

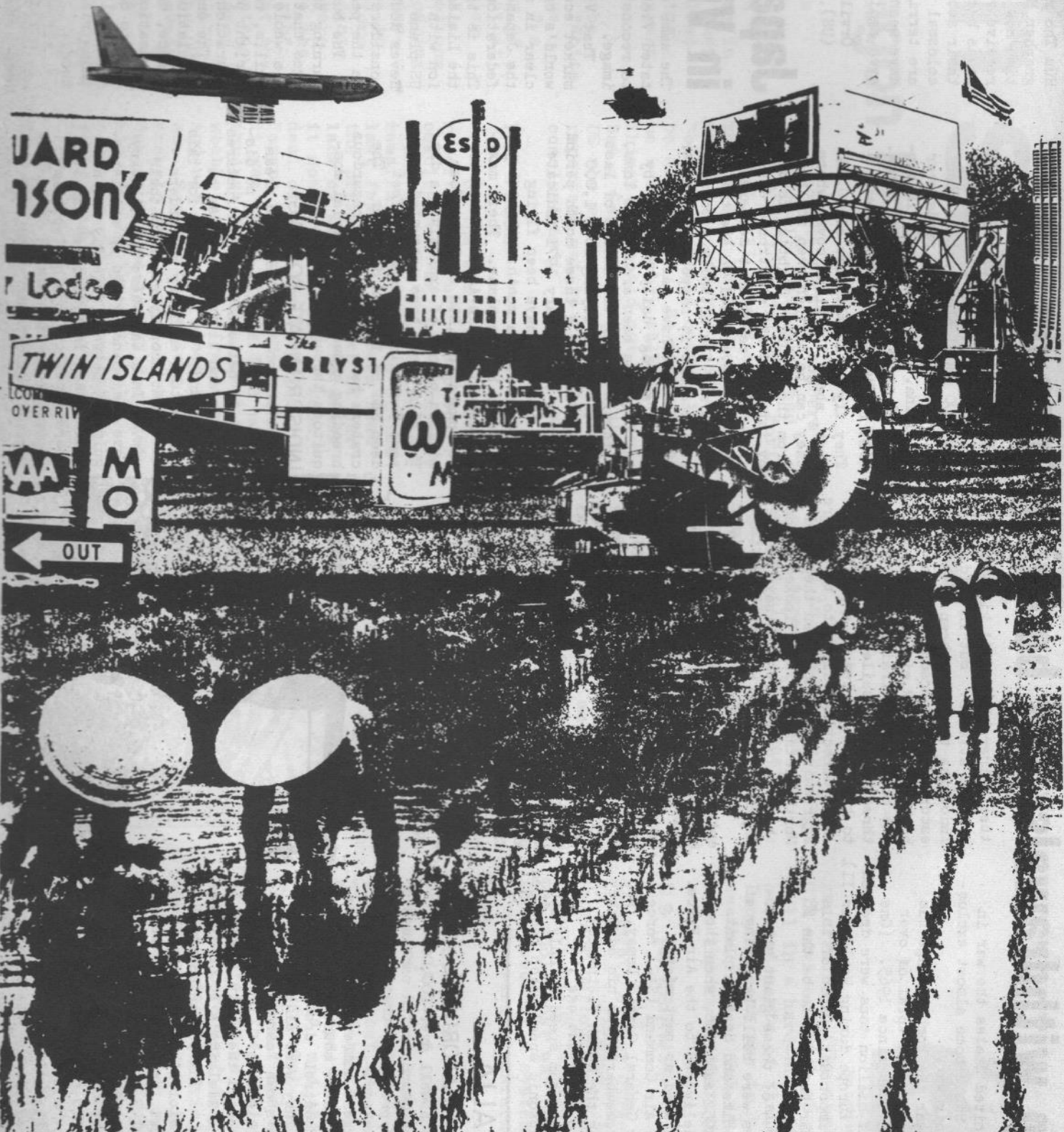
INDOCHINA

NUMBER 16

JULY-AUGUST '71

5p

IN SUPPORT OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE INDOCHINESE PEOPLE



Imperialism in South Vietnam

PRG CALL NIXON'S BLUFF

Their proposals to end the war

We have always stressed two fundamental and interlinked questions, the one military and the other political: the retreat of all U.S. troops and those of the foreign countries in the American camp, and the question of the administration of South Vietnam.

The withdrawal from South Vietnam of all US and 'allied' troops is the crucial question for the peaceful settlement of the South Vietnamese problem and the fixing of a specific and speedy withdrawal period is an urgent and immediate requirement for terminating the war and settling the other relevant questions.

On this subject the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam (PRG) has put forward proposals both logical and constructive. In our 8-point peace plan of September 1970 and in our 3-point declaration of December 1970 on the subject of a cease-fire, we stated: should the American government agree to withdraw all its troops and those of its 'allies' from South Vietnam before 30th June, 1971, a cease-fire would be immediately introduced between the People's Liberation Armed Forces and the American Army, and the parties would immediately begin to discuss safety guarantees during the US withdrawal and the question of the freeing of captured military personnel. We have thus given proof of the greatest flexibility in our readiness to discuss a reasonable withdrawal period, on which the American government can make an alternative proposal if it does not accept our own deadline.

Provisional coalition

To establish peace and assure the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination, an administration must be formed in South Vietnam representing all social groups and all political and religious points of view. In our 8-point peace plan we stated: to create such an administration it is first necessary to form in Saigon an administration excluding Thieu-Ky-Khiem, and which seeks peace, independence, neutrality and democracy. The PRG is ready to begin discussions with such an administration to arrive at an agreement on the formation of a provisional coalition government. This government would organise really free and democratic general elections permitting the population of South Vietnam to decide its future political government without any foreign interference.

(Madame Binh then refers to the large support throughout the world, especially the USA, given to the PRG's peace proposals.)

Anti-Communist Drum

However, the Nixon government obstinately maintains its aggressive colonial position. It uses all kinds of manoeuvres to cloak its intention to prolong the war with the object of submitting South Vietnam and Indochina to neo-colonialism. On June 1st, during a press conference in Washington, Mr. Nixon continued to turn a deaf ear to the urgent demands of the American people. He still refuses to propose a reasonable withdrawal period and persists with absurd conditions for a troop withdrawal. He has also repeated he would end the war only in a way giving South Vietnam (that is Thieu-Ky-Khiem) the capacity to defend itself. He still beats the 'Anti-Communism' drum. He continues his ridiculous insults about the treatment of enemy military personnel by the Vietnamese. But it is precisely Mr. Nixon who prevents the settlement of the question of captured military personnel and who plays with their fate to hide his policy of war and criminal aggression.

These allegations of Mr. Nixon have as much revealed his plan to prolong the war in Vietnam and Indochina as has the impasse reached by this Conference.

In fact Mr. Nixon continues the US military occupation of South Vietnam and is escalating the war, multiplying the crimes committed against the Vietnamese and Indochinese people.

At the same time he maintains in power the puppet regime of Thieu-Ky-Khiem, making it even more fascist, in order to use it to suppress the hopes for peace and independence of the towns-people of South Vietnam.

Traitor Thieu

Recently, in order to prepare what they call 'elections', set up to accentuate the role of lackey and traitor played by Nguyen Van Thieu, the US and the Saigon administration have thrown themselves into a ferocious repression of all those who want peace, independence, neutrality and national union. Illegal arrests have been carried out in Saigon and other towns. People in Saigon who are politically and socially active, like Madame NGO BA THANH, President of the Women's Movement for Civil Rights, the Buddhist nun HUYNH LIEN, the Catholic 'deputy' NGO CONG DUC, and hundreds of others have been arrested and detained by the puppet administration solely for protesting against the war and against the traitorous policies of Nguyen Van Thieu. Is this the way to respect the right to self-determination so much boasted by Mr. Nixon?

In the face of an obstinate and barbarous aggressor, the Vietnamese people, which has a tradition of peace, has no other choice than to continue its struggle for independence and liberty, which are the most noble objectives one can cherish. United under the correct leadership of the National Liberation Front and the PRG, the people of South Vietnam have checked and will continue to frustrate all the aggressive plans of the USA and its agents. The American strategy of "Vietnamisation" has suffered severe setbacks and is condemned to failure. It is not by their policy of 'changing the colour of the corpses' that the Nixon administration will succeed in cutting the losses suffered by American troops. On the contrary, the list of American dead and wounded grows longer. According to incomplete statistics during the two years ending in March 1971 there have been 350,000 Americans amongst the 1,072,000 enemy troops put out of action in South Vietnam. The South Vietnamese population has successively checked the "special pacification programme" (1969-70) and has begun to bring to grief the new American-puppet "pacification" programme, which was initiated in 1971 under the title of "programme for community defence and regional development". More than 8,500 "strategic hamlets" and centres of population regroupment have been dismantled. The people have taken control of 3,600 additional hamlets with a population exceeding 3 million. The liberated areas grow stronger and spread every day and the people there have cut to pieces all enemy sweep operations. One imposing example is given by the victory of the people and the armed forces in the U MINH region which smashed the large-scale sweep operation undertaken by the United States and their agents from December 1970 to April 1971, during which more than 7,500 enemy soldiers

No Base Secure

were put out of action. The best-guarded American-puppet military bases, including those situated in the zones the enemy consider most secure, have been attacked continually. Not only have the puppet troops been cut to pieces in South Vietnam but they have also suffered serious defeats in their role as mercenaries in the pay of the US in Laos and Cambodia. They were put to rout on Highway 9. More recently they have been driven back in complete disarray at SNOUL (Cambodia) and have

suffered severe reverses on other fronts.

In the towns - temporarily occupied - all social groups, workers, students, schoolchildren, intellectuals, journalists, businessmen, religious communities and political parties in the 'opposition', including persons in the 'national assembly' and in the Saigon army, have united in common actions to demand civil rights, democracy and the restoration of peace, and to call for the total withdrawal of US troops and the formation of a broad-based government which would negotiate with the PRG to achieve national unity and neutrality.

In spite of the ferocious terror and repression waged by the United States and their agents, the movement of political struggle in the towns of South Vietnam has developed into an impetuous flood driving back the US and their clique of agents in Saigon into a position of serious isolation.

These truths set out above prove that the barbarism and treachery of the aggressors can never shake the determination of an entire people in their fight for a just cause. The longer the United States prolongs and extends the war, the more devastating will be their defeat.

The speech above was made by Mme. Nguyen Thi Binh, Foreign Minister of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, at Paris in June. It provides the broad outline of the PRG's solution for ending the war.



Nguyen Thi Binh

THE SEVEN POINTS

On July 1st Mme Binh once again put a series of proposals to the Paris Peace Talks. The attitude of the PRG expressed in them does not differ radically from that of the other speech printed here, but they do contain one or two significant changes.

For a long time Nixon has made the prisoners of war the main public stumbling-block to peace. Mme Binh's speech, timed to take full advantage of the confusion caused by the Pentagon Papers, takes the wind out of Nixon's sails. Once a date for withdrawal is set, prisoners will be released simultaneously with the withdrawal.

Now Nixon is left only with his other condition - that the Thieu government should for some time be able to defend itself against communism. All along, of course, the key for Nixon has been the maintenance of a satellite government in Saigon. The prisoners were just pawns. Now the PRG has called Nixon's bluff. Here we give the first two of Mme. Binh's seven points - those containing the most significant initiatives.

Regarding the deadline for the total withdrawal of U.S. forces: The U.S. Government must put an end to its war of aggression in Vietnam,

stop the policy of "Vietnamization" of the war, withdraw from South Vietnam all troops, military personnel, weapons, and war materials of the United States and of the other foreign countries in the U.S. camp, and dismantle all U.S. bases in South Vietnam without posing any conditions whatsoever. The U.S. Government must set a terminal date for the withdrawal from South Vietnam of the totality of U.S. forces and those of the other foreign countries in the U.S. camp.

If the U.S. Government sets a terminal date for the withdrawal from South Vietnam in 1971 of the totality of U.S. forces and those of the other foreign countries in the U.S. camp, the parties will at the same time agree on the modalities:

Exchange of Prisoners/Withdrawal

- of the withdrawal in safety from South Vietnam of the totality of U.S. forces and those of the other foreign countries in the U.S. camp,
- of the release of the totality of military men of all parties and of the civilians captured in the war (including American pilots captured in North Vietnam), so that they may all rapidly return to their homes.

These two operations will begin on the same date and will end on the same date.

A cease-fire will be observed between the South Vietnam's Liberation Armed Forces and the armed forces of the United States and of the other foreign countries in the U.S. camp as soon as the parties reach agreement on the withdrawal from South Vietnam of the totality of U.S. forces and those of the other foreign countries in the U.S. camp.

2/ Regarding the question of power in South Vietnam: The U.S. Government must really respect the South Vietnam people's right to self-determination, put an end to its interference in the internal affairs of South Vietnam, cease backing the bellicose group headed by Nguyen Van Thieu at present in office in Saigon, and stop all manoeuvres, including tricks on elections aimed at maintaining the puppet Nguyen van Thieu.

The political, social and religious forces in South Vietnam aspiring to peace and national concord will use various means to form in Saigon a new administration favoring peace, independence, neutrality and democracy. The Provisional Government of the Republic of South Vietnam will immediately enter into talks with that administration in order to settle the following questions:

The Question of Power

- to form a broad three-segment government of national concord that will assume its functions during the period between the restoration of peace and the holding of general elections and organize general elections in South Vietnam. A cease-fire will be observed between the South Vietnam People's Liberation Armed Forces and the armed forces of the Saigon administration as soon as a government of national concord is formed.
- to take concrete measures with the required guarantees so as to prohibit all acts of terror, reprisal and discrimination against persons having collaborated with one or the other party; to ensure every democratic liberty to the South Vietnamese people; to release all persons jailed for political reasons; to dissolve all concentration camps and to liquidate all forms of constraint and coercion so as to permit the people to return to their native places in complete freedom and to freely engage in their occupations.
- To see that the people's conditions of living are stabilized and gradually improved, to create conditions allowing everyone to contribute his talents and efforts to heal the war wounds and rebuild the country.
- To agree on measures to be taken to ensure the holding of genuinely free, democratic and fair general elections in South Vietnam.

Saigon's electoral farce

In October the South Vietnamese, or rather those of them who are permitted, will go to the polls to elect a new President. The chances are that it will be Thieu again, since behind the semblance of democratic procedure Thieu is busy trying to ensure his own re-election.

Already a new law passed by the Assembly makes it very difficult for prospective candidates to qualify. They have to be endorsed either by 40 members of the Assembly or by 100 provincial councillors. Eight newspapers have been seized for claiming that the government had bribed the deputies to vote for the law.

Besides Thieu, two others have announced their intention to stand - Vice-President Ky and General Minh. Ky has said that he will not spend another four years as an accomplice of those who betray the people. But he can scarcely be considered as a true representative of the people's wishes, and one can only speculate as to what sort of rivalry with Thieu has made him stand.

BIG MINH

Minh, thanks to the US propaganda machine, has a more ambivalent image. Minh is playing the constitutional game. He considers the new electoral law illegal; he himself will do nothing illegal. In other words he will abide by the rules that in fact disqualify the biggest political force in the south - the NLF.

Minh was a career officer under the French and as a politician cooperated with the US after the fall of Dien, in which he was instrumental. If Thieu proves too intransigent for the US, Minh could provide a useful political rallying point.



Buddhist monks and women tear at a barbed wire barricade with their bare hands during an anti-government demonstration in Saigon.

The US would undoubtedly like the election to appear democratic, and would be embarrassed by a one-man show. Kissinger, having assured Thieu of continued US support for South Vietnam, has already conferred with the two other candidates. Minh insists that he will not stand if the elections are unfair, and Thieu is busy trying to prevent provincial councillors from endorsing Ky. If Ky stands, apparently Minh has a chance for Ky would split Thieu's vote. Otherwise Thieu is bound to win, and will get the majority that he failed to get last time.

The US has made various proposals about overseeing the elections by sending observers. One Vietnamese commented to an American during the 1967 elections: "In your elections,

we are going to send 22 Vietnamese who don't speak English to the US for six days to see if your elections are fair."

While these three vie for the presidency, much more important things are happening on the political scene. Politics in Saigon has traditionally been fragmented, consisting of little more than the manoeuvres of a small coterie of bourgeois personalities. But recently the situation has become more complex.

Cynthia Fredrick, who has lived in Saigon, describes the scene (Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars Winter-Spring 1971):

"Early in 1970, a new trend began to develop. Initially centered on rather specific, often personal grievances, this activity has so far not only proved impossible to exorcise, but has evolved into a new, concerted movement for peace. Although virtually unpublicized in the US, there has been a radical transformation of urban Vietnamese public opinion about the war. Students, workers, veterans, women, respected politicians, professional people, and religious leaders (including Roman Catholics, who were formerly strongly anti-Communist and enthusiastic supporters of the war) have all taken a public stand in favour of hoa binh -- peace. For the first time they have linked their demands for peace with insistence on 1) the withdrawal of 'foreign' (i.e. American) troops from the South, and 2) the ouster of the Thieu-Ky-Khiem regime. The war has come home, and the 'silent majority' of South Vietnam is speaking out, loudly.

DAN TOC TU QUYET

Three years ago, talk of hoa binh was not only seditious, but simply unrealistic. Today, it crops up in every conversation, whether with students, mothers, or taxi drivers. Other words and phrases which, in 1967, could be found only in dictionaries, are in constant use: doc lap (independence), hoa giai (reconciliation), and even throng nhat (reunification). Especially important is the phrase dan toc tu quyet - national self-determination. With dan toc tu quyet, the Saigonese tell you, hoa binh doc lap will inevitably follow. Nor is this change in political tenor limited to slogans. The Vietnamese are tired of talk, even about an independent peace. What is needed now, they insist, is action.

Many factors have contributed to this overt manifestation of popular discontent, war-weariness and revulsion. First, it is no longer possible for anyone, even in the cities, to avoid the physical and moral damage of the war. Few families remain unscathed; loved ones have been lost, relatives separated, and traditional social values destroyed. The cities have been flooded by tens of thousands of recently 'urbanized' peasants (i.e. refugees); Saigon, once the home of some 600,000 people, now is estimated to have a population around three million. Some 50,000 people, many of them homeless youngsters, sleep on the streets of the capital every night.

INFLATION

Secondly, despite the optimistic predictions of US government spokesmen about the Saigon regime's 'remarkable economic achievements', the economic situation continues to deteriorate. Between June 1966 and February 1970, the cost of living in Saigon rose by three hundred per cent. An ARVN soldier earns about 3,500 piastres a month; one egg costs thirty-two piastres in the Saigon market. Hence many women - perhaps 400,000 - have been forced

to work as bar girls or as prostitutes in order to help their families survive.

Thirdly, 'Vietnamization' itself has contributed greatly to a stiffening of Vietnamese public opinion. This policy means both an increasing militarization of Vietnamese society (with more than two million men under arms in the South the South Vietnamese army is the fourth largest in the world) and the certainty of increasing destruction and loss of life in months to come. Even more important are the political implications of 'Vietnamization'. Herein lies the clue to the real failure of US policy-makers to come to grips with the social and political realities of South Vietnam. As the American military presence in the capital decreases, long pent-up opposition to the Thieu regime has mounted even faster. In response, the Saigon authorities are forced to rely on increased repression in order to counteract this threat."

This repression has become more marked as the election approaches. Newspapers are repeatedly seized for printing anti-government material. There were 48 seizures in May. An outspoken deputy, Ngo Cong Duc, was arrested on the excuse that he assaulted a municipal councillor - who had provoked him. Two Roman Catholic priests have been jailed for calling for peace. Meetings of more than seven persons are forbidden. And there are between fifty and two hundred thousand political prisoners.

Thieu has said that anyone who renounces violence may take part in the elections. But he continues to exercise violence against his opponents. As the US troops leave Vietnamese cities, the people feel able to confront the government on a political level. And all Thieu's repressive actions have not been able to quell this.

US FORCES OUT

Last year a new organisation was formed - the Popular Front for the Defence of Peace. The groups participating in it include: "the Committee of Women's Action for the Right to Live, the National Movement for Self-Determination, the High School Teachers Union, the Student Committee for Human Rights, the National Progressive Force, the Vietnamese Women's Association, the Buddhist Women's Federation, the Council for the Defence of Women's Human Dignity, the Union of Buddhist Women Teachers, the Private and Public Schools Teachers Union, the Committee for Prison Reform, the Catholic Labour Youth Movement, the Progressive Labour Liaison Committee, various trade unions (dockworkers, railway workers, civil servants, vendors, petroleum workers, market workers, and bank clerks), the Student-Work Committee for the Right to Live, the Vietnamese Student Association, the Saigon and Van Hanh (Buddhist) Student Unions, and the 1965 Peace Action Committee...."

This coalition does not advocate just any 'peace', and above all, not a Nixonian 'peace'. It demands an 'independent peace', drawn up by Vietnamese for Vietnamese. In fact, the PFDP's position as expressed in its official ten-point manifesto is even stronger than that of the NLF/PRG. Rather than call for a 'negotiated' withdrawal of American troops, they have demanded 1) the departure of all US and allied forces as a 'first and necessary step to stopping the fighting', 2) a peace founded on 'the basis of national self-determination, in a spirit of national reconciliation, religious harmony, and international accord', and 3) 'the establishment of a government which is truly representative of the people of Vietnam

in order to stop the war according to the desires of the whole people'.

COALITION

The coalition signals a significant turning point in the very nature of 'Saigon politics'. For unlike many other 'independent' groups which suddenly appeared (and just as suddenly faded) on the Saigon political scene, the PFDP is a membership rather than a leadership oriented organization - an organization which bases its appeal on a popular political platform rather than on the popularity of one or two political hopefuls, and which draws its support from all sections of urban society rather than from a select group of professional politicians.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the PFDP represents a new

How to win friends and influence people

The US mission in Saigon has been conducting public opinion polls in Vietnam with the intention of using their findings to assist in the re-election of President Thieu. The questions are designed to measure Thieu's appeal among Vietnamese voters, to assess the popularity of his rivals and to find out what issues most concern the Vietnamese!

The questionnaire being circulated contains such questions as: "What kind of man should be elected next September?"; and "What issue will you consider most important in deciding who to vote for in the next election?". The results of the survey are classified as "secret". Richard Winslow, an American working on this project, resigned last year. He wrote to a friend that he was informed by the heads of the "pacification study group" that "Thieu asked Colby to make a study of people's feelings towards the ... election" so that he would know "where his strong points were and where he'd have to arrange something (like quickly appointing new officials) which would make sure that he'd come out ahead in a given area".

The Spokesman, No. 10,
March 1971

attempt to recognise and work with the most important reality of South Vietnamese politics as a whole: the strength of the NLF/PRG. Although a 'non-aligned' force, unlike so-called 'third force' elements, the coalition has expressed its willingness to cooperate with the revolutionary movement. By the same token, the NLF has publicly stated that it would welcome the participation of forces represented by the PFDP in a coalition government (Point 5 of Madame Binh's eight-point proposal of September 17, 1970). In this way, the new People's Front might well prove to be the crucial 'missing link' between the resistance forces and the 'legitimate' political interest groups in Saigon.

The public has been ill-informed about this development, but how could it be otherwise? Few US newsmen in Saigon have contacts with Vietnamese outside the tiny ruling circles; most of them depend on JUSPAO (the official US news agency in Saigon) for news about local politics. JUSPAO has avoided any mention of the PFDP's formation. Out of a press corps of several hundred US reporters, only one American journalist (Michael Morrow of Dispatch News Service) was present at the November 7 meeting mentioned above; both of us were promptly expelled from South Vietnam. Information about the coalition was censored in all but a half dozen of Saigon's thirty-odd newspapers. News about the PFDP and the Saigon peace movement will continue to be suppressed, since it exposes only too clearly the duplicity of our government's claim to be defending the right of 'self-determination' in Vietnam."

(Cynthia Fredrick)

British complicity

Soldiers in Skirts

In an article in the Observer (June 13), "Soldiers in Skirts", Polly Toynbee writes:

"She (the Commandant) gave a surprising talk: 'You may have heard that the British Army is pulling out of many of the countries where we are stationed, and I know that most of you are looking forward to foreign postings. But I think you will find that whenever the British Army is pulling out of one country, we are going into another.' She then listed all the countries where the WRAC (Women's Royal Army Corps) is posted - including oddly enough, Cambodia and Vietnam."

Later in the same article Polly Toynbee comments: "The Women's Army, we were told over and over again in our lectures, exists in order to take over a great many administrative and non-combatative jobs from men who could then be released to do the fighting at the front."

Did Wilson send women in skirts instead of men in kilts to placate LBJ? Or is the WRAC Heath's contribution to the "war effort"?

And how are these "soldiers in skirts" employed? Releasing American servicemen for combative duty - or supplying them with Rest and Recreation?

Just how committed is this country over there? It would be worthwhile investigating!

J. Jemmett

(This is what we are doing. We know our readers are interested)

Lovely People

Our story of the five British policemen, who with Robert Thompson - Nixon's British adviser on counterinsurgency - recently completed a study of the South Vietnamese police force, continues:

Hansard, 17 June 1971

La. Mr Frank Allaun (Salford East): To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, why five British police officers were sent to Vietnam recently, paid for by the Agency for International Development; and what was the cost to the British police force in terms of lost time and salary.

No. 34: Mr Anthony Royle: None of the group of distinguished retired overseas officials which visited Vietnam is employed by Her Majesty's Government. There was therefore no cost to public funds.

Who are these lovely people? More next time we hope.

All forces out

A petition signed by 235 Members of Parliament in four countries, urging American withdrawal from Indochina "at an early and fixed date during 1971", will be presented to the US Congress by two British MPs.

The two MPs will be elected at a meeting in the House of Commons of the 87 British Labour MPs who have attached their names to the petition, as have seven Members of the House of Lords.

The British version of the petition is above the signatures of Lord Brockway and Mr Ian Mikardo, chairman of the Labour Party national executive. Identical versions have been signed unanimously by all 81 members of the Finnish Parliamentary Social Democratic Group, by 34 Australian MPs, including Mr L.H. Barnard, Deputy Leader of the Opposition, and by 26 Canadian parliamentarians.

The chairman of the Rome region of the Italian Socialist Party, Mr Riccardo Lombardi, will be circulating the same appeal to all Western European, Scandinavian and Yugoslav MPs. He is considering a plan of his own to arrange for a small delegation of European MPs representing the signatories to cooperate with the British MPs in the Washington visit.

The British version of the petition says the signatories share with Parliamentarians in other countries a growing dismay at the prolongation and extension of the war in Indochina.

"We call on Members of Parliament throughout the world to join with us in signing and sending to the US Congress this declaration that:

"We urge the withdrawal from Indochina of all American military forces and materials, including air and naval forces, and the cessation of all bombing attacks from bases either within or outside Indochina, at an early and fixed date during 1971".

Announcing this, Mr Frank Allaun, MP, a member of the Labour Party national executive and of the British Campaign for Peace in Vietnam's executive, said that pressure from Parliamentary groups would be all

the more effective at this moment when there was "the greatest anti-war movement the world has seen this generation".

Mr Jack Askins and Mrs Florence Croasdell said the BCPV would be making special efforts to support the Parliamentary delegation with a programme of activities in Britain to be carried through to the autumn. These include gathering of signatures to the petition urging Mr Heath to press the White House to withdraw US troops, "now that the Pentagon studies of the Vietnam war have revealed the deception practised by three former Presidents of the US and the present holder of that office".

All petition forms should be returned to the BCPV by July 20, and a deputation will take them to the Prime Minister later in the month.

Mrs Croasdell also said there would be a series of politico-cultural meetings throughout the country, for which Dr Benjamin Spock and Miss Jane Fonda are being invited. On December 5, there would be another conference of trade unionists at Congress House, TUC headquarters in London, arranged by the BCPV. Overseas trade unionists would be invited.

Morning Star

Grass roots

On Tuesday 6th July, some 50 people met in the Conway Hall to hear Hilary Rose, a lecturer at the LSE, talk about her recent visit to Vietnam and about the anti-personnel weapons used by the US in Indochina.

After the meeting there was a general discussion, introduced by Terry Smith, VSC Secretary, on what can be done to build up the movement and how more people can be actively involved in it. It emerged from the discussion that demonstrations were felt to be very important but that educated action and grass roots work was needed at all times. One of the many practical suggestions put forward was for a small mobile exhibition of photographs etc to be organised. VSC would like to hear from anyone who could provide material and who could help in putting together such an exhibition. Please contact the VSC at 182 Pentonville Road, London N 1 (278-2616).

INDOCHINA FORUMS

The VSC holds open meetings every fortnight, alternating educational meetings with business meetings. The next meetings are as follows:

July 13 Tuesday 7.30 pm
Educational meeting: "How Britain Started the Vietnam War"

July 27 Tuesday 7.30 pm
Business meeting

August 10 Tuesday 7.30 pm
Educational meeting: "The Pentagon Papers"

August 24 Tuesday 7.30 pm
Business meeting

These meetings are open to all people interested in Indochina. They are held at the "Queens Arms", Penton St, N 1 (Kings Cross tube). For more information, contact VSC, 182 Pentonville Rd, London N 1.

FILMS ON VIETNAM

"People's War" 40 min; goes beyond the horror of the war to show the rebuilding of Vietnamese society
"Army" 20 min; draft resisters' movement in the United States
"In the Year of the Pig" 100 min; excellent historical analysis of the war
"The Threatening Sky" 30 min; Joris Ivens' account of the effects of war on Vietnam; narration by Lindsay Anderson
Catalogue on request from: Liberation Films, 6 Bramshill Gardens, NW 5.

BIRMINGHAM READERS

A new VSC branch has been formed in Birmingham. We need YOU. Please contact Dennis Proctor, Nurses Home, Moseley Hall Hospital, Alcester Road, Moseley, Birmingham 13.

BOOKS FOR VIETNAM

The Vietnamese have asked us for copies of textbooks on English and dictionaries. They would especially like English for Foreigners and the Advanced Learners of Current English by Hornby, Gatenby and Wakefield. Please send any copies you have or can collect and we will forward them.

DESPERATION CORNER

Last issue we asked unsuccessfully if any of our readers had unwanted copies of Issue 7. We desperately need copies to fill orders for complete sets from libraries etc. Can none of our readers help us? Please send to INDOCHINA, 182 Pentonville Road, London N 1.

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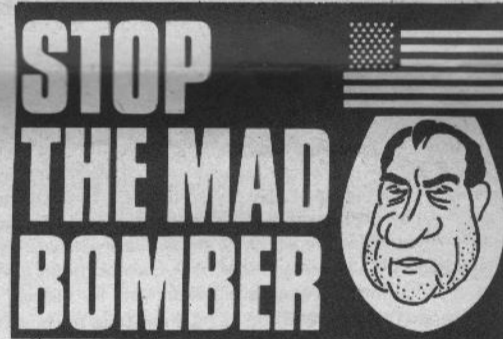
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VIETNAM DOCUMENTS

Send for the Ten Point Programme of the NLF and the Eight Point Peace Initiative of the PRG, published by Liberation, 313/5 Caledonian Rd, London N 1. 01-607-0465. Price including postage 5p. Send stamps or cash.

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INDOCHINA

Journal of the Vietnam Solidarity Committee
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People Emerging Against Corrupt Establishments

PUBLISHED UNDERGROUND FOR R.A.F. Alconbury Ruislip Croughton
Bentwaters Upper Heyford Lakenheath
Chicksands Woodbridge Mildenhall

A PAPER BY AND FOR GI'S



JOIN WITH P.E.A.C.E. TO STOP THE WAR

In this issue you will find several articles on the war in Vietnam. The meaning of P.E.A.C.E. is no accident. Those of us involved with the paper feel very strongly about the war. As you can see in these articles we feel it is immoral, illegal and an incredible waste of human lives and material wealth, which might otherwise be used to improve the world. We feel it is time to do something.

Commencing with this copy of the paper we will be distributing forms for a petition. This petition will be addressed to the President and Congress of the United States. This is completely lawful. We have a right guaranteed by the constitution of the United States to petition our Commander-in-Chief and our elected representatives. Commanders are forbidden to oppose this right to petition. AFR 35-15 in paragraph 4 states: "Military personnel may petition or present a grievance to any member of congress without fear of reprisal."

Please help us! If you oppose the war, please sign the petition. If you don't oppose, then please listen to those of us who will try to convince you otherwise. If you want to help, please circulate the petition. Come to our next meeting and pick some up.

We are not likely to end the war by this action alone, but we can show that some members of the Air Force and other US services have a sense of morality. Considering the increasing role of the Navy and Air Force in Vietnam, this is a concrete way to disassociate yourself from the horror and killing that is Vietnam. Do it!

Dear Air Force Wife,

What are the men protesting against? They are trying to resist the de-humanizing aspects of the military machine - those methods by which good, sincere men can be coned into fighting an unjust war. Those methods have their roots in small humiliating harassments of individual G.I.'s, in not allowing them a free voice to express their feelings, in a denial of the basic rights of all people, the right to freedom of speech, to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

For thousands of years women have been de-humanized not only as men have been (by unjust laws, slave-owners, tyrannical kings, and states of all kinds), but also in an even more oppressive manner-as women. They have been made to feel inadequate as people, inferior by standards set by men.

As women, Air Force wives can sympathize even more fully with the frustrations and humiliations of the G.I.s and with the terrible things happening in Vietnam. We have known these frustrations and humiliations in our own lives because we live in a man's world and, as the givers of life, we are horrified by the slaughter of any people, regardless of their color or nationality or beliefs.

We are in the best possible position to work with the PEACE people, not as auxiliaries to men, but as their proud and free-thinking equals. By our confidence, in the justice of the cause, we can show the men that they too can stand up for themselves. We can show the similarity between the degradation of women and that of G.I.'s most importantly, we can all unite for People's Liberation and for Peace.

We must attend all of the PEACE meetings to show our support. We must try to understand the problems and not be afraid to speak out. We do not have to wait for the men to lead, but can take action by ourselves. We must talk to other Air Force women about the issues to get them to come along too, and then let's go on from there. The women of Vietnam have already woken up and have approached the American Women's Liberation groups for support to end the war. What are we waiting for?

WOMEN UNITE FOR PEACE

Yvonne



TIGHT-LIPPED AMERICA



LNS - S. Collier



AFR 35 - 15 Sez: This is your legal property and cannot be taken from you.

FREE ANGELA

POW-MIA Let's Not Forget Them

It appears that the Air Force is cooperating in a new program to arouse the public consciousness about the Prisoners of War and those listed as missing in action. There have been articles in the official newspapers and bumper stickers and posters have appeared.

One can not help but sympathize with the plight of these men and their families. But this issue can not be considered separately from the rest of the war.

In Vietnam the most powerful nation in the world with almost limitless technological resources is fighting one of the smallest and most primitive. We have not hesitated to develop special forms of napalm that will stick to flesh and cause horrible burns, or to drop CBUs that intentionally cause hideous, lasting killing wounds rather than kill outright. It hasn't bothered us to defoliate the jungles of Vietnam and damage their ecology that may take centuries to restore. They have no planes or bomb to burn us. They have not fired one shot within the United States. Is it any wonder that they use any method they can to fight the war? Is it surprising that they use prisoners for political ends?

How would you feel if some Russian threw a molotov cocktail into your home and burned your wife and children? After you watched them die for a couple of weeks would you be concerned with the family of the Russian thousands of miles away? You know very well you would want to tear him limb from limb. But the Vietnamese haven't done that.

Certainly we should be concerned for our prisoners of war, but no less concerned for the Vietnamese who are daily being burned and slaughtered. There is no question but that everyone including the North Vietnamese would like to see these men returned to their families. It is also clear that there is only one way that this is going to come about. That is following a complete withdrawal of American forces from Vietnam. So they are another reason for the Americans to get out of Vietnam.

Let's not forget our POWs and MIAs: sign the petition and agitate for an end to the war !!!



G.I.s IN

The anti-war struggle continues and is now dramatically extending itself into the very engine of the US war machine. Opposition to the war has been steadily spreading throughout the ranks of the US armed forces, and now in Britain, a quiet backwater for the US Air Force, a surprisingly radical opposition movement has emerged during the past year. This page contains excerpts from the GI newspaper P.E.A.C.E. (People Emerging Against Corrupt Establishments), produced by Air Force personnel stationed in Britain despite continuing harassment from the top brass.

On May 31st, 1,000 GIs expressed their opposition to the war by petitioning the President and the Congress to end the war. Two

hundred GIs from various Air Force bases presented the petition at the American Embassy despite threats from military authorities. They presented the petition in civilian clothes and in small groups so as not to contravene the Air Force regulation forbidding demonstrations on foreign soil. Following the petitioning, action was taken against a number of the men, including the court martial of Captain Culver, the only officer who publicly identified himself with the petitioning. A number of other participants were sent back to the States. Others have been subject to various forms of harassment on the bases in an attempt to destroy P.E.A.C.E.

As the paper goes to press, Captain Tom Culver is being court-martialed on British soil by the US war machine. We don't know the outcome, but this interview gives a picture of the man the US military is trying to suppress. Air Force regulations forbid participation in demonstrations overseas. The Air Force will attempt to prove that the gathering of GIs at the American Embassy on May 31st to present their anti-war petition was a demonstration. Captain Culver is charged on two counts: participating in a demonstration and soliciting others to commit a crime (passing out leaflets urging participation).

The location of the court martial in Britain indicates again British complicity as a satellite of the American war machine.

How did you come to join the Air Force?

Well in '65 it was very clear they were going to draft me because of the big build up in Vietnam so I said, well I'll come into the Air Force as a volunteer, as a lawyer, at least I can practise my trade. But I was opposed to the war in Vietnam before I ever entered the service.

Did you know a lot about it? Was your opposition very serious?

No. I wasn't doing anything. I was doing a lot of reading about it. Then I went to Vietnam and again I didn't see any horrors there but I could see the awful things we were doing to the Vietnamese people.

Where were you?

I was in Phan Rang, which is just off Con Ron bay, for five months and Saigon for seven months. I'd spent about 6 months before I went studying Vietnamese in the evenings so by the time I got there I could get by in Vietnamese and picked it up quite quickly, so I could converse with Vietnamese.

That's unusual. Why did you do that?

Well because I wanted to get to know the Vietnamese people and I wanted to live in the community as much as I could. At Phan Rang I couldn't because you weren't allowed off base during daylight hours and you couldn't live off base. In Saigon I did, I lived a long way from the base. I lived 6 Kilometers from the base and completely among Vietnamese with Vietnamese friends. In fact all

my friends thought I was crazy. They said that the Viet Cong were going to kill me. I was living so far away, in the Vietnamese community

Were you fluent enough to really talk to people?

Yes, between Vietnamese and French I could really converse quite nicely. So I got to know them really well and it seemed to me we were doing a very bad thing. And with a very few exceptions, most of the Vietnamese people who were on our side were primarily looking out for themselves. They weren't concerned about communism. They were concerned about making a buck

INTERVIEW TOM CULVER

and I thought we were corrupting them very badly. And we were making a terrible mess of the place. It's a beautiful, beautiful country, and the French I think had left it very pretty. They'd built good roads and beautiful cities - Saigon's beautifully laid out, and the Americans were just destroying it And in the countryside it was the same sort of thing. They were just tearing places up. You could see farms that had been destroyed by the defoliation - everything was withered. It was really very bad - just from the point of view of seeing the effect of it. I never saw any combat. The only combat casualties I saw were



Captain Thomas Culver

BRITAIN



Some G.I.s going to the U.S. embassy to present a petition on May 31st.

after Tet. So, I became even more convinced that the war was wrong.

Did you have any contact with anti-war propaganda or movements then in Vietnam - in '67?

There was literally nothing happening then, certainly not in the Air Force. I talked about it. I talked about it to the extent that I got investigated once, you know, that I felt it was a very bad thing we were doing and morally wrong. I never made any public speeches or anything, it was just a matter of talking to anybody who would listen what I had to say.

with
VER by Elaine Van Arkadie

Would people hold this against you, say, associating with the Vietnamese, think you were funny.

More than that - they thought I was foolish, that I was going to get myself killed. Some people did get killed from time to time. You know, they'd put a bomb in their house or something like that. But, in fact, when the crunch came and my neighbourhood was captured by the Viet Cong during the Tet offensive, I was just sitting there, waiting, knowing that any of hundreds of people in that neighbourhood just had to put the word in the Viet Cong's ear and they'd come and kill me. But nobody did and they never came. So obviously the Vietnamese did like me or otherwise they would have turned me in.

After Vietnam, did you spend much time in the States?

Ten days.

So in fact you've had very little contact with the anti-war movement.

I haven't been in the States for four years. Last fall this peace movement got started and I started working with one of the guys who was here at Lakenheath. I started writing for them and doing various things, acting as sort of a de facto legal advisor and I've just kept on writing it.

Were you one of the organizers?

No. I was not one of the organizers. It was a going thing. They put out three newspapers before I got very involved.

How do you evaluate the emergence of P.E.A.C.E.?

I think its part of the wide social ferment thats going on. There's a lot involved in PEACE that's not anti-Vietnam war, thats involved with making the lot of the GI better. There's a lot criticizing the whole military structure and, if you like, the whole structure of our society. I think the change in attitude is not in terms of opposition to the war but rather in terms of willingness to organise and do things. I think there has been a big change in this regard. I mean I'm part of it. A couple of years ago I was doing nothing. Now I am. Obviously there's been a change in me and I think its true of the other guys as well. Most of the guys involved were here two years ago and now they're doing things.

Do you think it would have happened here in the Air Force even without Nixon's Vietnamisation policy?

Oh sure. The Vietnamisation is pertinent to why we're using the form of petitioning the President but it certainly isn't important to the movement. No, I think the movement would have arisen at this time regardless.

Everyone I've spoken to who has seen the paper has been kind of amazed by the paper, its radicalism and the general style, which is perhaps just very American-the extremely critical attitude toward authority.

What is particularly amazing and what a lot of people simply will not accept but is true is that this is nearly 100 per cent the product of ordinary lower grade airmen. This is what they want to write. They've written it without any coaching from anybody else and its because its what they feel. If you want to get a very bad attitude towards authority, try being in the military. You realise how stupid it is. The stupidities that are evident to anyone who has served in the military are just overwhelming. Even a fool can see that its a ridiculous structure. And then they say, well if the military's like this, maybe the whole bloody system's like this and the end product is very radical.



NON-MANIFESTO

Some people think that P.E.A.C.E. has gone too far to the left. Others think that it is over-concerned with racial problems. P.E.A.C.E. is not anything but a bunch of G.I.s saying what they feel like saying.

There is no editorial policy. There is no editorial board other than the guys who show up on the weekend when it is put together. What is printed is what has been written, by those who have taken the trouble to write.

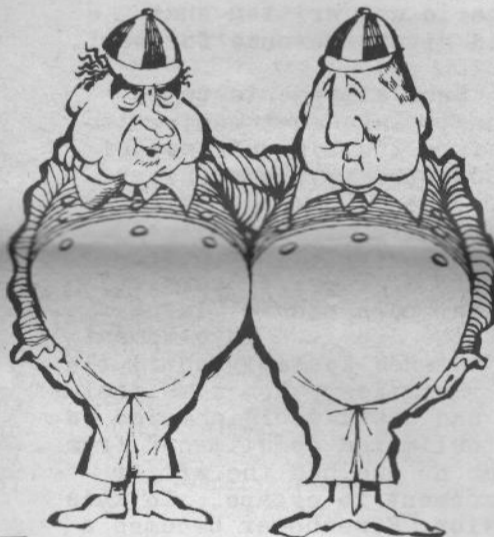
So if you think that it is too radical or too concerned with the Black Revolution that is because the radical and black revolutionary guys are the ones who have done something for the paper and you haven't.

This is a non Manifesto because there is no fixed policy. P.E.A.C.E. is only a vehicle for G.I.s to express views they wouldn't express elsewhere. If you want to say how great the Air Force is or what fun it is to kill there are other newspapers for you, but any contrary opinion is welcome.

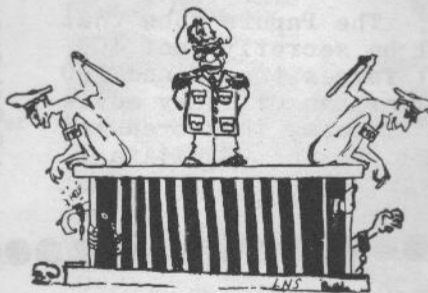
We used to print everything that came in. We can't do that anymore because there is just too much coming in. Selection is by those who come to help put the paper together, on the basis of the chosen theme of that issue.

We put it together by typing things into columns just as you see them in the paper. So if you want to make it more likely your thing is printed, type it in final form into a column the same size as these; 61 spaces elite or 51 spaces pica.

P.E.A.C.E. IS WHAT YOU MAKE IT



TWEEDLEDICK & TWEEDLEDUM-DUM



"Now listen up, scum. Our motto here is 'Rehabilitation--Not Punishment.' And we WILL rehabilitate you, if we have to break every bone in your bodies to do it."

DON'T LET YOUR SUPERVISOR STEAL FROM YOU (from the Legal Staff)

A problem that readers of PEACE often have is that their supervisors, senior NCOs or officers will order them to give up their copy of the paper. This is stealing! Your supervisor has no more right to demand your copy of this paper than to demand your car or your paycheck. AFR 35-15 states that mere possession of documents not authorized for distribution may not be made unlawful, and documents may not be impounded unless you were distributing them (hardly possible if you only have one). So, once you have received your copy of PEACE, wherever you have gotten it from, it is just as much yours as your car or your paycheck. Anyone who orders you to give it up is a thief, DON'T LET HIM GET AWAY WITH IT!!!!

What can you do? Well, you can tell him to shove it, just as nicely as you can. Any halfway intelligent officer or NCO will know he has gone beyond the scope of his authority and will let the matter drop there. But if you doubt that your supervisor falls into the category, you had better give it to him.

Then, you have various courses of action open to you. You can go to the IG. Make sure you submit a formal written complaint. Do not be satisfied with a chit-chat. If enough people use this mechanism there might be some results.

If the person who demands the paper is in your chain of command, you could go to your squadron commander and should he fail to get your paper back for you, then file an Article 138 complaint. See our legal rights pamphlet for advice on how to do this.

If you have a sympathetic congressman or senator you might write to him. Again if enough people do it, they might leave off this gestapo technique.

Finally a drastic measure, you could go to the legal office and insist on being allowed to swear out charges against the person who stole your paper under Article 12 (larceny) of the UCMJ. They are obliged to make up the charge sheets and permit you to swear to them. They will then be taken to the Base Commander for his action. Don't expect a court martial, but it might get the BC to try to control this abuse.

You know which form of action is best suited to your situation. So whichever you like, do it, but don't let them steal from you.

PASS THIS COPY AROUND

"Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for redress of grievances."

First Amendment, U.S. Constitution

P.E.A.C.E. is published monthly by concerned G.I.s from RAF bases at Alconbury, Croughton, Lakenheath, Mildenhall and Upper Heyford. Available to G.I.s without cost and to civilians at a subscription rate of \$3.00 or £1.50 yearly.

Articles should be submitted by the 20th of each month. Address all correspondence to P.E.A.C.E., P.O. Box 62, 3 Round Church Street, Cambridge CB5 8AU



Open secrets

The Pentagon Papers



The damaging revelations drawn from the Pentagon Papers by the New York Times will have come as only a limited surprise to those in the anti-war movement. They will remember what the leaders of the DRV were saying about American actions years ago.

As early as 1961, the DRV commented on the US "White Book" (which rang various changes on the theme of "a clear and present danger of Communist conquest") that it was a "collection of false documents ... to justify (American) aggressive actions in South Vietnam by preparing public opinion for the despatch of American troops to that country". Just before the Gulf of Tonkin incident, Johnson declared that there were "no plans" to "move the Vietnam war into the North", and McNamara claimed that the Tonkin patrol was "a routine patrol of the type we carry out in international waters all over the world". The DRV, on the other hand, believed

INVADE NORTH VIETNAM

that the incident exposed "even more clearly the design to invade North Vietnam and extend the war"; it demanded that the US "stop at once all provocation and sabotage against the DRV". Our press has not reminded us about the DRV statements, although the Pentagon study shows that the destroyer patrols were an "element in the covert military pressures against North Vietnam ... the destroyers collected the kind of intelligence on North Vietnamese warning radars and coastal defences that would be useful to raiding parties or, in the event of a bombing campaign, to pilots".

And so it goes on. Old stories which looked bad at the time look far worse now. In July 1964, for example, Marshall Ky spoke at a press conference of combat teams having been sent inside North Vietnam and revealed that he

had sought fighter bombers from the US. McNamara had said that they "might be forthcoming". "I cannot assure that all of North Vietnam would be destroyed", said Ky, "but Hanoi would certainly be destroyed". He added that he was "probably talking about things he should not mention". But a General Moore from the US who was present asked reporters not to "jump to conclusions".

THE PRESS

On the whole, as we know, reporters did not "jump to conclusions" in the years that followed. And one of the most remarkable revelations of the last few weeks has been that the press shares much of our lack of surprise. The press, it now appears, knew a good deal of what the Pentagon Papers have revealed: much of it was known at the time through leaks and non-attributable stories and releases. And not just the press says so. Senator Goldwater, for example, has revealed that during the course of the 1964 election he "knew that a scenario was written that would give an excuse for war".

Such statements tempt Nixon to take what comfort he can from the discomfiture of his Democratic predecessors in office. Summaries of the Pentagon Papers are already trying their best to put forward a 'received version' of what happened in Vietnam: that the American involvement was watched sensibly until the early sixties, when some foolish and hasty decisions led to an "unlimited commitment" from which no one had the wit or detachment to escape. In this version, Eisenhower becomes a cautious military man, and Kennedy falls into error. On to Kennedy, to be sure, some quantitative changes can be pinned. The Papers show that in 1961 he secretly sent 400 special forces troops and 100 other American military advisers to Vietnam thus breaking the limit on the US military

mission in Saigon under the Geneva agreement, that he ordered clandestine warfare against the DRV by troops from South Vietnam, and that he

permitted American soldiers to enter combat situations. The duplicity of Johnson is, of course, even more spectacularly established. Few things can surpass the instructions he sent to American ambassadors after his speech of March 1968 (which was eventually followed by the Paris peace talks): the ambassadors should make it clear to their host governments, said Johnson, that Hanoi was "most likely to denounce the project and thus



Washington says publishing this stuff could be real dangerous!

free our hand after a short period. Nevertheless, we might wish to continue the limitation on bombing the North even after a formal denunciation in order to reinforce its sincerity and put the monkey firmly on Hanoi's back for whatever follows".

Even in the short term, however, no 'received version' can be helpful to Nixon. Secret briefings and hidden decisions go on, as everyone now knows. Indeed the Sun-Times has claimed that the CIA told Nixon in 1969 that if America immediately withdrew from Indochina, "all of S-E Asia would remain just as it is at least for another

generation". (The quality of CIA advice, which shows up well in a hard-nosed fashion on most parts of the Pentagon Papers seems now to be as bad as the rest.) But it is far more important that the Papers

U.S. IMPERIALISM

document, either directly or by clear inference, the secrecy, callousness and intransigence of US Imperialism over the whole post war period. They document a system which is necessarily characterized thus.

This is all too obvious: yet it is not a conclusion accepted by the majority. One newspaper has expressed the pious hope that the revelations will move voters to insist on "a proper respect of their constitution"; and this is very close to what Daniel Ellsberg himself has said hopefully about the likely affect of his disclosures. We may however more confidently expect that American imperialism is not going to change its ways because it has been revealed as it goes about its business. The nature of the case does not lend itself to such prescriptions.

The revelation of facts is admittedly always a matter of degree. The weekly news-magazines in particular have argued that the Pentagon Papers do not tell the whole story of American and allied involvement in Vietnam and Indochina generally, which is of course perfectly true. The papers come mainly from the files of the Department of Defence, diplomatic material which could be embarrassing to many governments is excluded, and the nature of the editorial process within the New York Times is not clear. But it is not true to imply, as sections of our press have, that the full story would be somehow less stark, more coherent and even, perhaps, more justifiable. This non sequitur is the precise opposite of the truth. And certainly there are some more truths to come.

New Military Base

Tokyo: According to the Tokyo daily Yomiuri, the United States are in the process of constructing an important strategic naval and air base on Majuro atoll in the Marshall archipelago. This base, which will be bigger than the one at Kadana on Okinawa - which the Americans must evacuate in 1972 - would have a runway 7500 metres long and 100 metres wide. The Japanese paper bases its story on eye-witness reports from Okinawan workers and engineers who recently returned home after having worked at Majuro. The Marshall Islands, which already acts as a store for toxic gases and a staging-point for nuclear submarines, would thus become the central base of the United States in the Pacific Ocean.

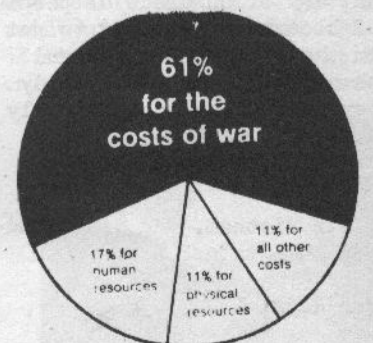
Rock amid the bullets

A strong protest was raised by organizations of teachers, students, peace workers, against the May 29 International Rock Festival in Saigon sponsored by Mrs. Thieu, wife of the President, and presided over by her. In a letter to Mrs. Thieu, representatives of these organizations made clear the following points:

- 1) Under the pretext of "helping" the 200 families whose men were killed during the Laos operations, the festival was really organized to corrupt tens of thousands of Vietnamese youth.
- 2) By holding this festival, an imported cultural phenomenon harmful to the customs and culture of the Vietnamese people was normalized.

- 3) The sponsors and organizers of the festival, as well as those participating in it, could only be considered accomplices of foreign schemes which aimed at the destruction of Vietnamese culture. Representatives of the following organizations signed the letter: Saigon Teachers Assn., the Saigon Students Union, the Women's Movement for the Right to Life, the Movement for the People's Self-Determination, the People's Front Struggling for Peace, and the Movement of Children and Orphans for the Right to Life. Ven. Nhat-Thuong, Deputy Secretary General of the Vien Hoa-Dao (Unified Methodist Church) was brief: "The festival is a misfortune befalling our young generation which no responsible person could condone".

Lotus



This useful graph prepared by SANE illustrates the tremendous cost of war and the disproportionate share of US resources it consumes. Reproductions of the graph with useful statistics are available from SANE, 318 Massachusetts Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 2002.

Troop withdrawals - but bombing goes on

For the United States the war in Indochina has become almost exclusively an air war.

Each year the bomb tonnage has climbed, to a grand total of over 10 million tons since 1965. (One and a half million tons were dropped on all of Europe during World War II). The most important weapon of this new air war has come to be the B52.

Some 744 of these giant stratofortresses were built by Boeing at their Wichita and Seattle plants between 1952 and 1966, when the last one was delivered to the Air Force. They were used as part of the Strategic Air Command (SAC) forces headed by General Curtis Lemay, who is well remembered for his advocacy of bombing the North Vietnamese "back into the stone age".

Their maximum speed is only 650 mph; a subsonic speed which rendered

them vulnerable to all kinds of missile attacks. But in raids over Indochina they have been invariably escorted by supersonic fighter bombers past SAM missile sites on the Ho Chi Minh trail. The growing threat these missiles have posed to the B52s has led to a policy shift directing pilots to take "more aggressive actions" when they find North Vietnamese radar locked in on them. To date, the US says no B52 has been lost to hostile fire.

The range of these intercontinental bombers is immense. The record was set by a crew which flew a B52 12,519 miles from Okinawa to Madrid - almost half-way round the world. They have had no trouble flying the almost 6,000 mile round trip from Guam to the "drop zone" in Indochina.

There are reportedly 100 B52s in Asia now, stationed at Guam, Okinawa and Sattahip air base in Thailand. Chiang Kaishek's military regime, with US aid, has just built a new B52 base in Taiwan in anticipation of the loss of Okinawa to the Japanese in the near future.



"... Disgusting! ... Killing women and children point-blank with M-16 rifles!" (Ally/LNS)

After Calley

As Lte Calley awaits his appeal against his sentence of hard labour for life for premeditated murder at My Lai, the Pentagon has announced that Brigadier-General John Donaldson is to be charged with the murder of six South Vietnamese civilians.

Donaldson is the first US general to be accused of war crimes since Brig.-Gen. J.H. Smith was convicted for ordering "all persons over the age of ten" in a Philippine village to be slaughtered in 1901. The charges result from accusations of a helicopter pilot that Donaldson took pot-shots at civilians from the air. At first he admitted this, claiming he only fired on those who took evasive action and were thus the enemy, although later he declared himself "fully confident that I will be completely vindicated".

At the time of the incidents (October '68 to March '69), Donaldson was commander of the American Division's 11th Infantry Brigade. His predecessor in that position was Colonel Oran K. Henderson, who is facing charges of covering up the My Lai massacre and who has roundly declared in his defence

EVERY UNIT HAS A MY LAI

"every unit has had its My Lais". Henderson is one of the three still facing charges arising from My Lai (out of an original 25).

His form of defence, if pressed, will clearly embarrass the Pentagon. This is perhaps one reason why his superior, Major-General Samuel J. Koster, had covering up charges against him dropped for "lack of evidence", although he was subsequently censured for "unprofessional conduct" and reduced to Brigadier-General. This was on the recommendation of General Westmoreland, Commander of US Forces in Vietnam, and involved no formal procedures such as court martial.

Almost every day the B52s roar off their runway loaded with 750 and 1000 pound blockbusters for their "carpet bombing" raids over Indochina. Each aircraft is capable of carrying 30 tons of bombs.

B52 EFFICIENCY

They fly at an altitude of 40,000 feet, above the cloud cover where they can be neither seen nor heard from the ground. Sighting is done by infra-red and electronic devices. This means that members of the crew never need to see the target and few actually witness the strike since it happens long after the aircraft have passed over.

An "average daily bombing" by the B52s has been around 250 tons, although during the autumn of last year they were laying down 1,000 tons a day for a three month period. Reports for January 1971 indicate that the B52s have been flying 1,000 sorties a month. A sortie is one raid by one plane. Their maximum capability in Asia is said to be upward to 2,000 tons, or four million pounds of explosives a day. The B52s alone have accounted for some 5 million craters, 30 feet deep and 54 feet in diameter. The craters have proven to be hazardous breeding grounds for malarial mosquitoes throughout Indochina.

INDISCRIMINATE BOMBING

In action, the B52s bomb areas rather than targets, making no distinction between various structures, terrain and living creatures on the ground. It is exactly for this reason that military commanders have continuously expanded their use. In a war where the military have long since given up on distinguishing between friendly and hostile forces in "insecure" areas of operations, the B52 has well implemented the new tactic of "draining the countryside" within 30 miles of ground zero of any strike.

Other officers under investigation for covering up war crimes include Major-General John Barnes and Colonel J. Ross Franklin, both accused by Lte-Colonel A. Herbert, who claims that he himself was threatened with massacre charges by his commanding officer (who later committed suicide) unless he refrained from accusing his superiors. Major-General Barnes has been promoted since coming under investigation.



After being initially goaded into investigations by press reports of My Lai, the Pentagon brass are perhaps not averse to the machinery producing a few convictions. These may tarnish the military image, but will prove that the military system is basically sound; and Westmoreland has said that it is the system which is on trial.

Inevitably only a few can be court-martialed, and these will find that their claims that atrocities are commonplace, endemic to the war, are discarded as a defence. It is idle to suppose that the Pentagon would indict its own strategists and attempt to prove that urbanisation could not be accomplished without atrocities. Yet while trials of the My Lai type continue, the pressure to do so from elsewhere within a divided Establishment is easily resisted.

Nonetheless, NLF leader Nguyen Huu Tho recently told French photographer Marc Riboud; "For some time now we have been unable to receive visitors in the liberated areas because we cannot guarantee their security. The US possesses colossal power and these B52 raids are terrible. But of course we have means of surviving and living even against such bombardment."

Orville Schell in the *Guardian* (US), 6 March 1971

Japan's stake in Vietnam

The same countries that have devastated Vietnam are already planning to reconstruct it - in their own image.

That Vietnam is intended to be a market economy, available to the world's capitalists, is made crystal clear in an unpublished report by the Japanese equivalent of the Confederation of British Industries. This is the interim report (1970) of the Liaison Committee for Cooperation with Vietnam. It comments on US plans for reconstruction, and, never doubting US success in the war, considers how Japan can muscle in on the peace.

The businessmen of Japan are turning their minds to the advantages that war has brought to Vietnam - a whole infrastructure of technical skills, roads and ports - and the "bright prospects" for Japanese co-operation in the new economy.

The enormous concentration of population around US bases, for instance, means unemployment, as Vietnamisation progresses. Cam Ranh used to be just a hamlet: now it employs 150,000 Vietnamese. New industries will be needed to absorb them.

Already, for example, companies based in Tokyo and Osaka have established joint ventures with the South Vietnamese for the production of farm machinery.

Many Vietnamese, in the context of a new draft law on investment, have expressed concern that the Thieu government is surrendering the country's natural resources to foreigners - South Vietnam, says one Saigon newspaper, is being turned into a market.

The Japanese already have an idea for calming such nationalistic fears - a free port and industrial zone, in which fiscal advantages will be offered to foreign investors.

JAPAN AIDS U.S.

It is no surprise to see Japan acting in this way - fulfilling a role that the US has frequently allotted to it. For despite its "no war constitution", Japan has been actively supporting US aggression in Indochina. Without Japan indeed the US military machine could hardly have kept going. One estimate of the Special Vietnam Procurement from Japan in 1967 is \$200,000,000. The goods supplied have varied from sandbags and electronic equipment to five million pairs of jungle shoes, specially designed to protect against NLF booby traps.

Japan has done more than supply the US. It has been actively militarily involved. The most extreme examples - a bullet factory and Japanese crews (government paid) on US military craft - were stopped in the face of public outcry. But assistance continued - the Japanese provide transport for arms, and B52s have bombed Vietnam from Okinawa. The Japanese peace movement, one of the largest in the world, has violently opposed the government's involvement in the war. Ever since the Paris talks began, the Japanese government and businessmen have been weeping crocodile tears over the need for reconstruction. So when new moves towards peace are made, and they offer their help, we will know which side they are on.

AUSTRALIA

LATEST MORATORIUM

On June 30th well over 100,000 Australians demonstrated once again their disapproval of their involvement in the war.

The largest numbers gathered in Melbourne, where mounted police tried to "control" crowds of over 80,000. They were aided by the Moratorium's own "marshalls" with walkie-talkie sets. Dr Benjamin Spock addressed the rally, after flying from Adelaide's 3,000-strong moratorium. The police as usual were more violent in Adelaide than other places; and 26 arrests were made.

A new development took place in Perth, where State Premier Tonkin led the 5,000 marchers in a peaceful demonstration.

The Brisbane Police Commissioner was proud of the way the Moratorium there had gone off peacefully and praised the "good sense of the organisers".

Rallies were also held in Canberra, and Hobart, where five arrests were made in Hobart protesters' first clash with police on the Vietnam question.

Obviously the numbers involved in protests against the policies of the Australian government are growing - and the Springboks' tour has shown just how strong is trade union antipathy for the new prime minister and his "Liberal" colleagues.

McMAHON THE 'LIBERAL'

In answer to questions about criticisms of the way Australia came to be involved in Vietnam in the first place, the Prime Minister made a statement on June 22nd, where he outlined once again the reasons for involvement and offered no proof that the South Vietnamese had really requested troops. He had been attacked by critics for not being able to produce the documents or letters which supposedly requested Australian military assistance.

But these criticisms are meaningless. Why should we worry about whether the particular US puppet regime in July '64, and the following one in December '64, did or did not send a formal request for aid, as laid out in the South-East Asia Treaty Organisation's rule book?

The Australian Press in general has offered little or weak opposition to the government's risible attempts to maintain credibility. But the *Australian*, the national daily, has had enough. When, shortly after his statement arising from the publication of the Vietnam documents, McMahon offered to fly the Springboks by VIP chartered planes because unionists had banned the airlines from carrying them, the *Australian* printed a front page editorial condemning the Prime Minister for cynical abuse of power. It ended by saying that this man is not fit to govern the country.

A truer word was never said.

ON THREE FRONTS

Leading the British press in June and July, you'd have thought the fighting in Indochina had stopped - that's what they'd like us to think. Well, it hasn't. Unfortunately we don't have our reporter with the peoples' armies but the battle news below has been collected from the international press, particularly Le Monde.

AMBODIA

June saw the most serious reverse of ARVN, the Saigon army, since their Spring defeat in Laos. Heavy clashes between them and the Cambodian People's Liberation Armed Forces (PLAF) began at the end of May near the town of Snoul. In spite of 600 sorties daily by the United States Air Force in their support, the Saigon troops were forced to evacuate the area after fighting lasting two weeks. The PLAF report that enemy casualties were 1500 killed and wounded and 300 prisoners. It can be expected that many of the latter, young men and boys pressed into the army, will join the National Liberation Front. ARVN report 72 vehicles abandoned including 11 tanks.

Cambodian people in Kompong Cham province demonstrate in support of the revolutionary power

Other battles have been fought at Bang, at Preah Prasap and on the east bank of the Mekong opposite the town's capital of Phnom Penh whose hospitals are overflowing with wounded infantrymen. In the capital, bombs exploded in the homes of U.S. military advisors, wounding three. On June 15th in the city's sports stadium, converted into a munitions dump, saboteurs blew up the whoopie, cutting off supplies to the puppet army in the east.



SOUTH VIETNAM

Da Nang had a really rough month. The town, aerodrome and airbase were heavily rocketed and mortared on an intermittent basis. On July 5th a rocket hit a wooden barracks, killing and wounding a substantial number of Americans. No wonder the G.I.s in mutiny are now the NLF's greatest ally, knowing that they're dying in an imperialist war. There have been severe clashes all over the country, on the Central High-

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On the Lao Battlefield: Lao PLA combatants operating in the Bolovens High Plateau (Southern Laos)

LAOS There has been strong pressure by the Pathet Lao in the north and centre of the country. During fighting near Pakse they have been using heavy mortars of 120 mm calibre and Russian PT-76 tanks. The Pathet Lao now control the whole of the Bolovens Plateau, which commands a strategic position in Southern Laos including the complex of trails originating in North Vietnam along which supplies flow into Cambodia and South Vietnam. Here's a very concrete example of how the United Front of the Indochinese People really works.

lands, in the A Shau valley, along the Viet-Lao border, in the Mekong Delta and below the DeMilitarized Zone (DMZ). On June 9th the NLF took the base of Dong Tri from the Saigon Army shooting down 5 helicopters. On the 24th the Liberation Forces attacked the army at Vinh Binh, inflicting heavy losses on the defenders and killing and wounding, in an old tactic, 20 of a relieving column. Fierce attacks below the DMZ forced the American and Saigon troops to evacuate the firebases of Carroll and Fuller. The NLF moved in and destroyed the fortifications. They cannot hold these bases because they would provide too exposed a target for the B.52s. When ARVN and the American Army moved back into the ruins, the siege began all over again. Is this a new tactic to make the DMZ permanently untenable? In early June 30 GIs were killed in a single rocket attack on a DMZ base, according to U.S. sources. And at the end of June an NLF rocket hit a munitions dump at Qui Nhon and blew up 600 tons - yes, 600 tons - of mortar shells. So much for the enclave strategy which states you can hold down a country in arms from a small number of supremely fortified bases!

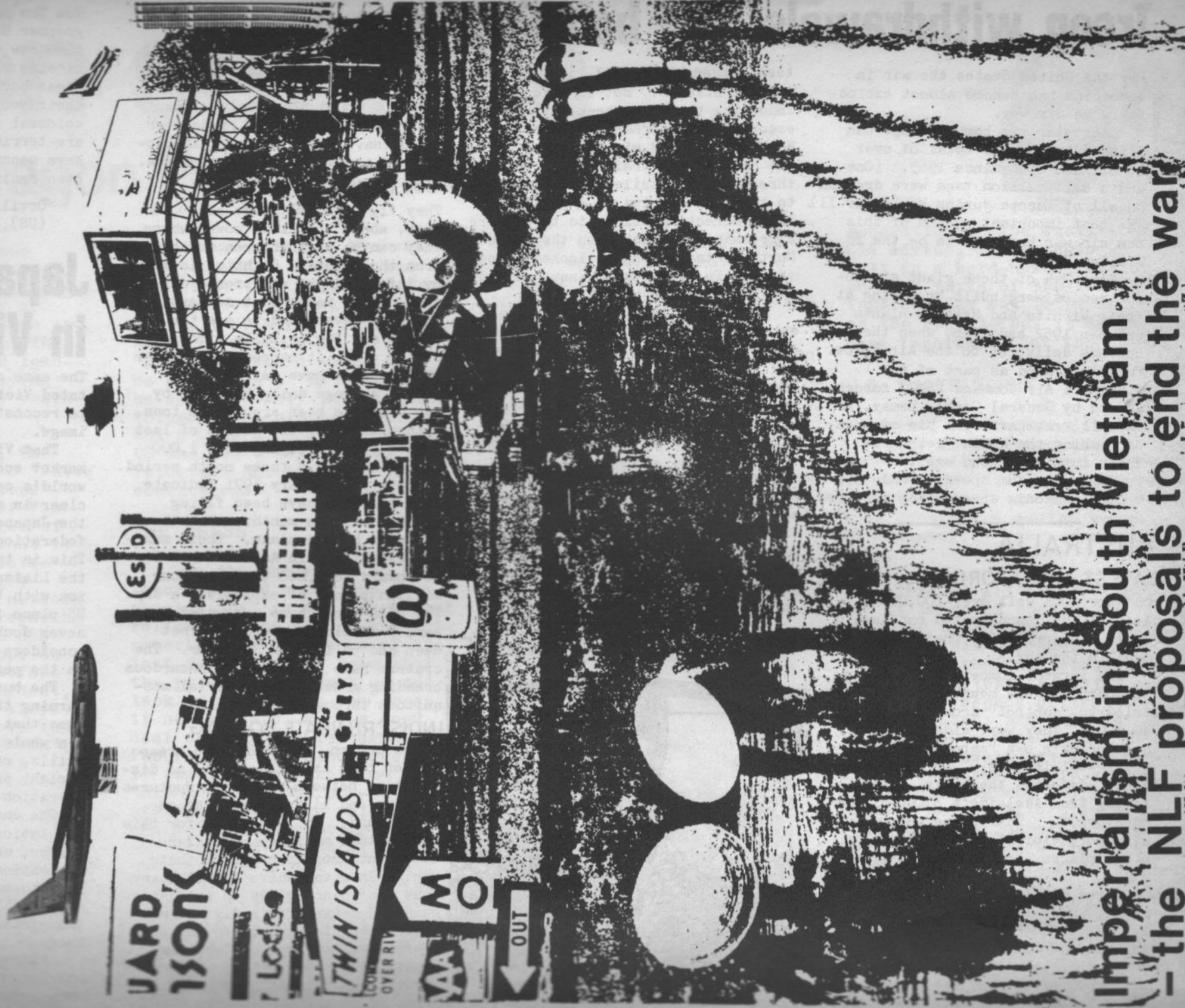
Frank Pais
RIISING FIRE
ON LOAN TO
COMMUNITY GROUPS

The latest Gallup poll shows 73% of the American people (up from 55% in September) in favour of the Hatfield-McGovern proposal for total withdrawal from Vietnam by the end of 1971.

INDOCHINA

NUMBER 16
'JULY - AUGUST '71
5p

IN SUPPORT OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE INDOCHINESE PEOPLE



Imperialism in South Vietnam - the NLF proposals to end the war