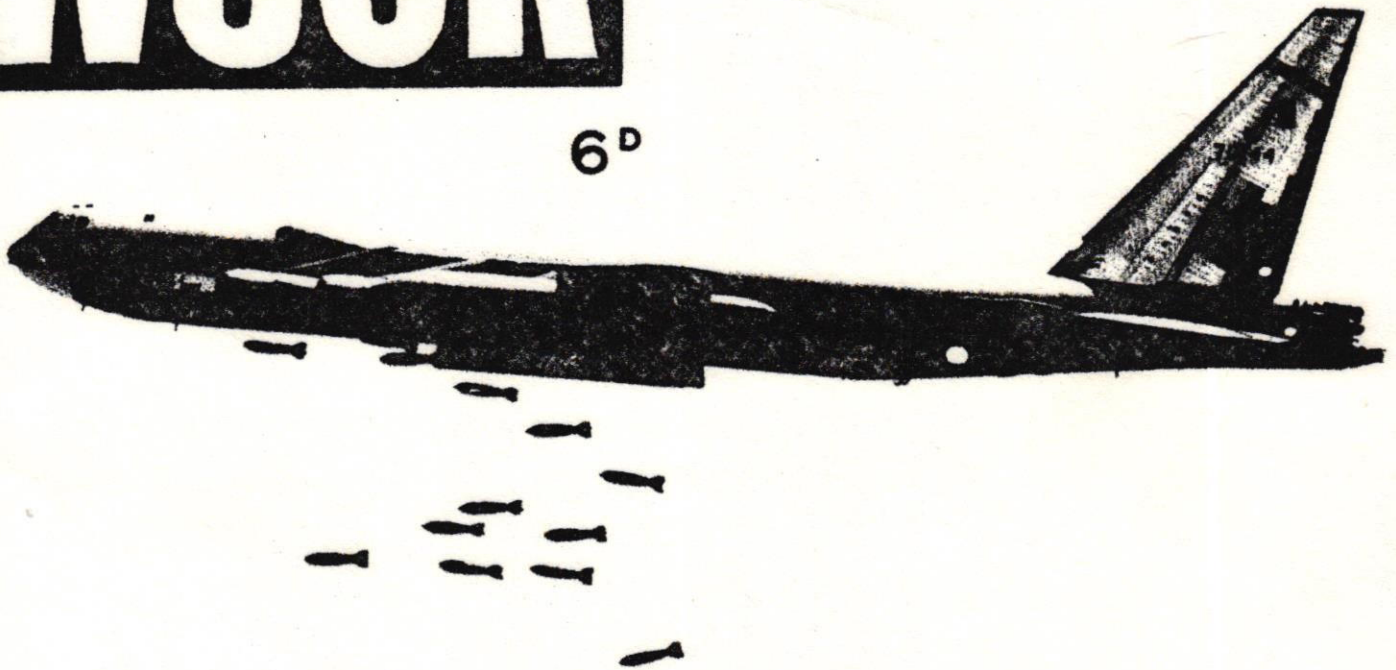


The Week

HANOI RAIDS

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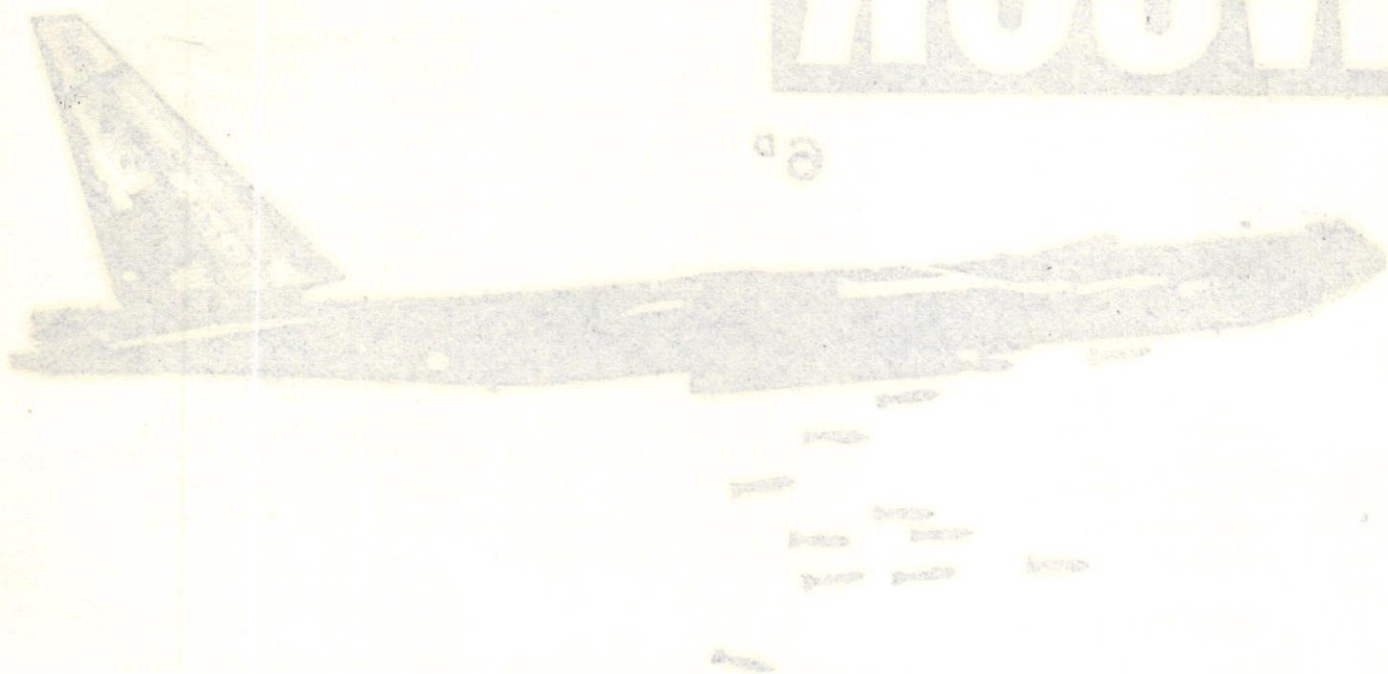
**"I don't believe the American
Government has done any
such thing" — George Brown**

8 Roland Gardens, London, S.W.7.

Subscription: £2 per annum and pro rata

HANDS
RAIDS

THE
WEEK



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GEORGE BROWN THE LIAR

In the House of Commons just shortly before the Christmas recess, Mr. George Brown, the Labour Government's Foreign Minister, assured the House that he was certain the Americans were not deliberately bombing civilians in North Vietnam. Just a few days later, the assistant editor of New York Times, in very widely reported articles, exposed this lie. Never has there been a clearer expression of this Government's subordination to the American Administration. Every unit in the Labour movement should demand that George Brown apologise for this deception. They should insist that this latest disclosure about the Vietnam War be made the occasion for a complete repudiation of American policy in Vietnam.

A demonstration has been organised for Saturday, January 14th to protest against George Brown's covering up for the American aggressors. It will assemble at Great Russell Square at 3.00 and march to the Foreign Office, Whitehall. A meeting will follow. Full details will be given next week but in the meantime we ask all readers to book this date and publicise the demonstration as widely as possible.

THIS WEEK'S ISSUE

As is our usual practice, we are producing a pamphlet instead of a normal issue of The Week after Christmas. This issue is entirely devoted to Vietnam and the various aspects of the campaign against the war. Our major article - the reprints from Peace News on the War Crimes Tribunal - is designed to equip supporters of the Tribunal with a complete set of answers to the most common criticisms of, and misunderstanding about, the Tribunal. Other articles cover actions, both by individuals and organisations, against the war in Vietnam in this country and abroad. We would like these articles to help the discussion about tactics in the anti-Vietnam struggle. We are making special efforts to get this copy in the hands of people who are interested in this fight. Readers can help by sending us the names and addresses of such people.

For further information about the War Crimes Tribunal, and a selection of publications please write to :-

The International War Crimes Tribunal,
11A Wormwood Street, London E.C. 2.

NEW STATESMAN PRODUCES EVIDENCE OF VIETNAM WAR CRIMES

The following article appeared as part of Paul Johnson's 'London Diary' on December 16th.

"The chances of an intensification of the Vietnam war in 1967 seem to me very considerable. In Saigon Dean Rusk held out little hope that the Christmas truce would be extended: on the contrary the US will concentrate on persuading its allies (including Britain) to participate in the struggle. The very heavy losses US aircraft now suffer over the North may lead LBJ to authorise the use of missiles against the targets in the Hanoi-Haiphong area: this would be a very definite escalation. What I fear even more is an increase in the use of toxic gases and chemicals in the South. For some time the use of non-lethal gases has been left to the discretion of US area commanders in the South: these include nausea gas (DM). Tear gas, sprayed from helicopters, can be used at the discretion of commanders in the field. A working party of the Medical Association for the Prevention of War expresses the growing concern of scientists that more and more nations are now making and stockpiling killer gases and biological weapons. Its chairman, Professor Penrose, has sent me an article in the 'New England Journal of Medicine' which surveys the whole range of these weapons, and in particular the nerve gases, described as 'the newest, the most effective and the most likely to be used'.

What makes these gases so attractive to generals is their sheer efficiency. Being odourless and colourless, they give no warning. They are rapid and effective even in low concentrations. They are 14 times more deadly than mustard gas, 30 times more deadly than phosgene. "At the concentrations attainable under field conditions, even a single inhalation can kill". These gases were first invented by the Nazis under the names of Tabun, Sarin and Soman. The Americans call them G agents (GA, GB and GC); they have also produced less volatile gases called V agents, particularly a liquid called VX. G agents have been produced and stockpiled in the Rocky Mountain Arsenal in Denver and at a plant in Newport, Indiana. Already in 1964 the 'Washington Post' disclosed that the Indiana plant with 300 civilian employees, had been operating for 24 hours a day for three years. The gas is put into rockets, land-mines and shells, which are then shipped to operational units through normal channels. The US Army Field Manual FM3-10 gives detailed instructions to field commanders for their tactical use. The temptation of frustrated US commanders to use them against the 'Vietcong' is great and growing and there is no legal restriction on the US government to give them authority to do so. A 1959 House resolution to ban them was defeated, and US Army Field Manual FM 27-10, 'The Law of Land Warfare', states flatly:

"The United States is not a party to any treaty, now in force, that prohibits or restricts the use in warfare of toxic or non toxic gases, of smoke or incendiary materials, or of bacteriological warfare".

One New Year resolution we might all make is to campaign for the international banning of all these hateful weapons".

U.S. CONSULATE IN YUGOSLAVIA ATTACKED BY ANTI VIETNAM WAR DEMONSTRATORS

(New York Times Report)

More than 10,000 demonstrators marched on the United States Consulate in Zagreb on December 20th to protest America's Vietnam policy and smashed most of the building's windows before police turned fire hoses on them.

Consul General Robert Owens estimated that more than \$1,000 in damage was inflicted during the two-hour-and 15 minute mid-day attack. Several Yugoslav employees at the three storey complex were injured by flying glass, but none was said to be seriously hurt. None of the 11 American State Department or United States Information Service personnel was injured.

The official Yugoslav news agency Tanjug carried a four paragraph report on the demonstration. It said that more than 10,000 Zagreb University students held a protest meeting, marched down Zagreb streets to the consulate and "most energetically" condemned United States "aggression" in Vietnam. "Although strong contingents of people's police and state security forces protected the front of the consulate building," Tanjug reported, "the demonstrators caused damage to the building".

Official American spokesmen disagreed about the protection. "The police were not sufficiently anxious to prevent damage", said one.

The police finally ordered fire hoses turned on at the height of the disturbance at 1.30 p.m. Individual demonstrators who tried to enter the Consulate were dragged away. But by then all 16 large display windows in the USIS library and reading room on the ground floor had been smashed. Most of the panes of glass in the second and third floor consular offices also had been broken by rocks.

American officials described the demonstration as well planned, well executed and well advertised. Zagreb's principal daily newspaper, Vjesnik, carried this as a front page announcement: "Come and demonstrate against the Americans".

It started at Zagreb University, where the students heard a speech "condemning criminal actions of the American interventionists in Vietnam". An endless stream of young men and women carrying slogans then proceeded down the Zagreb streets to show their solidarity with the people of South Vietnam. Signs read: "Kennedy, Yes, Johnson, No", "Stop Killing Innocent People", "Get to your senses, Johnson" and "Stop the war in Vietnam".

The agency said hundreds of schoolchildren joined the march to 'most energetically condemn' the American aggression.

American diplomats in Zagreb said the demonstration started 15 minutes before noon and took 'an hour or so to warm up'. Youths in front blockaded the square so that passers by were forced to join in. Then the demonstrators began heaving rocks through the windows. The fire hoses were turned on when groups of youths tried to storm and enter the building. Mr. Owens said the demonstration was the 'worst assault' since 1953 demonstrations over US policy about Trieste.

VIETNAM SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES by David Robinson

The main activity of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign in the last few months has been working for the International War Crimes Tribunal. However, there has been a growing interest in the campaign from a wide section of the movement over and above the war crimes activity.

A new branch of the campaign has been formed in Birmingham following the successful visit of the photographic exhibition to both of the Birmingham universities. The actual decision to form a branch was taken at a public meeting held at Aston University on the occasion of the showing of the exhibition. Some 40 people at the meeting registered their support for the forming of a local branch. A programme of public meetings has been arranged for the first six months of 1967 and copies can be obtained from the branch's chairman: Barbara Allen, 51, Lomaine Drive, Birmingham 30.

At the last London members' meeting it was decided to set up local branches in outer London areas. The plan is to hold either a demonstration or leaflet distribution in the shopping centres on Saturday afternoons, with the aim of forming a local organising committee. Already this has been put into operation in the Hornsey area. Nearly 20 members of the local YCL, YCND and Young Socialists gave out Vietnam Solidarity Campaign leaflets on Saturday, December 24th. Representatives from all three of these organisations spoke over loudspeakers to the Christmas Eve shoppers, explaining the nature of the Vietnam war. It is expected that similar activities will be carried out in such places as Walthamstowe, Hammersmith and Croydon very shortly.

On Sunday the 18th of December Vietnam Solidarity Campaign members took part in a march organised by Youth for Peace in Vietnam. Leaflets were distributed and badges and Bulletins sold at the meeting held at Speakers' Corner before the march which went to the American Embassy to hand in a letter of protest. The march then proceeded to Dow Chemicals in Wigmore St., where another letter was handed to protest against this firm's manufacture of Napalm. The demonstration which was supported by over 1,000 participants, received wide coverage on both BBC and ITV news programmes.

In spite of threats of arrest, made personally and over the phone, members of the VSC demonstrated in Oxford St. on the 20th of December, the 6th anniversary of the founding of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. A double-sided banner with a 4 feet by 3 feet photographs of child victims of the Vietnam war was carried. Those carrying the banner were again threatened with arrest and members were prevented from distributing the leaflets. Finally the demonstrators carried the banner back to Piccadilly Circus - but thousands of shoppers saw it while was being carried: probably more than if the police had allowed them to keep on Oxford Street! The demonstration and banner were highlighted in a photograph on the Front page of the Morning Star the next day.

PEACE NEWS DISCUSSION

ON

INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL

WHAT IS A WAR CRIME?

PEACE NEWS - November 25, 1966

The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation got a bad press last week. The press conference which it put on last Wednesday to launch its international war crimes tribunal was crowded out; but little appeared next day, and that was mostly uncomplimentary.

But for people who are concerned about the war in Vietnam, the tribunal raises some important questions; it cannot simply be shrugged off.

In his statement to the press last week, Lord Russell explained that in 1963, he was "profoundly disturbed by the mounting evidence in the Western press of the atrocious acts taking place in Vietnam." In a letter to the New York Times, he said: "The United States government is conducting a war of annihilation in Vietnam." Since then, he said, this assessment had been confirmed; it was therefore necessary to convene a "solemn tribunal," whose mandate was to "uncover and tell all." It was "an offer of the truth, born of intense and unyielding enquiry."

Lord Russell also pointed out that his tribunal would be composed of men "eminent not through their power, but through their intellectual and moral contribution to what we optimistically call 'human civilisation' ... We command no armies and compel no audience to hear us."

The feeling in Lord Russell's statement is unmistakable, and he himself says: "I will not conceal from you the profundity of my admiration and passion for the people of Vietnam." To expose the truth about the dreadful things which are happening to the people of Vietnam is an aim which all could and should support. Why, then, has there been so much criticism of the tribunal?

The tribunal, according to last week's statement by its members, will have to answer, "amongst others," the following questions:

1. Has the United States government (and the governments of Australia, New Zealand and South Korea) committed acts of aggression according to international law?
2. Has the American Army made use of or experimented with new weapons or weapons forbidden by the laws of war (gas, special chemical products, napalm, etc)?
3. Has there been bombardment of targets of a purely civilian character, for example hospitals, schools, sanatoria, dams etc., and on what scale has this occurred?
4. Have Vietnamese prisoners been subjected to inhuman treatment forbidden by the laws of war and, in particular, to torture or to mutilation? Have there been unjustified reprisals against the civilian population, in particular, the execution of hostages?
5. Have forced labour camps been created, has there been deportation of the population or other acts tending to the extermination of the population and which can be characterised juridically as acts of genocide?

Two things immediately strike us on reading these questions. One is that the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation has in the past answered "yes" to most of them; we too would answer "yes" to most of these questions, and we are confident that a great deal of evidence could be produced to support this answer. However, for a tribunal to ask such questions when its sponsoring body has already given the answers has naturally given rise to the charge that the questions are rhetorical and the answers a foregone conclusion, and that the tribunal therefore is not impartial. Nevertheless, the tribunal members state:

"This tribunal will examine all the evidence that may be placed before it by any source or party. The evidence may be oral, or in the form of documents. No evidence relevant to our purposes will be refused attention.... We invite the government of the United States to present evidence or cause it to be presented, and to instruct their officials or representatives to appear and state their case."

Bertrand Russell, answering the criticism of partiality, says:

"This tribunal is bound to establish faultless procedures for evaluating evidence and testimony and for arriving at its conclusion. That no-one today questions the facts

established at the Nuremberg trials proves the merit of rigorous methods, not the impartiality of the victorious allies."

The tribunal will meet in March, and its work is expected to take about twelve weeks; among its members are lawyers from France, Turkey, Italy, Pakistan, Japan and Yugoslavia. It will have every opportunity to prove the rigorousness of its methods, and no judgment need be made about this now. However, at this stage there does seem to be some doubt as to whether the tribunal will be impartial, as its members claim, or partial but rigorous, as Lord Russell claims.

The second point about the tribunal's five questions reinforces this doubt. It is that the investigation is entirely directed towards the conduct of the war by the United States and its allies. Nowhere are similar questions asked about the conduct of the National Liberation Front or the North Vietnamese.

At last week's press conference, the tribunal was asked why this was so. Isaac Deutscher replied that the tribunal's job was to investigate the charges it had been asked to investigate, which were the charges against the U.S. and its allies. However, the tribunal would examine any evidence put to it. This seemed to imply that the tribunal would investigate charges of atrocities committed by the NLF forces; but he had not long sat down when Ralph Schoenman, who is Lord Russell's secretary, a director of the Russell Foundation, and general secretary of the war crimes tribunal, jumped up to add that "there is a distinction between aggression and resistance to aggression."

Mr. Schoenman's remarks are backed by Lord Russell's statement:

"Our foes and even some of our friends have argued that in any war, both sides are guilty of committing atrocities and, by inference, must be held equally responsible. Let it be clear that this tribunal would never think of refusing to examine any evidence which supports this hypothesis. At the same time, we must be adamant on the necessity to distinguish between sporadic incidents in the course of a war of resistance fought by a colonised people and the acts systematically practised by the American forces in Vietnam. The tribunal must not focus on isolated episodes; rather it must uncover the pattern of acts committed in a systematic fashion and on higher orders by the U.S. military forces in Vietnam."

This is a most unfortunate statement. Its tone of seeking to give orders to the tribunal ("the tribunal must not focus... it must uncover ... we must be adamant") conflicts with the

tribunal's own statement that "our purpose is to establish, without fear or favour, the full truth about this war." Lord Russell and Ralph Schoenman appear to have come to an a priori conclusion about what constitutes a war crime - that it is a crime committed by an aggressor. If this is so, and if the tribunal accepts their definition, the value of its work will in our view be seriously weakened.

If the tribunal wishes to establish, "without fear or favour," the full truth about the war, it surely has an obligation to examine the conduct of all parties in the war. It may then come to the conclusion that the United States is far more guilty than the NLF; it would be quite entitled to do so, and we suspect that its conclusions would carry more weight than if it so defines the nature of a war crime as to say that only one side is capable of committing them. In this connection, it is interesting that Lord Russell takes his stand on the Nuremberg tribunal. It is quite true, as he says, that no-one questions the facts which emerged at Nuremberg. But he also appears to think that the partiality of the allies does not matter, and although he admits that "inhibiting factors ... call in question certain of the Nuremberg procedures," for him Nuremberg is a good precedent to cite in order to justify a partial tribunal. It is at this point that we and many others would disagree. By what right did the allies at Nuremberg presume to judge the defeated German leaders? It will be answered, by the fact that the allies fought for democracy against Nazism, which (as the trials showed) was a barbarous slave system, guilty of multiple atrocities. But did the allies have clean hands? Did they never kill innocent civilians or experiment with new weapons or weapons forbidden by the laws of war? Was the bombing of Dresden a war crime? Hamburg? Hiroshima? Nagasaki? Did the resistance forces in Europe, even though they were fighting against oppression, commit no crimes? What is a war crime, anyway?

And so today in Vietnam: have the "Viet Cong" not shelled and mined the centre of Saigon, using fragmentation weapons and killing and wounding civilians? Have they used no terror methods in the areas they control?

To ask these questions is not, as Lord Russell says, to hold both sides equally responsible. This paper has always held that the Saigon regime and the Americans bear the greatest degree of responsibility for the origin and the character of the war. But we also hold that both sides in the war are responsible for it; we do not see how any attempt to discover the truth about the war can avoid asking these questions about the part played by the forces of North Vietnam and the NLF.

One of the difficulties at last week's press conference was to distinguish the war crimes tribunal from the Russell Foundation. As they entered the room journalists were presented with a document folder which contained statements about the Foundation as well as the tribunal, and items such as a pamphlet by Ralph Schoenman entitled "A Glimpse of American Crimes in Vietnam." Many were irritated to find that they could only ask questions about the tribunal, and not about the Foundation. Thus, having established that the tribunal was not being paid for by any government, but was receiving a large loan from the Foundation,

it was then impossible to find out any more about the Foundations finances. Vladimir Dedijer, who was in the chair, was curt and stern with journalists who wanted answers to some of these forbidden questions.

At the time, it looked as though Dr. Dedijer was trying to stage-manage the press conference. But amplified whispers from the platform made it clear that he, like others present, was very displeased at the 35-minute delay to the conference caused by Lord Russell's late arrival. He also intervened when Ralph Schoenman seemed about to get into an embarrassing conflict with a reporter, saying: "Mr. Schoenman is speaking in his own name." It could be that Dr. Dedijer was trying to keep the tribunal as independent in fact as it is said to be on paper, and was anxious to avoid entangling the tribunal in arguments about the policy of the Russell Foundation.

However this may be, it is clear that unless the war crimes tribunal is content to rely on the minority press, it is unlikely to get the kind of attention and coverage it wants in the West until it can give straight answers to reasonable questions and make a clearer claim to impartiality than it can at present. A British peace movement executive commented after the press conference: "If they make a mess of this, they will bring us all down." This may be an exaggeration, but it will be tragic if this opportunity to reveal the truth about the war is lost. We fear it will be lost if the tribunal, however faultless its procedures, is founded on a commitment to one side in the war.

PEACE NEWS. December 2nd, 1966.

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THE WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL:

RALPH SCHOENMAN REPLIES

Your article on the International War Crimes Tribunal (November 25) raises many serious and thoughtful questions. You ask why the tribunal has received a bad press and has been the subject of much criticism. One important reason is that the press itself has much to answer for with respect to the war in Vietnam.

There is a certain analogy with the press response to the criticisms of the Warren Report. Much of the reporting then, as now, has been tendentious and our statements and data have received less than fair play. I have the unusual responsibility of mentioning that The Guardian was fair and Le Monde gave a dispassionate and largely factual account. The worst offenders have been The Times and The New York Times, which gave almost no information and indulged in petty abuse.

The relationship between the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation

and the tribunal is not so difficult to understand. The initiative in calling for the tribunal has been Bertrand Russell's. The preparatory work for bringing the tribunal into existence has fallen to the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation. The tribunal, however, is an autonomous body. Its eminent members are deeply involved in every facet of the proposed work. Now that the tribunal is formally constituted, the Russell Foundation's relationship to the tribunal is that of a sympathetic body with no control over the tribunal's activities.

I can assure you that during the four days of private sessions of the tribunal the most touchy and explosive issues were debated intensely and without any advance indication as to how they would be resolved. The decisions are the result of consensus and are those of the tribunal alone. This is as it should be and as it will be to the end. I have been elected secretary-general of the tribunal. This is an administrative post. It authorises me to assist the tribunal in its preparatory work, but entirely precludes any ability to predetermine procedure, let alone the conclusions of the tribunal's investigation.

It is not clear to me why you raise the question of impartiality. The tribunal was most explicit and precise on this point. All of the members of the tribunal have strong views which have been expressed privately and publicly. In his speech opening the tribunal, Bertrand Russell said:

"I feel certain that this tribunal will perform an historic role, if its investigation is exhaustive. We must record the truth in Vietnam. We must pass judgment on what we find to be the truth. We must warn of the consequences of this truth. We must, moreover, reject the view that only indifferent men are impartial men. We must repudiate the degenerate conception of individual intelligence which confuses open minds with empty ones. I hope that this tribunal will select men who respect the truth and whose life's work bears witness to that respect. Such men will have feelings about the prima facie evidence of which I speak. No man unacquainted with this evidence through indifference has any claim to judge it."

It seems to me that this passage from Bertrand Russell's opening address answers completely the question raised by Peace News regarding the problem of "impartiality." There are few tribunals, trials or commissions of investigation whose members do not have views bearing on the subject under inquiry. It is a bit hypocritical of the established press to pose this question, when they report daily the judgments of judges whose opinions are well-known on a range of political questions. There is no possibility of "impartiality" in the sense discussed in your article, and it is accepting fallacious assumptions to allow the strength or weakness of the tribunal's investigation to be assessed on the basis of such erroneous criteria.

You raise the further question of our "a priori conclusion about what constitutes a war crime - that it is a crime committed by an aggressor." By inference, you suggest that acts of violence themselves constitute crimes and, thus, the distinction between the aggressor and the victim of the aggression is an insufficient one. I understand your position but, speaking for myself, cannot agree with it. Certainly, the resistance of the Warsaw Ghetto and partisan groups in occupied countries of Europe was seen in a fundamentally different way than the actions of the Nazis. You must be clear, however, that the tribunal stated it would have no reluctance to examine the resistance of the Vietnamese in all its aspects and, thus, to establish the pattern of behaviour in Vietnam. You may decide that the facts about the Vietnamese resistance constitute crimes. Others may decide in another way. The real question is whether the tribunal's investigation admits all relevant evidence as to the war in Vietnam and, on this, the tribunal has allowed no doubt whatever.

I must ask you to distinguish the opinions of Bertrand Russell or of myself from the findings of the tribunal. It is not necessary for you to be confused about this issue. Our previously expressed opinions constitute no barrier to the exhaustiveness of the tribunal's investigation. If you oblige us to be blank slates, you will not satisfy anyone who is really hostile to a thorough investigation, because the problem rests not with the investigation but with their hostility to it.

You appear to be slightly ill-informed about Lord Russell's oft-repeated remarks concerning the precedent of Nuremberg. These opinions of Bertrand Russell have appeared in the London Times, The New York Times and in a long article in Le Monde on October 15:

"There was, however, a moral ambivalence rooted in the nature of the Nuremberg trials. Nuremberg was a trial conducted by the victorious party over the defeated. Nuremberg was conducted by a real-politik alliance of powers and yet, through the legalisms of force majeure, crept the voice of humanity, a voice crying out against the unconscionable criminality of the Nazi terror. I have called for an International War Crimes Tribunal because, once again, crimes are taking place of such magnitude that civilisation and conscience dare not be so laggard as to be unable to devise a mode of assessment and condemnation consonant with decency and the survival of elementary standards of justice."

I can hear you complaining that, in this passage, Lord Russell presupposes the existence of such crimes. He does. The tribunal addressed itself to this question when it stated that there was an overwhelming prima facie case, derived from sources favourable to those apparently responsible. It

is this prima facie case which has caused the tribunal to come into existence. There could hardly be such a tribunal if there were not strong evidence of crimes requiring its existence. The questions you raise about Nuremberg are thus anticipated by Bertrand Russell, who has been one of those most sensitive to them. In his opening speech, he said:

"The tribunal has no clear historical precedent. The Nuremberg Tribunal, although concerned with designated war crimes, was possible because the victorious allied powers compelled the vanquished to present their leaders for trial... Despite these inhibiting factors, which call in question certain of the Nuremberg procedures, the Nuremberg Tribunal expressed the sense of outrage which was virtually universal at the crimes committed by the Nazis in Europe ... Our own task is more difficult, but the same responsibility obtains. We do not represent any state power, nor can we compel the policy makers responsible for crimes against the people of Vietnam to stand accused before us. We lack force majeure. The procedures of a trial are impossible to implement. I believe that these apparent limitations are, in fact, virtues. We are free to conduct a solemn and historic investigation, uncompelled by reasons of state or other such obligations."

The British peace movement executive, worried about "being brought down" because of the War Crimes Tribunal, might reflect on the care and impressiveness with which the tribunal has approached its task. I hope a more imaginative response will be found in the movement at large.

"There was, however, a moral ambivalence about the nature of the Nuremberg trial, whatever was a trial conducted by the victorious party over the defeated. Nuremberg was conducted by a realpolitik alliance of powers and yet, through the legislation of those powers, great the voice of humanity, a voice crying out against the unacknowledged criminality of the Nazi horror. I have called for an international War Crimes Tribunal because, once again, crimes are taking place of such magnitude that civilization and conscience have not be so lagged as to be unable to devise a mode of assessment and condemnation commensurate with the gravity and the survival of elementary concepts of justice."

I can hear you complaining that, in this passage, I am Russell overstates the existence of such crimes. It does not. The tribunal addressed itself to this question when it stated that there was an overwhelming prima facie case, based on two sources favourable to those apparently responsible.

HUGE NEW YORK DEMONSTRATION AGAINST VIETNAM WAR (from 'Militant')

The growing opposition to the Vietnam war was reflected when 20,000 people jammed Madison Square Garden to capacity for a Rally to end the War Now on Dec. 8. Hundreds stood outside the Garden listening over loudspeakers. The meeting was sponsored by the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.

As well as many older members of SANE there was a sizeable contingent of young people and, sitting in a large block, rank and file trade unionists organised by SANE's Trade Union Division. Joel R. Jacobson, who is President of the New Jersey Industrial Union Council of the AFL-CIO, received big applause when he announced that there were 5,000 unionists present.

One feature of the rally which was in most of the speeches, and certainly reflected the mood of all sections of the audience, was deep distrust and dislike for President Johnson. Every blast at Johnson was greeted with great approval. Journalist I.F. Stone reflected the feeling of many liberals present with the statement that Barry Goldwater was right in the 1964 campaign when he said "Johnson is the biggest faker in the U.S."

Jules Feiffer, the cartoonist, did a hilarious imitation of Johnson. It was in the form of a statement by LBJ explaining each new escalation of the war, and went into future escalations up to the point where he orders an atomic attack on Moscow in order to "bring Hanoi to the conference table" and protect the Ky regime, now stationed in Formosa. The audience loved it - even reporters joining in the laughter.

While SANE represents the conservative wing of the coalition which makes up the antiwar movement at the present time, the rally indicated that in the past year, SANE has been influenced by the more militant sections of the movement and by the growing antiwar sentiment in the country. While most of the speakers pressed SANE's official 'moderate' line of favouring negotiations, the demand for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops was also presented from the platform.

Floyd McKissick, black power advocate and National Director of CORE and Mrs. Grace Mora Newman, sister of one of the Fort Hood Three, called for immediate withdrawal. Pete Seeger had the vast crowd shouting "Bring them home" and joining him in a song with that refrain.

Once, during a lull as the collection was being taken, someone shouted to Ossie Davis, co-chairman of the rally standing at the microphone: "When is SANE going to come out for immediate withdrawal?" Davis said: "I think the answer is SANE demands withdrawal of American troops now".

The mixture of radical antiwar demands and liberal demands was reflected in audience response to other statements. There was general support for Fulbright's position and for U Thant's appeals. But it was made clear that although SANE represents the conservative wing of the movement it wishes to maintain its connections with the more militant sections - particularly the youth.

ACTION AGAINST THE WAR IN VIETNAM

Hanna Arendt has pointed out that there was no persecution of the Jews in occupied Denmark, "the Danes simply would not have it!" If only such a climate of opinion on the war in Vietnam existed in this country! Could not an effort be made to produce it by developing a corps of people who will deliberately demonstrate, go to prison, and get the maximum publicity for the cause. All of us who are actively engaged in trying to remove the Americans from Vietnam and to stop bombing and persecution must be appalled at the fact that we have achieved nothing; in fact, the situation is probably worse now than it has ever been. Yet I constantly talk to people who are horrified at the prospect of prison and have no intention of going there. This is exactly the type of person the authorities are anxious to produce! I have in my home at the moment Albert Rodrigues who at the age of 25 was sentenced by Salazar's regime to 25 years' imprisonment for writing a book - he had completed 4½ years of this (plus torture) when Amnesty International arranged his release. No person in Britain is faced with this prospect - the reasons for not going to prison are much more subtle.

My son, Julian Holt, a third year student at Lancaster University, was arrested at the end of November for refusing to pay a fine imposed in July on a student demonstration, forbidden by the authorities on Morecambe Promenade, against American aggression in Vietnam. This was a deliberately thought out plan by the student body and the maximum publicity was obtained from it. Further publicity was obtained when Julian appeared on a summons for non-payment of his fine and he made a long statement about Vietnam, refusing to leave the court when given further time for consideration. He was removed by the police. This produced further press reports in at least six newspapers, including the Guardian. When he was finally arrested the town, the university (two college magazines) and the press were circulated with his reasons for going to prison. Every paper quoted from his statement and one paper, the Morecambe "Visitor" gave the whole of this long statement in full on the front page and, apart from the "eye-catching" heading, no adverse comment was made anywhere. The following is part of it:-

"My aim in choosing prison rather than paying the fine is to draw attention to Britain's active and aggressive role in supporting the U.S. war venture in Vietnam. By helping to train Saigon Forces in Malaya, setting up a Police Mission in Saigon, and guarding and maintaining U.S. bases in Thailand, this country is in active military collusion with United States invaders and their self-appointed henchmen. To say that the war does not concern us is rubbish. All of us are becoming unwilling accomplices in America's plans for subjugating the entire Vietnamese nation and it is up to each individual to dissociate himself from our Government's immoral and cowardly policies. To say that Johnson doesn't care whether we grovel to him or not, is untrue. His gigantic ego demands that at least a part of the so-called "free world" should acquiesce to his vicious plans for crushing the liberation movement in Vietnam. More and more Governments are refusing to support him, yet Britain remains as his major supporter and most uncritical ally. It is up to all of us to change this appalling and humiliating situation."

It may be contended that actions such as this tend to alienate public opinion; in fact, the precise opposite appears to be the case. Such action appears to shock people into thinking specifically about a situation which hitherto they had passively accepted or shrugged aside. Students, lecturers, prison inmates, friends and acquaintances, along with people quite unknown to him have stated or written to express their understanding and appreciation of his action.

Marjorie Holt, 17th December, 1966.