

CARTON 157

THE GUARDIAN

CZECH PEACE CONFERENCE
NOTEBOOKS

1967

HAYDEN, Tom

2017/193

Sept 6

Arrived Bratislava yesterday via
Amsterdam, Vienna, Prague

Amer. delegation of 39, excluding
Hayden, Dellinger + Family. (Names
of delegation to be secured)

~~Viet delegations~~ Lodged in
modern ^{four} ~~three~~-story hotel with
pleasant ^{sun-deck} grounds and view of Danube

Viet delegations here since
Saturday, some after travelling 18
days by train from Hanoi (12 in
DRV del, 8⁽³⁾ in NLF). Members of
NLF delegation had to travel by
river, trail, auto, train.

miss ^{the} this has but by
~~sharp~~ fragmentary work

DKV report Sept 9

Mr. Vy

Description of U.I. war of
destruction of DKV and struggle
against it

question of labeling U.S. as
"imperialist" "the peak of Viet and
U.S. war against a common
enemy, the U.S. imperialists"

U.S. has attack DKV for
31 mos.

I. in a moral war against
DKV. Why attack DKV?

In fact attack because of
"heavy defeat in S.V.". Think
must attack DKV to ~~catch~~ patch
up defeat and weaken

the fighting spirit of Viet.
people. "Part & parcel with
war in S.V."

When new escalation in DKV on
people know because U.S. suffered
new defeats in S.V. No fear
on part of people. At some
time U.S. makes deceitful statement
all intent in peace, this is
the loss of U.S. aggression against
DKV. Looks like a watch.

More than $\frac{1}{3}$ of U.S. planes
in Viet used to attack DKV.

Dropped more than 8 times
as many bombs as in Korea
more than 1 ton a minute,
also artillery shelling and
naval

Since June 29, 66 reportedly
attacked Hanoi and Haiphong

In these attacks U.S. has
perpetrated horrible crimes.

"It is not by mistake that U.S.
has struck civil pop and
economy targets. U.S. has no
right to strike any targets in
DRV"

U.S. said there can be no
mistakes with its efficient planes
and pilots but when it becomes
known that U.S. has attacked
civil pop then they say it was
mistake. Some with U.S.
planes invading China + being
shot down

Some with attack on Soviet
ships in Haiphong harbor.

Struggle of people against war.
"one defeating strength of U.S.
A.F."

2,258 U.S. planes down ^{as of early Sept.}
^{more than} 1,000 pilots killed or ~~captured~~ ^{captured}
80 warships ^{* boats} sunk or damaged
of U.S. & Saigon

No B-52's downed.

There is crisis in U.S. AF due
to shortage of planes & pilots
defeating weapons to invade
the aircraft used against U.S.
planes. Vets compete to
bring down 1000th or 2000th
plane.

Great interest in shooting down
planes with infantry weapons.
Some ~~don't~~ believe this
and think only missiles can
bring down planes.

Asked the shooting down of
one plane at night with only
27 infantry bullets. Women
volunteers active in this.

Artillery shelling across
DMZ more damaging to U.S.
because troops & equipment
concentrated.

Running short of bombs.
Bombs made in April but to
be used in June. Some say
U.S. transport efficient, others say
means shortage. thinks both more correct

Bombs would be very effective
against cities of industrial state.

"Our economy essentially consist
of scattered agriculture. People's
life does not depend on cities, and
pop. of cities can be moved to
countryside". Our industry is also
scattered in small centers, inc.
large industries which have been
evacuated.

U.S. cannot destroy communistic
lines. "If we could bring our
big guns to Nanking and Chong,
then now we can do the same."

If Hanoi & Hanoi destroyed
then proposed to rebuild
them.

"U.S. must therefore attack numerous small scattered targets. They must attack every single oil container to destroy our supplies. They must attack every car and even ^(every) bicycles. In this they suffer heavy losses. Are they prepared to exchange one F-105 for a container of oil?"

We have not lost all our industry but scattered it around our country.

Economy of DRV not depressed but remains stable. ^{most} prices remain stable and pop. is sufficiently supplied with consumer goods.

Agriculture being intensified.
Production of industrial crops
higher than pre-war period.
each district ~~has~~ in DKV has
average of 100,000 pop.

"Ind. continues to develop during
a new system of chain production
which conforms to war conditions".

Development of local industry
encouraged due to difficulties of
transportation.

Many shelters now in use
field - some in factories after
work at night rather than day.

What if Japan & bases destroyed?
Planning for this.

Output in 1966-67 up 130%

over 1964-65. "all the schools
has been scattered into the countryside."

This is a merit because pupils
can meet and take part in work
of peasants and other people.

Must dig trenches right under
school desks. Parents must help
school staff dig air raid trenches.
Vij had to dig trench at his
daughter's school.

Must in the schools to
try to sing songs then report
of exploding bombs. Especially
true in two worst hit provinces.

Children sing song to learn
counting: 1 U.S. plane is being brought
down, 2 U.S. planes, etc."

"U.S. bombings have not been able to 'bomb them back into the stone age,' as boasted by Sen. Wendell Willkie." We would like for him to visit our country and see the "stone age" there.

For last 2 yrs have been expecting total destruction of Hanoi & Haiphong, but they still survive.

Resistance in S.V. grows every day in numbers, equipment and morale. ~~Keypat army~~ & also preparing for a ground attack on DRV by U.S.

persons expect to defeat "U.S.
war of destruction"

1. strong determination to
fight for national salvation.

based on truth "nothing is
more precious than independence
and freedom." 100 yrs ago

we had no fatherland

2 million people lost by

our 1945 revolution.

"after only 100 yrs of struggle
and 15 yrs of war we have
been able to be half of our
country." still has long

struggle ahead - 50 yrs to reach
western levels of industry. my

generation must endure hardship
for the sake of our children.

Bombing will only increase
determination of DKV to fight.
"Would the U.S. come to the
negotiation table under such
condx?" Could anyone with
self-respect negotiate under
such condx. ~~(meeting problem is really~~
because U.S. is politically isolated, ^{because of power} and
suffering heavy defeats from S.V.
~~which~~ is why it cannot meet its
full strength ^{to attack} ~~against~~ DKV.

F-105 most numerous ~~only~~ ^{planes}
brought down because only one
pilot who cannot blame all god activity

~~F-4G~~

We can defeat the U.S.
war of destruction because our
people be forced to sacrifice

everything but ind. & freedom
People's war in which the
whole people - not only regular
army but some million militiamen
and self-defense units, and others -
are fighting against the U.S. attacks
in many ways.

So anti-war movement. "The
coordination of action between the
peoples of the two countries is
very important" to end war.
Distinguished between people and
imperialists.

4 million youths in DRV.

~~Communist~~ assistance from
socialist countries continues to
increase. "We had been

enjoying support and assistance
from all socialist countries:

Delegation led by vice
premier now touring socialist
countries seeking aid. H.V.
signed agreement with China.

DRV stand Tran Cong
~~Thuan~~ Tuong

4 pts, etc

"basis for correct political
settlement in Viet"

^{an} One must understand that
U.S. imperialists are aggressors
and Viet people are victims
aimed at "attempt to turn S.V. into
U.S. a U.S. colony and military

boze in order to suppress
liberation struggles in S.E. Asia
and other parts of the world"

fundamental spirit of Geneva
agreements is to oppose colonialism
& neo-colonialism.

Principle of U.S. aggressors
is to sph of peace while
interfering war.

only ~~after~~ complete withdrawal
of U.S. troops and bases can there
be conditions for peace in Vietnam.

Re-unification is NLF as sole
genuine rep. "The Viet people have
^{been}
~~are~~ one. for thousands of yrs.
U.S. imperialist refuse to recognize
this truth and tried to sabotage
sovereignty of our people.

The DKV is a sovereign and
independent ~~state~~ ^{country}...

U.S. sabotaged Geneva and SE
elections to recognize ~~that~~ ^{growing}
role of NLF conforms with idea
of recognition. Re-unity must
be decided by people in both areas,
at some time NLF program
mentions re-unification and bloody

"The two zones off Viet to
to diff social & political regimes,
and problem of re-unity must be
decided by people in both zones
without any foreign interference."

~~This is an internal affair~~ The
difference in regimes is an
internal affair of the people

of the 2 zones which must
be ~~settled~~ settled by discussion

Jan 28 statement of DRV
re talks if bombs & all
other war acts halted:

U.S. asked DRV to return
to Geneva agreement by U.S.
refers to recognizing 4 pt
plan which expresses the basic
principles of Geneva.

Bombing of DRV completely illegal
and trampled underfoot Geneva.

Re Jan 28 U.S. asked for
reciprocity by DRV "our people
are determined not to talk to
U.S. impatient under threat of bombing"

U.S. has proposed unconditional
negotiation but in reality we are
forced to negotiate under duress.

^{like} a thief who enters one's house
and threatens us with guns,
and says, "let there be
unconditional negotiation." We
are certainly the ones people
would not accept such negotiations.

Mutual de-escalation. "Our
struggle is a legitimate self-defense
struggle. We do not escalate
the war. There is no reason for
us to de-escalate. But the
U.S., which travels tens of
thousands of miles to attack
our country, must de-escalate
and stop the war. There

is no other way ^{but to} withdraw
all U.S. & satellite troops
from our country, respect ~~our~~
natl rights, stop intervening
in our internal affairs and
respect the 1954 Geneva agreement"

"We cannot give up our sacred
duty to ^{our} beloved Motherland"
Our people will never surrender and
abandon their duty"

Since 1954 1 million people
lost in Vietnam.

As 4 pt stand a condx for
negotiation

"That is not a condx,
completely not a condx. That
is our sacred right for self-
determination." by no other

solution.

Da ^{Nguyen} ~~Thuan~~ Trunk Co
on war crimes

~~Thoi~~ ^{Thoi} Nguyen steel complex
attacked

61 state farms attacked

92 hospitals + med establishments
raided

138 Dr. + med whs killed

35 Dr. + " " wounded

262 patients killed

246 patients wounded

Detailed figures on other destruction.

391 schs + other ed bombed

398 students + 43 teachers killed

~~over~~ 819 students 62 students
wounded up to Dec. 31,
1966

149 churches and 3 seminaries
bombed til 12/31/66 ^{2 priests} killed

80 pagodas destroyed and
6 Buddhist priests killed.

over ~~60~~ ~~sets~~ all six large cities
in DKV have been attacked

20 out of 30 provincial centers
attacked

59 of 93 district centers
attacked. til 12/31/66

Since Feb, 67 3 new tactics
warship shelling, artillery shelling
across DMZ, dropping mines in
rivers.

Intensifying night raids.

Drop phosphorus bombs on
rice fields. Use delayed
action bombs.

Use of prohibited weapons:
napalm, phosphorus, ^(incendiary bombs) thermal bombs,
toxic chemicals and poison gases.

Super-napalm bombs, Napalm B

Testing new weapons in
Vietnam. Fragmentation CBU
bombs. Mother bomb with 500
units with 300 ^{submunitions} pellets each.

So far no appropriate medical
treatment for fragmentation bomb
wounds.

Ngô Thị Hào - 23 yrs old,
teacher at technical ^{school} wounded
May 22, 1967 while.

standing in her school
200 shrapnel wounds

right leg severely wounded and
makes it difficult for her to
walk.

Slogan: "To turn difficulties
into advantages"

increasing hospitals

6.5% increase in med's and
medical supplies since before U.S.
attacks.

fundamental rights being
fought for "med., democracy,
peace and unity"

Vu Thi Hao - extended
" warmest greetings and asked

She saw photographs of her wounds
to transmit greetings to ones
who were to stay, was and
for social progress.

was teacher at Hanoi
but school moved from
Hanoi - evacuated school
bomb. Several people wounded
or killed. one teacher paralyzed
by fragmentation. other victims
were pupils. was wounded as
she rushed to shelter.

left leg broken but repaired -
but right knee and nervous
cord damaged. Sequelae in
right leg removed July 2
~~by~~ for

Very moving account

Five groups for small discussion

1. Public opinion, propaganda
2. Military situation in DRV and South.
3. Life in liberated areas and ^{political situation in South} NLF - problems of life in DRV
4. Students
5. Women

Each group will be rep.
from all 3 delegations

Sept 10

Interview with Huynh Van Ly
on editor of, Giai Phong
official organ of Central Com. of NLF

age 40

married, wife is a nurse in
liberalized zone, 1 son, ^{7 1/2} old, 1 daughter ^{5 yrs}

Original Province BEN TRE

Never attended university

Enrolled 18 in secondary sch.

joined resistance against French

became ^{at 20} political commissar

of regional unit of armed forces

at that time I ~~found~~ ^{found}

many heroic deeds by my
friends and witnessed the
good relationship between

the young & people. and I
wanted to write about this.
wrote many articles for
provincial newspapers but only
few carried. injured country
through this experience.

in 1949 due to bad health
left Vietnam army to return
to home province to become
editor in chief of Province
Youth newspaper

in 1950 was assigned role in
security comm. of youth in
Nam Bo and also as editor
of youth newspaper of Nam Bo.
Viet divided all of Vietnam
into 3 areas Nam Bo is

southernmost 20 provinces

In 1953 I ~~was~~ the way of
the bd of editors of CUU
QVOC, the organ of the
People's Front of Nam Bo, after
the signing of the Gen. Agreement,
due to the disagreement between
2 zones, this paper ~~closed down~~
and I began a lecture and
agitator among the people.

Then I wrote some articles for
and underground newspapers in
my province and some others
which I sent to North Viet
I abroad.

In 1960 when ALF was formed,
its official organ Quan Phung was

set up and I became one of
its editors."

"^{Specially} We cover special subjects
for given periods of time. For
example from 1954 to 1960 my
articles dealt with the aggression
committed by U.S. against Viet
and denounced the crimes of
the Diem regime. Since 1960
my articles mainly deal with the
examples set by the elite
fighters of our people and deal
with many fields of the
struggle of our people.

During recent yrs I have
taken part in activities in
some foreign countries and

When I return home I
with abt enthusiasm and suggest
foreign people give to visit
people. (will do. some of the
this conf.)

attended International Day
of journalists in Czech on Sept 8
a week attack denouncing crimes
of them & by against journalists
in S.V.

How NLF press operates

"our editorial bd is divided
into several groups. First deals
with ~~current situation~~ ^{world situation}, another
with ^{production} ~~production~~ ^(of foodstuffs) in lib. areas,
another ^{with} guerrilla struggle, another
follows situation in battle
fields

another ~~ex~~ change of est.
relations with readers.

How do we get the news? ^{daily}
For example going with
world circuit monitors BBC,
VOA, Radio Korea, Radio Moscow
VOV (Hanoi radio). We also
rely on news received by
Gian Phung press agency.
Get articles reported from NG

by dealing with press. "We send
our correspondent to diff localities
to work together with the people
in the fields to learn the
strong & weak pts in these
localities. They then write
articles relating their experience
to the press. "If you want

As we send correspondents
to units of L. A. F. with
agreement of command. our
correspondent is a fighter in
this unit just as any other
fighter. But after the battle
he writes his article. (They
carry weapons & fight) slogan
is "You in one hand and a gun
in the other"

We also rely on local
people & fighters as correspondents
and we encourage them with
a little by little train them.
this is important source.

"That is why we have
our reporters everywhere, we

cities, countryside and even
in the mountains"

"Binh Thon printed weekly
by electric press ~~but~~ ^{but} ~~even~~ ^{even} printing
shop must be moved from
place to place, because hit
over a S.V. subjected to
continuous attacks both from
air & ground. we must move
from place to place to insure
safety for our shop and the
printers.

"We once set up ^{press} in one
location, printed a few pages
and then there was a ^{raid} ~~raid~~
and we had to move immediately
to another area."

Some power foot-operated
also mining.

How news goes

"It is according to situation
in areas where there are rivers
use boats. In dry land
zones can use camels. In
mountainous areas we usually
use alphorns. We use our hands
to convey the ~~type~~^{boxes} of type.

"Each printing shop has our
self-defense unit, also the
editorial dept. Our print shop
was ambushed by Saigon troops
while moving and had to fight
them off. Frequently we set
up print shop underground to
avoid bombing & sniping

Kinds of publications
more than 30 diff newspapers &
magazines published by NLF in
South Viet, weekly, fortnightly &
monthly. No dailies.

Liberation, Liberation & out
is a monthly magazine. For
Phong Weekly. Liberation Women,
Liberation Army ^{Weekly} & some others
organ of LAF. Also Provincial
papers - in every province. are
organ of Provincial NLF.

Provincial comm. of mass
organizations - e.g. Women & Youth -
and district comm. of NLF
have own bulletins

Use printing presses and also
mimeos

Editorial examples

Giai Phong (Toang Ninh Province)
weekly multi-colored posters
(special issue)

Pages carry news of anti-war
movement in U.S. also on black
freedom struggle. ^{potent} Songs

Giai Phong Press agency has
correspondents in Cuba, Czech,
Moscow, Berlin, Peking, ^{Pyongyang} Korea.
~~Laos~~ Cambodia, Algeria.

"Distribution is one of our most
diff ~~jobs~~ ^{tasks}. It is relatively easy
in the big zones where we can
use boats, cars and bicycles.
It is diff to distribute Giai
Phong generally ~~that~~ the whole

country. Sometimes we have to
take the ~~main~~ though
many-controlled territory.

If we want to go from ~~the~~ Saigon
south must travel through a
lot of many controlled territory.
Also difficult to road through
mountain which must be
climbed by foot.

"Apart from that over we
have lost our way into
many cont. zones, e.g. Saigon¹⁷
are distributing most even
or complete ~~pay~~ in order to
get ~~it~~ into the city." Some of
lost has been killed doing
job.

few grayin hairs.

"We do not carry the newspapers
to seek for sale of money.
We charge nothing for our
newspapers."

Other papers also passed
from reader to reader ^{"frequently"} ~~sometimes~~
until torn and must be
glued together. Sometimes
readers meet in groups at night
^{by fire} and read paper to each other
to overcome literacy and because
this is a faster way to spread
the news among ~~groups~~ of people.
~~People learn examples from papers~~ ^{by this}
~~and report~~ People stimulated to
write articles and good examples
in their villages. Also learn
new agricultural and production

techniques. If they find
important techniques they
write criticism to ed. bd.

"This ^{good for} ~~encourages~~ our work
because it enables us to put
our work to the needs of
the people. It also shows
the ~~enthusiasm~~ and attention
given by people to our
papers." Readers encouraged
to respond to articles.

Paper once used to give (free)
people in Saigon paper. "While
the people are very eager to
read our paper and frequently
send in comments" People
also send in money contributions

"People in cities & towns
supply us with ink, type faces,
presses & paper"

GI propaganda

"Every province & locality has
a special guy which works on
given another picture to GI's."
also liberation radio broadcasts,
leaflets, songs, use ^{out-ward} material
from U.S. sources & public
figures

"Sometimes we find our leaflets
in the pockets of captured GI's.
They say leaflets make them think
more & more about nature of war. Some
of them told us what they thought
they made & broadcast over
liberation radio.

add comments;

"would like to add one thing
for S.V. we have a patriotic &
democratic journals area which
~~relates~~^{unites} the patriotic journals
of S.V. all the journals in
lib areas are members and
a # of patriotic journals in
Soviet also join the area:

^{North}
~~Soviet~~ is "a person in one hand &
a gun in the other"

As journals we pledge ourselves
to choose our pens so that we
can effectively contribute to struggle
of our people for total liberation and
an end to U.S. aggression. Please
remind you all members of our

In fact they had to translate
into reality this motto is only
that they may serve people in
a more effective way. I don't
think our press has gained
very big results but anyhow
our press helps expose aggression
and criticize ~~policy~~ ^{nature} of U.S. govt
to world's people and my people.
We also reflect the heroic struggle
of our people & their determination to
fight and to win. We have
also contributed somewhat to struggle
of people all over world for rid,
peace, democracy & social progress.
backing the 1944 pardon
movement in U.S. and the movement
for freedom & liberation of China.

people's whole. and also
contributed a part to strengthening
of solidarity among people of
the world & to the safeguarding
of world peace. In their struggle
the S.V. people have gained
support of progressive journalists
all over world in ~~the~~ papers
and other prog. journalists &
newspapers in U.S. During our
meeting here the more we talk
the more we realized yr sympathy
& support to our cause. I would
like to take this opportunity to
express my sincere thanks for
the support of ~~the~~ newspaper and
of all other progressive journalists
in U.S.

Plenary Session Sept 12

Mrs Binh: expressed thanks
to Am. delegation.

termed pol. program "a political
event of great significance &
political document of historic
meaning" made public on Sept 1.

pol. program contains all
political policy and program
for national ^{construction} ~~reconstruction~~ for the
immediate future. "opens up
a new ~~period~~ ^{period} of unity among
all the patriotic forces" in S.V.

This is 1st time such a long
meeting between so many reps
of DRV, NLF and anti-war
movement in U.S. (Dwelled on meaning
of political program) ^{and she regretted}
~~there was no more~~ ^{meaning of program?}

Mr Vy

holding of this meeting
outcome of several events

1. our victory in fighting back
U.S. war of destruction
2. successes of U.S. anti-war
movement.

Said such a meeting several
yrs ago was "unimaginable"

"If meeting had been held
in DKV the situation there
would have helped you to understand
our position ... and get a
more vivid picture of our struggle."
~~to write~~

Tom Hayden - said
Johnson used his rightness
when he learned of this
meeting because "humorously"
"Mrs Bink has authorized
the first American volunteer
unit of the liberation forces
to go home to the U.S.
behind enemy lines"

Said anti-war movement groups
are proud to encourage
Viets but don't propagate
delusion but give Viets
a realistic picture of situation
in U.S.

"If pres Johnson wants to
send troops to Vietnam to

find the Vietcong, he had better have some troops at home. Because we are all Vietcong, and we are everywhere."

Dellinger commented on fact that our struggle is in the U.S. and must relate to the Amer people. Concerning our show a blunt question he said "True friends must sometimes be difficult friends."

Standing ovations and hugs at each speech
Carol King expressed thanks from women of Amer delegation

exchange of gifts

Viet the Hoa gave Amer.
ring made of wreckage of U.S.
planes shot down.

Buynh Van Ly presented me
with such a ring.

Mrs Binh gave Amer. delegate
4 films from S.V.

Mr Vy presented to
Dellinger a number of letters
from captured U.S. pilots
for transmission to their
families.

ended with locking arms &
singing "We shall overcome" then
marching in a line while
singing Viet unity song.

Questions from Viet. dets

1. Clarify youth + student movements. Drafts, YAWF what happened to them.
2. anti-draft movmt.
amers. jailed or in Canada
Proportion of resistors
3. Blk GI's in Vietnam
draft ratios
4. Propaganda efforts by U.S. to hide military failures. How does affected public opinion?
5. What is effectiveness of RLF material reaching U.S.

1. Anti-war movement among working people. analyzing weaknesses. New developments reviewed.
2. Analysis of AEL-CIO differences over war. Kenton-Mcmany dispute.
3. appeal to Amer. working class - do we know of it.
4. review of our community organizing activities. and its relation to working class.

Thank
1. Effects of viet war of
daily life of various sectors
of pop. Who affected
most?

2. What knowledge of U.S.
Pop. of war crimes &
situation

3. Clarify role of youth
and students. What
motivates them? ~~What~~
How affects over. people.

2. what is understanding
of U.S. public opinion of
neo-colonialism in Vietnam

1. What are intellectuals doing?
intellectuals are scientists, artists,
writers, academics.
↑
up

Chambers Women's Union
DRV

1. Role of women in anti-war movement. What was outcome of Jakarta meeting

1. Effects of world public opinion on anti-war movement and women people and women's movement. Specifically War Crimes Tribunal

1. Why do people support Johnson's policy on Viet
 2. What is attitude of NSA ~~and Congress~~ ^{re Vietnam}
 3. Prospects of blk movmt.
-

1. Effect of war (taxes, etc) on amer. people
2. effects of war on U.S. economy? and resources for Viet. war
3. What do we understand aft "end" to S. V.

1. What were effects of
"teach-ins" on Amer. people
and students?

1. Our evaluation of WSP?
attitude of WSP to Black
movmt.?
2. attitude of Amer. people
toward NLF. Why in
recent days no slogans
in support of NLF?
3. What will be slogans
for Oct. 21

29 in all

41. *translatus*

1. Effectiveness of Viet
subversion & films in
U.S. Distribution?

2. Echo of Stockholm
conf. in U.S.

3. Divisions in political

1. attitude of religious
believers toward Viet War.

2. effect of Spillman
statement

2. verbal effects of objective
newspaper articles on readers

3. any propaganda among GI's

1. Organizational divisions of U.S. peace movement and infiltration by subversion.
 2. Trends in anti-war movement
 3. Divisions in political circles in U.S.? factions?
-

Vg

1. How do you organize your propaganda with US and govt propaganda?
2. What effects of objective newspaper articles on public opinion
3. Organ propaganda among GI's

4. What is morale of GI's
in Vietnam? Those who
returned?

areas

1. Students, anti-draft
2. Labor + poor people
3. Black movement
4. Women, WSP, Takate
Conf.
5. World + inner public opinion
extent of knowledge, propaganda,
attitudes.
6. Peace movement status.
7. GI's

8. economic effects & results

actual small group discussions

1. women
2. student organizations
3. military situation with
emphasis on south
4. public opinion & propaganda
5. political, economic, &
social situation with
emphasis on south

Questions for Lex

1. ~~Age, family, home, education~~
2. ~~When entered struggle~~
3. ~~What kind of article does she write, where works~~
4. ~~How does NLF press operate in South~~
5. ~~How age & subsequent is Liberation press operation~~
6. ~~What kind of publication~~
7. ~~are reporter, soldiers - journalist~~
8. ~~How cover battles~~
9. ~~How cover occupied areas~~
10. ~~How distribution ~~sales~~ system works~~
11. ~~What exactly is meant by the expression "wiped out" or "annihilated"~~
12. ~~Kind of publications + books~~
13. ~~problems faced (specific)~~
14. ~~CI propaganda?~~

Types
Categories of U.S. planes
downed - unmanned
drones included in list?

Have any Southern
Viet Minh troops
returned south from
the DRV.

Binh Ba Thi
Nguyen Manh

NLF rep
in Budapest

Mrs Cao Thi Cao

Discussions

gap

Sept 10

on

military situation

Binh Ba Thi - NLF

Nguyen Minh - DRV

other gaps

women

students

Econ & Pol.

situation in

NLF areas &

DRV

Propaganda

July almost all
types of U.S. planes
shot down in

North except B-52

biggest # are F105

others F100, F4C, AD6,

also pilotless reconnaissance

Nguyen Binh

aircraft

2nd question

" according to some reports
there has rejoined to North.

As South suffers there rejoined
to North are anxious & wanted
to return to South to

Defend frontier. "This
aspiration is quite legitimate,
but so far we have not
sent these troops to the
South," answered by Nguyen Minh

total # of planes shot
down in DRV is over 2,200

See very carefully investigate
all claims of shot down planes.

use missiles to get planes at
high altitudes, anti-aircraft fire
and intermediate altitudes, and
infantry weapons at low.

Threat of missiles forces planes
to fly lower.

Govt has given no figures on
of captured U.S. pilots - also
no ^{Govt} total on ^(casualties) casualties in North.

on acid alarm signals

1. ~~Give~~ General alarm that planes
are - no work stoppage
2. alarm that planes coming in
our direction - take to shelters.
3. Planes have moved to other
area

Every individual required to
dig 3 shelters - work, where
eat meals, home.

Children ^(in by families) taught to separate
and ~~report~~ go to shelter's at
neighbors homes so that if
one house is hit then all the
children of that family will
not be killed

Binh Ba Thi

NLF Binh Ba Thi

60,000 satellite troops, mostly
S. Koreans

120,000 inhabitants liberated
in northern S.V. in 1966-67
dry season.

250,000 troops in Northern zone
I Corps ^{area} ~~region~~

6 U.S. Divisions

1 ~~report~~ satellite

3 report

a ~~guerrilla~~ "guerrilla network"
has been built around U.S.
bases at Dong, Chu Lai
and Phu Ba - which are ~~not~~ now
isolated from each other

$\frac{2}{3}$ of troops in northern
zone must depend on
only $\frac{1}{3}$ mobile.

2 million pop. in that
zone.

Fighting intensified
in I Corps ^{away} to divide
enemy forces and draw
troops away from other areas.
Tactic is to spread out
enemy forces so as to weaken
them.

Political situation
meeting
Mrs. Bink

Sept. 11
morning

Kent program designed to
"complement" earlier pol. program
of 1960

Tom Hayden

views

2 NF

1961
1967

programs similar in terms
of reforms i.e. much land
reform, rewards to landlords
who helped resistance.

Reduction in rent for peasants
on land of patriotic landlords.
Religious & civil liberties.

Basic question: why has
program been released?

They say it reflects
greater confidence in
political & military power of
NLF. In terms of pol.
power they feel there is
no question of support of pop.
(only need to open routes to
those remaining outside in
order to disintegrate puppet
army + admin.) Now only need
to intensify the creation of
unity. Some people felt
it was released at this time
because of elections. It says
"these elections are unreal.
we are real. we will put
through the program

which the Saigon regime
can't put through." However,
Program had been in
preparation for many mos.
and not rushed through for
elections.

Practical question of is
NLF govt. would be
easier for U.S. to recognize
NLF than recognize NLF
as legit. govt of S.V. also
working on building up internal
support so when declare
a govt they will get
immediate recognition, i.e. to
announce a govt at time
when NLF has maximum power.

Negotiating position: U.S. press
will consider this a
hardening of the line.

"When they say they want
a 'decisive voice in future
govt' and they are 'sole
genuine rep of S.V. people'
they now mean this
literally" These are no
longer bargaining points.

They no longer care whether
U.S. formally recognizes SLF.
only want U.S. withdrawal
because there is no other
gray (third force) in S.V. Vietnam
with program or

support of people. there
is only the U.S. and us.

How war end? U.S. stops
war and privately communicates
this to ^{DKV} Ha Van Lau and others
for discussions. What to
discuss? How to begin talks
with NLF for purpose of
withdrawing U.S. troops from
Vietnam.

DeBinger said this is
termed pol program a
"transitional program" - but
this may be more for
international relations rather
~~than~~ simply a "Communist
cover up"

Hayden thinks program is
the program of PKP as well
as NLF.

Chuong said our foremost
slogan is "unity and still
more unity." - other ~~NLF~~
delegates said they would
declare ~~delegation~~ govt when
they had "broadened the
base" of NLF. which implies
skinning the Saigon base.

Nick Eyzon said this most
~~best~~ prestigious Viet. delegation
since Geneva.

Flack said that ~~NLF~~^{U.S.} reps
said that if U.S. has atomic
weapons to conclude the war
than that will "conclude
amer. govt and amer. society."

Coral Brightman said there
are some ~~NLF~~ central Comm.
people in delegation and we
are in effect dealing with a
govt. delegation. I'd new ~~part~~^{point}
in pol. program is "new forms of
joint ~~idea~~ action" with groups
outside NLF.

Delinger said Viets perhaps
interested in developing a people's
movement in U.S. They wanted
"Friends of the Viets at conf."

Rock & others said purpose
of meeting was to encourage
us to spread ~~and~~ word that
U.S. cannot win the war and
to work with GI's.

Tom Hayden said Viet
interested in seeing U.S. anti-
war movement demand the 4 pts
and the 5 pts. — and to
deepen our own commitment to
the struggle.

Political discussion afternoon

Dave^{D.} summarized NLF
view of ^{Thick} Thi Quang - He says
only way to have ind. S.V.
is with U.S. aid. They ~~find it~~
~~difficult~~ ^{have} come to no conclusion
re: him. Said he not
lackey of U.S. Some of his
activities injurious but others
questionable.

More heard on thick that
~~Hoan~~ Hoan whom they say
does not speak of U.S. aggression,
is Western educated and oriented
and has no base in Vietnam.

Mr. Ha Thach LAM

At the Buddhists are paupers
reality has forced them to
take up arms. of 4 million
Buddhist in S. V. thousands
of them have been forced to
take up arms. Pagodas have
been turned ~~LAM~~ into prisons
+ places of torture.

"In S. V. we say that in the
face of ~~Buddhism~~ such an enemy
even Buddha's statues must
leave the altar and join
the struggle." They no
longer see these enemies

as human beings but as
phantoms or shadows that
are killing people, and they are
forced to fight back.

Majority of Christians are
Catholic peasants who live in
liberated areas and have own
organization and join fight
abt 1,800,000 Christians in
S.V. S.V. regime has
succeeded in introducing a
number of Catholics into leading
positions in govt & army.
Said many conflicts among
military commanders, also along
religious lines.

Tri Quang had no
important role ~~of~~ in recent
elections.

Thien Hao
Thich ~~Thien Hoa~~
~~electd head of United Buddhist~~
~~Church. Also on central~~
~~Comm. of VLF~~ He is ⁱⁿ ~~not~~
the Front, a member of
Presidium of Central Comm. of
VLF. Has prestige among
Buddhist monks and whole pop.
of S.V.

Thich Thien Hoa - ~~has role~~
~~in urban Buddhist movement.~~ Has
not taken an active role. Felt
that his attitude was an active
one at time of elections of
United Buddhist Church as concerns

Thich ~~Tam~~ Chau's
maneuver to return to
leadership of UBC. "We think
that he is strictly a priest
with few political relations"

He thinks that Hahn's
book - circulated in the
Buddhist community and among
Buddhist intellectuals. The broad
masses of Buddhists do not know
very much abt. it."

NF has not made any
statements on the book. Said
these ^(book) views "distort the operations
of S.V. people, and role of U.S.
expeditionary force is not made
clear in the book." This

Creates misunderstandings among
non-Vietnamese.

NLF policy has been
"unity among all forces. We
even have unity with those
in the ^(Saigon) puppet army and ~~army~~." ~~army~~

L.A.F. has "provided" many
puppet village chiefs who had "blood
debt" with the people, members
of puppet army, and pacification
teams.

U.S. govt. often says V.C.
are terrorist. "If we were terrorists
the resistance of the S.V. people
would not have lasted so long
and we could not have won
the majority of the people to our ^{side}."

story of use of selective
"punishment" (assassination) of slaying
head of a military post without
harming his wife. "members
of the Front have never killed
wantonly". NLF says consult
mass organizations of the people
in any given locality before
punishing a local person. If
there is any hope they try to
win them over. "It is to our
benefit to win over as many people
as possible". Mass murder is
ground for "punishment". They are
given 3 warnings ^(times) and then "punished".

Re: political programs

Sed "concrete context" accounts
for diffs in demands. This is "normal"

E.g. if peasants only need 1 pc of
clocks there is no point in demanding

In the process of building up
a society must rely on the
most vital demands of the people.

E.g. for politics, the masses
may want a communist society
but the Buddhist was not
like this.

Sed new program is revolutionary
not reform because it means
overthrowing foreign domination,
creating independence and

building S.V. militarily, politically
and economically. Cannot
make any long-term
prediction because now extremely
effort must be made to win
ind. & build S.V. according to
this program.

As to the long-term ^{society} program
it is "up to our people to decide"

think what Hark went about
after ^(NLF) Vartch published in Aug. 1965
aft "new intellectuals." article
Sed Hark put forward a kind
of pacifism, a literature of pity
& mercy, appealed to members of
some family to stop fratricide
(i.e. NLF vs Saigon) "We think

this position is close to the position of U.S., that is the Front must lay down its arms and ~~accept~~^{accept} U.S. occupation." However, Hanoi is not a locky and "We would never join him" However, must expose his passive posture.

Tranh Van Dinh advocates U.N. be brought in as a peace keeper. "It is unreasonable for U.N. to intervene in Vietnam to arbitrate differences between the Vietnamese"

afternoon meeting of Amer
delegation Secret

US reps from anti-war
movement, black struggle, pacifists,
religious, students, academic
community, organizers

Some said we should stress
that importance of meeting
lies in part in that this was
largest and most varied group
of Americans with DRV + NLF.

Viets want to equalize the
status of DRV + NLF in one
sentence.

NOTES from
Czech cont.
1967

Novick

PARAMOUNT QUALITY
STENO-BOOK

SELECTED

Smooth-writing
PAPER



NOTES ON
Czech Cont.
NO 1967
Sept

STENOGRAPHER

FROM

TO

No P 29

PITMAN RULED

Hotel Dom

Rekreacie Roh

Leaders of Czech Peace Committee
present at opening session Sept. 6.

DRV delegation

Pham Hung, dep. gen. sec. of
Viet Peace comm

Mrs Nguyen Quoi - chairwoman
Women's union

Wing Ming = Viet Federation
of Trade Unions

Do Xuan Canh —

— Viet - front

May Xian

Lia Trang

Thanh - Sec. Viet Youth
Federation

Nguyen Van Vy
~~ATA Ming~~

Head of OKV del.
~~Nguyen Van~~

People's del. from S.V.

Mrs Van - head of delegation

Czech & Slovak Peace Comm.
~~repr address greeting to group~~

Vice - Chairman of Czech Peace
Committee

Nguyen Van Uy

Head of DRV
delegations

aim (of conf.) to help Amer "to have
a clear cut attitude" re
aggressive U.S. war in Vietnam
in accordance with Amer traditions.
"We all aim at ending the
aggressive war that U.S. has
been waging in Viet", speaking
of delegations

Said Viet and Amer women
met in Jakarta in 1965
Some Amer friends also
visited North Viet.

Said "many of your highly
valued" effort of these meetings
on anti-war movement.

hope meeting would "create
condx to further coordinate
our struggles."

Hop to clarify question which
has not been understood between
2 groups. Wants U.S. to talk
alt anti-war movement and condx
in U.S. and ~~"you"~~

DKV formed in 1945 - the
Doc. of ind. read by Ho Chi Minh
Sept 2, 1945 (?)

"Social war of resistance against
French colonialists" from 45 to 54

U.S. has "sabotaged" Geneva
agreements from beginning
U.S. Wants to turn S.V. into
"a new-type colony and

military base preparing to
attack N.V. and control
the whole of Vietnam."

This is "root cause" of war
and "democracy, peace
and "eventual reunification"
aims of NLF according to Vy.

We know how to organize
our struggle and mobilize the
people for people's war to
achieve national salvation

Prepared for 5, 10, 20 yr war
"or even a longer one."

for 28 statement of DRV to
"hold talks" if U.S. "halts
"bombing and all other acts
of war against DRV."

4 gets laid going for really
way.

"We can't give up independence
for our nation" after many fights
for it.

"A genuine and true peace must
go together with peace and
freedom. We have not
launched a war against
the U.S.A. and so we have
right to demand that the
U.S. govt end its war
against us." said this
would not violate U.S.
interests

~~said~~ "the best way to
safely guard the lives of

a half million ^{U.S.} troops
in S.V. is their own
withdrawal by the U.S. govt."

Said earlier that since
U.S. and launched war its
was responsibility to get out
to war. Bombing N.V. would
not protect troops in South
Want to "restore peace
in conformity with the
legitimate aspirations of our
respective countries"

We frankly express our
"deep hatred ^{against} those who
war ^{against} just but
"heart felt sympathy" for
anti-war forces

Soul growth of "Anti-War" movement
in U.S. significant measure of
growing sentiment.

~~the~~ extended greetings of
"militant sobriety. Our common
struggle will surely triumph!"

Mrs. Nguyen Thi Binh, charming
attractive woman in NLF delegation
traditional dress
Bratislava ^{hop} ~~at~~ "glorious tradition
of anti-fascist struggle."

Southern S.V. people realize
there are not only enemies
but friends in U.S.A.

"Our people are deeply moved
by demonstrations" and draft
resistance work. Planned
Spring mobilization.

"all ones who resolutely
oppose their governments war in
Viet and actively support
our people's cause" offered
thanks

U.S. wants to rob
S.V. with ^{its} great power which
foolish world opinion with
its "desertful maneuvers"
called for "more than ever nec."
"harmonious coordination"
between anti-war and all
civil ^{freedom} rights movement and
Viet. fighters
"and, democracy, peace and
social progress - common aims
of Amer & Viet."

Nick Eyleson - brought
greetings from U.S. del.
from "anti-war and radical
mvmnt."

hope to give them info about
anti-war mvmnt and condx in
U.S. society. Said U.S. ~~people~~
diversified with many views.
Said Amer. who support war
have "false consciousness."

"You have been in the struggle
you are waging an education for
us and for the Amer people"

Said war had educated
people to bad aspects of
U.S. society. "We must admit
to you that many of us were
it out or else we are no

very naive abt our govt 5
yrs ago."

Get copy of Hayden's
report

Sept 6

afternoon session

Dick Flocks speaking on
Amer public opinion, attitudes,
knowledge. analyzed roots
of average Amer apathy and
conformity in which a
"orderly private life and public
success are highest values

Lesson: Amer support Johnson
policy 1. Prestige "Since we
are there we have to fight
it out or else we are no

longer a great nation"

2. anti-communism

3. other "somewhat more sophisticated reasons"

3. Pres - U.S. viets would be killed if U.S. withdrew

4. possibility of finding a "democratic alternative" in S.V.

5. Amer withdrawal might encourage revolutionists elsewhere

Segments who are deeply affected by war: 1) youth

2) Black people 3) ~~the~~ the

highly educated "the people who have been responsible for shaping public opinion in U.S."

this grp is increasingly divided

with an important section of it increasingly opposed to the war."

"Large parts of our population are in conflict with other parts and an important reason for this conflict is that the war is damaging their lives."

"The Amer. people then are open to a variety of new alternatives." anti-war position, racist and reactionary position.

"I don't think any of us knows who will win the race between these two forces."

Comment by Robert Cook

Social Flacks "unbreasted" importance of patriotism in the

U.S. and the way it has
been mobilized to support war"
said U.S. left had allowed
itself in last 50 yrs to be
identified as anti-american.
"To the extent that the
U.S. press movement is identified
as anti-amr. it becomes
more likely that ~~amer~~
nationalism will be mobilized
by what may be considered
fascist forces." Contrary to
situation in other countries
where nationalism mobilized
by progressive forces. Said
Johnson admin has used over
soldiers in Viet "hostages" to
maintain amer public opinion

in support of war

Bronson Clark

economic aspects

of war

"a businessman"

(AFSC Viet
Program)

Social War brought a

"false sense of ~~prosperity~~
prosperity" until this year

But a whole section of

pop in ghettos and boroughs
left out. This yr saw

10% ~~income~~ tax increase

proposal. Realized U.S. had

spent over 560 billion in

Viet and even with tax

increase face \$28 billion deficit

next yr as result of war

Answers re: Buckbirds must
be given in gray discussion
~~this~~ This Q & A and What Donk?
Answer by Mr. An in a
small gap

42 % of U.S. corps get 95 %
of money from Pentagon contracts.
Said was increasingly meant
that small businessmen
"could not control their
destiny" and was "destroying
the so-called free enterprise
system." by encouraging growth
of monopolies and close
relationship ~~and~~ between
Pentagon and big business.

Dennis Swanny on
anti-draft movement.
The Resistance Oct. 16 action
discussed. Explained role
of SS system and deferments
manpower channeling

have caused the numbers of
casualties among the civilian
pop. This is no contradiction
because on the tactics of
people's war, we people on the
spot know the terrain and
movement of the enemy, and so
suffer few casualties. However,
U.S. armed forces direct their
attacks against the pop of
liberated areas. Policy of
burn all, kill all, destroy ^{is} ~~and~~
directed against pop ^{many} ~~the pop~~
crimes have been committed
under the policy of pacification."

"To say 'we won't go' is not enough because [students] are not being asked to go" hence need for some other form of confrontation

"We in Kristaner believe that a massive resistance to the draft cannot be organized until Amer. youth overcomes its fear of a prison sentence"

Comment by Jack Brown on adult support for resisters.

Comment by Mungo on anti-draft organizing among working class youth

"That's why NLF has nothing
to negotiate with U.S. govt at
present" U.S. govt ~~want~~ ^{want}

recognize natl rights of people
and that "there is a fighting force
in S.V., that is NLF, the sole
genuine rep of S.V. people"

8. Hope for collapse of Saigon

Basic way to end war is

struggle to force Amer. withdrawal
"If ~~the~~ U.S. troops withdraw from S.V.
one puppet govt may collapse
but the U.S. may set up another"

9. Casualties

"In battles casualties of
NLF are few, the rate is low.

But U.S. troops in these quarters

said they don't want to go
but fear govt. reprisals.

Chris Ronod - working with
draft resistance in L.A.

Said dkm couldn't actually
stop draft and had 2
alternatives: 1) using DKM
as organizing tool 2) on acts of
sabotage of SSS.

also said SDS working on
program of organizing in
military.

Carol Blossman spoke of
draft evasion thru schools
or certain professionals.

Steve Horowitz spoke of leafletting,
counseling, disruption, research of
military.

Sometimes people from other countries cannot receive them".
e.g. soldiers given 2 ballot tickets

6. overcome Soviet proposal to convene Geneva Conf.

Not aware of such a proposal

"Pol program of Front fully conforms with 1954 Gen. Agreements. Struggle of our people in Italy fully conforms with those agreements.

7. Would NLF take it in negotiation if DKU bombing ended.

Difficult to answer because hypothetical question. So far shown no signs of ending bombing or negotiating with NLF

Eric Wenzinger on
C.O. position

Linda Morse on
~~National and Student~~
history of anti-war movement
up to April 15 and plans
for Oct 21. "From dissent to
resistance" slogan
"short-circuiting in anti-war movement"
Marking lists of all participating
groups only added up to 10% of
500,000 who marched over 15.
[Received "withdrawal now" vs.
"negotiations with NLF" slogan
letter was seen as "imposed" by April 15.
Set this more radical position
and that NLF flags carried
by some April 15
(in answer to why no NLF
slogans)

4. Internationalist duty

"We wish that other people who are oppressed by U.S. imp. would stand up and struggle. That would help us in our struggle. But we think the struggle of each people must develop from that people."

5. Do you vote rep. peace sentiment?

"I think

Desire of S.V. people for peace is clear ^{for 25 yrs of struggle} the next election has nothing to do with the desire for peace of ^{S.V.} people. We consider those elections a trick." See figures abt voting are "fabrications" "Tricks of U.S. and Saigon are so cunning and flagrant that

Dellinger comment

Oct 21 "a new show in
anti-war movement is what we
are trying to introduce much
more determined and serious
forms of resistance"

"We hope to keep the
numbers ^(of Apr. 15) but we are determined
to be more militant and more
direct"

Ross Flanagan, on behalf
of crew of Phoenix which
is taking more supplies
to Vietnam.

"We want to touch the
hearts and show the
conscience of the Amer. people."

by U.S. and Saigon. In program
try to provide condx for such
persons to join NLF and return
to an "honest life" without
a policy of unity we could not
receive such broad support as
we have

3. Nature of NLF support for lib.
struggles.

"We sympathize with and
support all people's who struggle
against imp. Our support for
time being is moral support
and whenever our experiences may
be helpful we think those
exp. may be helpful."

"I think part we are here
telling and not in person
suffering in Viet is
evidence that we have not
found a way to comfort the
hearts and consciences of all
morning."

Henry Wilson - community
organizing against the war
Vietnam Summer specifically
"original goal of Viet summer
was to expand the base of
the peace movmt." Three
convoys, ^(developing political consciousness) ~~health~~, and
draft info centers.

Sept 9 DKU report

opened with Viets singing their
song of unity. Amer. del
song "marching on to Freedom land"

Mrs Binh answers remaining
questions:

1. NLF officials near Saigon adm?

"In Saigon adm ^(or whole) machine there
are persons who are relatives or friends
close to persons in the Front."

No official relations between
NLF and adm

Front aim to set up "broad
natl coalition democratic govt"

2. Terrorism of teachers, med. whos?

"a calumny spread by

Coxs McElowney

lot of mvmt is to
"develop politics that can
change the country"
by getting large numbers
of Amer involved in
serious political activity.

2 goals:

1) Political education and
creation of activist

2) Develop ^{effective} political organizations.

great from collaborationist
landowners, landlords may
be their land purchased by
the state or they may give
it freely. As to absentee
l's their land is "temporarily
managed by the Front" and
their pol. attitude determines
future disposition of ^{their} land.

WLF is genuine ray of
S.V. people. We think
not nec. to mention matter in
^{organizing} program because we mean that
it is the Front which must
decide the affairs of S.V."

1 Diff ideologies
integration
~~not~~ ~~separatists~~ Separatists
Ethnic roles
Black militants.

2 why self-determination
is correct ideology ~~but~~
SNGC has ~~to work out~~
~~still have to work out~~
implementing this idea, beginning
concrete program for
with - political education and moving by
achieving this concept
steps to a struggle for Nat'l Lib.
The exact form of the struggle will
be determined by people & conditions

3 meaning of Black rebellions
less rehearsal for revolution

change "membership"
to "staff members"

Newly arrived delegates

Leon Moore United Afro-amer.
~~Student~~ Assn

Willie ~~Lee~~ Wright Pres. of above

Andrew Hopkind, journalist
John Tillman, SNCC

Carole Brightman

(ALX S)

(ALX S)

Morning Session

Sept 7

John Wilson (SNCC) report

Get speech by Wilson

"That means we make no decisions"

add after draft statistics

~~sentences~~ Round of applause afterwards led by Viet

Comment by Viet woman

"asked abt role played by

"blk women in the movement

of afro-americans"

John: Women in amer society
have traditionally played 2nd role
But blk women emerged gaps
taking leading role in supporting
blk draft resisters. Said blk
women must be made to realize
they are blk & revolutionaries.

Treatment of U.S. POW's

" We have captured over troops and some have made statements as to how they have been treated during detention.

We treat the prisoners humanely, and you know very well how the prisoners have been treated ^{by Soviet forces} they are ~~sometimes~~ ^{given} more food than our own troops and receive medical care."

Cooperation with other forces possible - united action has been carried out in the cities

" All kind and guys living in more a less anti-Soviet spirit, we have had united actions with them."

Comment by Willie Wright
asked on what basis could
blks enter Amer mainstream
under present ~~and~~ system
John: no way at present to
enter the mainstream and
SNCC doesn't advocate this.

Stony Cooks: Didn't understand
meaning or program of Black
militants - "not *specific*"
Sed ~~could say~~ ^{maybe} blks militants have
no program.

John: Sed couldn't talk
abt problem in this room
proposed to talk with
Viets "minus" Americans

be built between all of the
S.V. people and ~~all~~ the U.S. forces.

pro Binh: ~~answers~~

"session of pol program ^(of NLF) a very
important event in pol. life
of S.V."

Protection of private ownership:

Socialism? regime to be based

on ind, democracy, peace & neutrality.

~~Protection of private ownership is~~

"there are many other elements in addition
other than ^(only) those relating to private
property. Such elements are not
mentioned in our program"

We share with people of Thailand,
Laos & Cambodia

a common enemy

Very comment

expressed thanks for support
of blk militant support. and
public opinion in Viet "very
moved by blk rebellions"

because 1) we understand your
struggle and 2) "your struggle
is against a common enemy -
U.S. imperialism." we have
organized demonstrations to
support blk rebellions, and
honor of receiving comrad
cosmichael. "I propose
the 2 Viet delegations to
applaud and acclaim the
struggle of the blk people"

U.S. helicopters, landed and
picked up only bodies of white
troops. Bells and Saigon bodies
were left and napalm bombs
were both dropped and destroyed
the corpses.

~~Mr. Nomura~~ ~~Mekong~~ ~~affairs~~
~~statement is~~ ~~from~~ ~~to~~ ~~landed~~

DMZ barrier: would
not save the situation in the
South as dry season results
showed. The calculations of U.S.
top brass are from military
textbooks and, when applied to
S.V. will lead to failure.

Only way for such a wall
to succeed is that it must

Hank Warner on labor movement.

Left leadership driven out of labor movement or silenced.

"As a result unions have become institutions of the power structure." However, recent unrest - wildcat strikes, indicating rank and file rejection of leaders but not on political positions but old wages and benefits and working conditions. Opposition of ranks not based on war or opposition to the system for most part. Spike of few anti-war unionist efforts but they were weak efforts. Some international moved onto away revolution.

4th tactical zone 1st Coy
area 50% of movements in
1st Coys over ^{part} of action
during recent dry season.
That's why reduced to depressive
action.

of
U.S. POW's: no exact figures
"Moral of U.S. troops so far
is not higher than puppet troops."
"But ^{we} must be vigilant against ~~even~~ ^{the}
adventurous character ~~against~~ ^{of} certain
U.S. units"

Blk troops: Percentage 20% blk
blk officers account only for 5%.

"Commanders usually make blks do
heavier work than white troops. In
a recent quarter in Quang Tri
province.

Comment by Norm Fruchter

Organized labor 1/4 of all
labor in U.S. and then
concentrated in advanced sections
of our industry which are
susceptible to automation.

Ross Flanagan, Quaker
action group.

"Greatest fear of my countrymen
of religious belief is that god
is alive and in the Whitehouse"
previous statement alt god dead.

Referred to ~~Catholic~~ Bishop Sheen
~~that~~ withdrawn statement.

as giving "new hope to the
Catholic Community"

Other Churchmen have also been active
in marches and demonstrations.

Turn captured cannon shells
into mines. - both anti-tank
and anti-personnel - also use ^{captured}
pellet bombs in these mines

DKV Troops: "a shrewd
fabrication on part of U.S. govt
~~and~~ to cover up U.S. aggression
against north"

"Present army has basically
being in collapse"

Never has the Front had
any intention of dividing S.V. into
two parts, contrary, to link
liberated areas into a free S.V.

Comps in Saigon: Johnson
and McNamee know this better
than us. A spy is changing
horses in mid-stream

New religious pro-oriented
groups have been set up in
most faiths and various
inter-faith groups.

McCartist ^{some} religion have
sought to "sensitize the
conscience of the Amer. people."

~~The~~ Medical supplies problem
U.S. - Canada - Hanoi.

F. Canogen presented packet
of medicines to Viet delegation
as token of compassion of

Amer. people. Vy expressed thanks
to religion people in the U.S. for supporting
the cause of humanity and justice.

Comment by Malcolm Boyd

Kochin in English, French, Viet.
and village has its own ~~at~~
song & dance troupes. Culture &
art being developed.

Binh Ba ghi answers
to questions:

I Liberation armed forces & command

II U.S. expediting troops

III Problems concerning McNamara

WLF casualties: "The way of
fighting of our forces consists of
using all the main force, regular
& guerrilla units in surprise
attacks. In guerrilla attacks
and longer attacks casualties
on one side are very low"

Malcolm Boyd on failure
of traditional church and work
of "underground" church

"The church exists to exercise
moral leadership in the U.S.
The church is neither moral
nor a leader. It is acting
as a chaplain for the status
quo."

Sol Stern on intellectual and
professional community.
traced Cold war pathology and anti-
Communism of the grip after WWII
McCarthyism, Smith Act, anti-
communist hysteria. Rebirth of
this grip goes out of U.S.

printing machines but in short
cases foot-operated printing
machines and mimeographs

limited circulation, but also
in occupied areas. In Saigon
any one who reads such
papers could be jailed. Papers
distributed from hand to hand

"We consider the publication of
newspapers as a part of the
struggle. Some correspondents
drives with the army in order
to have fresh reports.
Correspondents must also be fighters.

Motto: "The pen in one
hand and a gun in the other"
also liberation radio and
the press group.

intervention in Cuba, Santo
Domingo, Congo, Vietnam "which
forced the government to continuously
lie and deceive the people"
and act like a "big power
imperialist nation" for the
intellectual could not fail to
notice.

Short reports

Linda Morse on GI's
leafleting efforts to reach
soldiers. GI court cases.

Chris Jencks on press

Jack Brown - effectiveness of Viet
propaganda "If you message is the
word among them must hear it from
their friends. The true audience for your
literature are the am. peace organizers."

from primary level on up - in
Vietnamese language. In Saigon
nearly all university textbooks are
based on ~~English~~ French or some
textbooks and many classes taught
in English. Also evening
courses conducted and complementary
(adult) ed courses.

Press, culture, sports
nearly 40 ^{sent} newspapers in city
and many local papers. No
dailies, only weeklies, fortnightly,
monthlies. Printing shops must be
portable. Moved by human shoulders,
boats, animals like elephants.
Self-defense units attached to
printing shops. ^{some} Electric

Tom Hayden - made ^{intro} presentation
to Mrs Binh of NLF + several
(9) draft cards from over
liberated. presented to her

"We consider [this gesture] a
most significant symbol of
the solidarity between the
people of Vietnam and America"

But our struggle will be
difficult but "glorious". "With our
militant solidarity we will
certainly put an end to
U.S. war of aggression in
Viet and achieve the
goals of peace and freedom in
Vietnam and America"

remarks by Mrs. Binh

47 kinds of ^{western} medicine provided
by liberation health service as
well as traditional herb medicines.
Schs to train nurses in
Mongolian district and schs to
train physicians at Province level
^{representative of} liberation public health service
is known even in Dargyn -
controlled areas.

Educator:

$\frac{3}{5}$ of pop. illiterate in
every area and content of
education is very anti-national -
grossing Johnson as a benefactor -
In lib areas developing ed. in
service of people, patriotism and
revolution. Have own textbooks

DeLinger: 3 factors account
for varying approaches of our
delegation

1. Reaction to U.S. military
defeat in Vietnam
2. Black revolts as an internal
Vietnam but must not over-
estimate its effect. See concept
of guerrilla warfare in U.S.
and "blk violent revolt is a
new one, and it is too early
to predict what course it will
take."

3. Revolt among youth. New
left, hippies, Diggers.

"They (peters, etc) use the
fact that we have some

Attack against agricultural
production only costs more
hated among peasants who
in response refuse to send food
to Saigon.

Handicrafts and small industry
Sugar & salt grunting, metal
forging in lib. areas

Health Service - War has
wounded more than 800,000 people
since war began in S.V.

Every village has first aid
stations and dispensaries and
nursing centers. Every district
and Province has hospitals. Big
improvement over previous conditions.

In some areas ~~secret~~ ^{secrecy} rooms
set up underground

freedom is an excuse for
taking away our freedom and
putting us in jail"

appreciative smiles from
Vint Labzeta. Dabizy
earlier referred to us who
threw him in jail after a
demonstration and said "you
know, you couldn't get away
with that protest in
Moscow."

Social Peace or anti-ag-
gravant had now proposed
to a meeting for peace and
liberation to remove the
rope of restricted freedom. However
split over violent vs non violent
liberation struggle. but this not essential.

^{resorts} Elect NLF leaders in villages.

Discovery of how guerrillas trained how to attack enemies.

Political forms of struggle: women & children try to dissuade raiding puppet troops.

Oxen and water buffaloes and ~~other~~ draft animals.

Toxic chemicals: resorts organize to remove affected ~~leaves~~ from trees so that trunk and root will not be affected. Resorts in life. ones able to supply sufficient food to def armed forces, while inflation is increasing in Saigon and most urgent ~~to~~ 1 million tons of rice

Hanoi "The real distinction
should be between those who
are willing to sacrifice everything
for liberation and those who
are only willing to come out
for a few hours" in demonstrations

"We believe that the
liberation of Saigon and the
~~the~~ liberation of all of
South Vietnam and the liberation
of the American people are
one and the same."

Standing ovation by
all delegations.

basic goals of the Front.

"It is very easy to join
the Front. Those who support
its program can join - oppose
U.S. aggression fight for ind, demo-
etc.

^{"people of pol.}
Different ^(nationalities) nationalities, religions +
ethnic groups. An NLF leadership
and govern the liberated areas."

At the village level, at hamlet,
village & district level, but
at province level liberation
armed forces are coordinated.

Communication lines between
villages vary so that ~~some~~ village
who has been away might not
be able to find his way out.

NLF Viet report by

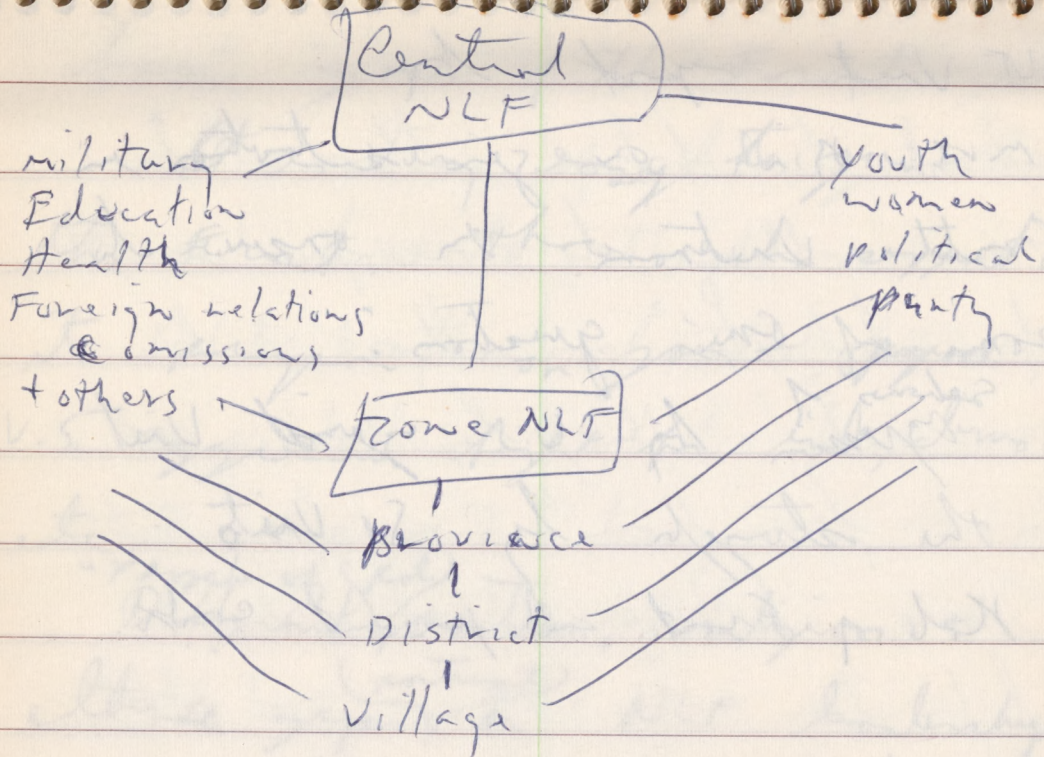
Mrs Binh on gen situation in
South Vietnam. In answer to
some of our questions:

1. Schemes of aggression by U.S. against Viet
2. the struggle by S. Viet
3. Role of Front and present work.

1. Schemes of U.S. aggression in S.V.
"Root cause of pres. situation"

From 1945 people rose up to follow
DRV - French return after WWII
and scheme of British and French
to end French colonialism

In 1958 French had sustained
heavy defeats and U.S. started
helping them with 400,000 tons



23 organizations in NLF

There are differences between these organizations
 e.g. PKP is Marxist - Leninist
 but Radical Socialist has its
 own line and pol. program but
 there is no tension between
 members because of these diff.
~~but~~ all are united on the

of arms and equipment and should be
up to 80% of cost of war.

French defeat in 1954. U.S. govt
tried to sabotage Geneva Conf.

U.S. move into ~~renew~~ scene to
replace French. Geneva regarding
sovereignty, unity and territorial
integrity of Viet. No special
provisional demarcation line of only
military nature. Words of U.S.
have gone contrary to those
provisions. ~~Words of govt~~

With international recognition of
self-determination rights new form
of colonialism required

"to carry out colonialism hidden
behind a local puppet govt"
neo-colonialism

of reduction of land rents
applied. ^{in lit. over} 3.5 million hectares
(^{cultivable} of land) and more than 2 million ^{allotted to} persons ^{and}
under cultivation and
"the peasants" ^(in lit. over) are the
owners of the land." "Once
the peasants become owners
of the land they become masters
of the village and of their lives,
and they are willing to join
in the struggle to defend their
vital interests and improve their
lives." "The people participate in
local committees of the Front
to govern their lives."

NLF

phases of U.S. aggression 3 in number

1954-1960=1

~~Black~~ "Terrorist period"

during that time

"U.S. govt built up its force

under guise of support admin

support army" also carried policy

of spiritual aggression of all patriotic

forces, esp former revolutionaries, etc.,

under slogan of anti-communism

Revolution crushed, Mass

murders took place here and there

this policy gave rise to operations

from people of various states who

rose up in self-defense. Regime

adm disintegrated rapidly

1961-65

to preserve present

regime and crush people's movement

"Special war" policy implemented

the contested areas are ours.
They support the front."

Liberated areas were set after
1959-60 when NLF was
organized.

People's adm smashed $\approx 4/5$ of
territory of S.V. However in
~~some~~ some areas where strategic
hamlets set up people's adm had
to be smashed 40-50 times.

Many manpower & material
resources in lib. areas, which is
why attacked by enemy.

Why pop. stays in lib.
areas while under attack

"Great majority of people ^(in lib areas) are
peasants" ... and policy of

"as war of aggression waged
then suggest army and direct
by am. officers designated as
advisers" Staley-Taylor
plan to pacify S.V. in 18
months - McNamara plan also
a special feature was to
force millions of peasants into
concentration areas (strategic hamlets)
to "pacify" them. But movement
given and political and military
set back continued. "U.S. govt
could not prevent suggest army
from collaborating"

Since 1965 these set back
became extremely heavy and
large numbers of U.S. troops
were hospitalized 23,000 at end of 1969

39. How many U.S. POW's

40. Defense line across DMZ -
overall effect

Henry Van Ly, journalist
report on Liberated zones

Liberated zones 485 of S.V.
Territory 170,000 sq. Km is
total area [Get map
showing liberated areas]

"In contested areas cooperation
of forces is not completely
in favor of NLF, but every
day not undertake operations
at night, only during daylight
hrs. But the pop. in

now more than 460,000

58,000 troops from U.S. satellites
and half million puppet troops
with disavowal of these troops
U.S. position clearly exposed as
aggression, but U.S. has tried
to camouflage this aggression.

Hence arguments alt U.S.
"commitments" in S.V. In short,
U.S. aggressive policy has been
carried out over last 20 years
from covert forms to open
use of U.S. troops.

"As to Amer. commitments to
regime in Saigon it is nothing
but a commitment to itself
because that regime creation of U.S.

32. Clarification of remarks on
for 23 statement - visits one
people to North Viet as
independent state.

33. How view Thich Tri Quang,
Thich Nhat Hanh

34. "active support" to struggle for
liberation elsewhere?

35. NLF fulfilling "internationalist
charities" by fighting imperialism -
do expect others to do same?

36. How + who joining NLF

37. any tension between 23
groups in NLF.

38. State Dept statement that DZ
Note re. statement for peace
- comments.

Not a civil war as some
believe U.S. gave Saigon regime
a "fig leaf of democracy" but
it can stand only with U.S.
support. 80% of Saigon budget
from U.S. aid. Puppet army
created by U.S. Then - My served
in French army. Such puppets
"are not in the least nationalists
and they represent nobody"

Elections: This was effort of
U.S. to give "a paint coat of
democracy to its puppet regime
in Saigon." and wanted to
restore prestige of Saigon regime
as basis for continuing the war.
Elections showed ruling junta

24. What kind of propaganda directed to the U.S. troops

25. What happened to U.S. offensive in Mekong Delta announced by McNamara in Jan, 1967.

26. Program of U.S. evacuees

27. Progress in education, culture, science in liberated zones

28. Role of Peoples Rev. Party.

29. How ~~teach~~ ^{educate} women & children to defend themselves and how treated when captured by U.S. soldiers

30. Role of Front people inside puppet admin.

31. ~~Role of~~ ^{Clarify role of} political association

receives no support from broad
sections of S. Viet. Second
old hands have been kept in power
which means U.S. couldn't
find any new prospects "of
course the new Thieu - Ky regime
like old T-K regime will be
rejected by the people." There are
now U.S. and its lackeys on one
side and broadest sections of S.
Viet on other. It is U.S. which
is aggression and war provoker -
and the most brutal aggressor
inc. weapons - napalm, fragmentation
bombs, toxic chemicals - banned
by international law. abt 1 million
tons of bombs and bullets being
dropped yearly in S. Viet.

16. Status of operation by NLF to cut Vietnam in two thru central highlands
17. Possibility of coup against Ky
18. Situation projected for property holding of church
19. GI morale related to mistrust of ARVN and being used in war of attrition instead of massive firepower
20. Program of U.S. aid in S.V. and views of U.S. civilians in such programs
21. Situation faced by black troops in U.S. army
22. Question of specific recognition of NLF in program

"The local inhabitants have to literally live underground as many villages have been completely razed. It is safe to say that in S. V. there is not a single family which has not suffered losses due to the war."

2. Struggle by S. Vets.

"Faking of U.S. aggression has trampled underfoot the aspirations of all strata of people in S.V."

"The peasants (victims of war) have seen clearly that their enemy is the U.S. govt and its lackey in Saigon and the only way for them to live is to resist."

Late 1959 - 60 saw some

6. Chge in ability of NLF to capture equipment
7. Defections + desertions from U.S. forces
8. How NLF related to shogles in Cambodia, Laos Thailand
9. How Amer POW's treated
10. What are threats over
11. What of chges of Northern assistance
12. other war - NLF elements cooperating with Front
13. What abt cultural influence of Americans
14. Role of Northern Troops
15. View of pres. situation of puppet regime - collapse.

of popular organizations which broke
control of regime and vast areas
were liberated. fierce struggle
by local ~~and~~ pop. to destroy
strategic bombs - many destroyed
and rebuilt many times - as they
were nothing but "huge concentration
camps where the inmates lived
lives of detainees." To fight against
them was to fight for life itself.
 $\frac{4}{5}$ of S.V. territory liberated
and more than $\frac{2}{3}$ of the
population.

Form of political struggle:

tens of millions of people participant
in political struggle each yr (some
in more than one) and majority of
them have been women

but this cannot offset the determination
of S.V. people to struggle &
liberate their country."

3. "We hope our friends will
struggle ^{with us} to force our ruling
cracks to de-escalate and
withdraw."

afternoon report on
liberated areas.

Questions:

~~Soviet~~ ~~claim~~ I would NLF welcome
invitation by USSR to reconvene
Geneva conf?

2. Status of armed draft versions?

3. Explain views on socialism

4. Clarify view on negotiations with

U.S. + DRV - Fronts view? ^{effect on} fighting?

5. Possible recruiting by NLF
casualty rates

Political struggle not peaceful
because participants sometimes attacked
by enemy. Not only social and
struggle but political struggle to
push back "imperialist" operations
situation in cities and towns

Very presence of U.S. troops makes
life difficult - also inflation and
scarcities. 1 1/2 mil tons of
rice exported annually in past but
now must import. Patriotic
writers, students and others jailed
or executed. Students demanding
use of Viet language in schools
and a left resistance movement
among students and other youths
similar to that in U.S.

April 12, 1967 Brigade 3 in DMZ
Division ~~8~~ 9 stationed in Binh ~~Thien~~
~~also~~ refused to get into ^{aircraft} ~~planes~~
for mopping up operations. U.S.

MP's put down mutiny in a
bloody battle losing some ~~has~~
and ^{more than} costing ~~costing~~ 20 casualties

1. "U.S. aggression force have come
to a "deadlock" in S.V. and are
further and further "bogged down"
both tactically and strategically.

Present force has been forced
to withdraw in many areas.

2. Determination of S.V. pop. to
struggle will push U.S. + puppet
troops against a wall. naturally
this struggle is costing societies

"South S. Viet we have a more powerful way of resisting the draft. The youth organize themselves in small groups and arm themselves to resist induction into the army."

labor movement and movement of writers and journalists demanding freedom of press.

Buddhist movement: Religious oppression forces buddhists to stand up and fight.

"The buddhist movement is a part of the whole movement of urban poor in S.V., but the significance is that buddhists are a most moderate part of this movement."

U.S. has chosen wrong enemy &
wrong place and pursued
war in a very subjective
strategy without correcting previous
mistakes. He underestimated the
spiritual and material strength
of S.V. people. U.S. forces
concentrated and scattered in small
enclaves in passive defense.

U.S. mistake of counting on ^{air and} ~~outlying forces~~
and ~~rely~~ confidence in ground
forces which must eventually
decide the outcome of war.

Falling morale in U.S. & puppet troops:

Oct 9, 1966 300 U.S. ~~troops~~
in 25th Division in ~~Chu~~ ^{Chu} Chi in

Saigon moving end of their term
of duty opened orders by commander

struggle of backward shows
not aggression from north or
fight between communists &
non-communists. "People of
S. V. feel their interests are
harmed by U.S. intervention
and so they willingly stood up
and fight". This accounts
for their determination to
defeat U.S. aggression.

I questioned Mrs. Birch all
"civil war" "Intervention is a
form of aggression" she said
~~but this is incorrect~~ to say
because it occurs, there were
two sides in eastern which
split into conflict. But

step by step under enemy control.

U.S. troops trained in conventional tactics of bombing and artillery shelling, ^{followed} advance by armored units and tanks, followed by infantry, but such a tactic ^{is very} ~~is~~ "awkward" in S.V. because there is no very clear cut bottleneck. The front is everywhere.

U.S. troops also meet the enemy ^{unbought} of climate and diseases, and subterranean weapons such as booby traps. In fight around Tay Ninh in first 10 days 6% ^{of effective strength} ~~over~~ ^{over} side and thereafter rose to 19%.

Sargen regime is a puppet
set up from the start by
U.S. govt. ^{not indigenous gov.} However, certain
sections in ^{U.S.} ruling class exploit
~~and~~ "intervention" in civil war
argument to remove stigma
of aggression from U.S. the
war is an aggressive war against
all states of the people of S.V.

Three parties in WLF

Democratic

Radical Socialist

People's Revolutionary party
four religions: Buddhism,
Christianity, Cao Dai, Hoa Hao
pegs of a score of ethnic
minorities

speculation are far from the truth because guerrillas ~~are~~ ^{are} ~~for~~ the people. We ourselves can only say there are millions of them ~~and~~ ^{and they} are feared by U.S. troops."

U.S. strategy to "take out all the water in the pool in order to catch the fish. But this will not work

because the guerrillas are the people and the people are the guerrillas. Whenever there is a population there are guerrillas."

S.V. people have many tactics of fighting and the fulfilled goal of destroying enemy troops, destroy their material losses, and stop by

organization of workers, peasants,
women, student, intellectuals

PRP is the Marxist-Leninist
party in Front "which enjoys
a status which is equal to
the other org. Work within
the Front leadership has
been carried out on the basis
of equality, discussion and
unanimity." all work must
be based on political program
and altho there are differences
in front they all believe
in fighting U.S. aggression and
put national interests above differences

Main goals are ind,
democracy, peace and neutrality

take the offensive. We have
not returned to a passive
position but on the contrary
continue our offensive, soverely,
and this is our final strategy
it, our people's armed forces
with a strong fighting spirit
and good equipment. In firepower
of our gnd forces ~~we~~ are no
longer inferior to the U.S. Troops.
this is due to the supplies
we have received from U.S.
troops themselves. #"

3 Types of forces

U.S. press speculates abt
number of liberation forces and
guerrillas. But their

Key Section question

"There is no sentence in the program abt the building of socialism in S.V."

"As to domo, we encourage a govt elected by the people and not selected by the amer govt"

And is absence of foreign interference.

Peace cherished because

Viet have been fighting over 25 yrs. "Peace is inseparable

from national ind." "we will follow a foreign policy of peace and neutrality. That

means S.V. will join no military bloc or form military alliances" no foreign troops.

U.S. can travel these routes
only in brigade strength.
other routes leading from Saigon
are also effectively closed.

U.S. has ^{+ puppet} 8 divisions ~~in~~ around Saigon but no security
altho French were able to
secure area with only 9 regiments.
Even in Saigon there are
areas controlled by the ~~puppet~~ ^{satellite}
forces.

Conclusion of President of NLF
at end of 66-67 dry season -
over 1 million U.S. + puppet ~~have~~
suffering from ~~deaths~~ ^{deaths}

Correct strategy of NLF: <sup>become it
has won
many victories</sup>
"to resolutely & continuously
may be summed up."

The policy of neutrality, from an
angle, reflects desire of S. Viet to
see their country free of foreign
military bases.

"We will proceed toward ^{re-unite} ~~neutrality~~
you see the Viet people on
one ^{under present circumstances} But ~~you~~ how to liberate
S. V. first and that is why
the question of re-unification
must be solved step by step.
There must be a first step and,
democratic and neutral S. V. then
re-unification ~~can be~~ ^{proceed} gradually
based on consultation and
negotiation. Viet should have
been re-unified long ago,
in 1956." 2nd pol. program
(under Geneva)

U.S. now uses ground acting
a bottleneck on logistic level
only around perimeter of bases
in order to secure them
(no large operations since 11-17
dry season)

Danang base has now
effectively been cut off from
other U.S. bases, and liberation
forces are drawing net closer
around the base

Previously Rte 4 from
Sông Gian Giang south was controlled
in daylight by U.S. forces but
since July this road has been
cut up and some for Rte 20
north, an important supply road

line connected with Geneva
agreement and international
law and does no harm to
the interests of the U.S.

"In liberated areas (80%) now
the Front is destroying the
fears of a democratic people's
administration* But the influence
of the Front has spread to
areas controlled by the other side"
also effect suggest admin troops

2 Army. On average 10,000
guerrilla troops desert every month.

"With success of its struggle
ULF has become the only genuine
org. of the people of S.V."
Why is this so "Not because

of Jordan City operation was
that ~~U.S. support~~ ^{U.S. support} troops were able
to make a brief tour of an
area which was previously
inaccessible to puppet troops.
But tour was costly and
~~eventually~~ ^{shortly} U.S. & puppet had
to withdraw.

Situation since May till now
U.S. has taken heavier losses
than puppet army. U.S. Army
has basically been reduced to
playing a passive defensive role
and an army which is reduced
to a defensive operation can
be considered defeated altho
not completely defeated.

the Front wants that, but the
pt is that the achievements of
the Front have made it the
sol. org of people of S.V., and
the reality has been recognized
not only by people of S.V.
but also other countries."

only Saigon and U.S. deny
this reality. "Apart ~~from~~ ^{other} the
Front there is no other organization
in South with a pol. program
which conforms with the
basic aspiration of the people
and can rally broad
sections of the pop. under its
banner. However the Front
has declined in many occasions

Said this figures had
been checked and were believed
to be relatively correct.

^{strategic} pacification program was realized
only by 9.5% of expected ^{according to} U.S. records

120,000 inhabitants brought into
liberated areas in one province
for example [Quang Tri], and
also other liberated areas expanded

Gave details of failure of
function City operation in
Toy Ninh area which involved
45,000 troops attacking areas where
U.S. command thought there were
heavy concentrations of NLF forces
and headquarters. From U.S.
point of view only success

that it is ready to join
in actions of other groups in
the struggle for "total liberation"
only requirement is that
such groups oppose U.S. aggression
this is already reality as
groups in support have
dissociated themselves from
any and undertake united
actions with A.L.F. of course
and groups cannot be described
as genuine eyes of people.
They have no pol. program."

D. Buddhist form 3rd Force?

It's a ^{rather} long heated question. We
have to distinguish between ^{honest} clergy
and ^{fake} monks and fake ~~leaders~~

of planes 4,500 on S.V.

Details on troop and armament strength U.S. strength on

\$ 75% ^{percentage of available} ground forces

both direct 40% naval

and indirect 60% tactical air force

also most modern weapons except atomic

Launched 60 operations at division level and 3 at Brigade level such as Junction City.

170,000 enemy troops annihilated in this dry season

~~1,800 planes~~

~~395 aircraft~~

60,000 more than previous dry season.

abt 70% or 80% of S.V. pop are
Buddhist - minded. Majority of
them live in countryside. The
Buddhist are in the front when
peasants, working people and
professionals. They are subject to
oppression and lack of freedom
of creed. That's why they have
taken an active part in patriotic
struggle. Buddhist leaders
may be divided into 3 categories.
Majority of them are patriots &
have joined struggle for
~~social~~ ^{national} liberation and for
their interests. A handful
are agents under the cloak of
religion; agents of the U.S.

~~Sol Stern question~~

Dinh Ba ~~that~~ this
military report
Chmn of NLF ~~delegation~~ ^{representation} at
Baclorest

recently visited certain areas
in S.V.

Dry season 66-67 by the
present - now rainy season in
S.V.

"We say that the result of
the last dry season, defeat
of U.S. aggressors, has strategic
significance" confirmed that
people and army of S.V. are
able to defeat U.S. on
battlefield

U.S. war in Viet grows the
more the Amer. people will
understand the brutal U.S.
aggression, and the war
will begin more heavily to
affect the moral and material
interests of the Amer. people.

We think that the only way
is to continued ~~the~~ ^{by the} struggle
people of S.V., resolute struggle
by the Amer. people, and support
from all progressive people of
the world. Only in that
way can our struggle to an
end ~~from~~ ^{to} U.S. aggression.

NUTE: Khom Chuong and
Viet use term afro-ones
to refer to masses of blacks -
"class destruction"

Viet films: 2 NLF

1 DKV

1 NLF alt Amer atrocities

2nd NLF film alt how

Victory will be achieved

DKV film made before present
war of attrition.

Morning Session Sept 8
Continuation of Binh report

3. Present situation in S. V. and
position of NLF

2 prong plan: increase
military attacks and increase
persecution U.S. policy: "Kill all,
burn all, destroy all."

"Strength does not lie in
weapons but the will to fight,
and that strength should be based on
a certain position so it can be
developed day after day."

Progress in military field will
be more confusion and more failure
for U.S. In Pol. field the pressure
of U.S. expeditionary force has spread
more and more aggressive nature of

after liberation members of
support army or adm may join
victorious forces.

Pol program position on question of
Asian prisoners of war

"will be treated as members
of support army or adm taken
prisoners. They will benefit from
the Fronts policy of
humanitarianism and leniency."

Remarks of U.S. anti-war memt:

"the only way for our people is
to defeat U.S. aggression is Vietnam
We think that with support
of progressive Asians and people
throughout world who love peace
justice and freedom this can be achieved
Certain friends may think

U.S. in Vietnam" this has
aroused nationalist feelings of
whole pop. even many members
of puppet adm. and army

"The more the U.S. brings troops
into S.V. the more isolated it
becomes because the opposition of
the S.V. people increases. Our people
are coming to realize that
the only way for them is to
continue the struggle resolutely
until final victory. It is the
only way to save the nation,
save their families and save
their own lives."

The U.S. has no right in
S.V. and its troops must be
pulled out and the NLF

people who are opposed to U.S.
aggression in order to achieve
an ^{ind} democratic, peaceful, neutral &
prosperous S.V." (Lansat)

"The real line of the front
is that the most dangerous
enemy of the people of S.V. is
the U.S. aggressors and their
lackey in Saigon."

Program designed to appeal
to broad sections of people
(get list, inc. landlords,
capitalists, members of puppet
admin and army who have
crossed over to our side)

Only puppets "who are bent on
continuing their criminal path
will be duly punished"

recognized as the sole genuine
rep of S.V. people. This demand
cannot be compromised. This
does not harm U.S. interests.

In view of U.S. atrocities
the demand to withdraw, to
speak fairly, is a very minimal
demand. It is necessary to
make a clear distinction between
the aggressor and victim of
aggression. This is why there can
be no talk of reciprocity - say
as proposed by U.S. that in
exchange for no bombing of North
~~people~~^{people} of S.V. must lay down
their arms. "In reality the
only exchange possible is that

25 yrs of struggle

9 yrs against French

2 yrs against Japs

13 yrs against U.S.

On Sept 1 Front made public
its political program, asked
why this published?

"to meet the desires and aspirations
of people of S.V. The people of
S.V. have expressed their position
in the pol. program. It
re-affirms that the line of
struggle that WLF has followed
so far is a fully correct one.
(insert)
~~our~~ ~~last~~ the pol line of
front is broad unity to rally
and mobilize broad sections of

if U.S. stops bombing DRV
then people of North will
cease shooting down U.S. planes"

For 28 statement

"N and S.V. make up one
nation. By carrying out war
of destruction of DRV U.S.
has violated sovereignty of an
inid state. For people of S.
by standing at North the
U.S. has attacked people of
Viet as a whole. Our
position is that U.S. must con-
clude acts of war against
DRV. So long as U.S.

continue its attacks against
N.K.V. people of S. V. will
intensify our struggle against
U.S. aggression. So long as
U.S. continues its war in the
South the South V. people
will continue the struggle
against U.S. aggression - the
common enemy of the people
of North and South Viet.¹¹

Re: ~~encloses~~ ~~encloses~~ solution proposal
others propose expansion of war
others ask of war of attrition
others ask of a pull out. but
with U.S. troops still present
in some form



