

# Peace Movement Continues

By William Greider  
Washington Post Staff Writer

They are all veterans of the war, in their own way, but they live uneasily with the peace they finally won.

Don Luce is 40 now, his entire adulthood absorbed by the struggle in Indochina, both at home and abroad. He is the fellow who helped expose the "tiger cages" for Saigon's political prisoners. Now director of Clergy and Laity Concerned, Luce reached for the right expression:

"The Vietnamese have a saying — *vui mo buon* — joyous, but sad. I guess it's pretty much the way I feel about the end of the war.

"Really happy that the

political prisoners were released, that the war ended without a bloodbath of prisoners or a battle that destroyed Saigon and killed more people.

"At the same time, sad, sad that it went on so long, that we as a country seem to have learned so little out of it."

Paul Ryder, who is only 24, has been active in the Indochina Peace Campaign, a California-based network of 40 or so chapters, founded in 1972 when the huge throngs of the "peace movement" evaporated but serious work continued. Ryder looked it up in the Pentagon Papers and discovered that the first U.S. shipment of

napalm went to Vietnam six months before he was born.

"I feel like there's been a load lifted, both for Vietnam and for America," said activist Ryder. "But unless we make very fundamental changes in our country, we're going to have a series of wars, Watergates, recessions. It'll just go on and on."

Fred Branfman, who is 33 now, did on-the-ground reporting in Laos to help expose the effects of U.S. bombing there. His research for the Indochina Resources Center in Washington helped cut U.S. funding. He feels both energized and angry now.

See PEACE, A14; Col 1

## PEACE, From A1

"The media described the end of the war as a great tragedy," Branfman said, "but most of us have been in mourning for 10 years, constantly depressed by events. So we're just coming out of mourning now, stronger than ever. We really feel energized by the way it ended, it vindicated everything we believed."

Where does the peace movement go, now that it has found peace? There are many different answers to that question, but the short summary is this: it does not intend to go away. The various remnant organizations are trying to decide right now what issues, what activities can keep them alive. Their leaders concede that it will be harder, but they believe the spirit is there.

"The people who were sort of fair-weather friends dropped out a long time ago," said Edward Snyder, the Washington lobbyist for the American Friends Service Committee. "Those were the people who lost interest when either the draft disappeared or direct U.S. involvement ended. The people who stuck with it are probably in it for the rest of their lives."

Gary Porter, an academician who does research at the Indochina Resources Center, an anti-war research group, said: "I've been surprised how many people are still interested in continuing. To some extent, this reflects an issue that was personally so important for so long, not like any ordinary political issue. It's been with us so long, a lot of people really do feel it's become part of their lives, and they want to continue to relate to Indochina in some way."

To left-leaning peace activists, the future issues seem obvious: reconciliation with a unified Vietnam, including diplomatic recogni-

tion, and U.S. aid to rebuild the war-ravaged country, reduction of the military budget, ending U.S. commitments to other repressive governments such as South Korea and Chile, amnesty, teaching the lessons of Vietnam in terms of military power and foreign policy.

The Mayaguez episode, with its sudden use of U.S. military power, startled and depressed the peace groups and confirmed their worst fears.

"The one thing I learned working on Vietnam," said Branfman, "was that Vietnam is only an expression of a society which is in very serious trouble. While that symptom has been cleared up, the sickness hasn't gone away. The administration is saying the same things now that were said when we got into Vietnam. The liberals are sort of keeping quiet and hoping it will go away."

"After 20 years of Indochina and the imperial presidency and a supine Congress," said Joseph Crown, co-chairman of the New York-based Lawyers Committee on American Policy toward Vietnam, "the first time a little crisis comes up, the Congress folds like a deck of cards. Follow the flag — that's it. We ought to have more brain and less muscle. We're getting the same lies and deception all over again."

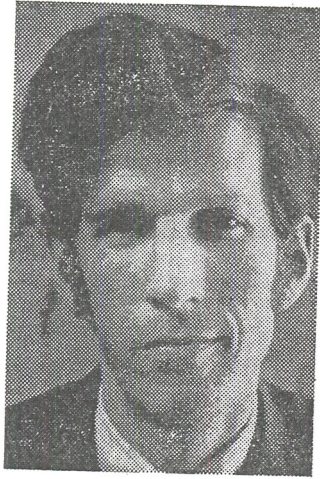
Most surviving organizations, diverse in purpose and style, intend to regroup and continue.

The lawyers committee is planning a fall conference on changing U.S. foreign policy.

Clergy and Laity Concerned, which started 10 years ago with the Rev. Daniel Berrigan as the National Emergency Ad Hoc Committee of Clergy Concerned about Vietnam, intends to broaden its focus and convert its loose network of 45 chapters into a membership organization.

The Chicago-based Viet-





**GARY PORTER**  
... surprised by interest



**DON LUCE**  
... "joyous, but sad"



**FRED BRÁNFMAN**  
... feeling energized

nam Veterans Against the War, smaller and more radical than it used to be, is trying to shift toward domestic issues, especially the grievances of Vietnam veterans.

Porter and another researcher say they will continue the Indochina Resources Center if they can find the funds. "We assume it will be more difficult," he said.

The Indochina Mobile Education Project said it will continue to send its two exhibits around the country, shifting emphasis to raising money for medical aid.

The Coalition to Stop Funding for the War, a well coordinated network of 6,000 activists who put pressure on Congress for the last two years, is going out of business in a few weeks. But its sponsoring organizations — a broad spectrum of church, labor and peace groups — are talking about bringing the network back to life with a new name and a broader purpose.

The "movement," of course, is not what it once was, not the sprawling mass which staged huge demonstrations across America, flooded Washington with a half-million people, immobi-

lized campuses with sit-ins and strikes. Yet the pieces that remained in business may have been more effective in the last two years, when their struggle was less visible to the public.

The Coalition to Stop Funding, for instance, operated out of a modest Capitol Hill townhouse, and orchestrated pressure on the swing votes in Congress — not by lobbying door-to-door at the Capitol — but by alerting hometown activists, church leaders and union officials.

"Everyone knew that big demonstrations couldn't be done any more," said Larry Levin. "Everyone knew that wasn't what you wanted anymore anyway. By 1973 [after the Paris accords on Vietnam were signed] there was no question that people were opposed to the war — but people didn't know the war was continuing, they wanted to believe it was over."

The coalition and its galaxy of member organizations pursued education and tactical pressure. In Ohio and Illinois and other states, citizens built "tiger cages" in front of their congressional representatives' hometown offices. In Balti-

more, peace volunteers dispensed pink lemonade to downtown office workers during their lunch hour and offered to type personal end-the-war letters to members of Congress. The idea spread across the country.

When a key roll call approached, the coalition alerted its network, which generated the phone calls, telegrams, letters to let Congress know that at least some folks back home still cared. Last August, when the House voted to cut military aid in half, Levin and staff sent out a list of 75 "swing" presentations for special attention. More than two-thirds of them voted to cut U.S. aid, which carried, 233 to 157.

The future will be much tougher for them, however, as they freely acknowledge. Without the dying and other costs of the war, it will be harder to keep a sharp moral edge.

Robert Bland, a New York University lecturer active in Clergy and Laity Concerned, thought aloud: "Many in the peace movement tend to think in terms of moral outrage projects, but the question is whether they can concentrate on the structural problems. The



outrage can't be directed just at event after event. That really becomes exhausting and self-defeating."

"We all wonder," said Don Luce, "do we have to wait until the bombs start dropping again until people become concerned? Can we prevent other Vietnams before they start?"

The idea of reconciliation with Hanoi—and especially the idea of U.S. aid to the former enemy—seems politically impossible at present, but hostile prospects have not deterred hard-core peace activists. Cora Weiss, leader of Women's Strike for Peace, makes the argument for diplomatic recognition:

"The need for postwar reconstruction is enormous, and America can't turn its back on Vietnam. We cannot ignore the morality and, besides, it's really relatively cheap compared to dispatching B-52s. The longer we ignore the reality of Vietnam and Cambodia, the longer we're denying ourselves markets. It took us 16 years to recognize that Cuba is a fact of life. It's uncomfortable for us at the moment but we're really too big a country for that."

Various groups, from the Quakers to the Bach Mai Hospital Relief Fund, are raising private contributions for medical supplies. Weiss said another shipment of \$117,000 in supplies left last week, bound for Hanoi.

The Bach Mai relief fund, named for the Hanoi hospital destroyed by U.S. bombs at Christmas, 1972, is being hampered, Weiss said, by the Internal Revenue Service, which has refused to allow tax deductions for charitable contributions to the fund. Mitchell Rogovin, the Washington tax lawyer who represents the fund, said the informal ruling is clearly discriminatory.

"They're getting a freeze

from the revenue service," Rogovin said. "The same rules applied to other philanthropy—funds for Israel, for Ireland, for South Vietnam, for Biafra, for Nicaragua—are not being applied to this country, and it's shocking."

The American experiences with Cuba and China are often mentioned by the peace activists as the examples of frozen diplomacy which the United States must not repeat this time.

"It's going to be hard," Paul Ryder conceded, "because Americans have undergone a lot of mis-education from the government. But we went through this process with China, where 20 years ago they were slant-eyed gooks and now they're best friends. We were told there would be bloodbaths in Vietnam because these people are savages, but I'm confident these fears will be disproved and a lot of these refugees will want to return to Vietnam. I think that's going to change American thinking."

Among peace activists, many of whom have visited North Vietnam in recent years, Hanoi's professed interest in cultural and economic exchange with the United States is sincere, more than just a propaganda line. As evidence, they cite their own experiences—the warm receptions in Hanoi and peasant villages, the clamoring for American art and literature.

"I went to a village north of Hanoi, a very poor agricultural area," said Larry Levin, "and these peasants were watching a traveling troupe present an American play—'All My Sons,' by Arthur Miller."

"They're eager to get anything to read that's American—novels, back issues of

Time, Newsweek, the best-sellers list, anything," said Bob Edwards, who was in Hanoi when the war ended April 30 and attended the mass rallies of celebration.

"But they're sick of the Congressional Record," said Nina Mohit, who was on the same tour. "They said, send us novels, send us records. They love Roberta Flack."

The Americans who have toured North Vietnam—more than 500 of them since 1965—are often mistaken for Soviets or Cubans. Only one North Vietnamese has been granted a U.S. visa in recent years, a mathematician who visited Harvard last year and carefully avoided making any provocative political statements.

Hanoi would like to get into American technology, especially medicine, and will do business with American companies, the peace workers say, but the United States will have to grant diplomatic recognition—a step not very likely in the present climate.

As testimony to their sincerity, Don Luce read from a Hanoi schoolbook, given to him by a teacher in "liberated" Quangtri Province. Lesson 17 reads:

"American people are still our friends. American imperialism has caused them many hardships. Therefore, they too hate American imperialism. They stand on the side of the Vietnamese people to oppose the war. Many young Americans refused to go to war to die in Vietnam."

Nina Mohit insisted: "They are looking forward to contact with the American people, and it's not mere rhetoric. They are much more sympathetic to the American people—believing they were misled by their leaders—than we would be."