presbyterian Church of the U.S.A., said Sunday at St. Louis that the position of the United States in Vietnam is wrong for moral, strategic, diplomatic and sociological reasons. He said with respect to the Vietnam war: "It is wrong for a great and powerful nation to impose upon a small nation even a right policy for their own good."

Dr. Blake added that the claim of the United States that it is bound to fulfill a commitment to the government of South Vietnam is hypocritical and that he believes the Vietnamese are "fighting a war of independence and overwhelming force won't make them seek peace." He called for unconditional cessation of bombing by the United States.

While occupying a high post in the World Council of Churches, Dr. Blake claims, of course, to be speaking in conformity with a resolution adopted in August by the central committee of the World Council. His criticism of U.S. policy is, however, far more direct. The World Council—composed of representatives from virtually all denominations — recommended that the United States stop bombing, but declared that the North Vietnam government, "either in advance of or in response to the cessation of bombing, should indicate by word and deed its readiness to move toward negotiations."

Dr. Paul Ramsey, one of America's most respected Protestant theologians, has just been attracting attention by his criticism of voluble clergymen. He declares that both "liberal" and "evangelical" Protestant leaders have been inclined in recent years to say too much on too many topics.

Dr. Ramsey points to a growing disposition on the part of church

councils and denominational conventions to adopt resolutions on a variety of intricate national problems on which religious leaders, as such, have no particular competence to formulate policies. On the question of their offering "concrete political policies for the world's statesmen," he says:

"For ecumenical councils on church and society responsibly to proffer specific advice would require that the church have the services of an entire State Department."

Dr. Ramsey further asserts that many of the pronouncements are adopted by a relatively small number of churchmen after a minimum of serious debate, and that often these documents are drafted by anonymous staff members and presented to national assemblies under circumstances which provide rank-and-file delegates with little choice except to rubber-stamp them.

He points to the procedures of the Conference on Church and Society, sponsored by the World Council of Churches in Geneva last year, as a glaring example of this weakness. He recalls that, in only two weeks of deliberation, the 410 participants in the conference arrived at specific, detailed "conclusions" on no less than 118 complex public questions, ranging from the best way to make peace in Vietnam to the suppression of crime. Dr. Ramsey's experiences at the Geneva conference where these resolutions were adopted prompted him to write a recently published book entitled, "Who Speaks for the Church?"

The author, in calling on contemporary Christianity to clarify the church's message about the meaning of Christian life in the world today, criticized both the National Council of Churches and the World Council of Churches for wrong methods and wrong goals. It is being predicted among religious leaders that this very question will be raised in the Study Conference on Church and Society to be held by the National Council of Churches on Oct. 22-26 in Detroit. Up to now, it has been assumed by church leaders that the rank and file of Christians were backing the involvement of their organizations in governmental questions with a political background.

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Photocopy from George Bush Presidential Library

Yale University News Bureau

#122

New Haven, Connecticut 06520

787-3131, Ext. 344

Steve Kezerian, Director

For release AFTER 11 A.M. on SATURDAY morning, October 28
and to SUNDAY papers of October 29, 1967

New Haven, Conn., October 28:-- Following is the text of the remarks of PRESIDENT KINGMAN BREWSTER, JR., of Yale University, about the current draft resistance controversy.

President Brewster is making these remarks at the annual Parents Day Assembly at Yale, starting at 11 A.M. on Saturday, October 28, in Woolsey Hall. More than 2,000 parents of Yale students are expected to be present, along with the students themselves.

Among the quotes in this text are:

"I do not think your sons are well served by strident voices which urge draft resistance as a political tactic. This is especially distasteful when those who urge the resistance are too old to be able to share fully the personal and moral consequences of refusing to serve and thereby making it necessary for the nation to call someone else."

(full text follows)

Remarks of President Kingman Brewster, Jr. of Yale University
Parents Day Assembly, Woolsey Hall, Saturday, October 28, 1967

I would like to say a few words about the issues involved in the current draft resistance controversy.

The dramatics sought by its leaders and so amply gratified by the news media involve only a tiny segment of any university population. The fundamental issues, however, do touch and disturb any sensitive young man of military age, and do and should concern his parents.

At one extreme some very few are true pacifists who would not take another's life for any cause, even in self-defense.

Then there are some who are unwilling to kill another human being for a cause they do not believe, even though they do sense an obligation to the society which has made their life possible.

At the other extreme are a very few who would eagerly volunteer for any combat opportunity, whatever its cause or purpose.

Then there are many who would accept the obligation to serve when called, even though they may be opposed to the war and feel the draft law is unfair.

The balance between the obligation to personal values and the obligation to the social order is not easily struck; especially for those who feel the war is not justified either in terms of national self-interest or in terms of humanity generally.

I believe that the majority of your sons could well have written as a recent freshman did in his letter to the Yale NEWS:

2

"Such a drastic choice as civil disobedience must be an individual one, as one suffers the consequences alone. One cannot allow himself to be sucked into the frenzy of a mass sign-in. One must be absolutely sure that he is not only opposed to the War in principle but is also willing to suffer years of imprisonment, a certain degree of public shame, and a specter that will follow him until he dies . . .

"I truly admire those who are fortunate enough to have made up their minds as to how far they are willing to carry their dissent, or their approval. But I defend my right to be undecided-- to carry my indecision right up to the day of my induction, if necessary. I will not sign an agreement which I do not intend to carry out. . ."

One reason the stage is so often monopolized by the noisy extremes is because the wiser, more modest heads among students and faculty alike are unwilling to endorse slogans which grossly oversimplify the issue.

I do not think your sons are well served by strident voices which urge draft resistance as a political tactic. This is especially distasteful when those who urge the resistance are too old to be able to share fully the personal and moral consequences of refusing to serve and thereby making it necessary for the nation to call someone else.

The President and Fellows of Yale University would not only permit but would honor and respect those who would, not for political effect but for personal, private reasons, witness their conscience by a willingness to pay the price of their disobedience. Society must exact such a price in order to assure itself that the motivation of the objector is truly conscientious rather than self-serving.

Precisely because the moral issue involved is one of the most fundamental ones which any man will ever face, and because its resolution either way should be a truly conscientious one, we deplore the effort to exploit it in order to dramatize a political viewpoint. The Chaplain's effort to devise "confrontations" and "sanctuaries" in order to gain spot news coverage seems to me unworthy of and to detract from the true trial of conscience which touches most of your sons and preoccupies so many.

If I disapprove of the Chaplain's pronouncements and actions why don't I forbid them?

As far as the Church of Christ in Yale University is concerned, I take considerable pride in the fact that its existence is not dependent upon the President and Fellows. Even if Mr. Coffin were not Yale's Chaplain, technically he could still be the pastor of that church, accountable only to its governing board, the Deacons. Even if they did not use Battell Chapel, they would continue to be a free independent congregation with members inside and outside the University.

As Chaplain, of course, Mr. Coffin is directly accountable to the President and Fellows. Would Yale be a better place if the Chaplain were not free to pursue his own convictions, including the preaching and practice of non-violent disobedience of a law he feels he could not in conscience obey? I think not.

We must not suppress or hinder or soft pedal the toughest moral problems of our times either out of conformity in the name of patriotism or out of timidity in the name of public or alumni relations.

I have great confidence in your sons' ability to keep their own counsel and to sort out the true from the false if they are allowed to make up their own minds. I would have no confidence in them at all if they were protected from exposure to all argument and sheltered from the risk of error.

4

Even though I disagree with the Chaplain's position on draft resistance, and in this instance deplore his style, I feel that the quality of the Yale educational experience and the Yale atmosphere has gained greatly from his presence. Thanks in large part to his personal verve and social action, religious life within and without the church reaches more people at Yale than on any other campus I know about. More important, the rebellious instinct which elsewhere expresses itself so often in sour withdrawal, cynical nihilism and disruption, is here more often than not both affirmative and constructive, thanks in considerable measure to the Chaplain's influence.

So I not only find it easy to condone what I disapprove--anyone who presides over a free university does that every day in the year--but I am also sure that your sons will look back upon Yale in 1967 as a better place to have lived and learned because of the controversies, including the draft resistance controversy, which so tax the patience of so many of their elders, including their President.

including that president.

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- The word "Text" is written vertically on the left side of the handwritten notes.
- The word "Text" is written vertically on the right side of the handwritten notes.

CHARLES W. CHADD
APARTMENT 55
1515 SOUTH POST OAK LANE
HOUSTON, TEXAS



THE HONORABLE GEORGE BUSH
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Aleene-----GB says to put in his Yale File - the one about Coffin. I guess he wants to possibly take it up there this weekend.

Standard Form 63
November 1961
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

MEMORANDUM OF CALL

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TO--

YOU WERE CALLED BY-- YOU WERE VISITED BY--

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- PLEASE CALL
- WILL CALL AGAIN
- RETURNING YOUR CALL
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LEFT THIS MESSAGE: _____

Received By--

CHADD, CHARLES
GB/ac YALE FILE -- COFFIN

November 7, 1967

Dear Mr. Chadd:

I had not seen the article by Mr. Hoagland about Rev. Coffin and I am glad you sent it along to me.

As a Yale graduate and a member of the Yale Development Board, I am planning to protest these actions and also the actions of the assistant chaplain at Yale who was arrested storming the Pentagon during the same pitiful demonstration. I have gotten the facts from the Justice Department and I plan a strong protest to Yale University.

The Justice Department tells me they are not sure Coffin has violated the law but I have two specific references which I am confident he has violated. It is a disgrace to my university and, more important, to our country. I will do what I can and thank you for calling this to my attention.

Yours very truly,

George Bush, M.C.

Mr. Charles W. Chadd
1515 South Post Oak Lane
Apt. #55
Houston, Texas

MEMO FROM
CHARLES W. CHADD

RECEIVED

Nov. 1 1967

NOV 6 1967

Dear Mr. Bush,

I certainly
would appreciate it
if you would check
and see why the
Justice Department
hasn't put this man
in jail.

Thank you,
CW Chadd

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

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| Civil Disobedience - Yale - Reverend William Sloan Coffin, 1967 OA/ID Number Date Closed 10/20/99 | | | | |

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL
WASHINGTON, D.C.

SAVE
FOR YALE
TRIP FILE

EXECUTIVE OFFICE FOR
UNITED STATES MARSHALS

October 26, 1967

Honorable George Bush
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C

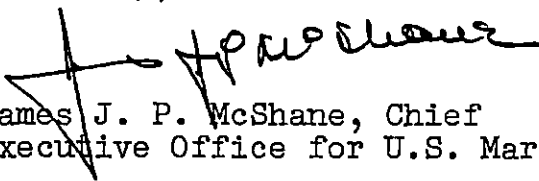
Dear Congressman Bush:

Regarding your inquiry on Reverend John Boyles, Assistant Chaplain, Yale University, the following is a record of his actions during the weekend of October 21-23 at the Pentagon.

Reverend Boyles was charged with breaking through the restraining line of soldiers and United States Marshals and refused to move back when ordered. Hearing was waived and he pled guilty. Reverend Boyles was fined \$25, and given five days in jail. The five day sentence was suspended and he was placed on six months probation.

With warmest personal regards.

Sincerely,


James J. P. McShane, Chief
Executive Office for U.S. Marshals

Photocopy from George Bush Presidential Library

202 Arrested

At least 202 persons, including author Norman Mailer and Women Strike for Peace leader Dagnar Wilson, were arrested by late last night during the march and the demonstration at the Pentagon.

Others taken into custody yesterday included two American Nazi party members who tried to disrupt the Lincoln Memorial demonstration, chairman of the demonstration, David Dellinger, and the Rev. John Boyles, assistant chairman at Yale University.

Most were arrested on misdemeanor charges — disorderly conduct and simple assault charges — and some, who pleaded guilty, were fined \$25 to \$50 and given suspended sentences of five to ten days at U.S. District Court in Alexandria last night.

Boyles, 28, was charged with disorderly conduct and was one of those taken, along with Mailer, to the District Court. U.S. Commissioner Stanley King fined the minister \$25 and gave him a suspended sentence after he pleaded guilty.

Six others who pleaded guilty were fined and given suspended sentences.

King released two others to return for trial Monday. One, Bruce Cossaboom, of the 1700 block of Q Street NW, was charged with disorderly conduct and was released on personal bond. The other, Willard Pittman of Austin, Tex., charged with assault, was released on \$50 cash bond.

Among those charged with disorderly conduct and scheduled to be arraigned at Occoquan were John Gardner, 17, of the 4300 block of Old Dominion Drive, Arlington, and Bradford Lyttle, 39, of the 2700 block of Ontario Road NW.

After action on these cases, King sent the rest, including Mailer, to the D.C. Correctional Institute at Occoquan, Va., where three commissioners were handling the arraignments. Seven volunteer lawyers of the Committee to Defend the Demonstrators and 10 law students from Georgetown and Howard Universities were aiding the defendants.

Even before the shift of 20 from Alexandria, about 54 men

and 32 women had been to Occoquan. They were temporarily in dormitories from which District prisoners earlier had been cleared pending their hearings.

Many of those arrested gave their names as "John Doe" or "Jane Doe."

Those taken initially to the court at Alexandria chanted "End the War, Bring the Soldiers Home," but were cooperative, except for one who tried to give a speech against the war at his hearing.

At Occoquan, some of the young women went limp and had to be carried in from the buses. Dellinger was reported to have been on one of the buses bringing men in.

Six Plead Guilty
The six pleading guilty before Commissioner King in Alexandria were, besides Boyles, Dick Arad of Yellow Springs, Ohio,

10/23/67
Mr. Denzel
Chief Marshal Sec.
at Justice c/8712127
will send up out in
few days



ASSISTANT DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20530

Honorable George Bush
House of Representatives
1608 Longworth Building
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Bush:

In response to your inquiry, the following is a brief summary of the discussion which John Van de Kamp, Deputy Director of the Executive Office for United States Attorneys, and I had on October 20, 1967, with eleven members of the "Conscientious Resistance", including Rev. William Coffin of Yale University.

Our eleven visitors identified themselves as: Rev. Coffin, Mitchell Goodman, Dickie Harris, Richard Lewis [possibly Louis], Seymour Melman, Gary Rader, Marc Raskin, John Sanna, Dr. Benjamin Spock, Harold Wascow, and David Zimmerman. We invited them to proceed in any way they saw fit.

Rev. Coffin thereupon said that an increasing number of young people of draft age have come to see the war as illegal and immoral, and therefore unsupportable. This has led them to conclude that they, as men of conscience, must refuse to be drafted. He said that people like himself in the older generation have concluded that these young men are right and believe that this requires them, as men of conscience, to support the draft resisters. They have decided to do this not only by lending their moral support, but also by counseling them to evade the draft and in aiding and abetting them in doing so in such a way as to constitute a deliberate violation of Federal law. He stated that the views of both the younger group and the older group are based on what he called the Nuremburg Principle. He also stated that the purpose of the group's appearance at this meeting at the Department of Justice was to make it unmistakably clear that they were engaging at that very moment in a violation of Federal law.

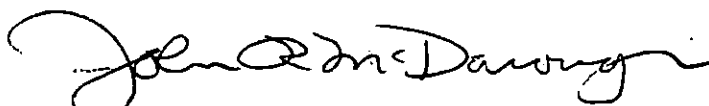
Thereafter all other members of the group except Zimmerman spoke. Among them, they expressed views similar to those that had been expressed by Rev. Coffin. In addition, various of them made such statements as that (1) the Selective Service Act is unconstitutional, (2) the United States armed forces have committed numerous war crimes in Viet Nam, (3) the Government is misallocating resources in prosecuting the war when so many things remain to be done on the home front, (4) the Viet Nam War is unwinnable, (5) there is a large and growing body of young men who repudiate both the present goals of our society and its laws, (6) the 1967 draft law gives a blanket exemption to college students because of the President's fear that large numbers of college students would refuse to serve, and (7) local draft boards should be more representative of the populations of their districts. The statement was also made that those present and others were going to attend another meeting that evening at which they would make plans to formulate draft resistance committees throughout the country.

The group tendered to me a blue Fabrikoid briefcase which they said contained both original draft cards and Xerox copies of other draft cards which had been turned in elsewhere in the country earlier in the week. I declined to accept the briefcase on the ground that those to whom some cards are issued are legally required to have them in their personal possession. Some members of the group thereupon asserted that the draft cards which the briefcase contained were evidence of the violation of Federal law and that it was my duty as a member of the Department of Justice to accept the tender made. The group then departed, leaving the briefcase on the table.

The briefcase has been turned over to the FBI and investigation is now proceeding to see whether violations of Federal law have occurred, either by persons who have illegally dispossessed themselves of their draft cards or by others who have aided or abetted them in doing so.

If I can be of further assistance to you, please call on me.

Very truly yours,



John R. McDonough

Red Hand in 'New Politics' Seen

Communists within the United States are active in seeking to influence, if not direct, many phases of the anti-Vietnam-war movement as well as in trying to stir up racial friction.

A federal agency has circulated a memorandum to other agencies in the government and to members of Congress documenting the relationship of the Communists to the convention held in Chicago in the past few days at which plans were made to organize a third political party. This correspondent has obtained a copy of the memorandum, and it follows in full text:

"Communists from various parts of the country have been converging on Chicago in recent days. The attraction is the five-day national convention of the National Conference for New Politics, a liberal antiwar group based in New York City. The convention, which is being held in the Palmer House, started on Aug. 31.

"Some of the delegates to the convention want to nominate civil-rights leader Martin Luther King for President of the United States and pediatrician Dr. Benjamin Spock as his 1968 running mate. Dr. Spock has been one of the most active participants in anti-Vietnam-war demonstrations.

"The Communist Party, USA, would welcome a third political party with a national ticket headed by King and Spock. In fact, at the annual May Day rally, held in New York City last spring, the Communist chairman of the

rally stated that 'peace forces' must mobilize to get President Johnson out of office in 1968. He then suggested that King and Spock were better suited than President Johnson for the White House.

"The Communists, however, do not want this convention to nominate candidates for a presidential ticket. If the efforts of the Communists to influence policy of the National Conference for New Politics are successful — and qualified observers believe that they will be — this convention will merely agree to the formation of a third-party ticket. Meanwhile, the selection of candidates will be postponed until a nominating convention is held sometime in the spring of 1968.

"These qualified observers advise that the Communists want to combine all the anti-Vietnam-war protesters and all the civil-rights forces and merge them into the National Conference for New Politics in order to enlarge the criticism against United States presence in South Vietnam. This tactic, of course, fits into the over-all strategy of the Communist Party, USA, as well as that of the rest of the international Communist movement, to get the United States to withdraw from Vietnam so the Communists can gain control of all of Vietnam. Leaders of the Communist party believe, however, that they might lose the support of militant black nationalist leaders for the National Conference for New Politics if a presidential ticket is selected prematurely.

"The Communists also have

a strong representation from their youth group, the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America, at the Chicago convention. In a recent memorandum sent to all local DuBois Clubs, the national office of the DuBois Clubs advised that the convention had been made a nationwide priority for the DuBois clubs.

"Also present at this convention at the Palmer House are numerous members of the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party. Since the Socialist Workers Party always has its own ticket for president and vice president of the United States, it is not trying to influence the decisions made at the convention of the National Conference for New Politics. However, the Socialist Workers Party realizes that the convention has attracted radical youths from around the country. The Socialist Workers Party is present in force at the convention in an effort to bring some of these young people into its ranks.

"Whatever were the intentions of the original founders of the National Conference for New Politics, it is now obvious that the Communists and other subversive groups have moved in on them lock, stock, and barrel. Veteran observers of the political scene already see a parallel between the National Conference for New Politics and the Progressive Party, which was quickly taken over by the Communists when it was formed two decades ago."

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Parley Draws Red Leaders

By CHEBLY MANLY
(Chicago Tribune Press Service)

Chicago, Aug. 30.—Seven national leaders of the Communist Party have registered as "observers" at the convention of the revolutionary National Conference for New Politics which will open here tomorrow.

The conference is dedicated to the overthrow of the existing "power structure" in this country by what its leaders describe as "creative disorder," such as the recent riots in Detroit and other cities.

Registration Forms

Copies of the registration forms filed by the national Communist Party leaders were made available to the Chicago Tribune Press Service today. Federal and local security officers, who are closely watching proceedings of the convention, said several hundred other known Communists will attend as delegates or observers of Communist "front" groups and other far left organizations affiliated with the conference.

About 1,000 delegates and 1,500 observers will be at the



Mike Zagarell



Gilbert Green

N. Y. Reds going to Chi



Martin Luther King Jr.

convention, which will be opened with a rally and a keynote address by the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. in Chicago Stadium tomorrow night.

King said yesterday he was

(Continued on page 44, col. 4)

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New Politics Parley Draws Top U.S. Reds

(Continued from page 3)

not aware of any Communist influence or infiltration.

Third Party Plans

There is strong support in organizations affiliated with the conference for a third party ticket in 1968, with King and Dr. Benjamin Spock as candidates for President and Vice President.

It is reliably reported, however, that the Communist Party opposes a third party presidential campaign in 1968 on the ground that it would be premature and no more effective than the Communist-controlled presidential campaign of Henry Wallace on

the Progressive Party ticket in 1948.

The Communist prefer intensive local organization and continued violence in the cities to create a revolutionary crisis in the country before attempting to gain power in a presidential election.

Arnold Johnson, of New York, public relations director and a member of the national committee of the Communist Party, heads the seven-member party delegation here. Other members are Thomas Dennis, Detroit; Mike Zagarell and Gilbert Green, both of New York; Roscoe Proctor of Oakland Calif., and Claude Lightfoot and James West, both of Chicago. Lightfoot is chairman of the Illinois party and vice chairman of the national party. All seven delegates were registered from the party's national headquarters in New York.

2/9/68
N.Y. News 5731/67

Uruguay, and Caracas, Venezuela, being the subscribing incorporators of the preceding Constitutive Charter of the Judicial Conference of the Americas, ratifying our agreement with the same and acknowledging the truth of the facts herein stated, all of which are of our own and personal knowledge.

AFFIDAVIT NUMBER 8728

Subscribed and sworn to before me by Justices Pacifico Ledezma, Osvaldo Illanes Benitez, Samuel Barrientos Restrepo, Evelio Ramirez, José Vicente Vilanova, Fabio Murrillo Diaz, Salvador Mayorga Orozco, Manuel A Diaz Escala, Luis Martinez Milto, Alfredo Maguifia Suero, Luis Negrón Fernández, Manuel R. Riuiz Tejada, Hamlet Reyes and José G. Sarmiento Núñez, of the personal circumstances above stated, all of whom I personally know, this twenty-eighth day of October, nineteen hundred and sixty-six, in San Juan de Puerto Rico. I attest.

FELIX OCHOTECO,
Notary.

POLISH CLUB OF WASHINGTON, D.C., PRESENTS POLISH CON- STITUTION DAY PROGRAM

(Mr. MADDEN (at the request of Mr. ALBERT) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, on yesterday the Polish Club of Washington, D.C., Group 848 of the Polish National Alliance, presented a program commemorating the signing of the Polish Constitution in 1791 at the Franciscan Monastery in Washington, D.C. I wish to hereby submit excerpts of remarks made in my address commemorating this great event inaugurating this great milestone in Poland's long fight for freedom and self-government. The program was under the chairmanship of Tadeusz Drwesk, president of the Polish Club of Washington.

SPEECH OF CONGRESSMAN MADDEN

Mr. Chairman, I am indeed glad to participate in the ceremonies today commemorating the historic Constitution of the Polish nation which was signed in 1791 and inaugurated the beginning of what was then thought to be liberty, freedom and self-government for the people of Poland. The world did not know at that time that Poland would, in a short time, again be enslaved by powerful neighbor nations. During the intervening years up to the present day, the people of Poland have consistently fought for freedom and self-government. Over the generations the desire for liberty and freedom has never diminished in the minds and the hearts of Polish people whether they are living in the mother country or in other lands throughout the world.

Older people in the audience vividly remember the days after World War I when Woodrow Wilson was making his fight for the League of Nations. At that time Poland, for the first time in generations, was again given a free government and national identity. To my mind one of the darkest periods of world history was the unfortunate opposition and successful fight made by opponents of Wilson's League of Nations in the United States Senate during the early 1920's. When our nation refused to join other nations of the world in this great effort to insure world peace, many suspected then the League of Nations would fail. Had the Number One nation the United States, participated, there is no doubt in my mind that the League of Nations would have succeeded to outlaw future international wars.

We must remember that in those days the international communist conspiracy had not been organized and the communist threat was merely in the minds of a few world insurrectionists and fanatics. Had we joined the League of Nations, Hitler, Mussolini and Japanese war lords could not have constructed the gigantic war machines over the years during the late 20's and 1930's. This great opportunity for future world peace was destroyed by reason of party politics in the election of 1920. The Congress elected in that year rejected participation in an organization to protect the future peace of the world.

Poland again received independence and self-government after World War I and in the twenty years of the Polish Republic great progress in government organization was accomplished. No nation in the history of the world succeeded in such a short time in establishing national educational, industrial, financial programs, transportation, highways, and all the modern improvements and progress which many older nations had not established. The aggression of the Soviets and Hitler destroyed again the hopes of a free Polish nation in World War II.

The history of Poland is the history of a heroic people, a people who peacefully welded together into a nation singularly united in language and customs, an area stretching from the Baltic Sea in the north, across the verdant plains, to the Black Sea in the south!

The first Poles arrived in America at Jamestown in 1608. Polish generals were heroes of our own Revolution. Almost 900,000 Polish-Americans served in our Armed Forces in World War II.

And so it has gone, down through the centuries—in Poland or in the new homelands to which they went seeking refuge and freedom, the Polish people have never lost that indomitable spirit that has enabled them to give so much to human achievement.

The Polish Constitution, 176 years old May 3, 1967, is not merely a document in history's archives. It is a vital symbol of assurance that one day Poland will again stand in full freedom and independence. Here in this nation where we so fully reap the blessings of freedom, we must ever be prepared to support freedom.

It is in fitting discharge of that sacred responsibility that we dedicate this celebration of Polish Constitution Day to the abiding faith of the Polish people in the ultimate freedom of man.

THE VIETNAM WEEK DEMONSTRATIONS

(Mr. WILLIS (at the request of Mr. ALBERT) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, on March 31, the House Committee on Un-American Activities issued a 55-page report on the "Communist Origin and Manipulation of Vietnam Week"—April 8 to 15, 1967. The timeliness of this report is indisputable in that it informed the Members of Congress and the American people, a full 2 weeks in advance, of the now notorious April 15 demonstrations in New York and San Francisco.

The committee, which I have the honor to chair, had been monitoring the development of these demonstrations for several months, and the report, carefully compiled and thoroughly documented, proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that Communists were the prime movers behind them.

Today, as a followup to that report, I would like to bring to the attention of

the House certain significant facts about the Vietnam Week demonstrations.

The first thing I would like to point out is that both Radio Hanoi and Radio Moscow publicized the April 15 demonstrations for days before they took place. In addition, organizers of Vietnam Week sent a telegram to the Communist Premier of North Vietnam, telling him of their plans to organize a "massive drive of the American people" in opposition to the U.S. Government's effort to halt his aggression against South Vietnam.

Pham Van Dong, the Communist Premier of North Vietnam, in his reply to the telegram, thanked the organizers of Vietnam Week for the "valuable support" they were giving to his country.

No one in this House, I am sure, and no one in this country will be surprised by this.

The Committee on Un-American Activities stated in its report that the global Communist propaganda apparatus would capitalize in every way possible on Vietnam Week and the April 15 demonstrations. It further stated that they would give aid and comfort to Communists everywhere, particularly in Vietnam, and that among non-Communists throughout the world, it would tend to create the false impression that a truly large segment of the American people oppose the war in Vietnam.

Communist Premier Pham Van Dong's telegram is partial evidence of the accuracy of this prediction. Its accuracy has also been corroborated by Radio Moscow, Radio Peking, Radio Hanoi, and the official propaganda agencies of other Communist capitals.

They filled the air waves with accounts, most of them highly exaggerated, of the April 15 demonstrations. Here are just a few examples:

Radio Hanoi:

The stirring demonstrations on 15 April showed the high indignation of broad masses of the American people at the wide differences between the words and deeds of Johnson . . .

Padding the attendance figures by a few hundred thousand, Hanoi continued: 500,000 Americans of all walks of life held high portraits of Ho Chi Minh and flags of the NPLSV . . .

It is important to note that these broadcasts were in English and can be easily picked up by our troops in Vietnam.

Hanoi went on:

Like a thunderbolt, the demonstrations once again exposed the unjust, barbarous, and inhuman character of the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam, smashing the peace-negotiation fraud and all other intrigues of the Johnson clique against the American people and other peoples of the world . . .

Moscow Radio claimed it was "impossible to estimate precisely" the number of those who took part in the "historic" New York demonstration, but that "perhaps as many as a half a million" marched "for an end to the dirty war in Vietnam."

It is interesting to note that demonstrations against the U.S. role in Vietnam were also staged in other major cities of the world on the same day. They were, however, pitifully small. Police in Mexico City quickly broke up a small

demonstration of a dozen antiwar agitators about a block from the U.S. Embassy. Only about 100 demonstrators turned out in Paris, carrying a statue of Thomas Paine and banners demanding U.S. troop withdrawal from Vietnam. In Amsterdam, only 700 agitators could be induced to demonstrate. Demonstrators in London lunged at Prime Minister Harold Wilson and denounced him as a puppet of the United States. Eight of them were jailed. Thirty London marchers tramped around the U.S. Embassy and shouted "Hands off Vietnam." Five thousand gathered in Vancouver, British Columbia, to hear the United States berated. In Tokyo, about 500 members of the Japanese "Peace for Vietnam Committee" marched through the Ginza area carrying signs demanding that the war be brought to an end.

Communist propagandists grossly exaggerated the number of persons who took part in all these demonstrations. Hanoi Radio reported, for example, that April 15 would go down in history as a day "of seething struggle of millions of people in the world against Johnson's war in Vietnam."

If your arithmetic is the same as mine, however, total worldwide participation in the April 15th anti-Vietnam war demonstrations was only about 200,000 people. This fact alone should give us all cause to do some thinking.

Is world opinion really against American policy in Vietnam as much as the Communists—and some of our ultra-liberal brethren—would have us believe? Apparently not. In fact, if the April 15 demonstrations are any criteria at all, just the opposite would appear to be true; namely, that the overwhelming majority of peoples throughout the world somehow see the situation in Vietnam as it truly exists.

Now, in contrast to the Communist propaganda claims, what are the facts about the April 15 demonstrations in this country?

We might as well face the truth that the Communists succeeded in one of their aims—that of staging the largest demonstrations that have ever been held in this country against the war in Vietnam.

The other side of the coin, however, is that they failed miserably in another respect. Their original plan and hope was to turn out 1,000,000 demonstrators—500,000 in New York City and the same number in San Francisco.

THE NEW YORK DEMONSTRATION

The Communist Party has claimed that more than a half million people took part in the New York demonstration. The Spring Mobilization Committee, the technical sponsor of the affair, has claimed that 300,000 to 400,000 persons paraded in New York and that there were 125,000 people in the United Nations Plaza rally which climaxed the march.

Dr. Martin Luther King, the featured speaker at the rally, has claimed that he spoke to 100,000 to 125,000 persons who were crowded into the U.N. Plaza and that 300,000 to 400,000 people turned out for the New York demonstration.

But the truth about the attendance at the New York demonstration is a far cry from these figures.

Mathematical computations made by the New York City Police Department, prove that it was a physical impossibility for more than 29,000 people to have been in the U.N. Plaza at the time of the rally. Official police estimates indicate that only 100,000 to 125,000 took part in the New York march.

Considering the fact that the New York metropolitan area alone has a population of almost 11,000,000, and the fact that demonstrators were imported for the New York rally from major population areas as far west as Minneapolis, the turnout was exceedingly small.

Communists of all varieties were prominent in the demonstration, although they by no means comprised a majority of the participants.

A contingent of the Moscow-controlled Communist Party, USA, marched openly behind a large red and white banner with the name of the party emblazoned on it. It was led by party boss Gus Hall, and included many top officials of Moscow's fifth column in the United States. The party has since gloated over the fact that it was able to demonstrate openly for the first time since 1949.

New York District Chairman Gil Green led the delegation in singing the traditional Communist revolutionary song, the "Internationale."

Hours before the parade started, the Communist Party had set up a table at the assembly point in Central Park for the purpose of distributing literature, including 20,000 copies of its official newspaper, *The Worker*. This issue of *The Worker*, published just before the New York rally, gave complete information on assembly points for the march and the order of the march—so that every party member would know just where to go.

The Communist Party has issued a statement proclaiming "a sense of pride and joy" in the demonstrations and claiming that, through them:

A great deal has been gained. . . . The opposition to the war . . . is more vocal than ever.

Gus Hall has boasted that the New York and San Francisco demonstrations were mass actions that had "few precedents in the history of the world progressive movement," and that they comprised "a qualitative leap" in the U.S. peace movement.

The Communist Party's youth group, the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America, also marched openly in the demonstration. Its units carried signs with slogans spelling out the party line. One read "Youth Unite—Resist the Draft."

The Socialist Workers Party—SWP—the Trotskyist Communist organization, also had a literature table set up at the parade assembly point in Central Park. The SWP claims that it had a "full gamut of radical literature" available for the demonstration and distributed most of it free; also, that it sold over 5,000 copies of its newspaper, *The Militant*, and about 1,200 copies of *Young Socialist*, the magazine of its youth section, the *Young Socialist Alliance—YSA*.

SWP contingents in the parade included delegations from Chicago, Cleveland, New York, Detroit, Boston, Philadelphia, and Minneapolis. Young Socialist Alliance contingents represented YSA chapters in Chicago, New York, Atlanta, Washington, D.C., Boston, and Minneapolis, and also various colleges and universities including Antioch College, University of Wisconsin, Queens College, Columbia University, and the University of Pennsylvania.

Other Communist groups which participated in the demonstration in New York were the Spartacist League—a Trotskyist offshoot—Youth Against War and Fascism, and the ultrarevolutionary Progressive Labor Party.

A group called the Ad Hoc Committee for a Revolutionary Contingent also took an active interest in the demonstration by stating that its members would be "marching in support of national liberation movements throughout the world." A leaflet distributed by the group openly called for the support of a Communist "victory" in Vietnam. Listed among those who endorsed this new organization were M. S. Aronoff, Maxwell Geismar, John Gerassi, Allen Krebs, Conrad Lynn, Russell Stetler, Paul Sweezy, Walter D. Teague III, the Spartacist League—New York District—Students for a Democratic Society—Free School of New York Chapter—and the U.S. Committee To Aid the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

The U.S. Committee To Aid the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam built a 30-foot cardboard tower in Central Park on which its members attached flags of the Communist Vietcong. Vietcong flags were displayed throughout the parade and demonstration.

The Black United Action Front which had distributed fliers promoting the April 15 march in New York, also took part in it. This flier referred to President Johnson and Secretary of Defense McNamara as "murderers."

"Wake up black people," the flier urged and asked in reference to Watts and Vietnam, "What the hell are we doing there?" The Black United Action Front, formerly known as BAND—Blacks Against Negative Dying—is composed of elements of the Progressive Labor Party, the Socialist Workers Party, and black nationalist groups.

An interesting sidelight occurred on the day before the New York demonstration. Michael Laski, embittered Communist revolutionary and national secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A.—Marxist-Leninist—stated in a press interview that the "revisionist Communist Party in connection with the Socialist Workers Party control and dominate this particular protest."

Laski's militant organization is ideologically opposed to the Communist Party, USA and the Socialist Workers Party because it feels that the CPUSA and the SWP are not true Marxist revolutionary organizations.

The Spring Mobilization Committee distributed a list of official slogans for use in making signs for the parade and rally. The Communist Party expressed pleasure that "more militant" slogans

were not banned, as they had been in some past demonstrations.

Some of the approved slogans: "Stop the Bombing," "End the Draft—Let Young Men Live," "Children Are Not Born To Burn," "No Vietnamese Ever Called Me Nigger," "Free the Fort Hood Three," "Cease Fire Now—Negotiate With the NLF."

Many groups and individuals, ignoring the approval slogans, marched with placards bearing far more militant and extremist declarations, including "L.B.J.: The Penalty for Murder is Death," "L.B.J.: Go to Hell," "Pale Face President Speaks With Forked Tongue," "Hell No, We Won't Go," "Hey, L.B.J., How Many Kids Did You Kill Today?" Other slogans used were too obscene to repeat.

As has been widely reported in the press and commented on at length here on the floor of the House, an American flag was burned in Central Park by some of the demonstrators. Draft cards were also burned. Swastikas were placed over a reproduction of the American flag.

Speakers at the U.N. Plaza rally in New York City were:

Fritz Weaver, actor, who served as master of ceremonies.

Dr. Benjamin Spock, cochairman, National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.

Rt. Rev. Msgr. Charles Owen Rice, pastor, Holy Rosary Parish, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Mad Bear Anderson, American Indian.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., president, Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Floyd McKissick, national director, Congress of Racial Equality.

Stokely Carmichael, chairman, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Nick Eklson, president, Students for a Democratic Society.

Dave Dellinger, editor, Liberation magazine.

William F. Pepper, executive director, National Conference for New Politics.

Prof. Howard Zinn, professor of government, Boston University.

Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer, Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Workers Union, District 65, AFL-CIO; president, Negro American Labor Council.

Mrs. Dagmar Wilson, founder, Women Strike for Peace.

Rabbi Michael Robinson, New York City, chairman of the Jewish Peace Fellowship.

Linus Pauling.

Rev. James Bevel, national director, Spring Mobilization Committee.

Entertainment was provided by Pete Seeger, an identified member of the Communist Party and also by folk-singers Tom Paxton, Phil Ochs, Peter Paul and Mary, and the Freedom Singers.

A former official of the progressive Labor Party, Phillip Abbott Luce, witnessed the April 15 demonstration in New York and has written a detailed description of the event which he states was openly controlled by the Communists. Luce said in part:

The marchers themselves were an odd lot, Communists, ultra-leftists, left liberals,

sincere pacifists and hippies dominated the street. With that many people it was naturally impossible to note all the Communists, but I did see such people as Levi Laub, Jeff Gordon and Rick Rhoads from Progressive Labor. Laub was pushing a baby carriage full of copies of "Challenge," the P.L. newspaper . . . The protestors met in Central Park's Sheep Meadow before they were led down the parade route by the Communist Judas goats. Most of the demonstrators looked like characters out of the "Three Penny Opera" . . .

THE SAN FRANCISCO DEMONSTRATION

The "mobilization" of the Vietnam war protesters in San Francisco was an even greater failure than the New York demonstration, from the viewpoint of the number and the kind of people who took part in it. As previously indicated, the aim of the organizers was a turnout of 500,000 people. They were to pour into the San Francisco area from all States west of the Mississippi River.

Actually, only about 23,000 persons took part in the San Francisco march and only about 80,000 assembled in the city's Kezar Stadium for what was ballyhooed in advance to be a mammoth turnout of American citizens protesting against their Government. The marchers represented less than one-twentieth of those expected to attend the demonstration and, though they came from States all over the West, represented less than one five-hundredths of the population of Metropolitan San Francisco.

It is significant, too, that to get the above number of demonstrators, they had to rely heavily on the west coast beatnik element and the tambourine and bongo drum-playing "hippies" from San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury district, the home of the so-called love generation.

Steve Murdoch, columnist for the Communist Party's west coast newspaper, the People's World, had to confess after the demonstration that—

The people connected with the mobilization who threw around loose and enormous figures about the number of participants did their cause no service.

The slogans on the placards carried by the San Francisco marchers and those who took part in the rally made it clear that this was not an assembly of genuine, conscientious pacifists inspired by love of their fellow man. One sign read: "Where is Oswald now that we need him?" Another in an obvious reference to the vicious and disgraceful play, "MacBird," read: "Who killed Kennedy?"

Still another promoted the same theme as a placard in the New York demonstration which I have mentioned. A black Nazi swastika was superimposed on a cardboard replica of the American flag. The theme that the United States is a Nazi-like country has long been promoted by the Communist Party.

Stokely Carmichael, the radical leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, sent a telegram which was read to the gathering at the Kezar Stadium. In it, he accused the United States of genocide in Vietnam.

Miss Kipp Dawson, Trotskyist director of the West Coast Spring Mobilization Committee, referred in her speech to "one section of American youth who aren't with us in the stadium today."

They are—

She added—

the American youth who have been drafted to fight in Vietnam.

She then told her audience—

But because they are not with us today, we cannot assume—and indeed we must not assume—that they are against us.

She claimed that the men "who have to fight this war in Vietnam are getting sick of it."

I doubt that even her listeners believed these words. Just a few days ago, here in this House, General Westmoreland, who is certainly far more deserving of belief, informed the Congress and the Nation that the "gallant American fighting men in Vietnam understand the conflict and their complex roles as fighters and builders." Further, he added, "They believe in what they are doing."

Statistics recently released on the number of defectors from the Vietcong suggest, I would say, that if anyone fighting the war in Vietnam is getting sick of it, it is the Communist Vietcong, rather than our own troops. Eleven thousand Vietcong defected in 1965, 20,000 in 1966, and in the first 3 months of 1967 alone, nearly 11,000 more.

Miss Dawson, making use of a shopworn Communist slogan, referred to the U.S. effort in Vietnam as a "dirty war."

I agree with her. It is a dirty war, but not in the way she implied.

The Communist Vietcong, in a veritable reign of terror, have, as General Westmoreland pointed out, killed or kidnapped 53,000 teachers, clergymen, civil servants, and elected officials in South Vietnam during the last decade. They have, in addition, inflicted unspeakable atrocities on thousands upon thousands of the South Vietnamese people, including women and children.

Yes; it is a dirty war in Vietnam, but we can be proud of the fact that the dirt is not on our hands or those of our fighting men. The dirt, the filth, and the blood are on the hands of the Communists there—and it rubs off on the hands of all those in this country who demonstrate to aid those Communists.

Speakers who addressed the Kezar Stadium rally included:

Edward Keating, publisher of Ramparts magazine, rally chairman and west coast chairman, Spring Mobilization Committee.

Julian Bond, Georgia legislator.

Robert Vaughn, TV actor.

Paul Schrader, western regional director, United Automobile Workers, AFL-CIO.

Robert Scheer, managing editor, Ramparts magazine.

Mrs. Martin Luther King, Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Rabbi Abraham Feinberg of Toronto, who recently made a trip to North Vietnam.

Eldridge Cleaver, Bay Area chairman, organization of Afro-American Unity.

Kipp Dawson, west coast executive director, Spring Mobilization Committee.

Elijah Turner, "peace" candidate for city council in Oakland, Calif.

David Harris, recent student body president, Stanford University.

Gerald Hill, president, California Democratic Council.

Mrs. Grace Nora Newman, sister of Dennis Mora—one of "Fort Hood Three" GI's who refused to fight in Vietnam—also a recent traveler to North Vietnam.

Charles Duarte, president, Local 6, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

John Burton, California State assemblyman.

Willie Brown, California State assemblyman.

Rev. Robert McAfee Brown, theologian, Stanford University.

Folksingers Judy Collins and Melvina Reynolds, an identified Communist Party member, provided entertainment.

STUDENT VIETNAM WEEK ACTIVITIES

When I revealed last January 28 that the Communists, through Vietnam Week, were instituting a crash program to sabotage U.S. policy in Vietnam and were going to rely heavily on American students for assistance, I expressed the conviction that, despite the Communists' efforts, the overwhelming majority of students in this country would demonstrate the good sense and loyalty they have consistently demonstrated in the past and would refuse to be taken in by the cynical manipulators of the Vietnam Week operation.

I am glad to say that I was correct in my judgment. It was originally hoped that one of the features of Vietnam Week would be a nationwide student strike against the war in Vietnam. That project had to be scuttled. It was then hoped by the Communists that they would at least be able to call student strikes on a half dozen or so key university campuses.

Actually, throughout all of Vietnam Week, there was not a student strike at a single college or university. Moreover, the whole student-campus aspect of Vietnam Week was an even greater flop than the New York and San Francisco demonstrations. Few of the student and campus activities originally conceived actually took place and of those that did student support for them was negligible.

In conclusion, I would make the following observations about Vietnam Week.

Basically, it was a failure because it fell far short of the number of persons the Communist organizers had hoped to induce to demonstrate against our Government.

At the same time, it was a disturbing indication of the number of Communists, pro-Communists, and fellow travellers in this country and the extent to which they can induce significant numbers of Americans to do their will. There is reason for pause when Communist elements, whose operations have been revealed in advance, can still mobilize about 185,000 Americans for a demonstration that is designed to discredit this country and weaken one of the most important elements of its foreign policy.

The Communist effort, in Vietnam Week to make the Vietnam war a racial

issue was a failure. Despite the efforts of the Communists behind the operation, and the leadership and support of Martin Luther King and Mrs. King, Stokely Carmichael, Floyd McKissick, James Bevel, and others, Negro attendance—as was generally noted by the press—was proportionately very, very small; even negligible. Moreover, it was primarily composed of Black Nationalist and leftist elements who, today as always, represent a tiny minority of Negroes in this country.

It is my belief that the obvious lack of general Negro support for the Vietnam Week demonstrations raises serious questions about the alleged "leadership" of some of the persons I have named.

I am also convinced that the overall result of the Vietnam Week demonstrations has been a pro-American "backlash." The American people have never been impressed—they never will be—by Communists, fellow travellers, and a motley collection of unkempt hippies and beatniks, cowardly draft-card burner, treasonous flag burners, and the ilk that will unite with them.

The citizens of this country, regardless of race or nationality, have been revolted and disgusted by what took place during the Vietnam Week demonstrations, and by the misfits of our society who comprised the majority taking part in them.

The American people and peoples of the world have not been fooled. Secretary of State Dean Rusk himself has made a statement which, in conjunction with the report of the Committee on Un-American Activities, has served to enlighten the American people about who is primarily responsible for these demonstrations. In response to a question about them, Mr. Rusk stated on the April 16 "Meet the Press" TV program:

I have no doubt at all that the Communist apparatus is very busy indeed in these operations all over the world and in our own country, but I do not mean to say by that that all those who have objections to the war in Vietnam are Communists. But the worldwide Communist movement is working very hard on this.

General Westmoreland has referred bluntly to the "unpatriotic acts here at home" which are paid for with American lives in Vietnam. In his address to the Congress, his views corresponded with the finding of the Committee on Un-American Activities that these demonstrations give aid and comfort to Communists everywhere, particularly in Vietnam. He stated:

But I am mindful that the military war in South Vietnam is, from the enemy's point of view, only part of a protracted and carefully coordinated attack, waged in the international arena. Regrettably, I see signs of enemy success in that world arena which he cannot match on the battlefield. He does not understand that American democracy is founded on debate, and he sees every protest as evidence of crumbling morale and diminishing resolve. Thus, discouraged by repeated military defeats but encouraged by what he believes to be popular opposition to our effort in Vietnam, he is determined to continue his aggression from the north. This, inevitably, will cost lives—American, Vietnamese, and those of our brave allies.

A BILL TO PERMIT OUR COUNTRY TO DEAL MORE INTELLIGENTLY WITH THE WORLDWIDE GROWTH OF POPULATION

(Mr. UDALL (at the request of Mr. ALBERT) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, just a couple of years ago I suggested that if Mark Twain had the privileges of this floor it is probable he would say: "Population is something everybody does something about but nobody talks about." Today the population explosion is much more freely discussed and, hopefully, Congress will provide the leadership to increase our knowledge and concern with the consequences of overly rapid population growth.

Under our most recent rules, it is now possible for Members to join in cosponsorship of resolutions and bills. I am pleased that a number of my colleagues join with me in cosponsoring legislation to deal with the world population explosion. We thus join in the May 3 action taken by Senator GRUENING and 13 of his senatorial colleagues who introduced S. 1676, commonly referred to as the "population bill." I commend to you the detailed statement of introductory remarks, the background material provided by the Bureau of the Budget, the bill itself and the long list of distinguished experts who have testified at the various hearings on this topic. All of this information is a part of Senator GRUENING's statements in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of May 3.

On April 1, 1965, I had the privilege of being the initial sponsor of similar legislation in the House. Today, I am pleased that 10 of my colleagues have joined with me in cosponsorship.

BACKGROUND FACTS

It took the earth millions of years to acquire, by the time of Christ, a population of one-fourth billion. It took until 1830 for the world's population to reach 1 billion. But in only 100 years we passed the 2 billion mark. In less than 35 years the population reached 3 billion. And, incredibly, the fourth billion will be here in but 15 more years.

If present rates are unchecked, it will take only a 35-year span to add the next billion to our present 3 billion. And it will take less than 35 years after that for the 6 billion to double to 12 billion. An increase of 1 billion—due by 1980—is equal to the total present population of all of North and South America plus all 55 nations in Europe.

Each year the United States adds more than 3 million to its population, enough to fill six brandnew cities the size of Arizona's largest city, Phoenix. Providing the additional schools, streets, sewers, post offices, and all the other facilities needed by modern society is a heavy and expensive burden.

By the year 2000 the United States will increase its population from 198 million to 340 million. Of these, 100 million will be children who need schools, play-

tinued to erupt. Several of the troops lost their helmets and resorted to rifle butts to force back the mob as the crowd slowly retreated down the steps.

James Reston (NY TIMES, 10/23/67, Washington dateline):

This was a sad and brooding city tonight because everybody seemed to have lost in the antiwar siege of the Pentagon this weekend.

The majority of the demonstrators who marched peaceably and solemnly to the banks of the Potomac were unhappy because the event was taken over by the militant minority. The leading officials of the Government were troubled by the spectacle of so tumultuous a protest against their policy in Vietnam and by the repercussions of this demonstration on their relations abroad.

The moderate but concerned young university students who came here from all over the country went away more depressed than almost anybody else, for while this was supposed to be a petition for the redress of their grievances, nobody at the Lincoln Memorial really expressed their deepest doubts or ideals.

Even the pugnacious young activists who battled the marshals and soldiers at the Pentagon were not satisfied at the end, for they had not won support for ending the war or defeating President Johnson, but may very well have done the opposite.

The personal vilification of President Johnson alone was almost enough to retrieve his declining fortunes at the polls. "LBJ the Butcher," read one sign. "Johnson's War in Vietnam Makes America Puke," said another. "Beat Army," said a third.

... The Administration leaders, though saddened by the event, are relieved that the bloodshed was not greater than it was. They were afraid that the demonstration would get out of hand and give the impression of a nation in actual revolt.

Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, who was constantly at the Pentagon, had two objectives: to keep the operations of the military establishment going and to do so with a minimum of force. He feels that these objectives were achieved due mainly to the restraint of the soldiers under provocation.

It is difficult to report publicly the ugly and vulgar provocation of many of the militants. They spat on some of the soldiers in the front line at the Pentagon and goaded them with the most vicious personal slander.

... Nevertheless, some of the leading idealists among the antiwar demonstrators here feel that the Administration itself was responsible for some of the violence. One of these is the Rev. William Sloane Coffin, Jr., the Yale University chaplain.

He went to the Department of Justice with a group of writers, professors and ministers on Friday and sought to defy the law in what he called a "fair and dignified" manner and accept the legal consequences of his act without violence.

... After the meeting...Mr. Coffin said Justice officials were "derelict in their duty." He added:

"We came here for a moral, legal confrontation. If our Government cannot accept such confrontation, it cannot have much conviction of its own morality. Then, it must accept responsibility for less responsible, less nonviolent demonstrations."

*for us
Yale troops
John
C*

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