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DESERTER

By Robert L. Allen
Guardian Staff Correspondent

Paris

In Paris there is a small colony of young American men who have deserted from the U.S. Army. Their motives for desertion vary but some deserted specifically because they are opposed to the war in Vietnam. I interviewed such a young man.

"Joe" was ~~xxx~~^{said} to be one of the more "political" of the GI deserters. He was stationed in Germany and deserted because of "opposition to the war in Vietnam. I no longer wanted to be a part of the Service. It was not the fear of going to Vietnam but for political ~~xxxxxx~~ reasons." What sort of reasons were these, I asked. "I'm opposed to the imperialist policy of the U.S., not just in Vietnam but wherever the U.S. is intervening in the revolutions of the people."

The interview was conducted by telephone because, I was told, "it ~~xx~~ is necessary to protect the identity of the deserter." "Joe" declined to answer some of my more specific questions because ~~xxx~~^{he said} the answer might directly or indirectly reveal his identity. Although GI deserters are able to obtain legal status in some parts of Europe (see Guardian, Sept. 9), it was suggested by one activist here that anti-war deserters did not want their identities generally known because of fear for the well-being of their families back in the U.S.

"Joe" said he volunteered for the Army and served about a year of his time. "I wasn't strongly opposed to the war until after I came into the Army and learned more about it." He said that through ~~xx~~ reading and talking with people who were war opponents he himself came to be strongly opposed to the Vietnam war and decided to desert.

"Yes, I was given help by people," said "Joe" in response to a question, "but now I have a job." He ~~xxxx~~ stated that it

had not been unusually ~~difficult~~ difficult to find a job "somewhere in Europe," and that he had applied for working papers.

What about the ~~average~~ other GI's still in the Army, I asked. What is ~~their~~ ^{their} attitude toward the war? "The majority of them favor the war," replied "Joe", "and I think it's important to reach them with the knowledge of what is really happening in Vietnam. We were only told that it [the war] is to stop communism."

"Joe" said that he had not yet contacted any other GI deserters but when he did so, he added, he would like to work with them to get other American soldiers to oppose the war.

Opposition to the war from within the Army appears to be an important concern of a group here which is aiding GI deserters. A leaflet distributed ^{to U.S. soldiers} by the group states: "We don't tell you: Desert. You risk much more than we do; it's up to you to make up your own mind. We do say: This Vietnam war stinks. We (and that does mean YOU!) have no business there. Let the Vietnamese settle their own quarrels! We (and that includes some guys who have quit the Army) say: Protest the war INSIDE THE ARMY."

A spokesman for the group, himself a foreigner and therefore risking being ejected from the country if his activities are exposed, explained: "Right now the most important thing is that before soldiers take off [desert] they begin doing anti-war organizing among their fellow GI's." He said that anti-war soldiers stationed in Europe should find some way of receiving literature -- for example, through the address of a local girlfriend -- other than the usual APO mail service. Otherwise such mail might be censored or confiscated, he stated.

"The average GI doesn't know what is happening," commented anti-war GI "Joe" in making a similar point, "and more work should be done to inform that GI's of what the people ^{of} in Vietnam are fighting for."

The last question I put to "Joe" was whether he thought he could ever return to the States. "The situation in the U.S. will have to change very much," he responded after a brief pause, "but I hope to be able to."

CONFERENCE

By Robert L. Allen

Guardian Staff Correspondent

Bratislava, Czechoslovakia

The National Liberation Front of South Vietnam is in the process of consolidating its position as the effective government of that country, while North Vietnam continues ~~to~~ successfully to resist the aggressive air ^{against it} ~~war~~ ^{launched} by the U.S. Such were ~~the~~ the major conclusions to be drawn after a conference between Americans and Vietnamese held here from Sept. 6 through Sept. 12.

The extent to which the Front has become the effective, ~~if~~ ^{of South Vietnam} not formal, government, surprised many of the 41 American delegates attending the conference. However, the confidence of the Front was reflected in its new political program, made public on Sept. 1, which the NLF hopes to implement in order to "establish a broad national democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous South Vietnam, and proceed toward the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland." The program contained many provisions designed in part to bring new elements into the Front and thus bring nearer a political victory for the liberation forces. In fact the ~~first~~ first point in the new program called for united actions by all those elements, both within and outside the Front, which are opposed to U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

During the conference session NLF representatives presented impressive evidence to show that the Front controls 4/5 of the ~~the~~ territory of South Vietnam and has liberated 2/3 of its population. Some of the U.S. delegates believed that the heavy emphasis on unity ~~in the new program~~ ^{in the new program} of all patriotic forces meant that Front sees a political victory coming about through ~~bringing~~ ^{winning} a large majority of the remaining 1/3 of the population of South Vietnam over to the NLF side, and thus completely isolating the Americans.

The conference, the largest such gathering of Americans and Vietnamese, opened with reports from the U.S. delegation. The conference had been arranged by a group of U.S. anti-war activists — Dave Dellinger, editor of Liberation magazine;

(MORE)

CONFERENCE 2/2/2/2

Nick Egleson, a former president of Students for a Democratic Society; and Tom Hayden, a founder of SDS -- and representatives from North Vietnam and the NLF. The Czechslovakian Peace Committee acted as host and provided a modern resort hotel for trade unionists overlooking the Danube as a conference hall and residence for the delegates. Most of the U.S. delegates were to some degree involved in the anti-war movement, and the purpose of the meeting was to give them a chance to exchange views with the Vietnamese on the situations in their respective countries.

With the Vietnamese sitting on one side of the room and the Americans sitting opposite them the atmosphere of the conference was at first like that of a formal diplomatic meeting. The U.S. delegates -- drawn from anti-war, religious, student, pacifist, black liberation and community groups -- led off with reports dealing both with the general situation within the U.S., and the progress and problems of the anti-war movement. -- reports which the Vietnamese delegate duly recorded in notebooks. The ice began to chip when John Wilson of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee received a round of applause led by the Vietnamese after reporting on the plight of black people in the U.S. Wilson analyzed the various tendencies in the black freedom movement and said that the only serious alternative for black people was to struggle for self-determination. Wilson expressed SNCC's "unquestionable support" for the Vietnamese liberation fighters, and said that "The duty of a revolutionary who finds himself captured in the heart of imperialism is to destroy that imperialism by any means necessary so that it cannot carry its aggression to other people of color around the world." Concerning Vietnam, he said: "We know and you know that the U.S. is trying to make you the Israel of Indo-China, in other words, an arm of Western imperialism."

The atmosphere of warm solidarity became more intense when nine U.S. delegates presented their draft card to Mrs. Nguyen Thi Binh, head of the NLF delegation as token of their support, and one American gave a small package of medicines to Nguyen Minh Vy, head of the North Vietnamese delegation, and still other Americans ~~presented~~ exchanged gifts with members of the two Vietnamese delegations.

(MORE)

Ironically, these small gestures helped to bring home the reality of the war, although in strange ways, as when one was jolted by seeing a Vietnamese wearing an "Impeach Johnson" button, or found oneself walking arm in arm with ~~VuxThixHao~~ Miss Vu Thi Hao, a charming and ever-smiling 23-year-old Hanoi school teacher who had been crippled only a few months earlier by a blast from an American fragmentation bomb.

The realities of the war were also brought home sharply by the reports presented by the two Vietnamese delegations. Militarily, the enclave theory is no longer just a theory. The U.S. military forces in South Vietnam are effectively restricted to their bases and dare not venture out except in large and heavily armored units, according to the NLF reports. For example, in the I Corps ~~area~~ in the northern part of South Vietnam, ground communications have been effectively cut between the U.S. bases at Chu-lai, Danang and Phu Ba, and these bases are enveloped in a "guerrilla wreath." Dinh Ba Thi, an NLF representative in Budapest, who provided this information, added that 2/3 of the troops at these bases are occupied with guarding the bases and only 1/3 are available for mobile operations. On the other hand, the NLF forces, he said, had liberated an additional 120,000 Vietnamese in the I Corps area in the last year.

The 1966-67 ~~dry~~ dry season, particularly the Junction City fiasco, was a disaster for the U.S., and American military activity has essentially been reduced to passive defense, he said.

The air war over the North continues, and almost all major targets have been hit, said the North Vietnamese. However, they have adopted a strategy of dispersal of ~~their~~ their population, industry and supplies so as to render bombing ineffective. "The U.S. must therefore attack numerous small scattered targets. They must attack every single ~~container~~ oil container to destroy our supplies," said Vy. "They must attack every car and even every bicycle. In this they suffer heavy losses. Are they prepared to ~~exchange~~ exchange an F-105 for a barrel of oil?" Vy said that more than 2,200 U.S. warplanes had been shot down over the North. This included F-105's, F-100's, F-4C's, AD6's, unmanned reconnaissance aircraft and others.

Nick Egleson, a former president of Students for a Democratic Society; and Tom Hayden, a founder of SDS --- and representatives from North Vietnam and the NLF. It was hosted by the Czechoslovakian Peace Committee and was held in a ~~XXXXX~~ resort hotel for trade unionists overlooking the Danube. The purpose of the conference was to provide an opportunity for U.S. anti-war workers and the Vietnamese to ~~XXXXX~~ exchange views on the situation in their respective countries.

The U.S. delegates -- drawn from anti-war, religious, student, pacifist, academic, black liberation and community groups -- opened with reports dealing both with the general situation ~~within~~ within the U.S., and the progress and problems of the anti-war movement. John Wilson of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee receive a round of applause led by the Vietnamese when he reported on the plight of black people in the U.S. Wilson analyzed the various tendencies within the black freedom movement and said that the only serious alternative for black people was to struggle for self-determination.

CONFERENCE 4/4/4/4

Vy siad that bombing could not destroy the North's communication lines. "If we could bring our big guns to Dien Binh Phu, then now we can do the same," he said.

Dinh Ba Thi said that the U.S. strategy in the South was 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. Wherever there is a population there are guerrillas."

In response to a question Thi said that the proposed construction of a barrier parallel to the DMZ to "halt infiltration from the North" would not save the situation in the South. "The only way for such a barrier to be effective," he said, "is for it to be built between all of the South Vietnamese people and all of the U.S. troops."

Thi stated that to pursue the war in Vietnam the U.S. has already mobilized, directly or indirectly, 75% of its ground forces, 60% of its tactical air force and 40% of its navy. But despite its impressive material power the morale of U.S. troops in Vietnam continues to fall, he said.

Politically, the issuance of its new program was an important step for the NLF. It is beleived that the r~~e~~lease of that ~~program~~ program, which was many months in the making, was timed to coincide with the fraudulent ~~ex~~ elections in South Vietnam. Concerning those elections Mrs. Binh said they were designed to "give a varnish of democracy to the Thieu-Ky regime and a legal figleaf to the presence of nearly half a million U.S. troops in South Vietnam."

The new program states that the NLF "has become the sole genuine representative of the heroid South Vietnamese people." And in her speech Mrs. Binh said that ~~the~~ in the liberated areas the NLF "is actually exercising the functions of a people's democratic state." Some American delegates interpreted these remarks to mean that recognition of the NLF is no longer a matter for negotiation -- that the NLF has already won recognition on the political and military battlefronts. Accordingly, when negoatiations occur they will be primarily concerned with drafting a time-table for the withdrawa~~n~~ of U.S. troops.

CONFERENCE 5/5/5/5/5

This view was strengthened by the fact that Mrs. Binh ~~emphaxx~~ emphasized that the war in South Vietnam is not a civil war. That is, it is not a war between contending factions of the same nation each of which can claim the allegiance of large parts of the population. Instead, she said, the war was a war of U.S. aggression from the outset. However, the U.S. disguised its aggressive and imperialist intentions by setting up ~~a~~ meaningless regimes in Saigon which were actually only American tools. She said the U.S. intends to make South Vietnam a "new-type colony."

Mrs. Binh went on to say: ~~"In South Vietnam today"~~ "Apart from the NLF there is no other organized force in South Vietnam nowadays with so popular a program and so great a prestige among the masses. Besides, reality has proven that there are only two opposing forces in South Vietnam -- the U.S. imperialists and thier henchmen on the one side, and all the patriotic forces rallied under the anti-U.S.-aggression banner of the NLF on the other. There is not a third force as the U.S. government has so often claimed, with the intention of misleading that part of public opinion which still has a vague idea about the South Vietnam situation, and of splitting the revolutionary forces now resolutely fighting against U.S. aggression in South Vietnam."

When questioned about this subject she added that those who describe the situation in South Vietnam as a civil war are simply trying to remove the stigma of outright aggression from the U.S.

Both Vietnamese delegations stressed that that the Vietnamese people are one and that reunification-- through peaceful ~~negotiations~~ negotiations-- is definitely on the agenda for the future. Trang Cong Tjong, a ~~member~~ member of the North Vietnamese parliament reiterated that the Four Points of the DRV form the "basis for a correct political settlement in Vietnam."

One question which lingered in the minds of many of the American delegates was: What would happen if the U.S. resorted to nuclear weapons? ~~A~~ U.S. delegate raised this question with the Vietnamese and was told in effect that if the U.S. used atomic weapons to conclude the Vietnam war, then that would bring a conclusion to the American government and American society.

Statement by John Wilson, SNCC

Vietnamese bros. and sis: We the black people of SNCC understand and ~~support~~ the aggressive nature of white imperialist amer. We would like to express at this time our solidarity and un - questionable support for your struggle for national liberation and self-determination. We understand that many years of oppression you have suffered under three world powers. We the black people of America have only suffered the misfortune of being oppressed by one. We feel very close to your struggle and understand it to its fullest since we are a colonized people also. We know what it means to be colonized and we are sure that you do. We also know that power comes from the barrel of a gun and it yields nothing without a command. This you have found out and have forced the world to see it. Black people the world over are not free, from south vietnam, to south africa to south carolina, usa, because of imperialist white america.

When a country like the USA is allowed to force people of color to yield to its power, it is imperative that people of color should fight back. You are fighting for peace, freedom and land. Our fight is for the same. White people of the US are only interested in two things: money and land. We the black people of America will not sit ~~idly~~ by idly and be exploited by white America. And we will also support in any fashion in any way asked other people of color that the USA carries its aggression and imperialism to.

It is not our job to give our brothers in arms advice. But it is our job to do what we can to forward their struggle for liberation and self-determination. So therefore it is our job to disrupt American society by any means necessary. The duty of a revolutionary who finds himself captured in the heart of imperialism is to destroy that imperialism by any means necessary, so that it cannot carry its aggression to other people of color around the world.

We support wholeheartedly liberation struggles and the right of people to have them. We believe that you cannot organize or domesticate a mad dog. You dispose of it. White America throughout history has always been unapproachable and unteachable, so there is only one alternative -- to destroy it or face genocide. Colored people the world over have always had to face the guns of American imperialism. It is high time in our history that we begin to fight US imperialism and to support others in the US, Africa, the Middle East and Indo-China. We know and you know that the US is trying to make you the Israel of Indo-China, in other words an arm of western imperialism. It is left up to you and those politically sophisticated blacks in America to tell the world there can be no peace when a country the size of the US needs to exploit others to survive and to maintain its economy. We must also inform the world that there can be no policy but imperialism under any US president due to the nature ~~of~~ and structure of the capitalist system in the U.S.

Vietnamese brothers and sisters: Let us make it clear that we cannot talk about peace but we can talk about what evil powers in the world need to be destroyed so that we may live in peace and freedom.

The black freedom struggle in America has many different ideologies. Let us discuss them briefly: Integrationists, separatists, ethnic politics advocates, black militants.

The integrationists are led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young, and minor figures such as A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin. These individuals are basically interested in carrying black people into the mainstream of American society as it is now structured. All of them have been famous for their non-violent techniques. We in SNCC see this as leading black people to slaughter. Integration is basically impossible due to the economic system of America, because economics teaches that you do not coalesce a stable economic system with an unstable economic system. Black people in the US at present have an unstable economic system. So it is crystal clear that they would be swallowed up into the American imperialist system. The program of these organizations and leaders deals basically with integration in housing, schools and all of the institutions of America. Some of their demands ~~xx~~ America has conceded so America may have a good image abroad. We refer to this as tokenism -- that is ~~taking~~ the taking of a few into privileged positions as showpieces while forcing the majority to remain outside the system.

The separatists are led by the Hon. Elijah Muhammad and various independent nationalists. They either wish to set up an all black state or obtain land outside of the US. This is basically a religious movement based on the Islamic faith. Its following is growing but the opportunities for gaining land without revolution are unthinkable. Many of these groups follow a reactionary policy of simply trying to obtain a piece of land without altering the political or economic system of the country.

Those who advocate ethnic politics are basically trying to legitimize the concept of black power within the eyes of the white power structure. These groups want to organize black people as an ethnic group to achieve power within the present imperialist system. The groups are the Congress of Racial Equality, led by Floyd McKissick, the Metropolitan Applied Research Center in New York headed by Dr. Kenneth Clark, the National Conference on Black Power whose chairman was Dr. Nathan Wright. The National Conference on Black Power was set up basically by the white power structure for the purposes of legitimizing certain leaders as spokesmen for black power while at the same time discrediting the militants. However, the militants were able to gain control ~~xxx~~ and to expose the nature of the conference, although this was not reported by the press.

We in SNCC see the black militants as the true revolutionary force in America. The government must visualize them as being so because of the stepped up attempts to dissolve their ranks and to discredit them by calling them communists. The militants are led by Stokely Carmichael, who recently visited Hanoi, and H. Rap Brown, the present Chairman of SNCC. There are many other local militant leaders. The ranks of the militants are growing with every passing day. They are made up of the black poor, the black students, and many black intellectuals who are coming to accept the program.

WILSON 3/3/3/3

Their program is self-determination for black people in the USA. Their analysis holds that there is no other serious alternative for black people but a struggle for self-determination. SNCC has a program for implementing this idea, beginning with political education and moving by steps to a true struggle for national liberation. The exact form of this struggle for national liberation must be determined by black people and the oppressive conditions under which they live.

We in SNCC believe that a struggle for self-determination is necessary because black people are an internal colony within the US. Until now, many programs for reform have been attempted and have failed. The condition of black people continues to worsen. More and more black people are coming to realize that we are an internal colony and therefore the only correct program is to fight for self-determination in order to achieve peace and liberation.

We know that some black people have become puppets of the government, such as Whitney Young who went to South Vietnam to be a so-called observer of the fraudulent elections which occurred there. He was used by the U.S. government to make those elections appear legitimate in the eyes of black people. The people of Vietnam also have this problem with puppets -- a problem for which you have found a proper solution.

The black militants in the US believe that there is a necessity for linking our struggle with the liberation struggles in the Third World. That was basically the purpose for brother Carmichael's trips to Cuba and to your homeland, Vietnam. We believe that this linkage is necessary because the goals of our struggles are the same and we have the same enemy. We believe that it is necessary to meet with representatives of the liberation struggles in order to share experiences and ideas.

We in SNCC feel that the US labor movement is irrelevant to our struggle and to the anti-war movement. The labor movement is controlled by racist money-grabbers, and the membership is little better. The only black individual who is a national leader in the labor movement is A. Philip Randolph. He is a puppet of the white labor leaders and the US government. This makes him irrelevant to the black struggle. The US labor movement depends basically on the military-industrial complex for its existence. Under the present system the labor movement profits ~~for~~ from the Vietnam war, although many are unemployed. Most of these unemployed are black people due to the racist character of the organized labor movement.

The US government is using the Vietnam War as a means of genocide of black people as well as the people of Vietnam. According to official US government figures (which tend to underestimate the situation) black people make up 11% of the US population. However, 16 to 20% of all draftees are black men. 22 to 25% of all casualties in Vietnam are among black troops. But only 3% of all draft board members in the US are black and, although black men are in the armed forces and in Vietnam in disproportionate numbers, less than 5% of all officers in the US armed forces are black men.

WILSON 4/4/4/4

SNCC was the first black organization to take a stand against the war in Vietnam. Our position was very clear -- that the US should withdraw immediately so that the Vietnamese may exercise self-determination. This position was taken in Jan., 1966. Since that time 20% of our staff members have refused induction into the armed forces and are now ~~fixing~~ under indictment by the US government. The anti-war movement is rapidly growing in black communities, although there are still many who have not been reached. It is taking a trend away from marching and singing but toward refusing induction, both publicly and in other less public ways.

Black rebellions in the US as of August 5th had occurred in 56 cities over a four month period. The repressive forces killed over 80 black people and injured more than 3,000 and arrested some 9,000. The repression of these just rebellions resulted in more than half a billion dollars in property damage. We in SNCC see these black rebellions as a dress rehearsal for complete revolution.

We are glad to be here and feel that some value will be gained by all parties involved in this conference. I am sure brother Carmichael re-affirmed our solidarity with your cause while in your homeland. I would just like to re-affirm our support for your just and courageous struggle.

Notes from speech by Tom Hayden, Sept. 6

This conf. provides an historic opportunity for Amers and Viets to sit side by side to discuss the problems of achieving a just peace between our two countries. These intro. comments are not intended to be comprehensive or to represent the total thinking of the Amer delegation. Each amer here will speak for himself, in keeping with the ~~democratic~~ open and democratic nature of our movement. The report has three parts: 1) the situation in the US, 2) the situation in the anti-war movement, 3) questions to you.

The war is now beginning to force a deep crisis within america. So in Vietnam, and now in Newark and Detroit as well, amer imperialism is facing destruction in spite of its superior mechanical force. The shock of failure in Viet is breaking up the internal peace and balance of power within the US. Never in recent times has there been so much social conflict in domestic amer. First, discontent with the war is growing. Newspapers such as the ny times are acknowledging what many amers already suspected: that the US is not winning in Viet. The large majority ~~of amers~~ (of amers now) want an end to the war, either by negotiation or by any means possible -- a quick victory or a quick withdrawal of amer troops.

Second, the war is straining, though not exhausting, amer. resources. To maintain the military status quo in viet, johnson must keep adding troops at the present rate, but this will sooner or later require mobilization of the Reserves, a move which is certain to meet profound political opposition. In the econ. sphere, the various gains in employment, production and profits due to the war are probably offset by the curtailment of domestic programs required. From a technical standpoint, the US may be able to afford "guns and butter" but politically it is far less possible. Present consumer needs can be met. But there already has been a slight inflation, a notable rise in food costs, and a freezing of services and "Great Society" programs. In order to secure support for his unpopular war, johnson makes political alliances with the reactionary senators and congressmen who dominate most committees of the government. The prominence in govt. of these reactionary figures cancels out the possibility of even modest "great society" programs aimed at poverty, discrimination and urban problems. By strengthening the most racist and conservative elements in amer. the war takes resources from reform.

Third, the black rebellions are internal viets. The political ~~upheavals~~ divisions created by the war are intensified

by the racial upheaval. (The black people) understand well the irony of their sons dying in viet while tanks occupy the streets of detroit.

Fourth, there seems to be no effective political vehicle to express the sentiment for an end to militarism and racism. Amer. ~~politics~~ electoral politics is not based on issues primarily but on personality contests between men competing to be the most attractive symbol of power. Those who are most concerned with social issues -- the young, the Negroes, working people -- are the most excluded from ~~politics~~ the political process. Therefore elections tend to reflect only the interests of the privileged groups. The amer political system places great opportunity and power in the office of the President. in the Amer system the President remains in office for four yrs and rarely is defeated if he attempts re-election. Amers have an old saying: which applies to Presidential elections: "Never switch horses in midstream." Furthermore, Johnson's power over foreign policy is nearly that of a dictator.

With J's protection, the US military acquires vast power as well.

(Discussed dim prospects for demp, repub, or ind peace candidate)

We can summarize the amer situation this way-- the US rulers are approaching an important crossroads. Until this yr it was possible to pursue the war without sharp effects on amer domestic life. But now with the casualties and costs mounting in a hopeless situation, a choice confronts the amer govt. The US can liquidate the war, returning to a more moderate and political imperialism, recognizing that it lacks the means and energy to win in viet. Or the US can pursue a stubborn aggressive policy of escalation to the reast of southeast asia or china, thus deepening its crisis abroad while provoking a deeper crisis at home. As when a madman is cornered we cannot predict the next response.

Accomplishments of anti-war mvmt:

- to divide the US fundamentally by creating doubt among millions of citizens.
- to encourage a public stand by those with private doubts
- to educate large numbers of amers to the realities of the war.
- to create a bloc of opinion to support leaders who oppose the war.
- to give support and encouragement to the people of viet.

HAYDEN 3/3/3/3

The mvmts most serious lack of support is among white working people.

Trends in mvmt: First, the mvmt will step up its attacks on the US military. The second trend is toward more disruptive forms of protest. The third trend is the struggle to give expression to peace sentiment in the forthcoming national elections. The fourth trend is a growing awareness that the mvmt is part of a larger struggle to end amer imperialism and change the structure of amer society.

QUESTIONS

Re: situation in USA

1. What is yr view of US goals in viet and asia? How do you define "new type imperialism?"
2. What is yr estimate of US capabilities, in the short run, for attaining any of its objectives in viet or asia
3. yr expectation abt 68 elections. any hope of war ending by then
4. evaluation and expectation of anti-war mvmt
5. evaluation of black struggle and its relation to viet

Military situation

1. developments and changes in last 6 mos
2. outcome of fighting around Quang Tri and Thuathien provinces
3. situatiOn in central highlands and among minority peoples
4. situation in mekong delta
5. What do you mean by military victory
6. yr view of che's concept of many viets.

Viet situation

1. life in NLF zones

describe NLF as it actually works

3. mvmt in occupied urban areas: wking class, buddhist, cath and student
4. situation within ARVN
5. evaluation of elections
6. bombing of north

Views of possible solutions

1. meaning of Trinh interview with burchett Jan 28 that cessation of bombing might lead to talks. NLF view of that statement
- 2; idea of pan-viet federation
3. yr view of so-called buddhist third force
4. view of transitional process from war to peace in south how coalition govt to be formed

HANOI'S GLORIOUS VICTORIES

LAKE HOAN KIEM (Lake of the Restored Sword):

Hanoi, the beloved capital of the Fatherland, the pride of every Vietnamese.

RUSH HOURS IN THE MORNING:

Hanoi, the heart of millions of hearts, is beating the rhythm of our epoch, that of fight against US aggression, for national salvation. It is now living through the most sacred hours in national history,

The sons and daughters of Hanoi are resolved to defend it. They firmly keep up their sang-froid, initiative, vigilance and are ready for more fighting against the US aggressors. Victory shall be ours.

To retrieve their failures in South Vietnam, especially following the heavy set-backs they suffered at the beginning of the dry season, the US aggressors have rashly made further, extremely serious steps in their war escalation, attacked Hanoi, in the hope of shaking our iron will to defeat them.

But they are grossly mistaken. More shameful failures are in store for them!

ALARM SIREN:

Voice: "attention, compatriots of the Capital! The alarm has sounded.

Please observe carefully the city regulations on air raid defence measures!"

PLANE CARCASS:

On December 2, the US aggressors launched a frantic attack on the populous area south of the capital. The people and armed forces of Hanoi hit back vigorously and in good time at them, shot down two US aircraft, thus contributing to the great victory won that day by the people and armed forces of North Vietnam: eleven US aircraft downed.

FACTORY:

The fiercer the fighting, the more vigorously production work is carried on. Factories in the capital city are humming at the same time as guns are crashing. Emulation drives are organised to increase production and fulfill plan targets.

PEOPLE BUYING FLOWERS:

Fighting for independence and freedom is now a normal way of life.

EXHIBITION:

Twenty years ago, the worthy sons of Ward One of the Capital city fired the first shots of the nation-wide resistance which ended in victory. At present, the Hanoi people are again full of mettle as they enter a new resistance war. They are as calm, simple, and heroic as ever.

UNIVERSITY:

Worthy sons and daughters of the capital, that cultural, scientific and technological center of the whole country, these intellectuals engaged in teaching and scientific research are resolved, even in war time, to carry out scientific and technical research and to train a new generation of competent people, capable of efficiently serving fighting and production.

SCHOOLS IN THE CITY'S OUTSKIRTS:

As soon as a school is destroyed by the enemy, we shall build another one. We are determined to preserve the young generation, which will build the future of the nation.

SOLDIERS:

The more they fight, the stronger they grow, and the more resounding their victories. They are determined to avenge the people of Phu-xa, Nhat-tan, Tam-hiep, Tu-ky... and to ~~continue~~ combine their actions with those of the people of the South, that Bronze Citadel of the Fatherland.

VOICE: (Sound of our fighter-planes taking off, voice from loudspeakers)

"Compatriots attention! Enemy planes are 50 kilometers from Hanoi; let our armed forces get ready to fight!"

ALARM SIREN:

SELF-DEFENCE CORPSMEN TAKING UP POSITIONS:

Developing to the highest degree the revolutionary heroism of a people "determined to give their lives so that the fatherland could live on", our anti-aircraft forces, shock youth brigades against US aggression, for national salvation, are keeping up their vigilance and their resolve to fight. Together with the entire people, they are dealing crushing blows at the enemy.

No force can shake our determination.

37mm. GUNS:

As soon as the order comes, those guns will open fire. As soon as the enemy comes, they will shoot them down. Hanoi stands proud, indomitable.

HEALTH STATION:

On December 13 and 14, the US aggressors again frantically attacked the central part of Hanoi, the heart of our country, seriously encroaching on our people's sacred feelings. Acting in close co-ordination, the people and armed forces of the capital fought with extreme gallantry against the enemy.

PLANE CARCASS:

Hanoi is an unshakable steel wall, a graveyard for US aggressors, the heroic capital of a heroic people. In early December 1966, in four successive victorious battles, its people and armed forces shot down 17 US aircraft, among them the 1,600 plane downed over North Vietnam, and captured many US pilots.

CEREMONY MARKING VICTORY:

In a ceremony held to mark their victories, the people and armed forces of Hanoi enthusiastically receive a letter of praise and a banner with the inscription "Determined to defeat the US aggressors" from president Ho-chi-Minh.

GENERAL VO NGUYEN GIAP SPEAKING:

Says the General: "In this historic hour, let the people and armed forces of Hanoi develop their tradition of valour and set an example for the whole country.

COMRADE TRAN*HUU*DUC:

Comrade Tran-huu-Duc, Minister at the Prime Minister's office reads a letter of praise from President Ho Chi Minh and hands over the banner with the inscription "Determined to defeat the US aggressors" to representatives of the people and armed forces of the capital.

HANDING OVER A PIECE OF PLANE CARCASS:

The commander of the Hanoi anti-aircraft forces hands over a piece of the carcass of a US plane to the Congress.

MEETING:

Good news spread everywhere. The people and armed forces of Hanoi are resolved to carry into effect President HO Chi Minh's teaching:

"Heighten vigilance, fight well, produce well, carry out good anti-air raid defence measures, win more victories."

The fight is not yet over. Hanoi is resolved to record still more glorious victories so as to be worthy of the confidence and love of the whole nation.

CONFIDENTIAL

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Unofficial translation

PRELIMINARY SPEECH
OF THE DELEGATION OF THE PEOPLE OF NORTH VIETNAM
AT THE MEETING WITH THE AMERICAN FRIENDS
IN BRATISLAVA (September 6 to 12, 1967).

Dear friends,

Like our Delegation, perhaps you too have been longing to have such a meeting as this one, which is very useful to our understanding of the current situation in Vietnam, and in the United States.

First of all, we would like to extend to you the fraternal greetings of the Vietnamese people. These are sincere greetings expounded to friends of the Vietnamese people, to the valiant fighters who, despite the very difficult and complex conditions under which they operate, are resolute to bring to light the truth of the Vietnam problem with their just voices. Your lofty aim is to help the American people, who know how to be the masters of their own destiny, to respect their own freedom as well as that of other peoples and to realize the necessity of having a clear cut attitude toward the aggressive war waged by the US government in Vietnam, an attitude which conforms to the interest and traditions of the American people.

At this intimate ^{meeting} we shall widely exchange views about the questions arising from the situation and the movements in our respective countries. In the interest of the Vietnamese and the American peoples, we all aim at ending the aggressive war that the US government has been waging in Vietnam. This unanimity in our aims creates a good atmosphere to exchange ideas, and to further strengthen our militant solidarity. To be more exact, this meeting is not the first one between the representatives of the people of our two countries. In the past few years, the peoples of our two countries, through the representatives of their mass organisations at a number of international conferences, have had many significant meetings. Particularly, the Vietnamese and American women held a meeting in Djakarta in 1965. We also have had the honour of receiving some American friends in our country. These meetings were good occasions for you to acquire knowledge about our country, our people and our life as well as our people's struggle. Many of you highly valued the effects of these meetings on the development of the anti-war movement in the USA.

This time, we hold a meeting on a larger scale, at the moment when US authorities are feverishly intensifying their aggressive war. Here, we shall express the just voice of the Vietnamese and American peoples; we shall bring to each other the warm feelings of comrades-in-arm. We think that this meeting has a deep significance and it will create conditions for us to further co-ordinate our struggle.

Here, in Bratislava, the old and hospitable capital of Slovakia, our meeting will proceed advantageously, thanks to the wholehearted assistance of the members of the Tchechoslovak Peace Committee. All of us will never forget this help and will recall it time and again with sincere gratitude.

Dear friends,

In the course of this meeting, we will do our best on our part to give you information about our struggle and a number of questions that may interest you. In fact, words are inadequate to describe the present vivid reality in our country. Nevertheless, through this direct contact and these honest and sincere exchanges of views, we hope that we can further clarify those questions that we have not fully understood, due to the fact that we live far from each other or we have not discussed them yet.

We shall also be very glad to get information from you about the anti-war movement in the USA in all its aspects, about what you have done, about your present and future work, as well as other questions arising from reality in your country that you may suggest we think over. It is certain that detailed information from your delegation will help our people to have a better knowledge of the situation in your country and of your fighting ability and that of the American people.

Dear friends,

It's undoubtedly known to you that 22 years ago, in August 1945, the Vietnamese people rose up to overthrow the rule of the Japanese fascists and the French colonialists, and to found the DRV. The Declaration of Independence of the DRV, read by President Ho Chi Minh on September 2, 1945 quoted in its introduction the following paragraph from the 1776 Declaration of Independence of the USA : "All men are born equal, with certain inviolable rights, among which are the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness".

The same Declaration of Independence of the DRV also pointed out : "Vietnam has the right to enjoy freedom, independence, and in fact has become a free and independent country. The entire Vietnamese people is determined to muster all its strength to defend its right to freedom and independence".

It is for the defence of independence and freedom that the Vietnamese people throughout the country had waged the sacred war of resistance against the French colonialists from 1945 to 1954, which led to the military exploit at Dien Bien Phu and the diplomatic victory at Geneva. The 1954 Geneva Agreements restored peace in Vietnam on the basis of recognition of the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people - namely independence, sovereignty, national unity and territorial integrity - and prohibited all intervention by foreign countries in Vietnam's internal affairs.

The US government, however, has impudently and systematically sabotaged the implementation of the Geneva Agreements from the very beginning. It has undermined the July 1956 general elections for national reunification, as laid down by these agreements. Under the anti-communism and anti-colonialism label, it has been scheming to perpetuate the partition of our country, to establish in South Vietnam a separate state ruled by the US imperialists through a puppet administration, thus turning South Vietnam into a new type of colony, a US military base, preparing to attack North Vietnam and to control the whole of Vietnam. Thus, under Johnson's rule, the USA has been waging the largest and most brutal war of aggression ever known in history in execution of its neo-colonialist policy. Yet the further the US government proceeds on the path of aggression, the heavier defeats it suffers ; and the South Vietnamese people, with the Liberation Armed Forces, under the leadership of the South

Vietnam National Front, win greater victories. Final victory will surely be theirs.

What does this situation reveal? It shows that the strength of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation derives from the fact that it embodies the present legitimate aspirations of the South Vietnamese people, namely: independence, democracy, peace and eventual national reunification. But, the US government has deliberately distorted this truth. It has cooked-up the so-called "aggression from the North" and has used this as a pretext for launching air attacks against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, an independent and sovereign country, and a socialist one.

The US government thinks that with its big air force, it needs only a few months of bombing North Vietnam, to destroy the fighting determination of the Vietnamese people, to force them and the DRV government to surrender. But, having so far endured more than 30 months of extremely violent air raids, North Vietnam still stands firm, and the struggle of our compatriots in the South has developed ever more strongly. The debates in the US Congress, the heated discussions in the press and even within US political circles, about the US deadlock in South Vietnam, reflect this reality.

Why can a country such as ours victoriously encounter such a powerful enemy as the USA? It is because our cause is a just one and because we are determined to defend our vital interests according to our age-old traditions of undauntedness before foreign ^{invasion}. It is also because the aims of our struggle conform to the wishes of all justice- and peace-loving people in the world. Not only are we endowed with an unshakable fighting spirit we also know how to organize our struggle and to mobilize all the ever-growing forces of the people's war into an unprecedented high tide of struggle for national salvation. Taking North Vietnam alone, we can tell you that our victory lies not only in the annihilating many US planes and pilots, successively defeating the strategic schemes of the Pentagon, but also in continuing to develop our economic and national defence potentialities, in ensuring our people's life under war conditions and ensuring sufficient strength for a 5 or 10 or 20 year-long war or an even longer one if necessary.

While carrying out an undaunted struggle our government has laid down its 4-point stand as the reasonable basis for a correct solution to the Vietnam question. On January 28, 1967, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam declared the readiness of the DRV Government to hold talks with the US Government if the latter unconditionally ends the bombing and all other war acts against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The 4-point stand of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the declaration of our Foreign Affairs Minister on January 28, 1967 have clearly expounded our firm determination to defend independence and freedom. At the same time they prove that our government, while struggling resolutely against aggression till final victory is ready to open a way for a political solution to the Vietnam question on the basis of the US Government's respect for our national rights.

There is no alternative to it. We can't give up independence and freedom, which are most cherished to our nation, a nation whose modern history has been marked by nearly a century-long struggle against the domination of the French colonialists and Japanese fascists, and by a victorious 8 to 9 year-long resistance war against the French colonialists.

We may say that we aspire for peace more earnestly than anybody else, because more than anybody else, we need peace to reconstruct our country : to reconstruct South Vietnam which has endured war for nearly a quarter of a century, to reconstruct North Vietnam, ravaged by war immediately after it had healed the wounds from the previous war. But a genuine and true peace must go together with independence and freedom.

We have not launched a war against the USA, so we have the right to urge the US Government to put an end to the war of aggression against our country. The aims of the Vietnamese people's struggle, consisting of national independence, unity and peace, are not in any way harmful to the interests and security of the USA. On the contrary, to end this war of aggression against Vietnam is at the same time to end a war that is causing ever more serious losses to the American people.

But the US Government still continues to engage itself in this war more deeply. It has been perpetrating atrocious crimes against the people in both South and North Vietnam, claiming to defend their own freedom. It strives for further military reinforcements and war intensifications, allegedly to safeguard the life of half a million of US troops in South Vietnam. We are convinced that the American people can't agree to such deceitful allegations.

It is evident that the US Government, which has initiated this war of aggression against Vietnam, must itself bear the responsibility to bring it to an end. The best way to safeguard the lives of half a million US troops in South Vietnam is to bring them home now. Whatever the US Government may do to intensify its war of aggression, it can't any way turn the tide of the situation. Instead, it would cause the American people to continue suffering from unjustified war burdens, whereas the determination the Vietnamese people to fight remains unshakable before any might on earth.

The way to put an early end to the war is not to forward deceitful allegations on peace, as Johnson and his assistant on foreign affairs are used to do.

The US Government must put an end to the bombing and all other war acts against the DRV. That is the public opinion in the world, the opinion of a part of the US press and also of an ever-growing number of US statesmen. The general opinion is to urge the US Government to withdraw its troops and those of its satellites from South Vietnam, to recognise the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, and to let the South Vietnamese people decide their internal affairs for and by themselves.

Despite the deadlock in its adventurous war policy and the bankruptcy of its deceitful peace allegations, the US government still fails to draw an adequate conclusion and to come to reason.

Such a situation confronts you, dear friends, and us with the heavy responsibility of bringing our common fighting spirit into full play in order to bring the war to an early end, and restore peace in conformity with the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of our respective countries. On our part, it goes without saying that so long as the US government continues its aggression, we will continue our resistance. It is not up to the Vietnamese people but to the US government to decide how long the war will

last. The further it prolongs and intensifies the war, the deeper it will get bogged down.

Dear friends,

Between the Vietnamese and the American peoples, there exists no justification for hatred ; on the contrary, there is full justification for them to live together in peace and happiness.

To you, we frankly express our deep hatred ^{against} those who are waging the war of aggression against our country ; to you, we also frankly express our heartfelt sympathy for the American people and for our American friends who participate in the anti Vietnam war movement. It is in the common struggle we are waging in difficult and complex conditions that the good relations between our two peoples are growing and flourishing. The meetings we have had in Vietnam and in other places with many American friends remain as deep memories unforgettable to us. Many others, some ten thousand miles away from us, have expressed their sympathy for our struggle. Today, once more we receive through you, dear friends, the expression of the same sympathy of the American people.

We are very elated to realise that in the past few years the anti-war movement in the USA has considerably developed in many localities and among various strata of people.

Such a situation shows that more and more people are realizing the necessity to oppose and hinder this dirty war, trying by all means to check the present frenzied and harmful policy of the US government. More and more American people are now realizing that they must do their best to protect their husbands, their children, their own families, to keep their dear ones with them so as to build a happy life and not to let them take part in this senseless killing, and endure sacrifices from this inhuman and unjustified war which runs counter to their interest.

The present growing anti-war movement also reveals the strong will of peace - and justice-loving American citizens belonging to all social strata, the white and the black, men and women, who are struggling for good relations between men and men, between nations and nations, and for peace, democracy and common progress of mankind.

We are very happy to greet you, dear friends, who deservedly embody that admirable will.

We are confident in the ever-greater success of the anti-war movement and the struggle for social progress of the American people.

Once more, we extend to you our greetings of friendship and militant solidarity.

Our common struggle will surely triumph.

Unofficial translation

REPORT ON US WAR CRIMES IN VIETNAM
by Prof. Nguyen Trinh Co.

Dear friends,

Following the two general reports made by our Delegation, to comply with a request of our American friends, I would like to make a report on US war crimes perpetrated against the people of North Vietnam.

In the last few years, in the anti-war movement in the USA, many strata of American people have already energetically condemned the US war crimes in Vietnam. This shows your thorough understanding of our struggle and it is also a clear manifestation of the militant solidarity between our two peoples.

In this report, I try to give you some information which is surely not complete. Nevertheless, I hope it is useful to you.

Since August 5, 1964, and particularly since February 7, 1965, the US imperialists have continuously and systematically waged a war of destruction against North Vietnam. They have committed extremely barbarous war acts, trampled under foot international laws and human conscience.

It is perhaps known to you that the US administration declared that the targets of its bombings are but "concrete and steel and not human beings". First of all, I think that you also agree with us that the USA has no right to attack the DRV, including its concrete and steel. But in fact, in the last two years, they have intentionally undertaken brutal attacks against human beings, against the life of the people in North Vietnam.

They have ever increased the targets of their attacks. We can say by now that all the main targets in North Vietnam have been seriously hit.

TARGETS WHICH HAVE DIRECT CONNECTION WITH THE PEOPLE'S LIFE

1/ As you have seen in our film, we have started the reconstruction of our country since the end of the war of resistance against the French colonialists. Therefore, industry plays a very important role. But by now, most of the industrial centres in North Vietnam have been seriously attacked.

The Thai Nguyen iron and steel complex, the first of its kind in our country; the Viet Tri industrial centre which is composed of many light industrial enterprises (sugar mills, paper mills, food processing factories ...); the big Hongay coal-mine area, the largest quarry in North Vietnam.

The factories which are closely linked to the daily life of the people, such as the enamelware factory, the electric bulbs and vacuum bottle factory, have been seriously bombed.

2/ All facilities and constructions necessary to agricultural production.

a) The network of dams, dykes and irrigation construction have been attacked over 1,500 times. The US imperialists have attacked all the 15

provinces having dykes and 19 provinces having irrigation works in North Vietnam.

b) State farms : so far, 61 state farms have been attacked by US planes : The Quyet Thang state farm in Vinh Linh province was attacked 1,616 times, the Viet Trung state farm 245 times.

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As doctor and professor, I would like to give more details on the US crimes against the public health and education establishments.

WELFARE ESTABLISHMENTS

a) Hospitals and medical establishments (taking figures up to December 31, 1966)

92 hospitals and medical establishments were raided
178 doctors and medical workers killed
35 doctors and medical workers wounded
262 patients killed
246 patients wounded.

127 most recent figure

You could imagine what emotion and indignation the picture of a bombed hospital could create. I take a few examples :

The Quynh Lap leper sanatorium has been attacked 39 times in 12 months, the Ha Tinh hospital 17 times. The 50 bed hospital in Ky Anh district was raided 4 times in a day (August 16, 1965). Here, I want to add some details about Quynh Lap sanatorium : This is the biggest sanatorium for treatment and research on leprosy. Its construction began in June 1956 and was completed in 1957. It has 160 big and small compounds for the treatment of 2,600 lepers, including laboratories with up-to-date equipment. In the past five years over 4,000 lepers have received treatment here, among them 1,000 have been entirely cured and have returned home. In 39 US air raids against this sanatorium :

139 patients and doctors were killed, 80 wounded,
160 compounds with all research work and medical equipments were destroyed.

Now, I would like to tell you about another hospital, the Thanh Hoa T.B. hospital. With its 600 beds, this hospital is one of the biggest hospitals for treatment and research on tuberculosis in North Vietnam. From 1960 to 1964, 1,321 in-patients and tens of thousands of out-patients have received treatment from this hospital. On July 8, 1965, at 7 a.m. when the hospital was operating normally, 40 US planes came and dropped hundreds of tons of bombs, destroying 50 compounds, killing 30 persons including 5 doctors, and injuring many others. After this bombing 600 T.B. patients could not receive treatment. Again at 7 a.m. on July 14, and at 10 a.m. on August 8, 1965 the US planes bombed the remaining building of the hospital and killed 4 more persons.

b) Schools and other educational establishments (up to December 31, 1966) :

391 schools and other educational establishments destroyed.
398 University and secondary students and 43 teachers killed.
417 University and secondary students and 62 teachers wounded.

For instance :

The Huong Phuc Secondary school (Ha tinh province) has been bombed 43 times. In the air raid on February 9, 1966 alone 33 pupils were killed and 24 seriously wounded.

The Thuy Dan Secondary School (Thai Binh province) was bombed on October 21, 1966 : 1 teacher and 30 pupils were killed, 6 others seriously wounded.

Thuy Dan is a village with 4km² acreage and 3,000 inhabitants who are mainly peasants. Under the French colonialist rule 90% of the inhabitants in this village were illiterate. Now they all know how to read and write. Many of their children have received university education. Using their own funds the inhabitants have built a secondary school composed of 3 compounds with 16 rooms for the 5th, 6th and 7th grades. The school has 347 pupils and 8 teachers.

On October 21, 1966, only 4 weeks after its construction was completed, this school was attacked by US planes.

On that day, at 10.30 a.m., when 50 pupils of 7th grade were being given a literature lesson by their teacher, Bui Thi Thanh Xuan, the US planes came and bombed the whole school, killing 30 pupils of 13 to 16 years of age, including 12 girls.

When people came to dig out the ruins, they found the corpse of the woman teacher Bui Thi Thanh Xuan. She died in the position of using her body to protect a 12 year old girl. A piece of chalk was still in her hand. She left behind a 3 year old child. The little girl, Minh Thoa, was found among the ruins with her new exercise book in her hands, in which she had carefully written on the first page the following words : Minh Thoa. Future. Happiness".

c) Religious and cultural establishments and historical monuments (up to 31/12/1966)

Churches :

149 churches and 3 seminaries destroyed or heavily damaged 2 priests killed 1 priest and many monks seriously wounded, many catholic believers killed and wounded.

Pagodas :

80 pagodas destroyed,
6 buddhist priests killed, 2 wounded
many buddhist believers killed and wounded

For instance all the 44 pagodas in Quang Binh province have been raided.

Many pagodas which are constructions of cultural value or historical significance to the Vietnamese people, such as the Non Nuoc Pagoda (Ninh Binh province), the Vong Cung Pagoda (in Nam Dinh province) were seriously damaged.

ATTACK ON HUMAN LIFE IS SHOWN IN THE FOLLOWING CASES.

Systematic attack on densely populated areas : cities, towns, villages. Taking figures up to December 31, 1966 :

- All the 6 cities of Hanoi, Haiphong, Nam Dinh, Thai Nguyen, Vinh, Viet Tri have been attacked.

- ²⁵20 out of 30 provincial towns in North Vietnam have been raided.

- ⁶⁰52 out of ⁹³93 urban centres and district chief towns in North Vietnam have been attacked.

For instance :

Up to December 31, 1966, the city of Nam Dinh the 3rd largest city in North Vietnam had suffered 53 air raids (The air raid on April 13, 1966 at 6.30 a.m. killed 49 persons - including 15 children, 20 women and 8 old people) wounded 135, and destroyed 240 dwellings.

Many towns such as Phu Ly, Ninh Binh, Yen Bai, Son La were razed to the ground.

The Ngan Thuy village, in the Le Thuy coastal area, Quang Binh province, had suffered 25 air raids in 1965, and 1,035 air raids, and 94 shelling by US warships, in 1966.

Up to December 31, 1966, US planes have dropped 2,962 explosive bombs, 822 napalm bombs, tens of thousands of fragmentation bombs, rockets, and 20mm bullets, on this village. They have killed and wounded 90 persons, burned 548 houses 48 boats and 700 hectares of fir trees. Usually, after their raids, the US planes come back to the attacked areas to kill, with fragmentation bombs and napalm bombs, the people who carry out the rescuing work.

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The US war of destruction against North Vietnam has become more and more obvious in the past few years :

THE AIR RAIDS HAVE CONTINUALLY INTENSIFIED :

The number of planes carrying out the raids has increased :

On May 25, 1967, there were 125 air sorties

On August 5, 1967 : 197 air sorties.

The number of bombs and rockets used has continually increased :

In February 1967 : 68,000 tons of bombs and rockets were used on Vietnam, including North Vietnam, and

In March, 1967 : 77,000 tons.

The US imperialists often combine different means of attack and types of weapons in a single raid :

For instance, on February 22, 1967, they applied 3 new tactics :

- use of warships to shell the coastal areas
- use of heavy guns on the southern part of the demilitarized zone to shell the northern part of this area
- use of planes to mine the river ways in North Vietnam.

They have used fragmentation bombs, explosive bombs, napalm bombs, and rockets all in the same air raid.

Since July 7, 1967, they have used B.52s to wantonly pour bombs on the northern and southern areas of the demilitarized zones.

THEIR TACTICS ARE MORE AND MORE BARBAROUS

- They intensify their raids in the night, drop bombs referring only to maps.

- They choose the appropriate target and appropriate time to carry out their raids in order to kill as many as possible of the civilian population. For instance, they attack the factories when the workers are carrying out production, the schools when the pupils are having their class, the dykes in high tide season. They even drop phosphorous bombs on rice fields at harvest time to burn the rice (Vinh Linh).

- They attack one place many times, with the aim of eliminating target after target, zone after zone.
For example : In the Vinh Quang village, in the northern part of the demilitarized zone, the US planes carried out 195 raids in 5 days, dropped over 3,700 explosive bombs of various types and thousands of fragmentation bombs. At the same time, in co-ordination with these attacks by planes, the US imperialists used their warships and heavy guns in the southern part of the demilitarized zone to shell this village day and night.

62 persons were killed during these raids (including 35 children, 15 women, 10 old people) ; 45 persons, mostly women, were wounded ; 900 dwellings, 69 fishing boats and almost all other properties were destroyed.

CRIMES COMMITTED IN THE USE OF WEAPONS

From one step to another in their escalation of the war, the US imperialists have made intensive use of conventional weapons as well as those prohibited by international laws or condemned by progressive mankind.

Intensive use of conventional weapons

In order to massacre our people, the US imperialists have used all kind of weapons, from light ones such as hand grenades and mines ... to heavy weapons weighing some thousand kilos each. To destroy our dykes and irrigation works they have often used 3,000 pound bombs.

They have also used many kinds of time bombs, including one hour delayed action bombs and one week delayed action bombs, for no other purpose than that of massacring the people.

From their military bases and the warships of the 7th Fleet, the US imperialists have used hundreds of heavy guns, including 203mm heavy guns,

to pour tens of thousands of shells on each small area of the Vietnamese village.

At Ho Xa township, of Vinh Linh district, 55 bombs weighing 500 pounds each were dropped on a small area near a 3rd degree school (high school). The Phu Ly town of Nam Ha province had been razed to the ground by countless bombs dropped in dozens of air raids.

Since April 12, 1966, the US imperialists have used B.52 bombers against North Vietnam. In one day, two waves of B.52s were dispatched to attack Vinh Linh area, 12 planes in the first wave, and 19 in the second.

The use of prohibited weapons

In the war of aggression against Vietnam, the US imperialists have used barbarous weapons condemned long ago by mankind, such as : napalm bombs, phosphorous shells, magnesium bombs, thermo bombs and a number of toxic chemicals and poison gases. Along with the escalation of the war, the use of these prohibited weapons has continually increased.

- Napalm . Besides the ordinary napalm bombs, they also use the super-napalm bombs which can produce a heat of 1,500 to 2,000°C and the B. napalm bombs containing a substance which is much more adhesive.

In the two small hamlets of Thuong Nam and Thuong Bac, in Ngu Thuy village, Quang Binh province alone, 428 napalm bombs, dropped in the evening of August 15, 1966, killed and wounded many persons and burned 185 homes,

The Dong Hoi hospital and Ho Xa hospital are full of the marks of napalm. Hundreds of napalm air raids have been carried out against the Quang Binh, Nghe An, Thanh Hoa, Phu Tho, Ha Tay and Nam Ha provinces.

- White phosphore. The white phosphore contained in shells, bombs and handgrenades turns into a white smoke and produces a heat of 900 to 1,200°C when it is burned.

Since March, 1965, the Vinh Linh area has been subjected to several raids with phosphorous bombs. This kind of bombs are also dropped on Yen Bai town and the North West zone.

- Thermo bombs. These bombs contain a mixture of aluminium powder and iron oxide powder which produces a heat of 2,800 to 3,000°C.

- Magnesium bombs. This kind of bomb produces a very high heat, which can reach 3,500°C.

The high heat of these two kinds of bombs can even burn things made of bronze. and porcelain.

On January 16, 1967, two hamlets of the Giao Chau village, in Nam Ha province, were burned to the ground. People in 35 houses were burned alive.

Some lethal characteristics of napalm and phosphorous bombs

+ Painful death of the victims :

The high heat and thick smoke produced by these bombs blinds the victims and paralyzes them so that they have no strength to escape out of the fire around them, and thus are burned to death.

Napalm sticks to the skin, to the clothes, and thus transform the children, who do not know to put out the fire, into living torches.

+ The burns are deep :

The peasant Nguyen Huy Ph., was wounded by phosphorous bombs on November 7, 1966, in North West zone. Everyday when he had his bandages changed, a white smoke would come out from his wounds. This continued to occur until November 28, 1966. This means that the burns caused by these bombs get deeper and deeper.

A boy, Tran Van H., was wounded by phosphorous bombs and had his arm amputated to prevent the disastrous effects of phosphore.

Phosphore also causes infection to the body : the victim's skin turns yellow, his liver swells, his condition becomes more and more serious.

Test of new weapons.

In each step of their escalation of the war, the US imperialists have improved their weapons by testing the new ones on the Vietnamese battlefields and on the bodies of the Vietnamese citizens.

Bombs weighing 3,000 pounds each have never been used in any war, including World War II and the Korean War. 2 ton torpedoes, butterfly bombs, parachute bombs, 203mm shells, phosphorous shells, B.52 strategic bombers, electronically equipped A.37's, Thunderchiefs and Phantoms, have all been tested by the US imperialists in this war.

Here I want to mention a new kind of weapon of which the inhuman character is obvious. That is the fragmentation bomb which the US imperialists have tested and used on a large scale, in both North and South Vietnam.

The fragmentation bombs are contained in the C.B.U. (the Cannister bomb unit). There are 550 fragmentation bombs in one C.B.U. Each fragmentation bomb has 300 shrapnels.

These fragmentation bombs cause no damage to military constructions. It is for the massacre of the people in densely populated areas that the US imperialists use more and more of these bombs. The city of Hanoi and its suburbs have been attacked several times with fragmentation bombs.

Some lethal characteristics of fragmentation bomb :

1/ Exploded they produce more shrapnels and splinters than explosive bombs and handgrenades and thus cause more casualties. One handgrenade can provide only 80 or 90 splinters while a fragmentation bomb has 300 shrapnels.

Usually the victim is wounded in many places on his whole body. It is rare to see a victim with only one wound.

2/ The cut caused by a shrapnel on the body is very long and deep, and it goes through many organs, thus causing serious wounds.

3/ The mouth of the wound is round and very narrow. Because of this, these wounds are not always discovered immediately and are difficult to treat.

Even taking into account the medical documents on war injuries caused by the barbarous weapons used by German fascists in the Second World War, there is no writing on the injuries caused by fragmentation bombs.

I will give some cases of patients that my assistants and I have personally treated :

1- Miss Ngo Thi Nga, 22 years old, a teacher of elementary school. She was wounded by fragmentation bombs during a night bombing raid her evacuated school on October 22, 1966. Though she was wounded in the leg, she carried a wounded girl on her bicycle to the hospital. She was kept at the hospital for treatment. She fell unconscious in two successive days. She was sent to my hospital ward. Through X ray photos, shrapnels were discovered in her skull. The skull was perforated and the brain had a finger-long cut. The treatment was successful and the patient left the hospital on November 29, 1966.

2- A technical worker, named Dang Minh, 27 years old. He was wounded by a fragmentation bomb on May 22, 1967. His two legs were paralyzed. He had to lie on the bed all the time. Through X ray examination, shrapnels were found in his back bone. He is still receiving treatment at my hospital.

3- Miss Vu Thi Hao, 23 years old, teacher at a technical school, a member of our delegation. This young, optimistic and diligent teacher was wounded by fragmentation bomb on May 22, 1967, when she was giving a lesson. There were 200 shrapnel wounds on her body. One shrapnel got into her knee. Others cut the bone of her right leg. All these wounds were treated and healed. One nerve in her right leg was cut by a shrapnel. This has impaired her ability to walk. We shall treat this wound by surgery.

CONCLUSION

Dear friends,

The US imperialists have committed extremely barbarous and horrifying crimes during the years of their war of destruction against North Vietnam. But the US crimes cannot help them to achieve their aim, that is to intimidate the Vietnamese people, to subdue them by force.

The US crimes have caused certain difficulties : But the slogan " Turn difficulty into advantage " is heard every where in our country. With enthusiasm and initiative, the Vietnamese people carry out the work of reorganisation and reconstruction and continue to develop their activities.

The number of schools has increased steadily during the years of US bombing. Last year, at our medical University the number of first year students doubled. The number of hospitals has doubled as well. New leper san-

toriums and T.B. hospitals have been built. The number of doctors and medical workers has increased by 50 percent since the US bombings began.

The more the US imperialists commit war crimes, the deeper is the hatred of the Vietnamese people, and the stronger is their determination to defeat the US aggressors and to win their national rights to independence, democracy, peace and national unity.

Underlined

S P E E C H

by Mme Nguyen Thi Binh,
Head of the South Vietnam delegation

Dear Friends,

On behalf of the delegation of the people of South Vietnam, we convey our heartfelt greetings to all American friends here present. Though Vietnam and the USA are several thousand miles from each other, today, the people of our two countries are very closely bound together because of the common sufferings brought about by an atrocious war of aggression, and because of our common aspiration - to see an early end to it. For these reasons, allow me to get over all the barriers between our two nations, to talk with you in a sincere, open-hearted way, as with comrades-in-arms.

Today there is in the world not a single man of conscience who is not concerned with and anxious about the happenings in Vietnam. Human feelings are moved at the unimaginable sufferings endured by a people who have had to go through more than 20 years of uninterrupted war. Human conscience is shocked by the fact that a big country is making use of all its brutal force to attack a small nation. And everybody wants this tragedy to end as early as possible. Particularly with regard to the people of our two countries, the demand for a halt to the war is all the more pressing.

The people of South Vietnam certainly do not want to live in the smoke and fire of bombs and shells. Neither do the fathers, mothers and wives in the USA want their sons and husbands to be forced to go and die a useless death on far-off land. How comes it then that this war has broken out and is still on? For what purpose does the US Government continue to pour money, materials and lives of the American people into this war?

For a long time now, the US Government has entertained evil designs against Vietnam. After World War II, in 1945, it schemed to overthrow, at the hands of the Chiang Kai-shek regime, the newly founded Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam; but failed, due to resolute opposition from the Vietnamese people.

In 1950, the French colonialists having sustained heavy defeats on all the battlefields, the US started helping them to drag on the bloody war of aggression in Indochina. From 1950 to 1953, the US supplied to the French 400,000 tons of armaments and equipment as aid, and shouldered up to 80% of the Indochina war expenditures.

It is not accidental that the US decided to give the French a 400-million-dollar aid for the Indochina war. President Eisenhower himself, at a conference of State Governors held in

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Seattle on August 4, 1953, made no bones about it saying: "We are voting for the cheapest way that we can to prevent the occurrence of something that would be of a most terrible significance to the United States of America, our security, our power and ability to get certain things we need from the riches of the Indochinese territory and from Southeast Asia."

Our people's war of resistance against the French colonialists ended in victory. The Geneva Agreements of 1954 were signed, solemnly recognising the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam. Under the Agreements, the two parties undertook to refrain from acts of reprisal against those who collaborated with either side during the war; not to take part in any military alliance; not to introduce additional troops and armaments into Vietnam. The Agreements also provided that the military demarcation line running along the 17th parallel was "provisional and should not in any way be interpreted as constituting a political or territorial boundary", and that the reunification of Vietnam would be achieved in July 1956 through free general elections.

Although Walter Bedell Smith, representative of the US at the Geneva Conference, had declared with regard to the Geneva Agreements that the US Government "will refrain from the threat or the use of force to disturb them", less than two months after these agreements were signed, the US dragged in a number of satellite countries and set up the Southeast Asia aggressive military bloc (SEATO), and placed South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia under the "protection umbrella" of that bloc. And all through the past 13 years, the US has brazenly and systematically trampled upon the Geneva Agreements.

From 1954 to 1960, the US started its aggression against Vietnam under the form of an ever deeper military intervention in South Vietnam.

In the present era, when the national liberation movement is surging ahead, when freedom, independence and the right to self-determination have become an urgent demand of all peoples, big and small, and have been recognised by international law as their inviolable fundamental right, the US imperialists cannot dominate other nations by a colonialist policy of the old type. They have to carry out a neo-colonialist policy, namely, dominate other nations through a lackey administration.

To materialise that scheme, the US brought back to South Vietnam Ngo Dinh Diem, a flunkey it had painstakingly fostered at a seminary in New Jersey, to set up a puppet government. With US backing, Diem proclaimed himself "President" and founded the "Republic of (South) Vietnam". On February 12, 1955, Diem set up the "Army of the Republic of (South) Vietnam" with US General John O'Daniel as commander. In the two years 1955 and 1956 the US spent 414 million dollars to foster and equip this

first puppet army in South Vietnam, and build dozens of military bases (airfields, ports, etc.).

Such is the origin of the so-called "independent Republic of Vietnam", and of the present Saigon administration and army. That is why, on June 1, 1956, the late President Kennedy, then a senator, declared: "If we are not (South) Vietnam's father, then surely we are its foster-father. We gave birth to it, helped it survive, and build its future."

Under the signboards of "anti-communist state" and under the command of US "advisors", Ngo Dinh Diem carried out a barbarous terrorist policy aimed at destroying all the genuine patriotic forces who demanded for freedom, democracy, peace and national reunification.

They carried out bloody suppression of patriotic movements of the urban population demanding for democracy and a better life. Many leaders of the Saigon-Cholon Peace Movement were arrested, among whom was Lawyer Nguyen Huu Tho (now President of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation), Professor Pham Huy Thong, Professor Nguyen Van Duong, and others. Woman Professor Nguyen Thi Dieu was murdered without any trial, and woman Pharmacist Pham Thi Yen was sentenced to life hard-labour.

The US and Ngo Dinh Diem conducted so-called "campaigns to denounce and destroy communists" in the countryside, perpetrated utterly barbarous massacres, and herded millions of people into thousands of "strategic hamlets", which in fact were disguised concentration camps.

They dragged guillotines from place to place, executed patriotic people on the spot, and forced their kith-and-kin to come and witness these slaughters, "so they could learn from the examples".

Members of the various religions - Christianity, Buddhism, the Cao Dai and Hoa Hao religious sects - and the political parties and factions that did not go along with the US and Diem were also savagely suppressed. Churches, pagodas, and other places of worship became prisons for detaining patriots. South Vietnam actually became a gigantic concentration camp.

The world's people indignantly condemned the mass poisoning of 6,000 political prisoners at a time (most of whom had taken part in the resistance to the French colonialists) at Phu Loi camp, in December 1958. This loathsome crime was an exploit of Ho Van Tan, a blood-thirsty executioner trained in the USA.

However, how can our friends in the world be fully sensitive to the mental and sentimental losses that we South Vietnamese have had to endure all through the last 13 years because of the partition of our country by the US and its lackeys!

You can imagine, dear friends, the case of a young South Vietnam woman who, after the restoration of peace in 1954, had hardly been able to enjoy the reunion with her husband from whom she had been separated for several years - because both of them had to take part in the war of resistance against the French - when she already had to part with him who went to regroup in the North in strict implementation of the Geneva Agreements. She lived with the firm belief that general elections would be held just two years later and the country would be reunified, and she would meet again her beloved husband, and he, too, would meet their newly born child whom he had not known. But general elections could not take place. Instead, she daily witnessed Diem troops arresting, torturing her kinsfolk, her co-villagers, who had gone through thick and thin with her during the anti-French war. Then troops of the Diem government at gun-point forced ^{her} to go and attend "denounce communists" courses, and build "strategic hamlets". Then, one day, Diem agents forced her to sit down and write on a white sheet of paper, asking to divorce her husband, showing thereby that she was still "pure", that she "had not been enticed or bought over by the communists"!

Such was the plight of millions of ordinary South Vietnamese women under the US-Diem rule. One needs to know how much the Vietnamese people prize justice and loyalty, how sacred the sentimental and family bonds are to the Vietnamese, in order to fully assess the subtle cruelty of the repressive maneuvers carried out by the US and Diem towards the South Vietnamese people. One should ask, when human dignity and morality, when the most sacred moral values of man are brazenly trampled upon by such truculent maneuvers, how can we South Vietnamese help bearing deep in our hearts the most bitter hatred for those who have committed these crimes against us?

Right in these darkest days, we South Vietnamese people already saw through the utterly reactionary, fascist nature of the Diem regime and of the administrations that later succeeded it in Saigon. And when we saw that the most blood-thirsty hangmen who massacred our people had been trained in the USA, that the neck yokes, and the fetters that kept us in the prisons all bore the trade mark "U.S.A.", our people gradually found that behind the Diem administration and those that succeeded it in Saigon stands the US Government, which engineers all that downright suppression of our people with the aim of bringing them to their knees.

Since these days of boiling hatred and anger, we South Vietnamese people, without distinction as to social standings, have clearly seen that to survive, to live as human beings, the only way was to take up arms and rise up, unite and struggle to wrest back the right to live. From the struggle for these sacred national rights, on December 20, 1960, the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation came into being, rallying all forces of the entire people to fight against the US aggressors and save the country.

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Dear Friends,

Since 1961, to keep the stooge administration from collapse and to put down the people's patriotic movement then sweeping the whole country like a hurricane, the US Government has tried to suppress our people by means of an undeclared war dubbed "special war".

"Special war" in essence was a war of aggression conducted with the use of a puppet army over half a million strong as the core, directed by the US military command in Saigon and thousands of US military "advisors", and hidden behind the "independence" paintcoat of a puppet administration.

A serious turn in the US policy of military aggression in South Vietnam during this period was the setting up of the US operational command in Saigon (February 8, 1962) with dozens of US generals headed by General Paul D. Harkins, together with tens of thousands of US military "advisors" (US troop strength in South Vietnam rose from 5,000 in 1961 to 23,000 in 1964), to directly command all the puppet forces. With the Staley-Taylor plan, the US schemed to "pacify" South Vietnam within 18 months by means of successive "sweeps". Its main objective was to concentrate the whole of the rural population of South Vietnam into 17,000 "strategic hamlets", in an attempt to isolate and destroy the patriotic forces in South Vietnam.

The massacre of the population by all barbarous means of war was stepped up. However, bombs and shells, toxic chemicals and "anti-guerilla" specialists, could not prevent the defeat and collapse of the demoralised puppet army. The system of "strategic hamlets" which the US and Diem had spent a good deal of money and manpower to build, were smashed by chunks by the rising people.

In the face of the irresistible development of the South Vietnam people's struggle, the US Government decided to bring down Ngo Dinh Diem, its efficient lackey, hoping to save the situation. Yet, Diem's death itself and the failure of the "special war" marked the miserable bankruptcy of US neo-colonialism.

By mid-1965, the puppet army having become unreliable in carrying out its aggressive policy in South Vietnam, the US Government openly sent US main forces to take part directly in the war in South Vietnam. With the introduction of US troops into South Vietnam, the loathsome bellicose and aggressive features of the US Government were exposed to our people, and no pleas from the Pentagon were able to defend US policy in Vietnam.

The number of American troops in South Vietnam kept soaring: from 23,000 at the end of 1964, it rose to 180,000 by the end of 1965, and from 390,000 by late 1966, it swelled to nearly half a million now. Moreover, the US Government dragged in satellite countries such as South Korea, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, and Thailand, pressing them to send their own troops to South Vietnam to lend it a hand (there are

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now 54,000 satellite troops in South Vietnam), and uses the territory of several countries, like Thailand and Japan, as staging or logistical bases in the service of its war in South Vietnam.

Over the past years, American and satellite troops have committed piled-up crimes against our people. While US planes sprayed toxic chemicals devastating millions of hectares of lush crop fields and orchards, US napalm burn alive our children on their way to school. While US marines pump poison gas into civilian air-raid shelters and kill with impunity women and children whom they dub "Viet Cong", South Korean mercenaries freely behead or tear children to pieces, rape pregnant women, with a bestial instinct hard to imagine in this 20th century.

From 1961 to the end of 1965, US aircraft sprayed toxic chemicals on 1,531,820 hectares of crop fields and orchards, affecting 167,550 people.

Up to September 1966, the territory of South Vietnam, which is smaller in size than California, had to receive 100,000 tons of bombs dropped by US B-52's during 5,000 sorties. If we are to reckon the per-head quantity of bombs and bullets poured on our population, each inhabitant of South Vietnam has had to receive a far greater volume than any citizen of any other country in the world in any war up to the present.

You surely know something, dear friends, about what American troops have been doing in our country, as their acts have daily been shown on the TV, have been reported so often and so brazenly by American news agencies and radios.

We only wish to draw your attention to the fact that the victims of the bloody operations conducted by American and satellite troops and of the rains of US bombs and bullets are hundreds of thousands of civilians, most of them women and children. And with its policy of "burn all, destroy all, kill all", the US Government not only seeks to destroy human beings but also all the means of life, in an attempt to create no-man's lands, to blot out from the map whole areas including heavily populated towns.

On vast expanses of our land, the fruits of creative labour of so many generations have been destroyed, historic relics, long-standing cultural structures, scenic spots, which are the pride of our nation, have been ravaged. Within six months, from March to August 1966, in the four districts of Dien Ban, Hoa Vang, Duy Xuyen and Dai Loc alone, in Quang Nam province, 82 pagodas, 35 schools, 32 churches, 22 holy sees of the Cao Dai sect, 39 villages and 121 hamlets were destroyed.

In the areas fiercely attacked by the enemy, not a single house is left standing, and life has to be moved underground. Where else on earth, may we ask, have children to live all the year round in deep underground shelters, sit in underground

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school-classes, lacking even the strict minimum conditions for their physical development, unable even to breathe the pure air above the ground ?

Furthermore, to escape defeat in South Vietnam and intimidate the North Vietnamese people who are giving all-out support to the struggle of their 14 million kith-and-kin in the South, the US Government has launched a war of destruction, by means of its air force and navy, against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, an independent and sovereign state.

Over the past 3 years, the US has sent its aircraft to bomb continuously and barbarously economic and cultural establishments, populous areas, dikes, schools, hospitals, and even Hanoi, the capital city, killing and wounding numbers of our Northern compatriots who are working peacefully for national construction.

The facts described above prove that:

Throughout the past 20 years, the US Government has been pursuing its scheme of aggression and enslavement against South Vietnam.

That process of aggression has been carried out step by step, from disguised forms, through "aid", "advisors", and the use of the puppet army and administration, to open forms, including the introduction of an expeditionary army of nearly half a million men taking a direct part in the war in South Vietnam.

The half-million American troops now in South Vietnam are not there to defend freedom for the American people or the people of South Vietnam against "aggression" from somewhere, as the US Government has often contended, but to carry out the scheme to invade South Vietnam, trampling thereby upon the aspirations of the South Vietnamese to independence, peace, democracy and national reunification. /people

The war in Vietnam is a war of aggression conducted by the US Government against the South Vietnam people of all walks of life.

Reality has proven clearly that all the Saigon administrations that have succeeded each other during the past 13 years, from Ngo Dinh Diem, then dozens of other "prime ministers" and "heads of state", to General Nguyen Cao Ky, the murderer who worships Hitler as his master, are puppet regimes lackeys of the US, rigged up by the US Government, and, as Senator Stephen Young put it, "would not stand even one week without the interference of the CIA and the support of our (US) armed forces". All these administrations have been condemned and opposed by the overwhelming majority of the South Vietnam population.

At present, the Saigon administration is raising quite a ballyhoo about so-called "elected government". But everybody knows that the recent elections in South Vietnam were engineered by the US Government with the aim of giving a varnish of

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democracy to the Thieu-Ky regime and a legal figleaf to the presence of nearly half a million US troops in South Vietnam, so it can continue claiming: "This war is being waged by the Saigon administration. The US is just playing the role of an 'ally' and simply carrying out its 'commitment'."

Dear Friends,

The Vietnamese people have a 2,000-year tradition of love for freedom and struggle against foreign invasion. Together with the entire people of Vietnam, who carried out the Revolution of August 1945, then devoted all their might and main to the 9-year sacred war of resistance to drive out the French colonialists, and today have risen up to fight the US aggressors and save their country, the people of South Vietnam are only continuing the cause handed down by their forefathers since our nation came into being.

The struggle of the South Vietnamese people is a just, patriotic struggle in legitimate self-defence. To deny this reality is an offence towards so many heroes and martyrs who have shed their blood to defend the Fatherland, an offence which we can by no means tolerate! When American farmers rose up to fight the British imperialists in the 18th century, nobody instigated them!

The US Government has sent American and satellite troops to South Vietnam not to help the South Vietnamese people build a free and happy life, but to trample upon all our sacred national rights, by means of bombs, shells, toxic chemicals, napalm and other lethal products, with the aim of compelling the South Vietnamese people to accept US domination.

Of course, the aggressor has met with a powerful resistance under every possible form from our people of all strata. That is the very legitimate right to self-defence of any nation.

We South Vietnamese people have at heart our right to national independence. Our nation's history as a whole provides many illustrations of our people's dauntlessness in face of the foreign invaders. And in the process of our struggle, we also know how to use varied and flexible forms of struggle.

For 6 years running, from 1954 to 1960, in face of US-Diem bayonets and guillotines, the South Vietnamese people perseveringly waged political struggles, by petitions, by arguments, by peaceful demonstrations demanding for peace, democracy, national rights, and improvement of living conditions. All these peaceful forms of struggle, however, brought us no other results than yet more cruel suppression and massacres. Having no other way out, we had to take up arms and fight for our own survival. Our armed forces took shape, and towards the end of 1959 and the beginning of 1960, carried out, together with the people, widespread uprisings, smashing the puppet power in the villages and hamlets, liberating large parts of our territory.

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The political and armed struggles in the countryside have developed powerfully. This has been the struggles of millions of peasants to destroy the system of "strategic hamlets", the struggles of the people in various forms against enemy raiding operations to defend their homes and villages. This has been the organized and energetic struggle of the armed forces, in close combination with the people and determined to fight and win, that has liberated 4/5 of the territory, broadened the liberated areas, and reduced the control of the US and its henchmen.

Evenⁱⁿ the towns and cities still under US-puppet control, the various strata of the population, who have been frustrated in every aspect of their political, economic, cultural and moral life, in their dignity and sentiments, all have risen up to oppose the US aggressors and the Saigon administration. Workers and other toiling people, who have had to endure tremendous calamities due to the US war of aggression, struggle against sacking, demand for wagelift, for national rights, improvement of living conditions and democracy. Young men and women, students, pupils, with the ardour of their age, always play the role of fuse in the struggles. Other strata - women, capitalists, intellectuals, writers and artists, members of religions, and even members of the puppet army and administration who feel offended in their national dignity - have also raised their voices against US presence.

The movement of Buddhist circles, flared up in May 1963 with the self-immolation fire kindled in the defence of religion by Superior Monk Thich Quang Duc, has also developed. Being an integral part of the general movement of the people in South Vietnam cities against US aggression for national salvation, this patriotic struggle of our Buddhist compatriots, in summer last year, became in no time a surging movement of broad strata of the urban population, drawing in a part of the puppet army and administration. This shows the boundless hatred of the South Vietnamese people of all callings, including the most moderate religious communities and people still among enemy ranks, and at the same time gives the lie to the US claims about North Vietnam's "aggression" against the South or a "conflict between nationalists and communists".

For the survival of the nation and the future of their children, the people of South Vietnam, irrespective of political tendencies, nationalities, religious beliefs and social classes, have united into a powerful national bloc and are determined to overcome all difficulties and obstacles to bring the war of resistance against US aggression for national salvation to ever bigger and steadier successes.

Dear Friends,

The US Government is spending the biggest sum yearly in the history of the United States (70.3 billion dollars) for the defense budget including expenditures for the Vietnam

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war (UPI, June 9, 1967). The number of US troops in South Vietnam has nearly reached the half-million mark. Still, a question remains unanswered for General William Westmoreland, Commander of US forces in South Vietnam, and the top brass in the Pentagon. They relied mainly on the puppet army to carry out a "special war" and failed; they massively sent US troops to launch a "local war" and have been failing, too; now the more troops they send in to widen the war, the heavier defeats they are suffering. Why?

Many people who do not fully understand the developments of the war in Vietnam think that with the US "inexhaustible" financial, material and manpower resources, if the US Government perseveres in the war, if it pours more money and military forces into the war, it will surely win ultimate military victory.

Reality on the South Vietnam battlefield during the past years since US troops began to move in, especially the victories of the Liberation Armed Forces in smashing two "strategic dry-season counter-offensives" of the US in Winter-Spring 1965-1966 and Winter-Spring 1966-1967, has totally refuted this presumption.

Indeed, the US has plenty of money and weapons. But in certain conditions, wealth does not necessarily mean strength. The costly and bloody operations involving tens of thousands of US troops have not been able to destroy even a small part of the Liberation Armed Forces; instead, during the said periods, more than 170,000 American, puppet and mercenary troops have been put out of action. This is the heaviest casualty rate of the US compared to any previous period.

Our big victories in the recent Winter-Spring have given us firmer grounds than ever to believe that the war will finally end with victory on our side.

Why can't the US Government win this war?

1. First of all, it must be pointed out that the force confronting half a million US troops, more than 50,000 satellite troops and half a million puppet troops in South Vietnam is not a professional army comprising a few dozen thousand men but the entire South Vietnam people, more than ten million men and women, old and young, of various strata, in the cities, the countryside as well as the mountain areas, united by a common destiny and a common iron determination, ready to sacrifice everything, even their own lives, to defeat the aggressors and win back freedom for the country.

Armed with the great moral and mental strength stemming from our ardent patriotism and implacable hatred for the enemy, we South Vietnamese people have used every form and devised a host of weapons, from the most rudimentary to the most sophisticated ones, to counter the colossal amount of modern weapons of the enemy, and have inflicted on him defeat after defeat.

It is this ardent patriotism that prompted our ordinary

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peasant women to come out with their babies in their arms and face the cannon barrels of the enemy, preventing him from opening fire on their native villages.

It is this ardent patriotism that has enabled our people to dig thousands of kilometres of tunnel and combat trench five or six metres deep to form tight rings around the enemy and keep him in constant fear. Such a work would, in normal conditions, require tens of thousands of engineer troops working for several years.

It is also because of this ardent patriotism that thousands of aircraft and military vehicles of the US have been left in wrecks all over the clearings of the jungles in South Vietnam. This patriotism constitutes the invincible strength of the people's war - the struggle of an entire people who have risen up, arms in hand, to defend their Fatherland.

2. On the US side, the GI's are having to fight a war thousands of miles from home. They have neither favourable terrain nor the support of the population. How can they carry out General Westmoreland's instruction to "win the hearts and minds of the population" when, right after they set foot on this country, the South Vietnamese people regard them as a horde of invaders just like the French colonialists or Japanese fascists in the past? Now that they are daily ordered to go and burn houses of the people and massacre women and children of South Vietnam, all the flowery words of President Johnson who told them to go and "defend the freedom of the South Vietnamese and American people" have proved to be just talks to the birds. And the American soldiers in South Vietnam are growing aware that they are fighting for a wrong, unjustifiable cause. Hence their sinking morale and the growing number of anti-war actions among them and also of increasing demands for repatriation.

3. With regard to the puppet army and administration - military and political props of a strategic character for the US in its local war - they are on their way of irretrievable disintegration and collapse.

The more US troops are sent in and the bigger crimes they commit against the population including the families of puppet troops, the higher sense of resistance and national awakening they arouse among many men and officers of the puppet army.

The latter are realising more and more clearly that this war is an American war, therefore it is senseless to fight and die for the Americans. They have practically lost the will to fight. Desertion is rife in all combat units of the puppet army, involving from small groups of a few men to whole companies or, in one particular case, a whole armoured regiment. What is more, in the recent dry season, many puppet soldiers and even a number of officers turned their guns against their cruel commanders and US troops or worked with the Liberation Armed Forces in wiping out enemy positions before going over to the people's side.

As far as the puppet administration is concerned, its utter rottenness has been fully exposed in the bitter scramble for power and prebends in the recent "presidential" election campaign. Whatever farce the US Government may play and whatever its efforts to reconcile the rival groups among its puppets in Saigon, the Thieu-Ky junta or any other clique of henchmen of the US cannot deceive the South Vietnamese people who will ultimately bring them down.

In short, in the political as well as military fields, the US is in a position of failure and passiveness; the more troops it brought in and the more it steps up the war, the greater its failures and passiveness.

In the political field, whatever the guise it may put on, by sending US troops to take in hand the war in South Vietnam, the US has fully revealed its aggressive and war-seeking features. By increasing its troop strength in South Vietnam, it has deepened the contradictions between itself and the South Vietnamese people, and increased the condemnation by the world public.

In the military field, US troops have been rushed to South Vietnam at a time when the Liberation Armed Forces have become master of all battlefronts and when the people's war has developed to a high degree.

The South Vietnamese people's determination to fight for their right to live is unshakeable. Such a determination helped the Vietnamese people, empty-handed at the start, to defeat the French colonialists. It has helped us, throughout the past 13 years, to foil the most brutal and cunning schemes of the US aggressors. Certainly, with justice and such a determination on their side, the South Vietnamese people can carry on the struggle, however great the difficulties, and will finally triumph.

A major, objective factor that is contributing to the victory of the South Vietnamese people is the movement of the world's people including the American people to condemn the war waged by the US Government in South Vietnam and support our just struggle. This movement has grown continually and in fact has formed a front of the world's people, from Europe to Asia and Oceania, from Africa to Latin America, drawing in all strata of people of different political tendencies.

The movement of the world's people in support of the Vietnamese people's resistance to US aggression is giving us added strength to march forward with yet firmer confidence on our path of justice. Never have our people naively thought that victory will be easy. But our people are resolved to get

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over all difficulties and obstacles. Glorious victory will come to us, as certainly as day comes after night, because justice is on our side, because our struggle conforms with the movement of the world's people for national liberation and peace.

Dear Friends,

The great successes in all fields recorded by the South Vietnamese people during the past 6 years are only possible thanks to the tested and clear-sighted leadership of a broad organization which represents the most fundamental legitimate aspirations of the South Vietnamese people. That organization is the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation. Coming into being 6 years ago in the darkest days of the South Vietnamese people under the brutal fascist regime of the US and its puppet Ngo Dinh Diem, the NFL has now rallied under its banner 23 mass organizations and political parties broadly representing the patriotic forces of all strata in South Vietnam: intellectuals, youth, students, writers, artists, workers, peasants, religious communities, people of various nationalities...

The NFL's programme may be summed up in the watchword: Unite the entire people to wage a war of resistance to US aggression and save the country. It is aimed at achieving an independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral South Vietnam, paving the way for the reunification of the country. The NFL cares for the rights and interests of all strata of the people. It has also worked out clear-cut policies towards enemy troops, including American troops, captured by or having been surrendered to the Liberation forces. All this shows that the programme of the NFL have reflected most faithfully the aspirations and met the requirements of the South Vietnamese people. That is why the Front has broadly rallied all strata of the people, in the liberated zones as well as in the areas still under enemy control, and has inspired the entire people in South Vietnam to rise up of their own free will and fight to save their families and their homeland.

Many Western newspapers have spoken of the influence of the NFL in the enemy-controlled urban areas, especially in Saigon. Bernard Couret, correspondent of the French review "Le Monde Diplomatique", wrote in its March 1967 issue: "Everyone knows that the (Saigon) administration no longer controls many districts in the city..." He said an American officer from the "Military Aid Command" (MACV) had told him: "We are sure that the Vietcong (meaning the NFL) have planted their men at the highest levels of the Saigon administrative machine." "In fact," B. Couret added, "no one knows how far the Liberation Front's ramifications reach down. They enter Saigon as easily as they would go to the market."

Master of 4/5 of the South Vietnam territory with over 10 million people (2/3 of South Vietnam's population), the

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South Vietnam National Front for Liberation is actually exercising the functions of a people's democratic State, giving leadership in every field: fighting, production, social welfare, etc.

Even in the very hard conditions of the current patriotic war, school-classes are built just beside air-raid shelters; laboratories and pharmaceutical workshops mushroom in thick jungles; dispensaries, maternity homes can be found in every district and many villages; mobile health service teams go down to the remotest hamlets to give inoculations to the people, old and young; music and dance schools are turning out more and more artistes to entertain the people in their fighting, from out-of-the-way mountain regions right down to the neighbourhood of Saigon in the delta. All these achievements testify to the great efforts made by the Front to better the material and cultural life of the South Vietnamese people.

The South Vietnamese people's resistance against US aggression and for national salvation, led by the NFL, is winning increasing sympathy and support from progressive mankind. As a result, the Front's prestige in the international arena is rising steadily. So far, the NFL has established its representations or missions in 13 countries, and has joined 12 international democratic organisations. Since its founding 6 years ago, the Front has sent 112 delegations of its own or its member organizations to 30 countries for friendship visits, and nearly 100 delegations to various international, regional or national conferences.

Thus, it is undeniable that the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation is a really patriotic organization with clear-cut objectives that correspond to the people's basic aspirations, an organization trusted by the absolute majority of the people and with rich experiences. Otherwise, it would not have been able to stand the ruthless suppression by the US-puppet regime, or to build up a political army comprising millions of people of all strata and a morally strong and battle-hardened armed force to bring the people's struggle from victory to victory and to defeat step by step the US war of aggression in South Vietnam.

Precisely because it represents the legitimate and most fundamental aspirations of the South Vietnamese people and is the master of the situation in South Vietnam, the NFL, both de jure and de facto, is the sole authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people, and therefore, must have its decisive say in the settlement of the South Vietnam problem.

In South Vietnam today, all patriotic organizations and patriotic individuals are already standing within the NFL and acting upon its programme. Apart from the NFL there is no other organized force in South Vietnam nowadays with so popular a programme and so great a prestige among the masses. Besides, reality has proven that there ^{are} only two opposing forces in South Vietnam - the US imperialists and their henchmen on one side, and all the patriotic forces rallied under the anti-US-aggression banner of the NFL on the other. There is

not a third force as the US Government has so often claimed, with the intention of misleading that part of public opinion which still has a vague idea about the South Vietnam situation, and of splitting the revolutionary forces now resolutely fighting against US aggression in South Vietnam.

As for the Saigon administration rigged up by the US, it cannot represent anybody, save for a handful of traitors who are bartering the people's rights for personal interests, and are being despised and hated by the entire people.

We deem it necessary to expose the Johnson administration's schemes and acts at the present time. Faced with growing defeats in both South and North Vietnam and increasing protest and condemnation by the people all over the world, including the American people, the US Government still sticks to its policy of stubbornly intensifying the war. Of late, President Johnson has decided to send 45,000 more US troops to South Vietnam and to increase still further the war budget for South Vietnam.

Dean Rusk, William Westmoreland and other US generals are raving about frenzied attacks on populous areas in South Vietnam and "extended" escalation against the North. Meanwhile, the US Government keeps multiplying its deceptive tricks about "peace", hoping to dupe public opinion in the United States and the world over.

President Johnson has asked for what he called "reciprocity" in exchange for a halt to the bombing raids on North Vietnam, thus trying to put on a par the aggressor and the victim of aggression. Other proposals, such as "general cease-fire", "maintenance of the status quo", "mutual de-escalation", or "immediate negotiation", consciously or unconsciously, are rhyming with Washington's desire at present.

To the South Vietnamese people who are victim of the occupation by half a million US troops and are struggling for the liberation of their land, to "cease hostilities" now only means to force them to lay down their arms, bow to the aggression by the US Government and maintain their "status" as victim of aggression.

Under such circumstances, any other self-respecting nation will act as we are doing.

Our stand is quite clear and quite simple: the US Government has launched a war of aggression against South Vietnam and started a war of destruction against North Vietnam; it must now put an end to its aggression in South Vietnam and stop definitively and unconditionally the bombing raids and all other war acts against the North. The US Government has brought US and satellite troops to South Vietnam; it must now withdraw all those troops from South Vietnam, and let the South Vietnamese people settle themselves their internal affairs according to the programme of the South Vietnam National Front for

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Liberation.

Particularly, the demand "Bring US troops home" is the most logical one. Since US troops have come, they must leave. To demand the withdrawal of US troops does not in the least make the US "lose face", instead will help preserve the honour of the United States of America.

Having lived in the flames of war for more than 20 years now, we South Vietnamese people, more than anybody else, ardently cherish peace. But peace must go alongside independence and freedom. We are very cool-headed. Blood has been shed by many of our comrades-in-arms, in prisons, under guillotines, at the point of enemy guns. Blood has been shed by many of our compatriots, reddening our soil. How can we keep our hearts from aching? Yet, so that our future generations may live proudly among other free nations in the world, we are ready to pay any price for the independence and freedom of our Fatherland.

Dear Friends,

Waging its brutal war of aggression in South Vietnam, the US Government has piled up crimes against our people, trampled upon our people's national rights. Worse still, it has sent tens of thousands of American youths to die shamefully, tarnishing the honour of the USA. Therefore, the struggle to demand an end to the US aggressive war in Vietnam conforms to the interests of both the American and Vietnamese peoples; this struggle constitutes a responsibility towards our respective people, as well as towards the people throughout the world who love peace and justice.

Our people in South Vietnam are elated to see that, siding along with their patriotic struggle, the anti-Vietnam-war movement of the American people is growing ever more steadily.

In our hard struggle against the aggressors, we are very elated at learning that the streets and squares in New York, San Francisco and other cities in the USA have been resounding with the shouts: "Stop the war in Vietnam!", "Bring the GI's home", "Vietnam to the Vietnamese", and many other demands raised by tens of thousands of demonstrators, particularly by the half-a-million participants in last April's Spring Mobilization. We are deeply moved at the demonstration in April last by 2,500 American women in front of the Pentagon, and the example of the courageous "Ford Hood Three" who categorically refused to go to South Vietnam, despite harsh reprisals by the US authorities.

We are aware that all of you here have made great efforts to help bring an early end to the war in Vietnam. Acting in a society where truths are concealed and distorted by the ruling circles, you have been dubbed "cowards" and even "traitors". But, to us and to hundreds of millions of other honest people

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throughout the world, you are ^{among} the true successors of Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln, and the best sons and daughters of the United States of America. It is you, in the eyes of the whole of mankind, who are clearing away the stains being put on the honour of the United States. It is you who are genuine American patriots.

Allow us, on this occasion, to convey the most ardent sentiments of the South Vietnamese people to you and to all other American friends who are actively struggling against the war of aggression conducted by the US Government in Vietnam. Your acts, your songs, your words, your pictures voicing opposition to the US war in Vietnam and support for our people's struggle constitute a real encouragement to us, and will forever be remembered by our people. Please accept our sincere thanks for what you have done and will go on doing for us.

Many difficulties still lie ahead of our struggle. Our enemy will carry out new and cunning schemes against us. However, the whole of progressive mankind is on our side. Our joint struggle in the interests of our two peoples and for mankind's ideals of peace, freedom, democracy and humanity, will gain in scope and intensity. We have enough energy and perseverance to carry our struggle through to ultimate victory.

We wish that our get-together here will achieve splendid success, thereby helping promote the mutual understanding and sympathy between us, in the interests of the people of our two countries, and of the great friendship among nations in the world.

Thank you very much./.

POLITICAL PROGRAMME
OF THE SOUTH VIETNAM NATIONAL FRONT FOR LIBERATION

In 1960, the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation came into being with its 10-point programme aimed at uniting the entire people against the US imperialists and their lackeys.

Since then, the Front has achieved broad union of the various sections of the people, the political parties, organizations, nationalities, religious communities, and patriotic personalities, with a view to jointly fighting against U.S. aggression for national salvation. It has successfully consolidated its base among the broad masses of the people; at the same time, it has achieved joint action with many political and religious forces, and won over many industrialists and traders, many officials and functionaries of the puppet administration, and many officers and men of the puppet army.

The Front has constantly enjoyed wholehearted encouragement and assistance from our compatriots in the North and abroad. It has also enjoyed ever stronger approval and support from the peoples of neighbouring Cambodia and Laos, from the peoples of the socialist, nationalist and other countries in the world, including progressive people in the United States.

Under the leadership of the NFL, our people in the South have gone from victory to victory. The prestige of the Front has been unceasingly enhanced at home and abroad. The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation has become the sole genuine representative of the heroic South Vietnamese people.

These great achievements have proved that the line and policy of the Front are correct, and that the strength of our people's unity and struggle is invincible.

At present, despite heavy defeats, the U.S. imperialists are still unwilling to give up their aggressive designs against Vietnam. They are stepping up the war, trampling upon the South and intensifying the bombing of the North of our country. The monstrous crimes of the U.S. imperialists, however, have only served to deepen our people's hatred and increase their indomitable will. The people of South Vietnam, regardless of social standing, and even a number of persons in the puppet army and administration, have seen through the true features of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, hate them, and want to contribute to the struggle against U.S. aggression for national salvation.

Never before in our nation's history has the mettle of our entire people, united for the fight to wipe out the enemy and save the country, been so strong as now. Our people are in a victorious, initiative, and offensive position. The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have been increasingly driven into passivity and embarrassment, they are in an impasse and are sustaining defeats.

At this juncture, in a spirit of developing the former programme, the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation has worked out this political programme with a view to further broadening the bloc of great national union, encouraging and stimulating the entire people

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to rush forward, resolved to fight and defeat the U.S. aggressors, and to build an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous South Vietnam.

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UNITE THE ENTIRE PEOPLE, FIGHT THE U.S. AGGRESSORS, SAVE THE COUNTRY.

1. During four thousand years of their history, the Vietnamese people have united and fought against foreign invasion to preserve their independence and freedom.

Ever since our country was conquered by the French colonialists, our people have fought unremittingly for their liberation. In 1945, our people from North to South rose up, successfully carried out the August Revolution, seized political power from the Japanese militarists and their lackeys, and founded the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

When the French colonialists came back to invade our country once again, our entire people heroically fought for nearly nine years, brought our sacred resistance to the great victory of Dien Bien Phu, smashing the aggressive schemes of the French colonialists and the interventionist policy of the U.S. imperialists.

The independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam were formally recognized by the 1954 Geneva Conference. Since then, our compatriots in South Vietnam, together with the people all over the country, should have been living in peace and building a free and happy life. However, the U.S. imperialists have sabotaged the Geneva agreements, ousted the French colonialists, set up in South Vietnam an extremely cruel puppet regime, and tried to turn the Southern part of Vietnam into a neo-colony and a military base in an attempt to prolong the partition of our country, conquer the whole of Vietnam and impose their domination throughout Indochina and Southeast Asia.

The U.S. imperialists have shrunk from no cruel method to carry out their dark designs. Defeated in their "special war", they have switched on to a "local war", using over half a million U.S. and satellite troops, along with more than half a million puppet soldiers, for aggression against South Vietnam. At the same time, they have undertaken a war of destruction against the Northern part of our country. They have also stepped up their "special war" in Laos and carried out continual provocations aimed at wrecking the independence and neutrality of Cambodia.

The U.S. imperialists are daily causing untold sufferings and mourning to our compatriots throughout the country. They have resorted to all kinds of modern war means and weapons including strategic aircraft, napalm bombs, toxic chemicals and poison gas, to massacre our fellow-

countrymen. They have launched repeated operations, "sweeping" again and again many areas, carrying out the "kill all, burn all, destroy all" policy to raze villages and hamlets to the ground. They have herded the population, grabbed land, and set up "no man's land" and fascist-type concentration camps dubbed "strategic hamlets", "prosperity zones" "resettlement areas", etc. In the North, they have wantonly bombed and strafed streets, villages, industrial centres, heavily populated areas; they have even struck at dikes, dams, schools, hospitals, churches, pagodas.

Obviously the U.S. imperialists are the most ruthless aggressors in history, the saboteurs of the 1954 Geneva Agreements, the saboteurs of the peace and security of the peoples in Indo-China, South-East Asia and the world, the enemy Number One of our people and of mankind.

Over the past few years, the U.S. imperialists have continually escalated the war; yet they have unceasingly clamoured about "peace negotiations" in an attempt to fool the American and world's people.

The Saigon puppet administration has sold out South Vietnam to the U.S. imperialists. It has oppressed and exploited our Southern compatriots in an extremely ruthless way. It has forced South Vietnam youths into the army to serve the U.S. in massacring our fellow-countrymen. In a demagogic bid, it has also staged the farce of "working out a constitution" and "holding elections". It is only a clique of traitors, an instrument for the U.S. imperialists to enslave the South Vietnamese people, prolong the partition of our country and further the U.S. war of aggression.

2- The U.S. aggressors and their lackeys think they can intimidate our people by the use of force and deceive them by means of tricks. But they are grossly mistaken. Our people definitely will never submit to force, never let themselves be deceived!

Bringing into play our nation's tradition of undauntedness, our 31 million compatriots from the South to the North have resolutely stood up, united as one man, to fight against the U.S. aggressors and save the country.

On the frontline of the Fatherland, our Southern fellow-countrymen have over the past 13 years shown marvelous heroism. Irrespective of age, sex, political tendencies, religious beliefs, and no matter whether they live in the plains or in mountain areas, our people of all strata and all nationalities have resolutely fought shoulder to shoulder to liberate the South, defend the North, and proceed toward the reunification of the Fatherland.

Since 1959-1960, our compatriots in the South Vietnamese countryside have carried out successive "simultaneous uprisings", destroyed series of concentration camps and "prosperity zones" of the U.S. imperialists and the puppet administration and liberated vast rural areas.

Our armed forces and people then rushed forward, destroyed thousands of "strategic hamlets", liberated millions of people, and defeated the U.S. "special war".

Since 1965, although the U.S. aggressors have brought in hundreds of thousands of U.S. expeditionary troops for direct aggression against South Vietnam, our armed forces and people have repeatedly won big victories, smashed two successive U.S. dry-season strategic counter-offensives, defeated over one million enemy troops (U.S., puppet, and satellite). The liberated areas have continuously expanded and now already make up four-fifths of the South Vietnam territory with two-thirds of its population. In these liberated areas, a national and democratic power is taking shape and a new life is blossoming. In addition to big military victories, we have also recorded important successes in the political, economic, cultural and diplomatic fields.

In the beloved Northern part of the Fatherland, our 17 million compatriots are heroically defeating the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction, maintaining and boosting up production, wholeheartedly encouraging and helping the cause of liberating the South, thus fulfilling the obligations of the great rear toward the great front.

In the world, the peoples of the socialist, nationalist and other countries, including the progressive people in the United States, are sternly condemning the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression, and are giving their approval, support and assistance to our people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

Facts have clearly shown that the more the U.S. imperialists obstinately intensify and expand their war of aggression against our country, the more they sustain bitter defeats and are driven into isolation; on the other hand, our people win greater victories and get more friends.

3- The most dangerous enemies of our people at present are the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their lackeys - the traitorous puppet administration.

The tasks and objectives of the South Vietnamese people in the struggle for national salvation are now as follows: to unite the entire people, resolutely defeat the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression, overthrow their lackey puppet administration, establish a broad national democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous South Vietnam, and proceed toward the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland.

The force that guarantees the fulfilment of the above task of fighting against U.S. aggression and saving the country is our great national union. The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation constantly stands for uniting all social strata and classes, all nationalities, all political parties, all organizations, all religious communities, all patriotic personalities, all individuals and all patriotic and progressive forces, irrespective of political tendencies, in order to struggle together against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, wrest back our sacred national rights, and build up the country.

The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation is prepared to invite and welcome all patriotic forces and individuals who oppose the U.S. aggressors to join its ranks, and to shoulder together the common duties. It proposes that any force which, for one reason or another, does not adhere to its ranks, take joint actions against the common enemy - the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys.

The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation pledges itself to strive, shoulder to shoulder with the Vietnam Fatherland Front, to fulfil gloriously the common task of fighting against U.S. aggression to liberate the South, defend the North and proceed toward the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland.

While fighting for their sacred national rights, the people of South Vietnam actively accomplish their internationalist duty. Their resistance war against U.S. aggression is an integral part of the revolutionary struggle of the people all over the world.

The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation undertakes to stand within the united bloc of the Indo-Chinese peoples to fight against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, to defend the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.

The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation pledges to take an active part in the common struggle of the world's peoples against the bellicose and aggressive imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism, for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

4- The cruel U.S. aggressors are trampling upon our homeland. We, people of South Vietnam, must stand up to make revolution and wage a people's war with a view to annihilating them, driving them out of our borders, and wresting back national independence and sovereignty.

Having experienced over 20 years of war, our Southern compatriots eagerly want to live in peace and rebuild our war-devastated country. But the U.S. imperialists have cut across this legitimate aspiration. That is why our people have to fight against them to win peace in independence. Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom. Only when real independence is secured can we have peace!

The enemy of our nation is ruthless and obdurate. But our entire people are determined to fight and to defeat the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys. So long as the U.S. imperialists do not end their war of aggression, withdraw all U.S. and satellite troops from our country, and let the South Vietnamese people settle themselves the internal affairs of South Vietnam without foreign intervention, our people will resolutely fight on until total victory. The South Vietnamese people's liberation war is a long and hard one, but it is sure to end in victory.

Our people rely mainly on their own forces; at the same time, they strive to win the sympathy, support and assistance of the world's peoples.

To defeat the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys, our people do not spare any sacrifice. They enthusiastically contribute manpower, material resources and their talent to the national liberation war in the spirit of doing everything for the frontline, everything for victory.

The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation undertakes to develop the Liberation Armed Forces comprising the main-force units, the regional troops, and the militia and guerilla units, with the aim of

promoting people's war, combining guerilla with regular warfare, wiping out as many enemy live forces as possible, crushing the enemy's will for aggression, and winning final victory.

The Front undertakes to build and develop the political forces of the masses, promote the movement of political struggle, combine armed struggle with political struggle and agitation among enemy troops, thus forming three converging prongs to defeat the enemy.

The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation undertakes to encourage all strata of the population in the towns and rural areas still under enemy control to unite and struggle in every possible form to break the grip of the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys, destroy the "phuong" (corporations) and "strategic hamlets", demand democratic freedoms, national sovereignty and a better life, oppose the pressganging of troops and forcible labour draft, struggle against enslaving and depraved culture, and march forward, together with the entire people, to overthrow the enemy's rule and seize political power.

At the same time, the Front undertakes to encourage all strata of people in the liberated areas to unite closely, to build the people's self-management system, to achieve step by step a local national democratic administration, to build base areas, to strive to produce and fight against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, to proceed with the good settlement of the agrarian question, to build the new economy and culture of the liberated areas, to foster the people's forces with a view to ensuring supplies for the frontline and carrying the resistance war through to complete victory.

- II -

BUILD AN INDEPENDENT, DEMOCRATIC, PEACEFUL, NEUTRAL AND PROSPEROUS SOUTH VIETNAM.

The people of South Vietnam are determined to defeat the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys, and to devote their might and main to build a political system that guarantees the independence and sovereignty of the nation and the freedom and happiness of the people, to heal the wounds of war, to liquidate the social evils left over by the U.S.-puppet regime, to restore normal life and build an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous South Vietnam. To achieve these objectives, the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation lays down the following concrete policies :

1. To achieve a broad and progressive democratic regime.

- To abolish the disguised colonial regime established by the U.S. imperialists in South Vietnam, to overthrow the puppet administration hireling of the United States, not to recognize the puppet "national assembly" rigged up by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, to abolish the "constitution" and all anti-national and anti-democratic laws enacted by the U.S. imperialists and the puppet administration.

- To hold free general elections, to elect the National Assembly in a really democratic way in accordance with the principle of universal, equal, direct suffrage and secret ballot. This National Assembly will be the State body with the highest authority in South Vietnam. It will work out a democratic Constitution which fully embodies the most fundamental and most eager aspirations of all social strata in South Vietnam and guarantee the establishment of a broad, progressive, democratic State structure. To guarantee the immunity of the deputies to the National Assembly.

- To set up a national union democratic government including the most representative persons among the various social strata, nationalities, religious communities, patriotic and democratic parties, patriotic personalities, and forces which have contributed to the cause of national liberation.

- To proclaim and enforce broad democratic freedoms : freedom of speech, freedom of the press and publication, freedom of assembly, trade-union freedom, freedom of association, freedom to form political parties, freedom of creed, freedom of demonstration.

- To guarantee to all citizens inviolability of the human person, freedom of residence and lodging, secrecy of correspondence, freedom of movement, freedom to work and rest, and the right to study.

- To enforce equality between man and woman and equality among the various nationalities.

- To set free all person detained by the U.S. imperialists and the puppet administration on account of their patriotic activities.

- To dissolve the concentration camps set up in all forms by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys.

- All those people who have had to seek asylum abroad because of the U.S.-puppet regime, have the right to return home to serve the country.

- To severely punish the die-hard cruel agents of the U.S. imperialists.

2- To build an independent and self-supporting economy, to improve the people's living conditions.

- To abolish the policy of economic enslavement and monopoly of the U.S. imperialists.

- To confiscate the property of the U.S. imperialists and their die-hard cruel agents and turn it into State property.

- To build an independent and self-supporting economy. To rapidly heal the wounds of war, to restore and develop the economy so as to make the people rich and the country powerful.

- To protect the right to ownership of the means of production and other property of the citizens under the laws of the State.

- To restore and develop agricultural production. To improve farming, animal husbandry, fish-rearing and forestry. The State will encourage the peasants to unite and help one another in boosting up production, grant them loans at low interests for the purchase of buffaloes, oxen, farming implements, agricultural machines, seeds, fertilizers, etc, help them develop irrigation works, and apply advanced techniques in agriculture.

- To guarantee outlets for agricultural products.

- To restore and develop industry, small industries and handicrafts.

- To guarantee to the workers and employees the right to take part in the management of enterprises.

The State will encourage the capitalists in industry and trade to help develop industry, small industries and handicrafts.

To enforce freedom of enterprise to the benefit of nation-building and the people's welfare, to apply a customs policy designed to encourage and protect home production.

To restore and develop communications and transport.

To encourage and step up economic exchanges between towns and country, between the plains and the mountain areas.

To give due consideration to the interests of the small traders and petty shopkeepers.

- To set up a State bank.

To build an independent currency.

To apply a fair and rational tax policy.

The State will adopt a policy of granting loans at low interests to encourage production, and will prohibit usury.

- To develop economic relations with the North; the two zones will help each other so that Vietnam's economy may prosper rapidly.

- In accordance with the Front's policy of neutrality and on the principle of equality, mutual benefit and respect for the independence and sovereignty of the Vietnamese nation, trade with all countries will be expanded, and economic and technical assistance from foreign countries will be accepted, regardless of political and social systems.

3- To enact the land policy, to carry out the slogan "Land to the tiller".

- To confiscate the lands of the U.S. imperialists and the die-hard cruel landlords, their lackeys, to allot those lands to landless or land-poor peasants.

- To confirm and protect the ownership of the lands allotted to peasants by the Revolution.

- The State will negotiate the purchase of land from landlords who possess land upward of a certain amount varying with the situation in each locality; it will allot these lands to landless or land-poor peasants. The recipients will receive the lands free of charges, and will not be bound by any condition whatsoever. In areas where the requi-

red conditions for land reform do not yet obtain, land-rent reduction will be carried out.

- To entrust the lands belonging to absentee-landlords to peasants for cultivation and enjoyment of the produce. Adequate steps will be taken on this subject at a later stage in consideration of the political attitude of each landlord.

- To allow landlords to offer land to the Liberation Peasants' Association or to the State. The Liberation Peasants' Association and the State will allot those lands to landless or land-poor peasants.

- To encourage the owners of industrial crop or fruit-tree plantations to keep the latter going.

- To respect the legitimate right to ownership of land by the churches, pagodas and holy sees of religious sects.

- To carry out a fair and rational redistribution of communal lands.

- To guarantee the legitimate right to ownership of reclaimed lands to those who reclaim them.

- Those compatriots who have been forced into "strategic hamlets" or concentration camps in any other form will be free to return to their former villages.

- Those who have been compelled to "evacuate" or to "change abodes" and who wish to go on living there, will enjoy recognition of their ownership of the lands and other property which have resulted from their labour, and will be helped to continue earning their living in the same place; those who wish to return to their native places will also receive help.

4- To build a national democratic culture and education, to develop science and technology, to promote public health.

- To fight against the American-type enslaving and depraved culture and education now adversely affecting our people's fine, long-standing cultural traditions.

- To build a national democratic culture and education, to develop science and technology in service of national construction and defence.

- To educate the people in the Vietnamese nation's tradition of struggle against foreign invasion and its heroic history. To preserve and develop the fine culture and good customs and habits of our nation.

- To raise the people's cultural standards : to liquidate illiteracy, to promote complementary education, to open new general education schools, higher learning establishments and vocation schools. To make all-out effort to train and foster the contingent of scientific workers, technicians and skilled workers.

To use the Vietnamese language as teaching medium in higher learning establishments.

To reduce school fees for pupils and students, to exempt poor pupils and students from school fees, or grant them scholarships.

To reform the system of examinations.

- The State will give every help possible to the youths and children who have rendered services to the fight against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, to the children born into the families who have rendered services to the Revolution, and to other outstanding youths so as to enable them to study and develop their capabilities.

- Every citizen is free to carry out scientific and technological researches, to indulge in literary and artistic creation, and to participate in other cultural activities. To encourage the intellectuals, writers, artists and scientists and to afford them favourable conditions for research work, creation and invention in the service of the Fatherland and the people.

To afford opportunities to the writers and artists who have been persecuted by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys for their patriotic activities.

- To develop health service and the movement for hygiene and prophylaxis. To attend to the people's health. To control epidemics, to do away with the dangerous diseases, left over by the U.S.- puppet regime.

- To develop the movement for physical training and sports.

- To develop cultural relations with the North; the two zones will help each other to raise the people's education.

- To promote cultural relations with foreign countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

5- To guarantee the rights and cater for the livelihood of workers, labourers and civil servants.

- To promulgate labour legislation, to put into practice the 8-hour working day, to provide for a regime of rest and recreation, to set up a national system of wages and bonuses for increased productivity.

To improve the living and working conditions of the workers, labourers and civil servants.

- To apply a policy of adequate remuneration for apprentices.

- To provide jobs to the workers and the poor people in the towns to make every effort to do away with unemployment.

- To put into practice a policy on social security to care and assist workers, labourers and civil servants in case of disease, incapacitation, old age or retirement.

- To improve living conditions in working people's residential quarters.

- To settle disputes between employers and employees through negotiations between the two sides and mediation by the national democratic administration.

- To strictly prohibit the beating of workers and labourers, to strictly prohibit fines deducted from wages and unjustified sacking of workers.

6- To build up strong South Vietnam Liberation Armed Forces with a view to liberating the people and defending the Fatherland.

- The South Vietnam Liberation Armed Forces (comprising the main-force units, the regional troops, and the militia and guerilla units) are the children of the people; they are boundlessly loyal to the interests of the Fatherland and the people, and duty-bound to fight shoulder to shoulder with the entire people to liberate the South, defend the Fatherland and make an active contribution to the defence of peace in Asia and in the world.

- To pay due attention to the building of the Liberation Armed Forces. To strive to raise their quality and increase their fighting capacity with a view to stepping up people's war, defeating the U.S., satellite and puppet troops, and bringing the fight against U.S. aggression for national salvation to total victory.

- To strengthen the political work with a view to enhancing the patriotism and determination to fight and to win of the Liberation Armed Forces, enhancing the sense of discipline, continuously tightening the fish-and-water relations between the army and the population.

- Officers and men of the Liberation Armed Forces have the right of vote and eligibility, and are entitled to the right to land and all other rights of the citizens.

7. To show gratitude to the martyrs, to cater for disabled armymen, to reward the fighters and compatriots who have an outstanding record in the fight against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

The entire people are grateful to, and constantly bear in mind the memory of the martyrs who belonged to the Liberation Armed Forces or to various services and revolutionary organizations, and those who laid down their lives in political struggles. Their families are catered for and assisted by the State and the people.

- Armymen and compatriots disabled in the course of the armed and political struggle are cared for and helped.

- To reward in a worthy manner all fighters and compatriots who have an outstanding record in the struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

The entire people are grateful to and help the families who have rendered services to the revolution.

8. To organize social relief.

- To give relief to the compatriots victims of the war of aggression unleashed by the U.S. imperialists and the puppet regime.

- To attend to orphans, old folk and invalid people. To organize relief for the areas affected by natural calamities or bad crops.

- Consideration is also given to disabled puppet army men and to the families of puppet army men killed in action, who are poor and forlorn.

- To help those people driven to depravation by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys rebuild their life and serve the Fatherland and the people.

9. To put into practice equality between man and woman, to protect mothers and children.

- To pay utmost attention to raising the political, cultural and vocational standards of women in a manner fitting with their merits in the struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. To develop the Vietnamese women's traditions of heroism, undauntedness, loyalty and aptitude to shoulder every responsibility.

- Women are equal to men politically, economically, culturally and socially.

- Women who do the same job receive the same salary and allowances and enjoy all other rights as men.

- Women workers and civil servants enjoy two months' maternity leave with full pay before and after child birth.

- To put into practice a policy of actively helping perfecting and training woman cadres.

- To protect the rights of mothers and children. To develop the network of maternity homes, creches and infant classes.

- To do away with all social evils brought about by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, which are harmful to women's health and dignity.

10. To strengthen unity, to practice equality and mutual assistance among nationalities.

- To abolish all systems and policies applied by the imperialists and their lackeys with a view to dividing, oppressing, and exploiting the various nationalities. To oppose discrimination

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among and forcible assimilation of the nationalities:

- To develop the long-standing tradition of unity and mutual assistance among the various fraternal nationalities with a view to defending and building the country. All nationalities are equal in rights and obligations.

- To implement the agrarian policy with regards to minority peasants. To encourage and help them settle down in fixed residences, to improve their lands, to develop economy and culture, to raise their living standards so as to keep abreast of the general level.

The national minorities have the right to use their own spoken and written languages to develop their own culture and art and to maintain or to change their customs and habits.

- To strive to train minority cadres so as to quickly bring about conditions for good management of the local affairs by the minority concerned itself.

- In the areas inhabited by big communities of a specific minority and where the required conditions exist, autonomous zones will be established within independent and free Vietnam.

11. To respect freedom of creed, to achieve unity and equality among the different religious communities.

- To fight against all manoeuvres and tricks of the imperialists and their lackeys, who use a number of persons under the cloak of religion to oppose our people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, to sow dissension between believers and non-believers and among different religious communities and to harm the country, the people and religion.

- To respect freedom of creed and worship. To preserve pagodas, churches, holy sees, temples.

- All religions are equal and none is to be discriminated against.

- To achieve unity among believers of various religions and between believers and the entire nation for the sake of the struggle against ^{the} U.S. aggressors and their lackeys to defend and build the country.

12. To welcome puppet officers and men, and puppet officials back to the just cause, show leniency and give a humane treatment to rallied arymen and prisoners-of-war.

- To oppose the U.S. imperialists' and the puppet administration's attempts to pressgang mercenaries to serve the

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U.S. aggressors against the Fatherland and massacre the people.

- To severely punish the die-hard thugs acting as efficient agents of the U.S. imperialists.

- To afford conditions for puppet officers and puppet officials to come back to the just cause and join the people's fight against U.S. aggression to save and build the country.

- Those individuals, groups or units of the puppet army and administration who render services to the cause of fighting against U.S. aggression for national salvation will be rewarded and entrusted with responsible jobs. Those who sympathize with and support the struggle against U.S. aggression for national salvation, or those who refuse to carry out orders of the U.S. and puppets to harm to people, will have their merits recorded.

- Those individuals, groups or units who have broken away from the puppet army and voluntarily apply to join the Liberation Armed Forces for fighting against the U.S. to save the country are welcomed and enjoy equal treatment.

Regarding those individuals or units who have broken away from the puppet army and administration and risen against the U.S. aggressors to save the country, the Front stands ready to join actions with them in the fight against the U.S. aggressors, on a basis of equality, mutual respect and assistance so as to together to protect the people and liberate the Fatherland.

- Those functionaries of the puppet administration who volunteer to serve the country and the people in the State machine after the liberation of South Vietnam will enjoy equal treatment.

- Those in the puppet army and the puppet administration at any level who have committed crimes against the people but are now sincerely repentant will be pardoned. Those who redeem their crimes by meritorious deeds will be rewarded accordingly. Captured officers and men of the puppet army will enjoy humanitarian treatment and clemency.

- Those in the U.S. army and its satellite armies who cross over to the people's side will be given kind treatment and helped to return to their families when conditions permit.

- Captured U.S. and satellite troops will be treated as captured puppet troops.

13. To protect the rights and interests of overseas Vietnamese.

- To welcome the patriotism of overseas Vietnamese and highly value all their contributions to the resistance to U.S. aggression for national salvation.

- To protect the rights and interests of overseas Vietnamese.

- To help those overseas Vietnamese who wish to return to take part in the building of the country.

14. To protect the legitimate rights and interests of foreign residents in South Vietnam.

- To welcome those foreign residents who have contributed to the Vietnamese people's resistance to U.S. aggression for national salvation.

- All foreign residents living in South Vietnam must respect the independence and sovereignty of Vietnam and obey the law of the national democratic administration.

- To protect the legitimate rights and interests of all foreign residents who do not cooperate with the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen in opposing the Vietnamese people, who do not harm the independence and sovereignty of Vietnam. To give adequate consideration to the rights and interests of those foreign residents who have directly or indirectly supported the Vietnamese people's resistance to U.S. aggression for national salvation.

- To resolutely oppose and abolish all policies of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen aimed at sowing discord between the Vietnamese people and Chinese residents in South Vietnam, and exploiting, repressing and forcing Chinese residents to adopt Vietnamese citizenship.

- To punish the die-hard agents and secret agents of the imperialists and the South Vietnam puppet administration.

- III -

RESTORE NORMAL RELATIONS BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH VIETNAM, PROCEED TOWARD PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF THE FATHERLAND.

Vietnam is one, the Vietnamese people are one. No force can divide our Fatherland. Reunification of the country is the sacred aspiration of our entire people. Vietnam must be reunified.

The policy of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation consists in the following:

1. The reunification of Vietnam will be realized step by step and through peaceful means on the principle of negotiation between the two zones without either side using pressure against the other and without foreign interference.

2. Pending the reunification of the country, the people in both zones will make joint efforts to oppose foreign invasion and defend the Fatherland, at the same time endeavour to expand economic and cultural exchanges. The people in both zones are free to exchange letters, to go from one zone to the other, and to choose their place of residence.

- IV -

II APPLY A FOREIGN POLICY OF PEACE AND NEUTRALITY

The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation applies a foreign policy of peace and neutrality, a foreign policy which guarantees the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the country and helps safeguard world peace. In more concrete terms this policy consists in the following points:

1. To establish diplomatic relations with all countries regardless of their social and political system, on the principle of mutual respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-infringement upon each other's territory, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality, mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence.

To abolish all unequal treaties which the puppet administration has signed with the United States or any other country.

To respect the economic and cultural interests of those countries which sympathize with, support or assist the struggle against U.S. aggression for national salvation of the Vietnamese people.

To accept technical and economic assistance from any country without political conditions attached.

To join no military alliance, to accept no military personnel or military base of foreign countries on South Vietnam territory.

2. To strengthen the friendly relations with all countries which sympathize with, support or assist the struggle against

U.S. aggression for national salvation of the Vietnamese people. To strengthen the relations of good neighbourhood with Cambodia and Laos. To unceasingly consolidate the solidarity and mutual assistance among the peoples of the Indochinese countries with a view to defending their respective independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity against the aggressive and war provocation policy of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen.

3. To actively support the national liberation movement of the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism and old and new colonialism.

To actively support the struggle of the American people against the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression in Vietnam.

To actively support the just struggle of black people in the United States for their fundamental national rights.

To actively support the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress in all countries in the world.

4. To actively struggle to contribute to the safeguarding of world peace, to oppose the bellicose and aggressive imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism, To demand the dissolution of the aggressive military blocs and foreign military bases of imperialism.

To unceasingly consolidate and develop relations with international democratic organizations and the peoples of all countries including the American people.

To actively contribute to the consolidation and development of the world peoples' front in support of Vietnam against the U.S. imperialist aggressors, for national independence and peace.

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The struggle against U.S. aggression for national salvation of our people is an extremely hard but glorious cause.

It concerns not only the destiny of our people at present and all our future generations, but also the interests of the peoples in the world who are struggling for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. In order to accomplish that glorious cause, our people, already united, must unite still more closely and broadly!

The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation warmly welcomes all political parties, mass organizations, patriotic and progressive personalities who broadly rally within and outside the Front in order together to defeat the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen.

The struggle against U.S. aggression, for national salvation of our people is a just cause. Our people throughout the country are of one mind to fight and defeat the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen. The sympathy, support and assistance of the peoples of the socialist countries, the Asian, African and Latin American countries and peace- and justice-loving people all over the world, including the progressive people in the United States, are becoming deeper and stronger day by day. We are winning and will surely win complete victory.

No matter how frenzied, brutal, obdurate and perfidious the U.S. imperialists may be, they will inevitably meet with bitter failure in their criminal schemes.

In the supreme interests of the Fatherland, let our entire people in South Vietnam strengthen their solidarity, millions as one, and rush forward shoulder to shoulder in the impetus of our victories to completely defeat the U.S. aggressors and their stooge administration, and together with our Northern compatriots to fulfil the great and glorious cause of liberating the South, defending the North and proceeding toward the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland.

The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation pledges itself to be always worthy of the confidence of our compatriots and our friends in the five continents.

The Vietnamese people will surely be victorious!

The U.S. aggressors and their henchmen will certainly be defeated!

The programme of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation is sure to materialise!

Fighters and compatriots throughout South Vietnam, under the glorious banner of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, march forward heroically !

(Adopted at an Extraordinary
Congress of the Front held
in mid-August 1967)

Unity - broader base
join MP
joint actions

A Radical Speaks in Defense of S.N.C.C.

Staughton Lynd

In the eyes of spokesmen for the ancien regime, the emergent revolutionary re-ordering of society appears as chaos. "The Old Left," editorialized Time magazine in April 28, "had a program for the future; the New Left's program is mostly a cry of rage....They have no program and they do not want one." Similarly the recent disturbances in Newark and Detroit seemed to most Americans chaotic happenings appropriately characterized by adjectives such as "irrational," "senseless," "indiscriminate." The rioters themselves were perceived as a faceless mask. Their program was assumed to be nonexistent.

A principal reason why American society is cracking into a house divided is the inability of those who govern it to deal with the political philosophy implicit in the actions of insurgent Americans. Their domestic blindness is also their blindness toward the world at large: they assume that only a society based on private property can be free, that orderly government requires a system of representation, that it is commonsensically obvious for speech to be free but action limited by the will of the majority. When populations in and out of the United States begin to put societies together on different assumptions, those who presume to articulate the American purpose see these alternative orderings merely as subversive to the only ordering imaginable to them.

Herein lies the importance of whether the urban disturbances are called "riots" or "rebellions." The difference between a "riot" and a "rebellion" is that a rebellion is assumed to have goals. The physical incidents of riot and rebellion are very similar. An eyewitness would perceive much the same events in either case: people running through the streets; orators haranguing spontaneous assemblages; the precinct police station stoned or the home of the distributor of stamps sacked; tea dumped into the harbor or TV sets taken from certain stores; finally shooting, mostly by uniformed representatives of constituted authority, and bodies on the sidewalks.

Yet one such occurrence will be called a "riot," defined by the dictionary as "disorderly behavior," because the eyewitness fails to see an ordering of action by intended goals. A similar happening, no different in its externals, may go into history as a "rebellion"—"open renunciation of the authority of the government to which one owes obedience"—if those who write the history empathize with the motives of the protagonists.

This is why black radicals insist on the term "rebellion" or "revolt" ("a casting off of allegiance;...a movement or expression of vigorous dissent or refusal to accept") rather than the term "riot." They perceive order in the disorders. As Tom Hayden, staff member of the Newark Community Union Project and a founder of Students for a Democratic Society, has observed, those who rioted in Newark regarded what they did as a more rational relating of means to ends than anything available from the channels of decision-making customary in quiet times.

It may help us to approach an understanding of the political philosophy of the American resistance to existing authority if we attempt to relate it to the theory of revolution found in Locke, the Declaration of Independence and Abraham Lincoln's first Inaugural Address.

The Right of Revolution?

"This country," President Lincoln said when he took over a country on the eve of dissolution, "belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it."

The harshest critic of Stokely Carmichael will have to recognize some kinship between Lincoln's affirmation and Carmichael's statement, reported last October by the United Press, that "there is a higher law than the law of govern-

ment. That's the law of conscience." Clearly President and peripatetic agitator agree that government cannot be the ultimate arbiter of right and wrong. And well they might: for that way, surely we would all concur, lies Eichmann.

Nor can anyone deny that in his statement on the occasion of his arrest, July 26, 1967, H. Rap Brown employed precisely the logic of the preamble to the Declaration of Independence:

"I am charged with inciting black people to commit an offense by way of protest against the law, a law which neither I nor any of my people have any say in preparing...."

"I consider myself neither morally nor legally bound to obey laws made by a body in which I have no representation. That the will of the people is the basis of the authority of government is a principle universally acknowledged as sacred throughout the civilized world and constitutes the basic foundation of this country. It should be equally understandable that we, as black people, should adopt the attitude that we are neither morally or legally bound to obey laws which were not made with our consent and which seek to oppress us."

This dignified statement was made the same day that Martin Luther King, Roy Wilkins, A. Philip Randolph and Whitney Young issued a joint public declaration so far abandoning the First Amendment that it urged that advocacy of riot or arson be punished as equivalent to the commission of those acts themselves.

There is one important difference between the political philosophy of the Declaration and that of Carmichael and Brown. In classical democratic theory the right of revolution belonged only to majorities. This was one of the reasons that a bourgeois gentleman like Locke could justify revolution with such confidence.

"Nor let anyone say," he wrote, "that mischief can arise...as often as it shall please a busy head or turbulent spirit to desire the alteration of the government. It is true such men may stir whenever they please, but it will be only to their own just ruin and perdition; for till the mischief be grown general, and the ill designs of the rulers become visible, or their attempts sensible to the greater part, the people who are more disposed to suffer than right themselves by resistance are not apt to stir." Locke's majoritarian theory of revolution might appear to cut the theoretical ground from under the activists of the New Left in general, and of S.N.C.C. (the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) in particular.

Yet a dispassionate observer might rebut as follows: In the first place, S.N.C.C. is not, for the moment at least, attempting to overthrow the Government of the United States. The rioters have not gone downtown. What they want is control of those neighborhoods in which they constitute a majority. They ask, not that City Hall move over and make room for them, but that City Hall and especially City Hall's policemen stay out of where they are. Rap Brown's argument that men cannot be bound by laws to which they have not given their consent would fit this situation perfectly, provided it could be shown that such consent had not, in fact, been forthcoming. In the Deep South the prima facie case that whites have imposed on blacks a "law and order" expressive only of the wants of whites is overwhelming.

In the second place, it is hardly the fault of Afro-Americans that they constitute a minority in the United States. We white folks brought them here, and one of the persistent considerations in the minds of those who did the importing was to get enough black laborers to do their work for them but not so many that the laborers might successfully revolt. What is the Afro-American supposed to do? It seems to him that his oppression is of that pervasiveness and degree which Locke said justified revolution on the part of those oppressed. Should he then not rebel because his numbers are few? That counsel hardly fits with the tradition of white revo-

lutionaries who sought liberty or death. Whether or not he would concede the kinship, that is the tradition to which Rap Brown belongs, as he stated when arrested.

The fact of the matter is that men who feel as Brown feels find themselves precisely in the position of the revolutionary guerrilla. Having rejected, not merely this or that law, but the entire structure of authority in the country where they happened to be born, they are nevertheless powerless at present to overthrow the government which they reject. Their perspective must therefore be to live for an indefinite future under the nominal authority of a government to which they no longer feel legally or morally bound.

This political philosophy of non-cooperation is, after all, not so different from that to which many white Americans have felt themselves pushed by war crimes in Vietnam. A number of American professors, including Noam Chomsky of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, have drafted "A Call to Resist Illegitimate Authority" which proceeds on the same premises as H. Rap Brown. The principles of the Nuremberg Tribunal constitute for the signers of this Call "commitments to other countries and to Mankind (which) would claim our allegiance even if Congress should declare war." (Just so S.N.C.C., following Malcolm X, now speaks of universal "human rights" rather than of the "civil rights" defined by American law.) Consciously or unconsciously borrowing a turn of phrase from the preamble to the Declaration of Independence, the Call terms resistance to collusion with the war and the encouragement of others to so resist "a legal right and a moral duty." Brown ends his statement with the words: "Each time black human-rights workers are refused protection by the government, that is anarchy. Each time



a police officer shoots and kills a black teenager, that is urban crime. We see America for what it is, and we recognize our course of action." The Call ends similarly: "Now is the time to resist."

Emergence of a Movement

It may still be said that a justification of revolution akin to Jefferson's does not quite add up to a vision of the future.

True enough, in part that vision is implicit in the actions of S.N.C.C. and S.D.S. (Students for a Democratic Society) organizers rather than fully articulated. For example, "the Movement" prefers to make its decisions by consensus, not by delegating decision-making authority to representatives. Again, in contrast to the sharp distinction in liberal democratic theory between thought and action, the Movement places a high premium on "putting your body where your mouth is," which is to say, acting on what you believe. It should be easy enough for any moderately sympathetic listener to extrapolate these clues into a sketch of future institutions.

Yet such extrapolation is hardly necessary. The "Port Huron Statement," a statement of aims by S.D.S. in 1962, remains an accurate declaration of what both S.D.S. and S.N.C.C. might do if they had power. The Port Huron Statement lists a plethora of recommended programs which if controversial, can hardly be considered irrational.

Participating democracy represented a corollary to S.N.C.C.'s 1960 statement of purpose, which affirmed the need for "a social order of justice permeated by love" and took its stand on "the moral nature of human existence." So, too, in every phase of its history, S.N.C.C. workers have sought, in the words of the Port Huron Statement, to encourage independence in men.

The evident common ground, despite all differences in experience, between the S.N.C.C. and S.D.S. statements of purpose, makes rational the hope that what will ultimately emerge is an American radical movement led by black people but with participants both white and black. Stokely Carmichael wrote as recently as 1966 that the society S.N.C.C. seeks to build "is not a capitalist society. It is a society in which the spirit of community and humanistic love prevail." We may yet see white and black together striving for that society.

What has changed since 1962 is not ends, but means. One sees this in the increasing toughness of slogans. "Love" and "participatory democracy" have given way to "black power," "we won't go," "resist," "not with my life you don't." Nevertheless, each of these phrases seeks to articulate the underlying thought that persons now excluded from our society's decision-making—which means almost all Americans, but especially the young, the poor and those of dark skin—should assume control over their destinies. Even in 1962, as the Port Huron Statement noted, the civil rights movement had "come to an impasse." That impasse and our society's failure to overcome it explain why the hopeful and innocent dreams of five years ago have metamorphosed into the hard-bitten strategies of today.

The Road to Revolution

Like any other guerrilla, the Afro-American in rebellion will seek allies where he can find them. Experience, and more particularly experience (as he perceived it) of betrayal by white and black respectable Americans, leads him to seek such allies in the Third World overseas.

This perspective did not spring full-grown from the brows of Stokely Carmichael and Fidel Castro. It is not the invention of outside agitators. Those who wish it did not exist ought to recall how they acted at the Democratic Party convention in 1964, what their response was to Julian Bond's unseating by the Legislature of Georgia, how quickly and publicly they protested (or failed to protest) the arrests of H. Rap Brown.

Some of us watched Robert Parris Moses, the principal S.N.C.C. leader in the Negro voter-registration drive in Mississippi, as experience took him step by step from an initial orientation to the use of electoral machinery and the cultivation of white allies toward embittered black nationalism. The turning point in Bob's development, so far as this outsider has been able to understand it, was when, on a visit to Africa in 1965, he saw a magazine published by the United States Information Agency. A center spread in the magazine showed pictures of Moses and Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, the Mississippi civil rights worker, over some such caption as: "Bob Moses and Mrs. Hamer leading delegates of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party to their seats at the Democratic Party convention." Bob felt not only that the magazine had lied in stating that the M.F.D.P. delegates had been seated, but that it had used him, and those who had died in Mississippi as a result of his activity, to convey to the rest of the world that democracy still existed in a country which could produce Bob Moses. This experience

continued on p. 7

VIETNAM: This Is Guernica

Carl Oglesby

Bertrand Russell organized the International War Crimes Tribunal to raise unfriendly questions about America's fight to save the southern half of Vietnam for the free world. People who are embarrassed or made furious by such questions invariably deal with the tribunal by changing the subject. Instead of talking about aggression and war crimes, they talk about the tribunal itself—its form, its members and its fairly conspicuous partisanship. To discredit the man, apparently, is to refute the argument.

It's never hard to lampoon a group to its political enemies; and the tribunal, rich in enemies, is also quite a soft target on its own. It comes from nowhere, with neither constituency, mandate nor customs, announces its intentions in an anti-American broadside or two, is ignominiously booted out of Paris by a politically sympathetic head of state, and arrives ruffled and internally disquieted in Stockholm to hear in public eight days of often polemical testimony which it in fact had collected by and for itself, and then produces on the ninth day (May 10, 4:50 A.M.) a judgment which everyone supposes could just as well have been drafted a year before. Its membership contains no really big-name jurists and only a few lawyers. It is a politically selective assortment of left-wing writers, intellectuals, politicians and ombudsmen without portfolio; and it seems so clearly less judicial than political that almost no one on the outside (which includes a lot of space) has been able to take it for anything but a stretched-out and fancified party rally.

But that's beside the point. The importance of the tribunal, the measure of its goodness or badness, lies in much different territory.

A long tradition of positive international (i.e. Western) law holds that there is such a thing as an act of aggression—a crime against peace. This is a fact. There are also such things as crimes of war, and these also, in a long series of conventions, protocols and treaties stretching back to the Hague Convention of 1907 and including the Paris Pact, the Nuremberg Charter and the Charter of the United Nations, have been most carefully described, defined and registered by the national powers of the so-called and self-styled civilized Western world. Nobody is trying to pull any wool over anybody's eyes; these laws really do exist, have been officially adopted by official acts of the heads of state, are in fact the law of our land, and all the outrage in Washington and sarcastic obscurantism in the New York Times will not change that fact.

There is also a war in Vietnam. This war has a very concrete life in a very concrete set of events. It has an internal historical density about which it is possible to gather data of a more or less verifiable type.

That is to say, there are findings of law to be made about wars in general, and findings of fact to be made about the Vietnamese War in particular. These findings having been made with as much care as a body of serious and intelligent (who isn't partisan these days?) people can muster, it then becomes possible, appropriate and essential that the facts and the laws be exposed to each other through the very simple question, "Are these actions criminal according to international law?" This question can be answered yes, no, maybe or insufficient evidence. If crimes exist, it is possible, appropriate and essential to say so.

That is what the tribunal is all about. If it finds evidence of crimes, and if it is quite powerless to do anything about them, these conditions don't seem to be the fault of the tribunal. Criminality and victimization will or will not exist in Vietnam whether the tribunal says so or not; and on the matter of the tribunal's isolation from state power, Sartre's opening-address remark that this is in fact the tribunal's leading virtue seems to me quite enough to say on the subject. The tribunal set itself the task of finding the law and the facts on five questions:

(1) Has the U.S. Government (and have the governments of Australia, New Zealand and South Korea) committed acts of aggression according to international law?

(2) Has there been bombardment of targets of a purely civilian character?

(3) Has the United States made use of or experimented with new and/or forbidden weapons?

(4) Have Vietnamese prisoners been subjected to inhuman treatment forbidden by the laws of war and in particular have they suffered torture and mutilation?

(5) Have forced labor camps been created? Has there been deportation of the population or other acts tending to the extermination of the population and which can be characterized juridically as acts of genocide?

These five questions subsume four criminal acts: aggression (or crime against peace, *jus ad bellum*); war crimes "properly called" (*jus in bellum*; questions 2, 3, and 4); crimes against humanity (distinguished from war crimes by their greater scope and intensity), and genocide. The first session of the tribunal arrived at affirmative verdicts on the first two questions. The remaining three will be taken up in a final session to be held in the fall.

That the tribunal has reached these decisions does not surprise anybody. But that should not suggest that the decisions are empty or without portent for Americans. In particular, the peace movement, struggling in its own awkward fashion to decide exactly what it ought to say about the war, will have to come to grips with the political and ethical implications of these judgments.

The Crimes of War

Consider the first, that the United States Government is guilty of the crime of aggression. The tribunal does not affirm this in any loose moralistic sense. It bases its finding upon a crucial clarification of the political entities which are involved in this war, and this clarification requires us to re-examine most coldly one of the staple arguments of the peace movement "radicals".

From the 1961 White Paper to date, our government's position has been that the trouble in southern Vietnam is ordered and directed from Hanoi, whose creature organization, the National Liberation Front, is therefore illegitimate, criminal and deserving of the violently repressive treatment it receives at the hands of the American military. To this line of reasoning, the opposition movement—at least in its more "political" sectors—has usually responded: not so. We have been saying that what has been happening in the south in the late middle fifties and onward is indigenous—a gathering of a population increasingly outraged by Saigon's dictatorial terror and cornered into a choice between annihilation and defensive violence. The NLF, so this argument runs, is mainly a southern force, and not, as the government maintains, an invader from without.

Along the banks of this issue, the opposing debaters deploy their statistics about infiltration and their analyses of rebellion. The implicit symmetrical assumptions of this debate are (1) that the American position is established if the NLF is a "creature" of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV); and (2) that it is destroyed if the NLF, instead, is independent of the North and indigenous to the South. The government says "invasion", and the opposition says "civil war". The argument seems to be clear enough.

What may not be immediately apparent about the tribunal's verdict on U.S. aggression is that it rejects both positions. The line of reasoning the tribunal puts forward—in my estimation simple and unanswerable—is as follows:

(1) Starting in the 1930s and continually gathering strength, a Vietnamese rebellion took shape against French colonialism. This rebellion was both nationalistic (aiming to break Vietnam's subservience to France) and social (programing the destruction of the exploitative landlord system).

(2) This revolution, waged across the

breadth of Vietnam, achieved conclusive military victory over the French Union forces in 1954. The crucial diplomatic event at the Geneva Conference of that year was the formal surrender of French colonialism to the Vietnamese revolution. Geneva was very much like Yorktown in this respect.

(3) To provide for orderly transfer of power to the new nationalist regime, the country was temporarily partitioned at the 17th Parallel, the Vietnamese forces withdrawing above it from the south and the French Union forces withdrawing below it from the north.

(4) An international diplomatic inter-

contrarily that it did, then the DRV was only doing what it had a very clear—very legal—right to do, namely, resist an aggressor against its national sovereignty. One and only one political force, Ho Chi Minh's, spoke for Vietnam at Geneva. And since no legal elections have taken place since to change the situation, one and only one government, Ho's again, has the right to speak for the Vietnamese, from the mountains in the north to the Camau Peninsula in the south. You and I and the U.S. Government may or may not approve. It remains the fact.

Legal realities do not, of course, uniformly coincide with political realities.



vention originating in Washington but tolerated (at least) by Moscow and Peking required the Vietnamese to submit to popular ratification in an election scheduled for July, 1956.

(5) The French withdrew ahead of schedule, forced to do so by the Americans and in any case weary of the position, and (via Bao Dai, who had no status) delivered their interim custodial obligations over to the Diemist cabal, which had no more legal authority to govern Vietnam than Montana, and which would have been incapable of even pretending to direct such authority were it not for the direct and massive political and economic intervention of the United States. For its part, the United States had no claim whatsoever on 1 square inch of Vietnamese land and had no business even being there. In dealing with Diem, it dealt merely with its purchased man.

(6) Over the period roughly from 1955 to 1958, the U.S.-Diem regime made clear its intention to frustrate the Geneva Agreements bearing on the unity of Vietnam. Under U.S. prodding and protection, the Diemist puppetdom declared itself the government of something called the Republic of Vietnam. Legally speaking, this government and its "republic" came from nowhere. Its claims were based on an election which, besides being notoriously fraudulent, it had no right to hold in any case.

(7) Thus deprived of that victory which it supposed had been legally consolidated at Geneva, Vietnamese nationalism again began to mount a violent resistance to the new foreign rule. Hence, the second Indo-China war.

There is no civil war in Vietnam. There is, rather, a war of nationalist resistance against an invader—the United States—which appeared on the scene illegally under the flag of truce and which lost no opportunity to suborn Vietnamese against their country. It therefore perpetuates a fundamental misconception of the historical and legal situation in Vietnam to argue about the presence or absence of "infiltrated invaders from the north", as if we were dealing here with two separate and sovereign Vietnams. In point of unambiguous international law, there is only one Vietnam and it is not possible for one country to invade or aggress against itself.

In this case, it is legally pointless to argue about the relationship between the DRV and the NLF. If the evidence shows that the DRV did not create the NLF, then that is merely something for the DRV to be ashamed of. If it shows

There is evidence that the DRV, for reasons which need not detain us here, may have been prepared to concede at least temporarily the occupation and de facto severance of the south, and that the post-1954 resistance arose in the south independently. That is a matter, however, for the DRV and the NLF to settle between themselves at some later date when the invader has been repulsed. No outside nation or people, and certainly not the United States, has anything at all to contribute to that forthcoming private conversation.

Negotiations Now?

Look now at the peace movement's suggestions. Almost everyone from U Thant on over thinks that our bombing of the north should be stopped so that we may enter at last into negotiations with the DRV. As unlikely as it may seem at the moment, something like this could very well occur within the next two years. And what exactly do we suppose is going to happen at this very elusive conference table? In Korea, we could negotiate for the ante-bellum status quo without losing face (our ambition to forcibly unify Korea not having been much publicized). But such a position can clearly not be held with Vietnam if the Vietnamese take the status quo at 1954 while we take it at c. 1958. What is the anti-war movement prepared to do or say when the voices start rising around this problematic conference table? Who are we? What do we want our country to be? And perhaps most painful and menacing: whose side are we on?

There are other basic complications. If the DRV is really separate from the south and the NLF, then what remains to be negotiated once our bombing has stopped? And if it is not separate, then why all the clamor about recognizing the NLF? More generally, what interest in Vietnam can the United States legitimately and morally lay claim to? And if, as I believe, there is no such national American interest, then what is there to be negotiated in these negotiations except the precise conditions of American withdrawal?

I think it can be put in a nutshell. Both the DRV and the NLF affirm the unity of Vietnam. Both say that the NLF is the only legitimate voice of the people of the south. It follows that—at least in their own view of the matter—the DRV and the NLF are also one. As the SNCC people say: "Get to that."

To accuse the United States of aggression is to assert the legal unity

of Vietnam (and vice versa, of course), and this does not merely add another curve to the vocabulary of dissent. It is a substantive charge which has substantive political consequences. Anyone who is persuaded that the charge has been proved will be logically obliged to abandon such intermediary and "moderate" positions as are implied by the slogans, "stop the bombing and negotiate" and "recognize the NLF". Sen. Robert Kennedy's idea that we should invite the NLF to take part in a coalition government in the south becomes in this case nearly as impudent as Johnson's refusal to do so, and perhaps a good deal less coherent. For the coalition which is being offered in this burst of generosity can be nothing other than a coalition with the Seventh Fleet, the White House and Vietnam's own sorry Vichy. It implicitly presupposes, moreover, the de facto partitioning of Vietnam. We should be able to forgive Vietnamese patriots for being unmoved by such generosity.

Wanton Destruction

The verdict on war crimes has consequences for us, too: less specific politically, but humanly more intense. Each of us will have to work them out for himself.

War crimes include, among other things, "wanton destruction of cities, towns, or villages, or devastation not justified by military necessity" (Article 6, b, of the Nuremberg Charter). This definition, made in 1945, looks back to the fourth convention of The Hague of 1907 and the annexed ruling, of which Article 25 states that "belligerents do not have an unlimited right concerning the choice of means of doing harm to the enemy." America's legal commitment to abide by such law is embodied in various treaties, especially important ones being the Nuremberg and the UN Charters, and in a document published in 1956 by the Department of Defense, The Law of Land Warfare (FM 27-10), which stipulates this country's acceptance of the laws and customs of war.

The law is easy enough to find. But if you happen to be an American, more or less dependent for your news on the good gray Times, the facts are not so ready. My national press had not prepared me for Stockholm. The enormity of the picture that eyewitness after eyewitness uncovered there left me first incredulous and finally revolted. Example:

Some miles above the demarcation line in the province of Nghe An, coastal district of Quynh Luu, there is a spacious rocky plain bounded on three sides by the South China Sea. The spot is both tillable and isolated, and for these reasons was selected in 1957 as the site of a major leprosy hospital. Construction was completed and the complex opened in 1960, since which time it has handled about 5,000 patients.

The Quynh Lap leprosy hospital was visited last April by the French medical doctor, M. F. Kahn, a member of the tribunal's fourth investigating commission. According to Dr. Kahn, "Quynh Lap was not so much a hospital as a small village," designed "to give the sick a social life as close as possible to a normal one, offering everyone a chance for rest and re-education and preparing them to re-enter society after their cure." Besides being entirely isolated geographically, the Quynh Lap colony is big (160 buildings) and internationally famous, at least among world medical and health organizations.

In May, 1965, it was overflowed by several U.S. reconnaissance aircraft. On June 12, a Saturday, at 8 P.M., it was attacked with demolition bombs and rockets. Damage was light. One nurse was wounded. Since the nature of the complex was assumed to be well known (hospital roofs were also marked with red crosses), the officials decided the attack had been an error and would not be repeated. They did not evacuate.

On the next day, at 1:45 P.M., a second strike was made against Quynh Lap. This one was violent. It killed 120 staff members and patients and wounded more than 100 others, nineteen of whom subsequently died of their injuries.

Officials immediately began evacuating the patients to a mountain grotto some 5 or 6 kilometers distant. The move was watched by more reconnaissance flights. Two days after the second attack, this grotto was attacked with rockets. Thirty-four were killed and thirty wounded. Survivors were forced to move still further into the mountains.

By June 22, the complex had been attacked thirteen times. Through the first quarter of this year, according to the Vietnamese, it had been hit a total of thirty-nine times. Except for a few buildings whose shells still stand, the colony has been flattened. It is unusable and desolate.

Tribunal member Lawrence Daly, a Scottish labor leader, asked Dr. Kahn what he thought the point of these attacks might have been. "I can find no reasonable explanation," said Kahn—a medical man, not a strategist. "First the buildings where the patients and the staff lived were attacked. Then the grotto was attacked, as if the purpose were to drive the lepers back into the population. Then, after many more attacks had destroyed almost all of the buildings, the attacks turned against the road, as if the purpose were to make it hard for people to come and see what had been done to Quynh Lap. I cannot explain this."

It might be just as hard to explain why not one provincial hospital in northern Vietnam and not very many of the smaller district hospitals remain unharmed. Or why Nghe An province alone has been raided (through the first quarter of '67) 6,817 times with 52,157 demolition bombs, 49,164 fragmentation bombs (see below), 40,050 rockets, 71 fire bombs, and 1,082 strafings with 20-mm. cannon, losing thereby 10,379 dwelling units, eight hospitals, one leprosy hospital, twenty-eight churches and pagodas, sixty-six schools, 743 fishing boats, and no one knows, apparently, exactly how many people.



The CBU Business

The fragmentation bomb business has already become a minor controversy in the United States. Its use was the one tribunal accusation to which the Pentagon responded immediately.

The main and newest weapon in the frag-bomb category is the cluster bomb unit (CBU), a refinement over the first-generation lazy dog and the second-generation pineapple. The CBU is a three-stage weapon. What the aircraft drops is a large canister or mother bomb which falls to a certain altitude and is then opened by a timer or barometric switch, giving birth to anywhere from 200 to 800 bomblets (called guavas by the Vietnamese), each about the size of a baseball. The guava second stage is flanged to produce a spin in the plane of descent. The centrifugal force created by this spin apparently cocks the internal spring-loaded detonating hammers by throwing them outward against their springs. Upon impact (ground, roofs, trees), or if the planes of spin and trajectory deviate in flight (which makes for an air burst), the spin stops, the

centrifugal force is removed, the hammers are snapped inward by the springs, and the guava explodes to release the third stage, about 260 steel pellets about twice the size of a BB, which are embedded in the surface of the spherical casting. Because the guavas scatter in the air, one CBU will cover an area about 300 yards wide and 1,000 long.

The pellets, which have an effective range of about 50 yards, are quite useless against the "concrete and steel" targets to which Mr. Johnson has assured us he restricts his bombing. Nor are they effective against people hidden below the forest canopy, where trees and heavy foliage afford good protection. They are effective only against people who happen to be in exposed, cleared areas, or who have no other protection than the frail straw thatch of which most Vietnamese village dwellings are made. CBUs are good for nothing but attacks against people. But for this specialized use, they seem to be very good indeed.

When the CBU story began to leak some time ago, the Pentagon's first impulse was to deny that there was any such device in the arsenal: impossible to design, too expensive to manufacture. When this lie became unstable, the new truth was confessed that there were indeed such things as CBUs, but that (1) they constituted no more than 5 to 10 per cent of the total "number" (conventional measurement is in tonnage) of bombs used in the north; and (2) they were used only against "convoys, aircraft on land, ammunition depots, radar installations and anti-aircraft batteries."

The first point is disputed by the Vietnamese, who claim that the proportion of CBUs is 40 to 50 per cent, and by the tribunal investigating commissions, whose members thought the proportion might have been still greater in the areas they visited. It is at least possible that nobody is really lying. If each canister counts

of the French General Staff and now a professor of physics in Paris, was in many ways the most effective witness the tribunal heard. His concern for method, his quick command of facts, his grasp of the politics of military strategy, and above all the simple lucidity of his intelligence reminded me of Bernard Fall, who had the same warm relish for accuracy and common sense. I copy here my notes of the exchange that followed Dellinger's reading of the Pentagon statement:

Dellinger: Let's go down this list. The Pentagon says, first, that CBUs are used against convoys.

Vigier: Because they scatter over an immense area and because the pellets have such little mass, I don't see how they would be at all useful for this. Better against either rail or road convoys would be rockets.

Dellinger: What about aircraft on land (which, by the way, the Pentagon has only recently admitted that it attacks)?

Vigier: Attacking military air bases is a conventional problem. It is taught everywhere that you must strike the fuel depots, the maintenance buildings and the airstrips. For these targets, you need high explosives.

Dellinger: Ammunition supplies.

Vigier: These are always buried or sandbagged and the pellets would be of no use.

Dellinger: Radar installations.

Vigier: Perhaps. But this would be a very exotic use.

Dellinger: And anti-aircraft batteries.

Vigier: No effectiveness at all. Anti-aircraft batteries are guarded by sandbags which the pellets cannot begin to penetrate. We saw many batteries that had been attacked by explosive bombs or rockets, but none that had been attacked by pellets.

The Strategy of U.S. Bombing

If a final word is needed for this little dialogue, let it go to the U.S. Air Force. Its ROTC manual, *Fundamentals of Aerospace Weapons Systems*, explains that "fragmentation bombs", of which the CBU is merely the latest and most cunning type, "are designed specifically to be used against personnel." I shall come back to this manual in a moment.

A most unlovely picture emerged over the eight days of testimony. Along with all those famous roads and bridges—which in any case seem primarily to serve the civilian population—a violent attack appears to be aimed, with seeming malice aforethought, against hospitals, schools, churches, pagodas, dikes and the intricate irrigation systems of the countryside. Why? What is the point of attacking a leper hospital? And of doing it thirty-nine times? What have we possibly got against public education for Vietnamese children that we should seek out and destroy their schools? Was the leprosy hospital really a supply dump? Was the cathedral really a barracks?

Dr. Kahn's bewildered answer, "I can find no reasonable explanation," will probably convince many that such things just do not happen. We seem to confront a motiveless malice, something we will not lightly impute to our fathers, sons and brothers. Since this is not comprehensible, it must not take place. Sad to say, however, a motive exists.

The Air Force ROTC manual, *Fundamentals of Aerospace Weapons Systems*, is a completely open and aboveboard text, available to anyone. Read it abstractedly and go to sleep at the third page. Read it, however, with Vietnam's people on your mind, and weep for your country—the land of Strangelove, Herman Kahn and huge computers in the War Room.

Each night, says our President, he agonizes over the maps, picking the targets personally for the next day's raids: this little concrete thing here, or that little steel thing there? We might have taken him more seriously.

For most of us, northern Vietnam has remained a more or less vague and undifferentiated geopolitical entity. If we do recognize special places within it, continued on p. 6

VIETNAM

"Selected for destruction"

continued from p.5

we are likely to go no further than to note that Hanoi is politically a crucial target or that there are dikes on the Red River which no sane man would bomb, or that Haiphong is a doubly dangerous target because of the Russian and British ships that are often at dock there.

The impression I bring from the hearings is that, at least for those who are attacking it, northern Vietnam is a highly complex social organism whose elements are acutely differentiated, and that the American attack—premeditated, precise and politically structured—is based on detailed economic, cultural, political and sociological "maps" of the territory. Our Air Force does not simply bomb the north. Using conventional explosives, pellets, napalm, white phosphor, thermite, magnesium or rockets, depending on the mission, it bombs this or that sector of the city of Vinh because, this Thanh Hoa cathedral instead of that pagoda because, this central irrigation system instead of that northern canal because...because why?

The ROTC manual begins to give us a sense of the answer.

"The first order of the day," it affirms, "must be to know the enemy." Target analysis and selection proceed, therefore, in terms of what the manual calls the "components of national structure." There are four of these, each entwined with the others.

Military structure. "U.S. Air Force leaders have made it amply clear that this nation's No. 1 target priority is the enemy's military force and war-making potential." On the surface, and except for the troubling ambiguity of the last phrase, this may sound as humane as the military spirit can be: if we must attack an enemy, leave his civilians alone. But we have not heard the explanation yet. "The logic behind the high priority assigned these targets rests on the fact that unless the military forces are destroyed they can retaliate. Other targets can wait their turn."

And what if we are dealing with a military force which cannot seriously retaliate? Clearly, we move on.

Economic structure. This category is described in rather commonplace terms—raw materials, basic processing, end-product industries, and services and utilities—until two long and especially forceful paragraphs make us remember in a new light what little we know of the bombing of northern Vietnam. They deal with transportation systems, and their argument is that the importance of transportation has dawned on our analysts only since World War II. It seems that German industry collapsed in 1945, not really because of Allied attacks on petroleum but because the attacks on the transportation network were finally paying off. In Japan, the importance of transportation had been sadly overlooked by our intelligence. "Later," says the manual, "we found that strangulation of that system would have destroyed Japan's economic structure. Lack of transportation would have reduced Japan to a series of isolated communities."

Differences between mature and immature economies notwithstanding, we apparently do not intend to miss our second chance. In the repeated bombing of a little wooden bridge connecting some tiny isolated hamlet with its marketplace, we may behold history's lessons being put to use.

Political structure. The manual deals here with the national "ruling body" which "makes decisions for the people" and "galvanizes a nation into action and causes it to function as a cohesive unit." We have come into interesting territory: "A government is most vulnerable in its relations with the people, for it must control their actions and it must have their support." If the locus or the medium of these relations can be broken—as, for example, in the destruction of the communications system—then the "nation" would soon cease to function as a cohesive unit....The resulting confusion would overlap into all other components of the national structure."

Psychosocial structure. The manual speaks for itself on this point only too clearly:

"For purposes of target study, the psychosocial structure of a nation or

people is often reduced to terms of morale, because morale is something that can be sensed, observed and influenced....Production requires efficient organization and direction, cooperation among all the people, their willingness to consume less and produce more, to devote their energies to the production of war materials, at the expense of consumer goods, and at the same time to face personal hardships, tragedies, and the dangers of war....

"Some of the conventional targets for morale attacks have been water supplies, food supplies, housing areas, transportation centers, and industrial sites. The objectives of these attacks in the past have been to dispel the people's belief in the invincibility of their forces, to create unrest, to reduce the output of the labor force, to cause strikes, sabotage, riots, fear, panic, hunger, and passive resistance to the government, and to create a general feeling that the war should be terminated. Although the question of how far the will to resist of a given group of people could be weakened or destroyed by aerial bombardment with conventional weapons was debatable, it was an irrefutable fact that a labor force preoccupied with civilian defense duties and the finding of food, shelter and transportation could not operate at peak efficiency in the production of the materials of war....

"If we were to search for the single type of target whose destruction would have the greatest adverse effect on the morale of a population today, we would have to conclude that the destruction of an enemy's major cities with high-yield nuclear weapons would produce the most telling results, not only on morale, but on every other component of the nation's structure."

All this from a soldier's primer.

Try out a new definition of "military target". The same manual provides it. "A military target is any person, thing, idea, entity, or location selected for destruction, inactivation, or rendering nonusable (sic) with weapons which will reduce or destroy the will or ability of the enemy to resist."

A military target, that is, is whatever the military decides to attack.

And in a war against a whole people, the military must sooner or later decide to attack the whole people.

These pretty Vietnamese teachers and

peasant girls, for example: in every picture of them we see, in rice paddy or schoolroom, don't they also have rifles on their backs? Don't they also shoot with these rifles at our aircraft? Aren't they all our military enemies? These children: unless we act now, will they not grow up some time in the duration of this interminable war and be infiltrated into the south of their country? Is there any Vietnamese, in fact, who can prove to us that his life deserves, in the name of Western civilization, to be spared?

It comes to this: Whatever doubts Americans may anxiously cling to about the tribunal's data on the Air Force's purposive destruction of Vietnamese hospitals, churches, schools and people, it is nevertheless a fact that the accusation has to be granted an immediate claim of plausibility. Given the official strategic-bombing concepts this country uses, we are simply obliged to say, in advance of a single snapshot of a single ruin, that such attacks are possible, plausible, and indeed that they are probable. We have no grounds for insisting that they could not happen, or that if they seem to happen, they must be accidental. On the contrary. We may henceforth be moved to raise our eyebrows when the hospitals are not bombed.

Psychosocial Realities

To explain our government's systematic obliteration of Vietnamese society, we need neither postulate a ruling band of Iagos nor assume that a certain leprosy by the sea was really a submarine base. We need only to see the "psychosocial" reality of this war for what it is, and to understand that the structures of the externally "limited" war allow for no internal limits at all. By a process which in itself is cool, meticulous and no angrier than a computer can make it, a decision to breach the psychosocial forms in which the Vietnamese have their psychosocial being is most even-temperedly, most implacably reached.

The result, looked at from an old-fashioned angle—that of the Russell tribunal—is war crimes "properly called". This does not mean, however, that an old-fashioned history—that of Nazi Germany—is being re-enacted in the home of the brave. It means rather that when the previously parallel histories of the master and the slave crash inward upon each other, the old chivalry loses its

power to shape and explain experience. In the face of a Rommel, after all, an Eisenhower might recognize himself. In the iron of the Panzer Corps, a Patton could see a proper and familiar world order. But what security for General Westmoreland is there in the face of Nguyen Huu Tho, the faceless? What do we expect General Walt to make of punji spikes and part-time teen-age terrorists? And what can a class society which defines happiness as privilege and equates it with profit make of a declassed society in which work is defined by the whole community's needs?

Across the historical gulf which has segregated master and slave, empires and colonies, there is no lawful way for Western coercive power to reach—not once that power has been called morally into question by the appearance of the rebel. For America even to dream of victory in Vietnam, it must destroy the revolutionary society. The enemy is the revolution, the breaking of the empire, and it is in the liberated people that the revolution has its being. To say that America commits war crimes in Vietnam is merely to elaborate legalistically the simpler fact that America is fighting in Vietnam. From the decision to fight that fight, the necessity of war crimes follows irresistibly. When the tribunal makes the accusation and implies thereby that the crimes ought to stop, what it really says is that the war ought to stop. If the revolution disappeared, there would be no more war crimes. If the counter-revolution disappeared, the same would be true. But when one world is occupied by both, it will be filled up with the violence of resistance, which the counter-revolution calls terror, and the violence of oppression, which the revolution calls crime.

After all, it is not Auschwitz which is being judged again by the Russell tribunal; it is Guernica, which is an entirely different matter. And even as we hurl the legalistic accusations of aggressor and criminal, which on the simplest level of fact seem so depressingly well founded, we ought to remember the source and the purpose of the laws we are invoking, and reflect that laws written by a culture for the purpose of guaranteeing its survival will never be used by that culture to guarantee its defeat.

Only the people who can surpass that culture can impose those laws.

Let's Pretend... THE LEARNING PROCESS

continued from p.1

student government.

What Have We Learned?

My objection to student government is not that it is "unreal" or "irrelevant". Quite the opposite. Student government is quite effective and relevant in achieving its purpose. Beginning in grade school, we all went through the "let's pretend" process of electing home room officers. In high school, student council was the name of the game. And so on into college.

Throughout it all, none of us ever doubted the fact that the forms of our self-government had any power. We all knew the teacher, or the principal, or the administration, or the regents had the final and effective say-so in most of our affairs.

But think about it for a minute. Did not the process effectively achieve its purpose? We learned to acquiesce in the face of arbitrary authority. We learned to surrender our own freedom in the name of something called "expertise".


We learned that elections should be personality-oriented popularity contests; that issues with which we ought to be concerned should only be the most banal.

Most of all, we learned about "responsibility" and "working inside the system". Was all of this not an adequate preparation for "life in the real world"? Are national, state, and local elections any different? The farce of it all is only evidenced by comparing the reality of our political lives with the ideals we were given to revere. Even so, we were also taught to smirk at "idealism".

We learned our lessons well, so well in fact, that some of us have embraced a cynicism so deep that the quality of our lives has been permanently impaired. Perhaps a majority of us have been castrated by the existing order: a generation's young manhood and womanhood manifesting nothing beyond the utter destruction of seriousness. Give a flower to a cop. Join the marines and be a man. James Bond is the fraternity man of the year.

Student government reeks of the worst aspect of this syndrome. Because of that, it may be a good place for initiating on the campus the movement for human liberation already in progress off the campus. We have no blueprints. Only some guidelines. Administrators are the enemy. Refuse to be "responsible". Have more faith in people than in programs. Refuse to accept the "off-campus-on-campus" dichotomy. Finally, demand seriousness by dealing with serious issues—getting the U.S. out of Vietnam, getting the military off the campus, enabling people to win control over the quality and direction of their lives. In short, make a revolution.

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