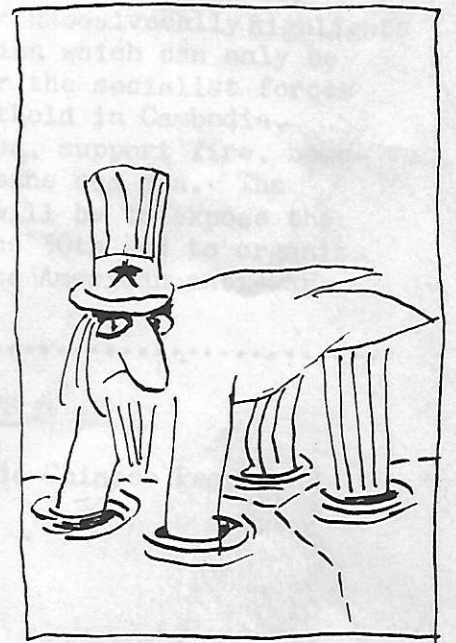
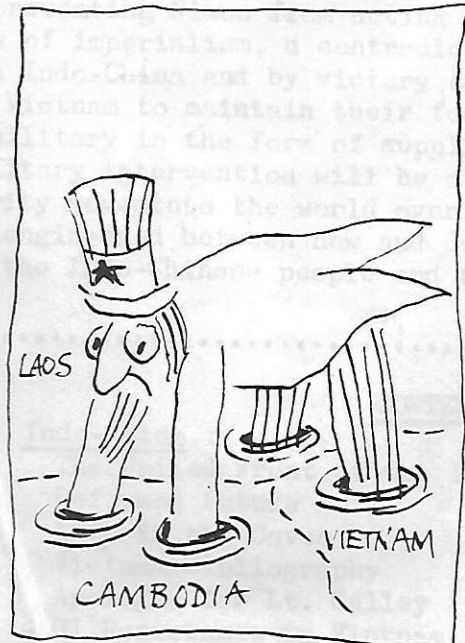
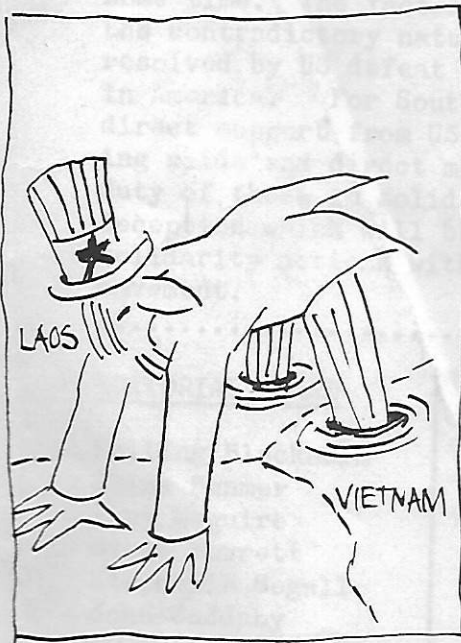


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EDITORIAL

The extension of US imperialism's war of aggression to Cambodia, scarcely two weeks after announcing further withdrawals of US troops from South Vietnam, has destroyed the last vestiges of Nixon's credibility. So far, so good !

Whether the motivation for this political blunder was to divert attention from the failure of the Vietnamisation programme by a propaganda victory, or to capture and destroy the NLF-held sanctuaries inside Cambodia, or to supply first aid to the unpopular and very unstable Lon Nol regime, the fruits of this action are clear.

The failure to find the COSVN or anything remotely like it contains elements of tragi-comedy. The Cambodian army has been exposed in all its inexperience and weakness. The war has been extended to yet another theatre, making a similar extension of US military resources inevitable. The move into Cambodia and murder of students at Kent, Mississippi and elsewhere in America has precipitated US capitalism into a social crisis which has been described by Senator Fulbright as the "biggest since the Civil War", a view that is consistent with the state of the US market as indicated by the Dow Jones register.

If we are to believe US claims, large quantities of liberation forces arms have been seized, but this war gain is more than nullified by the response of the Indo-Chinese people to US aggression, viz. the formation of a united front of Indo-Chinese people.

As June 30th draws near, the pressures on Nixon by the Pentagon to extend the period of invasion are liable to intensify. Already Saigon generals, recognising the consequences of an early withdrawal and spurred on by confidence of US support, have stated that they will remain in Cambodia for some time. The factor preventing Nixon from acting so unequivocally highlights the contradictory nature of imperialism, a contradiction which can only be resolved by US defeat in Indo-China and by victory for the socialist forces in America. For South Vietnam to maintain their foothold in Cambodia, direct support from US military in the form of supplies, support fire, bombing raids and direct military intervention will be a sine qua non. The duty of those in solidarity movements the world over will be to expose the deception which will be engineered between now and June 30th and to organise solidarity actions with the Indo-Chinese people and the American anti-war movement.

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□ THE UNITED FRONT OF THE INDO-CHINESE PEOPLE

by Steve Merrett

On April 24th-25th a meeting was held close to the borders of Laos, Vietnam and China which is of great historic significance. The four delegations which met were led by Nguyen Huu Tho of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, Prince Souvanouvong of the Pathet Lao, Prince Sihanouk of the National United Front of Kampuchea and Pham Van Dong of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The conference implicitly conformed the existence of a "united front of the indo-chinese peoples" which had been announced a few days before in the North Vietnamese newspaper Hoc Tap and in a speech by Truong Chinh on the centenary of the birth of Lenin. To understand this event we need to grasp the situation in Cambodia.

At the 1954 Geneva Conference the Cambodians had been represented not by the Cambodian revolutionary forces but by Sihanouk, the success of whose nationalism had essentially derived from the victories of these forces and of the Vietminh. Thereafter followed 15 years of uneasy compromise between the Red Khmers and Sihanouk. Compromise was necessary. Sihanouk is a genuine nationalist, regarded by hundreds of thousands of peasants as a God King. The population lived in peace - a precious gift in South-East Asia - and living standards had gently improved. In spite of his attempts to play off the revolution and imperialism against each other, he has been a valuable political ally to the NLF in recent years. Nevertheless, during these years the Red Khmers have been building power amongst the peasants in rural areas like Battambang and Ratanakiri, whenever possible avoiding confrontation with Sihanouk's armed forces; and also engaging in overt political action within the one-party legislature.

The Lon Nol coup in Phnom Penh and the invasion of Cambodia by US and ARVN troops has totally transformed the situation. The American-engineered overthrow of Sihanouk and the

invasion which it permitted, can be seen primarily as a tactical military thrust by the Americans and in that sense essentially an initiative of the Pentagon. It illustrates what we might call "the law of boundary extension" - when the going gets really tough for the US Armed Forces they seek the solution to their frustrations in an extension of the boundary of the war aimed at smashing the "great rear" of the enemy. In this case the Cambodian sanctuaries. In 1965 it was the bombing of North Vietnam. Whatever the outcome of the tactical struggle, and this might include severe losses of men, helicopters and heavy equipment by the US in the next two months, the great impact on the total situation is political and strategic.

For what has happened is that the territory and people of Cambodia have entered the revolution. The Red Khmers have been able to work openly using the political infrastructure established during these 15 years of compromise, now past. With the assistance of the NLF they are rapidly defeating the Cambodian Army throughout the countryside. Within another month that army, probably with ARVN support (and later with US combat troops), will hold only the main towns such as Sihanoukville, Kompong Cham and Phnom Penh, and in daylight the Saigon-Phnom Penh road. Virtually the entire territory of Cambodia will be a liberated zone. An essential element in this has been that Prince Sihanouk has entered the revolutionary camp, out of nationalism and out of pique at his demise, and that the revolutionary camp have welcomed him. His support of the Red Khmers, the young progressives and other sectors of society opposed to the Lon Nol regime is of immense value in ensuring support for the revolution from the Cambodian peasantry and in isolating the new rulers.



DEFORMED FUTURE

by Stephanie Segall

As part of its plan to step up the "special war", the United States began in 1961 to conduct surveys into the possibilities of chemical warfare in South Vietnam. Since 1962 toxic chemicals, euphemistically labelled herbicides, have been used on an extensive scale. Their purpose was, according to the Americans, to deny cover to the Vietcong; they were sprayed along main routes and in strategic areas.

The Vietnamese have repeatedly claimed that chemicals were used over far wider areas, causing harmful effects to men and animals and damaging the long-term cultivation of the countryside.

In 1969 the evidence of such damage grew too strong to be easily dismissed. Reports that the chemical 2,4,5 - T caused foetal malformations were made in Saigon newspapers in mid-'69. One hospital reported 47 malformations out of 5,870 pregnancies. Investigation by the health service of the PRG in Tay Ninh province revealed an increase in miscarriages and malformations.

Soon afterwards American laboratories produced the findings of a three-year survey, which showed that 70% of the offspring of mice fed 2,4,5 - T had deformities -- no heads, no eyes, enlarged livers Professor Pfeiffer of Montana visited Vietnam and confirmed that livestock consistently became ill in areas that had been sprayed with defoliants. Dead birds were found in woods and fields.

These reports led to more tests and the banning in the United States and then in Vietnam of the use of the one particular chemical, 2,4,5 - T. Its deforming properties were attributed to the impurity dioxin. But further research suggests that a pure form might also cause foetal malformations and many other similar

widely employed in Vietnam. They too produce widespread destruction and suffering.

While chemical warfare is indeed used to support tactical sweep operations by US and ARVN troops, and open the land to air surveillance, the scale of spraying indicates a completely different objective - the destruction of the forests and agriculture of Vietnam, so as to deny the people the means to live.

Official Defence Department figures for spraying are :

	<u>Forests</u>	<u>Crops</u>
1962	4,900 acres	700 acres
1964	24,700	10,400
1968	1,267,100	63,700
(1969- 1st quarter)	797,200	38,800

(The total area of Vietnam is about 62 million acres.)

About 29% of the forested areas of Vietnam and 6% of rice-growing areas have been sprayed. In fact, the only limiting factor is production, not will. In 1967-8 the whole US production of 2,4,5 - T was commandeered by the Pentagon for use in Vietnam and Business Week reported that a shortage was to be expected. New factories have been built. Expenditure surpasses 100 million dollars.

The NLF has insisted that the spraying covers a much wider area, and a study done in France indicates that with the amount spent, defoliation could in fact cover twice the area admitted to by the Pentagon.

By using particularly concentrated doses, spraying the countryside during the growth of vegetation, and other means, the US has made particularly effective use of the chemicals available to it. Nor do they avoid populated areas. Over a million people have experienced the effects of toxic chemicals.

THE UNITED FRONT (cont. from p.2)

At this point it is worth mentioning that the Royal Government of National Union recently formed in Peking by Sihanouk includes four revolutionaries: Khieu Samphan, Hu Min, Hon Yuon and Thiounn Munn. The first three are in the Cambodian maquis at this moment. They hold the following ministries respectively: National Defence; Information and Propaganda; the Interior, Communal Reform and Cooperatives; the Economy.

With Cambodia in the revolutionary camp, this now allows Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam to pursue for the first time an integrated strategy. This is the meaning and the historic significance of the formation of the United Front of the Indo-Chinese People. It was the purpose of the meeting on April 24-25th to define that strategy. Its existence and the contingency planning it embodies was revealed not so much by the final communique itself but by remarks of Sihanouk following the American invasion of Cambodia which came after the April 24-25th meeting. He said that such a thrust had been fully prepared for in their agreements. Indeed this was inevitable because the Front was founded on the basis of one major premise, repeated constantly in the final communique of the Conference: the American aggressors wish to extend and prolong the war, these are "the senseless calculations of an utterly obdurate and perfidious enemy driven into a position of irretrievable defeat".

No Political Bureau has been established nor any General Headquarters. Le Monde suggests this may be to avoid the impression they might give of an alliance dominated by the very powerful North Vietnamese. An alternative explanation I believe to be closer to the truth is found in the emphasis the Conference places on the specific character of each national movement and the fact that their new-found solidarity provides that mutual help will be provided only when requested. "... the liberation and defence of each country is the affair of its own people..." In that light the struggles of the four parties, the Pathet Lao, the Cambodians, the NLF and the DRV can be seen as decided and controlled autonomously, but willingly integrated in recognition of the great power that co-ordination and mutual assistance brings.

The Front's proclaimed fighting objectives are: independence, peace, neutrality, and no foreign bases. "... the Conference calls on the three peoples to redouble their vigilance, strengthen their solidarity and intensify the struggle against the common enemy - American imperialism and its flunkies - until complete victory." The present historical situation is more favourable than ever. "He who sows the wind reaps the whirlwind."

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DEFORMED FUTURE (cont. from p.3)

"In June 1969 US aircraft on four occasions released toxic chemicals over six districts; on an area of 5,000 hectares, all maize plants were killed. Thousands of buffaloes and oxen died of intoxication. It must be noted that a large number of poisoned Montagnards fell ill."

And in the Nam Bo delta:
"People ... subject to spraying breathed with difficulty, were tired, felt uneasy, had headaches, temperatures, were thirsty' Many of them vomited, had pains in their intestines. Others had their muscles paralysed, the skin of the hands

have been poisoned. Professor Glaston of Yale, a biologist, has issued warnings about the long-term effects of defoliation. Ten times the dose recommended in the US was being used in Vietnam. Mangroves have been damaged and are unlikely to recover for 20-25 years. This has caused erosion along the estuaries where they grow, leading to a fall in the fish population. Defoliation is just a euphemism for the destruction of vegetation, and where this has happened bamboo takes over, making it difficult to reclaim the land for use. Agents "Blue" and "White" render the soil barren for many years. "Picloram" contaminates the soil for long periods.



LIFE IN THE CAVES

Few people have visited the liberated zones of Laos. What is it like to live in the Pathet Lao areas, where the bombing is more intense than in Vietnam and many people live and work in caves? Jacques Decornoy writing in Le Monde in July 1968 gave an account of his visit there. He leaves no doubt as to the real purpose of the bombing that the Americans are now forced to admit. We publish extracts here.

We were in Laos, in a sector of the Sam-Neua region, in the "liberated zone" which is controlled by the Neo Lao Haksat, otherwise known as the Pathet Lao. We left the main track to penetrate a terrain turned over hundreds of times by explosions and no longer resembling anything at all - a chaos of red earth, broken rocks, devastated trees.

It was into a nightmare world that we penetrated, crossing the North Vietnamese frontier in our Soviet-made command-car. Right up to the last few feet of the journey, it was necessary to steer the car between bomb and rocket craters. A wooden ladder propped against the chalky rock gave access to the grotto hotel, a natural hole in the mountain "aided" by charges of dynamite. The traveller passed from one "suite" to another, walking along a "floor" of sharp pebbles, to arrive finally at his "room". From his bed he can see the sky through a break in the mountain. A tiny motor distributes a supply almost unknown in "liberated Laos" - electricity. This is a world without noise, for the surrounding villages have disappeared, the inhabitants themselves living hidden in the mountains. A few buffalo, a few pigs walk below our feet between the craters made by American bombs. At the end of 1957 several large bombs fell two metres from the grotto.

A "routine" day ... at 7 o'clock, an AD-6 plane prowls above us. It hangs around for about ten minutes, then leaves. At 7.30 the plane returns, flies over once, and, three times, drops its cargo a few kilometres from the "hotel". There is a flight of jets at 8 o'clock and at 8.30 jets and bombs. The same operation at 9 o'clock. In the afternoon we hear planes again on several occasions. It is not surprising in

breathless arrival at the "hotel" of a Secretary of State in the defunct government of national union. Papers in his hand, he has run from one cave to another. In this region which they control and administer, the Laotians of the Left seem to be an underground in their own land, the guerrillas camouflaging themselves in the shelter of the rocks, as if the enemy ruled the valley, though he is only master of the skies.

It seems that the intensity and density of the bombing is even greater in the province of Xiengkhouang in the Plain of Jars. Their persistence in this zone of grottos raises the problem of the real motives of the Americans. Prince Souvanna Phouma told us in Vientiane that the raids were aimed less at the Laotians than at the North Vietnamese at their point of entry into the country. It is certain that the US Air Force attacks the trails. But such a relentless attack on the region where we were can only be explained if the target is the central administration itself of the Neo Lao Haksat. Thousands of bombs have fallen for three years on a small area two to three kilometres long. In front of the cave where Prince Souphanouvong received us, the craters were so close that they cut into each other.

One of the officials of the Sam-Neua district told us that between February, 1965 and March, 1968, 65 villages had been destroyed. A number impossible to verify for a short report, but it is a fact that between Sam-Neua and a place about 30 kilometres away where we stayed, no house in the villages and hamlets had been spared. Bridges had been destroyed, fields up to the rivers

The inhabitants ask the reason for this deluge of fire and steel. "I don't even know where America is", said a peasant mother whose daughter had just been killed and who had lost all her belongings. A peasant said: "I understood nothing before when we were told that we should not accept American aid and when people spoke against the United States. After the raids on my village, I know what they mean". Everything American, far and wide, is hated by the people.

Bane-Kang

"During the course of the last two months, American planes have dropped almost as many bombs on Laos as on North Vietnam", the weekly Times reported on March 22. In these conditions, rare are the oases where it is not necessary to live permanently underground, hidden in the forest or sheltered in a cave.

The village of Bane-Kang is one of these. The village is prosperous, a little more prosperous, it seemed, than the hamlets we saw in Sam-Neua. Here there is no lack of glutinous rice, nor of fruit, nor of poultry. There was no school here before 1954. Today all the children are at school. They are seen at work in their small classes, near the houses where the women sew their dresses. The men who are not working in the fields smoke a water pipe or drink from jars of rice alcohol. The fight against illiteracy among adults continues. Nurses care for their patients. The village is kept impeccable. There is no sign of undernourishment or of endemic disease.

Here and there on the houses, roneed tracts, a series of pictures vaunting the successes of the Pathet Lao, friendship among ethnic groups, or again, showing the funeral of an American plane, by a militia team. In this "liberated Laos", spread out over fantastic distances difficult to cross, central directives can only travel slowly. But the village has two transistor posts which receive Radio Sam-Neua. No loudspeakers, as in Vietnam or China. "We have tried, but the people did not like it", an official told us. It is a matter

of temperament.

Somewhere in the region of Sam-Neua, we left our command-car to clamber up piles of rocks, to arrive at last at little straw huts, very feebly lit. It is here that both modern and traditional pharmaceutical products are made. Work is carried out only at night, because the fumes have to be camouflaged. Behind the workshops is an enormous cave, in which work is continuously going on. About 100 women are working there, many of whom come from the minority ethnic groups.

In another area of the province we made our way along a path carved out by the flow of a torrent. Then we passed near houses destroyed in bombing raids, before climbing to a series of caves which hid iron works. The raw material comes from Vietnam, from unexploded American weapons recovered on the spot and from worn-out lorries. Out of these workshops come domestic appliances, farming implements, machetes. In these humid, rocky, secret places, buzzing with mosquitos, workers, men and women, sleep during the day as they would at night, and work during the night.

It is at the spinning mill and the weaving factory that a visitor finds the greatest cause for astonishment. Here the enterprise is not hidden in a cave at the foot of a mountain, but much higher up, in a place very difficult to get to which can only be reached by scaling sheer rock cut into rough steps, marked out with bamboo. Another mountain fronts this cave directly. No bomb, no rocket can possibly reach these workshops from which come both materials for dresses and for military uniforms. For about 80 metres one passes from Chinese machines, silent because they are electric, to the most ancient spinning wheels. On the left, in a small rocky enclave, girl book-keepers balance their books.

Everything has been brought there, installed, built by the textile workers, men and women. At the foot of the mountain a village has been

created out of all kinds of bits and pieces, dormitories for girls, dormitories for boys, straw huts for the families of officials, a carpenter's workshop to make wooden looms, a dyeing shop, a parade for meetings, dances and ping-pong, a cave for the electricians, etc. On Saturday, at midday, the machines stop. After a short meal, we see the workers disperse, pencils and notebooks in hand. The carpenter's shop, the canteen, and other straw huts as well, are transformed into classrooms where they study geometry, algebra and geography. After this, when night falls, there is dancing. In North Vietnam there is, particularly in the administration, a permanent system of education which gives a solid grounding of general culture. On a much more modest level, they are trying to do the same in "liberated Laos". The laboratory for this training - one has to go and look for it - in the caves, of course, is the school for training teachers and schoolmasters. One can see the pupils scattered over the area, studying. They made the tables, the benches, the houses, the pictures, the roads to the rocky classrooms. The instruction aims to be as complete as possible: everyone cultivates his own vegetables and rice, everyone raises his own cattle. The goal is to be self-sufficient.

The director of education in the liberated zone and the headmaster of the school showed us their work and talked of their ideas. It is from them that we heard the most "committed" exposition of "national progressive education". The school serves, of course, to raise the level of culture, but also to defend the country, to "serve the people", to "hate the Americans". The teacher must be a propagandist of the people. He must know how to adapt himself to local conditions. Weaving, ironmongery, education, culture of burned fields, must have no secrets from him. Research is being carried out now into the possibility of publishing new textbooks on the history and geography of Laos in the national language. No one wants to depend on French or other languages any more.

The deep-rootedness of this peasant community is clearly stressed. In the sad night of Vientiane, American pilots re-create the atmosphere of Saigon, with their blackmarket sales and prostitutes. Do they know that a rural people are forging a Laotian nationality in the villages and caves they have just overflowed or bombed, that they dance only Laotian dances and make their own culture, as well as their political ideology, a weapon against foreign intervention?

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VIETNAM BIBLIOGRAPHY (cont. from p. 9)

5. The University-Military Complex, compiled by Michael Clare, 1969 (9/6). Details of war research at American universities, much of it related to Vietnam.

The following bookshops may be useful for obtaining some of these works:

- Banner Books, 90 Camden High St, London NW 1
- Collet's London Bookshop, 66 Charing Cross Road, London WC 2
- Pioneer Bookshop, 8 Toynbee St, London E 1

DEFORMED FUTURE (cont. from p. 4)

improved devices have been put into use. Spraying also took place in Cambodia in 1969, on the border with South Vietnam, in an attempt to disrupt the "sanctuaries". Nixon may be withdrawing men from Vietnam, but he is making sure that he has other methods with which to continue the war.

THEY SAID IT ! "We refuse to recognise any doctrine under which a great power can claim the right to intervene militarily, not only to impose unpopular governments, but to determine what the international policies of those governments will be". Elliot Richardson, US Under-Secretary of State. 3 May 1970

VIETNAM BIBLIOGRAPHY

compiled by Stephanie Segall

The following literature is suggested as being of use to those interested in Vietnam. It is in no way an exhaustive list, but provides a number of sources for information on the background and history of the war, the nature of people's war,

the internal development of North Vietnam, the National Liberation Front, and the current situation in Vietnam. English language publications only are included.

We hope later to compile a similar list for Laos and Cambodia.

I. Vietnamese Publications:

(These may be obtained from Banner Books - see below)

1. VIETNAM COURIER - information weekly newspaper of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam
2. SOUTH VIETNAM IN STRUGGLE - bimonthly newspaper of the National Liberation Front
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(Burchett has travelled extensively in Asia and is one of the few westerners to have visited the liberated areas. Vietnam Will Win! is a unique study of the NLF in operation.)
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APOLOGIA FOR LT CALLEY

by J.C. Durkin
of the Veteran Infantry Soldiers Association

Several months have elapsed since the disclosures of the affair at "Pinkville". Precedents exist for the action taken there by Lt. Calley and his platoon but as yet none have been advanced. People should be made aware of similar incidents which occurred prior to his action and which set the seal of approval of US military law on his side.

PHILIPPINES 1901

On 28th September, 1901 a company of 69 men of the US army of occupation were attacked by a group of Aguinaldo guerrillas (grandfathers of the present-day Huks). The attack took place on the island of Samar - one of the Philippine group - and resulted in the deaths of 45 soldiers. When news of this was received at US Army HQ, a punitive expedition was mounted under the command of General Jake Smith. His orders were brief and specific:

"You will proceed to the island of Samar where you will kill every person over the age of ten. You will raze every other dwelling place."

These written orders were later produced at the General's trial. Smith's troops destroyed every town and village, and killed most of the islanders before news of the events leaked to the outside world. Then the General was recalled to Washington where he was put on trial for "showing excessive brutality in the furtherance of his mission". This charge was proved and sentence pronounced: "You will forfeit three years seniority in your present rank. Further, a severe reprimand is awarded".

General Smith's actions on Samar resulted in the deaths of 8,294 children, 2,715 women and 420 men. This puts into perspective the hundred or so deaths at "Pinkville" in which Calley was involved.

THE BATTLE OF SAND-CREEK

In the last quarter of the 19th century, in the south-west territories of the USA, three regiments of US cavalry were engaged in the return of recalcitrant Indians to the reservation from which they had decamped in search of food. Three hundred of them were rounded up near the creek. They were ringed by guards. At 2 a.m. a shot was fired. The Indians awoke and started to mill around. The army officers ordered the gatling guns to fire on them. To escape they ran into the creek and tried to swim to the other side. The cavalry were mounted by this time and were ordered into the attack. They rode the Indians down using sabres and the last one was killed at 6.15 a.m.

For this action seven congressional medals of honour were awarded. One month afterwards, the reservation to which the Indians had been returning was visited by a missionary, who remarked on the absence of children or squaws. He was then told another version of "the battle of Sand-Creek": that the men had been back on the reservation five days before the "battle" took place, that the "300 hostiles" put to death by the horse soldiers were their wives and children who had been separated from the braves on the return trek to the reservation. This information was passed onto the Bureau of Indian Affairs and set in motion an enquiry which bore out in every detail what the missionary had been told.

No information is now readily available as to what happened on completion of the enquiry. But no regimental colour of the US Army now bears the battle-honour "Sand-Creek", although it was awarded to the three participant cavalry regiments at the time.

Phat Diem is a catholic city 400 miles from My Lai, in territory not in dispute. It is a place of pilgrimage for all the Christians of South-East Asia and holds the relics that are sacred to all. The North Vietnamese government accorded special privileges to the city, e.g. freedom from national service and freedom from taxes on religious buildings. The US Army-Airforce was aware of the situation; perhaps they thought Phat Diem had its special privileges because the Hanoi government was unsure of the loyalties of the citizens (the city was only 15 miles from the area of Vietnam occupied by US Army units).

The decision was therefore taken at a meeting of the joint chiefs of staff to launch a massive terror raid against the city, in the hope perhaps that the populace would turn against the communists and opt for the US "liberators".

So on that June morning in 1967 the giant bombers took off from their bases in occupied Vietnam, Thailand and Okinawa. The first wave arrived over the city at 10 a.m. on 17th June. They were armed with napalm. No anti-aircraft fire impeded them as they made the preliminary dummy-run over the target before returning for the wet-run. By 10.15 a.m., all bombs away, the planes turned for home. They returned to base safely.

The second wave arrived at 11 a.m. The pilots reported that buildings and landmarks could not be distinguished because of dense smoke interspersed with pillars of fire from all areas of the city. The loads of HE bombs of the second wave were duly unloaded into the inferno below and the planes returned. All were intact and reports of enemy activity were negative.

Phat Diem blazed for four days and fire-storms were frequent in the first two. One of these, roaring up a street, engulfed a number of people who had rushed from the comparative safety of a brick-built building when they first heard the eerie wailing of the storm as it was born and started to move. After

the people, retaining their forms for a split second.

Acting upon reports from pilots of the second wave of bombers that Phat Diem was now non-existent, the joint chiefs of staff cancelled the third and fourth waves. The populace did not defect to the American side. They might have done so - but they were all dead. The event was not reported publicly in America at any time then, or since, although it did receive mention in the Daily Telegraph.

Fifty-two citations for bravery were made on behalf of the bomber crews after the raid on Phat Diem. Fifty medals were awarded and two certificates of merit.

Will this story then be put before the military court prior to Lt Calley's trial? Or are the numbers of dead - 80,000 - so great that, like a million pounds, they cannot be envisaged? Pity Calley then that he stuck on such a comprehensive number as 102. The generals who ordered the death of Phat Diem were not arraigned. Nor were the pilots, who afterwards drew lots for the 50 medals awarded for their part in this exercise in mass destruction. After all, 80,000 is a number which comes close to incomprehension. These unwieldy numbers are the shield and buckler of the Americans as they destroy.

.....

Now consider this; on 18th February 1970 John Vann gave evidence before a Senate committee in Washington. My Vann gave this evidence in his ex-officio capacity as the official who had supervised the pacification programme in the Mekong Delta. "Civilian casualties in that area alone last year were in excess of 100,000" (an unthinkable figure again). "Most of the wounded admitted to hospital were suffering from third degree burns" (napalm perhaps?). Mr. Vann went on to say that "he was increasingly convinced of the growing confidence of the people of that area in the Saigon government". He was right of course. The Mekong Delta comprises an area and a population almost double that of

population of this area by 100,000 every year, for five years (the Mekong Delta is now into its sixth year of pacification), it would be reasonable to expect at the end of that period that the population would have confidence in the London government - the only people remaining in the area by this time being agents of that government.

At the same Senate hearing, a Mr William Colley (Head of the Mekong Delta pacification programme) also gave evidence that: "political assassination and terrorism has now been dropped from our programme as

of them for: "giving time from well earned leave to the purposes of this committee".

Back in Vietnam a field court-martial had been considering the case of a private soldier of 20. On leave in Saigon, he had murdered a Vietnamese boy of 14. Found guilty, he was sentenced to 7 years imprisonment, loss of all pay and privileges and dishonourable discharge. Private Lairy should have done his killing in the Delta and got himself a medal - a letter of thanks at worst. Lairy had not learned the rules yet. Lt.

T H E S P E C I A L A I R S E R V I C E

The information on the destruction of Phat Diem was given to the author by a British soldier of the SAS (Special Air Service) who had flown with the second wave of US bombers in the attack. F.C. Durkin had at one time himself served in the SAS, which was a regiment formed by the British Army during World War II to operate as a commando cum spy unit, working mainly behind enemy lines in cooperation with guerrilla forces such as the French maquis and Tito's partisans. That the regiment was an elite can be gauged from Hitler's order in 1943 that "any SAS soldier captured will in no case be interned but delivered immediately to the authority of the SS for interrogation and execution". The regiment is still in existence; its depot is in Hereford, its members wear a fawn beret and its badge is a winged dagger bearing the motto "who dares wins".

The presence of a serving British soldier in an American bomber over Vietnam is perhaps explicable in terms of the political sympathies dominating the SAS and the reactionary nature of its international contacts. The Algerian OAS leaders were mainly ex-members of the regiment, as was Major (now Colonel) Woodhouse, at present commanding a royalist army in one of the sheikdoms of the Persian Gulf. Relations with the American OSS were cordial and constant during the war and continue today in the far east with the CIA. During the Malayan emergency the SAS were dropped by parachute to administer medical aid to the villagers; significantly, they were armed with the "Armorlite" rifle which is designed only to kill, not wound. This weapon, as is half the regiment's known equipment, is American. In the circumstances of this sinister, world-wide "old boy" network, it is hardly surprising that one of the members of its British section should be invited to participate in an event such as Phat Diem.

unfortunate disclosures have been made in the past which have reflected on the whole Phoenix programme". He said that the programme had a monthly target to neutralise 1,800 Vietnamese and this target was always met. The witness defined "neutralise" as "capture, kill or wound".

Mr Vann and Mr Colley left the Senate building together and were not arrested. When the Senate com-

Calley was just beginning when an army photographer brought his career to a stop. Where was this photographer when Phat Diem erupted into the skies of Asia? Where, when the Mekong Delta was being pacified? Will we now arraign a few men like Lt. Calley to absolve the generals in the Pentagon and their commander-in-chief Nixon? Are we to accept Calley and a few like him as reparation for all the burned

GI RESISTANCE IN VIETNAM

by Tony Maguire

Richard Boyle is an American journalist who has recently been expelled from Vietnam as a result of his anti-war activities. While in London recently he described the growing resistance to the war amongst GIs in Vietnam.

Boyle's first visit to Vietnam was in 1965 as a freelance war correspondent. At the time he was a war lover. He went out with a unit of Green Berets and was armed and looking forward to seeing some action. Subsequent events radically altered his outlook on war, and particularly on the Indo-Chinese war. His second visit to the country was also in a freelance capacity in 1967. In March 1969 he returned to Vietnam in the employ of Overseas Weekly, a Frankfurt based American newspaper. This visit terminated with his expulsion in February of this year. Whilst in Vietnam, he went on air-strikes, saw action with the US Army and Marines and also with the Australians, Thais and Koreans. He was sickened by the tortures that he witnessed and claimed that they were most rampant and systematic among the Saigon troops.

There are three major groups, Boyle said, in the US Army - the "lifers", the anti-war activists and the rest. The "lifers" are the career soldiers and constitute the majority of the officers, commissioned and NCOs. They are nicknamed "boozers" or "juicers" by the GIs because of their excessive drinking. The anti-war activists, which he estimates at 30 to 40% of all GIs, consist of two main groups, the Black Power militants and the young "hippies" who smoke pot and do not want to fight. The rest is composed of the average garage mechanic or bank clerk who feels he has a job to do and wants to get it over and return home.

Many GIs become anti-war activists once they reach the country. Believing what they have read about "Vietnamisation", they are then confronted with the Saigon troops, reluctant to fight and who, in some cases, have murdered their

of the Vietnamese peasants also has an adverse effect on the morale of the GIs. When they arrive they expect to be welcomed as a liberation army. Instead they are spat upon and must be constantly on the alert as almost any Vietnamese national could be an NLF agent. This produces two effects amongst the troops. The first is a feeling of hatred towards the people whom they are "liberating". They lay down their lives for these people and in return they get a mine planted outside their quarters. This reaction will produce a My Lai.

The second type of response is: "Well of course they hate us - look what we're doing to their country - look what we're doing to them!" This reaction creates the anti-war activists. The activists are extremely limited in the way that they can express their dissent. Open demonstrations result in immediate arrest and in some cases have ended in the deaths of some of the demonstrators. A more subtle form of action is necessary. For instance, on Thanksgiving Day last year many GIs felt they had nothing to give thanks for, and refused to eat the celebration dinner. The most widespread expression of dissent is through the media of the underground press. Newspapers are springing up everywhere condemning the war and calling for American withdrawal from the area.

More direct actions do take place: for instance, the now famous incident where A Company refused to move into action. Beyond blatant insubordination, GIs are even going to the lengths of eliminating officers who insist on continually exposing their troops to dangerous missions. Over-eager officers get warnings in the form of a gas grenade in their "hootch" (living quarters). Should they persist in

mentation grenade follows the gas grenades. Some units are practically controlled by GIs in this fashion. Another means of eliminating unpopular officers is a bullet in the back during combat; no one can tell whether it is an American or a Vietnamese bullet. In another case, a GI, described by his friends as very quiet and extremely amicable, was pushed so far by the officers that he shot one of the sergeants and then committed suicide. Boyle estimated the number of officers who have been eliminated by their men to be well into the hundreds - and perhaps into thousands.

The "lifers" are of course rather distressed by the anti-war militants. They try to keep them unarmed when not on active missions. The militants have to hide their weapons to retain them and constant arms searches are carried out. The officers also tend to split groups of militants since an incident at Holm Bahn gaol when a group of black prisoners killed their white guards.

Boyle was of the opinion that propaganda from communist sources was not very effective amongst the GIs. The terminology of the communists is completely alien to the GIs and they therefore tend to discard it as rubbish. One event that Boyle witnessed which did have quite an impact happened at Ben Het. An American adviser with a unit of ARVN was badly wounded in a skirmish. He was abandoned by the South Vietnamese and would certainly have died had it not been for the fact that the North Vietnamese troops patched him up and returned him to the Americans. The psychological effect on him and his fellow GIs of this act where the supposed enemy saved the life of a comrade in arms who had been abandoned by the supposed allies, was tremendous.

Boyle summed up the position among American troops in Vietnam as being extremely explosive. He likened the situation to that among Russian troops fighting the Germans in 1917.

.... AND IN BEDFORD !

On Tuesday 5th May, at the US Airforce base at Chicksands, RAF Caddington, Bedford, there was a spontaneous demonstration of 60 servicemen, plus their wives and children, on the lawns outside the Base's chapel. The demonstration was quickly broken up by Military Police, and 18 of the servicemen were detained. They will almost certainly be sent back to the States.

This event is especially significant, because the Chicksands Base is notorious for its strict discipline. As soon as it occurred, the authorities of the Base made strenuous efforts to ensure that the demonstration would not be reported. Chicksands Base has a "friendship" Committee with the authorities in Bedford, and through this Committee the local paper was given to know that any exposure of the incident would be harmful to the interests of Anglo-American cooperation. That is why nothing was heard about the incident until an informant leaked the information to our office.

According to our informant, the Chicksands demonstration was just the tip of the iceberg. There is considerable unrest in the British Bases, and at least five underground anti-war papers are known to be circulating amongst the GIs. The black servicemen, in particular, are beginning to get organised in a way that promises increasing difficulties for the Base commanders in Britain.
(Black Dwarf, 25th May 1970)

Another offensive by the NLF on the scale of the Tet Offensive of 1968 Boyle feels would tip the balance and cause a major revolt among GIs. Certainly, from reports in the national press concerning the morale of the American army since the invasion of Cambodia, it is evident that the situation for the command is critical.

CAMBODIA: NOISES OFF-STAGE

by Feiling Blackburn

British reaction to the widening of the Vietnam war is characteristic. Apart from some spirited but disorganised protest from trade unions and middle-class radicals, the official pronouncements are predictable:

"There are some in this House who would like me to make a resounding pronouncement condemning what the United States has done For the reasons I have already given, I do not think this is justified in legality, common sense, or I do not think we have either the right or the duty to pronounce on the American action."
(Stewart. 6 May, 1970)

Stewart is to be congratulated for licking his Master's arse with such granite fortitude. Unable to face up to either the moral or the political implications of Master Nixon's actions in Cambodia, he is driven once more to appealing to "common sense" and "legality". Yet he and others like him know very well that the American action is neither "legally" nor "commonsensically" justified. Morally monstrous, constitutionally illegal and militarily suicidal - this the Labour government knows, but will not admit because to admit this will mean offending the Policeman of the World.

It is an irony of British parliamentary politics that a "socialist" minister of state should be outflanked on the "left" by the neo-fascist Enoch Powell. Unclouded in his vision by the lure of credit from the World Bank, or the efficacy of the American "nuclear umbrella", but solidly aware of the interests of his class, Powell is clearly stunned by the US action. He knows only too well that such folly and short-sightedness can only bring about revolution, not only in the Third World, but in the heartlands of capitalism itself:

"The central fact that we dare not blink ... is that American military

results in South-East Asia..... It could not be to the benefit of the United States or Britain, whatever view one took of the defence of the United Kingdom... that this continuing experiment to prove a result which was already knowable, predicted and predictable four or five years ago should go on any longer..... Wisdom and common sense move us to say to our friend and ally: at last, at length, enough."

But Powell's was a voice in the wilderness: the leadership and rank-and-file of the Conservative Party were delirious with admiration for Stewart, and rampant with Alice-in-Wonderland:

"We were impressed by the clear and courageous statement of the Foreign Secretary Our job is to try to understand fully that when a friend is in trouble, as the Americans are, his need of friendship and above all of understanding is at its greatest..... I commend to the Prime Minister some words Sir Winston Churchill used in this House: above all never flinch, never weary, never despair!"
(Maudling)

With far-sighted leaders such as these, the British ruling class need never flinch, never weary, never despair - because whatever President Nixon says is right! Nixon is right because unless you want to build your own nuclear umbrella, you had better listen to him. "It would not be surprising if American public opinion were to say if the Europeans want to retire to their continent, let them look after their own defences." The Times, angered by the stupidity of its allies in the ruling circles of both the US and Britain, and chafing at Britain's client status, condemned the US action in unexpectedly unequivocal terms:

"All the latent horror aroused

nam has been awoken again by the news coverage of the new operations in Cambodia. The blindfolded civilians being herded for interrogation, the shocked or imploring peasants, the indiscriminate damage of the heavy bombers seem only to make more distant the withdrawal that Mr Nixon was announcing a few weeks ago, however much he and his military advisers believe that the present assault will serve better to secure the withdrawal ... The extension of the war into Cambodia and the further demonstration at Kent State University of the vicious incompetence of some sections of the American National Guard have also caused a great shock in Europe. This shock is both real and reasonable. This is a conviction that President Nixon is pushing inexorably ahead down a road which leads to disaster, probably to disaster in war and certainly to disaster at home."
(6 May, 1970 - editorial)

"Disaster at home" can only mean revolution, the overthrow of one class by another. This is what both Powell and the Times editorial is trying to warn the less alert members of their class. Revolution in the US will probably mean revolution in Europe; and although "we" in Europe are tied hand and foot to the American fate, "we" cannot rely upon America to defend "us" against the onslaught of revolution when she is so manifestly incapable of even seeing the dangers so obvious to everyone else. Let "us" arm ourselves:

"The fact is that in matters of defence we all persist in being the client states of America because of a lack of determination to make proper arrangements and a lack of willingness to spend money. The criticism of clients will normally be treated with contempt, even when, as now, it is correct in conscience and justified in fact."

There is no shilly-shallying here. At the end of the parliamentary debate, 59 Labour backbenchers, eight Liberals and Bernadette Devlin voted against the Government's "muted" support of US aggression in Cambodia. As usual, Wilson tried to please everybody and succeeded

in pleasing noone - neither his backbenchers, middle-benchers nor the Opposition. The lame-duck pronouncement came in a drizzle of ambiguity:

"The Government and the House had a duty to express their concern for the peoples of those areas of tragic and prolonged fighting in south-east Asia without feeding the flames of the debate raging in America itself...."

and so on, plus the so-called "Five Principles" - of peaceful co-existence? It is hard to say, since nothing in the speech gives rise to any suspicion of a principle, other than that of realpolitik and the "principle" of getting China into the United Nations!

Classically, the Tribune of 8 May attacked the person of Michael Stewart ("Can Stewart stay Foreign Secretary") - as if Stewart were personally responsible for the way the British government and sections of the ruling class are behaving. They rumour that Stewart will be chopped for his speech because it "does not command the support of the entire Cabinet"! because it "was dictated by the Mandarins of the Foreign Office"! Fissions within the ruling class?.... Classic delusions of reformists? Throw out the corrupt official and the empire will be at peace.... But Wilson thinks he has fooled them all: he fooled the Tribune group into thinking he is on their side, and the Conservatives into thinking Stewart is on their side; but what is at stake is neutralisation of opposition to the Labour Party (probably successful) and victory at the election.

This is the last issue of the journal to be duplicated. Contributions would be especially welcome at this time, to help cover future printing costs. Please send contributions to:

INDO-CHINA
182 Pentonville Rd,
London NW 1.

route, and the militants another. On reaching Grosvenor Square the militants were immediately confronted by large numbers of police, mounted and on foot. The police, with truncheons drawn, lost no time in setting about the demonstrators. After a long running battle, the demonstrators left the square and proceeded to the West End. When the police caught up with them, violence flared again. During the course of the afternoon 60 arrests were made.

May 12: Steve Merrett talked on the formation of the United Front of the Indo-Chinese People to an informal group at Conway Hall; he spoke of its likely effect on the future of the war.

Tony Maguire

COMING EVENTS:

May 29, 7.30 p.m. Conway Hall: Richard Kirsch, a student at Kent University Ohio, will present an eye-witness account of the shooting of the four students, and will also describe the situation inside the American anti-war movement at the present day. The meeting is organised by VSC.

May 30, 6 p.m., Trafalgar Square: Richard Kirsch will address a rally called by Red Mole, and then lead a demonstration to Whitehall and Smith Square calling for official condemnation of student murder in America, black and white.

June 16, 7.30 p.m., Conway Hall: Malcolm Caldwell will speak to a meeting called by VSC. (Red Lion Square - nearest tube Holborn)

P O L I T I C A L B L O O D

A blood-donor session was held on Saturday 18th April at the Dominican Priory in Kentish Town, London, for the NLF areas of South Vietnam. The organisation was done by Camden Movement for Peoples Power (CMPP), with equipment, transport and some personnel supplied by Medical Aid for Vietnam. Some of the technical assistants from CMPP had no previous experience of the work and were specially trained for the session. There was, finally, an excess of technical staff.

The concept of the session was based on two aims: The first was to provide some material aid to the NLF: some weeks previously Malcolm Segall of Medical Aid had visited Cambodia (just before the coup) and had met NLF medical organisers there who had asked for blood plasma to help cope with a serious medical situation among the civilian population of rural South Vietnam, arising from the US bombing (see our last issue). Among the problems there was the appearance of diseases new to the area, such as rickets - caused by prolonged spells of life underground. The second aim, which distinguished this from other sessions held for a similar material purpose, was political: namely, to engage those who attended in discussion about the war, about issues stemming from it and problems of political consciousness and organisation in general. Recruitment was done on a specifically local level so that follow-ups to conversations and contacts initiated at the session could be an on-going reality.

In terms of both aims the event was most successful: 200 people attended during the day and 168 pints of blood were sent to the German Democratic Republic for processing into plasma for forwarding to Hanoi. The majority of those present commented on the good social atmosphere (which included a creche and a bookstall, as well as generous space and seating in which to dawdle, talk and drink tea); and the benefits of discussing the context of giving blood and of making contacts. Almost the whole membership of CMPP (about 30) were involved in the political work of initiating discussion, sale of literature and posters, and as medical technicians. Their enjoyment of such work, in a group, and of the opportunity for making new contacts for the group created what was undeniably a very pleasant atmosphere. Medical and scientific workers from outside CMPP, not normally engaged politically, showed great enthusiasm and ambitions to work on similar projects in the future.



BRITISH EVENTS

SCOTLAND

Glasgow, April 18: about 400 people attended a militant VSC-organised demonstration and rally to mark their solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution.

Glasgow & Edinburgh, May 9: demonstrations were organised at one week's notice by the VSC, IS, YCL, IMG and a united committee in Edinburgh. Leaflets were distributed on the May Day march, in universities etc in response to the Cambodian invasion. In Glasgow about 200 people marched from Blythswood Square to North Hanover Street in a sea of placards, banners, red, NLF and North Vietnamese flags. Two coachloads then went to Edinburgh, where they formed part of the 1,300 strong march to the US Consulate. Most of the demonstrators were students, but also included some young people not previously accustomed to demonstrating. There were speeches at the Consulate - and some violence. It is hoped that in the future there will be more participation from the labour movement, the only real basis for an effective mass movement.

Glasgow, Saturdays: regular open-air meetings are held at 1 p.m. in the Royal Exchange Square. All are invited!

Future events: a week of activities are planned by Glasgow VSC for the end of June. For further details please contact:

Pat Fryd, 52 Belmont St,
Glasgow W 2.

Pat Fryd

LONDON

April 26: the VSC in London, along with several other groups including various Black Power organisations, held a rally in Hyde Park denouncing American imperialism in both Indo-China and Trinidad. A march to the US Embassy via the Trinidad and Tobago High Commission followed. The

demonstration ended at Speakers' Corner where the black comrades were viciously attacked by the Police and twenty arrests were made.

May 2: Richard Boyle, an American journalist recently arrived in London following his expulsion from Vietnam, recounted his experiences in Vietnam to a meeting of activists arranged by VSC (see p. 13). A discussion followed and the violent reaction to the Cambodian invasion was reflected in the militancy of this debate. A protest was decided for the next day. Several comrades worked throughout the night to mobilise the maximum number of people. On the Sunday, May 3, the VSC supported the May Day rally in Hyde Park and at the end, led a march to the US Embassy. A short meeting was held in Grosvenor Square and several Americans present burned their draft cards. The meeting dispersed after various protest notes were delivered to the Embassy and everyone had been urged to attend the demonstration planned for the following Saturday by the British Peace Council and the British Campaign for Peace in Vietnam.

During the following week several forms of protest were staged. The School of Oriental and African Studies went on strike in protest at the invasion of Cambodia; a militant group of Americans staged a demonstration outside the US Embassy in protest at the murder of the Ohio four by the National Guard; a bomb was thrown at the embassy; pigs' heads were left on the embassy steps and those of various large American companies. On Friday, Australians and New Zealanders Against the Vietnam War staged a small but militant demonstration outside Australia House calling for a strike in solidarity with the Australian moratorium (see p. 20)

May 9: the BPC - BCPV demonstration was attended by a large number of militants. The march was effectively split into two - militants and

□ AUSTRALIA

by Lee Patterson

PROTEST UPSURGE DOWN UNDER - THE AUSTRALIAN VIETNAM MORATORIUM

As a moratorium in the strictly literal sense, it didn't bring the house down. But Australia's first efficiently organised, national anti-Vietnam war protest held on May 8, 9 and 10 caused some very wholesome tremors deep in the foundations of God's own country.

The moratorium took almost a year to organise. It was the biggest national anti-war demonstration ever held in the country. Australians of every age, profession and political affiliation marched together to express their anger, opposition and disgust at Australia's continued presence in Vietnam. An estimated quarter of a million people were involved in demonstrations in capital cities and towns across the country. Most industries and firms reported abstinences by employees on the first day of the moratorium.

The moratorium called for a halt to business as usual, the immediate and total withdrawal of all Australian and allied troops from Vietnam and the repeal of the National Service Act. (There are at present three Australian battalions in Vietnam. Approximately 400 Australians have died to date, more than 1,000 have been wounded).

The three-day moratorium combined mass student marches, walk-outs by maritime unions, special protests by the clergy, prayer vigils and sit-ins in every major town and city. It was supported by thousands of individual trade unionists, all student bodies, hundreds of high school teachers and pupils, 101 state and federal MPs and tens of thousands of ordinary citizens.

IN SYDNEY: 20,000 people jammed the centre of the city for three hours outside the town hall. They closed major stores and strangled all traffic flowing through the city centre. Three thousand students crushed police opposition

(Lee Patterson is a London corres-

and marched down Oxford Street, another 3,000 trade unionists protested in Hyde Park; and prayer vigils were held at night. Five people were arrested on Day 1; 1,700 police were specially detailed to control the demonstrators: there was almost one policeman to every ten demonstrators. The moratorium was a peaceful demonstration; only one policeman was taken to hospital - a television camera fell on his head.

IN MELBOURNE: 70,000 marchers staged a sit-down and covered every inch of roadway and pavement over four blocks of the city. Police had to close big department stores.

IN BRISBANE: lunchtime crowds were "visibly shocked" by the sight of 4,000 demonstrators marching through the city shouting: "one two three four - we don't want your fucking war".

There were demonstrations in Perth and Adelaide. Two thousand marched in Hobart and Newcastle, one thousand in Wollongong. There were no major incidents during the moratorium, which was designed from the beginning as a "strong non-violent protest".

The Government over-reacted predictably and tried to label the moratorium a communist-inspired protest and a deliberate attempt to provoke violence and bloodshed. Prime Minister Gorton tried unsuccessfully to deflate it by saying he would bring home one battalion - but as soon as Nixon invaded Cambodia Gorton jumped in to justify him. A typically trenchant speech:

"... on the general question, any action that might be taken and which in our view would achieve the ends which we ourselves want to see achieved for these countries up north could not hurt us as long as they were in accordance with the steps which we would like to see taken up there". There is no truth in the rumour that Mickey Mouse was seen wearing a Spiro Agnew-John Gorton watch!



USA

by Feiling Blackburn

BLOODY MONDAY ON KENT STATE

May 4, 1970: National Guardsmen, fresh from quelling revolt by members of the Teamsters Union, arrived on scene of student demonstration at Kent State University, Ohio. They "panicked" and fired, killing two women and two men students. This provoked a wave of revolt throughout the United States: windows were smashed, barricades set up, buildings fired, national strike of 500 colleges. Their slogan: "The Kent State Four -- Nixon's Silent Majority". Expatriate Americans, shaken in their relative safety, demonstrated outside their own embassies. This seemed to be the beginning of a protracted war.

Enquiries into the "incident" did not reassure those who still believed in the reality of American democracy. What emerged from a pile of conflicting reports was that the Guardsmen all fired to-

gether at a signal from someone holding a baton (Time, 18 May); and the tests show that the so-called "sniper" had fired his bullet from the Guardsmen's side (Newsweek, 25 May).

As if to show their contempt for even the illusion of a "free" society, 500 National Guardsmen, police, highway patrolmen, surrounded 100 unarmed students and unleashed a hail of bullets into a black women's dormitory in Jackson, Mississippi, about a week after the Kent State massacre, killing two and wounding nine black students. Like the Kent State Four, the dead were innocent bystanders. "As co-eds screamed and male students cursed, a highway-patrol radio dispatcher could be heard to say: 'Well, I guess you'll need some ambulances.' Replied a patrolman: 'Yes. We've got some niggers dyin.'"

WORKERS AGAINST STUDENTS OR WORKERS AGAINST NIXON ?

In an incidental sort of way, Newsweek leaked out something which might surprise us all yet. In a Gallup poll of American opinion across the US, Newsweek announces that half the American population supports the war, but only a mere 39% is against it. Curiouser and curiouser: the so-called flag-waving patriotic workers ("those without a high school education") "came down hard against Mr Nixon's Cambodian policy. A hefty 56% opposed it, and only 26% approved." (emphasis added) Women were the next best on the record: 49% for, 37% against. Nixon's vulgar speeches about dissenters did not reassure them: only 37% approved, while 35% opposed; 49% of the "young people" opposed the war,

while 55% approved.

So who comes out against Nixon? Workers, women and students, youth - in that order !

As for the attack on demonstrating students in New York by 200 flag-waving construction workers, what is of interest are "charges that the 'spontaneous' attacks on peace demonstrators had been planned at various construction sites in the area and that the plans had been disseminated by roving shop stewards who encouraged their men to go out and 'knock heads'. Where the men got their American flags and their professionally printed signs was also a question. And so was the conduct of the police department." (Newsweek, 25 May)

EUROPE - AFRICA - SOUTH AMERICA : Demonstrations have been held all round the world in protest against the invasion of Cambodia by US and ARVN troops

□ AUSTRALIA

by Lee Patterson

PROTEST UPSURGE DOWN UNDER - THE AUSTRALIAN VIETNAM MORATORIUM

As a moratorium in the strictly literal sense, it didn't bring the house down. But Australia's first efficiently organised, national anti-Vietnam war protest held on May 8, 9 and 10 caused some very wholesome tremors deep in the foundations of God's own country.

The moratorium took almost a year to organise. It was the biggest national anti-war demonstration ever held in the country. Australians of every age, profession and political affiliation marched together to express their anger, opposition and disgust at Australia's continued presence in Vietnam. An estimated quarter of a million people were involved in demonstrations in capital cities and towns across the country. Most industries and firms reported abstinences by employees on the first day of the moratorium.

The moratorium called for a halt to business as usual, the immediate and total withdrawal of all Australian and allied troops from Vietnam and the repeal of the National Service Act. (There are at present three Australian battalions in Vietnam. Approximately 400 Australians have died to date, more than 1,000 have been wounded).

The three-day moratorium combined mass student marches, walk-outs by maritime unions, special protests by the clergy, prayer vigils and sit-ins in every major town and city. It was supported by thousands of individual trade unionists, all student bodies, hundreds of high school teachers and pupils, 101 state and federal MPs and tens of thousands of ordinary citizens.

IN SYDNEY: 20,000 people jammed the centre of the city for three hours outside the town hall. They closed major stores and strangled all traffic flowing through the city centre. Three thousand students crushed police opposition

(Lee Patterson is a London corres-

and marched down Oxford Street, another 3,000 trade unionists protested in Hyde Park; and prayer vigils were held at night. Five people were arrested on Day 1; 1,700 police were specially detailed to control the demonstrators: there was almost one policeman to every ten demonstrators. The moratorium was a peaceful demonstration; only one policeman was taken to hospital - a television camera fell on his head.

IN MELBOURNE: 70,000 marchers staged a sit-down and covered every inch of roadway and pavement over four blocks of the city. Police had to close big department stores.

IN BRISBANE: lunchtime crowds were "visibly shocked" by the sight of 4,000 demonstrators marching through the city shouting: "one two three four - we don't want your fucking war".

There were demonstrations in Perth and Adelaide. Two thousand marched in Hobart and Newcastle, one thousand in Wollongong. There were no major incidents during the moratorium, which was designed from the beginning as a "strong non-violent protest".

The Government over-reacted predictably and tried to label the moratorium a communist-inspired protest and a deliberate attempt to provoke violence and bloodshed. Prime Minister Gorton tried unsuccessfully to deflate it by saying he would bring home one battalion - but as soon as Nixon invaded Cambodia Gorton jumped in to justify him. A typically trenchant speech:

"... on the general question, any action that might be taken and which in our view would achieve the ends which we ourselves want to see achieved for these countries up north could not hurt us as long as they were in accordance with the steps which we would like to see taken up there". There is no truth in the rumour that Mickey Mouse was seen wearing a Spiro Agnew-John Gorton watch!



BLOODY MONDAY ON KENT STATE

May 4, 1970: National Guardsmen, fresh from quelling revolt by members of the Teamsters Union, arrived on scene of student demonstration at Kent State University, Ohio. They "panicked" and fired, killing two women and two men students. This provoked a wave of revolt throughout the United States: windows were smashed, barricades set up, buildings fired, national strike of 500 colleges. Their slogan: "The Kent State Four -- Nixon's Silent Majority". Expatriate Americans, shaken in their relative safety, demonstrated outside their own embassies. This seemed to be the beginning of a protracted war.

Enquiries into the "incident" did not reassure those who still believed in the reality of American democracy. What emerged from a pile of conflicting reports was that the Guardsmen all fired to-

gether at a signal from someone holding a baton (Time, 18 May); and the tests show that the so-called "sniper" had fired his bullet from the Guardsmen's side (Newsweek, 25 May).

As if to show their contempt for even the illusion of a "free" society, 500 National Guardsmen, police, highway patrolmen, surrounded 100 unarmed students and unleashed a hail of bullets into a black women's dormitory in Jackson, Mississippi, about a week after the Kent State massacre, killing two and wounding nine black students. Like the Kent State Four, the dead were innocent bystanders. "As co-eds screamed and male students cursed, a highway-patrol radio dispatcher could be heard to say: 'Well, I guess you'll need some ambulances.' Replied a patrolman: 'Yes. We've got some niggers dyin.'"

WORKERS AGAINST STUDENTS OR WORKERS AGAINST NIXON ?

In an incidental sort of way, Newsweek leaked out something which might surprise us all yet. In a Gallup poll of American opinion across the US, Newsweek announces that half the American population supports the war, but only a mere 39% is against it. Curiouser and curiouser: the so-called flag-waving patriotic workers ("those without a high school education") "came down hard against Mr Nixon's Cambodian policy. A hefty 56% opposed it, and only 26% approved." (emphasis added) Women were the next best on the record: 49% for, 37% against. Nixon's vulgar speeches about dissenters did not reassure them: only 37% approved, while 35% opposed; 49% of the "young people" opposed the war,

while 55% approved.

So who comes out against Nixon? Workers, women and students, youth - in that order !

As for the attack on demonstrating students in New York by 200 flag-waving construction workers, what is of interest are "charges that the 'spontaneous' attacks on peace demonstrators had been planned at various construction sites in the area and that the plans had been disseminated by roving shop stewards who encouraged their men to go out and 'knock heads'. Where the men got their American flags and their professionally printed signs was also a question. And so was the conduct of the police department." (Newsweek, 25 May)

EUROPE - AFRICA - SOUTH AMERICA : Demonstrations have been held all round the world in protest against the invasion of Cambodia by US and ARVN troops

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