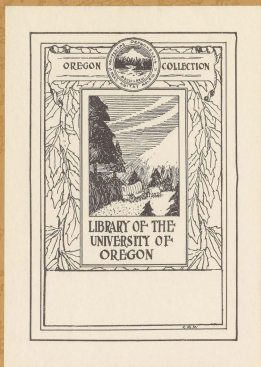


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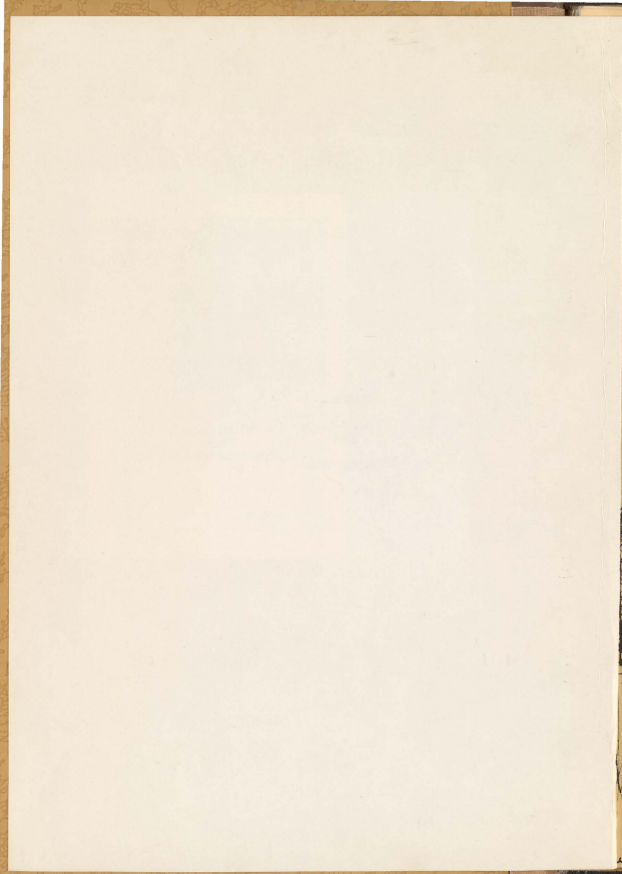


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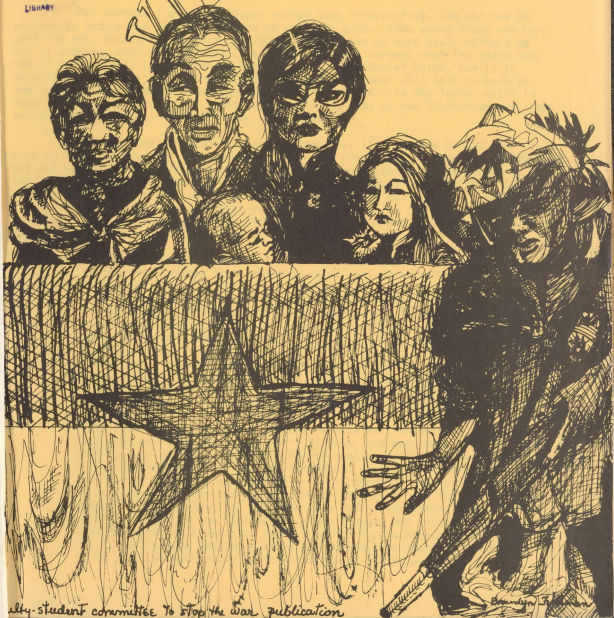
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No. 1

VIETNAM

January 23, 1966

Vietnam is presented as a vehicle through which Vietnamese of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam and of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam may speak for themselves. It will contain extracts from documents published in Vietnam, together with letters, poems and other messages sent by Vietnamese citizens to persons outside their country. We shall draw also on eye-witness accounts of the war as seen from "the other side" by non-Vietnamese observers such as George Chaffard, Madeleine Riffaud, Wilfred Burchett, Philippe Devillers, and James Cameron.

Our purpose is informational rather than interpretive. No war can be adequately understood from the reports of only one side. Even among those who oppose the war, moreover, there is considerable ignorance of such basic matters as how it started, when the National Liberation Front was formed, what its goals are, how it views itself in relation to Hanoi, China or the Soviet Union, how it is organized and how it carries on the war. We hope this paper will help to enlarge Americans' perceptions of these questions, if not always with the truth, which is sometimes hard to come by, at least by presenting a view of how Vietnamese see themselves and the struggle in which they are locked.

The opinions expressed in these extracts will not always be our own. We have no means of knowing, for example, whether the statistics of dead and wounded put out by the North Vietnamese and the National Liberation Front are closer to or further from the truth than those reported in the American press. We shall offer such information more in order to present what Vietnamese believe or are asked by their government to believe than what we think is necessarily the case. Our main goal is to open a window on Vietnam, to present the humanness of those against whom our government has chosen to make war.

Those who assemble documents such as these cannot, however, be neutral in this war. On the basis of our total reading and our values we do have a position, which we wish to make explicit.

1. We think it probable that the National Liberation Front has the support of a majority of the people of South Vietnam, and is waging a genuine war of national liberation from American control and from the control of a puppet government upheld by America and by a small, and decreasing, minority of its citizens.
2. Similarly, we think that the government of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam has the support of a large majority of its citizens.
3. We hold that the United States is fighting in Vietnam illegally, violating the United Nations Charter, the Geneva Agreements of 1954, and its own constitution.
4. We consider that American actions in this war, especially during the past year with the bombing of North Vietnam, and even more with the heavy bombing, use of toxic gases, and napalm bombing against South Vietnamese villagers whom we purport to be "defending" against "external aggression", constitutes a kind of mass slaughter which commands our condemnation.
5. We also think that the current "peace offensive" and the earlier "peace proposals" of the American government do not in fact offer a just settlement of the war to the Vietnamese, since they do not include negotiations with the National Liberation Front. Nor do they acknowledge that the N.L.F. must play a leading role in any future government of South Vietnam if it is to be acceptable to the majority of the people.

Later this year we hope to compile a larger portfolio of materials from Vietnam, organized by subject. For the present, in a series of bulletins, we shall present shorter extracts from current and recent writing which we think most likely to be of interest.

Vietnam is published by a sub-committee of the Faculty-Student Committee to Stop the War in Vietnam at the University of Oregon. It does not represent the views of the F.S.C. as a whole, which vary widely. Responsibility for its production rests with its editors.

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* * * * *

PROGRAM OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT

(From Bernard Fall: The Two Vietnams
Praeger, 1963: 449-453)

On December 20, 1960, the day of its founding, the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam issued a manifesto and published its ten-point program, the text of which follows:

1. Overthrow the camouflaged colonial regime of the American imperialists and the dictatorial power of Ngo Dinh Diem, servant of the American, and institute a government of democratic union.

The present South Vietnamese regime is a camouflaged colonial regime dominated by the Yankees, and the South Vietnamese government is a servile government, implementing faithfully all the policies of the American imperialists. Therefore, this regime must be overthrown and a government of national and democratic union put in its place composed of representatives of all social classes, of all nationalities, of the various political parties, of all religions; patriotic, eminent citizens must take over for the people the control of economic, political, social and cultural interests and thus bring about independence, democracy, well-being, peace, neutrality, and efforts toward the peaceful unification of the country.

2. Institute a largely liberal and democratic regime.

i. Abolish the present constitution of the dictatorial powers of Ngo Dinh Diem, servant of the Americans. Elect a new National Assembly through universal suffrage.

ii. Implement essential democratic liberties: freedom of opinion, of press, of assembly, of movement, of trade-unionism; freedom of religion without any discrimination; and the right of all patriotic organizations of whatever political tendency to carry on normal activities.

iii. Proclaim a general amnesty for all political prisoners and the dissolution of concentration camps of all sorts; abolish fascist law 10-59 and all the other anti-democratic laws; authorize the return to the country of all persons persecuted by the American-Diem regime who are now refugees abroad.

iv. Diemdict all illegal arrests and detentions; prohibit torture; and punish all the Diem Bullies who have not repented and who have committed crimes against the people.

3. Establish an independent and sovereign economy, and improve the living conditions of the people.

i. Suppress the monopolies imposed by the American imperialists and their servants; establish an independent and sovereign economy and finances in accordance with national interests; confiscate to the profit of the nation the properties of the American imperialists and their servants.

ii. Support the national bourgeoisie in the reconstruction and development of crafts and industry; provide active protection for national products through the suppression of production taxes and the limitation or prohibition of imports that the national economy is capable of producing; reduce customs fees on raw materials and machines.

iii. Revitalize agriculture, modernize production, fishing and cattle raising; help the farmers in putting to the plow unused land and in developing production; protect the crops and guarantee their disposal.

iv. Encourage and reinforce economic relations between the city and the country, the plain and the mountain regions; develop commercial relations with foreign countries, regardless of their political regime, on the basis of equality and mutual interests.

v. Institute a just and realational system of taxation; eliminate harrasing penalties.

vi. Implement the labor code; prohibition of discharges, of penalties, of ill-treatment of wage-earners; improvement of the living conditions of workers and civil servants; imposition of wage-scales and protective measures for young apprentices.

vii. Organize social welfare; find work for jobless persons; assume the support and protection of orphans, old people, invalids; come to the help of the victims of the Americans and Diemists; organize help for areas hit by bad crops, fires, or natural calamities.

viii. Come to the help of displaced persons desiring to return to their native areas, and to those who wish to remain permanently in the south; improve their working and living conditions.

ix. Prohibit expulsions, spoliation, and compulsory concentration of the population; guarantee job security for the urban and rural working populations.

4. Reduce Land Rent; implement agrarian reform with the aim of providing land to the tillers.

i. Reduce land rent; guarantee to the farmers the right to till the soil; guarantee the property right of accession to fallow lands to those who have cultivated them; guarantee property rights to those farmers who have already received land.



ii. Dissolve "property zones", and put an end to recruitment for the camps that are called "agricultural development centres." Allow those compatriots who already have been forced into "prosperity zones" and "agricultural development centres" to return freely to their own lands.

iii. Confiscate the land owned by American imperialists and their servants and distribute it to poor peasants with insufficient land or no land; redistribute the communal lands on a just and rational basis.

iv. By negotiation and on the basis of fair prices, repurchase for distribution to landless peasants or peasants with insufficient land those surplus lands that the owners of large estates will be made to relinquish if their domain exceeds a certain limit, to be determined in accordance with regional particularities. The farmers who benefit from such land distribution will not be compelled to make any payment or to submit to any other conditions.

5. Develop a national and democratic culture and education.

i. Combat all forms of culture and education enslaved to Yankee fashions; develop a culture and education that is national, progressive, and at the service of the Fatherland and people.

ii. Liquidate illiteracy; increase the number of schools in the fields of general education as well as in those of technical and professional education, in advanced study as well as in other fields; adopt Vietnamese as the vernacular language; reduce the expenses of education and exempt from payment students who are without means; resume the examination system.

iii. Promote science and technology and the national letters and arts; encourage and support the intellectuals and artists so as to permit them to develop their talents in the service of national reconstruction.

iv. Watch over public health; develop sports and physical education.

6. Create a national army devoted to the defence of the Fatherland and people.

i. Establish a national army devoted to the defence of the Fatherland and the people; abolish the system of American military advisors.

ii. Abolish the draft system; improve the living conditions of the simple soldiers and guarantee their political rights; put an end to ill treatment of the military; pay particular attention to the dependents of soldiers without means.

iii. Reward officers and soldiers having participated in the struggle against the domination of the Americans and their servants; adopt a policy of clemency toward the former collaborators of the Americans and Dienists guilty of crimes against the people but who have finally repented and are ready to serve the people.

iv. Abolish all foreign military bases established on the territory of Vietnam.

7. Guarantee equality between the various minorities and between the two sexes; protect the legitimate interests of foreign citizens established in Vietnam and of Vietnamese citizens residing abroad.

i. Implement the right to autonomy of the national minorities: form autonomous zones in the areas with a minority population, those zones to be an integral part of the Vietnamese nation.

Guarantee equality between the various nationalities; each nationality has the right to use and develop its language and writing system, to maintain or to modify freely its mores and customs; abolish the policy of the Americans and Diemists of racial discrimination and forced assimilation.

Create conditions permitting the national minorities to reach the general level of progress of the population: development of their economy and culture; formation of cadres of minority nationalities.

ii. Establish equality between the two sexes; women shall have equal rights with men from all viewpoints (political, economic, cultural, social, etc.)...

8. Promote a foreign policy of peace and neutrality

i. Cancel all unequal treaties that infringe upon the sovereignty of the people and that were concluded with other countries by the servants of the Americans.

ii. Establish diplomatic relations with all countries, regardless of their political regime, in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence adopted at the Bandung conference.

iii. Develop close solidarity with peace loving nations and neutral countries; develop free relations with the nations of Southeast Asia, in particular with Cambodia and Laos.

iv. Stay out of any military bloc; refuse any military alliance with another country.

v. Accept economic aid from any country willing to help us without attaching any conditions to such help.

9. Re-establish normal relations between the two zones, and prepare for the peaceful reunification of the country.

i. The peaceful reunification of the country constitutes the dearest desire of all our compatriots throughout the country. The National Liberation Front of South Vietnam advocates the peaceful reunification by stages on the basis of negotiations and throughout the seeking of ways and means in conformity with the interests of the Vietnamese nation.

ii. While awaiting this reunification, the governments of the two zones will, on the basis of negotiations, promise to banish all separatist and war-mongering propaganda and not to use force to settle differences between the two zones. Commercial and cultural interchanges between the two zones will be implemented; the inhabitants of the two zones will be free to move about throughout the country as their family and business interests indicate. The freedom of postal exchanges will be guaranteed.

10. Struggle against all aggressive war; actively defend universal peace.

i. Struggle against all aggressive war and all forms of imperialist domination; support the national emancipation movements of the various peoples.

ii. Banish all war-mongering propaganda; demand general disarmament and the prohibition of nuclear weapons; and advocate utilization of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

iii. Support all movements of struggle for peace, democracy and social progress throughout the world; contribute actively to the defence of peace in Southeast Asia and in the world.

SOUTH VIETNAM: 10,000,000 PEOPLE LIBERATED. By Nguyen Ha, Liberation Press Agency, published in Vietnam (Hanoi), Aug. 1965.

Five years after its founding and carrying high the banner of anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation, the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation has become the sole authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people.

The liberated areas under the control of the Front have been expanded to four-fifths of the South Vietnam territory with 10 million among the 14 million population. Many liberated villages have been linked together, forming a single stretch from the mountain to the coastal areas, causing the enemy controlled area to shrink to form only thin cordons around bases and cities such as Da Nang, Hoi An, Tam Ky, Qui Non...

In the liberated areas, the puppet administration and organizations have been completely abolished. Those who were led astray by the enemy were re-educated and cruel agents with records of bloody crimes were punished. The people enthusiastically elected their "self-governing" committees, founded liberation organization, and take in their own hands the management of their villages and fields.

The self-governing committees are caring for the people's life, devoting their main and might to the service of the people. The rice fields siezed by the U. S. agents have been taken back and distributed to the peasants. More than two and a half million hectares of land have become the property of the peasants. Thousands of mutual aid teams, embryos of the future cooperative agriculture, have been formed and begun operation.

Chronic famine has ended in the mountain areas under the Front's control. 17 national minorities in the Central Vietnam High Plateau have written languages of their own. All school age children are going to school. In the still narrow liberated areas of Binh Thuan province in the southern part of Central Vietnam, there are already 68 general schools of the first and second degrees. In the western part of Nam Bo (South Vietnam proper) there are more than 2,000 such schools with 80,000 pupils.....

40 newspapers and 17 magazines are widely circulated in the liberated areas. Most villages have medical committees and all hamlets have sanitation workers to look after the health of the people and guide them in sanitation work. In the mountains, the population who formerly invoked only spirits to cure diseases now has in each village a medical chest of the most needed eastern and western medicines...

Today, in the areas still under enemy control, the liberated areas are the inhabitants' confidence and their hope....

* * * * *

THANKFUL LETTER

of 140 South Vietnamese Intellectuals to 800 American Intellectuals who have demanded the U. S. Government to put an end to the aggressive war in South Vietnam



Dear Friend Intellectuals,

The open letter of 800 intellectuals working at 18 American universities and scientific academies reached us just in the decisive days, at the time that the leaders of your administration are conducting the American people on the very dangerous and adventurous path, at the time that our people are determined more over to claim their fundamental rights.

We sincerely express our thanks to you, dear friends! Accept, please, the gratitude of a people which consider the justice preciouser their own lives, a people which are extremely resolute against their enemy, but, at the same time, are extremely faithful with their friends.

We thank you because your letter helped us to see again the real United States of America, the U.S.A. of Lincoln, the U.S.A. of 1776 Independence's Statement. For a long time your Administration has deteriorated the U.S.A. in the eyes of the world people, in the eyes of our people.

We should like to know, dear friends, did you think any time about the following: in what forms appear the United States in the eyes of our vietnamese people? The peasant working in the fields, the man going in the Street, the school-boy going to the school know the U.S.A. as the foreign soldiers who shoot him, as the napalm and toxical bombs which are sent to Vietnam together with the coca-cola, as the armed-man who bans him to move inliberty, as the corners of the vietnamese territory transformed into U.S. military bases. The quiet people in the South Vietnam know the U.S.A. as the automatic-gun-towers with the barbed wire surrounding the so-called "strategic hamlets" in which they are forced to be concentrated. The artisan knows the USA as a lot of excess goods which have flooded the South Vietnam and forced him to leave his rudimentary weaving loom and wander about the street for looking a work. The young school-boy in the "hoa Thuan school" near Danang knows the USA as the "skyraiders" which bombed his school and killed 45 children at once. Here, in the eyes of the simple people, the United States of America is a conception which is inclosely connection with the most horrible things in the vietnamese society prostitution, taxi-girls, headsmen, mercenary troops, puppet presidents, the corrupt ministers and the amoral generals.

Don't reproach the simple people, dear friends. They don't know the USA by the books of his history and by the president Johnson "good words." They know the USA by their own experiences, by the acts that the US administration has order to do here. The knowledge of it is often bought by the blood.

Excuse-us, please, if we spoke the truth. Come here, please, and talk with our simple people, enter in friendly conversation with them, if you make them know that you are not an enemy, you will know more about the painful truth of the USA.

The Administration of Johnson didn't tell the truth to you. It is impossible for them the explain the reason of sending the American troops in South Vietnam. Why the Americans came here? For protection os the American interests? It's a strange logic. If, for example, any government from the other side of the ocean lands his troops and occupys Florida and Mississippi, and says, that is for the purpose of the protection of this country. In this case, what will you think?

In reality, the present US administration is acting without responsibility with the interests of the USA: thousands of millions of dollars were squandering in the war, thousands of persons were killed uselessly in South Vietnam, and the reputation of the USA is blackening in South Vietnam and in the world. With what to exchange all the above mentioned facts? A most black prospect appears before the USA, this is the certain and complete defeat.

For the protection of the liberty? The US administration is always lying. When the South Vietnam people has demanded the US government of bring the swords for protecting their "liberty"? Why a great number of persons, the liberty of which is "protected" are always fighting against their "protectors"? Just the organs of propagande and the historians of the US government are always thinking about the question what to do for "regaining the Esteem" of the population in South Vietnam. The US dollars are utilized for this purpose but vainly. Why? First, the dollars were not handed to the population but cam into the pockets of the ministers and the other stooges; Secondly, if these dollars were sent to the population, they were transformed into many tons of bombs, rockets and toxical products; the third, after some years of struggle against the aggressers, the vietnamese people have got a high quality: there is another think more precious there the gold and the silver, more dear than their own lives--this thing is the real liberty of the Nation.

In order to justify his aggressive war in South Vietnam, the US Administration said that the Americans come here for the "struggle against the communists", but in reality, against whom are they fighting? Every day, the American guns kill our people, the American bombs were launched over our schools, the American counselors command the puppet troops to burn the houses of our people. In fact, the American guns are shooting at everybody in this land in South Vietnam. In such situation if they are really fighting against the communists, two ways are possible for them: or they surrender and withdraw their troops to the USA, or they will kill all 14 million of the South Vietnamese people. They don't want the first but don't dare the second case. That's why the US administration is now in "the labyrinth without exit." They want to continue to fight but they can't, they want to finish the war but they can't do also. Meanwhile they repeat blindly the things that they don't believe. The South Vietnam National Front for Liberation have declared from a long time ago the objectives of its struggle: independence, democracy, peace and neutrality. The US administration knows it, but keeps obstinately the "anticommunist" curtain for masking the real nature of the war that the American imperialists are doing in South Vietnam.

They say that this war in an "anticommunist war," "for the safeguard of liberty", "for the protection of the US interests." They also give it the name of "war without front", of "special war", "escalade", etc...They call their war in South Vietnam by all the possible names except it real name: the aggressive war of the US government.

May we call it differently? To send the troops to another country, to keep an army of mercenaries for killing the population, to set up a group of henchmen for duping, to occupy a foreign country for dominating it people, what is it all these things? Isn't an aggressive war? What will do the president Johnson, he can't run away from this reality.

Lastly your government has applicated a very dangerous policy. It has not only increased the number of "military counsellors," but has also landed many fighting unities in South Vietnam which have began the "ranking operation"; the means they have began kill directly our compatriots. The US Administration has introduced the troops of South Korea and some other satellite countries in South Vietnam. They have dropped many tons of bombs over a small region, they have even utilized the toxical bombs. Their continuous aor attacks against the Northern part of our country is an extremely dangerous act. Their "vehicle" is running fastly in the way to extend the aggressive war. A large-scale war appeared in the sky-line and is approaching quickly. If a such war will brought out. It will be a considerable catastrophe for the USA. The USA will certainly suffer a defeat in the future war because it is the result of the US defeat in South Vietnam.

We have struggled furing twenty years. The French government, then the US government compelles us to do so. Now, our ranks become day by day younger and stronger. We have all the material and moral forces for the struggle, if it will be necessary, during twenty years more, as it is said in the historical Statement from the 23/3/65 of our National Front for Liberation. We have not only siad that, but we are realy preparing for this eventuality. As you, dear friends, we don't like the war, we want peace, edification and production. But we cherish more our independence and liberty as the American patriots have cherished, two centrues ago, the Independence and liberty of the United States of America. That's why we'll stop our struggle only after the withdrawal of the American troops and those of their satellites, after the realization of our objectives: independence, democracy, peace and neutrality.

Dear Friends! We are persuaded that we fighting not only for us. When we fight against the aggressive war policy of the US administration, against "their experience of special war" in South Vietnam, we always think that we are contribuating to the safeguard of peace, acting for the social progress.

That's the reason why we are very enjoying and thusiasm-enthusiasming to see you side by side with us in the struggle for these objectives. Your activities of any kind as those of the American Clergymen, mothers, students youths, workers... against the agressive war in Vietnam are always a great encouragement for us.

In spite of the crimes that the US Administration has committee towards our prople, we had and have confidence with the American people. Your letter has confirmed our conviction. For the national independence, for the world peace, for the social progress, let us send to you the salutation of solidarity and conviction.

South Vietnam, April 20, 1965
(Avec les compliments de la mission
du F.N.L. du Sud Viet Nam a Alger)

AMERICAN WOMEN OF W.S.P. HOLD DISCUSSIONS WITH VIETNAMESE WOMEN

In July 1965, ten women of the United States' Women Strike for Peace met nine Vietnamese women - six from the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam and three from the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam - for four days of discussions in Jakarta, Indonesia, on ways to end the war. The Americans included teachers, a social worker, an attorney, civil rights workers, a member of Students for a Democratic Society and workers in Democratic Party clubs. From North Vietnam came teachers, a lawyer, a doctor, the President of the non-governmental Women's Union, and a news correspondent; from South Vietnam, members of the women's Union of Liberation - a teacher, a student and a worker. The following are questions put by the American delegation, and answers agreed upon by the Vietnamese women from North and South.

1. Under what conditions would the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front (N.L.F.) negotiate to end the war?

ANSWER

Under the following conditions; withdrawal of United States troops, and implementation of the Geneva Agreement.

2. After withdrawal of U.S. troops and other foreign troops, what kind of a government does the N.L.F. want?

ANSWER

The immediate objective is a coalition, national, democratic government representing all the different groups in South Vietnam. After government is formed, the Vietnamese will begin to work towards peaceful reunification, through free elections. Meanwhile, South Vietnamese will remain neutral, and will not join any military alliances.

3. Would the N.L.F. agree to outside parties helping to bring about negotiations? If so, which?

ANSWER

The N.L.F. would appreciate any nation which would tell Johnson to end his aggressive war. This kind of outside help would be welcomed and appreciated.

4. (This question was put to members of the South Vietnamese delegation.) Would Vietnam accept a seat in the United Nations?

ANSWER

The people of South Vietnam do not generally appreciate the U.N. since the U.N. does not give adequate consideration to Asian countries. Furthermore, the U.N. helped to repress the progressive forces in the Congo. The primary goal of the South Vietnamese people is independence and freedom from outside interference. When membership of the U.N. becomes universal, it might be desirable for Vietnam to join. Perhaps we would want to join it to help to change it from within, but it is too early to say now.

5. What is the relationship between the N.L.F. and the independent Buddhists?

ANSWER

Those Buddhists who do not join the N.L.F. have respect for it, and share its demands. They usually do not join because of religious scruples. They are not persecuted by the N.L.F. and are free to join or not, as they wish.

6. Would you consider an Afro-Asian Peace Keeping Force when the U.S. pulls out?

ANSWER

The Vietnamese people do not need any Afro-Asian Force to defend independence. They can defend their own independence. They feel that this idea, initiated by India, is ill intentioned and assumes belligerence between North and South Vietnam. Since India is a party to the Geneva agreements this is a very serious matter. If any such Afro-Asian force is needed, it is to stop U.S. aggression.

7. What do you consider to be North Vietnam's relation to the People's Republic of China?

ANSWER

As neighbourly Socialist countries, China and North Vietnam share friendly relations and have mutual respect for each other. There is no domination by China, and North Vietnam remains independent.

8. Does the N.L.F. look to Ho Chi Minh for ideological leadership?

ANSWER

Ho Chi Minh guided the Vietnamese people to freedom, and this fact cannot be erased from their hearts. His words, "Rather die than live as slaves" remain a symbol of the struggle for liberation in South Vietnam. It does not matter whether or not he is a communist, he is a symbol of peace and independence, but he is too far away, so South Vietnam has its own leaders in the struggle.

9. We were told that the U.S. stopped bombing North Vietnam for one week, and during that time peace feelers were attempted? Any comments?

ANSWER

There was no cease fire during that time of the peace feelers; bombing and strafing continued throughout. The so-called suspension was only a pretext for bombing more intensively.

10. How does the Sino-Soviet dispute affect Vietnam?

ANSWER

This dispute does not affect, nor concern, Vietnam. Vietnam has no responsibility in it. Both the Chinese and the Soviet peoples have given their full support to Vietnam's struggle against U.S. aggression.

11. Would you settle for a cease fire during negotiations, instead of complete withdrawal of troops before negotiations?

ANSWER

The prerequisites for negotiation are the withdrawal of U.S. troops and the implementation of the Geneva Accords. Since U.S. troops were in Vietnam three days after the Geneva Agreements were signed, in 1954, and the "ceasefire" of May 1955 never took place, U.S. cannot be trusted to keep a ceasefire during negotiations.

12. In the U.S. the war against North Vietnam is justified by saying that the N.L.F. is 90% Communist and "an arm of North Vietnam."

ANSWER

The N.L.F. was born out of the struggle to liberate South Vietnam from DIEM, and from the U.S. Its demands are only those of any progressive country. Furthermore, its composition of 22 groups, including 3 political parties, proves that it is not just a Communist organization. Buddhist and Catholic groups would not join it if it were dominated by Communists. The largest groups within it are women's, students', and peasant organizations. The program and demands come from the South Vietnamese people and their struggle, not from Hanoi, or any other foreign government. (One member of the South Vietnamese delegation said, "One of the most influential parties is the People's Revolutionary Party. It is the Ideological leader.")

13. Comment on the independence of, or dependence upon other Socialist countries by the N.L.F.

ANSWER

The N.L.F. works under the people of South Vietnam and is independent of all other

countries. The evidence for this is its program, which comes out of the demands and needs of the South Vietnamese people.

14. Does the N.L.F. desire that South Vietnam be independent of North Vietnam?

ANSWER

The first objective of South Vietnam is to be independent of all U.S. aggression, and to have all U.S. troops and military bases removed from South Vietnam. Once this is achieved, both North and South Vietnam will work towards peaceful reunification, by themselves, without any outside interference. There should be no set time limit for the achievement of reunification, that to be left to the Vietnamese people.

15. How do you (South Vietnam) see the role of the United Nations?

ANSWER

As an international organization it should respect and work to implement the Geneva Agreement. The U.N. is not popular in South Vietnam because it has not stood up against the U.S. to enforce the Geneva Agreement.

16. If the Geneva Agreements are acceptable again, as a basis for settlement of the war, how could they be enforced this time?

ANSWER

By the Vietnamese people. The International Control Commission would enforce the withdrawal of U.S. forces, as specified in the Agreement.

17. What is your attitude towards the Economic Development Plan, as proposed by President Johnson, under U.N. auspices?

ANSWER

Vietnam values foreign aid only on the basis of mutual sovereignty. Aid from the U.S. at this time means acceptance of U.S. domination, which is not acceptable to the Vietnamese people. If there are no political strings attached to foreign aid, there is no need for the U.N. to take part in it.

SOME FIGURES ON MAIN ACHIEVEMENTS IN NORTH VIETNAM'S WATER CONSERVANCY WORK

- Repairing of 12 irrigation projects damaged during the resistance war.
- Building of 42 major works and thousands of small and medium sized works, for the watering and draining of 2,062,572 hectares (approx. 5,000,000 acres) of fields. Volume of earth dug for the construction of hydraulic works; 1,016,500 000 cubic metres (not including stone and concrete).
- Technicians trained: 120 engineers; 3,775 middle and low ranking technicians.

(During 80 years' colonial domination:

- Hydraulic works: 12
- Area watered: 200,000 hectares (Approx. 500,000 acres)
- Volume of earth dug: 102,500,000 cubic metres
- Technicians: 7 engineers and 214 middle and low ranking technicians for all of North and South Vietnam.)

(Vietnam Courier, Hanoi, August 29, 1965.)



U.S. ODIIOUS CRIMES

For three days running (August 21 to 23, 1965) many flights of planes attacked Ban Thach Dam area in Thanh Hoa province (14 km. south of Hanoi). On August 23 alone, U.S. planes launched 4 attacks against the dam and dropped about 46 ton of bombs.....

Together with the strafing and bombing of may populated areas in North Vietnam, on August 25, U.S. planes again attacked Do Luong Dam area in Nge An province, and on August 26 they rocketed Bai Thueng Dam area in Thanh Hoa province.....

Over the last months, following the many set-backs in their escalation in Vietnam, the Washington warmongers have drawn up plans systematically to bomb irrigation works including dykes along big rivers such as the Red River in the Bac Bo area. Such destruction, in their minds, may cause big floods and famine to areas such as Nam Dinh, Viet Tri, the White House has defied world public condemnation and begun to wage the same heinous war as carried out by the fascists of Hitler in Holland...

The war-hawks in Washington reckon that their most atrocious actions can cow the Vietnamese people into renouncing their just goal which is independence and national reunification. However, these activities only increase the indignation of the entire Vietnamese people South and North who are determined to drive the U.S. imperialists off their country.

(Vietnam Courier, Hanoi, August 29, 1965).

"IT IS TIME THAT AMERICAN WOMEN AND PEOPLE MUST SAFEGUARD THE HONOR OF THE U.S...."

(Letter from a South Vietnamese woman delegate present at the Jakarta meetings, to one of the American delegates, October 10, 1965.)

Dear ... ,

I can't express my joy when I received your letter. I have a particular sympathy with you because I consider you as a mother, a sister, a militant friend by our side.

We are very elated to learn, through your letter, the activities of all of you since your returning to the U.S.A., day and night, to clear out the truth about the patriotic and just struggle of the South Vietnamese people; as well as about the war acts of the U.S. government in South Vietnam.

I write to you during the boiling days of the American and world people's struggle responding to the "World Day Protest against the U.S. government aggressing Vietnam".

The South Vietnamese women and people have followed with keen interests the activities of the American women, mothers, youths, students, professors, intellectuals and all strata of American people protesting against the aggressive war waged by the American authorities in our country. More than ever, the struggle of the South Vietnamese and the American peoples are closely related and help each other.



We are deeply moved at the gesture of the American mothers, taking part in their manifestations with their little sons in their arms, urging an end to the war in Vietnam, of the American mothers collecting the blood for the South Vietnamese fighters... I think much of the other American women I have not yet had the gladness to meet but I am aware of their activities for a just and noble cause, a beautiful one...

Dear friend,

Face to an unavoidable defeat in South Vietnam, the Johnson government throws itself into a bloody and criminal war, unknown to now, to repress our people. They use iron, steel, poison gas, chemical products, microbes, napalm, strategic bomber B52 aiming at suppressing the life in our country. They pour instead of themselves, hundreds of thousands of American youngsters in Vietnam as "cannon-fodder", but in other hand, President Johnson put forth the fallacious allegations of "peaceful and unconditional discussions" to deceive public opinion and mask their aggressive acts.

As well as South Vietnamese people, the American people can't endure farther. It is time that American women and people can't ignore this reality and let their husbands, sons and brothers become murderers, and let the blood of these latter will flow and let them die instead of inhuman Wall Street clique in an useless and unjust war in Vietnam.

It is time that American women and people must safeguard the honour of the U.S.A..., save the lives of their own husbands, sons and brothers, urge for their quick returning home.

It is time that they must check the transport of American young soldiers, arms and munitions to South Vietnam, urge an end to the aggressive war in Vietnam, to withdraw all American troops and warmeans... They must urge Johnson respect and fulfill Geneva agreements 1954 on Vietnam, and recognize the right of self-determination of South Vietnamese people.

On our side, as we have shown to you in our meeting in Jakarta, our people cherish peace but also liberty and independence and are determined to fight till final victory for their own rights.

In reality the South Vietnamese people are progressing from victories to victory. Although the American government send here 200,000 troops or more, although they use whatever sort of up-to-date weapons, in spite of whatever sort of aggressive war our people, under the just leadership of the National Front for Liberation, enjoying the active support of the American women and people, of the world over, will continue to fight five years, ten years, or longer to realize our fundamental aims viz. independence, democracy, peace, neutrality, progressing towards peaceful reunification of our Fatherland.

Ahead, both we will meet a lot of difficulties but our struggle for peace and justice enjoying the armfull support of the world over, will finally triumph. All progressive world's people by our side, and hand in hand, we shall sing the song of victory.

Please agree, you and all our friends we have met in Jakarta, our wishes for good health for struggle.

We hope to read you regularly,

Cordial shakehand,

South Vietnam, Oct. 10, 1965.

THE "PEACE OFFENSIVE"

STATEMENT OF SOUTH VIETNAM NATIONAL FRONT FOR LIBERATION
OF 5th JANUARY 1966 ON INTENSIFICATION AND EXPANSION OF
U.S. WAR

For over a year, in spite of big defeats in their "special war", the U.S. imperialists refuse to give up their sinister design for aggression against South Vietnam. On the contrary, they have still more frantically stepped up their war of aggression in South Vietnam, intensified their attacks against the liberated area of the patriotic Laotian people and repeatedly committed acts of provocation and destruction against the Kingdom of Cambodia, thus creating an extremely serious situation in Indo-China and Asia.

At the same time, to cover up their wild adventurous policy of military build-up and to hoodwink the public, the U.S. imperialists are spreading a "peace" smoke screen by tirelessly claiming their readiness to accept unconditional discussions to reach a political solution to the Vietnam problem. Recently, many American statesmen have been sent abroad to stage the buffoonery of U.S. "peace efforts", to put forward their so-called new "peace proposals", to advertise the "suspension of bombing raids on North Vietnam" as a gesture of "goodwill."

It should be pointed out that the U.S. imperialists have often resorted to these cunning and unscrupulous moves to cover up new vicious schemes and actions. Recent White House and Pentagon reports as well as the realities in South Vietnam all point to the fact that U.S. ruling circles are desperately preparing for a new military adventure, the most dangerous so far in Vietnam and Indo-China, to realize their stubborn intention to maintain domination in South Vietnam.

The more the U.S. imperialists babble about "peace negotiation" the more feverishly they step up and expand the war, the more crimes they perpetrate against the Vietnamese people, and the more they threaten peace and security in Asia and the world.

Since his notorious Baltimore speech on April 7, 1965, President L. Johnson has twice officially ordered the dispatch of additional U.S. troops to South Vietnam, bringing the total U.S. troops in this area from 30,000 at the beginning of last year to 180,000 at the present time. The total of U.S. aircraft has increased from 1,180 by the end of 1964 to the present 2,300, excluding the Guam-based B-52 strategic bombers which almost daily drop thousands of tons of bombs on villages, fields, schools, hospitals, pagodas and churches in South Vietnam. Besides conventional weapons, the U.S. imperialists have introduced into South Vietnam a mobile bacteriological and chemical warfare institute and thousands of tons of noxious chemicals and gases strictly barred by international law as inhuman means of warfare.

On November 11, 1965, U.S. Defense Secretary McNamara declared that he had been authorized by Lyndon Johnson to send more U.S. troops to South Vietnam, and that the total of U.S. troops would be brought up to 225,000 early in 1966. If one includes the number of U.S. troops in the Seventh Fleet, the air forces at U.S. bases in Thailand who are participating in air raids against the Vietnamese

people and the mercenaries recruited from U.S. satellites such as South Korea, Australia and New Zealand, the aggressive army used by the U.S. against South Vietnam now reaches 300,000 men, ten times the total of U.S. troops in South Vietnam at the beginning of 1965 and much bigger than the South Vietnamese puppet regular army.

It is well known that in the recent past, whenever they talked "peace" the U.S. ruling circles also introduced large numbers of aggressive troops and lethal weapons into South Vietnam. Also during this period the U.S. aggressive war machine in South Vietnam was hastily perfected. Less than three months after Johnson had talked of "unconditional discussions" various commands of U.S. logistics, air force, army and navy were set up in South Vietnam, and it was publicly announced that the U.S. would take direct command of the fighting conducted by U.S. and puppet forces against the South Vietnamese people. Thus, the U.S. ruling circles have turned their previously camouflaged war of aggression into an open aggressive war by the United States.

At the same time, while talking unceasingly of "unconditional discussions" U.S. ruling circles have intensified their war of extermination in South Vietnam to the fiercest degree yet known.

U.S. puppet aircraft are making at least 20,000 sorties a week and bomb and spray noxious chemicals on villages at least 250 times a day. The U.S. imperialists do not hesitate to drop several hundred tons of bombs at a time on a small area to annihilate a whole region and kill and wound hundreds of civilians, as in Ben Cau, Tay Ninh Province. In one month, over 5,000 houses were destroyed and 2,500 others damaged. Noxious chemicals are being used on an ever larger scale. In the first seven months of last year, several hundred thousand South Vietnamese were affected and more than 700 square kilometres of crops were destroyed. From December 7th to 14th last, while talking "peace negotiation", the U.S. imperialists sprayed poison on a massive scale. In many districts of Ben Tre province, children were affected, several tens of thousands of hectares of rice and other crops withered and a great number of domestic animals were killed. Worse still, whereas at the beginning the U.S. imperialists had to use gas secretly as a means of warfare, they now regard this inhuman act as an "established rule" in aiding operations. The U.S. expeditionary army is brutally stamping on South Vietnam and committing unpardonable crimes against the South Vietnamese people.

Further, while talking about "unconditional discussions", the U.S. imperialists frantically "escalated" their war in North Vietnam. U.S. aircraft continuously raided highways, dams, and populated areas, massacring the people and sabotaging the peaceful construction of North Vietnam.

While doing this, they have also endeavoured to rally their stooges in Thailand, Laos and South Vietnam, seeking ways and means of invading Central and Lower Laos in order to turn these regions into bridgeheads joining South Vietnam and Thailand, so as to oppose the patriotic war conducted by the South Vietnamese people and the people of Laos and wreck the independence and neutrality of Cambodia. Recently they have committed many provocative acts against the People's Republic of China by attacking Chinese fishing boats in the Gulf of Tonkin.



At present, while boosting their deceitful "peace campaign" and making noisy propaganda about their "suspension of bombing raids on North Vietnam," the U.S. ruling circles are declaring that they will do everything needed to win their war of aggression in South Vietnam. Moreover, they have threatened to take "harder steps" if the South Vietnamese people do not stop fighting. They have sent a whole U.S. brigade to Pleiku to occupy this area.

They plan to increase U.S. strength in South Vietnam to 500,000 or 400,000 men, double the number of U.S. combat aircraft, quadruple the number of air instructions, and drop 40,000 tons of bombs a month on South and North Vietnam, and bomb Haiphong Port and Hanoi, capital city. They are zealously calling on allies of N.A.T.O. aggressive bloc to take part in the intensification of the war in Vietnam.

The South Vietnamese people are enraged, and energetically condemn these brutal acts of war expansion and arrogant war threats of the American authorities. The U.S. government has used its airforce to attack North Vietnam. That is an aggressive act that must be ended definitely and unconditionally. In South Vietnam, they are being chased out like a thief that breaks into another's house and commits massacre and plunder. They must go. They have no right to make any claim, if they do not want to be completely wiped out. The South Vietnamese people and the National Liberation Front ~~are~~ are determined not to allow the U.S. government to make the cessation of air raids on North Vietnam a condition for urging the South Vietnamese people to lay down their weapons and recognize the existence of nearly 200,000 American aggressors and hundred of U.S. bases on their territory.

It is crystal clear that the more the U.S. imperialists talk "peace", the more they intensify their war. The so-called "peace efforts" "unconditional discussions" of the U.S. imperialist are actually aimed at forcing the South Vietnamese people to lay down their arms and accept the occupation of South Vietnam, the division of Vietnam, and the complete sabotaging of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam. The actual deeds of the U.S. imperialists over the past year or more have laid bare their true nature as unscrupulous, bellicose imperialist aggressors. They have shown themselves to be the Number One enemy of the Vietnamese people, the peoples of Indo-China and peace-loving people all over the world.

At present, as the aim of the cruel enemy has not changed, the only correct way to continue leading the South Vietnamese people to victory remains the path of "determination to fight and to win; of smashing the enemy so as to realize the sacred aspirations of "independence, democracy, peace, neutrality and national reunification." It is also the only path to make active contribution to the defense of peace in Asia and the world.

At present, the South Vietnamese people's fighting capacity has grown to such an extent that the more the U.S. imperialists intensify and step up their war of aggression the heavier defeats they will suffer. The recent massive introduction of U.S. troops has brought them bitter defeats at Bau Bang, Dau Tieng, Chu Lai, Da Nang, Plei Me...resulting in incalculably serious consequences. The total number of U.S. troops put out of action in this drive has more than doubled the total of all the previous years put together. The more than 800 U.S. aircraft shot down over North Vietnam has also given them a well deserved lesson. However they intensify the war, or however many thousands of additional troops they bring in, and no matter what strategy, tactics and weapons they may use, the U.S. aggressors and their agents in Vietnam can in no way avoid final defeat....

At present the world is resounding with the call of thousands of millions of people, demanding that the U.S. imperialists put an end to their war of aggression in South Vietnam and to their bombing raids on the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam. Opposition to the U.S. war of aggression has even been set ablaze in the heart of the United States itself, in the den of the American war maniacs. A world front of protest against the U.S. aggressive war in Vietnam is taking shape, broadening and driving the U.S. imperialists into complete isolation....

The National Front for Liberation and the people of South Vietnam call on all forces throughout the world who cherish peace, independence, democracy and progress to make more efforts to prevent the new military adventure of the U.S. imperialists, to be vigilant against the expose and smash all their peace swindles and to demand that the U.S. imperialists, if they sincerely desire peace, prove it by their actual deeds -- stop all military operations and air raids aimed at massacring the South Vietnamese people, withdraw all their troops from South Vietnam, dismantle all military bases, stop definitely and unconditionally all air-raids on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, respect the 1954 Geneva Agreements, and let the South Vietnamese people settle their internal affairs by themselves.

(Received from the London office of the National Liberation Front, January 20, 1966)

STATEMENT OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM OF 4th JANUARY 1966

The United States government has recently started a large-scale deceptive peace campaign coupled with the trick of "temporary suspension of air attacks" on North Vietnamese as a sign of "goodwill". U.S. President Johnson has repeatedly stated that the United States is determined to "exhaust every prospect for peace" and will "search relentlessly for peace." The United States government has sent envoys to approach foreign countries, and has put forward new "peace proposals" which actually a mere repetition of old themes.

The fact is that in spite of repeated military and political defeats, the United States policy of aggression in Vietnam has remained unchanged. The United States has impudently sabotaged the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam which it had undertaken to respect. It still refuses to withdraw its troops from South Vietnam. It still states shamelessly that it will keep its "commitments" with the puppet regime rigged up by itself in Saigon, and this with a view to clinging to South Vietnam and perpetuating the partition of Vietnam. It still refuses to recognize the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, the sole genuine representative of the people of South Vietnam, and the leader of their struggle against the United States imperialists' war of aggression. The United States still refuses to allow the people of South Vietnam to themselves settle their own affairs in accordance with the program of the South Vietnam Front for Liberation. Moreover, it is frantically using United States and puppet troops to burn down or destroy villages and crops, and massacre the people in South Vietnam and even arrogantly demanding that the people in South Vietnam lay down their arms and accept the rotten puppet Saigon regime. The United States still brazenly gives itself the right to launch air attacks on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, an independent and sovereign country. It talks about "respecting the 1954 Geneva Agreements in Vietnam" yet it refuses to accept the four-point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.



which is a concentrated expression of the essential military and political provision of the said agreements. It is harping on the same string of "unconditional discussions" whose real purpose it is to carry out the plot of conducting negotiations from a position of strength, and attempting to force on the Vietnamese people acceptance of United States terms.

The United States authorities' talk about peace is in complete contradiction with their war schemes and acts. While making a noise about its "peace efforts" the United States is making preparation to double its military strength in South Vietnam. The third brigade of the United States 25th division has just been brought in for occupation of Pleiku. The United States is using toxic chemicals as a means of warfare and has made public announcements to this effect. Its B-52 strategic planes continue to bomb densely populated areas. In North Vietnam the United States has threatened to bomb the densely populated areas of Hanoi and Haiphong. U.S. aircraft have unceasingly and gravely intruded into the airspace of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam on reconnaissance missions in preparation for new crimes. U.S. President Johnson has also threatened to take "hard steps" in Vietnam. Meanwhile, the United States has intensified its air attacks on the liberated areas of Laos and impudently authorized U.S. troops to intrude into Central and Southern Laos and into Cambodian territory, thus extending the war from South Vietnam to these two countries. Facts have shown that every time the United States authorities want to extend the aggressive war, they talk still more glibly about peace. The present United States "peace efforts" are also a mere attempt to appease public opinion at home and abroad, which is strongly opposing the United States policy of aggression in Vietnam. The United States wants to turn to account the legitimate aspirations of the people of the whole world, in an attempt to call black white, to pose itself as a peace-lover, to slander the Vietnamese people, and thus to create a pretext for taking new steps to implement its scheme to intensify and expand the war. But no matter what sophism the United States authorities may resort to in their attempt to cover up their aggressive schemes, they can fool noone.

The United States is thousands of miles from Vietnam. The Vietnamese people have never laid hands on the United States. The United States government has no right to send troops to invade South Vietnam and to launch air attacks on the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam. It has no right to impose on the Government of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam any condition whatsoever in exchange for stopping its air - raids on North Vietnam.

United States Imperialist aggression is the deep root and the immediate cause of the serious situation now prevailing in Vietnam. With the ending of this aggression peace will be immediately restored to this country.

The Vietnamese people eagerly want peace for national reconstruction, but they know full well that real independence must be achieved if genuine peace is to be secured. It is the unswerving stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to strictly respect the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam and to correctly implement their basic provisions as concretely expressed in the following points:

1. - reaffirmation of the basic national rights of the Vietnamese people: peace, independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity. In accordance with the Geneva Agreements, the United States Government must remove all troops, military personnel and weapons of all kinds from South Vietnam, dismantle all United States military bases there, cancel its "military alliance" with South Vietnam. The United States must end its policy of intervention and aggression in South Vietnam. In accordance with the Geneva Agreements the United States Government must stop its acts of war against North Vietnam, cease all encroachments on the territory and sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

2. - pending the peaceful reunification of Vietnam, while Vietnam is still temporarily divided into two zones, the military provisions of the 1954 Geneva Agreements must be strictly respected: the two zones must refrain from joining any military alliance with foreign countries, and there must be no foreign military bases, troops and military personnel in their respective territories.

3. - the internal affairs of the people of South Vietnam must be settled by the people of South Vietnam themselves, in accordance with the program of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front without any foreign interference.

4. - the peaceful reunification of Vietnam is to be settled by the Vietnamese people in both zones, without any foreign interference.

A political settlement of the Vietnam problem can be envisaged only when the United States government has accepted the four-point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, has proved this by actual deeds, has stopped unconditionally and for good its air raids and all other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The just struggle and unswerving good will of the Vietnamese people and Democratic Republic of Vietnam have always enjoyed the sympathy and vigorous support of the peace loving government and people the world over. The Vietnamese people are very grateful for this sympathy and support. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam calls on governments and peoples of the socialist countries, those of the Asian, African and Latin American countries, and the peoples of the whole world, including the American people, to extend still more active support and assistance to the Vietnamese people's just patriotic struggle, and to oppose still more resolutely all the U.S. imperialists' plans for intensifying war as well as well as all their peace swindles.

So long as the United States imperialists still pursue the war of aggression in Vietnam, still use troops of the United States and its satellites to invade South Vietnam, and launch air attacks on the Republic of Vietnam, the people of both zones of Vietnam, fearing no sacrifices, will resolutely carry the resistance war through to the end and fulfil their sacred duty of demanding the sovereignty of the Fatherland and the independence of the nation and contributing to the defense of world peace.

EMILY, MY DARLING...

(To Norman R. Morrison, who, choosing the Buddhist way, burned himself on the steps of the Pentagon on November 2, 1965.)

Emily, go with me
 Into the future, you know the way,
 -- Where are you going dad?
 -- To the Fofomac riverside.
 -- What for Dad?
 -- Nothing, darling, but the Pentagone...
 On my darling with round eyes
 Oh my darling with golden hair
 Don't ask me more...
 I take you out,
 Mom will bring you, anyhow.

Washington
 In twilight
 Oh souls, are you still there?
 Blaze up, blaze up the truth!
 Johnson! you pile up the crimes
 Mankind hates you, the yellowish devil on earth;
 You cannot borrow the paint from Jesus
 Nor the golden color of Buddha

McNamara!
 Where are you hiding?
 In the cemetery of the Pentagone?
 Pentagone! Each corner one continent
 Why are you creeping your head into the hot fire
 Like an ostrich clipping into the burnt sand?

Look at me, Look at me now!
 Oh no, it is not only myself
 And my daughter in my arms
 But I am here TODAY, and
 Emily, my daughter, will be forever

I am standing here
 With the great heart
 Of hundreds of millions of peoples
 Of the United States of America
 To burn brightly to the horizon,
 A beacon of justice.

Oh all of you, a group of devils!
 In whose name you bring B52s,
 Napalms
 And Toxic chemical bombs
 From the White House,
 From Guam
 To Vietnam?



To murder peace and national freedom
 To burn down hospitals and schools
 To kill the people who know nothing but love,
 To kill the children who know nothing but going to school,
 To kill the green field on which four seasons
 Are full with flowers and leaves,
 Even to kill the flow of rivers of poems, musics and art!

In whose name?
 You bury our youthness in the coffins
 Oh! our strong and handsome youngmen
 Could turn nature into electricity and steel
 for the happiness of the people, today

In whose name?
 You've brought us to thick jungles,
 To picket trenches, to resistant swampy fields
 Villages and towns have been turned into guerilla strongholds
 Which are quaking the earth,
 Shaking the sky
 Days and nights...

Oh Vietnam! a fantastic country!
 All of you, a group of devils;
 And listen, my beloved America!
 To the painful voice and anger, forever,
 of a son, a son of the century.

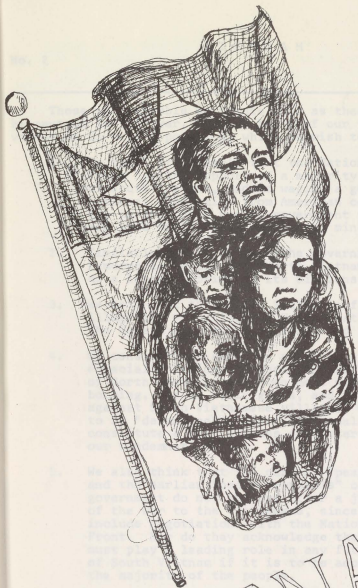
Emily, my darling
 The night is falling
 Dad cannot anymore take you back.
 When the flame is blzing up
 Tonight Mom'll find and fetch you
 You'll embrace her and kiss her for Dad
 And say to her
 "Dad's gone gladly
 Mom, don't be sad!"

Washington
 In twilight
 Oh souls, are you still there or not?
 It's the time of my brightest heat
 I am burning myself
 So that the flame will shine brightly
 The truth.

7-11-1965
 TO HUU

(Free translation by a Veitnamese from Nhan Dan, Hanoi, November 9, 1965_





UNIVERSITY OF GREGG

MAR 31 1965

1965

VIETNAM

publication of the Faculty-Student Committee

r 9, 1965_

To murder peace and national freedom
 To burn down hospitals and schools
 To kill the people who have born
 The children who have born
 The grief of those who have
 Are full with flowers and tears
 Can to kill the flag of peace

In whose name?
 You bury our youth in the
 Our our streets and highways
 Could turn to ruins and
 For the happiness of the

In whose name?
 You've made us up
 To place freedom, to
 Villages and towns
 Which are making the
 Shaking the air
 Days and nights...

On a stormy day
 At a time of peace
 And stars, we believe
 To the people who
 Of a day, a day of

Early, we believe
 The night is falling
 And we know we have
 When the stars are
 Tonight we'll see you
 You'll embrace her and
 And say to her
 "Goodbye, my dear
 How do you feel?"

Each time
 In the night
 On the night of the
 1974 the night of the
 I we believe
 So that we'll see
 The night

MAI DAN

(This translation by a Vietnamese poet was first published in 1962)



Director of the Joint Student Committee



Those who assemble documents such as these cannot, however, be neutral in this war. On the basis of our total reading and our values we do have a position, which we wish to make explicit.

1. We think it probable that the National Liberation Front has the support of a majority of the people of South Vietnam, and is waging a genuine war of national liberation from American control and from the control of a puppet government upheld by America and by a small, and decreasing, minority of Vietnamese.
2. Similarly, we think that the government of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam has the support of a large majority of its citizens.
3. We hold that the United States is fighting in Vietnam illegally, violating the United Nations Charter, the Geneva Agreements of 1954, and its own constitution.
4. We consider the American actions in this war, especially during the past year with the bombing of North Vietnam, and even more with the heavy bombing, use of toxic gases, and napalm bombing against South Vietnamese villagers whom we purport to be "defending" against "external aggression," constitute a kind of mass slaughter which commands our condemnation.
5. We also think that the current "peace offense" and the earlier "peace proposals" of American government do not in fact offer a just settlement of the war to the Vietnamese, since they do not include negotiations with the National Liberation Front. Nor do they acknowledge that the N.L.F. must play a leading role in any future government of South Vietnam if it is to be acceptable to the majority of the people.

Later this year we hope to compile a larger portfolio of materials from Vietnam, organized by subject. For the present, in a series of bulletins, we shall present shorter extracts from current and recent writing which we think most likely to be of interest.

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Vietnam is published by a sub-committee of Faculty-Student Committee to stop the War in Vietnam at the University of Oregon. It does not represent the views of the F.S.C. as a whole, which vary widely. Responsibility for its production rests with its editors.

Kathleen G. Aberle
Stephen H. Arnold
Lee David Feldman
Brandyn DeLynne Feldman
Robert C. Holmes
Donna L. Holmes
Jerry Paul Simpson
Louis M. Sinniger

The following article by the Chairman of the D.R.V. State Committee for Reunification was written in September, 1965. The recent peace hoax and decision to renew bombing of the C.R.V. render it "timely."

HOW SHOULD THE MOST CORRECT SOLUTION TO THE VIETNAM PROBLEM BE UNDERSTOOD?

By Nguyen Van Vinh, Chairman of the D.R.C. State Committee for Reunification, published in Vietnam Courier (Hanoi) September 23, 1965.

To cover up their aggressive actions such as the introduction of an additional contingent of terms of thousands of U.S. and satellite combat troops into South Vietnam, the expansion of the war of destruction by their air force to North Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists have spread a peace smokescreen to soothe and deceive public opinion in the world and the American people. U.S. President Johnson repeatedly delivered speeches and sent his trusted men to many countries so as to enlist more support for U.S. perfidious policy of aggression in South Vietnam.

All the fundamental gist of the recent statements by Johnson and several U.S. military and diplomatic leaders is centered on the three following points:

1. To assert that the U.S. "will not withdraw" from South Vietnam because "to withdraw from one battlefield means only to prepare for the next" the U.S. continues to support, and carry out its "commitment" to, the South Vietnam administration.
2. The U.S. must attack North Vietnam because North Vietnam and China "help" South Vietnam, and because "North Vietnam has attacked the independent nation of South Vietnam."
3. The U.S. "respects the 1954 Geneva Agreements" and is ready to hold "unconditional discussions" on the South Vietnam question.

But what has become of U.S. undertaking at the Geneva Conference with regard to the respect of the Geneva Agreements on Vietnam? The

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- William G. Aberts
- Stephen H. Arnold
- Lee David Carlson
- Harvey DeWane Feldman
- Robert G. Johnson
- Donna L. Johnson
- Barry Paul Johnson
- Louis W. Stauffer

The following article by the Chairman of the D.N.V. Staff
Committee for Non-Violence was written in September, 1969. The
recent peace book and decision to open bombing of the U.S.V. center
is "simply".

HOW SHOULD THE MOST CORRECT SOLUTION TO THE VIETNAM PROBLEM BE IMPLEMENTED?
by Guyer Van Vleet, Chairman of the U.S.V. Peace Committee for Non-Violence
first published in Vietnam Justice (April) September 23, 1969.

to cover up their aggressive actions such as the introduction of an
additional contingent of tens of thousands of U.S. war machine com-
pact groups into South Vietnam, the expansion of the war of destruction
by their air forces to North Vietnam, the U.S. installation base spread
peace propaganda to North and South Vietnam, and the U.S. military
and sent his trusted men to many countries so to win their support for
U.S. partition policy of aggression in South Vietnam.

All the fundamentalist of the recent statements by Johnson and sev-
eral U.S. military and diplomatic leaders is contained on the three follow-
ing pages.

1. To suggest that the U.S. "will not withdraw" from
South Vietnam because "to withdraw from one part of
South Vietnam would mean only to prepare for the next" the U.S. continues
to support, and carry out its "commitment" to the
South Vietnam administration.
2. The U.S. must attack North Vietnam because North
Vietnam and China "help" South Vietnam, and because
North Vietnam has attacked the independent nation
of South Vietnam.
3. The U.S. "respects the 1954 Geneva Agreements" and is ready to
hold "unconditional discussions" on the South Vietnam question.



It is quite obvious that of the three above-mentioned points, the first is fundamental and essential. It reflects the real nature of U.S. imperialism. This first point which belies all the U.S. imperialists' deceitful allegations and suffices to lay bare their aggressive and bellicose nature.

If the U.S. imperialists refuse to withdraw from South Vietnam by alleging that the freedom and security of the United States are closely connected with the existence of the puppet administration in South Vietnam, in other words, they want to rule over South Vietnam for ever. How can they explain that the U.S. actually respects the 1954 Geneva Agreements? Because those accords solemnly recognized the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Vietnam and banned all foreign military bases and troops in Vietnam. On the basis of these provisions of the Geneva Agreements U.S. aggression and occupation, the setting up of U.S. military bases, the introduction of U.S. and satellite troops into South Vietnam, the prolonged partition of Vietnam and the transformation of South Vietnam into a separate state - Which in fact is a new-type colony of the U.S. - are utterly illegal and constitute an overall sabotage of those agreements. The key provision and fundamental content of the 1954 Geneva Agreement on Vietnam is the recognition of Vietnam's independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity, definitely rules out the partition of Vietnam in two. However, the U.S. imperialists only refer to the provisions on the implementation of the cessation of hostilities (such as the delineation of the provisional military demarcation line at the 17th parallel which, according to the Geneva Agreements, should not in any way be interpreted as a "political or territorial boundary," or the transfer of troops of both sides from one zone to the other pending Vietnam's reunification through nation-wide general elections two years after the signing of the agreements), to carry out their scheme to partition Vietnam and permanently occupy South Vietnam. Such is the "respect for the Geneva Agreements" a l'Americaine!

If the U.S. imperialists actually respect the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam, first of all they must recognize the basic provision of the Geneva Agreements, that is the recognition of the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam and secondly, the provisions ensuring the implementation of the Geneva Agreements, namely the U.S. must dismantle at once all its military bases in South Vietnam, withdraw all U.S. and satellite troops, U.S. weapons and war material therefrom, put an end to all forms of aggression in South Vietnam and all war activities against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The U.S. must keep its "commitment" to the South Vietnam puppet administration as if Washington was guided by other moral principles rather than the imperialist interests of the financial and industrial tycoons.

But what has become of U.S. undertaking at the Geneva Conference with regard to the respect of the Geneva Agreements on Vietnam? The

If it is quite obvious that of the three above-mentioned points, the first is fundamental and essential. It reflects the real nature of U.S. imperialism. This first point which defines all the U.S. imperialists' essential characteristics and defines for them their aggressive and bellicose nature.

If the U.S. imperialists refuse to withdraw from South Vietnam by insisting that the freedom and security of the United States are closely connected with the existence of the puppet administration in South Vietnam, in other words, they want to withdraw South Vietnam from the war, how can they explain that the U.S. actually respects the 1954 Geneva Agreements because those agreements actually recognized the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Vietnam and banned all foreign military bases and troops in Vietnam. On the basis of these provisions of the Geneva Agreements U.S. aggression and occupation. The setting up of U.S. military bases, the introduction of U.S. and satellite troops into South Vietnam, the prolonged partition of Vietnam and the transformation of South Vietnam into a separate state - which in fact is a new-type colony of the U.S. - are utterly illegal and constitute an overall violation of those agreements. The key provision and fundamental content of the 1954 Geneva Agreement is the recognition of Vietnam's independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity, definitely rules out the partition of Vietnam in two. However, the U.S. imperialists only refer to the provisions on the implementation of the cessation of hostilities (such as the delineation of the provisional military demarcation line at the 17th parallel which, according to the Geneva Agreements, should not in any way be interpreted as a "colossal or territorial boundary" or the presence of troops on both sides from one zone to the other pending Vietnam's reunification through national-wide general elections two years after the signing of the agreements), to carry out their schemes to partition Vietnam and permanently occupy South Vietnam. Such is the "respect for the Geneva Agreements" of the U.S. imperialists!

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But what has become of U.S. underwriting at the Geneva Conference with regard to the respect of the Geneva Agreements on Vietnam? The



U.S. had promised "to sail and sink together with Ngo Dinh Diem." But it is precisely the U.S. which sank and drowned the Ngo Dinh Diem brothers. All subsequent and successive puppet administrations have been repeatedly overthrown by the people. These dictators succeed one another at the beck and call of the State Department and the C.I.A. According to many American Congressmen and newspapers, the Saigon "government" which is something completely alien to the South Vietnam people cannot exist even for a week without American dollars and troops even in the years 1958 and 1959 when it was said to enjoy certain "stability," whom does it claim to represent especially in such a deteriorating situation as today? Therefore, is there any more U.S. friend in South Vietnam to whom the U.S. must keep its commitment? The truth is that the U.S. keeps its commitment to itself, and this speaks up the U.S. unchanging perfidious design of aggression of South Vietnam.

The U.S. said that it "respects the right to self-determination of South Vietnam." But who gives the U.S. the right to introduce its troops into South Vietnam and why does it not respect the South Vietnamese people's right to self-determination, that is peace, neutrality, independence, and democracy with a view to reunifying Vietnam?

The U.S. tried hard to explain that the patriotic struggle of the South Vietnamese people is not waged by the latter but by North Vietnam but the U.S. imperialists are not the aggressors of South Vietnam but the North Vietnamese people commit an "aggression" against South Vietnam - one half of their beloved Fatherland. It is clear that so long as the U.S. imperialists continue to talk such nonsense and to explain that the uprising of the South Vietnamese people is caused by North Vietnam "aggression" which is used as a pretext for their attacks on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, they mean that they want to continue the war and there can be no peace.

Because this actually means that the U.S. persists in attacking North Vietnam, thus forcing the North Vietnamese people to hit back at them. The U.S. continues its war in South Vietnam and refuses to recognize the National Front for Liberation, which is the genuine representative of the 14 million people, controls almost all the territory and population of South Vietnam and leads the sacred war of resistance there. Thus, the South Vietnamese people must continue to strike back, and there can be no peace.

By carrying out air raids on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, they want to divert world public opinion from their introduction of divisions of U.S. and satellite combat troops into South Vietnam, and at the same time, to make the South Vietnamese people relax their attacks against them, and to induce the north Vietnamese people to stop giving support to South Vietnam. These are the methods customary to the secret agents of the imperialists who always try to torture the revolutionaries' sons and brothers into surrendering and betraying the revolution and the Fatherland. If they refuse to give way, their

U.S. had promised "to sail and sink together with Ngo Dinh Diem." But it is precisely the U.S. which sank and drowned the Ngo Dinh Diem brothers. All subsequent and successive puppet administrations have been repeatedly overthrown by the people. These dictators succeed one another at the beck and call of the State Department and the CIA. According to many American Congressmen and newspapers, the Saigon "government" which is something completely alien to the South Vietnamese people cannot exist even for a week without American dollars and troops even in the years 1958 and 1959 when it was said to enjoy certain "stability", whom does it claim to represent especially in such a destabilizing situation as today? Therefore, is there any more U.S. interest in South Vietnam to whom the U.S. must keep its commitment? The truth is that the U.S. keeps its commitment to itself and this speaks up the U.S. unchanging perfidious design of aggression of South Vietnam.

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Because this actually means that the U.S. persists in attacking North Vietnam, thus forcing the North Vietnamese people to his back at them. The U.S. continues its war in South Vietnam and refuses to recognize the National Front for Liberation, which is the genuine representative of the 16 million people, controls almost all the territory and population of South Vietnam and leads the sacred war of resistance there. Thus, the South Vietnamese people must continue to strike back, and there can be no peace.

By carrying out air raids on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, they want to divert world public opinion from their introduction of a division of U.S. and satellite combat troops into South Vietnam, and at the same time to make the South Vietnamese people raise their attacks against them, and to induce the north Vietnamese people to stop giving support to South Vietnam. These are the methods customary to the secret agents of the imperialists who always try to confuse the revolutionaries, sons and brothers into surrendering and betraying the revolution and the Fatherland. If they refuse to give way, their



parents, brothers or sisters are arrested and manhandled into persuading their sons and brothers to surrender and betray the Fatherland.

These methods sometimes yield some results when the imperialists apply them to faint-hearted persons. But let the U.S. imperialists nurture no illusion of making North and South Vietnam betray each other and betray their fatherland. We shall never betray our Fatherland by calling upon our compatriots in South Vietnam to surrender to the enemy.

There will be a great disappointment in store for the U.S. imperialists if they think that by carrying out air raids on North Vietnam they will be able to make the North Vietnamese people betray the South Vietnamese people by ceasing to support their Southern compatriots. Now that the whole world is supporting the just struggle of the South Vietnamese people, a support which includes weapons and volunteers, what reason have the U.S. imperialists to oblige the North Vietnamese people to end their support of their 14 million compatriots in South Vietnam who are being massacred by the U.S. aggressors and their flunkys especially when air raids have been launched against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam?

"If the defence of the North is the bounded duty of our Southern compatriots, in return the support given to the South is the sacred duty of our Northern people. Vietnam is one, the Vietnamese people is one. U.S. imperialism is invading our Fatherland. Each Vietnamese is dutybound to fight it and save the country. This is a matter of course and an inviolable right of all people suffering from imperialist aggression."

Therefore, progressive mankind including the American people cannot let the U.S. imperialists continue to interpret things and acts as they have done so far. Because this amounts to allowing them to abrogate freely the Geneva Agreements, intensify and expand the war in Vietnam, and recognizing them the right to invade other countries in the world.

RAPPED IN A SYSTEM, by Carl Oglesby, published in The Minority of One January 1966 - Vol. VIII, p. 18.

Not long ago, I considered myself a liberal. And if someone had asked me what I meant by that, I'd perhaps have quoted Thomas Jefferson or Thomas Paine, who first made plain our nation's unprovisional commitment to human rights. But what do you think would happen if these two heroes could sit down now for a chat with President Johnson and McGeorge Bundy?

They would surely talk of the Vietnam war. Our dead revolutionaries would soon wonder why their country was fighting against what appeared to be a revolution. The living liberals would hotly deny that it is one: there are troops coming in from outside, the rebels get

parents, brothers or sisters are arrested and manhandled into prisons and their names and addresses are forwarded and betray the fatherland.

These methods sometimes yield some results when the imperialists apply them to labor-oriented persons. But let the U.S. imperialists guarantee an illusion of making North and South Vietnam betray each other and betray their fatherland. We shall never betray our fatherland by calling upon our compatriots in South Vietnam to surrender to the enemy.

There will be a great disappointment in store for the U.S. imperialists if they think that by carrying out air raids on North Vietnam they will be able to make the North Vietnamese people betray the South Vietnamese people by ceasing to support their Southern compatriots. We fear the whole idea is to support the just struggle of the South Vietnamese people, a support which includes weapons and volunteers, to and their support of their 17 million compatriots in South Vietnam who are being massacred by the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen especially when air raids have been launched against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam?

"If the balance of the North is the bounded duty of our Southern compatriots, in return the support given to the South is the sacred duty of our Northern people. Vietnam is one, the Vietnamese people are one. U.S. imperialism is invading our fatherland. Each Vietnamese should stand up to defend it and save the country. This is a matter of life and an inviolable right of all people suffering from imperialism."

Therefore, progressive mankind including the American people cannot let the U.S. imperialists continue to interpret things and act as they have done so far. Because this means to allow them to invade freely the Geneva Agreements, intensify and expand the war in Laos, and recognizing them the right to invade other countries in the world.

PEEP IN A SYSTEM, by Carl Oglesby, published in the Manifesto of the Party - Vol. VIII, p. 18.

Not long ago, I considered myself a liberal. And if someone had said what I meant by that, I'd perhaps have quoted Thomas Jefferson (Thomas Paine, who first made plain our nation's unprovoked claim to human rights. But what do you think would happen if two heroes could sit down now for a chat with President Johnson (McGeorge Bundy)?

They would surely talk of the Vietnam war. Our dead revolutionaries would soon wonder why their country was fighting against what they called a revolution. The living liberals would hotly deny it is not; there are troops coming in from outside, the rebels get

arms from other countries most of the people are not on their side, and they practice terror against their own. Therefore, not a revolution.

What would our dead revolutionaries answer? They might say: "What fools and bandits, sirs, you make then of us. Outside help? Do you remember Lafayette? Or the 3,000 British freighters the French navy sunk for our side? Or the arms and men we got from France and Spain? And what's this about terror? Did you never hear what we did to our own loyalists? Or about the thousands of rich American Tories who fled for their lives to Canada? And as for popular support, do you not know that we had less than one-third of our people with us? That, in fact, the colony of New York recruited more troops for the British than for the revolution? Should we give it all back?"

Revolutions do not take place in velvet boxes. They never have. It is only the poets who make them lovely. What the National Liberation Front is fighting in Vietnam is a complex and vicious war. This war is also a revolution, as honest a revolution as you can find anywhere in history. And this is a fact which all our intricate official denials will never change.

But it doesn't make any difference to our leaders anyway. Their aim in Vietnam is really much simpler than this implies. It is to safeguard what they take to be American interests around the world against revolution or revolutionary change, which they always call Communism - as if that were that. In the case of Vietnam, this interest is, first, the principle that revolution shall not be tolerated anywhere, and second, that South Vietnam shall never sell its rice to China - or even to North Vietnam.

THE ARMED STRUGGLE IN OCTOBER AND NOVEMBER THIS YEAR, published in the Vietnam Selatan, December 20, 1965, pp. 7-8.

In October and November this year, the Liberation Armed Forces wiped out 19 enemy battalions, among them 4 infantry battalions and 4 motorized battalions of the US aggressors. The liberation fighters wiped out in two months three fourths of the number wiped out in the first months of this year.

The past two months witnessed a "leap forward" in the current movement to "seek the US aggressors and wipe them out." In October alone 3,035 American aggressors were put out of action on the South Vietnam battlefield in comparison with 8,081 for the first nine months of the year. The total figure of US casualties in November was not available, precised the LPA on November 30, but in the Pleime battle alone, the liberation forces put out of action more than 1,700 US aggressors. Within the first 20 days of November, in the eastern part of Nam-Bo (South Vietnam proper) nearly 4,000 American troops were wiped out.

From October 15 to November 15 - the "Month of hatred for the US aggressors" to mark the first anniversary of the death of hero Nguyen-van-Troi - nearly 300 aircraft of the US and its puppets were shot down or destroyed, nearly half the number of US aircraft lost the first nine months of this year.

Another thing worthy of note was that the liberation forces inflicting losses on US troops in small and wide-spread attacks had mounted big attacks to wipe out whole columns of US infantry or motorized units. Regional forces and guerillas acting together has also wiped out entire platoons and even companies of American aggressors

The past two months has proven two following facts:

Firstly, the lying propaganda of the US imperialists that "Vietcong had failed in the monsoon campaign" was shattered. Also shattered was the screen covering the losses of the US imperialists in South Vietnam conveyed by the vague terms of "light," "moderate" or "heavy" losses.

Secondly, the recent victories had great political significance demonstrating that with their invincible moral strength and the strength of the people's war, the liberation forces are defeating one of the most powerful armies of the imperialists camp.

These victories were initial but very serious signs of the bankruptcy of Johnson's plan. The desperate efforts of the Johnson clique, far from saving them from inevitable defeat in South Vietnam, were driving them into more desperate straits. Massive troops sent to South Vietnam lifted casualties in accordance with troop number.

MONTH OF HATRED FOR THE U.S. AGGRESSORS AND TO AVENGE HERO NGUYEN-VAN-TROI, published in the Vietnam Selatan, December 20, 1965, pp.8-9.

During the "Month of hatred for U.S. aggressors and to avenge hero Nguyen-van-Troi" ended November 15, the liberation armed forces and people of South Vietnam fought 16 big battles, killing or wounding 5,834 enemy troops, including 2,528 US aggressors, according to Liberation Press Agency. This emulation drive was launched by the South Vietnam National Liberation Front on the occasion of the first anniversary of the death of hero Nguyen-van-Troi who was shot in cold blood by the South Vietnam puppets on the orders of the US imperialist. Among the enemy casualties, two battalions and four companies of American troops and four battalions of puppet main forces, were completely annihilated. The patriotic forces destroyed or shot down 152 US aircraft, including 47 jet fighters, destroyed 153 military vehicles and captured 440 guns of various types. LPA said that from the 17th parallel to the point of Camau in the South, in the plains as well as in the mountainous areas, in the cities and town as well as in the countryside, the US marines, paratroops, infantrymen and even airmobile "cava lrymen" so much vaunted by Johnson, have all

From October 12 to November 12, the "Month of hatred" for the aggressors" to mark the 7th anniversary of the death of hero Nguyen-van-Tro, nearly 300 aircraft of the US and its puppets were shot down or destroyed, nearly half the number of US aircraft lost the first nine months of this year.

Another thing worthy of note was that the liberation forces in fighting losses in small and wide-spread attacks had mounted big attacks on wide columns of US military or motorized units. Regional forces and guerrillas had been wiped out entire platoons and even companies of American aggressors.

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Firstly, the living propaganda of the US imperialists that "Vietnam has failed in the moon campaign" was shattered. Also, the statistics covering the losses of the US imperialists in South Vietnam conveyed by the vague terms of "light", "moderate" or "heavy" losses.

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MONTH OF HATRED FOR THE U.S. AGGRESSORS AND TO AVENGE HERO NGUYEN-VAN-TRO
THE TROOP, published in the Vietnam Gazette, December 10, 1967, pp. 1-3.

During the "Month of hatred" for U.S. aggressors and to avenge hero Nguyen-van-Tro, ended November 12, the liberation armed forces and people of South Vietnam fought in five battles, killing or wounding 1,200 enemy troops, including 3,500 aggressors, according to the Liberation Press Agency. This offensive drive was launched by the South Vietnam National Liberation Front on the occasion of the 7th anniversary of the death of hero Nguyen-van-Tro who was shot in cold blood by the South Vietnam puppets on the orders of the US imperialists among the heavy casualties, two battalions and four companies of American troops and four battalions of puppet main forces, were completely annihilated. The paratroop forces destroyed or shot down 112 US aircraft, including 47 jet fighters, destroyed 123 military vehicles and captured 282 types of various types. It is said that the 10th paratroop to the point of Can Gio in the South, in the plains as well as in the mountainous areas, in the cities and towns as well as in the countryside, the US paratroop, paratroopers, infantrymen and even airbattles "ava" avyemen" so much wanted by Johnson, have all



received stunning blows from the liberation forces. At Chu-Lai and Da-Nang, where about 36,000 US troops stationed, in only one night, the liberation forces annihilated 600 american pilots, combat troops and technicians, destroyed 127 aircraft of various types. Worthy of note was the complete annihilation of one company of US troops at La-Chau only a few kilometers from Da-Nang, the annihilation of two companies of the US First Air Mobile Cavalry Division at Pleime, of 300 troops of the US 173rd airborne Brigade raiding the "Resistance Zone D" (Bien-Hoa) and the resounding surprise attack on the US First Infantry Division at Bau-Bang, where two battalions of american troops and their units totaling 2,040 men were completely annihilated in the three-hour day-time battle. Every step taken by the US aggressors proved fatal to them. For instance, on October 30, a company of US troops was hit by mine on highway 13, 40 of them were killed on the spot. Many other aggressors have also paid for their crimes on highway 1 and 19. The puppet army also suffered heavy casualties, which further quickened its desintegration. One of the heaviest blows came with the ambush laid by the liberation armed forces in Pleime area on October 23rd, completely annihilating two battalions of puppet main forces, destroying 88 military vehicles, including tanks. In the period under review, together with the activities of the Liberation army, guerillas in many parts of South Vietnam also stepped up their attacks on the enemy positions or briskly repulsed enemy raids inflicting heavy casualties on them. On November 1st, guerrillas in Thoi-Hoa village (Thu-dau-Mot province), intercepted a convoy of military vehicles on highway 13, destroyed two of them, killing 11 american aggressors. On November 4, guerillas in Phuoc-Thanh village, Gia-dinh province, punished many cruel police agents, and so on. . . On November 11, guerrillas attacked an enemy post, 30 kilometers northwest of Saigon, and ambushed a convoy of military v vehicles on highway 15, 8 kilometers northwest of Ba-Ria provincial capital. On the night of November 12, guerrillas in Gia-Dinh province tossed hand grenades on the puppet police agents only 3 kilometres from Saigon, killing two of them. . .

Especially, during the "Month of hatred for the US aggressors and to avenge hero Nguyen-van-Troi," the victory at Bau-Bang on November 12 proved that no modern war means no crack units of the US aggressors can help them to escape severe punishment. MacNamara himself, when speaking out the First Infantry Division used to claim that it is known through out the world for its "brave and valour." Now the whole world has in fact known it for its bitter defeat at Bau-Bang. The Bau-Bang victory is also a big attack on the morale of the US aggressors and their henchmen. After the Van-Tuong battle, the US marines were frightened to such a point that many fell sick. After Phu-Cat, Chu-Lai, Da-Nang, Bien-Hoa, Pleime, and Bau-Bang, the morale of the US troops sank so low that some of them committed suicide or self inflicted injuries or feigned sickness.

received stunning blows from the liberation forces. At Chu-Lai and Da-Nang, where about 30,000 US troops stationed, in only one night, the liberation forces annihilated 800 American pilots, combat troops and technicians, destroyed 127 aircraft of various types. Worth of note was the complete annihilation of one company of US troops at La-Chau only a few kilometers from Da-Nang, the annihilation of a company of the US First Air Mobile Cavalry Division at Pham, of 1000 troops of the US First Airborne Brigade during the "Resistance" phase of the US First Airborne Brigade's attack on Chu-Lai and Thanh-Village at Chu-Lai, where two battalions of American troops and their units totaling 2,000 men were completely annihilated in the three-hour day-time battle. Every step taken by the US aggressors proved fatal to them. For instance, on October 30, a company of US troops was hit by mine on Highway 19, 40 of them were killed on the spot. Many other aggressors have also paid for their crimes on Highway 1 and 13. The puppet army also suffered heavy casualties, which further quickened its disintegration. One of the heaviest blows came with the ambush laid by the liberation armed forces in Pham area on October 13rd, completely annihilating two battalions of puppet main forces, destroying 88 military vehicles, including tanks. In the period under review, together with the activities of the liberation army, guerrillas in many parts of South Vietnam also stepped up their attacks on the enemy positions or directly repulsed enemy raids inflicting heavy casualties on them. On November 1st, guerrillas in Thon-Hot villages (Thon-Hot province), interposed a convoy of military vehicles on highway 13, destroyed two of them, killing 11 American aggressors. On November 4, guerrillas in Phoc-Thanh village, Gia-Dinh province, punished many cruel police agents and so on. . . . On November 11, guerrillas attacked an enemy post 30 kilometers northwest of Saigon, and ambushed a convoy of military vehicles on highway 13, 8 kilometers northwest of Gia-Dinh provincial capital. On the night of November 11, guerrillas in Gia-Dinh province ceased hand grenades on the puppet police agents only 3 kilometers from Saigon, killing two of them. . . .

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UNCLE HO'S LETTER TO THE YOUTH, published in Vietnam Youth, October 1965.

Dear nephews and nieces,

On September 2 this year, we celebrate the 20th anniversary of the victory of the August Revolution and the founding of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Many of you too are exactly or about 20 years old this year.

On this occasion, I wish to convey my cordial congratulations to the youth of the entire country and to give you my advice as follows:

Twenty years ago, our country was still under the domination of the French colonialists and the feudal kings and mandarins, our people were still slaves.

The victorious August Revolution liberated 25 million compatriots of ours. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam which was founded is the first State of our people. Since that time, our people, having become masters in their own land, have made their best to build up a life of independence, freedom and happiness.

But the French colonialists launched a new aggression against our country. Our compatriots, from the South to the North, waged a most valiant Resistance War during nine years. In the end, we defeated the French colonialists and their puppets. Peace was restored. The northern part of our country, completely liberated, entered a new stage: that of socialist revolution.

Over the past eleven years, the North has unremittingly pursued the construction work, and has undergone daily changes. We have abolished exploitation of man by man, the labouring people, having become full masters of their own life, have striven together to build socialism, and have recorded brilliant achievements.

In this great cause, the youth of the North, educated by the Party and guided by the Youth Union, have proved to be worthy of being the generation of the glorious August Revolution. Most of them eagerly emulate one another on all fronts: agriculture, industry, national defence, science and technology, education, culture, public health, etc. . .

During the same eleven years, under the ruthless domination of the U.S. imperialists and their stooges, our Southern compatriots have waged a most valiant struggle, they are incessantly striking hard at the enemy on all battlefields, and have won glorious victories

For over one year now, the U.S. imperialists and their stooges have still more frenziedly stepped up the war in the South, and

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Twenty years ago, our country was still under the domination of the French colonialists and the feudal kings and mandarins, our people were still slaves.

The victorious August Revolution liberated 32 million compatriots of ours. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam which was founded is the first State of our people. Since that time, our people, having become masters in their own land, have made their part to build up a life of independence, freedom and happiness.

But the French colonialists launched a new aggression against our country. Our compatriots, from the North to the South, waged a heroic and valiant resistance war during nine years. In the end, we defeated the French colonialists and their puppets. Peace was restored. The northern part of our country, completely liberated, entered a new stage: that of socialist revolution.

Over the past eleven years, the North has unceasingly pursued the construction work, and has undergone daily changes. We have abolished exploitation of man by man, the laboring people, having become full masters of their own life, have striven together to build socialism, and have recorded brilliant achievements.

In this great cause, the youth of the North, educated by the Party and guided by the Youth Union, have proved to be worthy of being the generation of the glorious August Revolution. Most of them eagerly emulate one another on all fronts: agriculture, industry, national defence, science and technology, education, culture, public health, etc.

During the same eleven years, under the ruthless domination of the U.S. imperialists and their stooges, our Southern compatriots have waged a most valiant struggle, they are incessantly striking hard at the enemy on all fronts, and have won glorious victories

For over one year now, the U.S. imperialists and their stooges have still more frenziedly stepped up the war in the South, and



carried it to the North causing increased sufferings and mournings to our compatriots! Our army and people in both zones, at one in their determination to struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, have fought with boundless gallantry, have grown ever stronger, and won ever bigger victories as they fight on.

In the present struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, the youth throughout our country, responding to the appeal of the Fatherland, are carrying still higher the banner of revolutionary herism, and they have recorded outstanding achievements.

Millions of youths in the North have eagerly joined the "3 ready" movement. Tens of thousands of them have enlisted into young volunteer shock brigades against U.S. aggressors and for national salvation.

The youth in the South, who were born and have grown up in two patriotic struggles, now under the banner of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, have been steeled into a young generation of boundless gallantry and intelligence, fearing neither hardships nor sacrifices, determined to fight and to win, following the glorious example of Nguyen Van Troi, Tran Van Dang and other martyrs.

In the towns and in the countryside, in the plain and in the mountainous areas, our youth have now become a big army which eagerly marches forward, with the determination to strive and to make sacrifice for the beloved Fatherland and for social progress.

I am very glad to congratulate the youth all over the country. On this occasion, I wish to add the following:

--You must constantly heighten your revolutionary spirit, show "loyalty to the country and the people, determination to fulfil any tasks, to overcome any difficulties, and to defeat any enemies," Fear neither hardships nor sacrifices, eagerly emulate one another to increase production and fight valiantly, march in the van of the struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

--You must have deep confidence in the strength and intelligence of the collectivity and the people. Strengthen unity and help one another. Enhance your spirit of discipline resolutely combat individualism and liberalism.

--Constantly enhance your revolutionary virtues, be modest and simple. Combat pride and self-conceit. Combat waste and luxury. Practise in earnest self-criticism and criticism to help one another to make unceasing progress.

--Strive to learn and raise your political, cultural, scientific technological and military standards so as to make ever greater contributions to the Fatherland and the people.

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marches forward, with the determination to strive and to make sacrifices
for the beloved Fatherland and for social progress.

I am very glad to congratulate the youth all over the country.
On this occasion, I wish to add the following:

---You must constantly heighten your revolutionary spirit, show
loyalty to the country and the people, determination to fulfill any
tasks, to overcome any difficulties, and to defeat any enemies. You
must further broaden your horizons, eagerly emulate one another to in-
crease production and light valiantly, march in the van of the struggle
against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

---You must have deep confidence in the strength and intelligence
of the collectivity and the people. Strengthen unity and help one
another. Enhance your spirit of discipline resolutely combat
individualism and liberalism.

---Constantly enhance your revolutionary virtues, be modest and
simple. Combat pride and self-conceit. Combat waste and luxury.
Practice in earnest self-criticism and criticism to help one another
to make unceasing progress.

---Strive to learn and raise your political, cultural, scientific
technological and military standards so as to make ever greater
contributions to the Fatherland and the people.



---Pay constant attention to guiding and educating pioneers and children, set for them good examples in all fields.

I convey my cordial greetings to:

---Young overseas Vietnamese who constantly turn their minds to the Fatherland.

---Young Chinese nationals who are standing shoulder to shoulder with the Vietnamese youth in the fight against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

---Young people from various countries, who have eagerly volunteered to join the Vietnamese people in the fight against the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

Dear nephews and nieces,

You are a heroic generation in a heroic epoch. I hope that you all will act like heroes in the revolutionary struggle to wipe out imperialism and build the new society.

Kisses to you all,

UNCLE HO

September 2, 1965

ORIGINS OF THE PRESENT IMPASSE, published in the book A New China Policy, Some Quaker Proposals, Yale University Press, November 1965, pp. 14-15.

None of this is to deny that the People's Republic of China is a totalitarian government, for it is; nor to deny that it employs terror as well as persuasion, for it does; nor that it is likely to achieve the development it promises without further calamities and distresses in fact, the long-run stability of the system of economic organization now used is open to question. It is to say, however, that Chinese in many walks of life may reasonably judge that they have traded poverty for the beginnings of economic improvement and social and political insecurity for security. How could they judge their situation as we would judge it: more regulated and controlled, less secure and more fearful than ours? The Chinese compare the Communist present with their own past, not with our present, and their opinions are shaped by their reality, not ours.

---Pay constant attention to guiding and educating pioneers and children, set for them good examples in all fields.

I convey my cordial greetings to:

---Young overseas Vietnamese who constantly turn their minds to the Fatherland.

---Young Chinese nationals who are standing shoulder to shoulder with the Vietnamese youth in the fight against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

---Young people from various countries, who have eagerly volunteered to join the Vietnamese people in the fight against the U.S. imperialist aggressor.

Dear nephews and nieces,

You are a heroic generation in a heroic epoch. I hope that you all will act like heroes in the revolutionary struggle to wipe out imperialism and build the new society.

Kisses to you all,

UNCLE HO

September 1, 1965

ORIGINS OF THE PRESENT IMPASSE, published in the book A New China Policy, Some Unsettling Proposals, Yale University Press, November 1965, pp. 14-15.

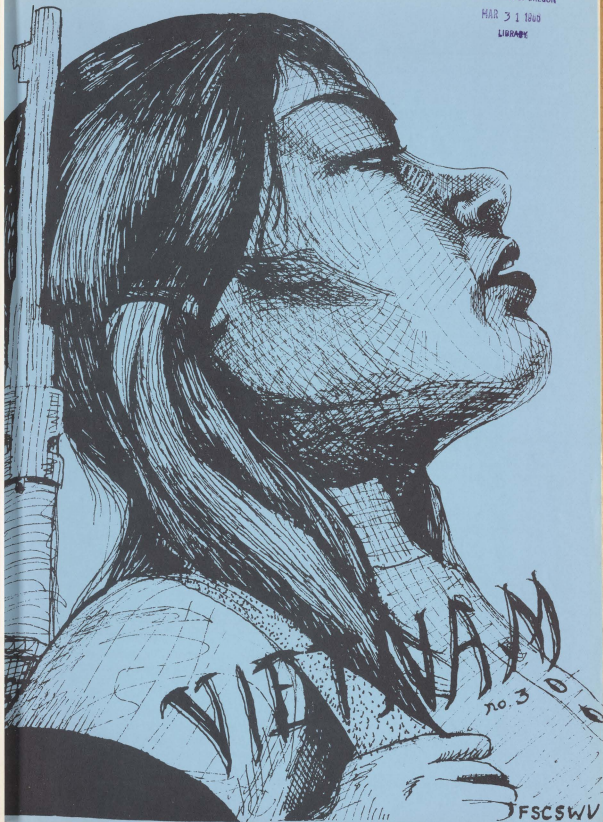
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February 21, 1966

VIETNAM is presented as a vehicle through which Vietnamese of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam and of the National Liberation Front may speak for themselves. It contains extracts from documents published in Vietnam, together with private writings of Vietnamese citizens and eye-witness accounts of the war as seen from "the other side." We present VIETNAM in the belief that no war can be adequately understood from the report of only one side, and that by providing this other view we may help to enlarge American perceptions of this tragic conflict.

On the basis of our total reading and our values, those of us who assemble these documents do have a position, which we wish to make explicit.

1. We think it probable that the National Liberation Front has the support of a majority of the people of South Vietnam, and is waging a genuine war of national liberation from American control and from the control of a puppet government upheld by America and by a small, and decreasing, minority of Vietnamese.
2. Similarly, we think that the government of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam has the support of a large majority of its citizens.
3. We hold that the United States is fighting in Vietnam illegally, violating the United Nations Charter, the Geneva Agreements of 1954, and its own constitution.
4. We consider that American actions in this war, especially during the past year with the bombing of North Vietnam, and even more with the heavy bombing, use of toxic gases, and napalm bombing against South Vietnamese villagers whom we purport to be "defending" against "external aggression", constitute a kind of mass slaughter which commands our condemnation.
5. We also think that the recent "peace offensive" and current peace proposals of the United States government do not offer a just settlement of the war to the Vietnamese since they do not include negotiations with the National Liberation Front. Nor do they acknowledge that the N.L.F. must play a leading role in any future government of South Vietnam if it is to be acceptable to a majority of the people.

VIETNAM is published by a sub-committee of the Faculty-Student Committee to Stop the War in Vietnam at the University of Oregon. Responsibility for its publication rests with its editors.

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VIETNAM INTELLECTUALS' CONFERENCE WRITES TO WORLD INTELLECTUALS

Published in Vietnam Courier (Hanoi), January 31, 1966.

The Vietnam Intellectuals' Conference Against U.S. Aggression for National Salvation held in Hanoi from January 4 to 6, 1966, has sent the following letter to intellectuals all over the world:

Dear Friends,

From all parts of the world we have daily heard the echoes of a struggle called to ours waged by the peoples of all countries against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. The echoes are resounding deep in our hearts.

Amid this concert has risen with authority the voice of scientists, writers, teachers, university professors, artists, students.

Dear friends, your speeches, articles, meetings, teach-ins, collections, marches constitute for our people and fighters one of the best stimuli and a great fort. The approval and support given by those whose mission in all countries, including the U.S.A., is to think over and reflect the realities of the world, ascertain the justness of our cause and strengthen our confidence in the ineluctable victory of the people.

Perhaps as no time in history has there been such a widespread reprobation that being incurred by the U.S. ruling circles. The fact that you, men of science and culture of all nationalities and opinions, march in the van in that universal act of conscience gives rise to the greatest hopes of mankind.

The Vietnamese people, in the North as well as in the South, and the Vietnamese intellectuals in particular, are profoundly grateful to you for that.

By publicly approving our national struggle, you are declaring your confidence in man, and thereby making it clear that no material and freedom of a people. For our part, we are deeply conscious that by defending our independence, we are contributing our share to the safeguarding of the most precious human values for all peoples.

The U.S. imperialists have bluntly declared that they have been using Vietnam as a ground to test their weapons and tactics, which would enable them to subdue other peoples in other places and in other times.

From their fiasco or their success in their Vietnam adventure it may result in either a lasting peace in Indo-China and South-East Asia, or a series of chain reactions the outcome of which is unpredictable.

You know how the American commanders are carrying out the war in Vietnam, using against the civilian people the most murderous weapons, including those banned by international law: B52 bombers, napalm, phosphorous bombs and bullets, toxic gas, crop-killing chemical products. In many localities, after massacring people by indiscriminate bombings and intensive artillery fire, U.S. troops also sought to asphyxiate with toxic gas all those hiding in underground shelters.

This is a ruthless, merciless war of extermination. Hitler did the same with less "modern" means.

Reports have come to us from the United States that while intensifying the war, the Washington warmongers are suppressing the American citizens' democratic liberties. Behind the Vietnam war looms the shadow of McCarthyism, twin brother of fascism. And as before, the fascists take action against the intellectuals whom they call "egg-heads" and charge with the worst perversions. Addressing President Johnson, the American writer Arthur Miller has said:

"When cannons thunder, arts die."

We know how much it cost to humanity when fascism was installed in Germany. If unfortunately it were installed in the United States and lay hand upon the considerable resources of this country, the consequences would be incalculable.

Expressing at our conference the sentiments of the progressive American intellectuals, Professor Staughton Lynd of Yale University recalled the tragic error of the German intellectuals who had refrained from struggling against Hitlerism. He then asserted the will of his colleagues to struggle resolutely against the Vietnam war and the fascisation of America-- two closely linked processes.

We are confident in our progressive American colleagues. Allow us to express

the wish that the intellectuals from all over the world, from the U.S.A. to Vietnam, passing through Asia, Europe, Africa, Oceania and the two Americas, join their efforts to put an end to the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. The common front of the peoples against this aggression is broadening day after day, and the scientists, artists, professors, writers, lawyers, can contribute most efficaciously to promoting it with all the weight given to their actions by their scientific, literary and moral authority.

Be assured that for our part, we shall deploy all our efforts to deserve the confidence and support you have given us.

Our people have a several thousand-year old history. They have struggled for centuries to defend their independence and liberty. Never will they accept a foreign tutelage. Eighty years under the colonial regime and 11 years under U.S. domination in the Southern part of our country have taught the Vietnamese intellectual that there can be a future for science and culture only in independence and liberty. We have realized this truth all the more clearly as for 11 years now, in the entirely liberated northern half of our country, we have been able to lay rapidly the first foundations of a national culture with a most promising future.

No weapons, no threats can make us shrink. Our people will fight till total victory for the complete realization of their fundamental national rights: independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity, clearly stipulated in the 1954 Geneva Agreements.

Our people who have been compelled to take up arms for the past 25 years are the first to desire peace. But a genuine peace is inseparable from the respect for genuine independence of the peoples.

It is sheer hypocrisy to speak all the time of peace, to send "peace emissaries" to all capitals, while stepping up the acts of war and arrogating to oneself the right to dispatch hundreds of thousands of troops to invade a country on the other end of the globe and ruling that South Vietnam must accept a government at U.S. beck and call and remain forever severed from the northern part of the country.

It is utter hypocrisy to declare to everyone that one is ready to negotiate while refusing to deal with the main interlocutor -- the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation -- the sole authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people.

It is a cynical blackmail to claim that the temporary suspension of bombing of North Vietnam gives the United States the right to force the Vietnamese people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam to accept American terms.

No, we will never accept this pax Americana. Never shall we tolerate this brutal interference in the affairs of our country.

With the active support of the world peoples, our people in the North as well as in the South have fought victoriously against U.S. aggression. The trial will be a long and hard one, but we are sure to win. In us this firm will of independence is associated with the most outspoken internationalism. The Vietnamese intellectuals, in particular, earnestly wish to entertain with their colleagues in all countries, including the U.S.A. the most varied exchanges and to integrate in their national culture the best acquisitions of the culture of other countries.

It is our profound conviction that our joint action today for peace in Vietnam may open the best prospects for the friendly and close cultural relations between our countries. We can also assure you that in North Vietnam as well as the liberated areas in South Vietnam, in spite of the bombings and raids, the Vietnamese intellectuals, assisted by the entire people, are persisting uninterruptedly in their

cultural effort at the price of thousands of sacrifices. Schools, laboratories, hospitals, continue to function because our people know that to continue maintaining the torch of science and art also means a victory over the enemy. The material and moral assistance which the intellectuals in the world are giving to Vietnam greatly contribute to this effort.

Intellectuals of all countries:

Protest more energetically against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and U.S. crimes in Vietnam!

Demand an unconditional cessation of the bombings in North Vietnam!

Demand that the U.S. government respect the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people and respect the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam!

Long live the Independence of all peoples!

Long live peace!

Long live friendship among the nations!

Long live the fraternal cooperation among all men of science and culture in all countries!

U.S. COMMAND WAGES A LARGE-SCALE CHEMICAL WAR AGAINST POPULATED REGIONS:

5000,000 PERSONS POISONED IN BEN TRE.

(Vietnam Courier, January 31, 1966)

According to a Reuter dispatch of December 22, 1965, the U.S. Defense Department officially acknowledged that U.S.A.F. planes in South Vietnam had sprayed toxic chemicals to destroy crops. However, such a move was still cloaked with assertions that "the spraying of poisons had been strictly controlled to restrict civilian losses" and "to do no harm to human beings."

The following report from the N.L.F. Committee of Ben Tre province (Mekong River delta) which has just been released by L.P.A. will give the true picture.

"Parallel with the destructive bombardment of the rural areas in Ben Tre province by B 52 strategic aircraft and 7th Fleet heavy artillery, between December and 31, 1965, toxic chemicals were sprayed by many waves of U.S. aircraft....Flights of Dakota escorted by jet planes repeatedly sprayed toxic chemicals over the banks of Ba Lai River, stretching over 40 kilometres from An Hoa canal to Bao Than seashore, over a 62 kilometre coastal fringe from Thua Duc and Thoi Thuan to Thanh Phong and Giao Thanh.

"These toxic chemicals had been sprayed at dawn or at night, in big quantities and concentrated doses, 4 or 5 times running in some areas. Sometimes the spraying was renewed immediately after a rain. Clouds of yellowish, greyish and whitish powder overcast the sky as if there was a fog.

"In Ba Tri district thousands of people who were working in the fields or catching fish in rivers and canals were soaked with toxic chemicals, which caused breathing, sterturation, itching and swollen skin.



"So far, nearly 500,000 people, the bulk of the province's population, have been affected more or less seriously. 46,000 of them, mostly women, children and old folks, are in a grave state, getting itchy all over their bodies, nausea and swellings. The body of Mme. Khai of Hoa Thanh Hamlet Two, Luong Hoa village was swollen to the point that she could hardly walk. Mr. Tai's children, 2 boys and one girl, died after eating poisoned fruit. Mrs. Muoi's 3 year old boy, of the same district, who was playing in his mother's arms, suddenly died after violent throes. At Bao Thanh a 3 year old girl also lost her life. In addition, hundreds of people seriously affected were sent to hospitals.

"Toxic chemicals exerted also damaging effects on domesticated animals. Hundreds of head of cattle were affected by eating poisoned grass. Tens of thousands of pigs, dogs and poultry died.

"Ben Tre province, known for the fertility of its rice fields and fruit gardens, is now partly devastated by toxic chemicals. In the jungle belts which used to supply firewood and timber and leaves for house-building to Saigon and other areas, all trees have lost their leaves and become shrivelled. Almost all banana, paw-paw and other fruit trees, tubers, melons and vegetables have been destroyed. All young rice plants have withered and become limp. Few of the well-known coconut groves of this region have escaped destruction. In Chau Hoa and Chau Binh alone, 200 hectares (approx. 500 acres) of coconut trees have been burnt dry. In many other areas, the ground is strewn all over with their nuts."

Unable to win on the battle field, the U.S. imperialists now wage a war of extermination of an unprecedented fierceness.

HOW DID CU CHI GUERRILLAS SMASH OPERATION "CRIM" LAUNCHED BY
8,000 U.S. AND AUSTRALIAN TROOPS?

ENEMY LOSSES: 1,076 Killed, 213 Wounded, 48 Military Vehicles Destroyed, 29 Planes and Choppers Downed, 50 Others Damaged.

(From Vietnam Courier, January 31, 1966)

L.P.A. reported that from January 8 to 19, 1966, the U.S. aggressors carried out the ever biggest raid on a liberated area north of Cu Chi, 32 km. from Saigon....They deployed 8,000 U.S. and Australian troops, including U.S. Brigades, 2 and 3 from the 1st Infantry Division, and an Australian battalion, supported by two heavy artillery battalions, 2 tank and armored regiments, 600 military vehicles and 200 planes.

The target areas were two small places north and south of Highway No. 7, which spread over six villages: Phu My Hung, Phu An, An Nhon Dong, An Nhon Tay, Nhuan Duc and Duc Hiep. They are adjacent to many enemy positions such as Lai Khe, Ben Cat, etc....

During 20 days before the raid, enemy planes pounded the place clear for the ground forces. On January 8 at 6 A.M. the U.S.-Australian troops advanced toward the 6 villages in a two-pronged pincer movement....(They had been heli-lifted to the area -- Ed.) Simultaneously many armored and infantry prongs headed for Highway No. 7 for a link-up with the first two.

Applying "scorched earth" tactics, they fumigated civilian shelters with

poison gas, shot over 100 people, most of them women and children, set on fire 1500 houses, 200 tons of rice, killed 200 head of cattle and thousands of other domestic animals, and smashed the population's household utensils.

Right on the first day, the local guerillas kept in close contact with the enemy and inflicted heavy losses on him: 60 U.S. troops were wiped out in Chua Ham, 63 in An Nhon Tay village and 150 in three other villages. On January 11, in Phu B and Phu Trung, two guerillas holding their ground and supplied by one peasant fought from 7 to 10 a.m. and put out of action 100 U.S. troops. In Phu My Yung, a 3-guerilla team equipped with ordinary infantry weapons held their ground for two days running under enemy heavy bombing and shelling; they attacked the armored cars at a distance of 5 to 7 metres, destroyed or damaged 7 vehicles, and put out of action 21 U.S. troops.

All in all, in 12 days countering the raid, the guerillas fought over 20 hundred engagements big and small. They put out of action 1,318 enemy soldiers including 1,076 U.S. troops killed, 213 other wounded, destroyed 48 military vehicles shot down 29 aircraft, and damaged 50 others.

LATEST NEWS. - (Vietnam Courier, January 31, 1966)

5 U.S. planes were shot down over North Vietnam on January 31, 1966, bringing to 857 the total number of U.S. aircraft downed in the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam since August 5, 1964.

THE GERMANY "WIMB" LAUNCHING THE GUERRILLA STRIKE OPERATION

8,000 U.S. AIRCRAFT DOWNED

THE LOSS: 1,076 KILLED, 213 WOUNDED, 48 MILITARY VEHICLES DESTROYED, 29 AIRCRAFT DOWNED, 50 OTHERS DAMAGED.

(From Vietnam Courier, January 31, 1966)

L.P.A. reported that from January 8 to 19, 1966, the U.S. aggressors tried out the war biggest raid on a liberated area north of Qui Nhon. The raid was led by 8,000 U.S. and Australian troops, including U.S. Brigades 5 and 7 from the 1st Infantry Division, and an Australian battalion supported by two very powerful helicopters. 5 cars and armored vehicles, 100 military vehicles and planes.

The target areas were two small places north and south of Highway No. 7. The raid spread over six villages: Phu My Hung, An Nhon Tay, Chua Ham, Phu B and Phu Trung. They set enemy positions such as at Phu B, Phu Trung and Phu My Hung.

During 50 days before the raid, enemy planes pounded the place clear for a second time. On January 8 at 6 A.M. the U.S. American troops advanced towards the 6 villages in a two-pronged plan movement. (The raid had been planned for 5 days) Simultaneously they moved and infantry groups headed for Highway No. 7 a link-up with the first wave.

Applying "scorched earth" tactics, they restricted civilian activities with



AN AMERICAN G.I.'s LETTER TO HIS SISTER IN DETROIT, MICHIGAN.

(From the British weekly, The New Statesman, October 3, 1965).

"A recon platoon went out on a road clearing mission this morning and while they were doing their mission they spotted five V.C. The platoon chased them to a village (which the V.C. ran right through). When they came upon the village they figured the five V.C. had held up there so they began to clear the area of all civilians (poor rubber plantation peasants). They did this by making a lot of noise, shouting, shooting off their AR15s and crashing in doors. Of course most of the adults understood (by the way, there were only old women, old men, and women with babies and children). Now these people had dug bomb shelters, but I can't see why, what with all the B52s dropping 1000-pound bombs every night, so automatically this made these people V.Cs. A 173rd paratrooper comes by a grass hut and he yells down into one of these bomb shelters and says, "I'm gonna give you 10 seconds till I blow this goddam place up." Then he looks at his watch and in 10 seconds he throws a hand grenade in the hole, it blows up and then he sets the hut afire. I and my captain are walking by the burning hut and he turns to me and says, "There's somebody still living, can't you hear the groans?" I hear them so we stop and take a look. Four dead children 3-4 years old. We pulled one little girl out who had a hole in her head the size of a quarter and as I carried her away from the fire I could see the life in her fleeing and she was about 3. She died in about 15 minutes. Anyway we had 1 V.C., 3 wounded kids, 2 of which were still sucking their mother's tit, 3 old men, 43 old women - 4 were wounded; 10 young women - 2 were wounded; 18 kids - 8 wounded; 3 wounded mothers and 5 dead children under 5 years old. And you know what these so-and-so's reported? "Twenty suspected V.C." I doubt if you will read this in the news but don't let this letter get away from you. They might court-martial me for the truth."

AN AMERICAN G.I.'s LETTER TO A WOMAN OF WOMEN'S STRIKE FOR PEACE

(Published in W.S.P.'s Bulletin of November, 1965, and republished in Solidarity with Vietnam, Hanoi, Nov. - Dec. 1965)

This letter was written by 20 G.I.'s so that their writing could not be recognized.

"I'm in Vietnam and every day I pray for only two things - to be out of this hell and back home or to be killed before I might have to kill someone."

"... A week ago our platoon leader brought in three prisoners. I was part of the group that brought them in. They set up a questioning station and someone from Intelligence was doing the questioning. This was the first time I saw anything like this and found out that we used some dirty methods. This guy from Intelligence had all three lined up. One was a woman. He stripped her down to the waist, and stripped the two men all the way. He had a little

gadget I thought was a walkie-talkie or something. He stuck one end of this wire to the lady's chest and it was kind of an electric shock because she got a real bad burn. From what she was screaming my buddy and I could figure she didn't know anything. Then they took this same wire and tried it on the lady's husband and brother but on their lower parts. I grabbed the damn thing and stuck it to the back of the guy from Intelligence. Ever since that day I've been sick to my stomach and haven't been out on patrol or anything. My sergeant tells me I'm suffering from battle fatigue and might get sent home.

"No one from our groups wants to bring any suspects in for questioning. We don't know what to do... We don't want anybody tortured or killed. One of the guys from another platoon said he saw this happen a few times before and one guy was killed by it.

"Anyhow tell your Women for Peace we are with them. We wish we could send you a couple of those electrical gadgets to use on the powers that sent us here."

"EITHER I WILL DIE AND THE YANKEES WILL LIVE, OR I WILL LIVE AND THE YANKEES WILL DIE." (From Solidarity with Vietnam, Hanoi, Nov.-Dec. 1965)

This oath taken by Mr. V, an inhabitant of Hoa Khuong village (Hoa Vang district, Quang Nam province), when adhering to a guerilla unit, was quickly spreading through the village. Everybody loved and admired Mr. V., the 52-year old brave and proud peasant. He had formerly participated in the resistance war against the French colonialists and now volunteered to fight the U.S. aggressors.

On August 13, 1965, a company of U.S. marines raided his village. Together with young guerillas, Mr. V. closely followed the enemy's activities.

"Ah, these fellows run headlong to their death!" he said to himself. With his oath in mind, he brought his rifle, walked along the trenches, came up to the end of the hamlet and waited calmly. A group of U.S. troops came towards him. His eyes burning with hatred, he calmly levelled.

The U.S. aggressor who came last fell down and breathed his last. Panic-stricken, the others ran away helter-skelter without having time to bring with them their fellow's corpse. Mr. V. was elated and thought that tonight or tomorrow the U.S. aggressors would send planes to pick up the dead. At night, overcoming drowsiness and fatigue of a whole fighting and working day, Mr. V. took his rifle and ambushed near the corpse.

At 3 a.m. a reconnaissance plane followed by a squadron of helicopters hovered over the place. They dropped flares which illuminated the whole area. One helicopter landed slowly. Mr. V. waited until the aircraft came within rifle shot, then taking advantage of the artificial light, he levelled and pressed the trigger. The helicopter was hit, set ablaze and crashed down into pieces, 3 Americans of the crew sharing the fate of the plane.

Frightened, the others strafed at random and then took flight. Mr. V

ran straight to the place where the plane fell down. The guerillas and villagers were already there. They embraced him with joy and congratulated him for having killed four Americans and shot down one U.S. plane in one day. He was awarded the Liberation Order of Military Exploit, Second Class.

LETTER FROM HANOI TO AMERICA - "ABOUT AN ANECDOTE"

(From Vietnam Courier, January 13, 1966).

There was a village called Xuan (Spring). The village comprised two hamlets, Dong (Eastern) and Tay (Western). The villagers were living and working in peace and happiness when, one day, a group of aggressors, coming from far away, attacked Dong hamlet. They robbed the villagers of their property, massacred the people, raped the women, burned down houses and devastated the paddy fields. They bought off a number of dishonest elements in the hamlet and used them as their stooges. With their long-standing tradition of heroism, however, the people of Dong hamlet rose up and beat the aggressors black and blue.

Unable to dampen the spirit of the people of Dong hamlet, the aggressors on the one hand called for discussions for a peaceful settlement and on the other sent more thugs to the place. But the whole population of Xuan were not fooled by these dirty tricks and told the aggressors in the face: "This village belongs to us. You are the aggressors. You must get out of this village in the first place. If you do not clear out at once, we shall throw you into the sea." At this, the aggressors screamed and yelled, "Let the whole world bear witness to us! We desire peace negotiations but the people of this village don't!"

Dear friends, (Letter from Hanoi continuing)

We would rather not tell any more to you who are concerned with the changes in our country, but instead exchange reflections with you.

On January 1, 1966, an AP dispatch from Texas said that President Lyndon B. Johnson had felt "he and his administration might not have done enough to convince Hanoi... of America's sincere desire for peace." In our country, self-criticism connotes a noble mind for he who is true to himself can exert a boundless influence on others. One may wonder why our people, who have undergone 20 years of devastating war, are not sensitive to an eager aspiration for peace. Why has President Johnson met with such bad luck. A question correctly put is easy to answer.

Why should those who did their best to sabotage the Geneva Conference in 1954 and, cynically declaring that they were "not bound" by the Geneva Agreements, tried to undermine them systematically by their intervention and blatant aggression over the past ten years, now ring the changes about a return to the Accords?

Why should those who formerly incited their placeman, Ngo Dinh Diem, to reject the proposals for a consultative conference between the two zones (North and South Vietnam) to organize a general election in order to reunify Vietnam, now harp on "discurion" and "reunification" of Vietnam through elections?

According to U.S.I.S. of December 31, 1965, when speaking of free elections in the event of a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam question, Dean Rusk, U.S. Secretary of State, has put forth the condition that the "Viet Cong" must "lay down their arms, accept amnesty". This constitutes not only an insult to the South Vietnamese people who have for years shrunk from no sacrifice to fight for national independence and reunification, but also a challenge to the conscience of all those who struggle for the lofty aspirations of mankind. If you were a Vietnamese, how would you respond to Senator R. Russell, Chairman of the U.S. Senate Armed Forces Committee, who stated: "We intend to punish Hanoi until they sue for peace"? (UPI, Dec 7, 1965).

It is nobody other than L.B. Johnson who said, when launching his peace campaign, that "strong measures" would be taken should his "offensive" fail. (AP, Dec. 9, 1965).

Now the men in Washington try to disculpate themselves before world public opinion for having sent their "ultimatum" to the North Vietnamese people when they have been compelled to suspend their unwarranted bombing of the D.R.V., a sovereign country.

By words and by deeds they have done everything to force the Vietnamese people to the conference table to accept their terms. They must stop definitely and unconditionally their bombing of North Vietnam and have no right to put forth any condition. They have no leave to invent a tacit motive to resume the bombing of our country on fiercer scale. UPI on January 4, 1966, reported that the U.S. President had ordered this halt in the bombing in order to war "any new Communist move of major proportion", that is the struggle of the South Vietnamese people against the aggressors to defend their country. In the meantime the Yankees continued to launch "scorched earth" raids everywhere and U.S. troops to land in South Vietnam. One may wonder whether U.S. President Johnson has behaved the same way as the pirates in Xuan village.

Public opinion in foreign countries has made it clear that to settle this important question requires covert and delicate diplomatic activities but instead the U.S. authorities have trumpeted their moves in Texan style. Le Monde wrote on January 3, 1966, "There is every likelihood that the trip of the U.S. President's emissaries in the Far East has more propaganda value than practical purport." Of late the U.S. authorities have poured forth a deluge of statements about a solution for the Vietnam question, but regarding the most fundamental problem to stop the U.S. aggression in South Vietnam, they have quibbled in an attempt to confuse the public....

Dear friends,

One may say that more clearly than anybody else our people have seen through the design of the U.S. authorities who have not renounced their aggressive intention but hope to realize it at a cheap price and legalize it. Our people all the more heighten their vigilance to carry on their fighting for we understand that peace is precious, but national independence is invaluable.

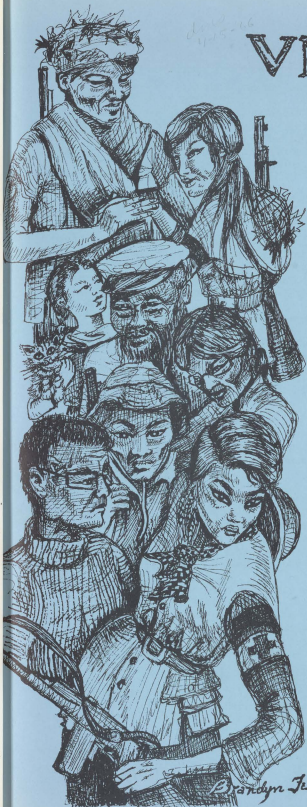
D. Eisenhower, the then U.S. President, wrote in his book, Mandate for Change, that had elections been held "possibly 50% of the population would have voted for Ho Chi Minh, their national leader".

APR 15 1966

VIETNAM

NO. 4

NLF
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Brandyn Feldman

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON
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MAINTENANCE

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Vietnam is presented as a vehicle through which the Vietnamese of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam and of the National Liberation Front may speak for themselves. It contains extracts from documents published in Vietnam, together with private writings of Vietnamese citizens and eye-witness accounts of the war as seen "from the other side". We present VIETNAM in the belief that no war can be adequately understood from the reports of only one side, and that by providing this other view we may help to enlarge American perceptions of this tragic conflict.

On the basis of our total reading and our values, those of us who assemble documents such as this do have a position which we wish to make explicit.

1. We think it probable that the National Liberation Front has the support of a majority of the people of South Vietnam, and is waging a genuine war of national liberation from American control and from the control of a puppet government set up and maintained by the Americans and by a small and decreasing minority of the Vietnamese people.

2. Similarly we feel that the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam has the support of a large majority of its people.

3. We hold that the United States is fighting in Vietnam illegally violating the United Nations Charter, the Geneva Agreements of 1954, and its own constitution.

4. We consider that American actions in this war, especially during the past year with the bombing of North Vietnam, and even more now with the use of toxic chemicals and gases, and the use of Napalm bombing against the people of South Vietnam whom we purport to be "defending" against "external aggression", constitutes mass slaughter which commands our condemnation.

5. We also feel that the recent "peace offensive" and current peace proposals of the United States do not offer a just settlement of the war to the Vietnamese since they do not include direct negotiations with the National Liberation Front. Nor do they acknowledge that the N.L.F. must play a leading role in any future government of South Vietnam if it is going to be acceptable to a majority of the people.

VIETNAM is published by a subcommittee of the Faculty-Student Committee To Stop The War In Vietnam at the University of Oregon. The responsibility for its publication rests solely with its editors who wish to make it clear that they do not, in every instance, agree with either the substance or style of the articles they print in VIETNAM, but feel that it is important to present the writings of the Vietnamese people without changes or deletions, save for the latter which space limitations necessitate.

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Huong Phuc School, (North Vietnam), Bombed by U.S. Planes
(Published in Vietnam Courier(Hanoi), February 17, 1965)

On February 9, 1965, twelve U.S. planes bombed and strafed the Huong Phuc junior secondary school in Ha Tinh province. 57 pupils under 15 years of age and 3 civilians were killed or wounded, many houses were destroyed.

It is to be recalled that since U.S. escalation to North Vietnam more than 120 schools have been the chosen targets of U.S. aircraft. Meanwhile, hundreds of schools in South Vietnam have been bombed and strafed in "free bombing areas".

On February 13, the D.E.V. issued a declaration exposing the above-stated crimes, which stirred up everyone's conscience, and stressing that the Vietnamese people are determined to mete out due punishment to the U.S. war criminals.

THANKS TO SEAMEN THE WORLD OVER!
(Published in Vietnam Courier, Feb. 17, 1966)

In 1965, a very practical form of struggle appeared in the world-wide movement of support for the Vietnamese people's fight for liberation: seamen of many countries boycotted the shipping of goods to South Vietnam for the U.S. aggressors.

Following the courageous actions taken by the dockers in Surabaya and Melbourne, on April 12, 1965, Japanese seamen on the BUNAN MARU refused to ship 1,400 tons of U.S. weapons to South Vietnam. Similar boycotting affected the NIXEI(Japan), EL MEXICANO(Mexico), STAMAXIOS EMBIRICOSTO and MARINELA(Greece), LONDON CRAFTMAN(England), and many others which employed Chinese seamen.

The Hongkong Seamen's Union has announced that since March 1965 nearly 1,000 Hongkong seamen have refused to ship weapons and war equipment to South Vietnam. They either refused to sign on in Hongkong or left the ships when they arrived in the harbours of Hongkong or Singapore, or in Japan, Australia, Central and South America.

In Japan the month-long general strike called by the All-Japan Seamen's Union and involving 134,000 seamen ended in December 1965. The striking seamen, who demanded higher wages and refused to transport U.S. war materials to South Vietnam, staged their fourth drive of struggle on January 25, 1966, and the strike paralysed 1,800 ships.

The Vietnamese people are deeply grateful for this very great and practical help and invaluable encouragement for them in their anti-U.S. fight for national liberation.

The Vietnamese People Strongly Condemn White Terrorism in Indonesia
(Published in Vietnam Courier, February 24, 1966)

In Indonesia the reactionary forces are stepping up a frenzied campaign of terror and massacre against the Indonesian people under the signboard of "anti-Communism". President Sukarno on January 15, said that between early October 1965 and mid-January 1966, 87,000 Indonesians had been killed. Associated Press on February 8, 1966 reported that 250,000 people had been killed during the same period. In addition hundreds of thousands of others are now detained in prisons and put to the most cruel tortures.

Recently the reactionaries in Indonesia have staged a farcical "trial" against those involved in the September 30 movement and Indonesian Communists. The truth is that it is they who must be tried, and certainly they will be tried by the Indonesian people. It is they who, on orders from the C.I.A., moved troops to Djakarta and set up the "council of generals" and plotted a coup d'etat to overthrow President Sukarno's government with the aim of abolishing Indonesia's anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist line and turning her into a U.S. new-type colony. The September 30 movement was a counter move to that very scheme of coup d'etat. As for the Communists, who have been hated and indiscriminately massacred by the reactionaries, they are the ones who eagerly love their country and made heroic sacrifices for her Independence. On February 13, at a big rally in Djakarta condemning American resumption of bombing and strafing in North Vietnam, President Sukarno praised the Communist Party of Indonesia saying, "I hold that the Indonesian Communist Party is the only political party in Indonesia which made enormous contributions to, and sacrifices for, the Independence of Indonesia." (rueter, February 14).

The Vietnamese people energetically condemn the reactionaries in Indonesia who are frantically terrorizing the people and the patriotic and progressive forces in Indonesia, including the Communists. We call on the people who cherish independence, democracy, peace and justice in the world to take prompt, effective and drastic actions to support the Indonesian people and oppose the extremely barbarous atrocities being committed by the U.S.-commanded reactionaries. The Vietnamese people support President Sukarno's policy of persistently uniting the entire people to defend their national independence and to oppose Malaysia and imperialism along with old and new colonialism.

For the Defence of Patriots and Democratic People, Victims of Judiciary
Repressions in Indonesia (Published in Vietnam Courier, February 24, 1966)

In response to the appeal of the Standing Committee of the Vietnam Lawyer's Association, on February 20, the Hanoi Lawyers set up a ten-member committee to defend patriots and others unjustly being tried in Indonesia. Headed by Mr. Pham Van Bach, President of the Supreme Court and vice-president of the Vietnam Lawyer's Association, the committee has appointed a delegation of three noted lawyers to attend the court sessions in Djakarta and defend Mr. Njono and his friends illegally brought to trial by special military court.

A Letter From The Women Of Vietnam To The Women Of The United States
(Editor's Note:

Last July when the Delegation of American women from the Women's Strike For Peace Organization met with a similar delegation of Vietnamese women an arrangement for a permanent exchange of letters and documents, relating to the war, was set up. The letter which follows, from the Vietnam Women's Union, is one of those letters.)

Hanoi, March 8/'66

Dear Friends:

Today, March 8, women's day all over the world we are thinking of you. We think of those American women whose husbands, sons and friends have been sent to Vietnam to commit aggression there, to kill people, to massacre women and children, eventually to be themselves killed, in a completely senseless way. Vietnam is a small and far-away country, seperated from the United States by a great ocean, a country which has never done any harm to the United States and which constitutes no menace whatever to the security of the United States. You American friends must have been closely following the news about the atrocious war in Vietnam, in the press and over the radio. But one thing is certain: the American press and radio reflect but one tiny part of the truth about Vietnam, for the American authorities have been using every means to cover up or distort the truth. Indeed, it must be very difficult for you to picture to yourselves how the war is being carried on there. You can hardly imagine all the crimes that have been committed against the people of Vietnam, and especially of South Vietnam, by the American expeditionary troops and their local agents. Recently they have been using B-52 strategic bombers, toxic chemicals and poison gas, and practicing a "scorched-earth policy" over large populous areas, burning, killing and destroying all.

In this letter we want to draw your attention to a particularly heinous aspect of the crimes perpetrated by the bellicose American aggressors in South Vietnam. At the very time when President Johnson was talking about his "search for peace", McNamara declared that he was sending tens of thousands more American troops to South Vietnam, bringing the total of American expeditionary forces to over 230,000 men. Simultaneously, the spreading of toxic chemicals and the use of poison gas were intensified. The scope of these operations has been enlarged, more and more poisons have been used in ever-heavier concentration and over larger and larger areas. The poisons appear in clouds of smoke of various colours; yellow, grey, white, pink. They fall on the ground in tiny, dew-like drops and can make the victims lose their sight right away. Poisons are also used to contaminate food and drinking water, and even sweets and cakes intended for children.

In such provinces of South Vietnam as Ben-tre, Can-tho, Binh-dinh, Phu-yen, tens of thousands of people have been poisoned, among whom hundreds have died; tens of thousands of cattle have been poisoned hundreds of thousands of hectares of ricefields, gardens, and orchards have been ruined.

Just imagine those beautiful landscapes of the southern part of our country: golden expanses of ripening rice, tender-green stretches of vegetation, long rows of fruit-laden coconut palms mirrored in the calm water of the canals--all suddenly turned into a withered, dying wilderness, as if a hurricane had swooped down on them.

Poultry and cattle die in great numbers. People are poisoned to varying extents: some are seized with violent nausea, others suffer from oedemas or skin inflammations. Others still can breathe only with great difficulty, run a high temperature lose consciousness, bleed through their mouths and noses, discharge feces mixed with blood, and eventually die.

From December 7, 1965 to January 1966, in Ben-tre province alone, about 46,000 people were affected by poison. Toxic substances were spread on nearly 100 occasions on 50 villages. Over 4,000 hectares of fields and orchards were utterly ruined.

In Long Truyen, a village on Can-tho province, thousands of people were poisoned, of whom 13 died on the spot, with terrible convulsions, most of them women, children and old folk. Poisoned women and children show unhealthy paleness, suffer from anemia, ulcers and dysentary. Pregnant women have miscarriages. Lactation stops for young mothers..

The odious crimes of the American aggressors cause great anger among the Vietnamese people. In the face of violent protests by the Vietnamese and freedom-and justice-loving peoples of the world, the American authorities tried at first to argue that their chemicals were mere defoliants which cause no harm to men or cattle. But recently, a spokesman of the Pentagon openly admitted that the Americans had been using toxic chemicals to destroy crops, cut off supplies for the guerillas, destroy their ability to resist so that they could be caught and annihilated by American troops.

If those substances were really "non-lethal" as the American aggressors had pretended how did it come about that the Australian soldier Robert Bowtell died during one of those poison-spraying operations although he was wearing a mask, and that six of his mates had to be taken to hospital? (Reuter, 12-1-1966)

Toxic chemicals and poison gas are barbarous, inhuman weapons, condemned since long by mankind, and prohibited by international conventions; even the Hitlerite fascists did not dare to use them in the last war.

In North Vietnam, U.S. aircraft have carried out barbarous bombing and strafing raids. The aggressors claim that their targets are "concrete and steel not human life". But the truth is, they have wantonly attacked populous areas, dams, schools, hospitals, etc... You have certainly heard about their savage raid on the leper hospital at Quynh-lap, which caused the death of hundreds of patients. Recently, they have committed another odious crime: on February 9, American aircraft bombed the Huong Phuc junior secondary school in Ha-tinh province, killing and wounding 57 school-children, all under fifteen years of age. The untold crimes perpetrated by the aggressors only deepen the hatred felt for them by the Vietnamese women and people and heighten their resolve to fight against those U.S. aggressors and defeat them, in order to defend their country, the happiness of their homes, and the future of their children.

Dear Friends,

We know that you American women-mothers, scientists, intellectuals...-also feel deep painful anger before the criminal actions taken by the American Government.

Engraved deep in our hearts are the noble memories of Mrs. Helga Herz, of Calene Jankowski, Norman Morrison, Roger Laporte, who set fire to themselves, using their bodies as holy torches to give warning to those who are desperately engaged in massacre and destruction. Their courageous and lofty sacrifices are symbols of the traditions of the freedom-and justice-loving American people.

We feel deeply moved by the news about the marches undertaken by thousands, tens of thousands of American women, bringing along their children pushing prams, carrying placards reading, "Mr. President, you can't send our sons to kill and be killed!", demanding that "the American government should recognize the South Vietnam Front for Liberation" and "Withdraw from Vietnam".

The meetings and demonstrations held by Americans from coast to coast demanding that the American government should put an end to the war of aggression in Vietnam and implement the Geneva agreements express the love of the American women and people for justice and peace.

We hail the American scientists who have protested against the use by the American government of toxic chemicals and poison gas to kill people and destroy crops in South Vietnam.

We think that the women scientists now engaged in painstaking work in laboratories with the aim of serving production and human life cannot remain indifferent to the fact that the results of their arduous researches are being put to inhuman uses, as war means sowing death and destruction and bringing blemishes on the reputation of the United States.

We think that the American women jurists cannot let the American administration continue to trample underfoot the most elementary human rights scorn international law and blatantly violate the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam, and other international conventions.

American mothers! American women! Whatever your profession and your religious beliefs whether you are a writer, poet, or journalist; whether you are a painter, a singer, a peasant or a worker, you certainly want to protect the happiness of your homes, ensure a secure and happy life for you children, you will not let your husbands, sons, and friends be sent to Vietnam to massacre civilians, women and children, bring destruction and ruin to our fatherland, only to eventually meet a senseless death on the battlefield. We earnestly call on you to take timely and energetic actions to prevent the American warmongers from committing further violence to the lives and the property of our people, disturbing the peace in our country! Stop their hands, don't let them use toxic chemicals and poison gas as war means!

Demand that the American government respect the Geneva agreements, withdraw American and satellite troops from South Vietnam, put a definite end to air raids over North Vietnam, and let the people of South Vietnam settle their own affairs. The problem of the peaceful reunification of Vietnam must be solved by the people of North and South Vietnam, without any outside interference. Bring your active contribution to the triumph of justice, so that the people of our two countries may live in peace and friendship.

We send to you our warmest greetings and express to you our solidarity and friendship. We wish you good health and happiness, and for those of you seperated from your dear ones, we wish that you could see them again soon.

Le thi Xuyen: Vice President: Vietnam Women's Union.

A Bad Day for Americans at CAN-THO

(Published in Vietnam Courier, February 24, 1966)

(Editor's Note:

The Washington and Saigon rulers are trumpeting their programme to win "the hearts and the minds" of the South Vietnamese people especially the inhabitants of the temporarily constructed believed to be the easiest to win over. Will they succeed?

To help the readers understand the townsfolk's feelings and answer the above question, we are printing, below, an article written at the end of 1965 by a LIBERATION PRESS AGENCY correspondent in CAN-THO, the biggest town in the Mekong River Delta.)

This morning CAN-THO wore a new look. In the streets the traffic was light and the pavements were strewn with bits of paper and cloth: torn U.S. flags and photos of Johnson, McInamara, Westmoreland cut from newspapers. In fact, the day was December 29, 1965, an anti-U.S. day, organized by the National Front for Liberation Can-Tho Branch, for the townspeople to display their hatred for the American aggressors who had shot dead a young ice-cream seller at CAY ZANG cross-roads on the night of October 3, 1965 and run over a fourteen year old boy on the night of November 9, 1965.

As usual, the Americans overbearingly and noisily hailed taxis when leaving their barracks. But not a single car stopped. Some Americans then went up to the parking station. No sooner had one of them stepped into a taxi, than its driver shook his head, "No U.S. passenger.", and immediately got out of his car seeing that the Yankee was going to assault him. The other drivers there present also rushed in. The confrontation ended with the withdrawal of the aggressor and his friends.

At the landing stage an American and three quislings, from a party sent to placate the people, headed for a boat which had just berthed. The foreigner exhibited a bag of rice and a tin of food while the puppet cracked up, "Take this and come here and build a house. You will be supplied with everything by the U.S.A. Then write to the (puppet) government to ask the U.S.A. to stay here for a few years to help the Republic of Vietnam and you will be given..." His interlocutor, an old woman, did not wait for him to finish, "I live by my trade and I don't give a damn for U.S. goods. Why don't the Americans stop showing their faces around here, and burning our houses and occupying our land." And with a jerk she pushed off her boat.

In Phan Dinh Phung street, near the U.S. barrack, the Americans showered sweets on the children who threw them away with the approval of passers-by. Students in groups gathered and criticized U.S. policies. Some 1000 meters from the town girl-school, an American who tried to tease a school girl was catapulted with pebbles by a few youths nearby and fled as quick as his legs could carry him.

The anti-U.S. day in Can-Tho ended with the beating-up of arrogant Americans. Three students strolling in the streets and jostled by six overweening Yankees shouted back in English, "Yankee Go Home!" As the latter tried to manhandle them they shouted for help. Immediately youths in the street came up and punched the faces of the Americans, and the Yankees took to their heels.

NEWS FROM LAOS:

(Published in the issues of Vietnam Courier for the Month of February)

Feb. 10::(-) The supreme command of the Lao People's Liberation Armed Forces on February 1 issued a communique giving lie to the Vientiane authorities' fabrication that "troops were sent to strengthen the Noe Lao Haksat armed forces in Lower Laos and were entering the Tha Teng area. The communique pointed out that this groundless and worn out allegation of the Vientiane puppet authorities obviously was part and parcel of the new military plan of the American aggressors aimed at paving the way for the U.S. to send troops to occupy Central and Lower Laos.

Feb. 24::(-) According to Pathet Lao Radio, in 1965, the army and people of Savanakheth province fought 138 battles, foiling many raids launched by the pro-American troops against the liberated area and putting out of action 953 of them, in addition they shot down 10 U.S.-puppet aircraft of different types, seized 173 weapons and a large quantity of war materials and equipment.

(-) On February 14, 4 American jet planes bombed and strafed Phong Sa Ly town under the control of the Lao patriotic forces, damaging the property of the local population and the Chinese Consulate General.

NEWS FROM CAMBODIA:

(Published in the issues of Vietnam Courier for February 1966)

February 10:(-) On January 26, the Cambodian Foreign Ministry issued a statement correcting the declaration made by the Canadian Secretary for External Affairs, who, at a press conference, alleged that at Cambodia's request, the Canadian government would propose a new procedure which would make the control of the I.C.C. in Cambodia more effective.

The Cambodian government stressed that the role of the I.C.C. had been stipulated by the 1954 Geneva agreements. Cambodia does not agree to grant wider powers to the I.C.C. in Cambodia, which would turn this commission into a "police force" protecting the frontiers of the Kingdom of Cambodia, exceeding what had been granted to it by the Geneva Agreements.

February 17:(-) On February 4, Prince Norodom Kantol, Premier and Foreign Minister of the Kingdom of Cambodia, sent a message to D.R.V. Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh, sternly condemning the U.S. imperialists for using poison gas to massacre the South Vietnamese people. The message read in part,

" The Royal Government and the Khmer people (...) stand firmly by the side of the heroic Vietnamese people in their just struggle against the U.S. aggressors. They condemn most energetically the barbarous acts and villainous maneuvers of these bellicose criminals to intensify their war of aggression in South Vietnam and even to extend it to the whole of Indo-China."

February 24:(-) On January 30, Cambodian anti-aircraft defence downed a C.130 transport plane bearing U.S. navy markings which was encroaching upon the air space of Kam Xanna village, Kandal province.

"Great" Victories for the U.S. Air Force: The 'Score' in North Vietnam

(Editor's Note: The author of this article, Wilfred G. Burchett, is the staff correspondent covering Asia for the National Guardian. This article was first published in the National Guardian of March 26, 1966)

United States' air power has scored some notable victories in North Vietnam, as I have seen in a three-week tour of the countryside, and I will list some so President Johnson can include them in his next briefing of congressmen, state governors and others. Because of the air attacks and the reorganization of the whole economic structure of the country, most young women have pledged themselves to the "Three Responsibilities" movement—that is, to try to avoid falling in love; if they fall in love to try to avoid getting married; if they do marry to try to avoid having children.

This is important for the Pentagon to know. Defense Secretary McNamara can effect big economies in a few years because there will be no more nurseries and kindergartens to bomb. It must have been an expensive business knocking out the 30-odd kindergartens and more than 100 schools so far bombed to rubble.

One day, speeding along a secondary road in a jeep, we were flagged to a halt. My first reaction was to glance at the fields. Not a peasant in sight, and that meant that planes were really close. We scrambled down a bank as a flight of jets roared overhead. Within seconds they were out of sight—no bombs were dropped. Then, as somebody beat the "all-clear" on the tom-tom, I got a surprise. A field potato on which I had my eyes fixed suddenly got to its feet and started heading towards the road. A dozen or so school kids, their backs covered with green twigs and palm fronds, had been lying face down between the rows of potatoes and from ten paces away I had not spotted one.

On another occasion, I was admiring a thick crop of six-inch high corn as we drove along the main north-south highway. Suddenly half the "crop" scrambled to its feet, bayoneted rifles in hand, and rushed to positions alongside the road. It was a group of youths, mostly women, with greenery on their backs. They were part of a village self-defence unit, carrying out maneuvers in preparation for any American landing in their area.

Trucks and bicycle convoys, children on their way to school, anything that moves along the road, are swathed in greenery and at the sound of an alert all stop and blend in with the landscape. This is another big victory for U.S. air power, because at the rate the Vietnamese are hacking down their own leaves there will be a considerable cut in the Pentagon's expenditure of defoliants once it gets round to "escalating" to the north the program of forest destruction now being applied all over the south.

Another notable victory is illustrated by the developments on the economic and family fronts in Ninh Binh province—and the story of Ninh Binh applies more or less to all other provinces. The plan for 1965 called for every peasant family to have attained by year-end the living standard of "middle peasants" as it was before land reform was carried out. I asked what such a standard meant in material values.

The provincial authorities explained: Brick houses with tiles roofs; every family to have a spare set of clothes for rest days and celebrations; a thermos flask for every family; tables and chairs and a spare wooden bed for guests; mosquito nets, woolen or cotton blankets for each member.

These are the things no poor or landless peasants-and they make up 80% of the peasantry-had before land reform. One spokesman added, "We intended to go one step farther and see that every house had a concrete or brick-lined well for water-something few middle peasants had before. Of course, as far as education is concerned, every family is better off than the former middle or rich peasants because their children can have nine year's schooling right in their own district. But because of war conditions, we have only achieved our plan 80%." As to brick houses with tile roofs, only 40% was reached because of the need for air-raid shelters.

Now the fact that the Ninh Binh peasants got only 80% of these simple household goals is an important victory for the Pentagon. According to the leaflets showered down from American planes, the peasants should see that Ho Chi Minh is directly responsible for this, because he supports the liberation front in the south, and so they should turn against the Hanoi government. The leaflet explains this clearly.

But I seemed continually to meet the wrong sort of peasants, whose hearts were full of rage and hatred not against Ho Chi Minh, but against Johnson, McNamara, the U.S. Air Force and everything to do with the U.S. presence.

Another notable victory scored by American air power was that against the Quynh Lap leproserium in Quang Binh province. There was precise bombing which must have delighted the hearts of those who studied the photographs later. In 13 attacks made in the 11 days between July 12 and 22, the pilots destroyed all 160 buildings, killing 139 and seriously wounding 80 lepers and medical personnel. Losses were particularly heavy because many lepers were cut down by machine-gun bullets as they hobbled and crawled on stumps of arms and legs to shelters. Lepers who were buried after the first attacks were bombed out of their graves in subsequent attacks; some of them buried and exhumed several times by bombs. And as the medical personnel became reduced, it was not so easy to find substitutes to handle lepers, even dead ones. Or easy to relocate the nearly 2,500 survivors, left homeless by the attacks.

Other successes of a similar nature include the Thanh Hoa tuberculosis hospital and research center, reduced to rubble or roofless, windowless ruins in two major attacks, by 40 and 50 jet bombers respectively, on July 8 and August 21, 1965. Not to mention the Old People's Home near the Sam Son health resort, destroyed to the last building.

Before I arrived in North Vietnam, I thought when I heard that a school or hospital had been bombed, that probably one or two bombs intended for a bridge or railway siding had fallen by mistake on a school or hospital. Not because I gave the Pentagon planners any credit for scruples in such matters, but because there seems no purpose in such attacks. But it was soon clear that there has been a systematic and deliberate attack against schools, hospitals, sanatoriums, and most strictly defined civilian targets, protected by International Law. There were sustained attacks, day after day, long after Hanoi had protested that such and such hospital or sanitarium or school had been attacked, until nothing but rubble remained.



By breakdowns of casualty figures given to me in various provinces, it is clear that most of those killed have been the aged, the very sick, and the very young. "Most of our losses have been due to our own subjectivity," said one provincial official. "We really didn't believe that they would launch all-out attacks against our schools and hospitals-and most of our losses were there." I did not see a single stone or brick school or hospital anywhere in the countryside which has not either been bombed into rubble or abandoned in expectation of being bombed.

In official communiques it is "warehouses" and "barracks" that have been destroyed. Is U.S. intelligence really so bad? For the last 12 years military officers of Canada have moved through the North Vietnamese countryside together with their Indian and Polish counterparts in the International Control Commission. Giving the U.S. and Canada the benefit of the doubt that the Americans did not ask for and the Canadians did not volunteer data on military targets, it is difficult to think that considerations of delicacy would inhibit the Americans from asking certain of their Canadian counterparts for a check before committing such various violations of International law as systematic bombing of the weakest and most helpless human beings. Anyway, identification of the hospitals and sanitariums was available through Vietnamese illustrated publications.

Against "real" military targets the victories have not been all that "notable" as I will show in a subsequent article.

(When the article becomes available we will reprint it, ed.)

Survivors of U.S. Bombing of Huong Phuc School Speak
(Reprinted from Vietnam Courier(Hanoi) March 10, 1966)

(At a press conference in Hanoi on March 1, 1966, the D.R.V. Ministry of Education denounced once again U.S.Air Force crimes against educational establishments in North Vietnam. Since August 1965, 134 of these have been attacked. One of the most barbarous bombings was that of the Huong Phuc junior secondary school, Huong Khe district of Ha Tinh province on February 9 last, killing 33 pupils from 7-15 years of age and wounding 24 others and a teacher.

The attendants at the conference, 150 or so Vietnamese and foreign journalists and correspondents, had the opportunity to hear Thai Van Nham, a teacher and Nguyen Thi Mao, a school girl relate in detail the U.S. planes' attack on the school at Huong Phuc.

Editor)

Teacher Thai Van Nham:

"Our school was originally located at Huong Lac, but the round-the-clock bombings by the Americans compelled us to move it to the village of Huong Phuc. Quite a pretty building was erected in a garden thanks to the inhabitants' contributions in money, material and manpower. Covered by green foliage, it had fairly good anti-air-raid shelters and communication trenches all around. Most of the pupils came from great distances and every day had to take certain country roads often attacked by enemy planes. One of them had four narrow escapes. In spite of this they regularly attended their lessons and this was something which moved me very much indeed. All of us, masters and pupils alike shared one will and one hope: making our school an exemplary one in every respect.

"That day of February 9 began normally.

"The first period was that of mathematics taught by comrade Minh. The bombing of a rather distant place interrupted it. As usual, watching and alarm-sounding were properly ensured and the pupils went to their shelters in good order.

"I was in charge of the second period which was geography and from this we went on to composition. I asked my children to portray a peasant tilling a rice field. I asked questions to help them practise oral composition, and my third question was; 'How can we picture the appearance of our peasants?' Can Thi Hoa, a girl said; 'The peasant has a smiling face, and there are beads of sweat on his brow...'

"All of a sudden the alarm was urgently given. My pupils picked up their things in next to no time and I ordered them to hurry off to the trenches. It was too late, I heard the roaring of the jets flying towards our school. Several bombs exploded some seven hundred meters away. Not all the pupils could reach the shelters. A second group, of maybe twenty, came ans hurled more bombs on a place not twenty meters from the school. The explosions were terrific, wrapping the whole hamlet in a huge cloud of dust. "Keep calm!", as soon as I shouted a bomb was dropped right in the middle of our classroom, followed by several others around me, burying it under a heap of ruins. I tried to the best of my strength to emerge from the shelter. Torn books and copy books, broken furniture, sand and mud were flying over my head; around me the children were crying. I witnessed a heart-breaking sight: some had their heads cut off and thrown a dozen meters away whereas the corpses of others were cut to pieces. Some bodies hung on the branches with blood dripping continually. Thereupon many people, nurses and militiamen came to our aid. The succeeded in unearthing many pupils. A few of them, after vomiting blood, died in the arms of their relatives. In one trench they were buried, still huddled together. One died with her books and copy-books pressed against her breast. Another body lay near a bag containing food, for many of them had had no time to eat before they left for school and had to bring their lunch. I was extremely pained to see that a few could not find out or identify the bodies of their children, brothers or sisters.

"In all 33 of my pupils were killed and 24 others wounded. You must realise what a shock this was to me, a man who had set the training of a generation as the goal of his life, two only remained out of the fifteen best boys and girls.

"I have lost several Con Co fighters-to-be. We had educated them in the heroic spirit of the defenders of our Con Co island and they had displayed great ability in organizing themselves and in trying to avoid American bombing and strafing on the way to and from school. Certain old age fathers have lost the prop of the children who used to help them walk around their houses. Certain mothers whose eyes have dimmed will remember with a pang in their hearts their sons or daughters when they have to grope their way to the shelters that the latter had built for them. Many of those who had had to dig foxholes to preserve their young lives from Johnson's bombs are no longer with us.

"As a teacher and survivor of the savage bombing of Huong Phuc school, I ask you pressmen to tell all men of conscience in the world that our school, like many others in Vietnam, was the chosen target of American fighter planes."

Little Nguyen Thi Mao, 5th Grade:

On February 8, in the evening I went to bed earlier than usual. The next morning I went and helped my mother dig up potatoes. My mother is a widow, she has told me that my father was in the resistance war against the French when she was with child and he never returned. By noon I was back home and lunched with my mother. My friends Nhung, Ky, Thu and Linh came and off we went together to school. The lessons of that day interested me very much. In the geography period we had a heated discussion on why, "the earth round as it is can stand still" A friend of mine claimed that it had an axis, another said, half seriously and half jokingly that it was supported by a huge pole. The airplanes came in the middle of the literature lesson.

"When master Nham ordered us into the trenches I rushed to a shelter that Na, Dan and I had made for ourselves. Seeing that it was too near the classroom, I shouted to my friends to run a little farther. They had no time to do so. As for myself I had hardly made a few steps when a first then a second cluster of bombs exploded. After I had jumped into a trench, several others were dropped right on the school-rooms. I was blown up into the air and fell down again and was buried up to my neck. That hurt me very much on the chest and on the back. I opened my eyes and looked around for Na and Dan. Both were completely buried out of sight. I saw my two dearest friends, Nhung and Ky blasted out of their foxholes and lie insensible on their edges. I burst into tears and called loudly for our masters to help me so that I might go and dig out my mates. The teacher in charge of the 6th form carried me on his back to a first-aid station. Here I saw several rows of corpses. I felt exhausted and had a fever, the nurse gave me an injection and then wrapped me in a cover. The militiamen brought me to a car which took me to the hospital.

"I was in the same room with master Nham, very happy to see him alive. Because of a bomb blast he has had pain in the chest and on his back. Phung had his right leg very badly torn and it had to be cut off and so he could no longer frolic about. I felt very sorry and pitied Phung who got shocked out of her senses and now spoke, cried and laughed all day long. She refused to touch her food.

"The American airplanes killed many of my friends, among the Nguyen and Ky. I still remember very well that day of February 9. By noon, they had called at my house and we went to school together. We kidded and joked all along the way. Before the literature lesson we locked fingers to promise to one another that we would go together the next day.

"I can tell you many other things. Now our school has been rebuilt and anti-air-raid shelters too. My friends who survived the bombing attend their lessons as they did before. I have come here with the 'uncles' to tell you and all those I meet about the crimes the American pilots committed against us. I wish to ask you and all 'uncles' to do your best so that we school-children may study in peace."

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Vietnam is presented as a vehicle through which the Vietnamese of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam and of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam may speak for themselves. It contains extracts from documents published in Vietnam, together with private writings of Vietnamese citizens and eye-witness accounts of the war as seen from "the other side". We present Vietnam in the belief that no war can be adequately understood from the reports of only one side, and that by providing this other view we may help to enlarge American perceptions of this tragic conflict.

On the basis of our total reading and our values we who assemble these documents do have a position, which we wish to make explicit.

1. We think it probable that the National Liberation Front has the support of a majority of the people of South Vietnam, and is waging a genuine war of national liberation from American control and from the control of a puppet government set up and maintained by the Americans and by a small and decreasing minority of the Vietnamese people.

2. Similarly we feel that the government of the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam has the support of a majority of its people.

3. We hold that the United States is fighting in Vietnam illegally, violating the United Nations Charter, the Geneva Agreements of 1954, and its own constitution.

4. We consider that American actions in this war, especially during the past year with the bombing of North Vietnam, and even more now with the use of toxic chemicals and gases, and the use of napalm bombing against the people of South Vietnam whom who purport to be "defending" from "aggression" constitutes mass slaughter which commands our condemnation.

5. We also feel that the peace proposals of the United States do not offer a just settlement since they do not even include direct negotiations with the National Liberation Front, let alone the admission that the United States had no right in Vietnam in the first place and has no claim to a voice in its future. The recent massive demonstrations against the Ky government have amply illustrated how lacking in popular support are both the American command in Vietnam and the puppets whom it upholds.

VIETNAM is published by a sub-committee of the Faculty-Student Committee to Stop the War in Vietnam at the University of Oregon. Responsibility for its publication rests solely with its editors. We wish to make it clear that we do not always necessarily agree with either the substance or the style of the articles we print in VIETNAM, but feel that it is valuable

to present the writings of Vietnamese with minimal editorial alteration.

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NORTH VIETNAMESE COMMENTARY: DISMISSAL OF GENERAL THI FROM THE SOUTHERN JUNTA

(From Vietnam Courier, Hanoi, March 24, 1966).

Once again the Saigon puppets have cut one another's throat. General Ky got rid of his rival, General Thi. We shall not dwell on their "merits", both of them being of the same kidney, and both belonging to the same set, that of adventurers who were in the pay of the French colonialists, then of the Yankees. They are only "strong men" in so far as they are straw men: it suffices that the French colonialists or the U.S. "advisers" give them a dollar, a tommy gun and a bomber, and they are ready to murder their compatriots to the last. . .

Drawing experience from the events in South Vietnam, General Maxwell Taylor said that in the absence of a firm local government the Americans could not succeed (UPI, March 10, 1966). Once Ky boasted that he had ordered his planes to drop millions of leaflets on the liberated zones of South Vietnam. An American observer then commented: "How odd of a government to contact its people through leaflets distributed from aircraft!"

How could such a government be stable? Just ask any expert on Vietnamese affairs how many governments have seen the light in Saigon since Diem's downfall, he won't be able to tell you for certain the number....

Ten generals have plotted the ousting of Thi, but this is not an evidence that they are of one mind. Today, they swear allegiance to Ky, but tomorrow if the wheel of fortune turns they will be the first to kick him out. That is why their main job is to manoeuvre behind the scenes. A military junta in the service of a foreign power is by nature divided, the only connection being the lust for power (and dollars). Should a "boss" fall, a string of colonels and other officers of the same stripe will lose their ranks; and the ensuing eddies cause continuous upsetting in the puppet army, which is demoralized even before the battle begins.

The town folk who suffocate under an inhuman regime have vigorously reacted. Strikes and demonstrations follow one another, aggravating the instability of the regime. Of course, some fishers in troubled waters try to make use of the popular

movement, but this only increases the confusion.

As for Yankee imperialism, it is determined to create a never-to-be-found government ready at its beck and call and, at the same time, esteemed by the people, for it needs at any cost a windscreen for its neo-colonial war. Many recipes have been tried: a civilian government, military dictatorship, a troika of generals, a civilian-military trndem... to no avail. U.S. secret services has each their man or team.

The presence of an ubiquitous American expeditionary corps sheds the last figleaf which covers up the traitors' betrayal. U.S. command does not even inform the Saigon generals of its operational plans. Anti-Americanism is spreading among the ranks of the puppet army while the Yankees' most zealous valets are compelled, at least for form's sake, to show irritation against American high-handed behavior.

But for the Vietnamese people, Ky or anybody else, a general or a civilian, will always be a quisling, so long as American troops remain in South Vietnam.

MORE BARBAROUS THAN HITLERITE FASCISTS (From Vietnam Courier, March 24,1966).

Since the beginning of this year, world public opinion has continually condemned the U.S. armed forces for using toxic chemicals in South Vietnam.

(There follow quotations from condemnations of the use of these chemicals from the World Federation of Democratic Youth, Renmin Ribao, (Peking) the Soviet News Agency Tass, the Foreign Ministry of the Korean Democratic People's Republic, the Albanian Foreign Ministry, the Foreign Ministry of the German Democratic Republic, the German Academy of Sciences, and Burmese, Japanese and Hungarian newspapers - ed.)

On February 3, the paper Akahata (Japan) disclosed that the U.S. imperialists were buying ever greater quantities of war equipment from Japan, including poison gas and napalm bombs, to widen the war of aggression against the Vietnamese. The amount of war equipment sold by Japan to the U.S. for use in South Vietnam was worth 7.7 million dollars in November 1965, as against only 1.2 million dollars in January of the same year.

Even in the United States, Hofstadler, member of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, recently sent a letter to the New York Herald Tribune expressing his approval of the views held by progressive Americans, condemning the U.S. barbarous use of toxic chemicals in the aggressive war in South Vietnam. He declared that he fully shared the

MUTINY OF A PUPPET ARMORED REGIMENT (From Vietnam Courier,
March 31, 1966).

A revolt by many patriotic officers and men of the puppet First Armored Regiment stationed at Phu Cuong, Thu Dau Mot province, took place at 7.30 p.m. on March 23, according to Liberation Press Agency.

The patriotic insurgents seized hold of the position right from the start. They were supported and assisted by the local people and an L.A.F. unit.

After succeeding in seizing a number of armored cars, they launched a lightning and fierce attack and in next to no time wiped out the 1st Armored Regiment Command Post. Afterwards, they assaulted and destroyed the whole group of M.113 armored cars, a group of M.41 tanks and over 10 other military vehicles.

The mutineers then attacked many encampments of the C.P. of puppet Division 5 and Regiment 8, destroyed many fortifications, killed the die-hards and put the enemy to flight.

After the successful revolt, the mutineers left for the South Vietnam N.L.F.'s ranks, and were warmly welcomed by the local Front's committee and people.

The cause of their mutiny was, they said, the presence of over 200,000 troops of the U.S. and its satellites and the Saigon rulers' harsh repression and barbarous massacre of their compatriots including their relatives and close friends, and the contempt shown by the U.S. aggressors towards them and their mates. Therefore, they said, there was no other alternative for them but to revolt, cross over to the ranks of the N.L.F., and join in the struggle against the U.S. and its lackeys, thus contributing to liberating South Vietnam and setting up an independent neutral coalition government.

To conceal this failure the U.S. psychological warfare service in Saigon spread the rumor that it was only a L.A.F. attack, which had been repulsed (AF March 24).

The insurgent troops and L.A.F. destroyed 30 tanks and M.113 armored cars, overran two posts, badly mauled 1 civil guard company, killed or wounded 300 enemy troops including 200 soldiers of the First Armored Brigade. The mutineers captured a 27-ton tank and drove it to the liberated areas.

NORTH VIETNAM 939 U.S. Aircraft Downed

On March 24, 1966, U.S. planes raided Quang Binh and Nghe An.

The armed forces and inhabitants of these provinces

downed seven jets and captured an American airman, thus bringing to 339 the number of U.S. planes downed over the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

In the 50 days between January 19 and March 10, 1966, in the provinces of Quang Ngai, Binh Dinh and Phu Yen in South Vietnam, the National Liberation Front claims that it wiped out 25,760 enemy troops (including 9,320 Yankees), shot down 453 aircraft, and destroyed or damaged over 200 military vehicles including 49 M.113s.

LITERATURE AND ARTS BLOSSOM IN SOUTH VIETNAM LIBERATED AREAS

In the thick of the dry season offensive of the Pentagon, together with the victories of our South Vietnamese compatriots, we hear of the awarding of 54 Nguyen Dinh Chieu literature and arts prizes. This event fills our entire people with joy. It also contrasts sharply with the Saigon mercenary generals' vociferations and the use of gas by the G.I.'s in their extermination programs, like light with darkness. However, it is by no means a surprise for those who have been following our Southern countrymen's literature since the outburst of the Yankee barbarities.

For years indeed we have been receiving from South Vietnam many songs, poems, short stories, novels, films... which are true professions of faith in the peoples' victory and the future of mankind. That these works see the light under the bombing of B52s and the lethal spraying of toxic chemicals is a fact as alarming as significant. And it is not a figure of speech to say that the South Vietnamese people fight with a song on their lips.

The greatest quality of these creations is to give us a close-up of the war and help us to understand how it is possible for those whom the Pentagon strategists thought would make short work of to say a victorious "Nay!" Many Nguyen Van Trois and Tran Van Dangs daily emerge from this wonderful struggle amidst napalm and rockets, and even in front of the firing squad. And the children too know how to behave like heroes.

Progressive mankind has paid them tribute. It is not fortuitous that Nguyen Van Troi's portrait is hung beside those of Patrice Lumumba and Camillo Cienfuegos at the frontispiece of the Havana Tri-Continental Conference building. It is not a mere chance that Vietnam constitutes the front line of the people's anti-imperialist struggle and that her cause is so vigorously upheld in the United States itself.

Unflinching patriotism, unswerving revolutionary optimism, such is the main content of the prize-winning works which are remarkable by the freshness of their inspiration and the terseness of their expression. Truth has no need of make-up.



The blossoming of literature and the arts in South Vietnam proves that only a revolutionary cause is fecund. It is not in the suffocating atmosphere of the occupied towns where U.S. weapons are rattling that a truly national literature can bloom. The colorless by-products of the Yankee foul literature supply the evidence that in the artistic field victory also belongs to the Resistance forces.

(Vietnam Courier, March 31, 1966).

HEAVENS AND EARTH (By Joris Ivens, Evenement, February 1966)

...I was in Thanh Hoa, between Hanoi and the 17th parallel, near an oft-bombed strategic bridge. I met there a young woman who seemed to me the very image of Vietnam. I was in a school turned into a kind of lodging, and there suddenly I saw this girl with long hair and was told, "She is our heroine; she lives in the village." She talked to me about her work and her fight against U.S. aircraft. She was a member of a mobile brigade, and the planes had come and attacked the bridge. She had learnt to shoot down planes by aiming at paper dummies. She knew that to carry out an effective bombing, a plane could not remain at high altitude, that it would have to dive. Aim at the plane's nose and belly, she had been told, just when it is about to pull on its joy-stick, for at that moment it is most vulnerable and can be shot down with a mere infantry rifle.

And she did just that. It was not easy to stay calm when the plane swoops down on you who are at that moment within the firing range of all the machine guns. Then she saw from the corner of her eyes that one of the planes was ablaze and soon crashed on the ground. She did not think it was she who had done that. But she had done it. She had vanquished the heavens.

This is Vietnam: the war between Heavens and Earth.

She was the Earth. She lived there, in the village, with her parents and grandparents. Her brother was in college. And an unknown American came from 6,000 kilometres away to try to hurl death on her family from the blues, without even wanting her land. He only wanted to kill. This, she couldn't understand.

Yes, this country is at war, but not in the way people think. Life is apparently normal. One feels that the people have two tasks: the factory, the office, the field; and then the war, or preparation for the war. Everywhere, there are mobile brigades of volunteers. Everyday, one sees Vietnamese learning discipline and efficacy. When the alert sounds, men and women calmly stay at their combat posts, waiting for the planes to come. When they come, the people fight them, and when the fight is over, they go back to their fields. One feels in them a terrible habit of the war.

When one is there, one sees the absurdity of the

Americans. This idiotic refusal to see where true strength lies. The people can't be robbed of their land, for they are there, it's their home. Even if the Americans came, they would not be able to stay. They have nothing to do here. They would need to plant an American behind every Vietnamese, and that would mean 30 million Americans. But even that wouldn't do, eventually. Each tree, each house, each stone would be turned into a trap for the Americans...

VIETNAM One out of Ten Inhabitants Dead. By Georges Chaffard, L'Express, April 4-10, 1966, pp. 50-51.

(In this article, a noted French reporter assesses the recent demonstrations and riots against the Ky government differently from either the Johnson administration or the National Liberation Front. We are translating his article in order to provide as wide a coverage as possible of these events. VIETNAM, No. 6 will contain more recent comments on the disturbances from the point of view of the D.R.V. and of the N.L.F.)

Prisoner of a crowd of fishermen and students who led him along on a motor-cycle, General Pham Xuan Chieu, third personage of the State, did his best to remain dignified beneath the double-talk. Having arrived in Hue last Friday to make peace with those demonstrating against the government, he had immediately been encircled in the middle of the public highway. He was not, however, manhandled.

For in Central Vietnam, periodic demonstrations of hostility against the central authorities have more of the nature of riotous protests than of revolution. On Wednesday, the crowd unleashed itself against the Consul of the United States. But Mr. Thompson consoled himself with the thought that even if the demonstrations were without tenderness for the Americans, they were not thereby pro-Communist; the demonstrators in fact took care to differentiate themselves from the Viet Cong.

In Saigon, the same day, students from the Technical High School passed a resolution calling on "the two parties interested in the war to find a reasonable solution to achieve peace with liberty and independence, without constraints coming either from the Communists or from any foreign power whatsoever."

Mistrust

This is exactly the path which millions of South Vietnamese would take if they were allowed to express themselves in a freely constituted assemblage under international control. "The Americans as Friends but not as Patrons" - these were, again, on Thursday morning, the theme of slogans carried by a thousand students who demonstrated in Saigon.

It is, however, in the two largest cities of Central

Vietnam, Hue and Danang, that anti-government and anti-American demonstrations have been most violent in the week just past. They are inspired by Buddhists of the central region, who are more combative than those of Saigon. Their secret goal is not so much to eliminate General Nguyen Cao Ky from power, as to impose the institution of a union government which would be predominantly civilian. Such a government, which would be largely representative of the townspeople and of the hundreds of thousands of refugees who have fled from the combat-zones, would then be able to enter into negotiations with the Viet Cong, without however renouncing the guarantee of American protection.

But such projects, to which large numbers of Catholics would rally, have received nothing but mistrust so far in Washington. Nevertheless, the National Liberation Front would scarcely be in a position to reject such a compromise if it were proposed by countrymen who had the support of the urban masses. Although far from surrender, the Viet Cong have nevertheless ceased to advance and must take account of the weariness of the rural populations whom they control.

The Vietnamese people's capacity to "take" the sufferings of a war of twenty years' duration is a case-study for sociologists and moral philosophers. Since December 19, 1946, Vietnam has lived almost without interruption in a state of war. Frequently, the sound of battle reaches right into Saigon.

B52s

It was 9.04 last Monday when window panes suddenly began to tremble in the capital. A vast mushroom of smoke rose into the heavens. Twenty kilometres from the city, giant B52 bombers were completely razing an area one and a half kilometres long and eight hundred metres broad. The U.S. Air Force's objective: a Vietcong factory for under-water mines.

Last Wednesday, in another sector, north of Tayninh on the Cambodian border, those few inhabitants who survived underwent their ninth B52 raid in four days. The objective: the "general area" in which the Vietcong were presumed to be hiding. At this rate, the war in Vietnam has become an enormous massacre.

A document recently distributed by the North Vietnamese representative in France establishes a total of about one million for civilian and military persons who have been victims of the acts of "the American imperialists and their lackeys": 170,000 killed, and 800,000 wounded or disabled "as a result of torture or bombing".

On the other hand, if we recapitulate the partial calculations received from a variety of American and South Vietnamese sources (and if we follow what Republican Representative Clement Zablocki has just announced to be the general practice, of reckoning five or six civilians to have died for every one Vietcong who is killed) - we arrive at a much higher total for the

victims of both camps: namely, about one million five hundred thousand, two thirds of whom are civilians. This, for a country of 14½ million inhabitants, represents a toll of destruction of ten per cent.

U.S. SOLDIERS WANT TO QUIT VIETNAM (From People's Democracy, April 24, 1966, Calcutta, India).

In a recent interview with the U.S. weekly The Baltimore Afro-American, Bosworth, an American Air Force Sergeant, said that "The Viet Cong (South Vietnam National Front for Liberation) are going to win it. They are masters of guerilla warfare."

Bosworth has spent eight months at the Da Nang airbase in South Vietnam and is now in Baltimore on a short leave.

"I have never been so unhappy about any assignment since I have been in the service," Bosworth confessed. He said that he would try to get an assignment to another area.

The U.S. Sergeant revealed that "the nightly talk in the barracks is about one thing: everybody wants to go home. If they had a chance to say something about it, they would, too, if they felt it would do any good."

Many Negro soldiers "just want to get out" of South Vietnam, he added.

Bosworth also admitted that the U.S. aggressive army was being condemned by the South Vietnamese people. He said, "We say we are helping their country, but they resent our presence, and want the Americans out of their country."

VIETNAMESE STUDENTS' STRUGGLE (From Vietnamese Studies, Hanoi, 1966, pages 71-73).

Nowadays, the cities - the last strongholds of Yankee imperialism and its lackeys - are no longer their safe rear. The city population has risen up against their cruel and perfidious rule, in a powerful and continuous movement.

In Saigon, on January 4, 1965, students and pupils held a meeting and a parade. Between January 21 and 25, a series of school, market and factory strikes took place. Tens of thousands of people demonstrated outside the U.S. Embassy and damaged the frontage of Information Hall, shouting, "Down with U.S. Imperialism!", "Down with Taylor!" and "Down with the Puppets!", etc. From Saigon, Hue and Danang, the movement quickly spread to other cities. Starting in January, 1965, it did not end until March 1965.

The assassination of the Buddhist student Nguyen Huu Thoan in Hue on April 3, 1965, triggered off a political campaign lasting several days, from April 4 to 8, in which thousands of students, pupils and others joined. News of this event resounded

over South Vietnam and did not fail to dismay the puppets, who were already demoralised.

Three coups d'Etat were staged in the space of six months (the first half of 1965): the replacement of Tran Van Huong by Phan Huy Quat; the abortive putsch against the latter by the Thuo-Phat group; the coup de force against Phan Huy Quat by Nguyen Cao Ky. But the substitution of one puppet for another in no way changed the nature of the regime, which became more reactionary and more precarious than ever before. Soon after his advent Ky had to proceed with the recruitment of 160,000 conscripts, on orders from the Americans. He met with the stiff opposition of the youth in this mobilization.

In late August 1965, while the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys suffered heavy defeats, especially in Trung-bo, and while their inner contradictions became more acute - Cabot Lodge replaced Taylor but Ky and Thieu were at loggerheads with Lodge who tried every means to eliminate them - the students and pupils stepped up their struggle in Hue, Danang and Saigon, thought by the aggressors to be their safest areas.

In Hue, on the occasion of the 2nd anniversary of the massacre of Buddhists, between August 20 and 22, 2,000 youth, pupils and students joined with other citizens in uninterrupted street demonstrations. On August 22, 1965, the Hue students made a proclamation, demanding the "overthrow of the military government of Thieu-Ky". Commenting on this, the American news agency UPI said that this proclamation was the culmination of a whole series of student activities in Hue. This struggle lasted until August 26. The British news agency Reuter for its part commented, "The meetings are similar to those which previously led to the fall of Nguyen Khanh and of the government of Tran Van Huong."

The demonstrations in Hue met with enthusiastic response from other localities: Quangtri, Danang and Saigon. Students continued to march the streets with the slogans, "U.S. Troops Quit South Vietnam!", "Down with the Thieu-Ky Government!" and "Down With Conscription". The Thieu-Ky clique had to hold a "secret meeting" in order to deliberate on counter-measures, and "U.S. Army officers ordered their men to keep away from demonstration areas" (U.P.I.) The might of the revolutionary movement of the students and pupils thus brought the forces of repression to failure.

It went on gaining strength and scope particularly on August 29 and 30, 1965.

On August 29, 4,000 youth, students and pupils of Hue together with other citizens demonstrated without a stop to demand the overthrow of the Thieu-Ky clique. Pedicab drivers all over the city struck in support of the struggle.

In Danang, on the evening of August 29, many youth and students drove through the city on tricycles calling on the people to go on strike. Next morning, more than 4,000 Danang pupils and

others went on strike.

Meanwhile, in Saigon, students held meetings and organized demonstrations against the "fascist conscription law" of the Thieu-Ky clique and the war moves taken by Cabot Lodge.

Politicians in the Americans' pay (the bonze Thich Tam Chau among others) are trying to turn the students' struggle to their own advantage. But there is not the shadow of a doubt that the movement will continue to grow. No force on earth can put out the patriotic and revolutionary flame of the South Vietnamese students.

THE VICTOR

By Nguyen Duc Thuan

(Editor's note: The full version of this autobiographical account by a South Vietnamese revolutionary leader was published in Vietnamese Studies, Hanoi, in December 1965. VIETNAM will publish excerpts in this and subsequent issues. -Ed.)

I stopped my Ford by the main gate of the Saigon Zoo and got down. It was about 5 p.m.

I had an appointment with a liaison agent who was to brief me about contacts established to ensure my safe journey to X., where I had been urgently summoned.

The Zoo was thronged with weekend visitors. A couple and their baby alighted from their motor-scooter and passed in front of me. I smiled at them. The man smiled back in response and maybe to show sympathy for a lonely visitor to the zoo on a Sunday afternoon. His wife, after taking a few steps, looked behind and smiled, the baby in her arms staring at me with its wide, dark eyes.

I did not know then that for eight years after that meeting I should not again see such a kind smile, and that through those eight years I should be longing for the loving eyes of a child...

I passed rapidly through the area of the tigers and bears and stopped before an aviary to see if there was any danger at our rendez-vous. Submerged in the crowd of Saigonese talking and laughing merrily, for a few seconds I almost forgot that I was carrying out my activities in most dangerous circumstances.

"Mr. Thuan?" asked somebody close behind me.

I turned round, replying calmly, "No, Sir, you must be mistaken." But the question immediately came to my mind, "Who is he? How did he know my name? The enemy?"

The stranger drew still closer to me:

"Please come with me to have a talk!"

"What could we talk about?" I answered with a smile, feigning to be extremely surprised.

"Please come!"

I stepped back, shaking my head in refusal. Thereupon the man put one finger into my belt, preventing me from moving on.

The thought dashed into my mind that I should rush into the crowd nearby to escape. But one glance showed me that I was surrounded by drawn pistols.

Tam, conspicuously an opium addict with his hollow cheeks and bluish lips, forced me through the zoo, his finger still hooked into my belt. I was taken to a sumptuous villa in the heart of the zoo, and pushed into a reception room where a number of hired thugs were chatting idly. One of them coolly remarked:

"A new guest!"

I sat down on a bench, telling myself, "Under the French I tasted rough handling by secret police agents of the calibre of Laneque, Lutz, Tran Sinh. You fellows cannot do better than your foster-fathers!" When Tam beckoned to me, I calmly followed him, still wearing my sun-glasses, crossed a pebble-covered courtyard, went up to the first floor, and entered a room...

*

It was the Interrogation Room in the quarters of the U.S.-Diem Central Intelligence Agency, a notorious slaughter house in South Vietnam, situated in the heart of the Saigon Zoo. Later, I learned that it was called "P.Quarante-deux" (Post No. 42).

The room was sparsely furnished: a large desk, a set of long high shelves for files, a big mirror, two arm-chairs facing each other before the desk.

An intelligence officer named Luu Thanh Huu told me to sit down on one of the chairs. The fellow, who had a large scar on his cheek-bone, was formerly a cadre of our youth movement in Saigon, but betrayed us and became a second lieutenant in the French army.... He was under puppet general Hinh but supported Diem, and had a narrow escape when enraged Hinh shot at him. The scar was an indelible stigma of treason, of vile changing of masters.

Huu tiredly asked me:

"What did you come to the Zoo for?"

"To get a girl."

Huu raised his eyebrows and drawled out nonchalantly, "Where do you live?"



"In the countryside." (My answers were in accordance with the inscriptions in my pass).

He looked into the mirror hanging at an angle on the wall behind me and asked: "What have you come to Saigon for?"

"Oh, to study the price of duck eggs," I replied. My answer came quite readily. As I saw in imagination the fields of Thanhphu village where I had got my pass, another image sprang into my mind: during the Resistance against the French colonialists, there was a comrade in charge of our finance who had got money by breeding ducks. Almost before I was prepared for it, the two facts quickly came together to bring forth the above answer.

Nodding slightly, Huu asked: "Are there many people at your place?"

"I live alone in the fields, breeding ducks."

"So?" Huu took my hand, turned it and looked at the palm. "Just to know," he said, "I'm no palmist." Then he told me to pull up my trousers and, bending down, he scratched my ankle with the nail of his little finger. He wanted to see if my hands were callous and if I was really breeding ducks: if a man frequently wades in muddy water, his feet show white dust when scratched. Unfortunately, there was no dust at all on the place he scratched.

He went on asking, "When did you come to Saigon?"

"Yesterday evening."

He stood up and was going to put his hand into my trousers pocket, but I would not let him search me. I myself pulled out my wallet and handkerchief and handed them over to him. There remained only my ignition key which I pushed down to the bottom of my pocket.

"Where do you stay in Saigon?" Huu asked me.

"At the Quoc Dan Hotel."

"How many floors has this hotel?"

"I didn't pay attention to that."

"What is your room number?"

"I paid no attention..."

Twice during the questioning I asked to go to the W.C. and each time I was taken to the flush toilet next door. With the thugs standing close to me, I could not get rid of my ignition key. And when I was sitting face to face with Huu, I was disturbed by a single thought: where to hide the key? Freed from this key, I should have nothing left on me which could reveal my social connections, I should become an abstract person, without a past, solitary, having no acquaintance. The enemy could not know anything besides what was

written in my pass.

I put my hand in my pocket, grasping the key. When Huu glanced in the mirror, I quickly pulled out my hand and hid the key in the interstice between the back and the cushion of the armchair. Huu did not see my movement, and went on asking:

"Did you show your papers at the hotel?"

"I came at night, it was nearly 9 p.m. when I finished bathing and went to the theatre; it was already very late when I came back, so I gave the manager ten piasters, telling him to spare me the trouble of presenting papers and to let me have a good sleep."

I did not know what caused the key to leave the hiding place little by little and to drop finally on the paved floor with a metallic noise. Huu promptly picked it up.

"Yours?" "No," I calmly replied.

"But where does this key come from?"

"If it were mine, you would have found it on searching me."

He did not know that it was an ignition key, so he paid little attention to the matter. At that moment, Tam came in with a declaration form, telling me to fill it in. I wrote down the same things as in my pass. Name: Pham Ngoc Think - Parents: Dead - Wife and children: No...

"Now," said Huu, "the law forbids us to detain anyone for more than twenty-four hours without a reason. Give us the names of three persons who would give guarantee for you, then you'll be released."

"I breed ducks all alone in the fields. I know nobody."

The thugs stared at me with angry eyes. They ordered me to take off my shoes, socks, belt, watch and sun glasses. Then, right in front of me, these representatives of the law divided my belongings among themselves.

I was told to rest on the divan, then the whole gang left the room, leaving the door ajar. I feigned to sleep but opened my eyes a little, looking for a way to escape. Once, later on, after a beating I heard my torturer say, "Again feigning sleep while trying to escape!" I knew then that I had been spied on after the thugs left me following the first meeting.

*

The next morning, I was summoned by Ton That Di to the interrogation room. He invited me to sit down in an arm-chair and to drink orange juice. Di was a most overbearing fellow who was continually reprimanding his subordinates. He was the superintendent of P.42 only in name, as the place was in fact directly controlled by

men such as Ngo Dinh Nhu, Tran Kim Tuyen, Major Nhan of the President's office, and placed under the direction of U.S. "advisers".

Assuming a polite attitude, Ton That Dinh enquired about my age, my family, my health. The joining his hands he respectfully said, "You are invited to come to the President's palace... The President would like to see you!"

I was flabbergasted. Why such a fantastic suggestion? What did they want? I never suspected that they could go that far in trying to buy me over. I did not know then that a traitor had told the enemy all about my activities over many years.

I shook my head, saying, "A simple citizen like me has no reason to meet the President. I have nothing to tell him."

"No, we invite you to come!" Smiling, Di lowered his voice as if to convey to me something very secret and important:

"The President is forming a new cabinet, he wants you to join his cabinet, to cooperate with him."

Of course, I refused, saying that a peasant like me knows nothing about politics. Thinking that I was bargaining, Di said:

"Oh, you can choose any ministry you like!"

I endeavoured to explain: "You must take me for some important man. I have always been a farmer, and now you ask me to participate in the government!"

"It would be a great honour," Di insisted, "for the South to have a man like you to help in the government. Please, do cooperate with us!" Then, half joking, half serious, he added, "When you are a minister, you need not go to the Zoo to find a girl. You stay at home and will have as many beautiful women as you like."...

My interlocuter showed as much insistence in proposing as I in refusing, and it was almost noon when our interview ended. Finally, Di stood up:

"It's because we know quite well who you are that we are inviting you to collaborate with us. But if you fear reprisals by the party, or to be called a traitor, we'll ask you to do another thing for us. Only this: you'll come and live in a villa, you'll be provided with servants, cars and the most modern amenities. You'll do anything you like, go anywhere you want, we'll provide you with bodyguards. You'll receive a monthly salary of 20,000 piasters, with additional bonuses if you do good work. The only thing you have to do is listen to the daily radio broadcasts and to appraise the situation for us, that's all! Thus, you cannot be called a traitor to your party, and you cause no harm to anybody. We guarantee complete secrecy; only one liaison man will come into contact with you. Do you accept?"

"I do not," I said, "What is a radio? I don't know anything

about it."

Di was baffled. He bit his lips and left. In the evening, he came back again, proposing that I should join this or that ministry, but I remained adamant. At last the words Di had hitherto refrained from uttering burst forth:

"All right. Tonight, you'll learn about our regime."

... I was ready for their most atrocious tortures. I was ready to go to hell and face the ferocious monsters. From that moment, each hair, each bit of flesh, each drop of blood in my body no longer belonged to me. My whole person belonged to the revolution. The revolution had entrusted me with taking care of myself, and I was determined to loyally safeguard the property of the revolution that I was.

That evening, they did not give me anything to eat. The "honey" stage was over. The "blood" stage was beginning. I was pretty well prepared. The life-and-death struggle had come. I would never be defeated by them!

*

It was about 6 p.m. I was again summoned to the interrogation room. To that place I was to return many times.

Without saying a word, the thugs drew my arms behind my back, firmly tied them at the elbows, then threw the end of the rope over a door and pulled me up. My body was now dangling above the floor, my head bowed down against my chest. I was beaten by seven or eight thugs. They began in an unexpected manner, without asking any question. They rained blows on me, using cudgels, sticks and rattans. My body was spinning. I closed my eyes and shrieked. But hung up like that, with my lungs compressed between my tied arms, I could not shriek very loudly.

The way the thugs beat me was different from that of the French secret police. They had surpassed their foster-fathers. They did not speak, shout or use abusive language. They were like machines, beating precisely, causing acute pain deep in the flesh.

About a quarter of an hour later, they stopped. Only then came the interrogation.

"Your name is Thuan?" No answer.

"Where is Miss P.?" No answer.

Thuan was my name, and Miss P. was none other than my own wife. But from now on, my vocabulary was quite limited. Silence and "No" were my only answers to the thugs' questions. Silence or "No." "Don't know", "Don't have any", "No", "No", and "No".

Beating again. Again my body was spinning. But only a few minutes later, my shrieks became inaudible. I was like a sandbag violently battered, kicked, pushed in all directions, pushed by

terrible forces.... When my torturers stopped and left the room, I had a vague impression that a cool stream of water was flowing down my extremely hot body. I indistinctly heard someone say, "Your blows and shrieks made us sick, so we interrupted our meal to come and see. Has he fainted?" The thugs were talking with one another at the door of the room, but their voices were sometimes clear, sometimes indistinct.

By 9 p.m., a thug was holding a piece of cotton under my nose. The cotton threads stirred: I was still breathing. More beating. I was just like a dangling corpse. I no longer knew when they were beating and when not beating. By midnight, a piece of cotton was again held under my nose and it stirred almost imperceptibly. My breath was now very feeble, so I was brought down. I lay prostrate on the floor like a withered plant. But the thugs would not leave me alone. With flaming pieces of cotton soaked in gasoline they began to burn my body. Partly conscious, I saw the flames but, quite strangely, the burning of my flesh did not cause me much pain.

Pain made me faint. Pain made me recover my senses. The first thing I felt was pain. Then I realized that I was lying in a small, dark room. My whole body was aching, it was a centre of pain. My head, which was resting on the floor, seemed to be bursting.

A hand was feeling over my body. An indistinct figure...

"You have recovered your senses? Let me massage you." There was a pungent smell; the man had used urine for the massage.

"My name is Mao", he said. "If you don't get some massage after such a beating, you'll be maimed for life, my friend."

Mao asked me for what reason I had been beaten. I said I did not know. Mao told me that he had come from the North in 1954. He was dissatisfied with officials under Diem, so he left for Bangkok. There he told Vietnamese residents how he felt, and was arrested by the Thai police who handed him over to the Diem administration.

When he had finished his story Mao again told me, "I heard them beating you from sunset to midnight. I never saw anyone as brutally beaten as you were today. They asked you about some woman? Why don't you tell them? If this beating goes on, you'll die!"

I made an effort to speak. "I don't know that woman. Why should I say things which may harm her? Seeking to shift one's own suffering on to others is a cowardly and cruel act."

As I recovered my senses I felt great anxiety about my wife. Had she been arrested? And if she had, would she be able to endure the tortures without telling them anything? I was very perplexed. If they knew my name they must also know about many of the things I had been doing. I regretted very much that I had lacked the vigilance to evade them. I should have followed the advice of some comrades: "Don't go to the zoo, it's now full of running dogs!" Outside, you could correct a mistake, but how could you do it in jail?

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NGUYEN VAN TROI

On the morning of 15th October, 1964, on orders from the Americans the authorities sent before the firing squad a young electrical engineer, Nguyen Van Troi on the charge of having attempted to blow up a bridge on which McNamara, the U.S. Defence Secretary was to have passed. Everyone still remembers that at the beginning of that month, Venezuelan patriots had kidnapped the American colonel Smolen and threatened to execute him in case Nguyen Van Troi was killed. On instructions from Washington, the execution of the Vietnamese patriot was suspended, but as Smolen was freed the Americans ordered Nguyen Van Troi to be immediately shot.

On the morning of 15th October the Vietnamese and foreign journalists who were present in large numbers at the execution were surprised to see a completely self-possessed young man give them a veritable press conference. He told them in the following manner:

"I am a journalist, and so must be well informed about what is going on when something is happening. It is the Americans who have committed crimes against our country, it is they who have been killing our people with planes and bombs. It is McNamara who has worked

out a whole plan for the conquest of our fatherland. I feel infinite love for my fatherland. I cannot let the Americans trample on our independence. I have never acted against the will of my people. It is against the Americans that I have taken action. I wanted to make away with McNamara, who is at the origin of the so many crimes committed in this country."

A journalist asked him:

"Do you feel any regret before dying?"

"I only regret not to have succeeded in killing McNamara."

When a priest wanted to give him absolution he refused, saying:

"I have committed no sin. It is the Americans who have sinned."

He tore off the bandage covering his eyes, saying:

"Let me look at our beloved land."

He died with the greatest calm. Hit by the first volley he kept crying: "Long live Vietnam! Long live President Ho Chi Minh!"

ETNAM
PLEMENT

Resolution of Faculty-Student Committee to Stop the War in Vietnam

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"You are journalists, and so must be well informed about what has been happening. It is the Americans who have committed aggression on our country, it is they who have been killing our people with planes and bombs. It is McNamara who has worked out a whole plan for the conquest of our fatherland. I feel infinite love for my fatherland. I cannot let the Americans trample on our independence. I have never acted against the will of my people. It is against the Americans that I have taken action. I wanted to make away with McNamara, who is at the origin of the so many crimes committed in this country."

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NGUYEN VAN TROI AS HE WAS, Special Supplement to Vietnam, a publication of a sub-committee of the Faculty-Student Committee to Stop the war in Vietnam at the University of Oregon. Responsibility for its publication rests with its editors.

(See next regular issue of Vietnam for statement of editors' position.)

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From:

NGUYEN VAN TROI AS HE WAS

Told by Phan Thi Quyen; recorded by Tran Binh Van

That morning of Sunday 10th May 1964, I was on tenterhooks. Troi had been absent from home all night. I was longing for him, more so than on any previous holiday. Since our wedding, we had had not so far been able to visit any of our relatives. My parents were natives of the North. Together with many co-villagers from Vangiap commune, Thuongtin district, Hadong province they had moved to the South several decades ago. Yet all of them had been careful to observe the customs and traditions of their native land. Of those traditions, one was that the bride and bridegroom should visit the former's relatives on the day following the wedding.

Weeks had elapsed since ours. But Troi had always found some pretext not to comply with this custom. Would he again find one this Sunday? I was truly worried: what important matter had so far prevented him from having even a single day off? We had been very much in love with each other, and before our marriage, whenever he mentioned our forthcoming wedding, he had always shown the greatest joy, calling it the happiest day in his life. "There is only one such day in a man's life," he would say, "so let's make it a great day, with lots of people attending. Then, we will have a few days to ourselves, for trips and visits."

But when our wedding-day came, he didn't live up to his word: he didn't even have a sorely needed haircut. After we were married, he usually came back late from work. He sat up late at night, making all kinds of sketches. When he took me to a friend's, I would be left to sit by myself while the two of them had endless talks in the courtyard, sometimes moving little stones the way chessplayers would their pawns. Once I asked him: "You seem to have quite a lot of worries?" He answered: "The boss has given me a complicated electrical machine to repair. I haven't found a way to tackle it yet." The wedding ring had disappeared from his finger, a ring with the letter "Q" I had given him on Lunar New Year's Day of 1964. He said it interfered with his work. How surprising! When I had given it to him, he had looked truly moved, as if he had received something sacred. He caressed it, tried it on, assured himself that it would not slip off during work. Turning it on his finger, he said half in jest: "It will leave my hand only if this finger is cut off in a work accident."

But now, how difficult it was to understand his behavior! He had grown so sparing of his words. I had been patiently trying to make out the reasons for such an abrupt change in his character. I must say however that in our daily life he kept lavishing care on me, even more so than previously. Once I was ill and had to stay from work for half a day. He was beside himself with anxiety, rushing around for medicines as if I had caught a serious disease. He played the mandolin for me, fed me rice soup and fruit and gave me motherly care. He sat up late at night fanning me to sleep. Only the day before, he took care before going out to prepare for my bath. He filled a can of water and carried it to the house next door, for we had no bathroom of our own and had to use our neighbor's. But seeing him getting prepared to go out on a Saturday evening, I grew somewhat angry and told him in a gruff voice:

"Go out if you have to. I'll carry water myself."

"No, there are a few steep steps. You may fall."

When he had reached the door, and had hold of his moped, he turned and said:

"I'll soon be through with the repair of the electrical machine. To-

morrow I may be able to take you out for a walk. Just say where you want to go. If you like, we'll go away for one or two days."

So I was confident that today Sunday he would come back and that I would be able to go out with him. I got a gown ready, the one I had worn on our wedding day, and figured to myself whom we should visit first among our relatives. I would also take Troi to a few of my friends; they had been teasing me, saying, "Your husband is as timid as a rabbit. Doesn't dare to show up anywhere!"

At about nine o'clock in the morning, suddenly I saw seven or eight policemen walking in, surrounding a man with his arms pinioned behind his back and his hands manacled. I didn't recognize Troi at first. But as soon as he saw me, he cried out, "Quyen, I've been arrested!" He came up to me as I stood there, dumbfounded. Only one night, and now he looked completely changed. His clothes were soiled with mud and blood, so much so that from their original blue they now looked a different colour. His face was haggard and bruised, his hair tousled. The policemen brutally pushed him in and made him sit on the bed. One of them, probably the commander, looked around at our little room and said with a Northern accent:

"Cosy and snug. Good for newly-weds. And yet he had to go and stir up trouble!"

"A young wife too, lots of happiness, what more do you want?"

"I told you several times last night. What more do I want? I want to destroy all the Yanks. I want the South to be freed."

The police commander stood leaning against a small table, facing Troi. He glared at him threateningly:

"We'll see if you can go on behaving it out."

He shouted at other policemen in the courtyard, who were looking for explosives, telling them to make a thorough search. Then he stepped towards the bed saying:

"Brand-new bedding, blankets and pillows! Soft and snug. But you didn't want to stay home and enjoy these comforts. Instead you let yourself be induced by the Viet Cong to committing misdeeds. Of course, the Viet Cong have disappeared God knows where; but, you, you've got manacles on your hands, and soon you'll get more blows."

Troi answered right back, looking him in the face:

"I'm different from you. I can't bow my head and try to live securely while the Yanks are bringing in bombs and bullets to massacre my people."

... I blamed myself for not having been able to understand him on account of my youth and lack of experience and for having at times nurtured doubts about his faithfulness. Everything now was crystal clear: it was for the sake of the revolution that he had given up his personal happiness, that he had even been ready to give up his marriage. I now understood why he had wanted to postpone our wedding. Then I had suspected him of scheming to desert me. I had sent out invitation cards; what would people think if the wedding was to be postponed? Unable to win me over to his arguments, Troi had sat still for a long moment, then said.

"How can I make you understand now? All right, let's go ahead with the wedding as planned. But please, don't think badly of me. It has never been in my thought to desert you. I love you so much. Now you are angry with me, but some day you will understand."

Now that I had come to understand him, he had been arrested. Sitting in a corner of the room, I cried bitterly.

Policemen equipped with mine-detectors, after a prolonged search in the house and the courtyard, failed to find any explosives. They then crowded into the room and stood around Troi. Their commander asked me:

"Do you know whether your husband has hidden any explosive anywhere? Have you ever seen him trying to hide something in this house?"

I answered, weeping:

"I don't know anything about my husband's activities. I have never seen him trying to hide anything."

He turned to Troi:

"If you tell us where you've hidden the explosives, this room will continue to be a love nest for you two. If you persist in refusing, it will be turned into a torture chamber, and you'll die in it."

"I don't know where the explosives are."

They rushed at him and beat him up, then gave him electrical shocks. The shocks were so violent that he was flung brutally on the bed, writhing. I no longer could sit still; all fear had left my heart; I rushed at the thugs, trying to stop them. One of them caught hold of me, pulled me back to the chair, pressed my shoulders to force me to sit on it and stood in front of me. I started screaming. They whipped out their gun and pointed them at me.

Then they stopped and asked Troi:

"Where are the explosives?"

Breathing heavily, he said, louder than the previous time: "I told you I don't know, just wherever the Yanks are, the explosives are there."

This time the police commander himself started the beating. Snatching a stick from one of the thugs, he lashed out at Troi, raining blows all over his body. After each beating, they interrogated him. An hour passed without their obtaining any result. The commander ordered his men to take Troi away. Standing up with effort, Troi told me in a loud voice: "Don't worry, Quyen, just try to escape a living with our nephew."

His clothes had been torn up, not a single button was left, his chest and his face were bleeding all over. He slowly made for the door, still looking at me and forcing himself to smile. I struggled with the policemen guarding me, trying to get nearer to my husband. In spite of the thug's hold on my neck, I managed to cry out: "Troi, I love you so much! I love you so much!"

The commander turned and said:

"Forget about love and pity. Try instead to get another husband. The man deserves death for his crime."

That night, about eleven, the policemen came back. They told me:

"Your husband wants to see you. Right now."

Hearing that I might see him, I hastily followed them to their car. Knowing where they were keeping him, I would be able to look after him and bring food to him. After a while, they drove into a lane, arrested a school-girl, then brought both of us to the City Police Headquarters. In the interrogation room, I learned that the girl was also suspected of being connected with Troi's activities. That very night I was interrogated. A police superintendent paused, yawned and reclined in his armchair. He was a rat-faced man, with the complexion of an opium-addict. He said:

"Really; it would bring anyone's heart thinking that such a young couple may soon be separated for ever. I've been on this job for a long time and I've retrieved happiness for many a family. You can trust me. You and Troi will certainly be reunited if you help us find out Troi's leaders and associates, and where the explosives are hidden . . ."

I said:

"I don't know anything about his private affairs. I have my hands full what with my job at the factory and the household chores. Just visit the Bach Thyet cotton wool factory where I am working and you'll understand what I mean. I have to work even on Sundays, and on weekdays I am on the job twelve hours at a stretch."

The police superintendent kept interrogating me and the school-girl, seeking to discover Troi's connexions. Towards midnight, he took us on a visit to the torture chamber, where he made us look closely at the various instruments of torture: ropes hanging from the ceiling, to which prisoners would be attached,

canvas sacks in which their corpses would be thrown, powdered soap to be mixed with water and forced down their throats, pins of various kinds that would be driven into the tips of their fingers, a tank for water torture, etc.

He said menacingly:

"These are for you if you should try to fool us."

"You said that my husband wanted to see me. Where is he?"

He answered: "He was here at noon yesterday for interrogation. We had meant to explain to him the government's 'rallying' policy, and make him repent his misdeeds, desert the Viet Cong, and cross over to the side of the administration. He consented, you two would have been reunited at once. But hardly had we said a word when he threw himself out of the window and broke his leg. He's now in Choray hospital."

"If my husband has been taken to hospital, you must let me go home now."

"I'll let you know when you may."

Only then did I realize that I had been arrested on the sly. So, I was kept at Police Headquarters, and wasn't even allowed to go home and fetch my clothes and bedding. Every day, they forced me to attend interrogation sessions in which people suspected of being connected with the attempt on McNamara's life were questioned and beaten up.

Of them the most brutally treated was Loi, who had been arrested at the same spot as Troi. On the evening of the day of Troi's unsuccessful attempt to escape, Loi had succeeded in breaking his manacles and climbing over the prison wall, but had been caught again. Only now did I see him for the first time. Loi was only about eighteen, and came from the same village as Troi. When he had first been taken into custody, his fellow-prisoners didn't like his looks: his hair was permed and fell in bushy locks on his face and his neck, and this gave him the appearance of a street hooligan. But they came to know him better; he worked in a barber shop and his extravagant haircut, done by order of the boss, was merely a publicity stunt. When they knew that he had participated in the McNamara affair, they took a real liking to him and looked after him well.

In the interrogation room, Loi was given a savage beating with sticks. I kept crying, out of pity for Loi, and also because I knew that the treatment inflicted on Troi must have been much worse. The more they beat up Loi, the more silent he grew. When he fainted they flung him into a corner of the room. Later, I was to meet Loi for a few minutes when we were both out to fetch our meals. He said to me very rapidly: "Troi has told them that he had done everything on his own initiative and responsibility, and had been in touch with nobody. He kept repeating this in spite of all the beating they inflicted on him. He was a truly courageous man. I was there when he jumped out of the window. I was sitting right next to him. I had noticed that he kept casting furtive glances at the policemen and then at the window. And then all of a sudden, his hands still manacled, he threw himself out of the window into the street. Had he not landed on a passing motor car, he would have escaped."

(Quyen visits Troi)

Troi was locked up in a room with six other people. The room was shut off from the outside world by means of metal netting, and the window panes were all frosted. A police detachment stood guard in a room close by.

When he saw me step into the room, Troi tried to sit up, but he was too weak to do so and had to recline on his bed, supporting himself with his arm. He asked at once:

"Have all the people arrested been released? Have they been released?"

I sat on the bed beside him. Although people dear to him were still under arrest and subjected to torture, I tried to reassure him by saying:

"They've all been released. Don't worry. Only I remain."

He was wearing a pair of shorts, and his naked chest showed purple weals raised by blows given with sticks and bruises from fist blows. His right leg was in plaster from the groin down to the ankle. He was terribly thin, with his eyes

sunken, his chin sticking out, and his face, his forehead in particular, covered with cuts and bruises. Looking at him I could not help crying. I asked him:

"You suffer much pain, don't you?" "Not so much. I can sleep. Did they beat you?" "No." "True?" "Just look at me. But they asked a lot of questions."

He clutched my hands, and looked at me in love and pity. I told him in a choked voice:

"Forgive me. That evening when you went out. I was rude to you and angry. Forgive me and forget all about it."

He smiled, his cheeks all wrinkled:

"No, it was my fault, it was all my fault. I am not angry with you. I love you, I love you so much."

The police superintendent interrupted:

"Wait until you are back in your home to discuss these trifling matters. I am here to help you get reunited."

He turned to Troi:

"Why did you throw yourself out of the window? I only wanted to explain to the government's rallying policy; once you've understood the government's leniency and deserted the Viet Cong, you'll be allowed to go back to your family. Don't you feel happy thinking about it? But I had hardly managed to say a word when you . . ."

Troi broke in, saying: "Don't waste your efforts selling the rallying policy to me. . . There is no culprit. There is no guilt, only merit, in trying to kill American aggressors. I alone, and nobody else besides myself, organized the plot to make away with McNamara. . . It is because I knew he was a top-notch American imperialist chieftain that I was so keen on getting him, even at the cost of my own life."

The policemen standing around his bed looked angrily at each other. They were itching to resort to violence. But the superintendent's voice was as calm as ever:

"Think of your young beautiful wife. Have pity on her. You married her only a few days ago. Don't spoil her whole life."

"For all these days since I was arrested, you've kept harping on that same string, talking and talking about our recent marriage. You've brought before my eyes our wedding photograph, and spouted long discourses about love and happiness in the hope that I would let the image of my wife overshadow in my mind that of my fatherland. Let me tell you that your efforts will get you nowhere: as long as Yanks are here, no one can have happiness."

The police superintendent pretended to ignore the firm way Troi had opposed all his manoeuvres. He said:

"Yesterday, to help you while away time, I brought here a tape-recorder which recounted to you the story told by a student of the North who had recently crossed the 17th parallel to escape to the South. It's not often that you see or hear someone who has crossed the communist iron curtain to tell you of his experience. But not only did you refuse to understand the leniency and solicitude of the government, you even went the length of smashing the recorder. You've over-stepped all limits, and so no humanitarian policy whatever can be applied to you."

"If that son-of-a-bitch had been here, I wouldn't have contented myself with breaking the recorder, I would have broken his skull as well. Not only did he slander the North, he also dared to speak ill of President Ho Chi Minh. How dare he show impertinence for President Ho?"

He was speaking loudly, stressing each word. Lying on his bed, he breathed heavily, anger showing on his face, and looked as though he wanted to say still more.

The police superintendent managed to keep cool. He said: "I'll come back some other day." Then he told me: "You go back too. Time is up."

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". . . Are you feeling all right? Did they beat you?"

The voice sounded like that of an elderly woman. I answered: "They have not so far. They only asked questions and flung out a lot of threats."

"We in the prison have heard many things about Troi. People who know him and who have just been taken into custody here, and even members of the Police, have praised his staunch spirit highly. In spite of their tens of thousands of troops standing guard, he managed to plant a mine from which the pirate chieftain only escaped with the skin of his teeth. How old are you, my child?"

"Twenty."

(The old woman tells of seeing Troi)

"Two days later we had occasion to meet some of his police escort again. They told us quite a few stories about him. At midnight the night he was removed from Choray, the thugs had come to check on his new prison; they were all dismayed when hearing about his second attempt to escape in the same day. With one of his legs broken, his hands mangled, Troi had constantly kept a proud attitude. Every insult on the part of the thugs met with his immediate rebuff. His replies were truly scathing. The thugs accused him of being an agent of the Communists; after trying to smear Communism with all kinds of slander, they charged that he was a Communist-inspired saboteur and terrorist. To this Troi replied that he had never seen Communists doing harm to anybody, that on the contrary since his boyhood he had seen Yanks flocking in in ever greater numbers, that the skies over Saigon had been shaking with the roar of their planes, and that they had been massacring the people with their bombs and bullets. Then he added ironically: "If you rascals persist in calling me an agent of the Communists, I'll consider it a personal honor. The Communists have been striving for the good of the people. Only lackeys of the Americans should feel ashamed of themselves." That night, the thugs ordered the police to keep a tight guard lest he should again try to escape. Being constantly at his side, the policeman had occasion to hear Troi talk about the political situation and explain it to them. One of them held Troi in particularly high respect. He told us that when Troi was talking to him his voice was gentle, and not harsh as in his verbal tilt with the thugs, when he had given them tit for tat. The policeman also boasted to us that he had brought water for Troi to drink, and also a wet towel for him to wash himself."

Today women prisoners were allowed to go and sit in the sun, in the prison courtyard. For us young people, sitting in the sun or being detailed for fatigue parties were good occasions to hear Sister X. or other fellow-inmates tell stories about struggles waged in enemy prisons. Sister X. had known many prisons; she had experienced years of solitary confinement in underground dungeons. Her husband had been sentenced to death, and had perhaps been executed. Yet, among us prisoners she was the source of joy and optimism. Often she sat reciting softly to us the poem "Brother Dong," also known in our prison as the "Poem on Communist Mettle." She talked to us about the revolutionary activities of Brother Dong and about his heroic death in Giadinh prison. She praised Dong's wife, who had to care for her many children, yet had stood fast by the side of her husband, fighting to the end in her cell to defend revolutionary bases. I particularly loved to hear stories about wives faithful to their husbands, sharing weal and woe. But at the same time these stories made me ashamed of myself, for not only had I not given the least help to my husband in his revolutionary activities, but I had also often made a nuisance of myself. Poor Troi! Every time he came home late, he took care to drop at my parents' to pick up my youngest brother and bring him along with him, so that I might not suspect him of fickleness. Many such facts presented themselves before my mind's eye and stung my heart like so many needles. I thought of how, before and after our marriage, Troi had had to concentrate his strength and his mind on his difficult and dangerous assignment and at the same time had to concern himself with keeping my heart at peace.

Seeing tears welling up in my eyes, Sister X. said: "Try to control yourself. If you cry, they'll grow suspicious and drive us in."

I told her: "Other people engage in revolutionary activities with the help of their husband or wife. As for me, not only have I not given Troi the least help, but I have often been in his way. I am truly grieved by the fact that he never confided in me."

"In revolutionary activity, each must strive to fulfill his assignment; he must not talk about it to other people unless required by his duty to do so. This is an absolute rule, and all are expected to obey it. Otherwise how could Troi have loved you without trusting you? Now, did you have frequent talks together?"

"He often found fault with me."

"What for?"

I remained thoughtful for a while, then said: "He showed disapproval whenever I was inconsiderate of our neighbors. He didn't like gaudy clothes. He said: 'We are working people and should not imitate showy styles of dressing.' My own clothes are either marine blue or white. He loves these two colours. He refused to go to the movies, saying: 'We'll see as many films as we like when Saigon has become as wholesome as Hanoi.' During all these two years that we have known each other, we went to the cinema just once."

Sister X. asked: "Now you know how Troi hates the Yanks. Did he ever talk about these feelings to you?"

"Oh yes, quite often. He told me that his native region had witnessed the first 'Denounce Communists' campaigns launched by the U.S.-Dien clique in 1954. He said that he had seen people strung together through their hands with wire at Choduc and Vinhtrinh and taken away heavens knows where. None of them had ever come back. His sister once told him: 'Fortunately, you are now only a young boy. Otherwise you might not have escaped the same fate.' Soon after we fell in love with each other, he paid a visit to his native Quangnam, then went up to Rue. He got there just when the Buddhists were for the first time being subjected to repression. Back in Saigon, he was still seething with anger when we met. He told me I had seen with his own eyes people being crushed by the tanks' caterpillars and the bodies of others hacked to pieces by shells. He said that the Yanks are even more savage than the French, many more times so. Later, whenever recalling these events he would say: 'To use cannon to repress popular demonstrations! South Vietnam is probably the only place in the world where such barbarity happens!' I've known for long that he hates the American aggressors. He never even called them that. When in the course of a stroll we met an American conkwo, he would hold me back, saying: 'Let those sons of bitches pass first.' That was the term he used to designate the American aggressors. But I did not see any sign of his anti-American activities until quite recently, when from the stories he told me and so on of his habits, I had a hunch that he had joined some anti-American organization. Soon after our marriage, he came home one day looking elated. 'A very special piece of news today! Have you heard about it?' he asked. As I showed complete surprise, he continued: 'Our people sank a 15,000-ton aircraft carrier with scores of planes on it. A tremendous feat! Heavens know when I can do such a thing.' A few days later, he did not come home for lunch. That was 6th of May. Together with his fellow-workers he had gone to the funeral of a taxi driver who had been shot dead by Yanks. Back home, he told me that the funeral had become an open anti-American demonstration with the watchword: 'Down with the American aggressors and murderers!' An anti-American week was to be held, from 15th to 22nd of May, during which taxi-cabs would refuse service to Americans, who were also to be boycotted by people in other trades, including newsboys and shoeshine boys. He eagerly looked forward to that week of anti-American struggle, but on 9 of May he was arrested."

Sister X. shook her head:

"Quyen dear, you're truly a naive girl. You don't realize that Troi trusted you, and was giving you guidance in revolutionary work. In such an enemy-occupied

city as Saigon, without the people's love and protection, one would soon fall into the hands of secret agents. Troi's criticism was aimed at educating you into an upright young woman, who could clearly distinguish right from wrong. What he told you was meant to gradually awaken in your mind consciousness about who had been causing so much suffering to the South, and fan up hatred in your heart so that you might be fully determined to join the revolution. Hearing you, I am all the more filled with respect for your husband. A young man not much more than twenty living in such a vice-ridden city as Saigon, so full of all kinds of temptations. And yet, he went to the movies only once in two years--and probably only because he wanted to please his sweetheart.!"

I felt a bit embarrassed, for she had put her finger on it. I said: "The film we saw was about Buddha's life. I did not understand a thing about it. Back home, when I asked him, he said he had all forgotten about the show."

My fellow-inmates burst out laughing. Some had to cover their mouths with their hands to smother their laughter.

"So far, I have never visited his native region. He promised me he would take me there some time. He said that after our marriage, he would ask for a few days off and take me to his native place in Thanhkhit village, Dienban district, Quangnam province. He said his is a poor region, with very few ricefields, and that the people have to wander all over the country looking for work. The only thing galore is water, not like here in Saigon where the people have to wrangle at the public fountains for every can of water. He told me how beautiful the river Thubon is! It's only about a hundred metres from his home. Its water is so clear, and its sandy banks are well shaded, with rows of bamboos. When we saw Saigon people flocking to the seaside resorts at Bungtau on holidays, he used to console me by saying; 'When we visit my native region, you'll find the sandy stretches along the river bank no less pleasant than the beaches on the seashore. We'll have plenty of time to bask in the sun.' He had a sad childhood, having lost his mother when a mere tot; he was three when the French launched a raid in the region to hunt down revolutionary cadres. His mother took him with her to seek refuge in the jungle, but she died a few months later of hunger and exposure. His father was caught by the French. When Ester he got out of jail he went to work in a distant place, coming home only once every few years. Troi was brought up by an uncle, and by his elder brother and sister-in-law.

"When he was 15, he came to Danang to live with his elder brother, hoping to find some way to support himself. After some time, not wanting to depend on his brother and sister-in-law, who were themselves very poor, he decided to go to Saigon. He went to the wharf and boarded a ship bound for that city, after writing a farewell letter to his brother and his family and asking a friend to take it to them. However, the overzealous friend brought the letter to Troi's brother before the ship had left. So, standing on the deck, Troi saw in the distance his brother hurrying to the wharf on his bike. He hastily clambered down and hid in the ship's hold. His brother walked along the wharf, shouting: 'Troi, brother, come home, let's live together, Elder Brother and Sister will look after you, don't go away, you'll die in that distant place, brother!' In his hiding place, Troi cried bitterly. He felt so much affection for his brother, but could not resign himself to being a burden to him, who had already to care for a wife and several children. His brother's voice continued from the wharf, 'Troi, come home with us, we'll share whatever there is to eat . . . brother!' Until the ship sailed out. Troi has often told me about these desperate cries shouted by his brother from the wharf, which had moved him so deeply.

"Once in Saigon, having not yet time to learn a trade and unable to find his father, he eked out a living as a pedicab driver. As he was not yet familiar with the layout of the city, he often took his customers by needlessly roundabout ways, which made them grumble and cut the fare due to him. It sometimes happened that he had to ask his way en route and when the customer was in a bad temper, he would



curse Troi and leave his pedicab for another without paying him a cent. He often went without food, and this period of his life was full of pitiful episodes. As he said, one might perhaps expect old people, who could not work hard enough, to be deprived of a living, but he was young and strong and toiled from dawn to dusk, yet he never had enough to eat. All around him he saw that some people were so rich they did not know what to do with their money.

"Some time later, a distant uncle found a job for him as an electrician's apprentice. After working successively with two firms, which paid him starvation wages, he moved to Ngoc Anh where he worked until his arrest."

(She is allowed to see him again)

I had been hoping that he would have recovered some of his strength after a period of rest. But when I saw him, he was in the same state as when I first visited him: his skin was pale and wan, his hair was so long it covered even his ears, there was an uneven stubble on his chin, and he was dreadfully dirty. Grasping the sleeve of my blouse with his thin hand on which ran blue veins, he made me sit down, saying:

"Do you feel any better?"

Before he could answer, a policeman tried to take me away from him. Troi's hand was still grasping my arm. With a brutal jerk, the thug wrested me away, and said to my husband:

"Admit your crime, or I'll take you back to General Police Department where you'll be put to more torture. Do you think you can stand up to it?"

Troi answered: "I have committed no crime. I only admit one thing: I tried to kill MaNamara but couldn't fulfil my assignment."

"If you don't own up, we'll give you a special treatment. When this happens, don't say that we're cruel. If you don't make a clean breast of it, your wife will rot in jail."

Troi kept silent, staring at him defiantly. The thug said angrily:

"This is the last time I can keep open the door to freedom for you, and you still stubbornly refuse. All the time you've been locked up here, you've gone on slandering the government and slinging mud at the American advisers. A tape-recorder has registered everything you've told the rascals here; do you want me to play it back so you can hear all you've said? Not only did you try to kill the American Defence Secretary, you also want to smudge the Nationalist Army and even insult the Prime Minister!"

"I have never hidden any of my feelings and have always told you the naked truth quite openly. You've brought here newspapers in which the American advisers are praised to the skies, and called friends of the Vietnamese people. I've torn them up because my opinion is that they are telling lies and because I feel I must make all those who have read them fully aware that the American advisers are the sworn enemy of the Vietnamese people and should be destroyed, all of them!"

The policeman opened a folder containing papers which he wanted Troi to sign. He read them out then said:

"You'll have to indicate the precise amount of money you've received from the Viet Cong for this job."

Troi remained lying on the bed, but slightly raised his head as he answered:

"It's not for money that I've opposed the Americans, that I wanted to kill them. Everything I did was aimed at liberating South Vietnam and freeing her from oppression. That's all."

The thug turned to me: "Tell your husband to own up. Otherwise he'll die I told him: 'I don't know anything about his activities. What can I ask him to own up to?'"

Troi was lying straight on his bed, his arms along his sides, his eyes staring at the ceiling, his features hard and cold, completely ignoring every-

body about him.

The policeman said: "You're the one who wanted to blow up Congly Bridge."

"My immediate aim was to kill McNamara, the American Defense Secretary."

"Your aim in jumping out of the window was to kill yourself and foul up all clues, wasn't it?"

"No, people like me never think of committing suicide. It was in order to live and continue to try to kill American aggressors that I threw myself out of the window. If by doing so I had killed myself, it would have been only an accident."

The thugs took turns in interrogating him, suggesting all sorts of slanderous motives for his action. Their aim was to defile his heroic attempt, which was highly praised among the Saigon people, particularly among students and youth. They made him sit up and tried to force him to sign a folderfull of papers stuffed with lies. After reading their papers, he took up a pen and crossed out line after line. The result was a criss-cross of pen strokes. Then he threw the pen at their face and lay down on his bed.

Failing to intimidate him, they threatened to put him to still more savage torture than previously. They pushed me to the door and forbade me to say a word to Troi. In the courtyard I stopped and cried. Then as I tried to rush back to my husband, two thugs clutched my arms and dragged me to the car.

(She is taken back to her cell)

. . . Y. taught me how to embroider flowers on them (pillow cases), and also my name and Troi's. Although her hands were still swollen because of the pin torture, she often took up the needle to show me how to execute the more difficult parts of the work. She said:

"When the pillow-cases have been embroidered, take them to your husband and tell him that they are a wedding present from the inmates of Cell 4. Although they come a bit late for a wedding present, we do hope he will accept them." When doing the work, we softly sang to ourselves the song "Making Clothes for our Fighters," Y.'s favourite.

A new prisoner had arrived; a tiny tot of four, arrested at the same time as his grandma. He had a round chest and plump arms and looked as though he was born of peasant parents. The warders let him wander freely in the courtyard. His grandma was locked up in a cell some distance from mine. He walked past every one of the cells, peering curiously in each. At times, he ran breathlessly after the birds which alighted in flocks on the courtyard, calling frantically on us to help him.

He was a very intelligent little kid. Soon he knew his way all over the compound. He also took care to avoid the warders when, hiding his hands behind his back, he ran errands from one cell to another, bringing food to our fellow-inmates weakened by tortures. He often brought cigarettes to Loi who had recently arrived and was locked up a few score yards from my own cell.

Once as I was on a fatigue party, a man came up to me holding little Dan by the hand. He asked me:

"What? Haven't you recognized your nephew? Little Dan knows your husband, he often inquires after him. He was thrown in jail together with his grandma because his family was suspected of being connected with Troi's activities."

Then turning to the child he said: "This is Auntie Quyen, Uncle Troi's wife. Say good morning to her."

The child folded his arms on his chest to show respect and said politely:

"Good morning, Auntie Quyen."

Cuddling him on my lap, I asked him: "So you know Uncle Troi? Do you

know him?"

He nodded: "Yes, he often bought me goodies. He came to our house on his motorbike."

"Do you know where Uncle Troi is now?"

"He's been sent to jail."

I burst out crying and clasped little Dan on my bosom. People who didn't know thought we were mother and child who had been separated for a long time. So the child remembered Troi very well. It was obvious that he felt deep affection for him.

When Dan was six months old, his mother had been arrested and beaten to death for refusing to salute the puppets' flag and "denounce communists." His father had to work hard for a living and hardly had time to look after him. Troi had taken pity on the child. He often came to visit him, bringing him goodies and washing him. The child's grandma often said: "Dan thinks more of Troi than of his dad."

(Quyen is released; thinking that she is to be exiled, her friends give her this advice:)

"Sing more than you cry. And if you do cry, don't do it before the enemy."

Daily changes occurred in the streets of Saigon. Demonstrations were held even at night. The people living around my parents' place--painters, stevedores, pedicab drivers, school pupils, workers at the power station and the sugar refinery, etc.--stopped work and marched with banners flying to Khanh's headquarters, demanding his resignation. Nguyen Khanh was the one who had signed my husband's death sentence. He was now being condemned and cursed by the entire population of the city. When I was in prison, I had heard my fellow-inmates say that when the time came for the two million Saigon people to rise up, their uprising coordinated with onslaughts from the outside, the enemy's fate would be sealed. I became lost in thought: if this should happen, I would run at once to the prison and participate in its destruction to save my husband. But in what prison was he being held now? Since 11th August, when they had given him a death sentence, I had vainly tried to find his whereabouts.

(She does find him and is allowed to visit him)

... He asked: "I've been the cause of much suffering for you. Are you angry with me?"

"I only love you; how could I feel resentment against you? I have wronged you. When I was in prison, my comrades educated me and made me feel all the more remorseful about it. And all the more I have wept. Please understand! I couldn't know that you were engaged in revolutionary activities. Often suspicions crept into my heart and made me sulky. I really made a nuisance of myself!"

He said: "When the day of our wedding was drawing near, I had to step up preparations for the mission with which I had been entrusted. I had to be away from home all day, and often all night. In clandestine action, the rule is one of absolute secrecy, so I had to tell lies to you. This must have caused confusion and mistrust in your mind. I knew it, and I felt very sorry for you. Since our marriage, we have so far been unable to take even that longed for walk together which I had promised you. I knew I wronged you, but I could not do otherwise. Sometimes to your questions, I gave fanciful, incredible answers. In the period immediately following our wedding, I went out every evening, to come back only late, very late at night. I had to attend meetings; at the same time, I was studying the enemy's comings and goings with a view to taking action against them. To your questions, my answers were: 'I was busy', or 'I have work up to my ears.' If I were you, I should have had suspicions too."

You have been a very good girl. In your place, any wife would have raised hell. I was deeply conscious of your suffering but I could not yet give you the necessary explanations. I thought I would do so after carrying through my mission. Now you understand me, don't you?"

"The truth dawned upon me right at the moment they took you home with your hands manacled."

Troi continued: "I have so often told you how strongly I dislike liars and cheats. I have also told you that one should not lie even with regard to trifling matters. And yet, I lied to you. But I felt no shame, for my aim was to accomplish my revolutionary duty. If in future you are to carry out revolutionary tasks in such a city as Saigon, infested with police and secret agents, it may happen that you'll have to lie in order to preserve secrecy for your work."

I took out an orange and wanted to peel it for him, but he stopped me, saying:

"I'll eat it some other time. We have only a few moments to spend together and I have many things to tell you. When they brought me back to the cell at the General Police Department, my fellow-prisoners communicated to me everything you had asked them to. They told me that you had made much progress, that you had listened to their advice, and come to understand many things. This made me feel truly happy. I still keep the hope of escaping some day from prison, but the enemy may at any time resort to extreme measures. If something had should happen to me, I wish you'd strive to follow your friends in their activities."

He had been speaking in guarded terms, but I understood at once what he meant and what terrible things could happen. He took out a handkerchief and wiped my tears. His voice was no longer even and was now but a choked whisper. He said:

"My comrades will see to it that you won't be left to yourself. You certainly saw for yourself when you were in prison that I am not the only one and that thousands of our elders have remained faithful to the revolution in spite of ill-treatment and torture. You meet people in the streets; they are not merely toiling for their daily bowl of rice, they also participate in the revolution, each performing his or her own particular task. Many have lost their husbands, their sons, their brothers. Follow their example. Try to get some kind of revolutionary assignment, even if it were only to distribute leaflets or to announce some good news."

I told him: "I am only afraid lest I should not be trusted, otherwise I should be happy to engage in such activities. Now that you have been arrested, I am all the more keen on being given an opportunity to take part in the struggle like my prison comrades."

He turned to another subject which, he said, had kept him on tenterhooks:

"They bombed the North, didn't they?"

"Yes."

"How many times?"

"Only once." *

"Did our people shoot down any planes?"

"They shot down four American aircraft."

"Did we suffer any damage?"

"Very little. Some was done to a few coastal villages."

He nodded his head, looking very pleased. He said: "Death will come to them if they attack the North. If they carry out more raids, follow the news

*It was then August 1964. The first U.S. air raid on North Vietnam took place on 5th August 1964. (Ed.)



and keep me informed if you're allowed to come and see me again."

He inquired after our friends, then said:

"If you see our relatives, ask them to excuse me. They were all present at our wedding, and yet, I have not been able so far to visit any of them. Mother is much grieved, isn't she?"

Our conversation was interrupted by the policeman, who said time was up. I helped Troi to his feet, clutching his arms. I had the feeling that I would never see him again. I made an effort and asked him a last question:

"Shall I see you again?"

He clasped me in his arms and kissed me. His cheeks were wet with tears of mine. He looked at me, saying:

"We shall probably meet once again. Do believe it."

My hands were still clutching at his shoulders. He gently pushed my head away and caressed my hair. Then he said:

"Try to live like your former fellow-prisoners. Learn to endure all sufferings. Cheer up?"

I accompanied him to the other end of the room. From there, his fellow-prisoners helped him walk towards the stairs. I followed them with my eyes until they disappeared at a turn. Then I left.

(Second visit)

Casting a glance at my parcels, he said:

"You are spending too much. I don't need that much. You'd better save money to pay off our wedding expenses."

"Don't worry about the debts. I can manage to pay them off. Is it true that you have adopted the Catholic faith? The man said the priest had talked you into doing it."

"Who said so?" he asked, an amazed look on his face.

"The man in the prison office."

"That's an outright lie. A priest has come and tried to make a Catholic of me, but I've refused. Don't believe anything they say. They are spreading false news to make our friends imagine that I'm deserting them."

... He turned to another subject:

"How is the situation in the city?"

"There have been demonstrations for the administration has made concessions. When that coup d'etat happened the other day, I didn't sleep a wink the whole night waiting for the sound of gunfire. But when the morning came, the situation returned to normal, I was so disappointed. However, there has been much fighting outside the city: lorry and taxi drivers living round our place say they quite often meet Liberation troops. When this happens, they have meetings which are attended by passengers from hundreds of cars and buses. Gunfire can often be heard at night."

"... I've sold my wedding ring. The day I want to plant the mine, I ran short of flex. I had no time to get in touch with the Organization, and no money on me. The only thing I had which could be readily sold was the ring. So I sold it, saying to myself: I am willing to sacrifice even my life, why hesitate to sell a ring? When you asked me about it, I was so perplexed I gave a very poor excuse; 'It made a bulge on my finger and interfered with my work.' Did that make you angry?"

Burying my face in his hands, I cried:

"Please don't talk about these things," I said to him. "I know I was such a backward girl. If I had gained your confidence, you would have entrusted me with buying the wire, and I am sure I wouldn't have failed to give you a hand."

"It was as our wedding-day was approaching that I was entrusted with that assignment, a very dangerous one as you know now. The Command wanted to give me a few days' leave for a honeymoon. But I insisted on going. I had waited

so long for a chance to kill American aggressors, now that I was given the opportunity to make away with one of their chiefs, I couldn't really give it up. With the consent of my superiors, I made secret preparations. I did not let you know anything about it for I wanted you to be free from all worries in those days following our marriage. My plan was that when I had fulfilled my assignment, I would gradually seek to make you a member of our Organization. My constant wish is that you will be not only my wife, but also a comrade."

He sat silently for a while, then asked:

"Are you with child?"

I shook my head: "No."

I had the feeling that this made him somewhat sad, and stayed silent. Then a policeman said time was up. A fellow-prisoner about his age came in from the door. He introduced me to him, saying:

"My friends here help me a lot."

I said to his friend:

"My husband is ill, please look after him. I am so thankful to you."

"Don't mention it. As we are in jail together, we must help each other.

No thanks are due. We constantly look after each other, don't worry."

I walked with my packages in my arms and only gave them to him at the turn. He said once again:

"If you are allowed to come again, don't spend so much money on food for me."

(Quyen visits again)

". . . You're living amidst such a surging movement. Cheer up! These last few days, the comrades in the cells have been singing joyfully. A general strike is in Saigon! Saigon without water and electricity! What joy! Formerly when there was a strike, I was confined to only one or a few branches. This time, all have joined in. When I was admitted to membership in the Youth Union, I was sent to a short-term course. The lecturer was a wonderful fellow: only at the course did I, a worker, fully realize the potential strength of workers, of the working class. The lecturer once asked me, 'You are an electrician, aren't you? Well, tell me, how many electrical appliances do you have in your home?' I thought and thought, then answered: 'Not a single one. The only lighting we have is by paraffin lamps. The same applies to almost the whole of the quarter where I live.' He smiled: 'Electricians going without electricity! Isn't that unjust? Go and have a look at the American quarter, even their W.C.'s and the kennels for their dogs have electric lighting. Let electrical workers stop work for just one day. The whole city will go pitch dark and the whole bunch of them will grope about with torches in their hands: what do they know about running electrical generators?' I listened to him, spellbound, but I could not figure to myself when all the workers would be persuaded to stop work so as to show their strength to their enemy. But the other day, electricity and running water suddenly went out in the whole prison compound, the noise of traffic subsided, then the news came: a general strike had broken out in Saigon, traffic had come to a stop, no market was held, the whole city was paralysed. How joyful we felt! The whole condemned ward resounded with revolutionary songs. The guards rushed in and rained blows on us, but we went on singing. Even if we had died, we would have known that our strength was immense and that they would soon be crushed."

The policeman at the desk was flipping through a magazine. I quickly opened the haver-sack and took out a costume which I had just made for Troi. The embroidered hankerchief lay at the bottom: I took it and held it tightly in the palm of my hand. I asked him in a whisper:

"The things I bring you, do they search them when you go back to your cell?"

He nodded, "They do."

I unfolded the clothes, folded them, and re-unfolded them again several times, to lull the attention of the policeman. At a favourable moment, I showed Troi the handkerchief and asked him:

"Do you think you can take it with you?"

Seeing the poem embroidered in red on the piece of cloth, Troi was puzzled.

"Heavens, who did the embroidering?" he asked.

I was immensely pleased by his question; I had eagerly awaited it.

"I did," I said. "My fellow-prisoners taught me embroidering."

Troi's features had lost their severity: he looked thoroughly contented.

"You're a wonderful housewife," he said, smiling. "Had you stayed in jail for a few months more, you would have learned many more interesting things. All right, now I know by rote the poem. Once back in the cell, I will recite it to my fellow-inmates. Now you hide it and take it home. If they search you and find it, they will beat you up."

"They also taught me to embroider flowers on a pair of pillow-cases, which turned out to be no less beautiful than those we had for our wedding. They said the pillow-cases were their wedding present to us."

"They taught you many songs, didn't they?"

"Quite a few: "Making Clothes for Our Fighters," "By the Hienluong Bridge,"

"The Song of Hope," "Communist Mettle," "Your Native Land Is the Communist Spring," and several poems: "The Song of the Man Condemned to Death," "Let's March Forward . . ."

He slowly repeated the name of each song and poem, counting them. Then he said: "You also learned Communist songs, didn't you? Good. As a worker, you must know them. My elders have told me that when we have built a Communist society, everyone will be happy, everyone will enjoy the fruits of his labour and no one will suffer misery. The North has been progressing in this direction. My constant wish is to live and fight like a Communist, although I am not one yet."

On 8th October, all Saigon newspapers announced that Troi was to be executed in the coming week. The terrible news was brought to me by a little newsboy, his face pale with emotion. It was front-paged in the paper Hanh Dong (Action) which carried the following lines in a box: "Public executions. First man to face the firing squad will be the one who planted a mine under the Congly Bridge on Mr. McNamara's route last May." A few papers stated quite openly that in the face of a general outbreak of meetings, demonstrations, strikes, etc., a number of people would be publicly executed by the U.S.-Khanh clique to check the growing movement of popular opposition. I hastily went to the shop to ask for leave, which would give me time to look for some way to get for Troi a new lease of life. When they saw me, many women at the shop silently turned away, wiping their tears. My girl-friends, real chatterboxes, in normal circumstances, were mute with sorrow. As I stepped out of the shop's office one of them followed me a few steps and whispered in my ears: "Our elders here are saying among themselves that this is a mere threat which the administration won't dare to carry out yet. So, be calm and get a hold on yourself."

On Sunday afternoon, 11th October, I came from the lawyer's office, after giving him his fee, 5,000 piastres. At the door, my little sister shouted at me: "Tu won't die!"

I was so angry at what I thought was at first a sadly inopportune prank that I didn't even look at her. As I stood there, thoroughly depressed, she came up to me, handing me a newspaper:

"It's in the papers," she said. "Look, isn't this Tu's photo?"

I looked at the photo on the paper Thien Chi (Goodwill): It showed Troi standing beside a table on which were a mine and a coil of wire. The headline

ran: "A telephone call: the life of an American colonel swapped for that of the Viet Cong Nguyen Van Troi." The article said: "Venezuelan guerillas have caught an American colonel and proposed to swap his life for that of the Viet Cong Nguyen Van Troi. They declared that if Troi was executed, Colonel Smolen would be shot within an hour."

I stood dumbfounded, not knowing what to believe. It was such an astounding thing to happen. Was it a hoax of the kind so often invented by newspapers?

When I arrived at my home, a large number of neighbors were waiting for me. They cried gleefully at me from a distance: "Get prepared to welcome your husband home."--"What about shedding a few tears of joy?"

The Phunhuan people were very poor, all pedlars, very few of them whom ever read books or journals. None of them knew where Venezuela was; they wondered how the Venezuelan people could have got news about Troi's forthcoming execution in such a short time; more amazing still, how they could have arrested a high-ranking American officer to exchange for Troi. They asked me about that country, but I was no better informed than they were. I could not tell them whether it was big or small, rich or poor. I was only sure of one thing: anti-American guerillas were certainly active there as they were here in South Vietnam, and that is why the people felt sympathy for Troi.

More people kept coming in, bringing with them all kinds of papers. The Saigon press must have had record sales figures that day. Uncle A., who never cared for the printed news, also brought along a copy of the Song Moi (New Life). He said:

"I was selling rush mats in the market when I heard rumours that the man who had planted a mine under the Congly Bridge had been saved from death. Newsboys were shouting at the top of their voices: 'Special news! a phone call saved a life.' Many shouted Troi's name distinctly. I immediately bought a paper. Although I can't read, I am happy enough to look at his photo."

Many dropped in on their way home from work. Some, who were in a particular hurry, contented themselves with throwing in papers with colour pencil markings about the article on Troi. After a period of gloomy stillness, my home was now filled with talk and laughter. All believed that I must understand the reasons for the Venezuelans' love for my husband.

That evening I went to see Uncle Z. I thought he might give me some enlightenment on this swapping of lives. Uncle Z. knew Troi well; he had come to our wedding. He had been thrown in jail by the Diem administration for some years. After his release, he earned a living by doing some book-keeping at home for business firms. This is what he told me:

"Today everywhere in the world the Americans are meeting opposition. Your husband used to discuss this subject with me when he visited me. Didn't he tell you anything about it?"

"Well, he did tell me they were opposed in Saigon, but I didn't know much about other places."

"The same thing happens in Venezuela. It's close to the United States, and so American oppression is all the heavier. It has lots of oil, but the oil is robbed by the Yanks. That is why the Venezuelans oppose them. In Venezuela there are guerillas and an anti-American National Liberation Front, just like in South Vietnam. Had your husband succeeded in making away with McNamara, he would have caused great joy in all Venezuela for McNamara is no stranger to the massacring and arresting of its people just like in South Vietnam. And so your husband's arrest touched them deeply. Although there are prisons galore in Venezuela, although many Venezuelans have been condemned to death, the Venezuelan guerillas thought of your husband, of South Vietnam first . . ."

He pointed to Venezuela on the map and added:

"The Saigon people have suddenly grown so interested in this country. Even

my wife has been asking me for information on Venezuela; she wants to know why there is such solidarity between that country and our own."

. . .The news now coming from Venezuela and shaking Saigon opened my eyes; our far-away friends not only were aware that our people were fighting the Americans but were following the situation so closely that they even knew the name of a South Vietnamese about to be killed by the Yanks. My husband was the beneficiary of this international solidarity. The fight he was waging was the concern not only of Saigon, of South Vietnam, but also of the world. When walking in the streets, my heart was filled with joy and pride by the discussions I overheard on this swapping of lives and on the close relationship between a country in far-away Latin America and our own. Everybody was talking about Troi's fate, and all looked elated by the chance he had of escaping death. Although I was being closely watched by the police, people kept coming to congratulate me on the good news. The whole of Saigon was astir.

". . .After the exchange, Troi will surely leave for the North, with his wife of course."

"Will she be able to go?"

"Why not? The N.F.L. will send someone to fetch her."

"Of course, a wife has the right to go with her husband. She will perhaps leave immediately with him."

A friend of mine said with something like envy:

"You lucky girl! You'll soon be able to leave for the North."

Everybody pictured to me such a bright future. Only the day before, at this very hour, I had been cooling my heels in the lawyer's office in my endeavor to get a new lease of life for my husband. Now, my mind was filled with a great dream, which surpassed everything I could have imagined: not only would Troi's life be saved, not only would he recover freedom, but he would also be able to visit the North. He would meet Uncle Ho, and his dearest wish would thus be fulfilled. When he was talking to me about Uncle Ho, he used to say: "If we could manage to go to the North, we would wait outside his home to catch a glimpse of him." And then, he would say with a touch of envy: "Our Northern compatriots can very often see him, but it's so difficult for us to do so even only once."

Apparently Troi knew nothing about the Venezuelan affair, but only that he was to be executed in the following week. I was in a state of agonizing suspense. More reasons for hope had come to me. The American embassy, which had ordered Khanh to have my husband executed, had ordered that the execution be postponed. The Saigon press was devoting even more space than before to Troi's affair. His name was frontpaged in enormous type, bigger even than the very name of the paper in the case of many. From some news-stalls, loud-speakers were blaring: "A unique swapping of lives in history: the American embassy has intervened with the authorities . . ."

On the morning of the 15th October, I went to Chioa jail. An enormous banner was stretched across the gate, bearing the inscription: "The whole re-education centre greets the National High Council." Something unusual was happening: gendarmes were lining the pathway leading to the condemned ward. My guess was that they were a guard of honour for visiting National High Council members. I walked in silence between the two rows of gendarms towards the office of the ward. . .

. . .I waited a long time. More than an hour later, a policeman came up and told me:

"There are guests today. A special occasion. No visitor, no package, is allowed for prisoners. You can come back another time."

As I turned, an elderly woman beckoned to me, sorrow showing on her face:

"Why did you come back?" she asked. "They are about to kill your husband."

Why don't you ask them to let you in?"

I did not believe her. What a strange story!

"No, that can't be true," I said. They told me I could bring food to my husband this afternoon. Besides, the execution has been postponed; it's in the papers."

"We all know it's in the papers. Up until this morning, we shared your joy. For all these years we've been selling things outside the prison compound, it's the first time such a swapping of lives has ever happened. But they have gone back on their word. Now that the American has been released by the people in that far-away place, they are going to execute your husband. The gendarmes have told us that they are about to execute the man who planted a mine under the Congly Bridge."

As I did not know what to believe, another woman took me to a corner of the house, urging me in a voice choked with sobs:

"The gendarmes have told the truth. They are going to shoot him. The coffin has been brought in; the journalists and cameramen have come. Do return to the ward, my child. A gendarme of my acquaintance has told me what's about to happen."

Now, all doubts had been dispelled in my mind. Crying and sobbing, I ran to the prison gate. Its iron panels had been shut tight. Some gendarmes tried to pull me away from it. But I struggled with them, shouting:

"You can't kill my husband. You can't kill him. You must let me see him."

A gendarme held my arms fast, saying:

"No one is allowed in, by order of superior authorities. You'll have to apply for a pass."

Then they dragged me away and another group of gendarmes came up to block the way to the prison gate. Turning in the direction of the condemned ward, I yelled and screamed for my husband, feeling that they were dragging him to the execution ground. The gendarmes gradually pushed me away from the gate. At last I ran away to the bicycle stand, fetched my bike and rushed home to discuss with my father what I could do to save Troi.

... Troi's father had come from Quangnam. Having heard about the swapping of lives, he was waiting for the final outcome, full of hope. The news I brought home came like a bolt from the blue to both him and my own father. All three of us had no other idea than to see our lawyer again. The latter shook his head reassuringly:

"This can't have happened," he said. "There has been an order to postpone the execution. If there were a change, they would have let me know, for I am your husband's defence counsel. They're probably executing somebody else."

"The people living in the prison street say that the man who planted a mine under the Congly Bridge is about to be executed. Please investigate the matter so that our minds can be at peace."

The lawyer hesitated a long time. He did not believe what I said. At long last, he consented to ring up the office of Chihoa jail. Suddenly the expression on his face changed. "Is that so? Is that so?" he muttered in an astounded voice. Then, laying down the receiver, he said:

"They've just executed him. At eleven o'clock. The only thing we can do now is to ask for his body."

My legs gave way under me and I collapsed on a chair. Slumping forward on the lawyer's desk, I could not even cry. My father, sobbing, said: "Daughter, let's try to recover his body. We can't rely on other people for this."

I hired a taxi, which took me to the security organs and the courts, where I inquired about how to recover my husband's body. To all my requests they turned a deaf ear. Or they put me on some wrong path. I went from one cemetery

to another. At one stop, the taxi-driver asked me in surprise:

"Why are you rushing about like this from one graveyard to another?"

"They killed my husband, but I don't know where they buried him."

"Why did they kill your husband?"

As I remained silent, he repeated his question.

"He planted a mine under Congly Bridge."

"Good heavens!"

He said it so loudly that even people walking along the pavement turned to look. Then he asked: "His name is Troi. Nguyen Van Troi, isn't it?"

I could not answer. Tears streaming down my face and I had to bite my lips so as not to burst out crying. The driver kept repeating my husband's name as though they were old pals. His face had by now grown red. After a while, he decided to ask once again, as if he wanted to make sure:

"Isn't your husband Nguyen Van Troi, the man who dared to attempt the life of American Defence Secretary McNamara?"

I nodded.

He reached out for a paper behind the back of his seat and thrust it into my hand:

"The papers say the execution had been postponed. And yet they killed him."

I could no longer look at a paper, the mere sight of which rent my heart. I told the driver:

"Take me to another cemetery please, if there is one left."

The driver slammed the door shut. The car started out at high speed. I wondered how many miles we went that afternoon. I felt dizzy all over. At the cab stand on Benthanh market-place, the driver stopped, beckoned to some of his friends to come over and told them:

"Nguyen Van Troi has been killed this morning."

They didn't believe him:

"This is not true. The American embassy has ordered the administration to postpone the execution."

The driver pointed at me:

"She is the wife of Troi. She is looking for his body."

They all turned to me and asked with one voice:

"Is it true that they killed him this morning?"

"Yes."

They all looked dumbfounded. The taxi resumed its way in the direction of Giadinh. But at the close of afternoon, we were still unable to find out where they had buried Troi. Finally, we drove to my place. Stopping his car at the corner of the street on which opened the alley leading to our quarter, the driver sat slumped on his seat, looking thoroughly angry. Sweat was pouring down his face and his grey shirt was all wet. At last he got out of the car, saying:

"I'll go and investigate this evening. I'll come and tell you if I learn anything."

I gave him his fare. He counted it and gave me back half, saying:

"I'll only take home enough to feed my wife and kids today. You take back this, for tomorrow's fare, in case you have to continue the search."

But the following morning the papers told me that the administration had buried my husband at the city cemetery. Our family all went there, bringing a little gravestone with his name, which we planted before his grave. The police were waiting for us at the cemetery and took photographs of each of the visiting party.

... My mother was driven to the verge of insanity. From my parent's home at Khanhhoi, she went to ours at Phunhuan. At the sight of Troi's photograph,

she burst into a fit of sobbing. In the part of the house where Bay lived, a three-striped flag of the puppet administration was hanging; my mother whipped it down, tore it to pieces and trampled on it.

In accordance with Northern customs, my mother arranged for a seven-week memorial service to be held at Khanhhoi pagoda for my husband.

At the beginning of the first week, the monks put the following notice on a blackboard, which they placed outside the door of the pagoda: "On 22nd October 1964, at 7 in the evening, a memorial service will be held at the pagoda for the peace of Nguyen Van Troi's soul. All believers in Buddha are required to attend."

Security agents kept watch at the gate long before the ceremony. I was afraid nobody would dare to attend. But more people came than for many a service I had seen, bringing incense and flowers. The ceremony at the pagoda was a great consolation to me. Since the day of Troi's death, the Saigon people had distributed a great number of leaflets, condemning his murderers, the U.S.-Khanh clique, and praising his dauntlessness. A lorry driver who used to bring cotton to the factory where I worked told me that right across the Bienhoa autobahn, along which there was such heavy traffic day and night, a banner had been stretched bearing this inscription: "Long live Nguyen Van Troi's spirit!" In many taverns and restaurants, the owners kept the journals published on 16th October 1964, with photographs of the execution, so that their customers could have a look at them whenever they wished. On the morning of that day, such a sorrowful atmosphere had prevailed at Benthanh market that business had virtually come to a stop. Mrs. M., my adopted mother, later told me that the police superintendent at the market had exclaimed: "What! So much mourning for that Viet Cong?"

That evening, in spite of the presence of the police, the people came in large numbers to the pagoda, in defiance of personal dangers. Seeing me in mourning they came up to me, shedding tears, and asked many questions: how long had we been married? what kind of job did I have? where is Troi's native village? An elderly woman inquired: "What kind of parents gave birth to such an intrepid son?" And then told me with an expression of perplexed anguish: "Your husband has given his life for the country; his sacrifice has brought great sorrow to you. I'd like so much to have you as my family's guest for some time, but this would inevitably lead to police terror. I do hope you'll understand."

I told her:

"It's very kind of you to have come to the memorial service. I was so afraid nobody would dare to come on account of the presence of the police."

"Indeed some people, intimidated, have preferred to hold private services for your husband at their homes. But my friends and I said to ourselves: 'He has shown such courage on the execution ground, shall we hesitate even to go to a memorial service?'"

I met also Sister K. Only a few days ago, she had told me gleefully: "Don't forget to invite me to the banquet celebrating his release!" Now she said:

"I learned about the service only after dinner and so did not have time to get incense and flowers." Then she asked: "Have you listened to Radio Liberation and Radio Hanoi?"

"I have no radio set. And even if I had, I could not have listened to those stations, because the police constantly keep watch on me."

"They have broadcast the news that Troi has been awarded the title of Hero of South Vietnam and the 'Bronze Citadel of the Fatherland' medal. In all these twenty years of resistance, no one in the South has received such high awards. This alone must be certainly a great consolation for you."

"I've had occasion to read a small brochure distributed to the city people, telling them about Troi's life, what he has done, and the Front's awards you've just mentioned."

In a corner of the ground of the pagoda, a thick crowd stood around me. I told them how the administration had forbidden me to see my husband for the last time before they executed him and how they had refused to let me have even his dead body. The Saigon people had learnt through the papers details about the execution itself. But only now were they told what barbarous treatment had been meted out to my husband and his family. I heard all around me shocked exclamations. Many turned away and walked towards the gate, sobbing.

In the fourth week, I left for Troi's native place in Quangnam. It was my first visit to my husband's village. Before leaving, I asked the people to see to the following week's service in case I could not return in time. They told me:

"You can stay as long as you like. Troi has given his life for the sake of his compatriots, it is the duty of us, his compatriots, to look after him. The memorial service is the concern of us all. There is one thing we'd ask you to do, however; when you return, don't forget to bring a photograph of him to the pagoda: we'll burn incense in his memory on the first and the fifteenth of every moon, as custom requires."

I came back to Saigon in time for the last week of the memorial service. It was attended by more people than ever. They asked me about my visit to Troi's village and I recounted briefly how Liberation cadres had come to see me and what they had told me: they had killed many enemies to avenge Troi, they had urged each other to learn from his dauntlessness. They had also sung songs in praise of him and encouraged us, members of his family, to join the revolution and be worthy of him, who had become a Hero and received the highest award of the National Front for Liberation.

As I left the pagoda late at night, a little girl gave me on the quiet a message from Sister X. This gave me such joy! So she had remained in Saigon ever since her escape from jail. I had been longing to get in touch with her, to ask her help for some urgent matter.

As soon as I got home, I carefully closed the door, lighted the lamp and started reading her message:

"I have not been able to come and share in your sorrow. But I know that your heart is full of pride as well as of grief. It is the same with us all: we feel so proud of our comrade, whose sacrifice has elicited the respect of the whole country, of the whole world. Last night, we listened to Radio Hanoi's broadcast of a poem recital. The poet To Huu, the author of "We March Forward," declaimed a poem he had composed on your husband. We were not able to record it, but I am sure we shall have the full text of it soon, for I know a group of students who collect all poems by To Huu.

Writers and poets have been praising Troi in the finest terms: "A great young man, the shining star of the Ho Chi Minh era," etc. His was such a noble death that students I know have been saying to each other: "If we should die, let's die like Troi." They have stuck photographs of him on their notebooks. One group have collected nearly a hundred photos in a movie-like sequence showing him from the moment he stepped out of the condemned ward to when he was shouting his last few words.

His life, that of an ordinary electrical worker, has become shining example for workers and students. A number of them have organized clandestine meetings at which films taken by journalists of Troi's last moments were shown. Many groups have succeeded in erecting memorials in his honour right in the centre of the city. I wonder if you have heard of it. This happened at one end of Dakao bridge, outside the gate of the Republican football ground, and inside the

Chihoa jail itself which is truly astounding. When you visited Troi in the condemned ward, you saw for yourself how tightly guarded Chihoa was. And yet, a group of youths slipped into the compound and erected a memorial at the very place where the enemy had attached him to a stake and shot him. They even took a photograph of the memorial before withdrawing. Many who heard this story couldn't believe their ears: how could a memorial in honour of a revolutionary fighter have been erected on the very execution ground of Chihoa? But all doubts were dispelled when the police themselves admitted it.

The enemy had thought they could use Troi's death to intimidate the people, but the results have run counter to their wish. Everything we do now proceeds in much more favourable circumstances than before. Every member of our groups has volunteered to kill American aggressors to avenge Troi. The recent drive for admission of new members, dubbed "Class Nguyen Van Troi," obtained the finest results. All his actions, his words, and also the story of his life as you yourself told it to me in jail have served as themes of discussions and study in my own group.

Having heard about the memorial service held in Troi's honour at the pagoda, I have asked this little girl to take some incense and flowers, and also a message to you. I would like to tell you once again: "Try to live in such a way as to be worthy of your husband." For my part, I feel I am responsible for any help I can bring you. I will send you more letters. In the next, I'll talk to you about certain things which I believe have also been on your mind."

On the 25th day of the 12th moon I again visited my husband's grave. It was my 8th or 9th visit. As on all previous occasions, two police informers dogged my steps, but I just ignored them. After laying a bouquet of flowers and planting incense sticks on the mound of earth, I lingered beside it for a long while. The sleuths kicked their heels for a moment, then went and sat on a nearby grave to continue their watch.

But how could they know what was in my mind in that moment? The following day I would go away from Saigon, where my husband lay now in his last resting place. Closely watched by the police as I was, it was very difficult for me to join in revolutionary activities inside the city. My decision had been taken: the following day I would find my way to the liberated zone. I would accept any assignment which would allow me to avenge my husband. I made a silent pledge to fulfil what he had told me in the last minutes of my third visit to him in the condemned ward:

"If we should be separated for long, whatever the circumstances, don't let yourself be intimidated by the enemy; try by all possible ways to join the revolution, following the teaching and guidance of your former fellow-prisoners."



UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

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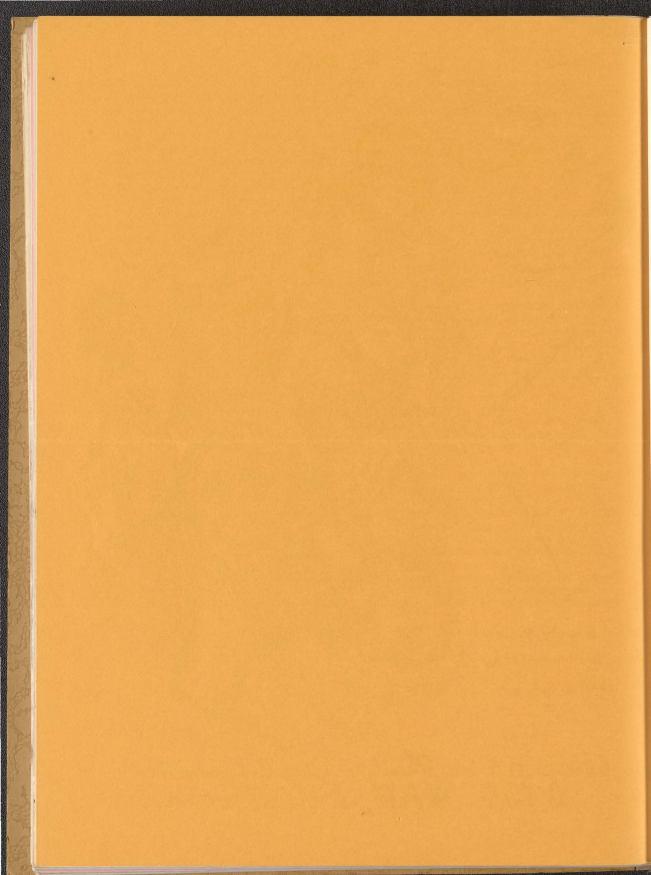
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every tragedy sketched
here is documented by
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a publication of the Faculty - Students Committee
to **STOP WAR** in Vietnam



Vietnam is presented as a vehicle through which Vietnamese of the Democratic Republic of (North) Vietnam and of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam may speak for themselves. It contains extracts from documents published in Vietnam, together with private writings of Vietnamese citizens and eye-witness accounts of the war as seen "from the other side". Occasionally we also reproduce articles written in other countries when it seems to us that these significantly illuminate the situation in Vietnam. We present Vietnam in the belief that no war can be adequately understood from the reports of only one side, and that providing this other view we may help to enlarge American perceptions of this bitter conflict.

On the basis of our reading and our values, we who assemble these documents have a political position of our own which we wish to make explicit.

1. We think that the National Liberation Front has the support of the majority of the people of South Vietnam, and is waging a genuine war of national liberation from American control and from the control of a puppet government set up by the Americans and supported by a small and decreasing minority of Vietnamese.

2. Similarly we think that the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam's government has the support of a majority of its people.

3. We hold that the United States is fighting in Vietnam illegally, violating the United Nations Charter, the Geneva Agreements of 1954, and its own constitution.

4. We regard American actions in this war, especially the use of napalm (jellied gasoline) against defenseless villagers, and the use of poisonous gases, chemical defoliants, and fragmentation bombs, as well as the repeated heavy bombing of hospitals, schools, market-places and irrigation dykes, as war crimes comparable to those for which Nazis were tried and found guilty at Nuremberg. We note that these methods of warfare have been strictly condemned by international agreements.

5. We think that the various "peace offensives" of the United States have not offered a just settlement of the war to the Vietnamese since they do not acknowledge that Americans are the aggressors in Vietnam and have no right there; they do not offer a decisive role to the National Liberation Front in any settlement; and they are each time accompanied by savage escalations of the war.

Vietnam is produced by a subcommittee of the Faculty-Student Committee to Stop the War in Vietnam at the University of Oregon. The responsibility for its publication rests solely with its editors. They wish to make clear that while they may not, in every instance, agree with the substance of the articles they reprint in Vietnam, they think that it is important to provide this channel for Vietnamese opinion.

Kathleen Gough Aberle.

Brandyn Delynne Feldman.

WE ARE RESOLVED TO FIGHT AND DEFEAT AGGRESSION

(Extracts from the speech of Premier Pham Van Dong on September 2, 1966, at the celebration of the 21st anniversary of Vietnam's National Independence.)

Respected President Ho Chi Minh,
Dear Comrades and friends,
Dear compatriots and fighters,

TODAY, we are celebrating the 21st anniversary of the founding of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, at a time when our entire people, in an atmosphere of jubilation and confidence, have responded to the sacred appeal of President Ho Chi Minh to resolutely oppose U.S. aggression and save the country.

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers' Party and the Government of the D.R.V., I wish to convey our greetings of unity, struggle and victory to all our compatriots and fighters who are valiantly combatting the U.S. aggressors on the battlefield and in all fields of activity in order to defend the North, liberate the South, and reunify the country. Our greetings also go out overseas to our nationals who are turning their thoughts towards the beloved Fatherland and are actively contributing to the struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

On this occasion, the entire Vietnamese people send their warmest greetings to the great Soviet people, to the great Chinese people, to the peoples of the other fraternal socialist countries, to the international working class, to the peoples of Asian, African and Latin American countries, and to the peace-loving people the world over. We sincerely thank all our brothers and friends in the five continents for the active support and wholehearted assistance they have been giving to our just struggle.

1. TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF GLORIOUS ACHIEVEMENTS OF VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION

The triumph of the August 1945 Revolution and the founding of the D.R.V. - the first People's Democratic State in Southeast Asia - was a victory of Marxism-Leninism in a colonial and semi-feudal country, a victory of patriotism combined with proletarian internationalism, and a victory of the spirit of unity, staunchness and undauntedness of our people.

First National Resistance

Over the past 21 years, our people, who have become the masters of their destiny, have been unremittingly carrying out a most arduous and valiant revolutionary struggle and have won glorious victories.

Very shortly after the victorious August revolution, the French colonialists, with the help of U.S. and British imperialists, came back and launched a war of aggression in an attempt to reimpose their colonial yoke upon our people. Responding to the call of the Party and President Ho Chi Minh that "We would rather sacrifice all than lose our country. We are determined not to be enslaved", our

people, from North to South, rose up in arms like one man to wage a total and protracted war of resistance to defend their newly won national independence.

After nine years of a valiant resistance war, the victory of Dien Bien Phu put an end to the war of aggression unleashed by the French colonialists. Peace was restored in Vietnam on the basis of the Geneva agreements which recognized the independence, unity, and territorial integrity of the country. Thereupon, the Vietnamese revolution which was then surging forward victoriously, entered a new period.

The North Builds up Socialism

In socialist North Vietnam, the greatest achievements we have recorded over the past twelve years are: the people have become real masters of the country, basically eradicated exploitation of man by man, established new relations of production, striven to carry out socialist industrialization, developed agriculture and industry, developed science and technology, pushed forward the revolution in the relations of production, as well as the cultural and ideological revolution, and are advancing steadily along the path of an independent and self-supporting economy, and more powerful people's armed forces.

Anti-U.S. Struggle Victorious in the South

At the very time when our people in the North were endeavouring to build up a new life in peace, the U.S. imperialists unleashed an extremely aggressive war against our compatriots in the South.

In order to safeguard their sacred national rights, the heroic South Vietnamese people, standing in close unity, have been waging a political and military struggle against the U.S. aggressors and the traitors.

Under the leadership of the National Front for Liberation, the people of South Vietnam have developed People's War to a high degree, smashed the war plans of the aggressors and driven them into passivity and defeat. The victories won by the South Vietnamese armed forces in 1963, 1964 and early 1965 testified to the growth of the Liberation Armed Forces, the regional forces, the militia and the guerillas.

The liberated areas which are expanding day by day now comprise four-fifths of South Vietnam's territory and 10 million of its people.

Second National Resistance

Early in 1965, the U.S. imperialists brazenly launched air attacks on the D.R.V. in an attempt to extricate themselves from their critical position in South Vietnam.... Within a few months, they brought into South Vietnam and rapidly growing U.S. expeditionary force to intensify the war there.

The revolutionary struggle of our people thus faces a new situation in which the whole country is in a state of war. "To oppose U.S. aggression and save the country" has become the sacred

and urgent task of the entire people.

U.S. "Local War" in South Vietnam Defeated From its Very Outset

The massive dispatch of a U.S. expeditionary force to South Vietnam shows that the U.S. imperialists have been defeated in their "special war" and, consequently, they have had to switch over to a "local war". This serious move of war "escalation", however, was taken at a time when the U.S. aggressors were being pushed around and suffering failure after failure, while the army and people of South Vietnam held the initiative and were going from one victory to another. That is why right after setting foot in South Vietnam, the U.S. troops found themselves in the blazing sea of people's war.

In the last dry season alone, nearly 50,000 U.S. aggressors, over 70,000 puppet troops, were annihilated or put out of action and 1,440 U.S. planes destroyed on the ground or shot down.

The greatest significance of the last dry season victories lies in the fact that the army and people of South Vietnam brought into play the inexhaustible strength of people's war and defeated the local war from its very outset.

U.S. Air Force "Prestige" Debunked

Meanwhile, for nearly two years now, the army and people of North Vietnam have been fighting heroically to defend North Vietnam. The U.S. imperialists have thrown into action thousands of modern planes of all types which, flown from the U.S. Seventh Fleet and from U.S. bases in Thailand, South Vietnam and the Pacific have been night and day barbarously bombing and strafing populous areas, bridges, highways and dikes, industrial enterprises, hospitals, schools, churches, pagodas.

To date, after nearly two years of fighting against this war, the army and people of North Vietnam have shot down 1,383 U.S. aircraft of all types, captured a great number of U.S. air pirates, and shattered the much-vaunted prestige of the U.S. airforce.

2. NOTHING IS MORE PRECIOUS THAN INDEPENDENCE AND FREEDOM

The U.S. imperialists have sustained bitter defeats in both zones but they remain stubborn and have not yet repnciled themselves to defeat.

In North Vietnam, they are taking new, extremely wicked "escalation" steps by bombing the outskirts of Hanoi and Haiphong cities, killing our people, with many casualties among women and children. They have repeatedly bombed dykes, dams and pumping stations with a view to causing flood and destroying North Vietnam's economy.

Along with the intensification of the war, the U.S. ruling clique are raising a ballyhoo about "peace negotiations". However, this shameless trick can surely deceive nobody. When the U.S. rulers are stepping up the war, when Johnson himself declares that "the U.S. will stand firm in South Vietnam and will not pull out", the peace negotiations trick will only serve to lay bare their plots.

Dear comrades and friends,

Our people dearly love peace, but genuine peace and not a pax Americana under the boots of the U.S. aggressors. Our people are aware that only when independence and freedom are gained can there be real peace.

The U.S. imperialists must stop their war in Vietnam and withdraw all U.S. and satellite troops from this country. Then peace will be immediately restored.

The basic principle of our Government's four-point programme and of the N.F.L.'s five-point programme is:

The Vietnamese people should have full right to decide their own destiny and to be independent and free in settling their internal affairs. The Vietnam question should be solved by the Vietnamese people themselves without foreign interference.

Long Live the Glorious Democratic Republic of Vietnam!

Long Live President Ho Chi Minh!

PUPPET TROOPS - A TIME-BOMB IN U.S. WAR MACHINE IN SOUTH VIETNAM
(From Vietnam Courier, Hanoi, September 12).

In a talk held between Johnson and Westmoreland on August 13, 1966, the so-called "capabilities" of the puppet troops were tabled for discussion. Meanwhile, from August 1 onwards, Thieu-Ky have put in force law 15 which metes out severe punishment to deserters in the puppet army.

The puppet army is now on the verge of collapse. Recent western reports reveal this gloomy truth. UPI wrote on August 30, "The South Vietnam government has taken stern steps to stem the tide of army desertions. The crack down includes the threat of execution by firing squad."

Expectations Disappointed

One of the aims of the U.S. in sending its expeditionary force to South Vietnam was to raise the morale of the Saigon army in the process of disintegration.

However, the subsequent defeats of the American and mercenary troops on all the South Vietnam battlefields, especially in the 1965-66 dry season, opened the eyes of the puppet soldiers who realized that not only was the presence of the G.I.'s unable to turn the tide of the war which was unfavourable to them, but it increased the fierceness of the war and their casualties more than in any other time.

67,000 Deserters in Six Months

Year after year the number of soldiers who desert the puppet army grows higher:

17,000 in 1961
27,200 in 1962
56,980 in 1963
60,000 in 1964

Defections ran to 113,000 in 1965, when the G.I.s started pouring in en masse, according to USIS. In the first half of 1966 alone, 67,000 cases were reported. It is worth noting that the number of collective desertions is also on the upgrade. In the first six months of 1966, the number of deserters of Division 5 at Thu Dau Mot alone ran to 2,685. In Central South Vietnam, the number ran to 1,261.

The March, 1966 insurrection by soldiers of Armoured Brigade 1 stationed at Thu Dau Mot heralded the movement of desertion of puppet soldiers who first shot at the foreign aggressors and their stooges before joining the ranks of the people. In May, soldiers of a company of Division 25 shot dead many ruffians including the Deputy Commander of their company and 2 platoon commanders. At Tan An, many puppet soldiers rose up five times and killed their wicked commanders. In Central South Vietnam, 5 mutinies occurred in June 1966, including 2 at My Tho in which soldiers shot dead 38 ruffians. Meanwhile, the civil guards defending Highway 20, Dac Na, Lam Dong province, intercepted a jeep, destroying it and killing 5 Yanks.

Nguyen Cao Ky has said, "We are intelligent enough to know that without him (the American fighting man) we would be lost" (AP, June 9, 1966). In fact the dispatch of American troops could stave off the puppet army's instant collapse at the beginning of 1965. But this was only a poisonous drug which could have an immediate effect but would in the long run seriously damage the puppet army. With the presence of the U.S. force, not only does the Saigon army suffer from a moral and political crisis, but its organization is disrupting rapidly.

This has been more clearly shown in the political crisis experienced by the Saigon regime at the beginning of this year. This conflict between the ruling generals led to the settlement of accounts by force of arms. Many puppet soldiers were killed or wounded in this strife and many, incarcerated or deported. Five generals were sacked. The purge which is going on has upset many units of the puppet army and virtually brought it to a standstill. The puppet troops' sinking morale is like a time-bomb which will explode in the U.S. war machine when the Liberation troops deliver them decisive blows from without.

WASHINGTON'S NEW CRIME: Use of Fragmentation Bombs against Civilian Population. (From Vietnam Courier, September 6, 1966).

They are small yellow bombs with six vanes, looking like pineapples. Each of them weighs 0.800 kg. Its 7-millimetre thick shell bears 300 small balls. 360 of such "pineapples" integrated in a set of 19 launching tubes are discharged at one time. Each fragmentation bomb digs craters with a diameter of 30 to 40 cm. and to a depth of 10 to 20 cm. Balls and shell splinters are



thrown as far as fifty metres, their maximum range of action varying between 10 and 15 metres.

This kind of anti-personnel bomb was dropped for the first time on North Vietnam on February 8, 1965, on a populated area of Le Thuy district, Quang Binh province. Since then, they have been used on a large scale together with demolition bombs and other bombs in air-raids on schools, hospitals, factories and populated areas. Over 10,000 fragmentation bombs of this kind were dropped on the small district of Tinh Gia, Thanh Hoa province, only in 1966.

The second kind of fragmentation bomb bears the date, February 1966;(its markings are)

Dispenser Bomb SUU 30/B
Part No. 65 EIOS
Serial No. 0/0 166.

These small grey bombs looking like guavas are composed of two hemispheres. Each bomb weighs 0.400 kg. Its 7-mm shell contains 260 small steel balls. 300 of such small bombs are integrated in a 2.10 mm mother bomb with a diameter of 0.40 mm which explodes in the air and drops them over an area of 2500 to 6000 square miles. They explode in their turn, digging craters 20 to 30 cm. wide and 10 to 15 cm. deep. Small balls and splinters are thrown as far as 15 metres.

Fragmentation bombs are of more damaging and deadly effect than common infantry grenades. Thus, if a "mother bomb" explodes containing 300 anti-personnel bombs, how can children playing in the open or peasants working in the fields take shelter rapidly? Surgical operations of those wounded by fragmentation bombs also prove difficult.

Only one conclusion is possible: fragmentation bombs are used and improved for deliberate use against populated areas. The argument that U.S. attacks are directed only against "military targets", "concrete and steel" does not hold water. What right have the American imperialists to strike at the fruits of labour of an independent people, a sovereign country, even when these are defense works? In the case of North Vietnam it is patent that they are attacking hospitals, schools, populated areas, factories, dams, dykes... with all kinds of bombs.

The use of fragmentation bombs is one more undeniable count to the indictment of the U.S. aggressors in Vietnam. It provides one more reason for every man of conscience in the world to raise his voice and stop the hands of the Washington murderers and their pilots who daily sow destruction and death all over Vietnam.

RECENT BOOKS ON VIETNAM

Fernand Gigon: Les Americains Face au Vietcong. 1966.

James Cameron: Here is Your Enemy. Rinehart and Winston, 1966.

Herbert Aptheker: Mission to Hanoi. International Publishers, 1966.

VIETNAM: BRINK OF THE PRECIPICE

(From Link, an Indian Weekly Newsmagazine of left-wing Congress Party orientation, July 10, 1966)

"Guernica". Picasso's brush caught not only the savage bestiality of the fascists but also the anguish and heroism of the Spanish people. The destruction of the city was a challenge to the moral conscience of the Western democracies, who taking refuge under the sanctimonious doctrine of non-intervention, refused to act. The result was the rake's progress which led to World War II. The bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong by the Americans poses a similar problem to the world today. Platonic regrets, expressions of distress in well-phrased diplomatic notes, might assuage our conscience for the moment but the bill for inaction will be presented at a later date. For, like Spain in the thirties, Vietnam today is a testing ground not only for new methods of warfare but of the moral fibre of the opponents of fascism. Failure to take up the challenge will inevitably lead to a world war.

Moral Problem: For Afro-Asians and Latin American peoples the Vietnam war is of crucial importance. Washington's military strategists have convinced themselves that the balance of terror will act as a deterrent to wars between the major powers. It will have to deal only with people fighting to liberate themselves from the puppets imposed on them by external powers. The national liberation movements are already struggling in Latin America and Asia and in course of time the same phenomenon will appear in Africa too. It is a world-wide movement and the Americans who have constituted themselves as the gendarmes of the so-called Free World are worried about it. Intensive studies of the social conditions of the underdeveloped world are being carried out and it is only when they become a public scandal - as in the Camelot project of Washington University - that the world becomes aware of it. Vietnam is for the American experts on counter-insurgency a field study; they are experimenting with new methods and new weapons to meet the challenge of a people in arms. If the experiment is successful it can be applied with suitable modifications to other troubled spots.

President Johnson like other American leaders has been completely baffled by Vietnam. He learned the art of manipulating men in the corridors and washrooms of power where a combination of arm-twisting with the promise of largesse got him what he wanted. The Texan is therefore completely at home in dealing with the pedlars of national dishonour, who come on bended knees with the begging bowl in their extended hands. He can even understand the leaders of affluent Europe who have surrendered their independence to him. It is the ragged but proud leaders who are not willing to betray the future of their people, and insist on maintaining their sovereign and independent status, that provoke his ire. And when that country happens to be Asian as well as small, poor and weak as well as socialist, Johnson loses all sense of proportion, he acts as a paranoid who will not hesitate to destroy the world if he cannot gain his objective.

At Bay: The bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong is merely the latest act of criminal folly which Johnson has indulged in. He is at bay; the refusal of the Vietnamese people to surrender when



faced by the massive power of America has created a cruel dilemma for him. Unable to force a military solution, unwilling to envisage peaceful solutions, every failure of his policy leads him to use greater force. He has ceased to be a thinking man and reacts like a mad bull in a China shop.

The U.S. Government's justification for this act of wanton cruelty will not be accepted even by its subservient allies. Wilson, one of the most voluble apologists of Johnson, has discreetly dissociated Britain from it. A shocked world was profoundly disturbed by the immature and irresponsible qualities of the American leader, for the United States is not at war with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam whose capital and major port are now subjected to intensive daily bombing. The Americans claim that they are bombing military installations, particularly oil depots, and that civilian casualties will be minimal. They argue that bombing is necessary in order to immobilize transport and stop the movement of men and arms to the south, which during the last few months has grown rapidly. There were other methods which without inflicting massive casualties on the civilian population might have stopped the transport of men and material. But for some men there is pleasure in destruction and Johnson wanted to teach the Vietnamese the cost of defying a power-hungry sadist. North Vietnam is to be made into an example, so that others may learn the lesson.

The bombing is not going to end the war. Hanoi has already declared that it will not surrender to bullying tactics and will fight on till Vietnamese independence is assured. As for immobilizing North Vietnam, an underdeveloped country is not as dependent on oil as an industrial country and is therefore less vulnerable. Johnson is fully aware of this: he authorized the air raids on North Vietnam in 1965 on the argument that it was necessary to destroy the transport system. That particular policy failed, for he now states that the transport of men and arms during the period when the Americans were bombing the North increased rather than diminished. There is no reason to believe that the attacks on oil depots will succeed where the attack on the transport system failed. It will inflict casualties and hardships on the civilian population, but North Vietnam's government fortunately ordered the non-essential population to leave these two cities. As far as the industries in this area are concerned the government has already removed them to safer regions. North Vietnam's capacity will therefore not be greatly affected by the bombing.

Hitlerian Tactics: Johnson is a practitioner of 19th Century gunboat diplomacy: he has adapted it to the conditions of the second half of the twentieth century. The escalation of the war was preceded by a diplomatic offensive whose object was to remove world opinion and assuage public criticism of his policies in the United States. It is the fear that the mounting domestic pressure against the war in Vietnam will force him to negotiate on terms acceptable to the Vietcong that has led him to escalate the war further. Thus the repeated warnings to Hanoi that he is determined to honour his commitments to Saigon are equally directed to his domestic critics. This time he has gone one step ahead: he warned North Vietnam of the massive destruction the United States could bring if Hanoi does not sue for peace.

Johnson's technique is not new. Adolf Hitler practised it with singular success. He too made repeated appeals for peace before committing aggression, he too hoped massive destruction would force countries to sue for peace. He too waged wars with limited objectives and expected his opponents to make peace by combining threats with blandishments. Overweening pride and the arrogance of power led Hitler to overplay his hand; Johnson is still hovering on the brink of the precipice. His appeals for peace to Hanoi are meaningless; they border on obscenity when the Americans are engaged in a campaign of massive destruction. Hanoi is only indirectly involved in the war and the real struggle is in the South between the National Liberation Front and the U.S. backed military junta. It was the American failure to force a military decision in the South that led to the bombing of the North and now that Hanoi has made it clear that it will not yield to blackmail and will continue to fight to victory, Johnson's problems remain. If massive destruction in the North does not yield to victory, as it has not in the South, will Johnson put the blame for incapacity on the support which the socialist countries are extending to North Vietnam and unleash a world war? Johnson's gambling instinct will delight Las Vegas; it is seldom that a head of state stakes everything on a single throw.

Refusal to Negotiate: Yet another significant factor in the present escalation is that it has come when Air Marshal Cao Ky, the pocket dictator of Saigon, is having more than his normal share of troubles. The junta ceased to have effective authority in the government-controlled areas of South Vietnam after Johnson gave Ky the kiss of death in Honolulu. Military dissidents and Buddhists defied the junta and though Ky has finally, with American support, emerged at the top, his position remains precarious. A general strike by 10,000 workers employed by U.S. contractors has paralyzed construction activity, Buddhists are still demonstrating in Saigon, and at any moment Ky may again be in danger of being overthrown. The bombing of Hanoi acted as a morale booster to his disheartened supporters. Ky was elated enough to declare that in three months the Hanoi regime would crumble.

The escalation of the war is closely linked with the evolution of the political situation in South Vietnam. In February 1965, when there was serious trouble in Saigon, the Americans attacked North Vietnam. Later when Ky was in political difficulties the Americans started the bombing of North Vietnam on a massive scale. The only way in which the Americans are able to retaliate against the deteriorating political situation in the South is by attacking the North. Any other reaction would be a tacit recognition that the military junta does not represent the Vietnamese people except a small fraction of refugees from the North. It is these men who are the supporters of the war "a outrage", who like Ky not only advocate the bombing of Hanoi but also a march to the North. The majority in South Vietnam are opposed to the war; they are in favour of the Vietnamese settling their own problem. The National Liberation Front represents the people of South Vietnam, but the Americans who are searching the highways and byways of the world for an interlocutor to negotiate a Vietnam settlement refuse to recognize the Front. It is the refusal to recognize that the problem can be settled only in the

South that is making Johnson act like a trigger-happy hoodlum.

Heroic Fight: It is therefore in the muck and mud of the South that the war will be won or lost. The Americans with their enormous fire-power and mobility expect the war to be a military promenade. The expected did not happen. The Vietcong not only increased their effective strength but showed themselves capable of fighting a sustained guerilla war against increasing odds. The unparalleled heroism of the soldiers of the Liberation Front evoked the admiration even of their enemies. American correspondents were quick to contrast it with the lack of courage and the unwillingness to fight of the "friendlies". It is a subject on which Rusk, Bundy and McNamara should ponder: no electric computer can help them to understand the unbelievable courage and the capacity for suffering of the Vietnamese people. The policy-makers in Washington will then understand the difference between men whose patriotism and idealism has led them to engage in what to all appearance is an unequal combat and those mercenaries and compradores who are serving a foreign master to enrich themselves.

American Colony:

South Vietnam today is a colonial society. It is more occupied than Japan after the war, more immoral than any other country. Prostitution and drug peddling are the major industries; bars spring up overnight filled with taxi-dancers. It is still a hierarchical society but the prostitute and the shoe-shine boy have replaced the mandarin at the top. American occupation has turned the whole country into a massive Chicago and every vice and every form of corruption prevail. Men are without honour and women without shame; the Suzies, Pollies and Bettys who consort with the Americans have abandoned even their traditional costume for tight-fitting slacks. Americans repeatedly assert that they are in South Vietnam to safeguard its independence but the reality is something quite different. Eighty percent of the budget is dependent on American aid and without it the junta cannot maintain itself in power for the army is not only equipped but also paid by the Americans. South Vietnam was surplus in food before the war; under American occupation it has to import 400 million tons of rice every year. It is American assistance which permits South Vietnam to import consumer goods worth 300 million dollars a year. It is also a place where the Americans dump their agricultural surpluses: last year cotton worth 70,000,000 dollars was sent to South Vietnam. Then come aid for factories, fertilizers and other purposes which roughly amount to another \$300,000,000 a year.

This vast outflow of dollars is extremely profitable to American businessmen and farmers. Vietnam is a ready market for all sorts of goods, and since American ships have a monopoly of carrying, the ship-owners have made a fortune out of the war. Vietnam then constitutes a massive outdoor assistance for American industry even though the American government pays the bill.

Along with the aid comes the experts - from Michigan State University's experts on police to bankers in search of quick money. It is true that in the early stages of American occupation it was left to the Vietnamese officials to transport

and distribute material; but most of it went to the black market. The Americans slowly took over the administration from their Vietnamese stooges. In the military sphere too it is the Americans who control the operations directly; it is only in the delta that indirect control through military advisers is exercised. The South Vietnamese army dare not operate except under the protection of American air power and artillery and if American support is refused they cannot move.

South Vietnam has slowly become an American colony. The American ambassador governs as the pro-consul: Cao Ky is the prime minister and Thieu the head of state, but then Caligula's horse was a senator. It is idle to assume that the Americans will withdraw in a hurry. They are openly saying that they will stay on for twenty years if necessary. The importance of their bases at Danang, An Khê and Camranh leads one to suppose that they have no intention of withdrawing from South Vietnam. If they do withdraw, they will do everything in their power to hold on to Camranh which is being converted into one of the greatest naval bases in the world. It is already rumoured that the Saigon government has ceded the area to the Americans for 99 years.

U.S. Base: Camranh makes nonsense of American pretensions. A great naval base like that means that the Americans have made up their mind to stay and fight till victory is won. It is certainly not for the protection of the Vietnamese, as Guantanamo was not for the protection of the Cubans. Like Singapore it is meant to be a symbol of imperial power, a permanent American presence in South-east Asia. It is a pistol pointed at the head of every independent country in the region; a strong point from where the Americans can effectively and rapidly intervene in any troubled spot. From the American point of view it is therefore indispensable that South Vietnam's independence should remain a political fiction since, if a genuinely nationalist government comes into power in Saigon it will refuse to accept American bases.

Strategy: The National Liberation Front and North Vietnam are aware of this. They realize that the war will be long and arduous. General Van Tien Dung, the Chief of Staff of the North Vietnam army, in a long study on the war published in August last recognized this. The increasing American involvement in the war, the growth of fire-power of South Vietnam's soldiery, the use of the airforce, have according to him created difficulties for the Liberation Front. But he was certain of victory. The Americans are fighting at a great distance from their base, the climate and topography are unfavourable to them, they are politically isolated in Vietnam and their puppets lack popular support. Further, the dispatch of an expeditionary corps shows that the Americans have failed in their principle objective - the maintenance in power of a puppet regime. This has strengthened the political base of the N.L.F. for it now fights a foreign aggressor. Moreover, the Americans are hesitating between two different strategies: for carrying out a policy of pacification under American occupation they will have to quadruple their forces, and if they follow a mobile strategy then immediately after their withdrawal the Vietcong again occupy the territory. This has indeed happened repeatedly in zones C and D. The great American victories announced with much fanfare in the past have resulted in the territory under the control of the

Saigon government.

The fact is that the Vietcong are everywhere. They have no need to set up a parallel administration because the government has been completely infiltrated by them. Even in the army at least 10 per cent of the men are loyal to the N.L.F. In the administration, according to one of Ky's ministers, 41 per cent of the personnel are Viet Cong. The infiltration has even reached the highest levels: a head of provincial militia turned out to be a Viet Cong. Under Khanh, two of the senior officers, members of the armed forces' council, were Viet Cong. Thus every decision of the puppet government is known to the Liberation Front.

Fateful Step: The bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong is certainly not going to break Vietnamese resistance. The continuous bombing of North Vietnam has only strengthened their determination. President Ho Chi Minh has ordered general mobilization. He has a well equipped, battle-hardened army led by men who are foremost experts in guerilla warfare. There is no denying that the United States has transgressed all limits and North Vietnam's leaders may be forced to take a more active part in the war. In the background the Chinese are uttering threats. Washington has discounted the danger of a Chinese intervention unless its own frontiers are violated. But direct involvement of Hanoi in the war cannot leave China unaffected.

The bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong is the beginning of a new chapter. What is frightening and alarming is that the American leaders are surprised at their own moderation. McNamara claimed the attack as part of the American policy of limiting the war. Having the power to totally destroy the two Vietnams and kill all the Vietnamese, McNamara perhaps feels that anything short of total genocide is moderation.

THE VICTOR

(From Vietnamese Studies, December 1965, Hanoi)

(Editor's note: In Vietnam, No. 5, we published extracts from this autobiography by Nguyen Duc Thuan, a revolutionary of the National Liberation Front. In the present issue we complete his story.)

(Nguyen Duc Thuan has been picked up by police of the Diem regime while on a spying mission in Saigon. Without trial, he is taken to a prison in the center of the Saigon zoo. Repeatedly, he is hung upside down and beaten unconscious by gangs of thugs in an effort to make him speak about his connections. At last he is returned to his cell.)

I remained lying like that for a week before I could sit up again. At last I could get out to the courtyard to eat, like the other prisoners. My fellow-prisoners, who felt great sympathy for me, came to carry me out of my cell. They had heard that I had been subjected to the most savage tortures ever inflicted on a prisoner.

I took my bowl of rice but my jaws and teeth were aching terribly and I did not want to chew. But why were there quite a number of pieces of meat in my bowl? When my eyes met those of my fellow-prisoners who were following my reactions, I understood. They had all spared for me the little meat they had received. Tears streamed down my cheeks.

Oh, these feelings of comradeship! Only in adversity can one fully realize how great they are! I cried because I knew that my fellow prisoners, by sharing their food with me, were expressing approval for my behaviour before the enemy and reminding me that I should not be discouraged and should continue my struggle. Yes, I will struggle until my last breath. I will keep alive the spirit of a Communist Party member....

As soon as I could move, I was again summoned for interrogation. During the ten days in which the enemy had been devising some new means of questioning me, I too was preparing to face them again....

I was made to stand three feet from a wall on which I was to lean with outstretched arms. I had hardly taken up this queer position when I was suddenly blinded by two electric bulbs of 500 watts each placed at less than one foot from my head. I felt as if the lights were piercing my brain, rummaging it to uncover the hidden truth. I was dazed, my head seemed constricted, now expanding, now solid, now liquid. I felt uneasy, and wanted to shriek. I was dazzled by vivid flashes and felt acute pain behind my eyes.

A soft voice came from behind me. "When you were a child, did you love your parents?" I gave no answer.

"Where is your mother?" "She's dead."

"Where is your father?" "He's dead."

"Did you love your father and mother when you were young?"

"Certainly, I did."

"Did you fear your father?"

"No!" (the truth was that I greatly feared my father who was very severe.)

"Did he often beat you?" "No!"

(The questioning continues for many hours, with one team succeeding another, but Thuan refuses significant information.)

"What do you most dislike?"

"Those arrogant persons who handle me roughly." As I replied angrily, I heard the thugs laugh.

"What do you fear most?" "I never fear anything!"

I thought I was going to die. Death had come so near, I was now close to it. My lips were swollen, my hardened tongue was hurting my mouth. The two projectors had drained all the water from my body. I had the sensation of standing at the ends of two unsteady spikes which gradually pierced my body and higher up,

But a man's power of endurance is marvellous. I had been standing under two 500-watt electric lights for a whole day and a whole night, without being given any food, in a state of near coma. But that was not all.

An and his team came again. As soon as he sat down, the thug spoke to me:

"Mr. Think, your hair is quite white! So, you've been thinking quite a lot? Chiang Kai-shek's hair turned white too in only one night following his capture and internment at Sai-an..."

I thought the fellow was lying. But a few days later, I pulled out some hair and saw that it was really white.

The thugs kept asking questions. I remained standing. The interrogation teams worked in turn, and alone I had to face them. It was very strange. Now, not at all did my thoughts turn to my wife or children, or to any good thing in life. With death near, I closed my eyes and thought of Vo Thi Sau, and Liu Hu Lan, who had been much younger than I am now when they died, and had been less long in the party. For me to surrender now would be disastrous. I must remember that in facing the enemy I must behave like a representative of the revolution.... But what was a representative? What should one do to be a worthy representative of the revolution?...

The second night, the second day passed... And the third night was now ending...

How could I have been standing so long? My swollen legs had grown as large as two water jars. They could hardly be contained in my trousers. My head was swirling as though it were going to be ejected from my body. I collapsed on to the floor. Immediately, the thugs pushed aside the tables and chairs and fell on me, beating me frantically with cudgels, hammering on my prostrate body with the heels of their boots.

Then they made me sit on a chair. I again dropped to the ground. They had to sit beside me to keep me from falling, but then they could not stand the heat. They were forced to take me from the projectors. An was now sitting face to face with me, continuing the interrogation. As I remained silent, he suddenly pounded the soles of my feet with the heels of his boots. The thug had noted the spots on my body which were the most sensitive. The pain was now terrible, I felt as if half my body was being cut off. Blood flowing between my toes gave me a sensation of warmth. I refused to speak despite the atrocious pain. "The thugs can do as they like, I thought, "anyway I'm going to die." Now they were asking me about our organization, about our bases, about my work...

That form of torture continued through the fourth day. Asking and pounding on the feet, asking and pounding again. Once, looking down, I saw my feet smeared with blood and thought they had been crushed to pulp....

For another week, I lay prostrate in my cell, eating,

making water, relieving my bowels, all in a lying position...

Later, two Americans came to the front of my cell. They were in their shirt-sleeves and wore neck-ties, and were accompanied by three policemen of the puppet regime. They stood there, staring at me a moment, then left....

The following morning, I was brought back to the projectors. After a night of self-examination, I was now strangely calm.... But the electric bulbs were now so big! I looked at the oversized bulbs, then quietly went to stand before the wall...

I have found that nobody can say he has got used to physical pain. But when one is prepared to endure, it does diminish and one is less frightened by it.

This time, the horrid sensations of the previous time came back; in fact the horror doubled: I had to stand under two electric lights of 1,000 watts each! And I remained standing there three straight days and nights. Three days and three nights in a standing position, against the wall with my outstretched arms. Three days and nights of continuous, harrying questioning.... U.S.-trained secret service agents, daily advised by two Americans, joined forces to make me talk. Later on, I learned that top officers of the army intelligence service, Nguyen Ngoc Le, Tran Kim Tayen, had come several times to follow my interrogation. But only a few words could be put down on my record: "Name - Pham Ngoc Thinh - Parents - dead - Married or single: single; Calling - Rearing ducks - in the first years of resistance, took part in the Vanguard Youth Movement, Served as a messenger..." Not a single word could be added to the above record until I got out of prison years later. I was a prisoner without a record, without any sentence.

*

The month of torture was followed by twenty-seven months of internment in a cell. That American-designed cell, built with American money, was extremely... American. It was six feet square, flanked on both sides by lavatories. It was hot like an oven and permanently filled with the smell of excrement and urine. Even the sweat from one's body seemed to have that smell...

Life was very tense during these months of internment at P. 42. Yet this was only the first episode, relatively uneventful, of a long story. After P 42, it was prison on Poulo Condor Island and its "Tiger Cage"! In comparison, the months at P 42 were a good time indeed.

Poulo Condor, where tens of thousands of former combatants were at last lying at peace, eternal peace, in their graves by the sea, under murmuring filaos! Poulo Condor, where ferocious caotains "would have no appetite if they did not see Communist blood shed." Poulo Condor with hired thugs who were even more clever at killing prisoners than at handling their chopsticks, and whose idea about positions and honours was summed up in a few words which might be regarded as an axiom for all of them: "If you want to become a captain, just kill as many Communists as you can!"

Paulo Condor where prisoners were craftily persuaded into "renouncing the party"! To renounce the party meant to join in singing five times a day "Determined to Exterminate Communists." To "renounce the party" meant to salute many times a day a three striped flag of the puppet regime, to shout slogans in honour of that "president", the running dog of the U. S. imperialists, and what was worse, slogans in disparagement of our leaders! To "renounce the party" meant life, but also humiliation. To refuse to do it could mean death with honour. The two prospects battled with each other in the prisoners' minds, tormenting them day after day.

I lived several years in the "Tiger Cage" of Paulo Condor prison, with death hanging about day and night. I witnessed painful and heroic deeds, and also shameful deeds. I saw all kinds of people - the base and the noble, the enemy and our Communists. I fully

realized the value of life and the value of death.

The Party gave me the strength to endure hardships and resist the enemy during the years of internment, filled with blood and tears, to persevere in my struggle, determined to die rather than betray the Party, until at last one day I returned to life, and was reunited with the Party and our people.

LETTER TO THE INTELLECTUALS OF THE UNITED STATES

(Written at a conference of Vietnamese intellectuals in Hanoi on January 6, 1966, and signed by 650 delegates to the conference.)

Dear Friends,

More than ten thousand miles separate us, yet today our common concerns have brought us together. Every action of the American people in favour of peace and democracy has profound repercussions in Vietnam, and you assuredly cannot fail to feel that the events here exert a broad influence on the course of things in the United States.

It has been our constant hope, now that relations between all nations become closer day by day, that our two countries come to know each other through their men of science and culture. Nevertheless, history, or more exactly the ambitions of big business, has decided otherwise. Our people are making contact with America through an expeditionary force which is drowning our country in blood and fire, and through bombers which raze our towns and villages.

However, as when we fought against the French colonialists, we are able to distinguish with all lucidity the bellicose imperialists from the people of America, the heirs to a long-standing tradition of peace and democracy.

We have been following with emotion the development of the courageous campaign which has gradually and ceaselessly grown up and exhorted so many American intellectuals and students to stand up and oppose the war policy of the White House. The sublime sacrifices of Helga Hertz, Norman Morrison, Roger Laporte, Celene Jankowski and others, like the courageous sacrifices of the young men who have burnt their draft cards, the demonstrations of students and the peace marches have moved us profoundly.

We fraternally hail all the Americans who in increasing numbers disapprove of this war imposed by their government on the Vietnamese people.

We know how much courage and perseverance it takes the Americans of good will to overcome all obstacles created by the propaganda and actions of their government in order to carry out this splendid campaign for peace in Vietnam. We recognize in them the genuine sons and daughters of the America which we have always admired: the America of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln,

Du Bois, the America of Oppenheimer, Linus Pauling, the America of Whitman, Dreiser, Hemingway, Faulkner... We know that while struggling for an end to the war in Vietnam, the American people are also defending the heritage of freedom and democracy in the United States.

You certainly know that the Vietnamese people, through many hundreds of years of history, have never ceased to fight against foreign aggression, for independence and freedom. You who keep alive the memory of the American Revolution are in a position fully to understand the determination and feelings which are animating us.

We love our Fatherland as profoundly as you do yours. We have liberated it from French colonialism, we will fight to the end to liberate it from any other foreign aggression. Our people and armed forces have always valiantly and gloriously fulfilled their patriotic task, and nobody can impose on them any form of tutelage, let alone enslavement.

You must be grieved at seeing that the most splendid gains of science and technique are being used for the purpose of extermination, all the more so as American youths are sent to Vietnam for an unjust cause and are being killed in increasing numbers. You certainly know that in our era all colonial wars are doomed to failure, and the deeper the commitment of the United States the bitterer the defeat and the greater the dishonour it will suffer.

President Johnson affirms everywhere that he wants nothing but peace, yet since April, 1965 when he made his "peace proposals" the most murderous bombings, even by B2's, against the North and South of our country, the landing of troops on our coasts, and the raiding operations against our villages have continued and multiplied, and American troops have used more toxic gas and chemicals than ever before.

How can one reconcile this so-called will for peace with the oft-repeated assertion by the American ruling circles that they will never withdraw from Vietnam? They tell us that the United States cannot withdraw its troops from South Vietnam without dishonour, but does the honour of a nation consist in sending troops all over the world, to Vietnam and to Santo Domingo, in an effort to stamp out people's freedom?

They assure you that the United States is bound by its commitments towards the Saigon "administration" but you are well aware that this is sheer deception. No honest American would declare he is ready to die for the sake of Nguyen Cao Ky. In truth, the White House is paying and installing in Saigon its puppets, betrayers of the Fatherland, who then call for help to enable their patrons to intervene.

There is on the other hand a really solemn commitment made by the American government on July 20, 1954 at the Geneva Conference when the delegate of the United States, Bedell Smith, declared that his government would refrain from the use or threat of force to hinder the implementation of the signed agreements.

What are the contents of the Agreements signed in 1954?



They explicitly stipulate the recognition of the fundamental rights of our people: independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity. They prohibit the introduction of all foreign military personnel and armaments into both zones of Vietnam, the setting up of foreign military bases in these zones and their adherence to any military block, prohibit all foreign interference in Vietnamese affairs and provide for general elections to unify the country in 1956. All these provisions have been violated by the U.S. Government which nonetheless still declares itself desirous to see the Geneva Agreements implemented.

It seems that the Johnson administration has made it a rule to do the opposite of what it says. It speaks of peace while stepping up the war. It sends its emissaries throughout the world with its "peace proposals" while in South Vietnam U.S. troops are making large-scale use of poison gas and razing to the ground whole villages; while U.S. aircraft are daily violating the airspace of North Vietnam and preparing for intensified bombings, and while feverish preparations are being made for further troop dispatch to South Vietnam. It proposed "negotiations" while refusing to talk with its main interlocutor - the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation - the sole authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people, the organizer of the struggle for national independence. The N.L.F.'s programme of independence, democracy, peace, neutrality and ultimate peaceful reunification of the country has put in a concrete form the most profound aspirations of our entire people.

Any sensible person holds that the affairs of Vietnam must be settled by the Vietnamese people themselves. But the White House wants to install its lackeys in Saigon, arrogates to itself the right to send troops to a place over ten thousand kilometres away, to invade a foreign country, invents the fiction of a South Vietnamese state which must be forever separated from the North, and calls the Vietnamese who fight for liberation "aggressors". The U.S. government, which is carrying out the most atrocious war of aggression, muffles itself up in the "peace" cloak in an attempt to soothe the people's wrath.

The Vietnamese people love peace all the more as they have had their country ravaged by war for twenty years, and for eleven years now the northern part of Vietnam has been waging a relentless war against backwardness and poverty and building a society with a splendid future ahead. It is precisely because we cherish peace that we know that a faked peace would imply the sacrifice of the most fundamental rights of our people. Peace and respect for other our people's national rights are closely linked up with each other. A peace that ensures respect for Vietnam's national independence is also the most honourable peace for the United States.

We earnestly and loudly assert that it is you, American students and intellectuals, who, together with other strata of your people, are standing up against the war policy of Johnson, McNamara and their ilk, who are defending the name of the United States, and not those who rain napalm on our cities and villages and spread toxic products on our crops and countryside.

While we are writing this, our children are being burned by U.S. napalm, asphyxiated by U.S. gas, and thousands of American youths are falling on the Vietnamese battlefield without knowing for whom or for what they die.

Across the ocean which separates us, may the hands and hearts of the people of goodwill of our two countries meet again to stop this war of aggression imposed by the U.S. Government on our people!

We are convinced that our common efforts will tie up the hands of those who live on war, who dream of enslaving our people to satisfy their ambitions. We have the firm conviction that once peace is won our common action will enable us to establish really friendly relations between our two peoples.

American friends, raise your voice more powerfully and multiply your actions!

Demand a withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam!

Demand a halt to U.S. crimes in South Vietnam!

Demand an end to the bombing of North Vietnam!

Demand that the U.S. government respect the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people!

Together with the entire Vietnamese people, the Vietnamese intellectuals express aloud their sincere friendship and gratitude to you all.

C.I.A. KILLERS GET TWENTY DOLLARS FOR EACH MURDER IN VIETNAM

(from People's Democracy, Calcutta, India, August 21, 1966).

It may cost more sometimes but "the C.I.A. pays only \$20 for a murder in Vietnam, and this sum is paid only on the presentation of photographs of the victim," according to an American airman Chuck Bartos, reports Tass.

The flier also said, in an interview with the Australian journal Tribune, that one of the C.I.A. methods of dealing with "prisoners" was to drop them from aircraft flying at great altitudes. American helicopters were used for the purpose and it was regarded as "great fun", Bartos said. Bartos recently arrived in Australia to work under a contract. He said he spent several years in South Vietnam working on a contract with a transport company. The company was Vietnamese only in name. "I learned from my passengers," Bartos said, "that it was a cover for CIA operations in Vietnam." The tasks of the CIA included recruitment of saboteurs and intelligence men to be smuggled into North Vietnam, and spies planted into units of the National Liberation Front.

Bartos acknowledged that he had carried many such people in his plane. One of the CIA chiefs showed him a whole package of photographs of victims, and boasted that he was sending teams of killers throughout the country and paid them on presentation of

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