Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars
104 Lane Hall
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104

Dear Friend,

This Newsletter is being sent to you as a sample copy. If you wish to continue receiving it, please fill out the subscription blank on the last page and return the completed blank with the applicable amount of money.

You may also be interested in subscribing to the C.A.S. Bulletin. Subscription rates are on the first page of the Newsletter. For further information about the Bulletin write to San Francisco.

Sincerely,

Charles Cell
National Coordinator, Midwest

P.S. If you think you should be receiving the Newsletter anyway, don't get mad. Just demand your rights with a cancelled check, etc., submitted after September 1970, to one of the National Coordinators. REMEMBER: A SUBSCRIPTION TO THE BULLETIN DOES NOT ENTITLE ONE TO MEMBERSHIP AND/OR A SUBSCRIPTION TO THE NEWSLETTER (OR VICE-VERSA). They are financially independent.
The CCAS general membership meeting has approved the annual collection of dues. For those who have not paid between September, 1970 and now, dues should be paid for the 1970-71 academic year at this time—like now—today—immediately. (In the future, annual dues will be collected each September for the academic year.) The rates approved are:

1. For the unemployed and those with low income: $2.00
2. For those who can pay more: $5.00
3. Institutional Newsletter subscriptions (non-members): $6.00

Airmail overseas add $5.00 to relevant amount.

Membership (categories 1 and 2) implies agreement with the CCAS Statement of Purpose adopted in Boston, April, 1969 (see the other side of this page).

NOTE: These rates only include Newsletter subscription and membership (except category 3).

Bulletin subscriptions are separate. The rates are:

Students: $4.00
Others: $6.00
Overseas $7.00
Airmail Overseas $15.00
Institutional $10.00

Bulletin subscriptions:
CCAS
9 Sutter St.
San Francisco, Cal.
94104

IMPORTANT: All U.S. subscriptions must include a zip code. (Or your subscription record may be lost in a midwest cornfield.)
COMMITTEE OF CONCERNED ASIAN SCHOLARS

NATIONAL STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Adopted at Boston, March, 1969

We first came together in opposition to the brutal aggression of the United States in Vietnam and to the complicity or silence of our profession with regard to that policy. Those in the field of Asian Studies bear responsibility for the consequences of their research and the political posture of their profession. We are concerned about the present unwillingness of specialists to speak out against the implications of an Asian policy committed to ensuring American domination of much of Asia. We reject the legitimacy of this aim and attempt to change this policy. We recognize that the present structure of the profession has often perverted scholarship and alienated many people in the field.

The Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars seeks to develop a humane and knowledgeable understanding of Asian societies and their efforts to maintain cultural integrity and to confront such problems as poverty, oppression, and imperialism. We realize that to be students of other peoples, we must first understand our relations to them.

The Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars wishes to create alternatives to the prevailing trends in scholarship on Asia which too often spring from a parochial cultural perspective and serve selfish interests and expansionism. Our organization is designed to function as a catalyst, a communications network for both Asian and Western scholars, a provider of central resources for local chapters, and a community for the development of anti-imperialist research.
A SYMPOSIUM OF C.C.A.S. ACTIONS IN WASHINGTON, MARCH 1971

The weekend, March 27-28, centered on workshops to discuss plans and strategy on a number of topics (see the March Newsletter for a list). There was much sharing of ideas, some of which resulted in plans for active implementation in the immediate future (e.g. high schools, the Peace Treaty, the offensive against the S.I.U. Vietnamese Center). Three workshop reports follow this synopsis.

Monday we began to turn our attention outward, first to Behemoth, and most of all to the AAS establishment. Following a panel on THE NEW STAGE OF THE INDOCHINA WAR, we assembled our ranks for a march to, and demonstration at, the White House. (A few pages further on is a copy of the leaflet we passed out in Washington to explain our action.) Although some knew that the lack of a permit would pose problems, none realized the praying mantis character of the Park Police. Before we could sort the situation out, we were encouraged to move out by the arrest of two of our number, Ric Pfeffer and Dick Kagan. Two more arrests followed, Jonathan Hisky and Lucien Bianco. A fifth was attempted, Cindy Frederick, but when she forcefully warned the black cop who was ordered to frisk her, "Don't touch me," he told her to go away. After considerable discussion in Lafayette Park, we sent a delegation to free our comrades. (The four were released in an hour, minus only a few dollars of good radical money.)

We then proceeded on to the next target: the Washington offices of the Social Science Research Council. Although the office was closed (presumably its employees were all at the AAS meetings), it was obvious from the lack of security in the building and the reception we received at other offices that no one was expecting us. We distributed a leaflet raising questions about the character and meaning of the SSRC-JCCC (Joint Committee on Contemporay China) ties with the government. (Unfortunately, there is no copy of the leaflet available. Can anyone send us a copy? For further information on the SSRC-JCCC issue, write the Columbia chapter and send $.75. They have prepared a preliminary report.)

Monday afternoon, following a panel on STAFFING THE WAR MACHINE: THE SOUTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY VIETNAMESE STUDIES CENTER, we proceeded to the general AAS Business Meeting. There it was our plan to request that the People's Peace Treaty and resolutions criticizing the S.I.U. Vietnamese Studies Center be approved for submission to a mail ballot vote of the entire AAS membership. The early and questionable adjournment of the meeting on Monday forced us to limit our attention to the Peace Treaty. A copy of the Treaty follows, with special preambles for C.C.A.S. and for Asian scholars. The "con" forces were weak and disorganized. Many said "the AAS shouldn't be involved in politics." To which we replied that it had been ever since its establishment and it was about time such a fact was recognized. Many people did not know what was happening (e.g. thought we were trying to ratify the Treaty there); others questioned whether it could be implemented and thus whether it should even be considered; and one was so sick as to suggest that since the AAS had never yet considered the war it shouldn't start now. But, from the outset, it was clear that the sentiment of the members was on our side. The final vote was a resounding 166 to 82 for submission. A great victory for the Peace forces! This was a beautiful surprise because after Philadelphia we had fallen into the assumption that the AAS was closed to all but "non-political" activity, that is, turn the other
cheek and let the killing and destruction go on. But, perhaps we failed to realize
that in Philadelphia the "no" came from the Board of Directors, while in Washington
the resounding "yes" came from the members themselves.

The Joint Treaty of Peace between the People of the United States and the
People of South Vietnam and North Vietnam will shortly be mailed by the the AAS Secre-
tariat to all paying members of the AAS for their endorsement. Given the strong posi-
tive reaction to the first vote, we are hopeful that the members of the AAS are will-
ing to finally speak out collectively against the continued existence of this brutal,
nasty and dirty war by endorsing the Treaty.

On Tuesday, during the day, there were two other panels: AMERICAN INTERVEN-
tIONS IN THE CHINESE AND VIETNAMESE CIVIL WARS: A COMPARISON and THE KOREAN WAR:
LEAD-UP AND AFTERMATH. Tapes were made of all the panels. Hopefully, some of the
material will find its way into the Bulletin. Would anyone who has tapes please
write the Bulletin about this.

An agreement was reached late Monday night to re-convene the Business Meeting
for Tuesday afternoon. This time our request was to put two statements on Vietnamese
Studies to the AAS membership through a mail ballot vote. The two statements follow
the workshop reports. The stronger of the two, endorsed by CCAS, was never raised
due to the lack of time. On the other statement we did not fare very well. The
statement was watered down by dropping the first and last paragraphs and changing
all references to "Vietnam" to "Asia." However, we are now in the process of gathering
sufficient signatures to place the two statements we proposed on the ballot.
WE ARE STILL A FEW SIGNATURES SHORT. IF YOU ARE A MEMBER OF AAS OR WISH TO JOIN
AT THIS TIME, AND THINK THE ENTIRE AAS MEMBERSHIP SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO DEMOCRATICALLY
EXPRESS ITS VIEWS ON THE C.I.O. CENTER (even if you don't agree with the resolutions),
SIGN, AND RETURN IMMEDIATELY, THE STATEMENT ON THE LAST PAGE OF THIS NEWSLETTER.
HAVE OTHER AAS MEMBERS IN YOUR AREA SIGN ALSO.

In addition to struggling the sexist and racist policies of the Charles Tuttle
Company (more on this in the next Newsletter) and raising conspicuously absent ques-
tions at many AAS panels, members also attended the Southeast Asia Regional Council
meeting Monday night. Tuesday night others went to the AAS panel on THE IMPACT OF
AMERICAN GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATIONS ON ASIAN STUDIES to support the presentation of
material raising questions about the relationship between SSRC-JCCC and the govern-
ment. A resolution requesting a formal inquiry was submitted to the AAS Board of
Directors. The resolution is included letter on in the Newsletter.

The message to the AAS was clear: We are strong and are not afraid to raise
questions of the field when we feel this must be done in the interests of scholarly
integrity, political responsibility, and ABOVE ALL, IN TERMS OF HUMAN MORALITY.

WORKSHOP REPORT: C.C.A.S. and the High Schools

As C.C.A.S. preoccupations shift from struggles within the profession to at-
ttempts to reach a broader audience and relate to larger movements for social change,
one significant development is the growing interest in working with high school stu-
dents and teachers. Our high school workshop revealed some extraordinary beginnings,
deep interest, and some concrete proposals for future action.

Five approaches were suggested and discussed: 1. Holding conferences on
Asia and American Asian policy for secondary school teachers (Chicago, Yale, Stanford
have already done so); 2. Working directly in local high schools with teachers and
students (Stanford has invaluable experience in this area); 3. Preparation of critiques
of present high school materials (Columbia and the Kagan's at Harvard have worked on
this with respect to China) and bibliographies on Asia, on high school units on Asia (Stanford and Yale and the Kagans have already prepared such); 4. Preparation of high school units on Asia and other materials for high school students (Joe Esherick and Orville Schell have completed a unit on China; Mark Selden is proposing a summer group project to develop further materials); 5. More C.C.A.S. members should give serious consideration to teaching in the high schools. Despite important developments in these areas during the past year, the consensus was that we have barely begun to scratch the surface in an area that seems vital to the future of C.C.A.S.

by far the most significant high school programs have been developed by Stanford C.C.A.S. Stanford is participating in local school programs four to five times weekly! Their approach has been to offer package programs to local schools. Beginning with multimedia presentations (a phantasmagoria of Asian experience!) to stir interest, they have been experimenting with follow-up presentations of two to three lecture/discussions at each school. In some schools there are regular arrangements to teach one day per week. The rewards of continuity in contrast to one-shot presentations seem enormous. At any rate, they report enthusiastic student and teacher response to the point that they are overwhelmed by requests for presentations.

In addition to working in individual schools, Stanford has attended teachers' conferences and presented panels on teaching about Asia, provided critical bibliographies and other handouts and worked closely with teachers. The consensus was that greater payoff can be obtained at much less cost through regular secondary school conferences rather than planning and calling our own (although Yale and Chicago have had a measure of success with the latter approach).

Stanford has tentatively agreed to put together a file of materials on the high schools, initially for distribution to the chapters, perhaps later for publication. This will include discussion of their experience as well as that of other chapters, samples from a series of 500 case studies prepared for high school students by David Grossman (e.g. a brief account of life in a peasant household, with questions to stimulate and involve students) as well as selective critical bibliographies. Individuals or chapters who have materials to include in such a file should contact Holly Coye at Stanford C.C.A.S., Building 500T, Stanford University, Stanford, Cal. 94305.

It is hoped that Stanford will become a clearinghouse and coordination center for our work with the high schools.

Other fruitful experiences were discussed. Jon Mirsky has had considerable success in speaking at summer teachers' conferences; he suggests providing critiques of the available materials. (But how can we obtain such invitations?) Yale has compiled an extensive bibliography of high school materials on Asia and a short critical bibliography of books on Asia. These are available through Teddy Bofman, Yale, East Asia Program.

Mark Selden has circulated a proposal for a summer workshop to prepare and test high school materials, both units for use in the schools and pamphlets to be sold or distributed to high school students. These materials would be jointly prepared and tested by a team of C.C.A.S. members, high school students and teachers. One group, working tentatively on the Indochina war and the Chinese revolution, will be in Cambridge from June; others may be working elsewhere. There is publisher interest and funds are being sought to keep participants alive for the summer. For information contact M. Selden, 7068 Waterman Ave., University City, Mo. 63130. (See article further along in the Newsletter.)

* * *

Mark Selden

Organizing in the South

Some C.C.A.S. people in Washington were interested in organizing in the southern states. Who are you? Please write to Chuck Cell.
Hoss Roberts began by discussing military-academic ties, summarizing an investigation carried out with the Columbia University C.C.A.S. chapter. In a set of working papers, the Columbia chapter presented "presumptive evidence" of close ties between the Joint Committee on Contemporary China (JCCC) and the government's inter-agency FAR group for coordinating internal and "external" (extra-governmental) research. A July 1969 statement of the FAR China Subcommittee which provides considerable insight into the topics which U.S. government agencies consider of primary research interest is appended to the Columbia papers; thirty such topics are listed -- (is yours one of them??)

Roberts drew particular attention to the 'dubious mandate', discussed in the Columbia papers, under which the JCCC came into being. He concluded by calling for the formation of an independent standing committee of the AAS (including CCAS) to investigate the JCCC, the Social Science Research Council, and the East Asia division of the Ford Foundation, and for establishing contact with those in other area studies such as African and Latin American studies who have similar concerns about the distribution of power within, and the interests served by, parallel organizations in their fields.

The discussion then turned to the question of what paths were open to radical students and teachers, given the present distribution of power within Asian studies, and the increasingly questionable prospects of funding and employment in conventional academic positions. Among the suggestions for decreasing dependence on traditional universities were:

a. Taking wholly non-academic jobs, at least part-time.
b. High school teaching, or work in high school Asian studies reform along the lines of the Stanford project.
c. Work in private radical research institutes (which, however, could provide only a few paying jobs).
d. Work in Asia, particularly with U.S. GI resistance movements and including liaison with local Asian movements.
e. Journalistic work. The Indochina Story was cited as an example of rapid (four to five month) collective work, and it was also mentioned that members of some chapters were already contributing articles on Asia regularly to local periodicals, or organizing weekly or semi-weekly programs on local radio stations (including not only live interviews, etc., but also taped material -- perhaps chapters could exchange tapes).

Arousing particular interest was a suggestion to organize and incorporate a degree-granting central office or offices which would permit students to move about among teachers in various areas who might otherwise be academically unemployed, or unable to offer radical instruction. At the least, the degree granted would enable such a student to join this teaching organization!

It was generally agreed that traditional academic jobs themselves should never be abandoned without a fight, and that students had provided powerful backing in fighting layoffs by, among other tactics, demanding cutbacks in academic "junkets and slush funds."

During the entire conference, there was little discussion of specific topics for "radical research", but one suggestion for immediate demands concerning departmental structure was that students ought to be represented on faculty recruiting committees; this had already been accomplished at McGill. It was noted that academic reference folders thus became less "confidential", inhibiting racism and sexism as well as adverse political discrimination. In this connection, it was added that
in the U.S. Army, officers are entitled to examine their own "fitness" files at least once a year.

Don Layman

WORKSHOP REPORT: Women in the Profession

Women in the profession have been the object of systematic discrimination, more so than many realize. Through 'speak bitterness' revelations, personal experiences of sexist discrimination were discussed by the workshop. The discussion ended with several plans for specific C.C.A.S. actions. The C.C.A.S. will begin a file on discrimination against women (write to Molly Coye or Cindy Fredericks). Incidences of sexist discrimination will be recorded and when suitable, published. The idea is to jeopardize the public image of institutions which practice sexist discrimination. Also, we hope to encourage C.C.A.S. friends not to attend or support these institutions. Another suggestion was to begin to break down some of the class divisions between faculty, students, and staff. This concern is relevant to the status of women in the profession because in many universities most of the staff members are women. Like students and faculty, staff members deserve the right to a fulfilling and interesting job. This right, however, has been denied them through false distinctions, sexist attitudes, class prejudice. All this must be ended. We should begin by trying to make it possible for staff members to take courses (and get degrees) without charge at their university. Staff members should be encouraged to participate in C.C.A.S. activities (but not as typists!), and C.C.A.S. should support them in any effort to redefine their work situation. Above all, we should all be willing to listen and respect what they have to say.

Recently there has been some experimentation at certain institutions with half-time appointments (both at the faculty and graduate student level) as an alternate employment option for both men and women who must spend more time with their families and yet would like to continue their professional work.

The Newsletter will serve to publicize cases of discrimination and as a forum for discussing how to change the structure of the profession. Janet Salaff and Felicia Oldfather have been appointed to the AAS new committee on women in the profession. Encourage the women in your chapter to speak out, perhaps by starting with your own 'speak bitterness' campaign. Write to us about it.

Molly Coye

Reports from the workshops on Racism, the New McCarthyism, New Directions in Radical Scholarship, and the S.I.U. Center and the Peace Treaty were not submitted. If anyone will send us a summary, it will be put in the next Newsletter.

SUMMER RETREAT

At the Washington meetings it was agreed that plans for a C.C.A.S. summer retreat should be implemented. The tentative dates suggested are the last weekend in August (26-29) or the first one in September (2-5). A campsite outside of Chicago is being considered. The format is open at this time although in the absence of suggestions it will center on C.C.A.S. interests and activities for the coming academic year (with ample time for fun and follies — anyone for ping pong?). People with suggestions for format or strong feelings about dates should write to:

Dave Wilson, 4371 Winsminster Pl., St. Louis, Missouri 63108
The following two statements are to be submitted for endorsement by the entire membership of the AAS. We are still a few signatures short. If you are a member of AAS, or willing to join at this time, and think the entire AAS membership should be allowed to democratically express its views on the S.I.U. Center (even if you don't agree with the resolutions), sign, and return immediately, the statement on the last page of this newsletter. Have other AAS members in your area sign also.

VIETNAMESE STUDIES COORDINATING GROUP STATEMENT

(Except for the substitution of the words "Association of Asian Studies" in place of "Vietnam Studies Coordinating Group", this statement is identical to the one adopted by the Vietnam Studies Coordinating Group on January 31, 1971, as its written reaction to the formation of the Center for Vietnamese Studies at Southern Illinois University. The Vietnam Studies Coordinating Group is a subcommittee of the Inter-University Southeast Asian Committee and the Southeast Asian Regional Council of the AAS.)

The Association of Asian Studies believes that any Vietnamese studies program should have as an objective the conscientious transmission, to Western audiences, of the values and culture and world view of one of the world's most fascinating and neglected civilizations, as they are expressed in Vietnam's institutions, politics, literature, and history. The AAS believes that with this objective in mind, any Vietnamese studies program should succeed in developing a greater cultural sensitivity on the part of Westerners—a sensitivity that is badly needed, in connection with Vietnam, by Americans of all ideological persuasions. It follows that Vietnamese studies must not be defined, or have the appearance of being defined, as the academic reinforcement of the technology and human resources of a specific foreign policy.

The AAS therefore believes that professional guidelines should be formulated to aid any university desirous of accepting government funds for the purpose of developing Vietnamese studies, yet desirous also of maintaining academic integrity.

First, the source of sponsorship of the program, the full financial details of such sponsorship, and the purpose of the program's research and other activities should all be of such a nature that they can be publicly disclosed.

Second, the university accepting government funds to promote Vietnamese studies should not undertake to grant any exclusive information to its research sponsor. Above all, it should not accept research on Vietnam of any kind which carries security classification, requires security clearance of university personnel, or otherwise precludes general publication of results.

Third, the tragic events in Vietnam in the past decade have heavily influenced the attitudes of everyone, Vietnamese and American, regarding scholastic efforts to study the culture and people of that country. In particular, we wish to point out how unfortunate it is for many sensitive Vietnamese to see particular United States government departments, agencies and bureaus operating in Vietnam as part of a gigantic military pacification effort, and then to be asked to view with dispassion the participation of those same departments in academic ventures concerning their country. In view of this we look, some of us with disfavor and all of us with apprehension upon universities entering into agreements with such government agencies.

***

Chapter Contacts: Return the S.I.U. Petitions

A.A.S. Member: Sign the petition to put the S.I.U. statements on the mail vote ballot.
COMMITTEE OF CONCERNED ASIAN SCHOLARS STATEMENT

We, members of the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars and Association of Asian Studies, condemn the establishment of the A.I.D.-funded Center for Vietnamese Studies on the Southern Illinois University campus.

Both the terms of the A.I.D. grant and the work of the Center in its first year and a half of operations demonstrate its subordination to the pursuit of American government policies of domination and destruction of the land and people of Vietnam.

We therefore reject the Center's pretense to scholarly objectivity and support the initiative of the history department of S.I.U., individual faculty members and the recorded majority of S.I.U. students to struggle against the prostitution of the university by the Center for Vietnamese Studies. We appeal to all scholars of Southeast Asian affairs to dissociate themselves from this disreputable project which cannot help the Vietnamese people but can only contribute to prolonging the war.

Finally, we strongly protest the use of McCarthyite tactics by the S.I.U. Board of Trustees in attempting to stifle opposition to the Center by purging faculty and students who oppose the presence of the Center on the S.I.U. campus.

SUPPORT THE PEOPLE'S PEACE TREATY!!

(distributed in Washington during the march to and demonstration at the White House)

In 1776 the American people indicted King George III:

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people. He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

This, part of the American Declaration of Independence, stands today as an indictment of President Nixon by the Indochinese peoples.

In southern Vietnam nearly half the population has been killed, wounded, maimed, or displaced since the start of the war. American aerial bombing has made one-third of all Lao refugees. The American-led invasion last year made one out of every seven Cambodians a refugee. The millions of tons of bombs American war planes have dropped have rendered useless thousands of square miles of Indochina.

America claims to be defending the South Vietnamese. The My Lai massacre is only the most famous refutation of this claim. A suppressed Gallup poll conducted in Vietnam by the U.S. military showed that "...65% of the people in all South Vietnam want all Americans out of the country...30% has no opinion and 5%, mostly in Saigon, wanted Americans to stay." Yet, citizen dissent is firmly crushed by the Saigon government. All demonstrations against the invasion of Laos have been prohibited. Now, read again, above, what our forefathers had to say about King George III.
AS STUDENTS OF ASIANPEOPLES, BUT ABOVE ALL AS HUMAN BEINGS, WE, THE COMMITTEE OF CONCERNED ASIAN SCHOLARS, ARE OUTRAGED BY THE DESTRUCTION OF HUMAN LIVES, ASIAN AS WELL AS AMERICAN, DISGUSTED BY THE DESTRUCTION OF ASIAN LANDES, AND APPALLED BY THE PROSTITUTION OF ASIAN CULTURES.


Specifically we demand that the American government:

1. Effect a total, immediate, unconditional and permanent withdrawal of all American military personnel, irrespective of their official title, from Indochina, Thailand, the Gulf of Tonkin and all other waters in the area.
2. End all political, military, economic and financial assistance and support of the military dictatorships in Saigon and all Southeast Asia.

WE URGE ALL CITIZENS TO JOIN IN THE CONTINUING OPPOSITION TO THE U.S. GOVERNMENT'S POLICY OF DEATH AND DESTRUCTION IN INDOCHINA.

JOINT TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH VIETNAM AND NORTH VIETNAM

ENDORSED BY THE COMMITTEE OF CONCERNED ASIAN SCHOLARS

As students of Asia, we find abhorrent the genocidal destruction of peoples and cultures who have so powerfully informed us of the beauty and diversity of the human experience. We affirm our solidarity with our Indo-Chinese brothers and sisters in the long and hard struggle which they have so bravely pursued for self-determination in a world free from the horrors of imperialist war.

We are determined to use our resources to expose the lies and obfuscations which serve the war machine in the guise of objective scholarship. We denounce the actions of our government in Indochina and take this opportunity to reaffirm our determination to fight for a complete and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. forces from South-East Asia and to do everything in our power to change radically the institutions and forces in American society which give rise to such calamities.

1. The Americans agree to immediate and total withdrawal from Vietnam and publicly to set the date by which all American forces will be removed.

The Vietnamese pledge that as soon as the United States government sets a date for total withdrawal:

2. They will enter discussions to secure the release of all American prisoners including pilots captured while bombing North Vietnam.
3. There will be an immediate cease-fire between U.S. forces and those led by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam.
4. They will enter discussions of the procedures to guarantee the safety of all withdrawing troops.
5. The Americans pledge to stop imposing Thieu-Ky-Khiem on the people of South Vietnam in order to insure their right to self-determination and so that all political prisoners can be released.
6. The Vietnamese pledge to form a provisional coalition government to organize democratic elections. All parties agree to respect the results of elections in which all South Vietnamese can participate freely without the presence of any foreign troops.

7. The South Vietnamese pledge to enter a discussion of procedures to guarantee the safety and political freedom of those South Vietnamese who have collaborated with the United States or with the U.S.-supported regime.

8. The Americans and Vietnamese agree to respect the independence, peace and neutrality of Laos and Cambodia in accord with the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Conventions and not interfere in the internal affairs of these two countries.

9. Upon these points of agreement we pledge to end the war and resolve all other questions in the spirit of self-determination and mutual respect for the independence and political freedom of the people of Vietnam and the United States.

By ratifying the agreement, we pledge to take whatever actions are appropriate to implement the terms of this Joint Treaty and to insure its acceptance by the government of the United States.

If you wish to endorse the Treaty (with the special preamble for C.C.A.S.), sign the statement on the last page of the Newsletter.

The version to be submitted to the A.A.S. membership has exactly the same text but a different preamble.

PREAMBLE FOR TREATY ENDORSED BY SCHOLARS OF ASIA:

As scholars of Asia we abhor the destruction of peoples and cultures which have so powerfully informed us of the beauty and diversity of the human experience and from whom we have learned so much. We can no longer countenance the actions of our government as it expands this war in Indo-China, and we hereby call for a reversal of this trend. We recognize that the following points constitute a substantive basis for an immediate end to the war and we call upon our government to use every means at its disposal to stop the continuing destruction of Asian and American lives.

*******

INDOCHINESE CONFERENCE IN VANCOUVER

Ed. Note: Just as we head for the mimeo machine a fantastic 13 page report on the Indochinese Conference in Vancouver has arrived. The size of this report prevents us from including it in its entirety now. However, to underscore the importance of unity in the Spring anti-war offensive, we are including the most pertinent section. The remainder will appear in next month's Newsletter.

The U.S. Anti-War Movement

Requests for advice on anti-war struggles came in many workshops, as did questions about the history of revolutionary struggles in Indochina. Here I can give the gist of only a few such questions and answers.2

Question (after about half an hour of U.S. and Canadian discussion of the Indochinese delegates' question, "What are your main problems?"): In the U.S.A., there is disunity between the several kinds of anti-war groups, revolutionary groups, and oppressed groups (Third World peoples, unemployed, poor people, youth, women's groups)
who are struggling for survival or for improvement of their conditions. We can't
find a basis for unity but we feel we should. What is your opinion?

Answer (After an hour of private consultation within the DRV delegation. Similar
answers were given independently in work-shops with the Lao and the South
Vietnamese.): You have raised the single-issue versus the multi-issue question, to
use American terminology. This is our response.

We believe that there are no multi-issues, only the single issue of the
struggle against imperialism.

The U.S. administration's aggression has caused suffering not only to the
Indochinese people but to the American people. The U.S. imperialists are not our
enemies only. They also use the American youth as cannon fodder. Many American
families have suffered losses and people are mourning in the U.S.A. The U.S. govern-
ment has wasted a lot of people and money, and economic and other crises have re-
sulted from the war. The position of the U.S. in the world is declining. Its pres-
tige is very low now, and its honor blemished. We are concerned that the U.S. ad-
ministration has dishonored the American people. The suffering of both our peoples
is stressed by us.

Our duty as Indochinese is to fight against aggression. The American people
have the task, for their own sakes, to work to stop the war in Indochina. That is
the work of the American people.

Our two peoples are struggling for their own interests. The two struggles
are closely interrelated, and the two can help each other. We and you have to
struggle in different ways, but we must both ask: WHO IS THE MAIN ENEMY? and WHO
IS CAUSING THE MAIN SUFFERING? Our common enemy is the United States administration.

In the past the U.S. anti-war movement has had a very big success. It was in-
f寻求al in stopping the bombing of the DRV in 1968, and in the withdrawal from
Cambodia in 1970. Nixon is afraid of the anti-war movement because it forces him
to ponder his strategies. Yet Nixon will find every way to deceive you. Therefore
you must be vigilant and you must strike hard. Our two struggles cannot be replaced,
the one by the other, but together we can be successful.

If the American people stop the war, this will decrease the suffering for
both our peoples and raise your domestic struggle to a higher level. We understand
that racism, poverty and unemployment existed in America before the war and will
continue after. Yet the war has greatly increased these conflicts; much of the
present nature of American suffering results from the war in Indochina. You can
therefore combine the multi-issues in the single issue. You can point out that
Johnson promised you the Great Society, but could not deliver it because of the war.

The Indochinese people are struggling for their countries. The U.S. people
are struggling for their life, liberty and honor, as in the time of Lincoln, a time
that we greatly respect.

Question: But U.S. imperialism is involved not only in Indochina, but throughout
much of the world and here at home. It seems that only a socialist revolution can
put a stop to imperialism.

Answer: To this we would say that our revolution has been a very long process. We
could say it dates from 1880, and is not yet completed. A revolution is a long and
hard task, not an easy task. It requires struggle from generation to generation, in
which children must be prepared for sacrifice. At present the American people have
the capacity to mobilize broad unity in order to stop the war.

***

Question: What do you most need from us?

Answer: We need three things: 1. Your demand that Nixon set a date before the end
of 1971 for complete withdrawal of all troops, materiel and bombing from Indochina.
2. All forms of political work towards this end. 3. Money, medical supplies and
clothing; we can especially use more medical supplies from Canada. These may be
sent to the PRG Information Bureau, Box 315101, 24 Stockholm, Sweden.

Question: Many activities are being planned for the Spring offensive in the U.S.A.
Where is it most effective to put our energies?

Answer: The stronger the action, the more effective, and that means large participa-
tion. As Ho Chi Minh said, "Unity, unity, larger unity; success, success, bigger
success."

The greater the difficulties, the broader must be the force in order to defeat
the enemy. The more we consolidate, the more we weaken and divide the enemy.

The People's Peace Treaty (which many people signed at the conference) is
an example. In itself it is only words. If it strengthens the movement it is good;
it is not good if it weakens and divides the movement. You must find out.

Education is very important, explaining to more people how their sufferings
are linked with the war, and educating by example. Especially G.I.'s and G.I.
families - draft resistance and desertion are very good contributions. Spread the
slogan, "Don't go to Vietnam". If they refuse to go, no prison is big enough to
hold them. Then, help support their families. Break down the military machine - try
to stop war production.

Let G.I.'s in Indochina know about the movement. They have been told that
if they desert to our side, we will kill them. Let them know that the Indochinese
policy is to protect them if they desert, and, if they wish not to stay with us, to
send them to a foreign country such as Sweden.

Veterans and returned pressmen should be encouraged to let the American
people know what is happening. Send delegations to Indochina to find out. Legal
struggles are especially valuable if they increase the movement, as they bring on
less repression. A large /spring anti-war/ mobilization...will be very valuable,
and all groups should cooperate provided their demand is total withdrawal. These
are not all the specifics - we can't tell you those - but any activity that enlarges
the movement.

Question: Do you see a place for revolutionary violence in the anti-war movement in
the U.S.A.?

Answer: The primary thing is the welfare and support of the people. Always do
something that gains support. It is not good to destroy something if it alienates
the people, and not good to kill unless we must. Don't launch battle until it is
necessary. You must have support. Try to avoid violence; think of the lives of
the people. Instead, stop war industry production, and work among the G.I.'s. If
there are no soldiers and no guns, there can be no war.

Revolutionary force is two questions: 1. political force and 2. armed force.
When we say political force we refer to the political consciousness of people;
they participate in struggle. The majority of people do struggle when they become
conscious of the aim. They are determined to struggle, ready to sacrifice their life
to reach the common goal.

You need this political force - of people always on the offensive. The force
must be large and strong, of people determined and courageous, who can take repression.
When one is killed or jailed, another takes the place.

Our best example is women in the puppet zones of South Vietnam, what the Ameri-
cans call the "long haired army". Such women don't use arms, but they do a great
deal and are effective in stopping the enemy. Political force is very necessary in
the U.S. movement.
In our struggle we Indochinese have to fight militarily. We need military force to drive out the aggressors and take the power. In different stages of struggle, sometimes political force is to the forefront, sometimes military force. But always military force must be combined with political force. Our military comes from the people and needs the support and guidance of the people. Its duty is to the people. The NLF operates always with the support of the people.

Isolation in the fight is very dangerous.

We say to you: Be patient. Be flexible. Be vigilant. And wage a persistent struggle.

Question: Should revolutionaries form alliances with non-revolutionary and non-progressive forces to oppose the war? If so, how?

Answer: The main question is unity for the common goal - END THE WAR. The more people the better. Divide the enemy - get them fighting among themselves. Exploit to the utmost the splits in the ruling class. Isolate the Nixon administration. Work even with Senators, ANY PEOPLE, WHO ARE WILLING TO END THE WAR. YOU DO NOT HAVE TO DECREASE YOUR MAIN DEMAND AND OBJECTIVE BECAUSE OF THEIR PRESENCE WITH YOU.

2. Unfortunately most of the workshops were not taped, so only notes are available. The Canadian press wrongly reported that workshops were closed "for security reasons." This was untrue, at least in Vancouver. Voice of Women and Women Strike for Peace workshops were open. Third World workshops were open to non-white men but closed to white people because Third World sisters lacked the time and space in their workshops for the large numbers of white people who would have wanted to attend. Women's Liberation workshops were open only to regional delegates, whose number had been restricted in advance to 200 because of billeting problems and because of the wish to keep the workshops of manageable size. At no time did the Indochinese request secret meetings. Personal security was provided for the Indochinese delegates by groups coordinated by Third World sisters, and separately by Vancouver police.

Kathleen Gough

PERIODIC PUBLICATIONS ON ASIA

There are many good publications coming out on Asia. Chapters should try to subscribe since individuals often can't afford them. Some notable examples:

Dispatch News Service: Weekly news bulletins on timely matters from all of Asia with a perspective and information often sorely lacking from the major media. For the excellent price of $10.00 for 52 issues.

Dispatch News Service International
1826 R. Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009, U.S.A.

Thoi-Bao Ga
76a Pleasant St.
Cambridge, Mass., 02139

Journal of Contemporary Asia
Box 1987
Yale Station
New Haven, Connecticut 06520

Newsletter on Vietnam; $5.00/year.

Quarterly; $8.00/year.
Editor's Note: The following is a proposal from Mark Selden. Funds are needed to support this work. *Anything you can give can be channeled through Mark.* The final character of the project will be determined by a working collective which forms this summer in Cambridge. "Interested individuals should contact me... indicating their own areas of interest and availability, financial crunch, etc."

Research Proposal: Preparation of Materials on Asia for High School Students

In recent years a flood of important new books and materials on the Indochina War, American foreign policy and Asian revolution have attacked the fundamental Cold War premises of American Asian policy. Yet we find scarcely a trickle of such materials directed toward the needs of high school students and other young people. If we hope to create a new generation of responsible citizens, it is imperative that we reach young people before they have been thoroughly saturated with the ideology of American expansionism or opted for their own nihilistic course.

This is a proposal to prepare new materials for high school students on two critical contemporary problems for Americans and Asians: China and the War in Indochina. This proposal stems from recent discussions of Asian specialists with high school students and teachers about the kinds of materials needed and desired.

Specifically, I propose to develop and test these materials through a small working group of Asian specialists and secondary school teachers and students. In each case we will seek to prepare two kinds of materials. The first is actual "units" on China or Indochina which can be used in the high school curriculum. The second is small pamphlets, 35-40 pages, to be sold or distributed to high school students for independent reading.

In both instances the accent is on simplicity, direct language and the analysis of problems through examination of the impact of events on the lives of human beings. We propose, in other words, to present the overriding issues of our time in human terms, on a human scale. These materials will make extensive use of photographic and artistic resources.

Let me set out briefly the kind of approach I have in mind.

1. China. I propose to approach China through the problems and possibilities of the Chinese peasant and rural revolution. I would like to attempt to present the Chinese world as viewed from the village by Chinese peasants themselves. I would like to convey the nature and intensity of their struggles to build a new and just society, considering some alternate possibilities as well as the human costs and gains of such approaches. To do this I propose to rely on substantial excerpts from the writings of William Hinton (*Fanshen, A Documentary Study of the Chinese Revolution*), Jan Myrdal (Report from a Chinese Village and China: The Revolution Continued) and Isabel and David Crooks (*Revolution in a Chinese Village: Ten Mile Inn*), as well as excerpts from Chinese novels, short stories and newspaper articles, and comments by Mao and other Chinese leaders and peasants—on rural life.

The text version will place such excerpts within a context posing the major questions about the Chinese rural revolution and the transformation of Chinese society. The pamphlets for sale or distribution outside of school will provide more extended analysis of these central problems.

SEND US YOUR SUMMER ADDRESS NOW

*Newsletter* will not be forwarded since it is bulk mail.
2. The War in Indochina. I plan to approach the war on two levels. One is an analysis of the nature of America's war against the Indochinese people: The reasons why the United States is fighting in Indochina with reference to the larger pattern of American expansion, the nature of the war, the strategy of counter-insurgency leading to the total destruction of rural life, analysis of the Nixon Doctrine and the future of the United States in Indochina. This portion of the analysis has already been brilliantly documented in The Indochina Story and subsequent articles. It must be updated and written for high school students. The second approach has been largely neglected by scholars and critics of the war alike. This involves analysis of the war from the perspective of the peoples of Indochina. One aspect of this is the destruction of life and the land, the degradation of refugee camps, Saigon and the Americanization of urban life. But the other and perhaps more significant side is the heroic struggle for independence waged for a quarter of a century by the Vietnamese people. To understand that struggle we need to consider life in the liberated areas, the program of the National Liberation Front, the nature of the guerrilla struggle. Again, in the Vietnamese case the great events of contemporary history will be viewed through the microcosm of the village and the individual. Again, the dual approach of a problem-oriented high school unit and a more analytically developed pamphlet will be our goal. It is important that the Vietnamese people speak in their own voice to the agonizing problems confronting their society.

Austerity budget: $1,000 to support two full-time student researchers for two to three months this summer to prepare and test these materials in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

AN APPEAL FOR SUMMER HELP FROM OKINAWA

Dear C.C.A.S.,

I've been in Okinawa since the beginning of December... My own involvement with the GI work has lately been confined to Okinawa where I find myself waiting for a visa and seeing a new spurt of energy and workers directed to the GI work and relating it to the Okinawan movement happenings - which as you know have heated up quite a bit in the last few months.

So - let me say that to the best of my knowledge - (admittedly not very current) there is no grandiose or even semi-grandiose scheme for a summer onslaught. There is, nevertheless, the same need and the same people (actually, a few more and with more experience gained in the months since the summer) and the same fluidity in the situation (as you know the military is supposed to scale down, turn over, or close out some of its Japan bases). Obviously we need everybody we can get...

When I left Tokyo, there was a strong effort at Yokosuka (the GI paper has survived the removal of one of its editors after another) and the Japanese involved (some) have started to devote themselves completely to the Jietai (Japan Self-Defense Force) base there. Yokosuka is a good example of what is possible in a situation where the base is "about to be closed down." We just never know, and the months before the closure are valuable to use...

Misawa coffee house continues. A couple of right-on guys - one from the Oizumi Citizen movement efforts, the other from the Iwakuni riot have done beautiful things with their life - as - struggle and really blended their politics with the Japanese movement in useful ways.
The struggle of the Mt. Fuji firing range people goes on - with the latest citizen effort on the part of women (who, incidentally, will be looking for support from the States) - part of this struggle is the meeting the Marines as they land on the beach at Numazu. PCS (Pacific Counseling Service)-Beheiren often does this, other times - old Left parties - most recently. One of the anti-war people almost got run down by a tank and the JSP (Japan Socialist Party)-backed group is raising a big, big stink - and calling for a discussion of the affair in the Diet.

(Two Americans) and a couple of Japanese have a commune in Iwakuni. I have no recent news.

But you can imagine how useful Japanese-speaking movement Americans would be in Okinawa now! At the moment there is the lawyer who defended one of the rioters at Iwakuni - doing court martial defense and some counseling with his wife, one or two students from (a University) international program who are more or less the PCS anchor people. We have hopes that one of the Tokyo PCS Japanese will soon come. It's really hard without a solidly bi-lingual person. There are a couple of Okinawan and Japanese photographers-reporters who have been important in relating the GI work to the Okinawan movement, but of course they're busy people.

The island is literally covered with bases. Of course, there are no plans to phase down things on Okinawa. Many Okinawan struggles against the gas, the GI crimes, the seizure of land and trees, the firings of base workers, the introduction of SDF (Self-Defense Forces) to Okinawa, the oil companies (Gulf, Toyoseki/Caltex, Esso), etc., etc., etc. - besides the spontaneous anger of the people (riots).

THE LEVEL OF AWARENESS AMONG THE GI's IS NOT VERY HIGH. THE SHORT STATEMENT BY BLACK GI's ON THE RIOT WAS USED IN ENGLISH CLASS IN SOME HIGH SCHOOLS. (BUT THE) VERY TOGETHER GROUP OF BLACK AIRMEN IS ALL BUT DISBANDED. WE HAVE YET TO MAKE CONTACT WITH SIMILARLY POLITICIZED GUYS - I'M HOPEFUL WE WILL. ALL THE RACISM AND ALL THE RUSSIA-MENACE MYTHS AND ALL THE SHIT WHICH IS SO DEEP AND SUCH A BASIC PART OF SOME AMERICANS MENTALITIES THAN WE HAVE THE COURAGE TO FACE AND ADMIT. DO YOU KNOW FOLKS WHO CAN TAKE THEIR UNDERSTANDING - GRADUATE SCHOOL LEVEL - AND MAKE IT MAKE SENSE AT THE LEVEL AT WHICH THESE GUYS ARE CLINGING TO ALL THAT SHIT? SOMETIMES I WONDER WHAT THE VALUE OF ALL MY READING HAS BEEN - IT'S ONLY LATELY THAT I'VE BEGUN TO GRASP HOW UTTERLY NEUTRALIZING OUR MIDDLE CLASS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM (INDIVIDUALIZED ACQUISITION OF INFORMATION FOR INDIVIDUALISTIC ENDS) IS - NO MATTER HOW RIGHT-ON THE BOOKS, THE READER WHO DOES NOT SEE HERSELF AS GAINING POLITICALLY USEFUL (IN THE CONTEXT OF GROUP STRUGGLE) INFORMATION - MIGHT AS WELL BE READING WINNIE THE POOH...

I'm dying to see the C.C.A.C. Indochina book. Since last summer, not a single book has come. I'm really beginning to feel the consequences of not setting up some means of getting important books from the States. And do we ever need basic level political education (W, imperialism, everything) materials for the GI's! You wouldn't believe the intellectual aridity which is America-Okinawa! You know that the new English Ambo is all on Okinawa (background and current: riot in Koza and Kunigami struggle). Please do everything you can to see it gets as wide a distribution as possible. I believe Ambo wants to try non-subscription type sales, too - like somebody selling a pile at conferences or at bookstores.

People interested in spending a summer in Okinawa write Mark Selden or Pacific Counseling Service, Ishii Building, 6-44 Kagurazaka, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo, Japan.
Only a few months ago, East Pakistan had hit the headlines as a massive cyclone ravaged the low-lying deltas of the Bay of Bengal, killing an estimated one million people. The cyclone has been called one of the worst natural disasters in history. Following closely on the heels of the cyclone, a totally different sort of disaster has gripped East Pakistan and her seventy million-plus population.

As the negotiations between Yaya Khan, the self-elected President of Pakistan, and Mujibur Rahman, the leader of the Bengalis with an overwhelming popular mandate, broke down on March 25, 1971, the West Pakistani Army took over East Pakistan. Mujibur Rahman was reportedly arrested, as were the other leaders of his Awami League Party. Led by American-supplied M-24 tanks and guns, the Army attacked the student dormitories of Dacca University and killed hundreds of unarmed students and civilians. Yaya Khan succeeded in obscuring the actual details of the killings by expelling all foreign newsmen from East Pakistan and by imposing a strict censorship of the press. However, as more and more evacuees pour into the capitals of other South Asian countries, a macabre picture of wanton killing and massacre emerges from their eyewitness accounts. The 80,000 soldiers of the West Pakistani Army, equipped with the most modern weapons supplied largely by the U.S. Government, have reportedly killed between 200,000 to 300,000 civilians. The Army is in control of the capital city of Dacca and the vital ports of Chittagong and Khulna which have been funneling supplies and provisions. A ragtag resistance movement called the Banga Desh Mukti Fauj (Bengal Liberation Army) has spontaneously emerged among peasants, students and small townspeople and is battling the Army with outworn rifles, handmade guns, bows and spears. The earlier cyclonic eruption had receded within days; the present military brutalities and popular resistance to it, however, are likely to continue indefinitely. The spectre of a grimly unsettled political condition will haunt South Asia for some time to come.

Historical Background

The crisis in Pakistan has been precipitated by a set of conditions, economic, political, and cultural, that have received but scant attention in this country. The historical and geographical factors which indicate the inevitability of the current crisis are also dimly perceived. Pakistan, carved out of the Indian subcontinent in 1947 on the basis of religious affinity, is divided in two halves, East and West, separated by 1,000 miles of Indian territory. The people of East Pakistan are Bengali. They are sharply distinguished linguistically, culturally and ethnically from the Punjabi-dominated West. The only cementive bond that brought these two radically different peoples under the umbrella of one nation had been Islam and hatred for and fear of Hindu-dominated India. Indeed, this highly subjective and shaky element has been played up repeatedly as a political prop to lead the nation through a series of political crises and upheavals since its inception in 1947.

In contrast to India, which had Nehru at the helm of affairs consistently for seventeen years, the task of nation-building in Pakistan was compounded by the death of its founding-father, Mr. Jinnah, in 1948; his successor, Liaquat Ali Khan, was murdered in 1951. The leadership vacuum was not easily filled. In 1953, there was an "economic crisis" - real or imaginary - which enabled the Head of State to dismiss the Prime Minister and appoint a new one. In 1954, there was a "constitutional crisis" and the Constituent Assembly was dissolved. In 1958, Field Marshall Ayub Khan imposed his direct personal military rule as the country was allegedly
going through a "political crisis.

The metropolitan center of the government of Pakistan and the capital, first in Karachi then in Rawalpindi, are based in West Pakistan. The Army, which supplied Ayub with his main support, is 90% West Pakistani. The cabinet and the various branches of the federal government are staffed by an overwhelming clique of Ayubites and West Pakistanis. The East Pakistani clamor for equal participation and partnership has been deliberately ignored. The rice-eating, poetry-reading volatile Bengali had become the wheat-eating sturdy Punjabi's hétérologue.

Economic Dimensions

The concentration of political power in West Pakistan and the failure to introduce democratic government has led to an incredible economic inequality between the Eastern and Western parts of the country. East Pakistan, with 55% of the population of the whole nation, has become increasingly impoverished in per capita terms in relation to the less populous and richer western province. In 1951-52 the average per capita income in East Pakistan was 85% of that in West Pakistan, but by 1967-68 the ratio had fallen to 62%. The over-all disparity index (which compares the national income between the two regions), based on official national figures prepared by the Pakistan Central Statistical Office, reveals a far wider gap than the per capita income index reveals. In 1959-60 the disparity index was not at 100%; by 1969-70 it had risen to 191%.

Though East Pakistan is the prime foreign exchange earner for the country through the export of jute, the national budget has systematically subordinated the needs of the East Pakistanis. The Development Plans, for instance, allocated only 20% of the total outlay to East Pakistan during 1950-55; 25% during 1955-60; 31% during 1960-65; and only 36% during 1965-70.

The major expenditure of the development funds, foreign aid, and the national budget in West Pakistan has not only widened the gap between the two regions, but has caused the creation of a highly unbalanced economic structure in West Pakistan as well. About two-thirds of the profits in large-scale manufacturing, along with the profits of 90% of the financial institutions in Pakistan, are directly controlled by about twenty families. Bribery and corruption have been the benchmark of this partnership between the wealthy families and the military junta, who have supported each other over time. Much of the technical expertise and financial aid in the formulation of the development plans came from Western countries, especially from the United States. During the Ayub Regime (1958-1968) American advisers tended to justify the blatant particularism of the Pakistani economic system. One adviser is reported to have supported the system of corruption on the ground that the twenty families, being rich, would have a high propensity to save and invest the stolen funds, whereas if the funds were equally distributed among the various government agencies, a larger proportion would be wasted away in wages and other current expenditures.

Growth of Popular Movement in East Pakistan

The Bengali Muslims in East Pakistan inherited from their Hindu counterparts a heritage of intense nationalism based on a literary culture. After the Partition, three new universities, in addition to the old, prestigious Dacca University, were set up. They helped disseminate this literary culture further. According to the 1961 census, East Pakistan has a higher literacy rate than West Pakistan. A new middle class elite, as opposed to the wealthy upper class elite in West Pakistan, has been the main source of support for Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his Awami League Party. During the fall of 1970, the League ran in the elections (the first of its kind in
Pakistan history) on a platform of greater provincial autonomy for East Pakistan. A reading of editorials of the Ittefaq, the Awami League newspaper, indicates that the question of complete independence was not mentioned at all. But Yaya Khan, with his brutal military intervention, has now forced the issue once and for all. Bangla Desh, or the Bengal Land, as the patriots of East Pakistan have come to call their land, is already a political reality in about two-thirds of the country. The patriots have urged the democratic nations of the world for recognition.

What Can Be Done

Ferrying and funneling the soldiers and supplies by airplanes and ships in a circuitous route along the Indian coast has been extremely expensive for West Pakistan. It is costing the government about $3 million dollars a month. Pakistan has a total foreign exchange reserve of $170 million and a net foreign debt of $5 billion dollars on which installment payments and interest are already due. The U.S. government also provides spare parts for the arms supplied before 1965. An emissary of the Pakistani government is reportedly in Washington, lobbying for the postponement of the payments. The concerned American public can put a stop to the killing in East Pakistan by urging their government not to grant this postponement and to stop the supply of arms.

Concluding Remarks

U.S. Government officials have thus far ignored the suggestion that a protest should be made to the Pakistani Government against the 'misuse' of American arms. There is as yet no evidence that any form of pressure, diplomatic or economic, has been exerted on West Pakistan. Russia's mild protest and India's verbal hysteria have been more than offset by China's strong support for West Pakistan. In a letter to Yaya Khan, on April 11, 1971 (New York Times, April 12), Chou En-lai is reported to have pledged the People's Republic's aid and assistance "should Indian expansionists dare to launch aggression against Pakistan." The most recent reports indicate that the Pakistani Army is switching to using China-supplied tanks and guns.

The parallels between the Mekong delta and the Bengal delta both ecologically and strategically are strikingly similar. If the present situation in East Bengal is allowed to continue indefinitely, it is very likely that a Viet Nam syndrome will emerge in South Asia leading eventually to a possible U.S. intervention. C.C.A.S. members, who have always supported China's revolutionism as opposed to U.S. interventionism, should see the uncanny contradiction here. U.S. indifference is not surprising, nor is India's "jubilation" at the dismemberment of Pakistan. But, China's support of West Pakistan in disregard of the popular movement in East Bengal is shocking.

Dilip Basu

Ed. Note: Dilip comes from Calcutta, India, but was born and raised in what is now East Pakistan for the first ten years of his life. He is currently a Research Associate at the Center for Chinese Studies at the University of Michigan.

Copy for the May Newsletter should be in Ann Arbor by May 15. Note: Since bulk mail will be used, the Newsletter probably won't arrive until the beginning of June.
STATEMENT ON PAKISTAN

Approved by
Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars
Washington, D.C.
March 30, 1971

This conference expresses its deep concern at the killing and destruction now taking place in East Pakistan. It places on record its condemnation of the massacre of defenseless masses of East Pakistanis by the West Pakistani Armed Forces. We urge all intervention in the internal affairs of East Pakistan be immediately stopped.

Resolution on the JCCC-SSRC Presented to
The Association for Asian Studies

Resolution concerning the Joint Committee on Contemporary China (JCCC). This is the dominant organization (with its subcommittees and the para-committee on the Economy of China) in the China studies field in the U.S. The JCCC came into being under a dubious mandate when the will and the vote of the founders of the JCCC to situate the committee within the AAS was contravened and the committee was situated within the Social Science Research Council instead. The JCCC operates as a closed top-down organization, antithetical to the pluralistic spirit of open academic inquiry. Its members are appointed by the SSRC, an exclusive organization, outside the field. Moreover, the JCCC has engaged in uncertain liaisons with the Foreign Areas Research Coordinating Group (FAR), which represents the military-intelligence agencies of Government. The JCCC has rejected reasonable requests (such as Prof. Fairbank's) for making its operations more open to the profession and thus disavowed its responsibility (vouched for by Prof. Vogel) to be more open about its deliberations. It is imperative for the integrity of the field that we determine whether there is anything inherent in the structure of the JCCC that makes it a possible counterpart to the FAR China Subcommittee, and whether there is anything inherently illegitimate in its ancestry. We therefore propose that a truly representative, independent standing committee of the AAS (including C.C.A.S.) be constituted to undertake a complete and thorough inquiry into the JCCC, the SSRC, and the East Asia division of the Ford Foundation. The standing committee should report back to the profession via the Newsletter and an AAS or joint AAS-CCAS panel at the 1972 annual convention.

CHAPTER CONTACTS: Return the S.I.U. Petitions Right Away!!!!!

A.A.S. MEMBERS: Sign the petition to put the S.I.U. statements on the BALLOT.

**************

SEND US YOUR SUMMER ADDRESS NOW!
The Newsletter will not be forwarded since it is bulk mail. The Newsletter will not be forwarded since it is bulk mail. The Newsletter will not be forwarded since it is....
At the annual Association of Asian Studies meeting held in Washington, March 29-31, Professor Milton Sacks led a spirited but unsuccessful effort to legitimate the S.I.U. Vietnamese Center and alter the nature of Vietnam Studies in North America.

Along with other government-affiliated friends and client Vietnamese from the Voice of America and the Saigon Embassy, Professor Sacks packed a meeting of the scholarly Vietnam Studies Coordinating Group (VSCG) and attempted to have the recent elections of that group voided in favor of new arrangements that would have almost certainly resulted in domination by S.I.U. Center members and supporters. Such hack participants in U.S. pacification policies as Samuel Huntington, Ithiel Poole, and Frank Trager were advanced by Professor Sacks as academically legitimate specialists on Vietnam, hence deserving voting and participatory privileges in the VSCG. He even recommended H.B. Jacobini, S.I.U. Center Director, who has never researched, taught, or published anything on Vietnam!

In the end, the VSCG turned back these thrusts and ratified the elections. But Professor Sacks is likely to try again and again, since by this action the S.I.U. Center remains almost totally isolated from serious, ethical scholars of Vietnam.

Two of the three newly-elected members of the VSCG, Huynh Kim Khanh and Ngo Vinh Long, have often spoken forcefully against the S.I.U. Center. Along with several other VSCG members they can be expected to continue the effort to insure that Vietnam studies in North America is insulated from the arrogant machinations of A.I.D., State Department and Defense Department officials, working through academic entrepreneurs like Sacks, Wesley Fischel, Huntington, Poole, and Trager.

31 March 1971

***

Copy for the May Newsletter should be in Ann Arbor by May 15. Note: since bulk mail will be used, it probably won’t arrive until the beginning of June.

***

The Southeast Asia Regional Council maintains a mailing list of Southeast Asian scholars at its Information Office in Ann Arbor. A newsletter is distributed and polls taken on such issues as the development of guidelines governing professional conduct. We are anxious to include as many people as possible in this list and urge those of you not now receiving materials from the Council to send your name and address to Mrs. Shirley Clarkson, SEARC Information Office, Lane Hall, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104.

Information on Council activities, university programs and personnel, research funding and so on is collected by this office. We welcome your inquiries and suggestions for Council action at any time.

$ @ $ @ $
THE PEOPLE AND THEIR GUNS

The People's War in Laos

SCENARIO

This is the most significant political analysis yet to be produced on film about the struggle in Indochina. "THE PEOPLE AND THEIR GUNS" is composed of four parts preceded by an introduction and followed by a "finale" in the form of a conclusion.

INTRODUCTION

The first minutes are devoted to the definition of a certain number of ideas one finds constantly in the vocabulary of the militants and the peasants of Laos: "imperialism, neo-colonialism, puppets..." An expose is also given of the political and military situation in the Far East (the encirclement of China), in Southeast Asia (the revolt of the peoples of a dozen countries), in Laos, (where the fight for liberation has been going on for 25 years).

FIRST PART

THE PEOPLE'S ARMY AND THE PEOPLE

In a zone which it has just wrested from the domination of the reactionary army under American commandment, the People's Liberation Army of Laos undertakes the transformation of the life of the peasants, helping them in agricultural work and aiding them in all aspects of daily life. They treat the sick, teach the peasants to read and write, educate and organize, distribute arms taken from the enemy. They awaken the political conscience of the masses and permit them to integrate themselves in the struggle for national liberation.

SECOND PART

WHO COMMANDS THE GUNS

In the heart of the liberated zone, Nakay, the principal base of resistance and its hundreds of caves sheltered from American bombs..... Powerful material means are concentrated here: factories, workshops, printing presses. The cadres formed in the liberation struggle are given advanced training in the schools buried in the heart of the rocks. It is also at Nakay that the headquarters of the Central Committee of the Laotian Patriotic Front (Neo Lao Hak Sat) is to be found.

THIRD PART

THE PEOPLE CAN DO EVERYTHING

Soo Hao resembles hundreds of other villages in the liberated zone. Its inhabitants no longer have to endure the exploitation of the feudal landowners and the oppression of the officials in their pay. Their lives are profoundly transformed since the militants of the Patriotic Front have taught them the meaning of mutual aid, of unity. in the mutual aid brigades, were the capacity for work is organized in common, the peasants learn the significance of dialogue, of democracy, of solidarity.

There is no dictatorial authoritarianism in the village: all questions are discussed at length by everyone until unity is achieved. For the first time women enjoy the same rights as men. They are no longer relegated to the menial tasks nor the most tedious jobs. Like the men, they plough the fields, learn to read and write, carry arms, express themselves in the meetings where the contradictions
"in the hearts of the people" are resolved by criticism and self-criticism.

For all the inhabitants of Sop Hao, production, the amelioration of conditions, mutual aid, and study constitute participation in the struggle. After each harvest, a part of the rice crop is put aside and given by the peasants for the nourishment of the combattants at the front. Each season, boys who have become young men voluntarily leave their families, with the approbation and the compliments of all, to join the ranks of the liberation army.

FOURTH PART

The People's Liberation Army is the spearhead of the resistance of the Laotian people. All its combattants are voluntary and come from the people. They are at the service of the people. Training, education so as to fight better, armed struggle, aiding the peasants to produce more, to live better: this is the life of the Laotian soldiers. At the entrance of a cave where a whole village lives, a soldier is singing, to a popular tune, about the life of the fighters, their love for their people and their country, their sense of sacrifice, their devotion to the cause of a free Laos, independent, peaceful, and prosperous.

FINALE

It corresponds to the introduction and invites the audience to draw the political lessons of the liberation war in Laos: prolonged political work in common unites the people against the common enemy; revolutionary ideology, when it penetrates profoundly into the masses, becomes an invincible force if it is backed by armed struggle; American imperialism, enemy number one of all peoples, is encircled on every side; everywhere oppression breeds revolt... The people of Laos, like the people of Viet Nam, show how to transform this revolt into victory.

RENTAL: Due to the manifold hassles involved in C.C.A.S. distributing the film and the need for immediate cash, the film will be handled by a distributor... along with a color short including the last pictures taken of Ho Chi-minh. We apologize for what appear to be exorbitant prices, but we think that with well-planned showings costs can still be met. The Laos film is clearly well worth the effort.

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR GUNS: The People's War in Laos
by Joris Ivens 97 min. Black and White
Rental: $135.00

MEETING WITH HO CHI-MINH 8 min. Color
Rental: $25.00

If both films are rented TOGETHER the price DROPS TO $150.00.

Distributor: Stan Gottlieb
Impact Films, Inc.
144 Bleecker St.
New York, N.Y. 10012
212-674-3375

NOTE: DEAL DIRECTLY WITH IMPACT FILMS: DO NOT GO THROUGH THE COORDINATORS!

PROMOTE THE SPRING ANTI-WAR OFFENSIVE
THREE FILM NOTES

The Seventeenth Parallel by Joris Ivens

"...Here we are finally very close to Vietnam." Nouvelle Observateur

This is the story of a village in Vietnam just north of the 17th parallel, how it lives, survives, and through the people's will prospers under the incessant threat of American bombing. The sound of American war planes is constantly in the air. One is never sure if they will bomb this time or not. Ivens' achievement is to quietly reveal, for all who are sensitive enough to feel, the numbing horror of modern warfare. This is an "anti-war" film in comparison to the deep political analysis coming from Ivens' latest film, "The People and Their Guns."

American Documentary Films
336 West 84th St.
New York, New York
799-7441

black and white; 16 mm.; rental $135.00
about 80 min.

The Ninth Party Congress of the Communist Party of China

A short film to document the Congress meeting in Peking, April 1969. In brilliant color, Chairman Mao walks, smiles and waves and ... even says a line audible to millions who view the film! This is the only known film in the West where he can actually be heard speaking! A really great way to start out a program on China.

Mark Scher
P.O. Box 326
Cathedral Station
New York, New York
212-666-9727

color; 16 mm.; rental probably $15.00
about 20 min.

The Anti-China Atrocities of the New Tsars

An historical documentary of Russian incursions into Siberia, culminating in pitched battles on the Heilungkiang and Ussuri Rivers during summer, fall and winter of 1968-1969. This is the movie the Chinese cheered in Hong Kong (not to mention the people of China). A bit long and documentary for general audiences; a must for "foreign policy" classes and friends of China.

Also available from Mark Scher
black and white; 16 mm.; rental probably $25.00; about 70 min.

GETTING TOGETHER: FILMS ON ASIA

With increasing frequency important and useful films on Asia, particularly Indochina, have been surfacing. Since the National Coordinators have consciously decided not to go into the film distributing hassle themselves, we are going to try the next best thing: the production of an annotated list of films. Lin@Yarr (362 Clinton St., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11231) has agreed to try to pull this together. Write to her with any suggested entries and your comments on them.
Whose Bulletin is this anyway?

As the Bulletin's quality improves, we face a growing problem of estrangement from the chapters and individuals who constitute C.C.A.S. This problem was discussed in detail during the recent meetings in Washington.

The Bulletin editors would like to reiterate their invitation to everyone in C.C.A.S., and above all the student members, to write and to discuss with us any projects which may be of relevance.

We are seeking expanded student participation in the Bulletin in a number of ways including the following: First, the Editorial board is being expanded to include more graduate student and chapter representatives. Second, Perry Link, the new co-editor, is a graduate student who has expressed strong interest in overcoming this problem. Third, by working as closely as possible with graduate students on individual and group projects which may eventually be published in the Bulletin.

We are asking each chapter to send us the names of a few members, as well as their fields of interest, who may be interested in serving on the editorial board. Board members are involved in soliciting articles for the Bulletin, in providing critical evaluations of those we receive, in determining the articles we publish, and the direction of the Bulletin, as well as helping to distribute the Bulletin locally.

The Bulletin Editors

WAR/PEACE SPOTLIGHT

We have had experience in St. Louis over the past month in running an underground weekly radio program on the war in Indochina and the anti-war movement locally and nationally. Included is up-to-date information on developments in the fighting as well as the larger dynamics of the Nixon doctrine and American imperialism. As underground stations spread throughout the country, this seems a prime activity that can be developed by C.C.A.S. or (as in our case) by a few individuals with such inclination.

This approach enables us to reach large numbers of people--many of them, of course, non-readers of our materials--on a sustained basis; it enables us to relate directly to the activities of local anti-war and other movements; it is the kind of activity that can be done by many of us with much greater ease than writing; and it provides an on-going educational channel that can reach large numbers of people.

While we provide some of the analysis, we also use tapes done elsewhere of speeches and meetings, invite guests to speak on local and national activities, and conduct telephone tape interviews when necessary. The underground station provides us an extremely flexible format. Our program has a regular prime evening time slot and is repeated the following morning. It runs anywhere from 15 to 45 minutes depending on what we wish to present. We have also been involved in having a weekend-long presentation of the tapes of the recent Winter Soldier Investigation in Detroit, plus discussion and analysis of the war.

C.C.A.S. nationally is able to provide a wealth of individuals to speak on all aspects of the war, American Asian policy, imperialism, etc., and these resources can be used. We are hoping this weekend, for instance, to air a half-hour telephone
AN APPEAL TO STOP NIXON'S ESCALATION IN INDOCHINA

The following appeal was signed in February and March by eleven prominent Americans (including two former C.C.A.S. National Coordinators!) and about 150 professors in Japan:

APPEAL
(Issued on February 26, 1971)

The Nixon Administration, following the Cambodia move, is intensifying intervention in Laos on the grounds that any strike for any purpose anywhere in Southeast Asia serves the Administration's ultimate goal of protecting the withdrawal of American troops from south Vietnam, and is therefore justified. The danger of the possible use of nuclear weapons is growing. Intervention in Laos, Cambodia and/or Vietnam by the Nixon Administration on any pretext whatever should be ended immediately.

1. We demand that the Nixon Administration give a pledge that the U.S. will not use nuclear, radioactive or chemical weapons in Southeast Asia. The use of such weapons constitutes a crime against humanity.

2. The peoples of the three countries of Indochina are fighting for their fundamental national rights of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity (and reunification). The three peoples should be left to settle their own affairs for themselves, and all foreign troops should cease intervention and withdraw from Indochina immediately. For the same reason, intervention in any form, support, supply, logistic or directional activities should be stopped at once.

For further information, contact:
Professor Kiyoshi SAKUMA
Hiroshima University
Hiroshima, Japan

Cable Code:
PROFESSOR SAKUMA C/O ANTIATOM TOKYO
The World Student Christian Federation-sponsored conference of radical research groups was held in Andover, Massachusetts, February 12-15. The purpose of this meeting was to enable movement groups doing radical research in the United States and abroad to meet one another, to exchange publications and research material, and to examine and re-evaluate the theoretical framework we use as research and political action groups. Forty-eight people from twelve countries represented the twenty-six groups present. An arbitrary limit to the number of participating groups excluded C.C.A.S. from taking part directly. However, we held a special meeting with myself, two other conference participants, and members of Harvard C.C.A.S. the day after the conference ended. I attended the conference under the auspices of C.R.V. (the Committee of Returned Volunteers), but I also spoke about C.C.A.S. and distributed C.C.A.S. literature at the conference.

We spent the first few days in two workshops, one discussing political theory, particularly Marxism, used in radical research; the other dealing with imperialism and the constituencies we are attempting to reach through our research. The final day of the conference was spent in smaller workshops devoted to area research (Latin America and Africa; Asia had been discussed by a special workshop the night before), research methods and source materials, and financing radical research. We had a special workshop on community organizing for a few of the Europeans interested in how some American groups do political work on a local level. Four black members of the Polaroid Strike Committee from Boston came to this special workshop to explain how their boycott plans were being organized.

There were several important benefits which came out of the conference. Many of the non-American groups, particularly the West Germans, left the conference with a much better understanding of the American movement, especially women's and gay liberation. At first they refused to consider "personal liberation" as true revolutionary activity. They said the American movement should be organizing factory workers and other blue-collar workers. They also criticized us for our involvement with Third World movements—the "disease of third worldism" they called it. By the end of the conference, however, most non-Americans agreed that the women's struggle and other personal liberation movements were indeed important and may even be applicable to their own political work at home. Unfortunately, we were unable to reach an understanding about the relationship of the struggle in the Third World to the fight against imperialism at home.

The most important benefit for C.C.A.S. and all other American groups was the realization of the need for much more work in developing a theoretical basis for our political work. The Germans in particular showed us the importance of Marxist theory in dealing with capitalism and imperialism. A strong theoretical base will give us the long-term direction to make our struggle against capitalism more clear to ourselves and our constituencies. The Americans agreed this absence of a theoretical base was our weakest point.

The contacts we made during the conference will be continued on an organizational level through a committee, chosen by the conference, which will periodically send out summaries of what each group is doing and an up-dated list of their publications.

Fred L. Goss
Berkeley C.C.A.S.
Some questions have been raised about the collection and disbursement of finances in Washington. A brief report follows.

### Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>donations at panels</td>
<td>$170.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>registration at workshops</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>movies</td>
<td>90.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>literature sales, other dona-tions</td>
<td>352.70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total**: $712.70

### Expenses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>phone*</td>
<td>$295.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>film rentals</td>
<td>35.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-CCAS literature disbursements</td>
<td>155.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meetinghouse rental*</td>
<td>50.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mimeograph supplies</td>
<td>58.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stamps, mailings</td>
<td>57.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>posterboard, misc. supplies</td>
<td>28.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCAS literature disbursements</td>
<td>150.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total**: $829.89

1. The extremely high phone costs came in the absence of a chapter in Washington to do the local planning. Many small details had to be arranged by phone.
2. None of the panel speakers received, to my knowledge, any stipend or transportation reimbursement.
3. CCAS literature disbursements are the only item not yet paid for.

Chuck Cell

---

**SOME IMPORTANT ADDRESSES FOR THE COMING MONTHS**

**National Coordinators:**

Chuck Cell, 606 E. Washington, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48108; 313-662-8276
Molly Coye, CCAS, Building 600T, Stanford University, Stanford, Cal. 94305; 415-654-4857
Cindy Fredrick, 216 Bank St., Cambridge, Mass., 02138; 617-864-3105 (call person-to-person)

**NOTE:** Membership and Newsletter matters should be directed to Chuck Cell until July (after that to Molly Coye). Other questions should be directed to the relevant regional coordinator.

**Bulletin and Editorial Questions:**

**Editors:** Perry Link, 18 Eustis St., Apt. 2, Cambridge, Mass. 02140
Mark Selden, Department of History, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri, 63130

**Business and Subscriptions** (also bulk orders--25 or more--for the Indochina Story at 40% discount): Jon Livingston, CCAS, 9 Sutter St., San Francisco, Cal., 94104
LOCAL CHAPTER CONTACTS:


ANTIOCH: Marilyn McCullagh, History Dept., Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387

ARIZONA: Quinton Priest, 734 N. Sixth Ave., Tucson, Arizona 85721

AUSTRALIA/N.Z.: CASAN Secretariat, 1/6 Moorehouse St., O'Connor, ACT 2601, Australia

BERKELEY: CCAS, 2168 Shattuck Ave., Rm 316, Berkeley, Cal. 94704

CHICAGO: John Berthrong, 5757 University Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60637

COLUMBIA: Gene Cooper, 311 W. 100th St., N.Y.C. 10025

CONNECTICUT: Herman Mast, History Dept., U. of Conn., Storrs, Conn. 06268

CORNELL: George Hildebrand, 914 Highland Rd., Ithaca, N.Y. 14850

DARTMOUTH: Jonathan Mirsky, East Asian Center, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H. 03755

DUKE: Alan Tharpe, 212 Northwood Circle, Durham, N.C. 27701

DUBLIN: Katsu and John Young, 635 E. Calhoun #104, Springfield, Mo. 65802

FRANCE: Jean Chesneau, Faculte des Lettres, 17 rue de la Sorbonne, Paris 5, France

GERMANY: Gerion Sievernich, Ostasiatisches Sem, 1 Berlin 33, Podbielskiallee 42,

HARVARD: CCAS, Phillips Brooks House, Cambridge, Mass. 02138

HAWAII: Dr. Oliver Lee, Pol. Sci. Dept., U. of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822

HONG KONG: Frank Kehl, 283 Prince Edward Rd., Kowloon, Hong Kong

ILLINOIS: Linda C.Y. Blake, 300 S. Goodwin, Apt. 501, Urbana, Ill. 61801

INDIANA: Bill Wellman, 111 1/2 West Fifth, Att. C., Bloomington, Ind. 47401

INDIANA STATE: Jordan Paper, History Dept., Indiana State U., Terre Haute, Ind. 47809

ITALY: T. Terrani c/o di Firenze, Istituto di storia contemporanea, Via San Gallo 10,

KANSAS: Norman Hastings, R.D. 3, Box 10, Lawrence, Kan. 66044

LONDON: Stephan Peuchtwang, c/o AREAS, 22 Chepstow Crescent, London W.11, England

MATTHEW: Joanne Wakeel/Peg Roston, CCAS, 104 Lene Hall, U. of Michigan, Ann Arbor

MINNESOTA: Ted Parmer, History Dept., U. of Minnesota, Minneapolis, 55455

MONTREAL: S.J. Noumoff, Centre for East Asian Studies, 1005 Sherbrooke St., W., Montreal

MACALESTER: Jerry Fisher, History Dept., Macalester College, St. Paul

MICHIGAN: Chicago State, History Dept., Indiana State U., Terre Haute, Ind. 47809

MINNESOTA: Ted Parmer, History Dept., U. of Minnesota, Minneapolis, 55455

ONTARIO: S.J. Noumoff, Centre for East Asian Studies, 1005 Sherbrooke St., W., Montreal

NORTHERN ILLINOIS U.: Russ Smith, S.E. Asia Studies Club, 3129 Lincolnshire, DeKalb

OAKLAND U.: Richard Tucker, History Dept., Oakland U., Rochester

OREGON: Jeff Freed, Pol. Sci. Dept., U. of Oregon, Eugene, Ore. 97403

PRINCETON: Michael McGrath, East Asia Studies Dept., Jones Hall, Princeton, N.J. 08540

SANTA BARBARA: Collin R. Tong, P.O. Box 12510, U.C.S.B., Santa Barbara, Cal. 93107

ST. LOUIS: Dave Wilson, 4371 Winsminster Pk., St. Louis, Mo. 63108

SINGAPORE: Raymond Liew, Dept. of Govt. & Pub. Admin, National University, Jurong Rd.

STANFORD: CABS, Bldg. 600T, Stanford, Cal. 94305

SOUTHERN ILLINOIS U.: Doug Allen, Philosophy Dept., S.I.U., Carbondale, Ill. 62901

TEXAS: Gordon Bennett, Dept. of Gov't., Texas U., Austin, Texas 78712

TORONTO: Janet Salaff, Sociology Dept., 563 Spadina Ave., U. of Toronto, Toronto 179

WINDSOR: David Wurfel, Pol. Sci. Dept., U. of Windsor, Windsor, Ontario, Canada

WISCONSIN: Ralph Thaxton, 1109 Catalpa Circle, Madison, Wisconsin 53713

YALE: Teddy Bozman, 4 Eld St., New Haven, Conn. 06511

U. OF PACIFIC: Jere Chapman, 1228 Pitch Way, Sacramento, Cal. 95825

WASHINGTON: CCAS, 419 Thompson Hall, U. of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 98105

*Changes or additions to the mailing labels passed out in Washington.