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going and thought-provoking coverage of what is at best a most complex issue.

To the extent that he has imputed a sense of "involuntary servitude" to my concept of national service, I feel obligated to set the record straight.

I believe the responsibilities of citizenship should be borne by more citizens, and not alone by the relatively small percentage of young men who take up arms in combat to defend our nation and concept of freedom.

In view of the gigantic tasks, both foreign and domestic, to which we as a nation must address ourselves, I do believe that it is time that we expand our views to the realities of the total world in which we live, and our concept of service to the nation.

The plan for national service in no way pre-empts the military draft system, which continues to be a priority obligation. But for those deferred, not called, or otherwise eligible rejectees, it simply offers additional constructive options for creditable service in the national interest. It would extend the privilege of service to a larger proportion of eligible young men, but obviously not to all of our youth.

It should be noted that over fifty per cent of the eligible age groups are consistently rejected for armed service for physical, mental, or moral reasons. Further, there are inequities of choice among the remaining fifty per cent of the youth. This is a problem we must face up to as a national issue. Through my national service plan, I suggest that we try to habilitate as many of our rejectees as possible.

Recognizing that "universal" service cannot be achieved, and further that there are serious inequities in the current "selection" process for the draft, I simply suggest that different but equally important contributions can be made, and that on an optional basis, both the states and the nation can profitably develop and utilize a much larger segment of our young population to the mutual benefit of the nation and the youths themselves. In the final analysis, our nation's future belongs to the youth of America. I deplore the argument that such a system would subvert the citizen to the state, rather than equip the state for the benefit of its citizens and future.

JACOB K. JAVITS
United States Senate

TO OUR READERS

Two nonconsecutive issues of *The Reporter* are dropped from the publishing schedule each summer. Accordingly, after this July 14 issue your next copy will be dated August 11. That will be followed by the September 8 issue, and our regular fortnightly schedule will be resumed.

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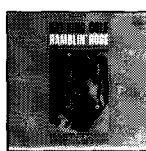
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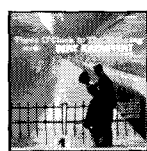
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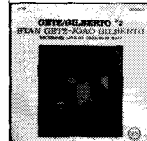
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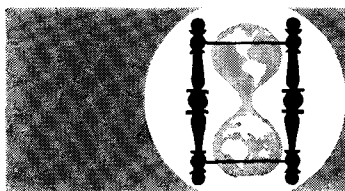
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THE REPORTER'S NOTES

The President Answers

The most disconcerting thing about the war in Vietnam is that in that country Communism has been showing itself at its rawest, just when relaxation of tension, interchange of products, and goodwill at large have, it is said, replaced old ideological conflicts. For those who believe the era of goodwill is here, there is something anachronistic in the conflicts that, for decades, have deprived the Vietnamese people, North and South, of any peace. The anachronism, of course, could be neatly and quickly eliminated should the American government decide to bring its soldiers home. There wouldn't even be need of elections then: there was no ballot, fettered or unfettered, in North Vietnam, and the people who stayed in the country were hardened in the Communist mold.

In the South, things went differently, for from the beginning there were Americans there, not in large numbers, not in military formation, not even remotely a nucleus of a Colonial bureaucracy. All those Americans sent to assist the local authorities in giving the new half-country a framework of a national structure could not close their eyes when, in 1959, the Vietcong rampage first erupted. It was Communism of the most primitive type, trained and organized in the North. It was the systematic throat-cutting of teachers, mayors, and village leaders. At the beginning, it could not even be called a civil war but a series of preventive measures intended to discourage the opposite side from ever fighting a civil war.

THE CHARACTER of our country's participation in the Vietnamese war can scarcely be defined in quantitative terms by listing the number of servicemen who have been sent there, of the new techniques in guerrilla warfare, or of

the casualties suffered on both sides. From the first direct participation of American uniformed servicemen in the battle, it has been a sample war exerting all over the world an impact utterly disproportionate to the remoteness of the land.

If the loyalty of our major allies had to be measured by their more or less urbane criticism of the war itself, the worth of the alliance would not be great, and at present Harold Wilson would have to be judged inferior to de Gaulle. As to our major and real opponents, there is no evidence that they are getting tired of providing the North Vietnamese or Vietcong cannon fodder with adequate weapons. Here at home, honorable men in public life are more than ready to concede to our enemies all the four or fourteen points they demand.

Until very recently, the administration had imposed on itself extraordinary limitations in fighting that "dirty" little war. (There must have been clean wars sometime, probably waged by knights in armor.) It was generally assumed that "limited war" meant non-atomic war, but American leaders had stretched that concept to rule out any kind of warfare in which a Russian or a Chinese technician could be hurt. The double-feature, well-balanced war-peace offensive had become a standard offering of American statesmanship.

In the last few weeks, there have been a few heartening changes. While the formal alliances are going through a phase of disarray, a new international relationship of informal character has quietly come into existence at a recent conference in South Korea. Nine nations, headed by Japan, participated, while some others were eagerly involved but discreetly absent. The United States, a non-Asian power, was obviously absent, in spite of the fact that without our intervention in the Vietnamese war, the

Korean conference would have been unthinkable. We should start getting reconciled to the notion that the influence of our country comes from what it does and is, more than from the parchments and charters that it promotes and signs.

In his Omaha address, the President mentioned the Korean meeting. He also said, most cogently: "We are fighting in South Vietnam a different kind of war than we've ever known in the past." That war, he said, ". . . will determine whether might makes right. Now I do not know of a single more important reason for our presence than this." There is none more important.

Because of the American fighting soldiers, that poor battered Asian country has become the pivot in our —and not just our—contest with Communism. The President has said it forcefully and clearly: "We will see this through; we shall persist; we shall succeed." We will succeed.

—MAX ASCOLI

Marching Where?

The Meredith marchers had trod the red Mississippi soil for twenty-two days and now the ordeal, marked by a shooting, a tear gas-sing, a brawl, and many other angry and violent moments, was over. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., climbed aboard an early Monday morning flight to Atlanta with several of his aides, the fatigue still showing on their faces.

Did the march do any good? "Oh, I think so," Dr. King told a fellow passenger. "It's just unfortunate we weren't able to get across the incredible conditions, the degradation Negroes live under in Mississippi, because of all the focus on dissension within."

The Reverend Bernard Lee of Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference had much more to say on the subject. "We've learned a lesson from this march," he be-



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gan. "We can't work with SNCC, or for that matter with CORE either. This time it was unavoidable. We had to pick up the march once Meredith was shot. And SNCC was here when we arrived. But we've learned. From now on we'll keep Stokely [Carmichael] off Dr. King's coattails. Did you notice that every time the cameras were running, there was Stokely right next to Dr. King?"

If there were differences among the civil-rights activists before the Mississippi march, in its aftermath there are signs of real trouble between King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Carmichael's Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, and Floyd McKissick's Congress of Racial Equality. It centers on the meaning and usage of the phrase "black power."

It is not long since SNCC delegates held an all-night meeting at Nashville during which John Lewis was dumped from the leadership and replaced by Carmichael, the bright Howard University philosophy major who is a veteran of the freedom rides and has spent three of his last five birthdays in jail, including fifty days in solitary confinement at Mississippi's Parchman Prison, where brutalization of civil-rights workers is common. Carmichael has postponed a scholarship for advanced study to continue his work organizing Negroes in Alabama and Mississippi.

The black power slogan is a catch-phrase that has caught on, and there is a good deal of apprehension as to just what Carmichael and his SNCC followers mean by it. When pressed, Carmichael likes to say it simply means the Negro wants political power "just like the Irish did . . . in Boston." But Carmichael is a radical among his fellows, and his speeches make it clear he is talking about something else besides a seat at the table.

Right after his take-over, Carmichael made it clear that the white civil-rights workers, who have always been an important element of SNCC, would have to move to the back of the bus. At this point in the struggle, he says, only Negroes can preach to other Negroes in the fight for identity and power.

And, as logical corollaries, he has told interviewers, "We want quality education, not integrated education"; "We feel integration is irrelevant; it is just a substitute for white supremacy. We have got to go after political power."

In some ways, the issue is not one of substance but of image. It is true that Carmichael refuses to reject violence as a means of attaining Negro goals, but in actions he has been consistently non-violent. "If I reject nonviolence, how can I speak to such as the people of Watts?" he once asked an interviewer. Still, it was the Mississippi march, and especially the presence of King, that made Stokely Carmichael a national figure almost overnight. The effect, apparently, has been to scare off some of the white liberals who have supplied the money for much of the civil-rights struggle. This, along with the real potential of radical white reaction, appears to be what is worrying Dr. King. His aide, Bernard Lee, made an interesting point on the trip to Atlanta. "SNCC has always been very much against image and charisma," he said. "Now all of a sudden they have a leader who is all image and charisma. It

will be interesting to see how long he lasts as chairman."

Despite all the contention over the march, its successes were real enough. More than four thousand Negroes registered in the fourteen counties touched by the marchers. And usually timid tenant farmers offered their homes, their food, and their farmlands for camping.

Roy Reed of the New York *Times* tells the story of a civil-rights worker who spent a night in jail in a town the marchers had passed through and where they had held a courthouse rally. Two white prisoners were about to manhandle the rights worker when the jailer intervened. "These niggers will get you in a lot of trouble," he said.

Newsorthy

"Bobby Baker, owner of Carousel Motel, told Chamber of Commerce representatives this week that he hopes to set up a young people's club by July.

"There just isn't anything wholesome for the young people to do," he told them at a dinner Wednesday night."

—Report in the *Ocean City, Maryland Beachcomber*.

THRENODY IN QUARTER TONES

I always wonder which is which
Each time I read about a Thich.
This makes my mind a whorl of whiches
Because the news is laced with Thiches.
There's Thich Tri Quang and Thich Tam Chau
And Thich Minh Chieu and Thich Van Mau . . .
Sometimes I dream—I mean no harm—
Their land is like MacDonald's farm—
Here a Thich,
There a Thich,
Everywhere a Thich-Thich,
Hymning the hours in their jade-green niche-niche.

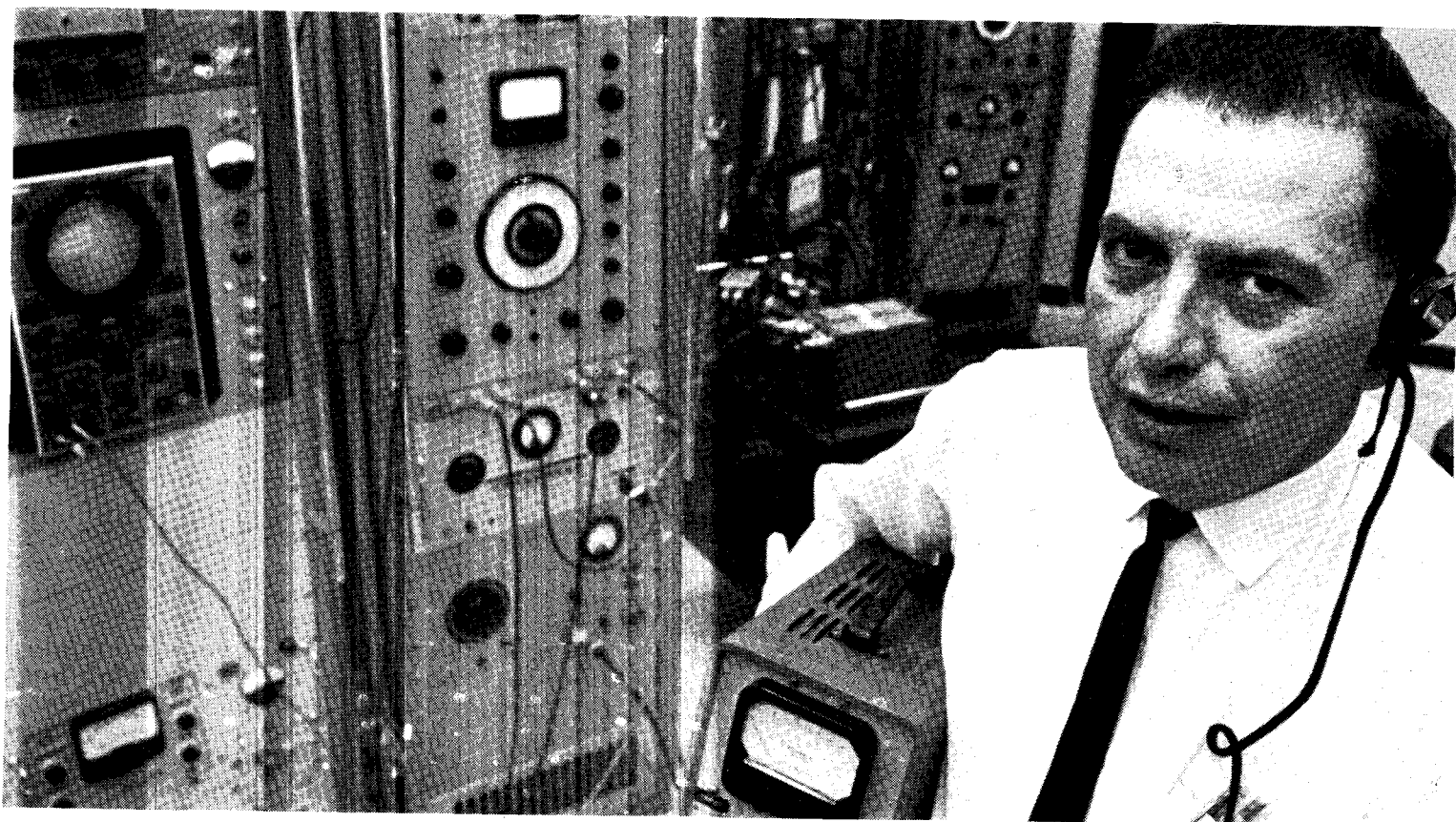
Awake, I curse my thralldom to this Oriental witchery
That makes each morning's inky page a thicket mined with Thichery.
But then I turn for solace to our poet, Ogden Nashery—
Remember what he taught us in his Treasury of Trashery? . . .
"The Thich stained saffron—he's a priest.
The Thich stained crimson—he's a beast.
But I will bet the kitten's britches
There aren't many stain-free Thiches."

I'll follow McNamara to the last, last ditch—
But, really, must we fight 'em to the last, last Thich?

—WALLACE CARROLL



**Gene Smith got the radio bug in 1927...
today he's an electronics analyzer at GM**



The date: September 22, 1927. Gene Smith of Huntington, West Virginia, hunches over a radio crackling with static and the excitement of an historic fight—the second Dempsey-Tunney world heavyweight match.

But more importantly, for Gene, it's his first closeup look at radio, and he is fascinated with the maze of wire and tubes that somehow—miraculously—

snatch the announcer's voice from the air. That fascination never cools.

First, Gene Smith built crude crystal sets. Then, he rebuilt a set operated off his father's car battery. Next a plug-in set, one of the first in the neighborhood. And radio was a big part of his life in the U.S. Navy, where he served as Radio Technician, 1st Class.

And then, in 1953, Gene Smith joined

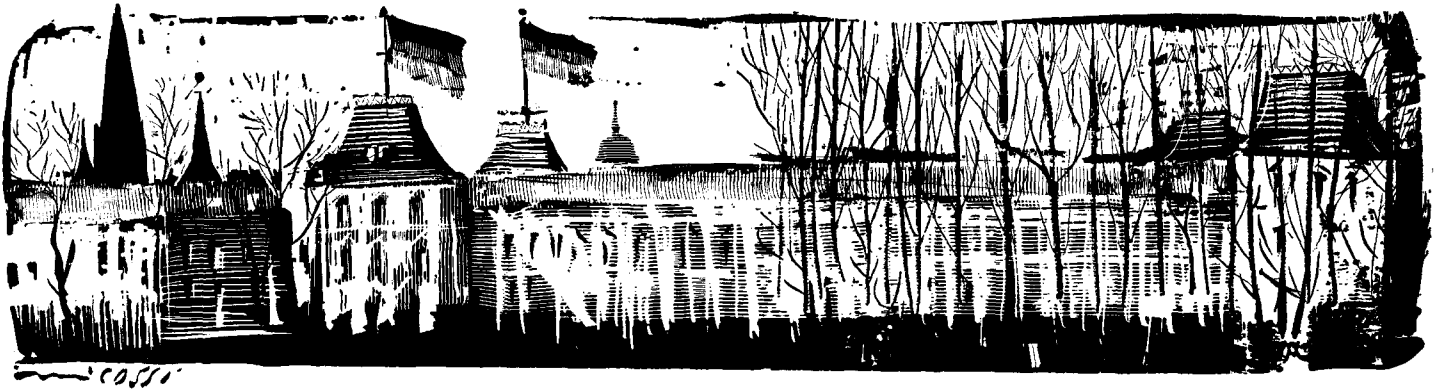
the Cadillac Division of General Motors and set up the Test Instrumentation Application Section. Today he heads up a crack team of technicians responsible for the accuracy of test equipment that helps make Cadillac the leader among luxury cars.

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For a New Atlantic Alliance

HENRY A. KISSINGER

THE CURRENT NATO CRISIS was triggered by a unilateral, pre-emptory French demand. But it would be wrong to conclude that the pattern of relationships which had developed after the war could have continued. The withdrawal of France from integrated commands forced a reconsideration of the structure and the purpose of the Alliance that would have been inevitable in any case—though the atmosphere was surely worsened by France's tactics.

It is well to keep three things in mind at the outset. First, the present crisis is a family affair. It concerns internal arrangements between closely related peoples. France is not our basic opponent in the world; unless statesmen everywhere submerge their judgment in their passions, there are objective limits that reality imposes on inter-allied discord.

Second, the present crisis marks the end of the phase of U.S.-European relationships that was ushered in by the Greek-Turkish aid program and led through the Marshall Plan to the construction of the Atlantic Alliance. Nothing can restore the former state of affairs. In many ways this should be an occasion for self-congratulation rather than bit-

terness. Goals that seemed visionary in the late 1940's have been essentially achieved. Europe has recovered its economic strength and much political vitality. The threat of imminent invasion no longer dominates people's minds.

Third—and somewhat contradictorily—Europe's recovery is still tenuous. It is often assumed that European vitality will be permanent and that the primary problem is to moderate Europe's assertiveness. However, the vigor so noticeable in Europe today is very close in time to nihilism; European confidence is still shaky. To avoid both the danger of excessive nationalism and a new version of neutralism is the challenge before the Alliance.

Foreign policy knows no plateaus. What does not become a point for new departures soon marks the beginning of an inexorable decline. It would be unprecedented if a policy developed in the late 1940's remained valid for the 1970's. The original conception of NATO was correct for the situation that then existed. But it no longer exhausts current challenges. What we need today is another leap of the imagination similar to that which took place two decades ago.

The American View

Any attempt to sum up American policy in a few sentences is bound to be highly misleading. What follows must be taken as a summary of a dominant trend that has been followed with various degrees of consistency.

1. *Commitment to an Atlantic Community Based on Equal Partnership.* The United States has supported the notion of an equal partnership between the United States and Europe. This Grand Design—variously symbolized by such concepts as “dumbbell” or “twin pillars”—was based on the proposition that an Atlantic partnership would enable our European allies to share our global responsibilities more equitably.

2. *Support for a United Europe on a Federal Basis.* European unity has been considered by American policymakers as a prerequisite to the formation of an Atlantic Community. A politically and economically integrated Europe would become an equal partner with the United States and share with us the burdens and obligations of world leadership. To its supporters, in Europe as well as in the United States, such a partner-