

♪ Kumbaya, my Lord, kumbaya ♪ ♪ Kumbaya, my Lord, kumbaya ♪ ♪ Oh Lord, kumbaya ♪

- As you can hear, Miss Baez just led the group in Kumbaya. At this moment things are quiet. I imagine that there will be more singing momentarily. Our microphones are set up at a discussion table where Miss Harris, the former Miss Baez, or Mrs. Harris, rather, and her husband and two other people were in a discussion as you can hear right now. They're planning on what they're going to do next. As I said before, Miss Harris began singing. Apparently a confrontation is in the making between the Board of Trustees and the students here. It has become remarkably more serious as of this afternoon. What was already a very serious effort has become more serious as it becomes possible in a more real sense. Some of the students here may be putting themselves on the line, not just bodily but in terms of their standing with the University. This however is all speculation at this time because

- Okay, now it's the time to,

- Because Chairman Tisdale has made no official statement.

- If anybody has questions, first of all we'll answer the ones that we can see here.

- As you can hear, they're calling the questions. Miss Baez and her husband were discussing the draft. Apparently this is something they were very concerned in, as well as the issue at stake here, of civil rights and racial justice.

- Are there any people here that are in the light that we can see that have questions?

- He's calling for questions from the monitor. He's calling for questions from the floor. I do not know how this questioning is going to go, we'll listen in.

- We appreciate Miss Harris, Miss Harris and these people coming here and speaking to us on the resistance, but this is not our main purpose, and I just can't-- (applause)

- As you can see, he has just informed her that this is not a peace vigil, or rather a vigil for racial justice. This is something, apparently there was some misunderstanding on the part of Miss Baez and Mr Harris. The people here are, of course, excuse me, here having to deal with demands of the union and so forth, I think this is beginning to be cleared up on the quad. I imagine Miss Baez was aware of this, but was also very interested in this other topic, that of the war and universal brotherhood.

- I'm glad that we've given them a chance to speak on this subject, but it's an entirely different issue and just for the sake of members of the media that might be listening in, I will remind you that this vigil is not a draft-resistant vigil and mainly people here feel as the way they do. There are many people who feel differently

and there are a lot, probably most of us, who are undecided, but I just want to make sure that everybody here realizes that this is not a draft-resistant movement, and although--

- Do you wanna respond to that?

- Let me respond to that.

- We made several signs for this vigil, our main object here is for--

- I don't even think I should, I don't think we should respond to them, I think we should just ignore them. It doesn't make many sense. (applause)

- As you can hear, our microphones are picking up a private conversation as well.

- Respond to everything.

- I see Mr. Sandbrow would like to respond. Okay, I'll respond to it. We've been on a national speaking tour discussing the things that we said tonight. And when we came to Duke, they said everybody who is anybody is sitting out on the lawn so why don't you go and say it there, so that's what we did. (applause)

- As you can see, I think the misunderstanding is, at this moment, beginning to be cleared up.

- I suppose, to be as polite as I can, I would say I disagree with the young man. As a matter of fact, what you're about is resistance. And you can't divide them, that's all, they're all connected. And if you think university is divided from resistance, it's incorrect. Even your hissing, you know, is part of your resistance, as a matter of fact. (applause) You see, I think this is one of the things that's happened in our world, is that we've divided up, that we have this specific issue, we have that specific issue. I think we have a whole issue of how to be human and how to relate humanly to other people. And I think you're doing that tonight, and I don't think it's disconnected from resistance. (applause)

- Okay, well we're gonna take at random some of the questions that came up here. And the first question that came up was what would you do if you get attacked.

- Well... (chuckling)

- Relax. The thing about-- (laughter) The thing about a hypothetical question, well, two things about this particular question, I gather the person means what do you do individually when somebody is poking a gun in your ribs or raping your mother or whatever hypothetical situation it is. And I say two things, one is to answer hypothetical, there's no answer to a hypothetical question except a hypothetical one, and everybody leaves saying yeah, but. So what I would do is two things, and I'm gonna give you an example of an individual responding to an attack and then I'd like to say that this is not really what we're stressing so much as the fact that 83% of the American tax dollar goes to building weapons of destruction and things to

kill people with, and that I think that's a different kind of a violence from adrenaline on the streets kind of violence. And as long as we allow ourselves to go on supporting the kind of international murder that goes on, I think the incidental violence or whatever you wanna call it will keep going. But I'd just like to give one example, because sometimes it is helpful to know a real situation that took place and that these things do take place and pacifists live to tell about it. And Ira Santhrill sitting on my right was attacked by a man who had a gun. And that's ideal for a pacifist because everybody is always saying what would you do if somebody attacked you and stuck a gun in your ribs. And so somebody did one night as Ira was stepping off a train, Ira was going to a Quaker meeting and the man stepped out to him and stuck a gun in his side and said give me all your money. And Ira said no, I'll give you half. (laughter) (applause) You all realize that's a terrible thing--

- If I might interrupt our programming at this time, I would like to announce that we here, are not particularly clear in our minds whether it is necessary to continue covering the questioning and answering. However, I would like to leave this open. If those of you who are listening now to DBS would particularly like to hear the questioning go on, please call us at 3686 and we certainly are not adverse to keeping on the air, however, it is my feeling here that it might be best to return you to our regularly programming of regularly scheduled programming until something else new breaks here. However, if you're particularly interested in hearing this, please call us at 3686 and in five minutes, I will be in communication with our station briefly to see what the situation is on that. For the present, I'll return you to the main quadrangle.

- But I think what happens when you begin to think in the terms that everybody has something you can appeal to as a human being, then you stop thinking of him as a crook and that's your only possibility of getting out of the situation alive. Plus, for instance in this case, it enhanced the whole situation beautifully. You wanna say anything about that? Okay, another question.

- Does anybody with B and C have a question? Okay.

- You wanna use this?

- No, I just wanna ask what do we do about our parents who are not, you know...

- The question is, the young man in the back of us says what do we do about our parents who are not in favor of what we do. Well, I just wanna answer this first and then if the others would like to say something, they can, but I just find this extraordinary that all these tough young men and women and all these revolutionaries that then, the themes of the first and last question always on their minds is well, what's mommy gonna say if I sit on the lawn too late and catch a cold or whatever it is I'm gonna do, what's mommy gonna say and what's daddy gonna say. And I really think that, what I would say to you is to give your parents a little more faith and a little more trust than you ever have and you're liable to come through on top. Give them, trust them enough to tell them the truth. Trust them enough that you don't keep trying to hide stuff from them and you don't keep trying to do it all undercover and keep lying to them. Say look, ma, I think this is where it stands, you know, I think this is where it's at. And then tell her, what I've seen of that is that the mamas and papas come through pretty well at the end, they say oh my god, you know, we gave birth to a real son. (laughter)

- I'd just briefly like to say we've all had parents. (laughter)

- Mr. Harris, how do you feel about removing yourself from the system from up to five years and the possible good you could do from being in the system as say being out of jail and trying to convert people as you are now, as to people in college immediately giving up their right to stay out of jail. What do you think of the possibilities of still working while you're in college and trying to enlighten the people to this brotherhood.

- Be nice.

- I don't think it's a good comment on America that we've developed a new right, which is the right to stay out of jail. (laughter) I try. Well, what I'd say is I don't think the question, the real question is being in or out of jail, the real question is how it is that you and I can do work and how is it that we really can relate to people, how is it that we really can educate people. What I'd say is that the way people learn, as I understand it, really isn't from the phenomenon of rhetoric or the phenomenon of what words that you use. It's really how you say those words and what kind of life is backing those words up. So I'd say that anything you would wanna teach people, it seems to me, first you'd have to live. And one of the reasons I sent my draft cards back, which incidentally, I did while I was Stanford student body president, I sent them back because I wanted to do real work and I wanted to say the truth about the draft, what I thought that truth was. And I thought there was no honest way to say that truth and continue to cooperate with military conscription. So the real question is a question about how you're gonna live and what kind of values you're gonna live out. And I think the case is that for living out certain kinds of values, you may end up in jail. But I think it's Much more important to live those out than to postpone them because you might go to jail because of them. I think to live those as fully as you can is the real task. And as far as the question of staying in school as a student and doing work, I'm familiar with the position of being a student, I was a student at Stanford University for four years, and one of those as student body president and I'd say that generally, being a student left a fairly bad taste in my mouth, but that I felt that I really believed in education. That I really wanted to see people educated. And the conclusion I reached after my time in university was that the university was something that absolutely contradicted the notion of human education because it seemed to me the notion of human education had to begin at a basic respect for human beings. And I saw no university, and I traveled between a lot of them speaking, that had that kind of respect. And that if I wanted to do education and if I wanted to be educated myself, I'd go start an institution, or start something, that would begin to do that education. I think it's important for any student to realize that education is a phenomenon that exists inside of your mind. And that's where its roots are, its roots are not in any institution that you send yourself to. And it's very possible to be an educated man and continue to educate yourself and educate others around you and be completely disconnected from one of these institutions. I think as soon as you adopt the idea that education is connected to this institution, somehow--

- As the discussion continues, I am going to pause momentarily to make contact with our station to find out what the situation is. I would ask that you wait approximately 10 seconds while we discuss our further coverage. Stand by please, for 10 seconds.

- This is WDBS in Durham, as a result of a recent phone poll, we have found that there are 10 people of the 11 people called in, 10 are in favor of continued coverage and one is against it, therefore, we will continue coverage and return you to our West Campus quad studios.

- Thank you very much, as you heard, we will continue our coverage of the broadcast.

- Relieve some people of some of their fears. And to give you an idea of what kind of power it is that all of you possess. I think most of us begin by underestimating ourselves. Now, you say well, you're gonna go to jail and I say oh, we're gonna be destroyed, the first reaction. And I think that you possess a lot more power than that. And for that, I wanna just give one guy's experience in jail to give you an idea of the kind of power that a person possesses. This was a guy in Atlanta, Georgia, the police came into his front room one day and said you're under arrest for refusing the draft. And he said well, by virtue of the power of the state, you take control of my body. Take care of it. From that point on, laid down on the floor, refused to move, refused to talk, refused to eat. And so they picked him up and they carried him off to jail, and they carried him from jail into the court room and laid him on the floor of the court room and the judge looked over, the bench, they all looked at him, the lawyers trying to get him to say something, come on, come on, talk, you gotta defend yourself, this is a democracy, freedom, you know. So he didn't and so they carried him off to prison. And he was in prison, they mopped him up for six months or so. And kind of force fed him and did all those things. And they came into his cell one day and they said look, you're too much trouble, we're gonna send you home. And he looked up and he said take the body back where you found it. (applause) And made them pick him up and carry him back to his living room in Atlanta, Georgia, he got up and walked off. I tell that story just so people can begin to think of, of a phenomenon like being sent to prison within some notion of human reality. Like the one where we have, kind of the statement we have in the resistance you know, is when at Duke, do Duke, when in jail, do jail. And for all of you people that are concerned that are supposedly students, I just give you a quote from a guy named Dave Dellinger who was a guy that spent time in jail for non-cooperation with the draft that had been at one time a Yale student. He said I went to Yale and then I went to Jail and I learned a hell of a lot more at jail than I ever learned at Yale, and I think that's true. And I think that the way you're gonna learn is when you really begin your life. And when you really begin living out what it is that you feel inside yourselves. And I think if what you feel is that notion of brotherhood, then living it out means that you're gonna have to spend time in jail. And I think it's much more important for you to live that out than it is to worry about jail. And I think that's what all of your concerns ought to be, is with how you can live that out, and penalties be damned because penalties don't mean anything when you begin to live that out. Penalties don't even stand up to the benefits. And I think that's the real problem, is how you're gonna live, not where you're gonna end up because of your living. (applause)

- Forgive me for interrupting this, but I get very few telegrams and as yet, we as a group, have gotten very few. And I think we've become the same general subject. And this just came in, Benjamin E. Mays is a longtime friend of Dr. Martin Luther King's. Martin Luther King revered him as a great teacher. And Martin Luther King asked him if he were killed ever, if Dr. Mays would please do his eulogy. And so it will be tomorrow, Dr. Benjamin E. Mays is going to eulogize Martin Luther King in Atlanta. This telegram. Dr. John Strange and vigil students, I've learned of your dedicated action in memory of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. As long as students like you are interested in racial justice and determined to carry on the noble work that Dr.

Martin Luther King did, he will not have died in vain. (applause)

- There was a girl out there who had a question.

- Let's get a question from the audience before we do another one.

- I think what Mr. Harris is talking about is what you people are doing here tonight. You're standing up, or sitting down, as the case may be, for what you're believing in, and that I think it's fantastic that it's happening at Duke. Are there any questions in the audience.

- Over here.

- I'd like to address--

- You wanna use this?

- You wanna use this, then.

- Yes, please. Mr. Harris, concerning your speech, how do you justify the assumption that 80% of the world's people in are in misery because of the American military establishment? (applause)

- First, I said that our military establishment exists as one of the reasons. And then what I'd say... (static drowns out dialogue) We spend more money on armaments every month for the war in Vietnam than is necessary to feed every starving person in the world today. And second, I would say one of the reasons the people are miserable around the world is that they have no control over the resources that they work. And that they have no control over how the goods of those resources are distributed. I think one of the, the primary factors in the fact that they have no control is the American military. Because America basically follows an imperialistic foreign policy which involves Americans controlling the governments of countries all around the world. The primary instrument in controlling those governments is the American military and the threat of the use of American military force. I think very clearly, if one can direct the problem of wealth distribution to the problem of people's misery, I think the American military is greatly involved in that. For example, let's say, take a country like Guatemala where 600 people in Guatemala control over 90% of the land. Now, in Guatemala City, if you've ever been there, there are three big buildings downtown. The first building is the seat of the Guatemalan government, the second building is the offices of the United Fruit Company, which is an American company. And the third is the United States embassy, and they're all linked. And I think that's typical of how a country like Guatemala is run. It's run under the threat of American military force, as I think most of what's called the free world is run. I think if you're gonna try and understand how those people can better their lot, I think the first conclusion that you reach is that the resources from their country and the resources of their work ought to go to benefiting those people. And I think one of the primary reasons they do not go benefiting those people is that American military force controls their governments and controls how decisions in those countries are made. And I think if there's ever gonna be an end to the misery of people in the world, it means a whole realignment of the distribution

of resources. And I think we in the United States have to face the fact that we have in our hands, the resources of curing the fact of starvation and misery amongst people. Now, in the United States, we have made the decision that that end to starvation for the people around the world is much less important than building the American military. Because 83% of your tax dollar goes to building that military. Now, I think it's that kind of decision and that kind of mentality that the American military represents that are very directly responsible for the misery of people around the world. And I think that's a very clear situation for most anyone in the world today. (applause)

- The girl out there. The young lady. Wanna come up and ask him in this.

- We only have time for one more question because the Dean has to give a prayer or something.

- Okay, go ahead.

- And would you opt to go to jail over another method?

- As you can see, we are not able to pick up the questioning.

- The question was did I A, ever expect to go to jail and B, how do I feel about going to jail as opposed to means of evading the draft, like leaving the country. And first, yes, I expect to go to jail, I am presently on trial and I expect probably, that I'll never see this month outside of a jail for a while again. And I expect realistically, that I'll probably be sentenced some time in the late fall. And secondly, I'd say that I wouldn't leave the United States of America to escape cancer, and I don't think you can leave it to escape the disease that I think that America is presently in the grips of. And I think the militarism and the inhumanity that generally characterize Americans' relationship to the world and the relationship to itself are only gonna be stopped by people standing to it right here, right now. I think it's important that all of us do that standing to it. and I think if you're concerned with, in fact, altering what the nature of American society now is, you can't do that from Canada, and you can't do that by running. If you wanna work with the American people, then it seems to me that the first obligation you have is to share the conditions with those people, which means that you don't have the option of leaving. You have the option of staying and sharing with people. And I think that that, I would grant anybody the integrity of his choice. And if he goes to Canada, then that's fine by me, and I'll support them as a human being, but I don't think it has any relationship to the political fact of what's happening in America today. And I don't think America will ever be stopped by that. And my central concern is with stopping what's happening now in America. Is that the end? (applause)

- Do you wanna say something?

- The dean of the chapel is coming in. And the could you sing that song? The three panel members are going to remain under after Dean Clellan leads the group in his prayer, or prayers. And then Ms. Baez will lead us in a song or two.

- I'd like to take this opportunity to introduce Dean Clellan. Dean Clellan is dean of the Duke chapel.

(laughter) I'm sorry, it's late, I'm tired. (laughter) I'm sorry, James B. Duke, professor, and he has signed your statements and we're very honored to have you with us. (applause)

- He's got me wrong on about three counts. I'm not a James B. Duke scholar, I'm not bright enough to be a James B. Duke scholar, I'm just a James B. Duke professor. There's a great difference. Secondly, I signed the statement with one reservation, and you ought to know that so that at least, honesty comes along with a certain amount of clout. And thirdly, I'm going to take you seriously. I am going to pray. I remember the Air Force academy, the cadets couldn't decide whether to pray at the chapel, in the chapel, or for the chapel. (laughter) and I'm going to pray with you, and I realize we are divided, very definitely, Protestants, Roman Catholics, Jews, agnostics, but you've asked me to pray, and I think with integrity, I must. Therefore, let us pray. All things come home at eve and tide. And we come home to thee, the father of our spirits. Not because we are good, but because we are thy children. Not because we are worthy, but because we are thy sons and daughters. And home is the place where they must take us in. Let us offer unto god, a prayer of confession. Forgive us our sins, oh god, the sins of our souls and the sins of our bodies. Forgive us our casual sins and our deliberate sins. The sins which we have done to please others. The sins which we have done to please ourselves. Forgive us them, oh, lord, forgive them because thou art the father and we are like children. Let us offer a prayer of intercession for the widow and the family of Martin Luther King, Jr. Martyr. Oh god, who sees the world where sense only comes because we lack imagination through tragedy and whose saints must die in every generation because we cannot learn from the past. We give thee thanks for yet another martyr, but we commend unto thee a woman and four children who are left in a broken home. And grant that what we seek to do on this campus for others may be inspired as if we were doing it for that family in Atlanta. And lastly, let us offer a prayer of dedication in our prayer, the prayer of St. Augustine from the sixth century. Oh god, who hast warned us that much will be required of those to whom much is given. Grant that we, whose lot is cast in so pleasant a place may seek to extend to others what we so richly enjoy. And as we have entered into the labors of other men, so to labor that in their turn, others may enter into ours. To thy glory and for our good health. Amen. ♪ We shall overcome ♪ ♪ We shall overcome ♪ ♪ We shall overcome ♪ ♪ Someday ♪ ♪ Oh, deep in my heart ♪ ♪ I know that I do believe ♪ ♪ Oh, we shall overcome ♪ ♪ Someday ♪ We'll walk hand in hand. ♪ We'll walk hand in hand ♪ ♪ We'll walk ♪