

CARTON 1:60

THE GUARDIAN

VIET NAM, WRITINGS

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South Vietnamese guerillas and civilians
rendering a railway inserviceable for the
U.S. Army of invasion

GUERRILLAS PLAY VITAL ROLE IN VIETNAM WAR

by

China Features* Correspondent in Hanoi

Well over one-fourth of the U.S. Army, claimed to be the mightiest war-machine on earth, is being bogged down and decimated on the south Vietnam battlefield by a less well-armed but highly politically conscious people's army, which possesses neither tanks, nor aircraft or big artillery pieces. This people's army -- the South Vietnam Liberation Armed Forces -- consists of three services: regular army units, regional forces and guerilla detachments.

The role played by the guerillas in this war is described in a recent article by Cuu Long in the Vietnamese paper, "People's Army".

A total of 108,000 American troops and 160,000 men of the Saigon puppet army and the Australian and other satellite units were put out of action in south Vietnam in 1966, reported the South Vietnam Liberation Press Agency. One third to two-fifths of these casualties were accounted for by the guerilla units, says the article. "The guerillas wiped out not only puppet troops but also a fairly large number of American troops ... equipped with the most up-to-date weapons," it adds.

"The guerillas can give battle not only to the enemy's infantry but to his armoured units and air force as well. This has all the greater significance as the Americans often boast of their air and armour superiority. ... In the 18 months ending mid-1966, our guerilla fighters shot down or damaged 1,900 planes and destroyed or damaged 1,600 enemy military vehicles of various types. This brings to the fore the truth that the outcome of any war rests with man and not with weapons, and that a people's war is

invincible."

The article continues, "Guerilla warfare is effective not only in checking the enemy's advance ... and in protecting the civilian population as they carry on with production, but also in steadily promoting our own offensive operations." The guerillas not only mount surprise attacks on enemy posts and his supply dumps and rear bases and tighten their strangleholds around U.S. positions, but also operate inside enemy-held towns and cities. This puts the enemy on the defensive everywhere and leaves him no sanctuary, thereby forcing him to commit large numbers of troops to protect his communication lines and rear bases. "Thus, our regular and regional units find more opportunities to wipe him out, become more mobile and flexible in their operations, and have greater initiative."

The guerillas are transforming the enemy's rear into their front-lines and are coordinating their activities with large-scale offensive operations of the regular army. "Thus no matter how many troops the enemy may bring in, he will only get bogged down deeper. He can never recapture the initiative on the battlefield nor win any significant victory."

"Fighting villages" - consisting of extensive networks of trenches, bunkers, underground tunnels, and fortified with mines, booby traps and pit-traps -- form the nuclei of guerilla warfare in the countryside. These villages are linked by trenches and tunnels into one vast defensive system.

The see-saw pattern of warfare is very marked, says the article. "The enemy strives to cut our lines and to link up his own communication lines. We strive to cut up the enemy's communication lines and link up our liberated

areas. In this we have the advantage over him, because our people and guerillas are everywhere, while the enemy is forced to spread out his forces to undertake military operations to keep his communication lines open. The thinner he spreads out his strength, the greater his transportation needs become and the more he is exposed to guerilla attacks."

The article says that, tactically, the guerillas are employing small and scattered units to fight the enemy in a flexible way. This enables them to exploit the surprise factor to the full. Strategically, the guerilla operations are creating an all-round offensive position for the people's armed forces and driving the enemy into a passive position.

It concludes, "The guerilla warfare in south Vietnam once again proves that although U.S. imperialism has money and weapons and is employing all kinds of tricks ... it can no longer exercise control over the oppressed people of the world. On the contrary, it has been, and is being, defeated by the revolutionary people. Developments in south Vietnam show that the might of the revolutionary masses is invincible."

" END "

Wash Post

3/10/66

Gas and Humanity

Certain military men and others have been describing chemical and biological warfare as "humane" since 1959 or so. Since last March we have been using lacrimating, nauseating, hallucinating and other chemical agents in Vietnam and describing them as "humane," and also as "non-lethal."

Every now and then this word turns into "nontoxic" or "nonpoisonous" even though the effects, in addition to those I've mentioned, are admitted to include colic, diarrhea that may persist for weeks, temporary loss of muscular coordination, and others.

In the *Wall Street Journal* for Jan. 5 William Beecher detailed these "nonpoisonous" effects and reported the military opinion that the use of such agents is "an act of humanity." He also noted "If we sickened a 500-man battalion of Vietcong or North Vietnamese and took them prisoner, we would need a fantastically large medical program to care for them."

An AP dispatch datelined Saigon, Feb. 21, indicates how this problem has now been solved. "United States cavalry troopers and B-52 bombers teamed up today," it says, "in

tear gas and bombing attacks The nontoxic (sic) gas, air, and naval attacks" were launched "by spraying the area with tear gas from helicopters. Then the big bombers flying from Guam saturation-bombed the target area . . . (the) mission was to assess damage done by the B 52's and wipe out any Vietcong survivors."

If by chance these tactics remind anybody of Lidice, let us not forget that we are using "nonpoisonous" agents and being "humane."

THEODOR ROSEBURY.
St. Louis.

(The author is professor of bacteriology at Washington University, and was chief of the airborne injection project at Camp (now Fort) Detrick, Md., from 1943 to 1945.

INTRO.

last month

Just returned from ^{*week long*} 2½ weeks trip to North Vietnam. Before that attended conference in Bratislava czechoslovakia between 41 Americans from various movements and North Vietnamese and representatives of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. Meeting was for exchange of information. NLF people also released English translations of their new program, which is very important.

*Notes for talk about
visit by RLA to
North Vietnam Oct 1967*

BOMBING PURPOSE

Now I've talked about the bombing and the fact that civilian targets are being hit. In fact, this is no longer even controversial because so many people have seen the damage. The big question is: What is the purpose of this bombing. Why is it being done? Are civilian targets hit only by accident, or is there a policy of indiscriminate terror bombing of North Vietnam? ~~The official rationale of the bombing is that it is being done to stop the flow of men and supplies to the South.~~ ~~xxxxxxxquestionxxxxxxexplainedxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxxquestionxxxxxxexplainedxxxxxxx~~ We asked the Vietnamese if it were not possible that the civilian bombings were accidental. They replied by pointing out that the American military itself claims that the margin of error in bombing raids is very small, and that few accidents occur. The North Vietnamese agreed with this assessment.

Is it, then, indiscriminate terror bombing? No, I think something more sophisticated than that is going on. Let me first remind you of the kinds of targets which have been hit. They include military installations of various types, but also factories, transportation facilities, government administrative centers, residential parts of cities, schools, churches, pagodas, hospitals and other health facilities. Remember this list.

We are indebted to Carl Oglesby for bringing to light a very interesting document which begins to answer our questions about the purposefulness of the civilian bombing. I refer to a U.S. Air Force ROTC training manual entitled "Fundamentals of Aerospace Weapons Systems" This manual provides a very forthright discussion of the strategy involved in bombing an enemy country. ~~It draws lessons from our experience during WWII.~~ The manual asserts that target selection is a highly rational process which proceeds from an analysis of what it terms the "components of national structure" of the enemy country. These components are four in number and interrelated.

The first component, logically enough, is military structure which is the number one target. This component includes the enemy's military force and his war-making potential. According to the manual: "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."

Now, assuming that the military forces of the enemy have been dealt or that these forces are not a serious threat in the first place, with, what are some of the other targets which have been ~~existing~~ awaiting their turn to be bombed?

The second ~~component~~^{series of targets} is the economic structure, which includes raw materials, basic processing and manufacturing industries, and finally the enemy's transportation system.

Next, the manual lists political structure. The manual states: "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 ~~for~~ of these relations can be broken -- that is, the administrative and communications system -- then, according to the ~~manual~~ manual, the "nation would soon cease to function as a cohesive unit" and "the resulting confusion would overlap into all other components of the national structure." Apparently a highly desirable consequence.

The final component, is called, interestingly enough, the psycho-social structure. This has to do with the morale of the enemy and, according to the manual "some of the conventional targets for morale attacks have been water supplies, food supplies, housing areas, transportation centers, and industrial sites."

Now in short, this kind of cold reasoning lays the basic for bombing raids against all kinds of civilian targets. In fact, this ~~manual~~ manual specifically refers to all the items on our list, and then some, except for schools, religious and health institutions. But suppose you were the ~~military~~air force and your purpose was to ~~cause~~ "cause strikes, sabotage, riots, fear, panic hunger and passive resistance to the government" by the population of an enemy country. Where would you stop? Where would you draw the line? And according to the ROTC manual this ~~is~~^{is} the exact purpose for attacking the psycho-social structure of an enemy country. That is, the purpose of the bombing is to create the maximum amount of destruction and dislocation possible, without regard to whether the targets are military or civilian.

And in case you still don't believe this the air force manual then goes to define a "military target" in such a way as to end all doubts. It states: "A military target is any person, thing, idea, entity, or location selected for destruction, inactivation, or rendering nonusable with weapons which will reduce or destroy the will or ability of the enemy to resist." In a word, friends, the U.S. Air Force openly proclaims that a military target is anything which the military chooses to attack. So all this talk about civilian destruction has been misguided. These were really military targets. It's just that we poor civilians didn't recognize them as such.

Nuclear Bombs - over

To conclude this part of our discussion let me refer to one other tidbit in this ^(training) manual ~~which is used for training air force personnel.~~ It says: "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." So there it is in plain English.

Of course you all knew what was coming. It's the logical conclusion of the type of thinking which this manual evidences. The use of nuclear weapons is also the logical conclusion in a war of escalation such as that being fought in Vietnam.

PEOPLE AND ART

Who are these targets? Who are these people whom the U.S. is trying to wipe out, and what are they like? I had the opportunity to get to know them first-hand. You have been able to see them in films and photographs (such as those on the wall).

Let me say that their physical handsomeness is complimented by their life-style which is based upon thousands of years of tradition and culture.

A) Politeness -- tea & bananas

B) They have put their age-old heritage to good use in the resistance struggle. They have mobilized art and music as tools in the fight.

PRINTS -- (example) thousands ~~produced~~ of original revolutionary art prints produced during french resistance and now, sometimes at great personal cost. (ie. to get prints from South)

C) Very musical people. Everyone seems to be able to sing, and they will launch into a song almost at the drop of a hat. Very embarrassing for Americans who can't sing. Have songs for all occasions and on all subjects, from exploits of peasant girl in shooting at US planes to very moving songs about hero Nguyen Van Troi.

TAPES TAPES TAPES

D) Metalcraft from US planes and rings

NLF GAINS DURING TET OFFENSIVE LAST MONTH

1. Forced withdrawal of U.S. and Saigon forces from countryside to defend cities. For example, while U.S. troops were fighting to regain citadel ~~in~~ in Hue, NLF liberated whole province in which Hue was located. In all, Burchett says that about 1,200,000 people were liberated during Tet Offensive.
2. Nearly completely halted U.S.-Saigon military and pacification efforts.
3. Gave NLF important military base areas near major cities.
4. Carried battle into cities themselves, once thought to be relatively secure from guerrilla action. An important result of this was the establishment of the League of National and Peace-Loving Forces in Saigon and Hue and possibly other cities. This is a united front group which has offered to mediate between the NLF and the United States on the basis of withdrawal of U.S. forces, total independence and a coalition government with the NLF. The League has won NLF endorsement.
5. Strategically, the Tet offensive further accelerated the break-up of the Saigon military and isolation of the American forces. Burchett reported that thousands of Saigon troops have gone over to the NLF side, and that the Americans have nearly been completely immobilized in defensive positions.

NLF PROGRAM

The new NLF program, the first such program issued by the Front since 1960, is of great importance and I want to spend a few minutes discussing it. This program was adopted by an extraordinary conference of the front in August of this year, after many months of discussion and preparation. Some people have suggested that the new program was the front's response to the Sept. election in Saigon, but this is not quite the case since the program was months in the making.

The significance of the program is at least two-fold: First, this program is indicative of the fact that the NLF is now consolidating its position as the government of South Vietnam. For a number of reasons the front has not ~~formally declared itself~~ as a government, and it doesn't plan to do so for some time, but the NLF delegates at Bratislava made clear to us that this document could be viewed as the constitution of a government without portfolio; as the basic working document of an underground govt. And in their analysis of the military and political situation in S.V. the NLF people ~~xxx~~ showed that -- without using this term -- that the NLF is already the effective government of 4/5 of S.V. Within the liberated zones the front operates its own health, educational, postal and administrative facilities, not to mention armed forces, and on the international scene the front supports a diplomatic corps which is growing both in size and influence.

Secondly, the release of this new program reflects the growing confidence of the front in its ability to defeat the U.S. both militarily and politically. In their analysis of the military situation the NLF delegates showed how the U.S. strategy of escalation cannot be successful in SV and how indeed the US has suffered a series of defeats. In this country the press ~~xxxxxx~~ while refusing to admit that the US has been defeated, alludes to this fact by saying that the war is "stalemated." -- that we're "not making any progress."

~~Itx~~ In its preamble the new program opens by saying that many people have rallied to the NLF banner and the U.S. has suffered heavy defeats. It then goes on to explain why the new program has been issued: "At this juncture, in a spirit of developing the former program, the SVNLF has worked out this political program with a view to further broadening the bloc of great national union, encouraging and stimulating the entire people to rush forward, resolved to fight and defeat the US aggressors and to build an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous SV."

This passage reveals the front's basic strategy of enlarging the bloc of South Vietnamese who oppose US intervention and who are willing to fight against it. How is this to be done? If we read on we come to the following: "The SVNLF 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 US imperialists and their lackeys (meaning the Saigon govt.), wrest back our sacred national rights and build up the country."

Two means are suggested for achieving this kind of almost incredibly broad unity. First, you can join the front. According to the program: "The SVNLF is prepared to invite and welcome all patriotic forces and individuals who oppose the US aggressors to join its ranks, and to shoulder together the common duties." But suppose you have qualms abt throwing in with the NLF. The program "proposes that any force which for one reason or another, does not adhere to the NLF ranks, take joint actions against the common enemy" which is the US and the Saigon regime. In short, the NLF is opening up its ranks in order to ~~ENHANCE~~ consolidate its political control of SV.

Just how broad this unity is can be found further on in the program where there is a special appeal to patriotic ~~tax~~ capitalists and landlords, who are assured that ^{their} ~~tax~~ property or land will be protected if they join the anti-American struggle now. Members of the Saigon government and army are also encouraged to join the front, either overtly or covertly. The only requirement is that these people must be able to show that they are fully committed to fighting against the US.

The fact that the front expects these appeals to be taken seriously -- appeals to such diverse and nonrevolutionary groups -- is an indication of ~~what they~~ how they assess the present stage of their struggle. An appeal such as this would go unheeded by national bourgeoisie and the members of the Saigon regime unless they knew that the NLF was winning, and therefore ^{had reason} ~~might decide~~ to throw their lot in with the front. And from the front's point of view, in consolidating its positions it is necessary to build a broad unity which is ~~now~~ now feasible and thus politically isolate the Americans.

There are two other particularly interesting parts of the 1967 program. Unlike the 1960 document it speaks of the "internationalist duty" of the NLF and says that the South Vietnamese "resistance war

VIEW OF LEFT

Both at Bratislava and in North Vietnam, the Vietnamese expressed a great deal of interest in what is happening in the U.S. left, particularly the anti-war and student movements and the black liberation struggle. They seemed to have a fairly good understanding of the situation in this country, and ~~thys~~ they were interested in how they could relate to our movements. And, as you may know, a committee of solidarity with the American anti-war movement was just recently set up.

The Viets had many questions about why the U.S. labor movement has not taken a leading role in the anti-war struggle. They found this difficult to understand, and consequently we had many long discussions with them about the nature of the American corporate economy and its cooptative powers.

Another matter of great concern to them is the black freedom movement, ~~which they wholeheartedly support~~. They wholeheartedly support the struggle of black people in this country, but they had many questions about the present stage of the movement. As the only black person in the American delegation in North Vietnam I frequently found myself in discussions with them concerning this matter, and the question ~~frequently~~ often popped up: "What ever happened to black-white unity? White Americans and black Americans, including leftists, seem to be at each other's throats now. What does this mean?" So we would sit down and have long talks about strategies for building radical movements. Their primary strategy has been the United Front, in which various divergent elements of the population are represented and united for common struggle. I had to explain to them the pervasiveness of racism in American society which has made united fronts, at least from the black point of view, ~~at~~ a less than satisfactory strategy, especially since this strategy has worked to our detriment on a number of occasions. I explained to them the two-movements strategy being adopted in this country, in which radical whites and radical blacks are building two independent mvmts which cooperate on certain common issues and at some appropriate time will hook up to create a unified radical mvmt. They found this strategy a bit unusual but they definitely agreed that every genuine revolution has to be based on the peculiar conditions of the country in which it takes place.

SOCIALIST COUNTRIES & PEACE

In conclusion, let me say something about North Vietnam's relation with the socialist world, and the prospects for peace. The N.V. have received a tremendous amount of ~~aid~~ aid from the Russians in the form of trucks and heavy equipment, which was much in evidence, and missiles and missile launchers. The only thing we saw of Chinese origin were some ~~anti~~ anti-aircraft machine guns.

The North Vietnamese maintain not merely correct, but very good relations with both the Russians and the Chinese. In fact there relations with these ^{feuding nations} two are so good that somehow they have even ~~managed~~ ~~managed~~ managed to get the Chinese and Russians to live together peacefully in the same hotel in Hanoi -- a truly remarkable achievement. Publicly the Vietnamese have nothing critical to say about their socialist friends who, after all, can partly determine whether the Vietnamese survive. But privately there is some unhappiness with both of the socialist giants. For example, as you know the U.S. Seventh Fleet sits only 30 or 40 miles out of Haiphong harbor, and daily launches bombing raids against the North. We asked the North Vietnamese why their Russian friends hadn't provided them with surface-to-surface missiles, such as they gave the Egyptians, which would be capable of hitting the Seventh Fleet. The Vietnamese replied in effect that they didn't expect ~~that~~ that their friends would really come to their aid until they had shown the whole world that they could defeat the Americans even without help from friends. This may sound cynical but it is actually very realistic, and partly accounts for the fact that the Vietnamese constantly stress self-reliance. They have learned from experience that strings are attached to aid or limits are imposed on aid, but they're determined not to let this disrupt their defense effort. On the other hand there were also one or two small jokes about friends who talk loud but don't come through with the goods.

Now it's difficult to assess what such remarks might mean, if anything. But I think the important thing for us here to understand is the real determination of the Vietnamese to see this resistance war thru to the finish whether or not they receive aid from anybody. The US may actually attempt to bomb them back into the Stone Age, but then they would just pick up some stones and continue to fight. You have to understand that in some ways they see this war as simply a continuation of the war of resistance against the French colonialists. They were fighting for their freedom and independence then, and they're fighting

(as I've indicated, they're organizing whole society for a protracted war)

for the same things now. The only way the US can force them to stop fighting is to kill them all. This is one of the strongest impressions I got during my visit, but I believe equally strongly that the American govt. is quite capable of setting off on such a genocidal path.

Short of genocide, what are the prospects for a lasting peace? The N. Vietnamese have reiterated time and time again what they think are the proper conditions. I am referring to the Jan. 28 statement of the Foreign Minister, in which he said that talks could be started once the U.S. stopped unconditionally the bombing, and the four points of the DRV govt. which call for a return to the Geneva agreements, withdrawal of ~~the~~ all foreign troops, settlement of the internal affairs of South Vietnam in accordance with the NLF program, and peace reunification of North and South Vietnam. Of course the main hitch here is the withdrawal of US troops.

Americans have got to understand ^{however} one basic~~ly~~ fact, which I ^{came} can to see very clearly during my visit, and that is that US troops can be kept in Vietnam only at the cost of ^{more} American lives. ^{propaganda} As long as there is so much as one GI in Vietnam, there will be a war in Vietnam. This is how committed the Vietnamese, North and South, are to winning national independence. And I think that it is becoming increasingly clear as this bloody war continues, that the only sane and honorable solution is to withdraw the troops and leave Vietnam to the Vietnamese.

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DEFENSE

How have the Vietnamese met the massive bombing campaign launched by the U.S.? They have adopted a to-part posture of ~~passive~~ active and passive defense. The active defense consists, of course of the tremendous anti-aircraft barrages the North Vietnamese are able to throw up, much more intense than anything seen during WWII. American pilots are understandably afraid of this intense AA fire. The N.V. also have Russian Surface-to-Air missiles, Chinese-made anti-aircraft machine guns and other assorted weaponry, including a small but active air force which the U.S. has been making great efforts to wipe out in recent weeks.

Passive defense: ~~Risky~~ Policy of dispersion and decentralization

- a) Schools and school children
- b) Hospitals and medical facilities
- c) Factories (TAPE)
- d) government administrative facilities.

In general, the N.V. have mobilized the whole population to take part in what they ~~they~~ term a people's war of resistance. Every one has a sense of making some active and concrete contribution to the overall defense effort, and this is an important factor in keeping morale so high. In addition, they are merging the cities and industrial areas into the countryside, creating many small targets which are well defended and costly for the Americans to attack.

DESCRIPTION OF HANOI

Peaceful appearance (before most recent bombings)

Lit up at nite -- could see Long Bien Bridge from ICC plane

Streets filled with people and small children -- business seemed normal -- Walked around city one nite (TAPE)

Describe Lake of Restored Sword -- Folksinging in park (TAPE)

Morale appears high.

However, illusion of peace dissipated by frequent air raid alerts in Hanoi (TAPE)

Describe shelters

Evacuation of Hanoi -- already more than one-half evacuated, school children first. ~~Plans called for evacuation of entire population~~

When we were there almost everyone had an address in the countryside that they were suppose to go to, and plans called for the evacuation of the entire population except for certain workers and active defense fighters. There were expecting an imminent attack on Hanoi and this is what they were preparing for. As you know, their expectation proved correct.

STRATEGY as seen in 1966-67 dry season

Basic US strategy was two pronged- "search and destroy"

^{combined with} operations "pacification" aimed at destroying the LAF, occupying territory, and controlling SV population.

Specifics: 1) US military and ARVN attempted to force LAF regular troops back into scattered guerilla actions. In other words force an end to large-scale combat actions, then enter the phase of pacification designed to liquidate guerrilla warfare and consolidate a rear base for the American forces. The commitment of sizeable forces to "search and destroy" operations against LAF regulars was hoped to accomplish ~~this goal~~ the first step toward this goal.

2) Second, the Americans tried to force the LAF regular forces to fight positional warfare under disadvantageous conditions where the US forces could bring into play their best combat methods and the superiority of their firepower.

3) Third, the US command wanted to really pacify a number of large zones so as to stabilize and expand their rear areas while disturbing and narrowing the ~~xxxxxxx~~ liberated zones. This pacification would hopefully separate the SV people from the armed forces of the NLF and make it easier to destroy the guerrillas and their bases and end the guerrilla struggle.

4) The US intended to re-open various strategic communication and transportation lines in order to reverse the increasing isolation of US bases and ~~in~~ increase the mobility of the troops.

5) Through increasing the bombing of North Vietnam the US hoped to cut off support ~~which~~ -- moral and material-- which the NLF was receiving from the North.

NLF STRATEGY 3 "fronts" -- military, political and agitation among enemy troops

Based on fact the US was in a fundamentally defensive posture from the outset. NLF strategy was to ~~spread thin~~ scatter and spread thin the US forces, trapping the US command on the horns of a dilemma between concentration and dispersal, mobility and occupation.

LAF units organized at 3 levels -- local militia or guerrillas, regional and regular troops. independent and coordinate actions encouraged.

heavy use of ARVN in this work

2) Prevent US command from using its best combat methods, which consist in fielding large units along a definite line facing the adversary and backed by a safe rear, allowing maximum use of firepower, mobility and logistical support. LAF countered this by using classic guerrilla tactics of rapid concentration and dispersal, fighting without a clear-cut ~~xxxx~~ front line, engaging in large-scale and small-scale operations, striking in unexpected places and times. The LAF has attempted to promote the sea-saw pattern of the war to the highest in order to encircle and split the US forces. Also disrupt communication lines and isolate US bases from each other. LAF is also making active efforts to demoralize and immobilize the ARVN troops and encourage ~~xxxxxx~~ their relagation to a second-class role in the war.

3) Once enemy units ~~xxxxxx~~ have been concentrated and surrounded, then begin to whittle away at them gradually and destroy them. Semm to be in that stage now.

On Political front -- in addition to items in new program-- NLF has carried out massive land re-distribution to peasants. Recent secret report to White House claims that NLF has distributed five times as much land as Saigon regime.

GENOCIDE

Article II of the Convention on Genocide adopted by the United Nations in 1948:

"... Genocide means any of the following acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national ethnical, racial or religious group, ~~sxxxxxx~~ as such:

- a) Killing members of the group
- b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group
- c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life ~~xxxienuxxxy~~ calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part
- d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group
- e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

WEAPONS + Bombing

Let me say a little bit abt the physical effects of the bombing.

First, the weapons which have been used: In addition to strafing, the use of rockets and explosive bombs, including ~~xxxi~~ the gigantic 3,000 pound explosive bomb which is larger than anything used in WWII or Korea. (Describe this bomb: longer than I am tall, and makes a crater twice as ~~xi~~ big as this room and 30 or 40 feet deep.) In addition to these what might be called conventional weapons, the U.S. is also making heavy use of time bombs which can be set for periods ranging from one hour to one week. Also various types of incendiary bombs which produce tremendous heat such as the jellied gasoline Napalm bomb (and its more recent improvements known as Napalm-B and Supernapalm), white ~~phosphorous~~ phosphorous, thermite and magnesium bombs. These last two generate such an intense heat that they can burn up even things made of bronze and porcelain. All of these weapons cause deep burns and very painful death for the victims. Napalm also sticks to the skin.

The most diabolical weapon in ~~this~~ the U.S. arsenal is the fragmentation bomb or CBU of which I have an example here. (Explain effects)

Describe bombing of school in Thanh Hoa as showing ~~xxxxxx~~ pattern of use of explosive and fragmentation bombs.

The amount of civilian devastation has been tremendous. For example, as of August of this year 127 hospitals and medical establishments had been raided and over ~~12xx~~ 1,200 doctors, medical personnel and patients have been killed or wounded. As of December 31, 1966, 391 schools and other educational establishments had been bombed, 149 churches, 80 pagodas, and 3 seminaries. All of the North's six major cities have been raided. 25 of its 30 provincial capitals, and 60 of its 97 district capitals have been bombed, and many towns nearly obliterated. Thousands of people were killed and wounded in these raids.

Illustrates destruction and repair

Perhaps these figures don't seem very real. Let me describe a trip we made down Highway one from Hanoi to Nam Dinh. Road supposedly closed. Tremendous bomb damage to every village, bridge or wide spot in the road, but road and train tracks kept open. Phu Ly razed to the ground. Facilities for doing repair work. Supplies scattered along road.

Discuss purpose of bombing later

Cable address:

NATGARDPUB, New York, U.S.A.

From: Robert Allen HANOI

The final escalation of the US air war against North Vietnam will involve massive bombing of Hanoi and the probable destruction of the capital city. This is what the people of Hanoi believe and it is this eventuality for which they are daily preparing. The city which was once a home for one point two million people has seen most of its population evacuated into the countryside. Only some two hundred fifty thousand are said to remain and city officials expect that when the final attack occurs only active fighters will be present in the city to defend it.

Upon arrival in Hanoi via an ancient ICC plane the city appears peaceful. It is brightly lit at night and from the ~~xxi~~ air one can clearly distinguish the recently bombed Long Bien Bridge over the Red River. But immediately after the plane rolls to a stop at the airport all exterior and interior lights are extinguished and also the runway lights. Customs officials inspect passports aboard the plane using flashlights. The airport itself gave further evidence of the ever present threat of attack. Newspapers had been cut into flowerlike designs and pasted to all windows to reduce flying glass in case of a bombing raid.

It was not possible to cross the Red River into Hanoi over the Long Bien Bridge because it was still being repaired. Instead the visitor is driven by car a short distance to a ferry. The Vietnamese ~~ix~~ said they set up many such ferries the same day the bridge was bombed thus enabling traffic to continue across the river almost without interruption. The ferry dash an unarmed open barge tendered by a motorboat dash was crammed with men ~~xx~~ comma women and children comma as well as autos comma motorscooters and bicycles. A foreign visitor could not help but nervously scan the sky in search of hostile planes because the barge made an all too attractive target dash defenseless comma with no way to escape and no bomb shelters. But the Vietnamese passengers did not appear unduly concerned. For them the war has become a daily experience with alerts and bombing raids following each other in a quick and seemingly endless succession.

2/2/2/2/2/2

To an outsider comma Hanoi does not appear to be an evacuated city facing imminent destruction People are everywhere and in constant movement comma with the bicycle being the favorite form of transportation Quote If this is Hanoi when it is evacuated unquote quipped a foreign visitor quote then I would hate to see it when everybody is here unquote Crowds fill the streets and the kiosks and small shops which line the sidewalks seem to do a brisk business Trying not to bump into people while at the same time attempting not to stumble into one of the famous manhole bomb shelters which dot city sidewalks is a tricky affair

Air raid alerts are frequent in Hanoi although US warplanes have concentrated their attacks on Haiphong in recent weeks Bombing can occasionally be heard in the distance and sometimes within the city Whenever planes approach within a certain radius of the city sirens sound a warning and some inhabitants retreat to bomb shelters as others grab rifles comma don helmets and join the many self defense units scattered throughout the city Of course regular anti aircraft and other defense ~~xxxxxx~~ weaponry are also ready to protect Hanoi from US fighter bombers Conversations with local people have confirmed that although the air war may have ravaged the land it seems hardly to have damaged the morale or dampened the ~~fighting~~ spirit of resistance of the people here

Some Western observers have claimed that Hanoi is a sanctuary of peace in ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ a sea of violence and destruction The fact that traditional folksingers still intone ~~their~~ their plaintive melodies in city parks and ~~xxxxxxxx~~ ^{life} appears normal on the streets may seem to confirm this contention But the Vietnamese do not view the situation in quite the same way Quote We know that peace in Hanoi is only temporary unquote said one Vietnamese functionary Quote We expect the bombing of Hanoi as one of the final steps of escalation unquote He went on to explain the steps being taken to meet that eventuality Among these is included the dispersal of schools and school age children into the countryside However a walk around the city revealed that many children are still present dash some visiting their parents but others apparently not yet evacuated Very young children are particularly numerous and they seem to delight in playing on the grass covered bomb shelters

3/3/3/3/3

which surround the beautiful Lake of the Restored Sword in central Hanoi

The building of bomb shelters has become something of an art in Hanoi. For example, in the courtyard of the Museum of the Revolution there is a large circular shelter. During a recent air alert a visitor to the museum who was hustled into the shelter commented on its unusual design. "Oh yes," responded a museum official, "since this is a museum we feel that it should have an attractive bomb shelter."

As he spoke, in the distance Vietnamese air force planes could be heard flying to meet the oncoming American bombers, and for yet another day bomb shelters could be appreciated as esthetic objects or used as toys by the children of Hanoi.

4/4/4/4/4

New ITEM The contrast between Hanoi and Nam Dinh is striking Nam Dinh dash a textile manufacturing center in Nam Ha province dash is a city under seige It lies astride Route One and the north dash south railway which makes it a quote military target unquote in the parlance of the Pentagon Since ~~XXXXXX~~ 28 June 1965 more than 200 bombing raids have been made on the city and its outskirts comma according to Vietnamese authorities Residential areas comma schools comma hospitals ~~XXXXXX~~ and pagodas comma as well as the textile mills comma have been attacked

Intimations of what ~~is~~^{was} to come ~~begin~~^{begin} begin upon leaving Hanoi and traveling south on route one comma a road which was supposedly cut up and made impassable by US raids ~~XXXXXX~~ Traffic continues to move along the highway although it has been ^{heavily} bombed in many places and is subject to almost daily attacks The railway alongside the road also appeared intact comma with easily ~~rebuild~~^{rebuilt} wooden bridges having replaced destroyed metal bridges Rails comma construction materials and other supplies were strewn alongside the roadbed in such a manner that to destroy them would ~~almost~~^{practically} require individual attacks on each rail or crate

~~Upon entering Nam Dinh visitors are provided with a military escort and troops are more in evidence than in Hanoi The population appears to be almost entirely evacuated comma and one can drive past long rows of buildings without seeing a single person Whole blocks of the city have been reduced to rubble by US bombs~~

Upon entering Nam Dinh ~~visitors~~ visitors are provided with a military escort and ~~troops~~ soldiers are more in evidence than in Hanoi The population dash which once numbered one hundred thousand dash appears to be nearly completely evacuated comma and one can drive past long rows of ~~building~~ empty buildings without seeing a single person Whole blocks of the city have been reduced to rubble by US bombs The destruction combined with the scarcity of inhabitants gives some parts of Nam Dinh the appearance of a ghost town

5/5/5/5/5/5

But Nam Dinh has not been defeated by the fierce US attacks and is still very much alive. The city has simply spread and merged into the surrounding countryside. Factories and families, schools and hospitals have been dispersed and continue to operate normally. For example, the Municipal Hospital, which was bombed four times, has been divided into sections and dispersed. One section outside Nam Dinh at first appeared to be nothing more than a few peasant huts, not unlike many other such clusters scattered around the province. But these huts concealed the patients, medical staff and hospital equipment which had once been targets for American pilots. The hospital unit was completely portable and, according to Doctor Tran Khac Nghien, director of the Municipal Hospital, this unit had already been moved several times to escape bombing. Communication trenches connected the buildings and within each sterilized hut bomb shelters could be seen beneath each patient's bed. An operating table was sunk into a thick concrete bunker so that surgical work ^{could} continue even in the event of an attack. Doctor Nghien explained that each time the hospital moved the entire medical staff moved as a unit with it to the new location, thus assuring continued high standard treatment for the patients.

Even within the city limits of Nam Dinh life and production continue. Agricultural implements and an important secondary industry in the city are now produced in shops which are sunk in the ground and protected by concrete and earth barricades. Women workers are frequently to be seen in the shops, as is true over all of North Vietnam, and a machine gun nest protecting the shops was manned by two militia girls.

In another part of the city young women were attending evening classes after work. That very day the US had bombed Nam Dinh and pellets from fragmentation bombs had penetrated the wooden doors of the classroom. The bombing, however, could not deter these girls from learning.

~~The fact of equality of the sexes is an accomplishment of which the North Vietnamese are justly proud and a visit to Nam Dinh makes it clear that equality of the sexes is a factor~~

6/6/6/6

~~of tremendous importance in assuring the survival of the country in the face of ~~by~~ the US air war~~

The fact of equality of the sexes is an accomplishment of which the North Vietnamese are justly proud. Women participate in all levels of the society and government comma and women have their own organizations which represent their interests A visit to Nam Dinh dash whose mayor is a woman dash also makes it clear that equality of the sexes is a factor of tremendous importance in assuring the survival of the country in the face of ~~by~~ the US air war

On 10 October 1967 Hanoi celebrated the ~~Twelfth~~ ^{Thirtieth} anniversary of its liberation from the French colonialists It remains to be seen what date will be set to celebrate the liberation of Hanoi comma Nam Dinh and all of North Vietnam from US aggression comma but the North Vietnamese are clearly prepared to wage a long comma long war in order to inscribe that date in ~~the pages of~~ history

Italic follow Allen is visiting North Vietnam with a group of six other Americans who were participants in the Bratislava conference END ARTICLE

By Robert L. Allen
Guardian Staff Correspondent

Bratislava, Czechoslovakia

"Our motto is: A pen in one hand and a gun in the other," said Huynh Van Ly. Ly is a journalist. In fact, he is one of the editors of Giai Phong, the official organ of the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. During a quiet moment between sessions of the Bratislava conference, which brought together North and South Vietnamese and American war opponents (See Guardian ?????), we were discussing the role of the NLF press and how it operates in war-torn South Vietnam.

There are presently more than 30 different newspapers and magazines published by the liberation forces and circulated throughout all of South Vietnam, Ly indicated. These include Liberation Literature and Art, a monthly review; Giai Phong, a weekly; Liberation Women, and Liberation Army, the official weekly journal of the Liberation Armed Forces. In addition there are many provincial and local papers with limited circulations.

There are no dailies, said Ly. The war makes the publication of a daily physically impossible.

What Ly meant by the motto which he quoted is that a professional NLF correspondent is also a fighter. For example, when Giai Phong wants to cover a battle, he said, "we send a correspondent to a unit of the LAF, after getting the agreement of the commander. Our correspondent acts as a fighter in this unit just as any other fighter, but after the battle he writes his article."

Ly himself is ~~xxxxxxx~~ an example of the soldier-journalist tradition. At the age of 18 he dropped out of school in his native Ben Tre Province to join the resistance struggle against the French. By the time he became 20 he had been made a political commissar of a regional unit of the resistance armed forces.

"At that time," he recalled, "I saw many heroic deeds by my friends and witnessed the good relationship between the the resistance army and the people, and I wanted to write about this." As a fledgling writer he sent many articles to provincial newspapers but only a few were published.

In 1949, due to bad health, Ly left the resistance army to return to his home province where he became editor in chief of the provincial youth newspaper. Over the next few year he assumed more responsible positions, but with the signing of the Geneva Agreements he found himself out of a job. Cuu Quoc, the paper Ly worked for at the time, closed down because of the regroupment of the resistance and ~~xxxxxxx~~ French armies into the present two zones, north and south of the 17th parallel. But Ly continued his work, writing for underground newspapers and sending occassional articles abroad.

With the formation of the NLF in 1960, Ly joined the editorial board of Giai Phong. ~~xxxxxx years xxxxxxxx with xxx~~ "My articles mainly deal with the examples set by the elite fighters of our people, and with other fields of our struggle," stated Ly, now a man of 40 with two children. His wife works as a nurse in one of the liberated areas.

I asked Ly how was it possible to publish newspapers in areas which were frequently bombed by ~~xx~~ U.S. warplanes or subject to ground attack. He replied that portable printing presses and mimeograph machines were used which could be quickly disassembled and carried away. Some of these machines used electricity, others were operated by ~~xxxxxx~~ foot treadles. Giai Phong is printed on an electric press, but even its print shop must be moved from place to place to insure the safety of the shop and the printers. "We once set up shop in one location," recounted Ly, "printed a few pages, and then there was a raid and we had to move immediately to another area."

"Each print shop has its own self-defense unit, and also each editorial staff," he said. "Our print shop was once ambushed by Saigon troops while moving and had to fight them off. Frequently, we set up shop underground in order to avoid bombing and strafing."

How are the presses and mimeograph machines moved from one area to another? "It's according to the situation," replied Ly. "In areas where there are rivers, we use boats. In large liberated areas we can use cars. In mountainous areas we mainly rely on elephants. We use our own backs to carry the boxes of type."

"Distribution is one of our most difficult jobs," Ly continued. "It is relatively easy in the liberated zones where we can use boats, cars and bicycles. But it is difficult to distribute Giai Phong quickly over the whole country. Sometimes we have to transport the newspaper through enemy-controlled territory. For example, if we want to go from slightly north of Saigon to the south we must travel through a lot of enemy-controlled territory."

"It's also difficult to reach the high mountains which must be climbed by foot."

"In addition to the liberated areas, we also distribute our newspaper into enemy-controlled zones, such as Saigon. Our couriers must cover or camouflage the papers in order to get them into the city." He said that a number of couriers had been killed or captured while distributing the newspaper.

I asked how were the presses supplied. "People in cities and towns supply us with ink, type faces, presses and paper," answered Ly.

Ly showed me several examples of provincial and local papers, such as a special issue of Liberation, 28 pages in length, which contained several multi-colored prints. Liberation is the weekly NLF newspaper of Tay Ninh Province.

These NLF papers carried articles on the progress of the war, agricultural production in the liberated areas, the exploits of local heroes, and news of the U.S. anti-war and black freedom movements. Some papers also had special pages given over to the music and lyrics ^{of} ~~the~~ patriotic songs.

Ly asserted that these NLF papers and others like them were well-received by the populations in both the liberated and enemy-controlled regions. He said the papers were passed from hand to hand, "frequently until they were so tattered that they had to be pasted together." He said that readers often gathered

together in groups at night to listen as one of their number read the latest issue of a favorite NLF newspaper. Ly ~~contended~~ ^{contended} that this practice made it possible to spread the news quickly among large groups of people, and it also overcame the problem of illiteracy.

Reader interest was also encouraged by this practice. Readers would send in letters and articles and in this manner, according to Ly, a file of stringers could also be assembled. "We rely on local people and fighters as correspondents, and we criticize their work and little by little train them. That is why we have our reporters everywhere, in the cities, the countryside and even in the mountains."

Another important aspect of the NLF press operation, stated Ly, is the Giai Phong Press Agency which has correspondents in Cuba, Czechoslovakia, The USSR, East Germany, ~~China~~ China, North Korea, Cambodia, Algeria and other countries. It concerns itself with disseminating news of the liberation struggle to foreign countries and reporting back foreign news of interest.

"I would like to add one thing," said Ly as we ended the interview. "In South Vietnam we have a patriotic and democratic journalists association which unites the patriotic journalists of South Vietnam. All the journalists in the liberated areas are members and a number of patriotic journalists in Saigon also have joined our association. As journalists we pledge ourselves to sharpen our pens so that we can effectively contribute to the struggle of our people for national salvation and an end to U.S. aggression." He went on to list the accomplishments of the NLF patriotic journalists and the NLF press in exposing the aims of U.S. policy and ~~uniting~~ in uniting the people of South Vietnam to oppose the U.S. and the Saigon regime.

It was at this point that Ly spoke of the motto of the ~~pen and the gun~~ pen and the gun, and of the dual role of an NLF journalist in the war of liberation been waged in South Vietnam.

To: C.C.

From: Bob Allen

Re: Speaking Tour

I think this tour can be counted a success, both financially (see financial reports) and in terms of publicizing the paper and making contacts. In a number of places there was local press coverage of my speaking appearances and at least two radio slots were given over to interviews or tapes of my speeches. Pam and I tried to make contacts for the paper at each stop. I gave Winnie the list of stringers I set up and Pam has given Irv an incomplete list of circulation contacts.

CRITICISMS OF THE PAPER: There seems to be increasing interest in and enthusiasm for the paper on the part of students, older white radicals and blacks. They readers whom I met (unlike meetings with readers last summer) tended to be strongly in agreement with the current political tendency of the paper. The older readers who are still with us (and there are many of them) are really with us. In this context several criticisms of the paper were made by our supporters of which we should all be aware. 1) The most frequent criticism ^{heard} is that the paper is uncritical. Readers like our coverage of the movements but they feel we have taken an uncritical attitude toward certain groups (SDS, SNCC) or certain tactics (resistance, disruption). This criticism was heard from members of the groups in question or advocates of the named tactics, so it cannot be dismissed as sectarian in-fighting. What the readers seem to want is a paper which in its reportage, analysis and criticism, will help them in thinking through strategy and tactics as well as keep them abreast of domestic and international events. (By the way, international coverage is almost universally regarded as one of the paper's strongest points.) This means the Guardian should provide serious analytical articles dealing with important issues facing the movements and in its editorials the paper must not slack from undertaking thoughtful criticism or advocacy. I think we've moved strongly in this direction in recent issues and this must be continued, especially the publishing of thoughtful analytical articles examining current movement issues. 2) Lack of local coverage was the next most important criticism. The paper is accused of being New York-oriented, elitist, etc. West Coast readers (and Grace Simons) are particularly upset with our sparse coverage of that area. In view of the large number of readers (and potential readers and money) out there, we've got to do something about this. Readers in other areas told me about the good and impressive things which some local two-by-four group was doing, and they were upset that the paper gave all of this activity no coverage. The problem, of course, is that we never hear of these groups or one of their members writes an article which is so poor that we have to reject it. But there are lots of such groups doing serious radical work out there and the editorial floor should have a session on how to cover this in some manner other than a glorified

I speak for seven Americans just returned from 3 weeks in North Vietnam. We have left a country different in so many ways from what our American press reports that I am anxious that I will not have the words to make our impressions clear and understandable.

We saw, of course, what we expected: wreckage, suffering, and terrible loss. We traveled at dawn, at dusk and throughout the night to the targets defined and attacked by American airpower. We saw the remains of these targets: villages in rubble, crumbling pagodas, blasted schools, broken, empty hospitals. We met the victims of pellet bombs and napalm. We watched from shelters ~~our own planes streaking overhead, but even the rage and the fury we felt was not unfamiliar.~~

~~But we also experienced the unexpected,~~

~~We~~ But then we saw another Vietnam, one that seems incomprehensible against the American picture of a stubborn peasant country being blasted back into the Stone Age. We saw a Vietnam emerging into the 21st century, a Vietnam accelerating its construction of a socialist society underneath our bombing.

It was an impression that grew gradually through the three weeks. At first, we took their determination for rhetoric, their energy for hysteria, the nightly motion of hundreds of thousands of people as some vague, senseless activity. We learned to see gradually.

Out of Hanoi, south on highway one, we traveled forty miles an hour on a road the U.S. air force claims to have demolished. Trucks, jeeps and even buses passed us by the hundreds. ~~Every night, these~~ ^{motorized} vehicles along with thousands of bicycles move an entire defense system into a new pattern, making useless the hundreds of photographs taken by U.S. reconnaissance planes only 12 hours earlier.

This total reshuffling of a defense by night was our first indication of the mass involvement of the Vietnamese people in the military strategy of their country. ~~Over the weeks, such indications turned to conclusions as we learned that on those highways busy with traffic every night, the eyes and ears of thousands of peasants warn the vehicles of approaching enemy aircraft. Rocket and anti-aircraft defenses are everywhere, and continuously on the move.~~ Nearly every farmer, mother and teenage school boy carry a rifle, ~~concrete~~ ^{water} evidence of the confidence between the government and the people. The Vietnam we saw was not devastated by the monstrous airpower of the United States. We saw a people confident in final victory, committed to the defense of ~~their~~ ^{their} children, ~~is~~ ^{their} land, ~~is~~ ^{their} culture, and ~~is~~ ^{and} future, and transformed by a participation of ~~people~~ unimaginable to us.

^{As} we watched a whole country move each night--hundreds of thousands of people, self-directed, part of a gigantic waltz that daily changes the face of a nation--we came to understand what the Vietnamese mean when they say nothing is more precious than freedom and independence. No country could continue to renew itself nightly unless its unity was genuine and passionate. No country could accomplish such a transformation under coercion.

Two distinct realities exist side by side in Vietnam today. One is measured by ~~innocent~~ human suffering and ~~the numbers of~~ empty shells of former hospitals, factories, schools and churches. The anti-war movement ~~has known~~ ^{knows} of these stories and has been moved to outrage by the atrocities left by our planes. The other story is not so clear or familiar to us, ~~however~~, ^{yet} it may be of greater importance to understanding Vietnam. It can be found in the small bamboo houses, pasted with mud, in which people feed metal plates to punch pressed, or turn a bicycle wheel to generate electricity for surgery or teach science and art to school children who have left their city and parents to live with peasants in the countryside. ~~Tenage girls defend their homes with automatic rifles, forcing modern F-105 jets to an altitude where radar, anti-aircraft guns and surface to air missiles can be deadly.~~ Women, who two years ago, could not read or write, attend medical school to prepare for service in the village hospital teams that dot the countryside. Peasants, ~~educated for~~ ^{after} carrying water across a dike for 10 hours, crowd into a night class on modern agricultural techniques. These ~~indix~~ incidents which we witnessed make up another side of Vietnam. ~~Through~~ ^{out the} country, the war has sharpened the vital instruments of the future: health, education, agriculture, industry.

You must

~~We know that the confidence that permeates Vietnam has been built at great human cost. Everyone suffers the loss of someone close. No way has yet been found to move the villages themselves and everyday bombs rip through villages picking their random victims. Yet you must also know that everywhere we heard and saw it affirmed that the US cannot smash this society or stop the inevitable reunification of this country. The United States has forced Vietnam to demonstrate to itself that there is no limit to what a united people's will can accomplish. Vietnam, on the other hand, has given the world an important and powerful message: that ordinary people can win; that ordinary people can win against the greatest technological and military giant of history.~~

The people of Vietnam are confident. They wait the next barbarity our planners decree, certain that whatever challenge ~~or insanity~~ comes, they can meet it. And that confidence is strengthened, perhaps more than a little, by their conviction that they wage a just war and that the people the world over support them. In particular, us. They have a deep confidence in us. They watch our movement. They celebrate its growth. And they call us comrades.

Today, the Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has sent with us this message of greetings to the American people. He has asked that it be read at this time, as evidence of his confidence in ourselves and our movement:

The Vietnamese people convey their heartfelt sentiments of cordiality to the American people.

These are sentiments of solidarity among comrades in arms, because both the American and Vietnamese peoples are struggling for a common aim: to oppose the US administration's war of aggression against Vietnam.

For the Vietnamese people, this unjust war encroaches upon our sacred national rights. For the American people, it causes great harm in all fields, political, economic, social, internal and external, and runs completely counter

not concentrated in the cities but highly decentralized among the people

people who have transcended themselves in constructing a new society

to the American people's interests.

For our part, the entire Vietnamese people are determined to carry on this long and hard patriotic war, and are firmly convinced that final victory will be ours.

We, Vietnamese people, thank our friends in the United States who are supporting our just struggle. We wish great successes for the movement in the USA to oppose the war of aggression in Vietnam, a movement which is developing both in depth and breadth with each passing day.

We are confident in you, friends! You are fighters of a great people who, two centuries ago, promulgated "The Declaration of Independence," a people who love freedom for themselves and for all other peoples the world over.

You and we are struggling for a noble cause, that is, friendship between our two peoples on the basis of equality, mutual respect and mutual understanding.

When we met with the Prime Minister, we told him we would deliver his statement personally to the October 21 Mobilization Against the War. We informed him that our purpose this day would be to shut down the Pentagon for 24 hours. We told him we would carry signs of the Vietnamese hero, Nguyen Van Troi ~~to~~ ^{to} McNamara's doorstep, to let him know that Troi's spirit is alive in the United States. ~~Someday, we said, we will close the Pentagon forever.~~

We pledged to him that someday our movement

After our meeting, we wondered when that day would come. We wanted to say: let it be today. Today, October 21. ~~Today, Americans can gather and march.~~ Today can welcome the end of public toleration for this vast war machine. Today can be the day we celebrate and remember. Let today mark the beginning of the end for McNamara. ^{Johnson and} Let today bring the dismantling, ~~and the putting out of~~ ^{business} the death of the US pentagon.

INTERVIEW

Vietnam Courier ~~asked Robert Allen~~ interviewed Robert Allen, ~~an~~ an American anti-war activist and staff reporter for the National Guardian, and asked him to describe what impressed him most during his recent visit to the DRV.

I think in a way ^{what} ~~what~~ has impressed me most in the two weeks I've been in the DRV might be illustrated by the several walks I've taken around Hanoi.

For an American to wander at will through the streets of Hanoi without an interpreter or other escort is at first a surprising and puzzling experience. The appearance of bustling ~~normality~~ normality in the city is surprising. U.S. bombs apparently have done little to dampen the spirits of the people or disrupt the functioning of the city.

Despite the fact that a large part of the population has been evacuated, people are everywhere and in constant movement, with the bicycle being the favorite form of transportation. But troops and military vehicles are not much in evidence, contrary to what one might have expected to see in a wartime capital.

Crowds fill the streets ~~and~~ of central Hanoi and the ~~small~~ kiosks and small shops which line the sidewalks seem to do a brisk business. Trying not to bump into people while at the same time attempting not to stumble into one of the famous manhole bomb shelters which dot the city's sidewalks is a tricky affair.

Hanoi's beautiful Lake of the Restored Sword appears to be still popular with young couples, but the necessities of wartime have given it a more somber appearance than ^{now} must have been true in past years. No boats sail upon the lake, and on its banks large bomb shelters have been constructed to protect park visitors in case of an American air raid. But through a surprising twist of fate, the somberness of this scene is relieved by the laughter of flocks of young children who seem to delight in playing on the grass-covered knolls which are bomb shelters.

The presence of so many children in Hanoi is another surprise. School-age children have been evacuated to schools dispersed in the countryside, but the little ones remain. The children of Hanoi are like the children almost anywhere else: endlessly active and so immersed in life and its new sensations and emotions that, like small children everywhere and unlike adults, they can laugh and cry at practically the same time. Also like other children, they're filled with a deep curiosity about strangers, and any foreigner walking through a residential district becomes a reluctant piper.

For an American, it is difficult to smile into the ~~ixx~~ bright, inquiring faces of Hanoi's children. It is nearly impossible to look at them without recalling the photographs of napalmed children or children whose bodies were perforated by the ~~xxxx~~ steel pellets scattered from U.S. fragmentation bombs.

It is difficult to look at ~~these~~ these children without also thinking of the U.S. planes which, even at that moment, are dropping "flak suppression" bombs on their brothers and sisters somewhere in North Vietnam. But the children apparently have no such difficulty: To them a foreigner is an interesting and exciting creature, even if he is an American.

This is only one part of the puzzling experience of wandering around Hanoi. The United States government has launched a massive attack against North Vietnam, yet it is possible for a U.S. citizen to stroll around the DRV's capital city, even to walk past occasional policemen and soldiers, without being stopped or interrogated.

~~Not~~

Not only is it possible to walk around freely, but if you encounter a Hanoi citizen who speaks some French or English and you tell him that you are an American, instead of ~~warning~~ ^{simply} his anger at the U.S. bombings or accusing you of being an enemy agent, he will ~~invariably~~ invariably reply that the Vietnamese people make a distinction between the Americans who bomb their country and ordinary American citizens.

He will tell you that he believes that the American people are peace-loving and that they would be repulsed by this war if only they knew the ~~ix~~ unimaginable destruction and suffering which it is causing to his people. Such a Hanoi citizen usually will implore you, the American visitor, to take the truth about Vietnam back to the U.S. and the American people. He will tell you that he sees no reason why the Vietnamese and American peoples should fight. ~~After all~~ After all, he might conclude, the two nations share a common tradition of struggling for national independence.

One gets this kind of response so frequently in talking with Vietnamese that a sceptical American might at first dismiss it as propaganda. The Vietnamese can't possibly mean this when they say it, he might think.

~~But~~ But during a two-week visit this kind of conversation occurs so frequently and spontaneously, from government officials right down to ordinary Vietnamese peasants, that it becomes increasingly difficult to discount it as mere propaganda. One also soon learns that during the war of resistance against the French the Vietnamese drew a line between the French colonialists, clear enemies, and the French people, potential friends. The Vietnamese say they made similar distinctions throughout their long history of struggle for national independence.

Gradually the meaning of what is being said becomes clearer, even for a sceptic. The distinction between "the people" and "the aggressors" seems to be part of the Vietnamese world outlook, and possibly in some degree accounts for the fervor with which the Vietnamese are fighting against U.S. aggression. In fighting a given enemy the assumption of the Vietnamese appears to be that they are not fighting against an entire country but only against certain limited aggressive elements within that country. Most of the population is thought to be either neutral or potential supporters of the Vietnamese cause.

Understanding this basic outlook makes it easier to comprehend how the Vietnamese people can be such fierce fighters for ~~ix~~ independence, and how a small nation with limited resources,

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such as Vietnam, can successfully resist a massive onslaught by the world's richest and materially most ~~power~~ powerful country.

This can of world view combined with ardent patriotism is perhaps what is meant by the "human factor" which is frequently mentioned in articles and discussions with Vietnamese friends. And it is this ~~max~~ "human factor" -- the strength, courage and determination to win of the Vietnamese people -- which most deeply impressed me in ~~the~~ this short visit to North Vietnam.

By Robert L. Allen

Second of two articles

Many visitors to North Vietnam have commented on the emancipation of Vietnamese women and their role in the revolutionary struggle. Women in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, as I saw for myself, enjoy political and economic equality, and patronizing attitudes toward them in the social sphere are rapidly being eliminated. Not only do women share an equal status with men but, and this is of key importance, they are organized as a distinct force within North Vietnamese society.

Traditionally, Vietnamese women were burdened with a servile and oppressed status vis-a-vis men. Subjected to a harsh Confucian moral code and legal system, polygamy, child marriage, and ~~women~~ regarded as little more than a means of procreation and a convenient instrument for all sorts of work, the Vietnamese ^{woman} ~~men~~ in feudal society had little control over her own life. A folkson expressed her plight:

A woman is like a drop of rain

No one knows whether it will fall into a palace,

or the mud of the ricefields.

Throughout their long history the Vietnamese have repeatedly had to fight against foreign invaders, and women, despite their exploited position, played an ~~important~~ important role in these patriotic struggles. An old Vietnamese saying runs: "When the enemy comes, even the women should fight."

The women acquitted themselves well in these struggles. In 40 A.D. two sisters, Trung Trac and Trung Nhi, led an insurrection against Chinese invaders. In 248, a 23-year-old woman peasant ~~named~~ named Trieu Thi Trinh, together with her brother, led a fight against Chinese feudalists who had re-invaded Vietnam.

Women took part in the unsuccessful resistance against the French colonialists in the 19th century. Under French colonial domination the woman's condition worsened as she became the slave's slave -- oppressed by both the French and Vietnamese men.

With the birth of the revolutionary Lao Dong Party in 1930 women began organizing themselves, first as the Women's Union for

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Emancipation which later became the Vietnam Women's Union. Since that time they have created a revolution within the revolution, many of whose ramifications have ~~not yet been fully~~ understood. Like Cuban women, they tapped a revolutionary force which so far remains submerged in the U.S., even among radicals.

The key to this revolution lay in the realization that the liberation of women was intimately connected with the necessity for a ~~revolutionary~~ revolutionary struggle to liberate ~~Vietnam~~ Vietnam and build a new society free of foreign domination. More recently this ~~same idea has been projected in an appeal issued by the Women's Union~~ same idea has been projected in an appeal issued by the Women's Union for the Liberation of South Vietnam: "Our only way to salvation is to unite within an organization and, together with the entire people, struggle resolutely

This idea was echoed in the cry of a woman liberation fighter, Minh Khai, who was sentenced to death by the French colonialists. "The Revolution is our way to salvation," she declared.

More recently this same idea has been elaborated and projected in an appeal issued by the Women's Union for the Liberation of South Vietnam: "Our only way to salvation is to unite within an organization and, together

with the entire people, struggle resolutely in order to abolish the U.S.-puppet regime."

This declaration ^{contrasts sharply} ~~stands in sharp contrast~~ with thinking of middle-class Vietnamese women who, during the colonial period, sought to win certain reforms and other small improvements in their condition. ~~Sick~~ "City life gave birth to aspirations towards individual happiness, which had been held up for centuries by feudal morals," contended Mai Thi Tu in Vietnamese Women ("Vietnamese Studies," No. 10, 1966). "But the bourgeois women's movement dissociated the struggle for the liberation of women from that for the liberation of the nation. The colonialists used resounding slogans: individual liberty, emancipation from the yoke of the family, women's participation in social activities, equality of the sexes, etc., in order to deflect that movement towards futile goals: socials, dancing parties, fairs, gambling, etc." The ~~bourgeois~~ bourgeois women's movement, which dared not confront the radical and "risky" question of liberation from foreign rule, succeeded in winning professional jobs for a handful of middle-class women. Otherwise it was a failure, according to Mai Thi Tu.

The present equality enjoyed by Vietnamese women was not easily won. Male chauvinism dies hard, and it is no light task to dismantle

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an exploitative system and ~~replace~~ replace it with a humane society.

attitudes, contempt for the woman,
Vestiges of feudal and bourgeois ~~superstitions~~

underrating of her capacities, her own inferiority complex and ~~xx~~ lack

of self-confidence: all of these remained and had to be ~~carefully~~ carefully

and painfully eradicated. At first, men, even supposedly enlightened


Party members, were reluctant to give ~~women~~ Vietnamese women responsible

positions, or they would not cooperate with women who won such positions.

Only a continuing struggle by the women themselves changed this situation.

And change it did. In 1966 women held 16% of the seats in the National Assembly, including one vice-president of the very important Standing Committee. Women occupied two vice-ministerial positions, and over 27% of the provincial and district people's council representatives were women. Women's participation in agriculture, industry (including management), scientific and other professions is even more impressive.

greatest surprises
Indeed one of the ~~most common~~ in visiting North Vietnam is the frequency with which one encounters women in top positions, whether in schools, factories, hospitals, agricultural cooperatives or government offices.

Insert 
Inevitably Vietnamese women ask American visitors about the

INSERT A

Yet, this has not be achieved at the cost of "femininity."

Vietnamese women, as most foreign male visitors will attest, are most attractively feminine and enchanting, despite the rifles slung over their shoulders or the tools ~~in~~ their hands.

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and, in ~~particular~~ particular, role of women in ~~the~~ American society generally ~~and the economy~~

their role in the various movements. The visitor may reply that American women -- more specifically, white women -- enjoy some measure of formal equality. The hitch is that subtle forms of exploitation continue to operate. Women are exploited as sex symbols and used to sell ~~xx~~ everything from cigarettes to machine tools. They are victimized by the fashion and cosmetics industries. Most men, consciously or unconsciously, do not regard even many white radicals, who think of themselves as women as equals, and ~~even many white radicals, who think of themselves as~~ enlightened, have little regard for the intellectual capacity of women. ~~even many white radicals, who think of themselves as~~

Because they are unorganized women tend to be ~~subordinated~~ relegated to subordinate positions, or occasionally one might be given a showplace spot to prove that "things really are equal." A surprising case in point was the recent New Politics Convention where, according to observers, women did the drudge-work but, as is the case with "old politics" conventions, they played ~~only~~ only a minor role in the decision-making process.

In the black community the situation is rather different since black women often play a dominant role in the family and the community. ~~This~~ This is due to the political and economic emasculation of the ~~black~~ black male by the white power structure, which makes ~~it~~ it nearly impossible

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for the average black man to find a decent job to support his family, and destroys what remaining dignity he possesses. Consequently, black women all (by default of the male) to often find themselves at the head of a family or ~~the~~ bossing community affairs.

This is hardly a situation of equality but, quite the reverse, results from the destruction of the black man and culminates in his resenting and brutalizing the black woman, the nearest target ~~for~~ ^{for} his hatred of the real oppressor. Thus many black women find themselves in the paradoxical position of being acknowledged as strong leaders but they are still subjected to brutal exploitation by (frustrated) husbands or other males.

An attempt to deal with this problem was made at the Black Power Conference which met in Newark ~~last~~ last July. The women delegates drafted a resolution which in effect urged black women to step down from their dominant positions in the home, the community and the movement. But such a resolution is not helpful since it is like expecting that men will stand up simply by virtue of the fact that ~~women~~ the women choose to sit down. It also does not begin to attack the underlying problem ~~of~~ of what Malcolm X characterized as "internal colonialism"; the oppressed status of black communities across the U.S. which results in the breakdown of the family

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and community ~~structures~~ structures.

Many black women are indeed strong leaders, but this ~~by no means~~ does not mean they should relinquish their strength or hand over their roles on a platter to men. The black liberation movement is clearly in ~~great~~ need of all the strength it can muster to organize the still lost brothers and sisters, and mobilize those black men who have managed to retain or recover their manhood. As the Vietnamese have demonstrated, real equality of the sexes can come only with the liberation of the black community from colonial oppression. More specifically, black women cannot free themselves of exploitation by black men nor can black men achieve dignity except in the struggle to win genuine ~~equality~~ equality and self-determination for the entire black community. And certainly this goal cannot be achieved if black women vote themselves out of the struggle.

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Beyond the question of women's liberation, the struggle of the Vietnamese people has much else to say to our own movements. ~~The DRV has~~

~~of North Vietnam~~
~~completely~~

The last I want to mention is that the very existence of North Vietnam attests to the fact that a decentralized socialist society responsive to the needs of its people is more than a theoretical possibility.

The DRV has completely decentralized its administrative, industrial, health, educational and other facilities in order to insure national survival in the face of the U.S. air war. This decentralization and dispersion will undoubtedly have a long-term influence on the future development of ^{their} North society.
~~Vietnamese~~

True, much of this occurred in response to a war situation, but one can feel confident that, for example, the North Vietnamese are not likely to build big colleges and universities lumped together in one place making it possible to virtually demolish the entire complex in ~~one~~ one bombing raid. They will think twice about constructing huge impersonal factories, ideal targets, if a combination of smaller units integrated into the countryside can do the same job. A great deal of local autonomy will likely be maintained at the provincial and district levels since it has ~~been~~ been found that this cuts red tape and encourages local initiative.

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Ironically, the Pentagon can take some credit for helping to build the kind of society in North Vietnam which might interest and encourage American movement radicals who want to build a new society here at home — a society in which the Pentagon will be dismantled.

for Guardian benefit
1967

~~I am Robert Allen,~~ and I bring greetings to you from the people of North Vietnam -- a people who have not been defeated or cowed by the massive U.S. air war directed against them but, on the contrary, are confident that they can continue to resist this aggression and see it through to final victory. I bring greetings from a people who have had to face a most incredible and truly diabolical assortment of weapons which have wreaked destruction and suffering upon them. Weapons such as this innocuous looking fragmentation bomb. You've read about these. 300 of them are thrown from a single canister carried by an American warplane. When they hit the ground they explode and spew out a deadly spray of fragments -- fragments which are utterly useless against the steel and concrete ~~xxx~~ LBJ told us he was bombing but are highly effective in tearing and destroying human bodies.

I spent almost 3 weeks in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam together with 6 other Americans. We saw the destruction, but we also saw something else. We saw a society which is continuing to build despite the bombs, a society in which the whole people have risen up to defend their country, a society which has organized itself ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ in toto to make bombs ineffective. We drove around the countryside and visited hospitals, factories and schools which had been evacuated from the cities. We saw peasant huts made of mud which contained sophisticated machinery and skilled workers, hospitals integrated into groves of banana trees, and schools tucked away in agricultural cooperatives.

At night we saw a whole nation on the move -- in trucks, cars, on bicycles and on foot -- moving supplies and ~~xxx~~ equipment and shifting an entire defense system into new patterns ~~thus making useless~~ the hundreds of ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ photographs ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ taken during the day by American reconnaissance planes.

Slowly we ^{came} ~~can~~ to understand what the Vietnamese ~~mean~~ mean by the term "people's war" — the active and conscious involvement of the whole nation in the defense effort. Gradually we ^{came} ~~can~~ to understand the confidence of the Vietnamese people, and their firm and clear determination to fight for 5, 10 or even twenty years to maintain their freedom and independence, ^{of defeat U.S. imperialism}

In Hanoi I was given a message to deliver to this gathering tonite.

The message is from the director of a bi-weekly newspaper called Thong Nhat, which means re-unification. Thong Nhat should have a special meaning for us in the anti-war movement because it is published by ^{some of the} ~~a group of~~ men who were re-grouped from South to North Vietnam in 1954 under the terms of the Geneva Agreements. Many of them haven't seen their families in more than a dozen years. But they aren't demoralized and they continue to fight for a unified Vietnam. They see us as friends and allies in that struggle. The message reads:

In the film you just saw Wilfred Burchett spoke of the international value of the Guardian. Let me tell you a little bit about what that means. The National Guardian is considered to be tremendously important by the Vietnamese. In fact, and this is no exaggeration, in North Vietnam the Guardian is ^{probably} the most widely read and distributed American newspaper, bar none. Almost everyone I met knew of the paper and I was told that articles from the Guardian are frequently reprinted in the North Vietnamese press. I was also told ~~that~~ by several ~~people~~ ^{zones} different people that the paper even gets into the liberated ~~zones~~ of South Vietnam, the one part of the world where ^{previously} we were ~~afraid~~ afraid we might have a real circulation problem.

I met with any number of people who follow the paper so closely that we could sit down and have discussions about specific articles or particular writers. And I have transmitted their suggestions and their criticisms to my colleagues on the ~~staff~~ staff.

SPEECH 3/3/3

The Vietnamese follow the paper because, first of all, we support their struggle. We don't just oppose the war but we consciously support the just struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression. Secondly, ~~about~~ and of equal importance, they count on the Guardian for reportage and objective analysis of what is going ~~on~~ in the Anti-war movement, the black ~~freedom~~ liberation struggle, the student movement and the American left generally. This is something which they can't get from the daily press or party papers.

All of this made a deep impression on me and re-affirmed my belief that the Guardian must ~~continue~~ continue to grow, not simply for the sake of our own ~~movements~~ movements but also because we have a responsibility toward the Vietnamese and our other friends of the Third World who are in the front lines of the struggle to destroy American imperialism. To do less ~~is to~~ ^{I am convinced} ~~is not only~~ betray ourselves, ^{but} ~~and to~~ ^{+ allies} betray friends around the world who count on the National Guardian.

Hilda Ortiz
1160 Evergreen Ave.
Bx. N.Y. 10472

3-28-5711

VICTOR MENDES
316 E 6th ST
982-8975

MESSAGE

on
Dear friends ~~of~~ the staff of the National Guardian:

On the occasion of the October 27 annual dinner of the National
Guardian, we extend to you our warmest greetings of friendship and solidarity.

To Vietnamese readers, your National Guardian is one among those
papers which have drawn our closest attention since you are making active
~~valuable~~ contributions to the common struggle of Americans against the U.S.
government's policy of aggression in Vietnam.

May your paper further progress in order to discharge your noble
responsibility, thus serving the true interests of the American people and
building the friendship between the people of our two countries.

Nguyen Minh Vy

Director, Thong Nhat

in Vy was head of DRV delegation
in Bratislava, Stockholm - is MP

Written for N. Viet.
News Agency

By Robert L. Allen
Staff reporter, National Guardian

Hanoi

The ~~anti-~~^{anti-}war movement in the United States is moving to a new stage of activity. At the same time, recent public opinion polls have shown that increasing numbers of American people, including prominent public figures, are coming to oppose Johnson's war of aggression against North and South Vietnam.

The new stage in the anti-war movement may be characterized by the word "resistance"; and it stands in contrast to an earlier stage of mere protest. The new stage will be characterized by massive civil disobedience to the government, and it will be officially ~~xxx~~ kicked off in the week of October 16 to 21.

On Oct. 16 thousands of young men in the U.S. plan to return their draft cards to the military authorities, thus indicating their active refusal to cooperate in any manner with the U.S. armed forces. This action may result in many of these youths being arrested and thrown into jail, because in the U.S. all men are required by law to have in their possession at all times draft cards or equivalent military identification papers. These young men are ~~takin~~ engaging in this action because of their strong opposition to the war in Vietnam and because they believe that to risk being jailed is the least they must do in trying to resist the U.S. war machine. They also hope that their deed will inspire many more young men to resist conscription, or at least to openly express their opposition to the war.

Older men and women who are not subject to conscription are being organized to engage in sympathy demonstrations and other actions to support the men who defy the U.S. government's effort to make them murderers of the Vietnamese people. In addition, many other local actions are expected to take place all over the U.S. from Oct. 16 until Oct. 21.

On Oct. 21 a massive act of resistance against the war will occur in Washington. Thousands of people from throughout the country are expected to converge on Washington and surround the Pentagon -- the nerve center of the U.S. military establishment -- in an effort to seal it off and close it down. These war opponents will form a ring around the Pentagon and attempt to prevent anyone from entering or leaving the building. There is also a possibility that some of the demonstrators will themselves enter the building in an effort to disrupt its operations and create chaos within the military bureaucracy.

These actions on Oct. 21 will present Johnson with a choice: Either he can use police and troops to suppress the large numbers of ordinary Americans citizens who will participate in the ~~demonstar~~ demonstration, or he can allow the Pentagon to be shut down. The choise is his, but either way this action will ~~demonstar~~ demonstrate the determination of the anti-war forces to stop the U.S. war against Vietnam by any means necessary.

Such a course of action -- from protest to active resistance -- is necessarilly fraught with new difficulties as well as new opportunities. For example, there is always the danger that some support for the anti-war cause will be lost because some people will view the new action as too dangerous or adventurous. However, this is a question of education and of showing war opponents that one ~~from~~ form of action does not necessarily preclude the use of other forms.

The anti-war movement has weathered other storms in the past which involved the risk of losing support. Early in the history of the anti-war ~~xxxxxxxx~~ struggle there was a great debate over whether demonstrations should be organized on a non-exclusionist basis. That is, should all persons and organizations which were opposed to the war be invited to participate in joint actions even if there were serious political differences between these forces on questions not related to the war? This debate was resolved in favor of non-exclusionism, and resulted in the creation of an anti-war coalition which has organized many successful demonstrations.

Another debate sprang up concerning what should be the foremost slogan put forward in an anti-war demonstration. Should the demonstrators call for "Negotiations with the NLF" or "Withdraw U.S. troops from Vietnam"? This debate was resolved ^{among more militant anti-war activists} in favor of the withdrawal position as it was seen that the negotiations position was a trap. Johnson might indeed cynically offer to "negotiate" directly with the NLF -- but not with the intention of ending the war and withdrawing U.S. troops.

More recently there have been many arguments over whether the anti-war movement should call for a "pause" in the bombing of North Vietnam or demand an "unconditional halt" to the bombing. Most clear-thinking war opponents realize that the only acceptable position is to demand that the bombing be stopped unconditionally. Johnson has arranged bombing "pauses" on previous occasions, but ~~these~~ these have only been used as deceitful pretexts for new escalations, since Johnson claimed afterwards that North Vietnam had not satisfied him with a "reciprocal" action and therefore he was "forced" to resume and intensify the bombing.

As these debates within the anti-war movement have been resolved some supporters have indeed been lost -- at least initially. But experience has shown that proper educational efforts combined with growing anti-war sentiment among the general population have served in the long run to increase the number of participants in the anti-war movement. There is reason to believe that the same pattern will occur on and after Oct. 21 -- with an initial diminishing of support followed by increasing support for the anti-war movement as more and more people come to oppose the war in Vietnam, and those who are already war opponents decide to intensify their opposition.

A development of great significance for the anti-war movement -- and for all of American society -- is the growing revolt among the Afro-American people. As this revolt deepens more and more black people are opposing the war in Vietnam. The rebellions this summer in many American cities reflected the fact that for most black people living conditions have not improved, and for many these conditions have worsened in the last 10 or 20 years. All of the civil rights demonstrations since 1954 have not materially changed these conditions. Some laws have been passed which theoretically guarantee civil rights for Afro-Americans, but then the laws are not enforced and discrimination continues. Furthermore, these laws have not done much to create new jobs or build new houses for black people.

The summer rebellions grew out of these conditions and the increasing frustrations of the average ~~black~~ black man who is forced to live in a ghetto with little hope that his life or the life of his children will ever get better.

But the summer rebellions present certain problems in the view of those progressive blacks who want to organize a successful struggle for equality and self-determination. Firstly, the rebellions were in large part spontaneous and unorganized outbursts of activity. There is a great need for careful organization. Secondly, the hatred ~~which~~ which was evident in these rebellions tended to be expressed indiscriminately and without direction. Progressive Afro-Americans face the task of educating the black masses to see that the real enemy is the system which oppresses us -- not necessarily the entire white race. Tactically, the black freedom ~~movement~~ movement, if it is to succeed, must be prepared to form certain alliances with sympathetic whites who are able to render appropriate assistance to our struggle.

Thirdly, the black middle-class, which enjoys a somewhat privileged position, has not taken an active part in the present struggle, and sometimes even opposed it. These are our most educated and skilled people but they have been tricked into believing that they have nothing in common with the black masses. In actuality, however, they are faced with the same oppression and discrimination as the masses of black people. The only difference is that the black middle-class has been thrown one or two crumbs from the master's table. Therefore, progressive blacks must educate this group to see that it's true interest lies in supporting and taking a leading role in the black freedom struggle.

Progressive blacks view our struggle as being closely related to the struggle of the Vietnamese people. We have a common enemy. We sometimes say that black people are an internal colony of the U.S. and that the U.S. government is trying to make Vietnam into an external colony. This is why progressive ~~black~~ Afro-Americans give firm support to ~~your struggle~~ the struggle of the Vietnamese people for national independence.

One other important new development in the anti-war movement should be mentioned. That is the increasing effort being made to stimulate anti-war sentiment and anti-war organizing among U.S. soldiers. For example, in the last few months two new publications have been established which will be circulated among U.S. troops, both at home and abroad. One ~~new~~ of these newspapers is called "The Bond" and the other is "Stars & Stripes for Peace." The purposes of these publications are 1) to provide facts concerning the nature of the U.S. aggressive war in Vietnam and encourage anti-war sentiment among U.S. troops, and 2) to provide useful concrete information to ~~xxxx~~ those GI's who desire to set up anti-war groups among their fellow soldiers. Both ~~of~~ these publications and other efforts to influence the GI's represent a crucial step in building an effective American anti-war movement.

A two-week visit to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has convinced me that intensified and expanded anti-war efforts -- such as those discussed above -- are essential if the anti-war movement is to have any real effect on the U.S. war machine. The task will not be an easy one. Many difficulties lie ahead and many of us in the anti-war movement must expect to be beaten, jailed and otherwise suppressed by the U.S. government. But the

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sight of the savage destruction wreaked on North Vietnam by U.S. warplanes will serve as a constant reminder that our sacrifices are very small when compared with the sufferings forced upon the Vietnamese people. At the same time, the ~~sight~~ memory of the new society being constructed in North Vietnam despite U.S. bombs will serve as an inspiration to continue and accelerate our work of building a new and humane society in the United States.