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U.S. Department of Justice

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C. 20535

November 4, 2016

MR. JOHN GREENEWALD JR.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

FOIPA Request No.: 1357830-000
Subject: RUSSELL, BERTRAND ARTHUR
WILLIAM

Dear Mr. Greenewald:

Records responsive to your request were previously processed under the provisions of the Freedom of Information Act. Enclosed is one CD containing 334 pages of previously processed documents and a copy of the Explanation of Exemptions. This release is being provided to you at no charge.

Documents or information referred to other Government agencies were not included in this release.

Please be advised that additional records potentially responsive to your subject may exist. If this release of previously processed material does not satisfy your information needs for the requested subject, you may request an additional search for records. Submit your request by mail or fax to – Work Process Unit, 170 Marcel Drive, Winchester, VA 22602, fax number (540) 868-4997. Please cite the FOIPA Request Number in your correspondence.

For your information, Congress excluded three discrete categories of law enforcement and national security records from the requirements of the FOIA. See 5 U.S. C. § 552(c) (2006 & Supp. IV (2010)). This response is limited to those records that are subject to the requirements of the FOIA. This is a standard notification that is given to all our requesters and should not be taken as an indication that excluded records do, or do not, exist.

For questions regarding our determinations, visit the www.fbi.gov/foia website under “Contact Us.” The FOIPA Request Number listed above has been assigned to your request. Please use this number in all correspondence concerning your request. Your patience is appreciated.

You may file an appeal by writing to the Director, Office of Information Policy (OIP), United States Department of Justice, Suite 11050, 1425 New York Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20530-0001, or you may submit an appeal through OIP's FOIAonline portal by creating an account on the following web site: <https://foiaonline.regulations.gov/foia/action/public/home>. Your appeal must be postmarked or electronically transmitted within ninety (90) days from the date of this letter in order to be considered timely. If you submit your appeal by mail, both the letter and the envelope should be clearly marked “Freedom of Information Act Appeal.” Please cite the FOIPA Request Number assigned to your request so that it may be easily identified.

You may seek dispute resolution services by contacting the Office of Government Information Services (OGIS) at 877-684-6448, or by emailing ogis@nara.gov. Alternatively, you may contact the FBI's FOIA Public Liaison by emailing foipaquestions@ic.fbi.gov. If you submit your dispute resolution correspondence by email, the subject heading should clearly state “Dispute Resolution Services.” Please also cite the FOIPA Request Number assigned to your request so that it may be easily identified.

Sincerely,

David M. Hardy
Section Chief,
Record/Information
Dissemination Section
Records Management Division

Enclosure(s)

EXPLANATION OF EXEMPTIONS

SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552

- (b)(1) (A) specifically authorized under criteria established by an Executive order to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or foreign policy and (B) are in fact properly classified to such Executive order;
- (b)(2) related solely to the internal personnel rules and practices of an agency;
- (b)(3) specifically exempted from disclosure by statute (other than section 552b of this title), provided that such statute (A) requires that the matters be withheld from the public in such a manner as to leave no discretion on issue, or (B) establishes particular criteria for withholding or refers to particular types of matters to be withheld;
- (b)(4) trade secrets and commercial or financial information obtained from a person and privileged or confidential;
- (b)(5) inter-agency or intra-agency memorandums or letters which would not be available by law to a party other than an agency in litigation with the agency;
- (b)(6) personnel and medical files and similar files the disclosure of which would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy;
- (b)(7) records or information compiled for law enforcement purposes, but only to the extent that the production of such law enforcement records or information (A) could reasonably be expected to interfere with enforcement proceedings, (B) would deprive a person of a right to a fair trial or an impartial adjudication, (C) could reasonably be expected to constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy, (D) could reasonably be expected to disclose the identity of confidential source, including a State, local, or foreign agency or authority or any private institution which furnished information on a confidential basis, and, in the case of record or information compiled by a criminal law enforcement authority in the course of a criminal investigation, or by an agency conducting a lawful national security intelligence investigation, information furnished by a confidential source, (E) would disclose techniques and procedures for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions, or would disclose guidelines for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions if such disclosure could reasonably be expected to risk circumvention of the law, or (F) could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety of any individual;
- (b)(8) contained in or related to examination, operating, or condition reports prepared by, on behalf of, or for the use of an agency responsible for the regulation or supervision of financial institutions; or
- (b)(9) geological and geophysical information and data, including maps, concerning wells.

SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552a

- (d)(5) information compiled in reasonable anticipation of a civil action proceeding;
- (j)(2) material reporting investigative efforts pertaining to the enforcement of criminal law including efforts to prevent, control, or reduce crime or apprehend criminals;
- (k)(1) information which is currently and properly classified pursuant to an Executive order in the interest of the national defense or foreign policy, for example, information involving intelligence sources or methods;
- (k)(2) investigatory material compiled for law enforcement purposes, other than criminal, which did not result in loss of a right, benefit or privilege under Federal programs, or which would identify a source who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
- (k)(3) material maintained in connection with providing protective services to the President of the United States or any other individual pursuant to the authority of Title 18, United States Code, Section 3056;
- (k)(4) required by statute to be maintained and used solely as statistical records;
- (k)(5) investigatory material compiled solely for the purpose of determining suitability, eligibility, or qualifications for Federal civilian employment or for access to classified information, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
- (k)(6) testing or examination material used to determine individual qualifications for appointment or promotion in Federal Government service the release of which would compromise the testing or examination process;
- (k)(7) material used to determine potential for promotion in the armed services, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished the material pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1357830-0

Total Deleted Page(s) = 6

Page 2 ~ b1; b3;

Page 3 ~ b1; b3;

Page 252 ~ Referral/Direct;

Page 253 ~ Referral/Direct;

Page 254 ~ Referral/Direct;

Page 255 ~ Referral/Direct;

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X Deleted Page(s) X
X No Duplication Fee X
X For this Page X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX



Federal Bureau of Investigation
Freedom of Information / Privacy Acts
Release

Subject: Bertrand Arthur William
Russell

~~SECRET~~

4/10/67

2/15/02

39063 ELW/DAG/CDK (Public Release)

AIRTEL

954762

To: SACs, New York (105-82441) (Enclosures - 2)
Los Angeles (Enclosure)
San Francisco (Enclosure)
Newark (Enclosure)
Atlanta (Enclosure)
Boston (Enclosures - 2)

From: Director, FBI (105-156243)

**PROPOSED WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL ORGANIZED
BY BERTRAND RUSSELL FOUNDATION
LONDON, ENGLAND
IS - VIETNAM
IS - VIETNAM
DUDED 4/24/67**

*Bracket in paragraph 1, 169c1 and 2 page 2 and brackets in page 2 classified
per OGA letter dated 2/20/02. 39063 ELW/DAG/CDK 12/10/02*

Enclosed for each recipient is a copy of [redacted]

[redacted]

b1
b3

[redacted] with subjects of current investigations by the FBI.

For the information of recipients other than New York, the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, London, England, in August, 1966, originated the idea of holding a public trial to try the President of the U. S. and other U. S. officials for war crimes committed in Vietnam. Various individuals, some with communist backgrounds, have participated in working for and supporting the plans of the tribunal. It appears that actually the court is in the nature of a kangaroo court with its final judgment formed at the time of its origin. If and when the tribunal convenes, it will undoubtedly be used by the communists to attack U. S. policies. The trial was originally scheduled for March in France; however, France forbid any public trial of this nature. Where or when the trial will be held is not known at this time.

SEARCHED [] INDEXED []
SERIALIZED [] FILED []
APR 17 1967
FBI - [redacted]

b7C

105-22680-2

~~SECRET~~

Airtel to SACs, New York
RE: PROPOSED WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL ORGANIZED
BY BERTRAND RUSSELL FOUNDATION
LONDON, ENGLAND
105-156243

b1
b3

The office of origin in investigations of persons [redacted] is instructed to review its file on each person listed below opposite the appropriate field office in order to corroborate the fact that the individual has been connected in some manner with the proposed tribunal. Each office should then prepare a succinct, clear and brief summary of information concerning the individual listed for that office as indicated below which can be disseminated by the Bureau to key U. S. Government officials and agencies. The write-up on each individual should be carefully prepared eliminating extraneous data and not over one paragraph in length. Include date and place of birth. Although New York is not the office of origin in any investigation of [redacted] in view of his position with CORE, New York is the most logical office to prepare information concerning him. Bufiles indicate that [redacted] born [redacted] Washington, D. C., residence (in 1963) [redacted] Springfield, Massachusetts, in October, 1966, was a member of the Central Committee of SNCC. Enclosed for Boston and New York is [redacted]

b7C

b1
b3

[redacted] (S)

- New York - [redacted]
- Los Angeles - [Ralph Schoenman, [redacted]]
- San Francisco - [redacted]
- Newark - [redacted]
- Atlanta - Stokely Carmichael
- Boston - [redacted]

b7C

The letterhead memoranda requested of recipients should bear the same caption of this airtel and each office should submit one letterhead memorandum with nine copies which should include the write-ups on all of the individuals listed for the particular office. Pertinent information [redacted] should be used as the predication for the letterhead memorandum. BUDED 4/24/67.

b1
b3



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California

April 24, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

2/15/02
CLASSIFIED BY 39063 ELW/PA6/WLW (Derivative)
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1
954762
SECRET

PROPOSED WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL ORGANIZED BY
BERTRAND RUSSELL FOUNDATION, LONDON, ENGLAND

Paragraph 1, page 1 classified per OGA letter dated 2/20/02
30063 ELW/PA6/WLW

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE



[Redacted] (S) b1

[Redacted] was born [Redacted] at Chicago. b3

Illinois. His occupation is that of a practicing attorney and he



[Redacted] Los Angeles, California. The April 14th, 1967, issue of the "Los Angeles Times", Page 12, reflects an article captioned "US Bombs N. Vietnam Civilians, Lawyer Says". The article reflects that [Redacted] a Los Angeles attorney who recently returned from North Vietnam claims that Americans are "systematically and deliberately bombing population centers" there. He stated [Redacted] b7C

[Redacted] sent to Vietnam by the International War Crimes Tribunal. He related the Tribunal is not associated with any Government and depends for much of its support on the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation. While in Vietnam, [Redacted] according to the article, met with HO CHI MINH, President of North Vietnam. Sources, who have furnished reliable information in the past, have advised [Redacted] has been a member of the National Lawyers Guild since 1959. He has acted as legal counsel to Communist Party members and sympathizers and has expressed opposition to the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the Smith Act, and the Walter McCarran Act. During the past several years he has been extremely active in participation in demonstrations, speeches, and teach-ins protesting the war in Vietnam.

Ralph Benedek Schoenman, born October 16, 1935, at New York, New York, is employed as Director of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, 3/4 Shavers Place, London, England. He resides [Redacted]

- 10 - Bureau (RM)
 - 4 - Los Angeles (105-22080)
 - (1-100-26091) (R. SCHOENMAN)
 - (1-100-63201) [Redacted] b7C
 - (1-100-55602) [Redacted]
- JGD/pic (14)

SEARCHED
INDEXED
SERIALIZED
GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification
105-22080-3

PROPOSED WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL
ORGANIZED BY BERTRAND RUSSELL
FOUNDATION, LONDON, ENGLAND

~~SECRET~~

at 8 Roland Gardens, London, Southwest, 7, England. The March 25th, 1966, issue of "Time" Magazine, Page 21, Column 1, under the caption "Protest" describes Schoenman as "a Brooklyn expatriate who is chief lieutenant of the Bertrand Russell's 'better-Red-than-dead' campaign in London". The December 1, 1966, edition of the "New York Herald Tribune", European Edition, Page 2, reflects an article captioned "Russell's Secretary: Tribunal Not Trial", by Ronald Koven, datelined Paris, November 30th, setting forth results of an interview with Schoenman. Schoenman said he shuttles between London and Paris to get things set up for the (War Crimes) Tribunal in Paris. He said he had just returned from a trip to Hanoi on November 10th, his second in 1966. He said he spoke at length to North Vietnamese President HO CHI MINH. It was noted that a week after Schoenman's visit, Mr. HO dropped his earlier indifference to the Tribunal and sent Lord Russell public congratulations for organizing the Tribunal. A confidential source abroad, advised that in 1960, Schoenman was a founding member of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War, which was later to become the Committee of 100. In late 1965, he was reported to be writing an indictment of the U.S. for its part in the Vietnam war.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

AIRTEL

4/24/67

2/15/02

NLS/DRE-60267-AA5

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

957/132

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-156243)

FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (105-22730)(RUC)

RE: PROPOSED WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL
 ORGANIZED BY BERTRAND RUSSELL
 FOUNDATION, LONDON, ENGLAND
 IS - VIETNAM

Under the paragraph 1, 2, 3, 4 and paragraph 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000

Re Bureau airtel dated 4/10/67 and [redacted]

b1
b3

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are ten copies of a letterhead memorandum identifying and reflecting the association of [redacted] and RALPH SCHOENMAN with the War Crimes Tribunal.

b7C

It is noted a review of Los Angeles file 100-26091; Bufile 100-356928, entitled "[redacted] SM-C", failed to corroborate [redacted] association with the proposed War Crimes Tribunal. No information was located in this regard except that information set forth in Bureau letter of 3/17/67 (under the [redacted] caption) from [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] it is noted [redacted] did obtain a passport in March, 1967, and executed a affidavit reflecting he would not engage in prohibited travel. No information has been received indicating he left the country.

b1
b7C

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 10)(RM)
- 4 - Los Angeles
 - (1 - 100-26091) (R. SCHOENMAN)
 - (1 - 100-53201) [redacted]
 - (1 - 100-55602) [redacted]

b7C

JGD/pic
(7)

FILED
APR 24 1967
LOS ANGELES

SEARCHED _____
INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED _____
FILED _____

AIRTEL

~~SECRET~~

4

~~SECRET~~

LA 105-22080

In view of the above, [redacted] name is not included b7C
in the attached LHM. In the event information is received
reflecting his participation in War Crimes Tribunal activity
this will promptly be furnished the Bureau.

As the Bureau is aware, the names of [redacted] b7C
[redacted] (Bufile 100-431872; Los Angeles file 100-55602)
and RALPH BENEDEK SCHOENMAN (Bufile 100-430184; Los Angeles
file 100-63201) are all included on the Security Index of
the Los Angeles Office.

The enclosed LHM is classified "SECRET" [redacted]

(s) b1
b3

~~SECRET~~

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-61745)

DATE: 4/3/67

FROM: SA [redacted] b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/15/02 BY 38063 ELW/DAG/CJW
954762

SUBJECT: WOMEN STRIKE FOR PEACE (WSP)
IS-C

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[redacted]	San Fernando Valley WSP meeting on 2/17/67.	3/17/67	Writer	[redacted] (WR)

b2
b7D

Informant's report is quoted as follows:

b2
b7D

CC: [redacted]

- 105-18410 [redacted] 100-58371 [redacted] (RI-B)
- 100-69154 (TEACH-IN CAL STATE FULLERTON) 100-63201 (WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL)
- 105-12624 (NATIONAL STUDENTS ASSOCIATION) 100-68155 ("RAMPARTS MAGAZINE")
- 100-68845 (SOUTHERN CALIFORNIANS FOR NEW POLITICS) 100-68283 [redacted]
- 100-67042 [redacted] 100-59007 (CDC)
- 100-34639 [redacted] (ST) 100-50335 [redacted]
- 100-64580 [redacted] 100-56027 [redacted]
- 100-45228 [redacted] 100-68937 (DIALOGUE BOOK SHOP)
- 100-68891 (SPRING MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE) TO END THE WAR IN VIET NAM) 105-18484 [redacted]
- 100-67246 [redacted] (SI) 100-67508 [redacted] (RI-B)
- 100-68320 [redacted] (RI-B)
- 100-49388 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-60978 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-64694 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-54001 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-21834 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-64567 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-68415 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-66858 [redacted] (SI)
- 105-2011 [redacted]
- 100-68853 (COMMITTEE TO DEFEND [redacted])

b7C

105-22080-5
SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
APR 8 1967
FBI - LOS ANGELES

GGB:LAL
(33)

Read by [signature]

b2
b7D

b7C

LA 100-61745

"Canoga Park
March 17, 1967

"The San Fernando Valley Women Strike for Peace held a public meeting on 2/17/67 at the Van Nuys Women's Club at 14036 Sylvan St., Van Nuys. The guest speaker for the evening was [redacted]. His topic was supposed to be 'Values, Commitment and the Draft.' The donation was \$1.50 for adults and \$1.00 for students.

"Shortly after 8:30 PM, [redacted] introduced [redacted] b7C

[redacted] said he didn't want to speak on the Draft. He said he didn't want to be responsible for kids refusing to go into the Army or burning their draft cards because the consequences were so great. Instead he spoke about the peace movement and the role of New Politics in the coming elections.

[redacted] said that never before since the beginning of the Vietnam War has there been so many people rising up against it. He also claimed that never before has the peace movement been so fragmented. He said he spoke at a teach-in earlier that day at Cal State at Fullerton. He said there were at least 15 tables manned by 15 different organizations with peace literature on them. He said imagine the quandry that a newly awakened person would be in if in attempting to learn more about the position of the peace movement on Vietnam he picked up the literature from these tables. He said these groups have varying lines on how to end the Vietnam War (i.e. negotiate - immediate withdrawal - leave it to the U.N.) He also said there was literature on both sides of the Sino-Soviet dispute. He said that in order to be the most effective the peace movement was going to have to find activities in which all of the groups could work together. One activity that he suggested for the So. California area was bring the War Crimes Tribunal (sponsored by the Bertrand Russell Foundation) to this area. He said that those involved in the Tribunal would like to hold part of the proceedings in the United States.

[redacted] said that he did research for a couple of months digging up the facts that were used in the Ramparts article on the b7C

LA 100-61745

"CIA and the National Students Association. Part of the research was done in the files of the Internal Revenue Service in Washington D.C. He said that we were going to hear a lot more about the involvements of the CIA with tax free foundation, & labor unions as well as other areas.

[redacted] then got into the subject of upcoming elections and New Politics. He said he'd like to see [redacted]

[redacted] He said that he recently wrote a 10,000 word article on ROBERT KENNEDY for Ramparts. He said that he could have summarized the whole thing in one sentence 'BOBBY KENNEDY'is chicken shit.' He said some of the people in New Politics want to go with a candidate to the Democratic Convention. He said he thinks that the only reason that those disenchanted with the Democratic Party should go there is with the idea of making a big commotion to disrupt it. He said that New Politics in California is not progressing as well as it should because of arguments between the members of the California Coordinating Committee for New Politics.

b7C

"During the question and answer period, someone asked why New Politics locally was running candidates against [redacted] and [redacted] said he didn't know very much about the local school board race. [redacted] said that it wasn't fair to say that the decision to run candidates against [redacted] was made by the people in Southern Californians for New Politics. He said he has been told that 3 or 4 individuals in SCNP took it upon themselves to run a slate of four. [redacted] said that this wasn't the way they did things in New Politics up North. He said they have over a hundred people at their meetings and big decisions are always made by the body.

b7C

[redacted] backed up [redacted] charge on the SCNP slate of candidates. [redacted] said he was a [redacted] but he disagreed with [redacted] about disrupting the Democratic Convention. He thought the delegates who were disenchanted with the Democratic Party ought to go to the convention with a candidate to run against JOHNSON.

b7C

[redacted] introduced [redacted] [redacted] pledged that he would do all in his power to help the kids who wanted

b7C

LA 100-61745

"to avoid the draft. He said that he'd give the kids letters to take to the draft boards, he'd provide literature on how to avoid the draft. He said kids interested in a letter or literature could come to his office at 5552 Fulton Ave. - the Dialogue Book Shop.

[redacted] said she was also a [redacted] and agreed with his description of BOBBY KENNEDY. [redacted] said he used to write for the Realist magazine and they were never interested in documenting the material they printed.

b7C

[redacted] said that there was literature available on the tables and suggested that a pamphlet 'Uptight with the Draft' was especially good.

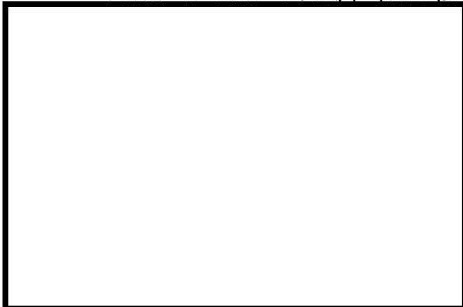
[redacted] who has a New Politics group in the valley argued with [redacted] about the Southern Californians for New Politics.

[redacted] who was there with [redacted] and [redacted] said that [redacted] had gone to the Feb. 4-5th planning meeting of the Spring Mobilization Committee in San Francisco with [redacted]. She said that [redacted] was still in UCLA Medical Center where they have been giving him extensive tests to determine the cause of his paralysis.

b7C

[redacted] said he thinks [redacted] trouble is psychological because [redacted] is working in an industry making war material and he never hears anything at home except violent anti-war talk. [redacted] thinks this conflict has caused the paralysis.

"The following people were among those present:



b7C

LA 100-61745

[redacted]

[redacted]

b7C

[redacted] (phonetic)

[redacted]

[redacted] was distributing leaflets on the
[redacted] speech to be held Feb. 25, 1967
& sponsored by the Committee to Defend [redacted]"

ACTION:

Informant was thoroughly interviewed concerning the above and could add nothing further.

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

INDEX:

[redacted]

b7C



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Los Angeles, California
May 8, 1967

~~SECRET~~

CLASSIFIED BY 39063 ELW/DAG/WJ (Derivative)

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1

954762

Paragraphs 1 and 2 ^{Page 1} classified per OGA letter dated 2/20/02
39063 ELW/DAG/WJ 2/20/02

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

PROPOSED WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL ORGANIZED BY
BERTRAND RUSSELL FOUNDATION, LONDON, ENGLAND

[REDACTED]

b1
b3

[REDACTED] (S)

[REDACTED]

b1
b3

[REDACTED] (S)

A confidential source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised on May 4, 1967 that Los Angeles attorneys [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] are presently in Stockholm, Sweden for the purpose of attending the War Crimes Tribunal organized by the Bertrand Russell Foundation. This source stated that [REDACTED] will present evidence from North Vietnam to the Tribunal. He plans to return to the United States on Sunday, May 7, 1967. [REDACTED] according to this source will remain in Stockholm until at least May 14, 1967

b7C

[REDACTED] born [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] is an attorney with offices located at [REDACTED]

and resides at [REDACTED] both Los Angeles, California and [REDACTED]. Sources who have furnished reliable information in the past have reported he was an [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED] Southern California District Communist Party (SCDCP) as late as 1965.

- 10 - Bureau
- 3 - Los Angeles (105-22080)
- (1 - 100-55602)
- (1 - 100-26091)

~~SECRET~~
GROUP I
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

SEARCHED
INDEXED
SERIALIZED
FILED

JGD:rmb
(13)

b7C

105-22080-6

~~SECRET~~

PROPOSED WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL
ORGANIZED BY BERTRAND RUSSELL
FOUNDATION, LONDON, ENGLAND

During 1966 he financially supported and participated in activities of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP)(see appendix). He continues to act as attorney for members of the CP and PLP.

[redacted] was born [redacted] at Chicago, Illinois. His occupation is that of a [redacted] and [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] Los Angeles, California. The April 14th, 1967, issue of the "Los Angeles Times", Page 12, reflects an article captioned "US Bombs N. Vietnam Civilians, Lawyer Says". The article reflects that Hugh Manes, a Los Angeles attorney who recently returned from North Vietnam claims that Americans are "systematically and deliberately bombing population centers" there. He stated he visited North Vietnam from March 10, through March 31, as a member of a five man committee sent to Vietnam by the International War Crimes Tribunal. He related the Tribunal is not associated with any Government and depends for much of its support on the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation. While in Vietnam, [redacted] according to the article, met with HO CHI MINH, President of North Vietnam. Sources, who have furnished reliable information in the past, have advised [redacted] has been a member of the National Lawyer Guild since 1959. He has acted as legal counsel to CP members and sympathizers and has expressed opposition to the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the Smith Act, and the Walter Mc Carran Act. During the past several years he has been extremely active in participation in demonstrations, speeches, and teach-ins protesting the war in Vietnam.

b7C

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~~SECRET~~

APPENDIX

~~SECRET~~

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

A source advised on April 20, 1965, that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), held its first national convention April 15-18, 1965, at New York City, to organize the PLM into the PLP. The PLP will have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

The "New York Times", April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as Milton Rosen of New York, President, and William Epton of New York and Mort Scheer of San Francisco, Vice Presidents. A 20-member National Committee was elected to direct the Party until the next convention.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by Mr. Rosen and Mr. Scheer after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line".

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor", a bimonthly magazine; "Challenge", a biweekly New York City newspaper; and "Spark", a west coast newspaper.

The June 1, 1965, issue of "Challenge", page 6, states that, "this paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire government on every level."

The source advised that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 622, 132 Nassau Street, New York City, where the PLP publications are prepared.

APPENDIX

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Los Angeles, California
May 8, 1967

Title PROPOSED WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL
 ORGANIZED BY BERTRAND RUSSELL
 FOUNDATION, LONDON, ENGLAND

Character

Reference Los Angeles memorandum dated and
 captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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~~SECRET~~

CLASSIFIED BY NLS/DAG-60267-AAG
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X L 5/8/87
954762

C

AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
Bracketed information in paragraphs 1 and 3 was classified
Per OGA letter dated 2/20/02: 39063 ELN/PAG/ELN 2/21/02

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-156243)
FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (105-22080)(RUC)
SUBJECT: PROPOSED WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL
ORGANIZED BY BERTRAND RUSSELL
FOUNDATION, LONDON, ENGLAND
IS - IVETNAM

Re Bureau airtel dated 4/10/67 and [redacted] b1
[redacted] and Los Angeles airtel and LHM dated [redacted] b3
4/24/67. (S)

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are ten (10)
copies of a LHM reflecting the association of [redacted] b7C
[redacted] and [redacted] with the War Crimes Tribunal.

The enclosed LHM is classified secret [redacted] b1
[redacted] (S) b3

The confidential source referred to in the
attached LHM who furnished information regarding [redacted]
and [redacted] as being in Stockholm to attend the War
Tribunal, (was furnished telephonically to SA [redacted] b7C
[redacted] on 5/4/67) is [redacted] (S) b1

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

- 3 - Bureau (Encls.10)(RM)
- ③ - Los Angeles
(1 - 100-55602) [redacted]
- (1 - 100-26091) [redacted]

JGD:nmb
(6)

b7C

[Handwritten signatures and initials]
Bureau

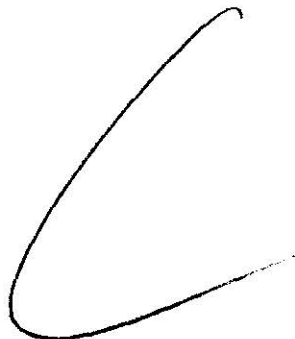
SEARCHED
INDEXED
SERIALIZED
FILED

[redacted] b7C

~~SECRET~~

105-22080-7u

5/17/67



AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-431872)
 FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-55602) (C)
 SUBJECT: [REDACTED] b7C
 SM - C
 OO: Los Angeles

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 2/15/02 BY 39063 ELW/DGG/CWJ
 95476Z

Remytel, dated 5/5/67, indicating [REDACTED] in Stockholm, Sweden, to present evidence obtained in North Vietnam to the International War Crimes Tribunal sponsored by the Bertrand Russell Foundation; and my Airtels and letterhead memoranda, dated 1/12/67, and 4/13/67, relating to the foreign travel of [REDACTED] b7C

For the Bureau's information there are enclosed 11 copies of a letterhead memorandum reporting [REDACTED] return from Stockholm, and his appearance at a meeting of the Women Strike for Peace (WSP), on 5/12/67, and on Television Station KTTV, Channel 11, Los Angeles, on 5/14/67. b7C

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 11) (REGISTERED)
- 1 - San Francisco (Encl. 1) (REGISTERED)
- 7 - Los Angeles
 - (1 - [REDACTED] b2
 - (1 - [REDACTED] b7C
 - (1 - 157-814) [REDACTED] b7D
 - (1 - 100-61745) (WSP) [REDACTED]
 - (1 - 100-58371) [REDACTED]
 - (1 - 105-22080) (WAR TRIBUNAL)

GGE/tjs
 (11) -

SEARCHED _____
 INDEXED _____
 SERIALIZED *tdj*
 FILED *tdj*

105-22080-8

LA 100-55602

The Bureau may wish to make one or more copies of the enclosed letterhead memorandum available to Legat, London, as it contains data relating to the London based Bertrand Russell Foundation, and to [redacted] activities in Stockholm, Sweden. b7C

An information copy is being furnished the San Francisco Division, as it contains data relating to a professor from the University of California at Berkeley who was with [redacted] in Cambodia and North Vietnam. b7C

There has been no attempt to characterize that individual, or television personality [redacted] in instant letterhead memorandum. b7C

Instant letterhead memorandum is classified "Confidential" to protect [redacted] and [redacted] sources of continuing value, designated [redacted] and [redacted] herein. b2 b7D

ADMINISTRATIVE

[redacted] who introduced [redacted] at the meeting of the WSP, 5/12/67, is the subject of a Reserve Index, Section B card in the Los Angeles Division (Los Angeles file 100-58371, Bureau file 100-423782). b7C



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Los Angeles, California
May 17, 1967

100-55602

DECLASSIFIED ON 2/15/02
BY 39063 ELW / DRG / CUS
954762

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED]

b7C

SECURITY MATTER - C

Reference is made to prior memoranda relating to the foreign travel of [REDACTED] including those of January 12, 1967, and April 13, 1967. b7C

It was learned on May 14, 1967, from [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] that [REDACTED] had returned from a trip to Stockholm, Sweden, and appeared at an evening meeting of the Women Strike for Peace (WSP) (see appendix), held at the Encino Woman's Club, 4924 Paso Robles, Encino, California, on May 12, 1967. b2 b7C

[REDACTED] was introduced by [REDACTED] of the San Fernando Valley Chapter of the WSP, who according to [REDACTED] had entertained [REDACTED] for dinner in the [REDACTED] during the spring of 1965. b2 b7C

[REDACTED] an attorney with offices in Hollywood, California, said he had been a member of an investigating team to investigate the charges that U.S. aircraft were bombing civilian targets and villages in North Vietnam, contrary to information emanating from the U.S. Department of State which indicates that all bombing has been confined to military targets. b7C

[REDACTED] said his investigating team was the third such team dispatched to North Vietnam, by the Bertrand Russell Foundation of England. He said that [REDACTED] (phonetic) [REDACTED] California, someone from Paris, France, and two other individuals made up this team. b7C

- 11 - Bureau (100-431872) (REGISTERED)
- 1 - San Francisco (REGISTERED)
- 7 - Los Angeles

GGB/tjs
(19)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~Group 1~~
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED] b7C

While on a plane en route to their Far East destination it became apparent that [REDACTED] was on the same plane with them. [REDACTED] was pleased to learn of their mission and he invited them all to his palace, which they readily accepted. b7C

According to [REDACTED] while he and the other members of his investigating team were in Cambodia, there were several "border incidents". Such incidents have become common daily occurrences, [REDACTED] said. b7C

The team, including [REDACTED] visited many North Vietnamese villages where they personally observed evidence of U.S. bombings. He saw and took photographs of bomb craters, victims of anti-personnel bombs, etc. He brought with him, to this WSP meeting, a baseball-sized bomb, which he said was one of many such bombs which were encased in huge canisters. Upon impact these canisters burst and the individual bombs contained within also burst, spreading lethal splinters of metal over wide areas. He told of various women and children he had personally observed bearing the scars of the splinters from these anti-personnel bombs. He told of the bombing of rice fields, where children were collecting rice, and of a bombed "seminary" where a lot of nuns were staying. [REDACTED] said he interviewed two of the nuns who escaped from this "seminary". He reported they asked that he return to the U.S. and ask the question, "How could the Americans ever believe a seminary could be a military target?" b7C

He described a small Vietnamese village, Lam Pay (phonetic), with only 70 to 80 huts "which was 'nowheresville'". He went on to say that this village was far from anything dealing with the military, and yet it had been bombed with anti-personnel bombs.

He gave a vivid oral description, and showed photographs of North Vietnamese persons burned with napalm. According to [REDACTED] there is no antidote to stop such burning; and, in fact, persons so burned often have their bodies smoke and burn for as much as a month after the original contact with napalm. b7C

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED] b7C

[REDACTED] said that our only reason for using this horrible weapon of burning destruction was "we are fighting communists". He then referred to several bulletin boards about two feet by three feet in size, each of which was completely covered with photographs, which individually were approximately five inches by eight inches in size. He said "Most of the individuals you see pictured here are communists, but you have to remember that they are also human beings, made of flesh and blood, and that napalm hurts them just like it would any other human being." b7C

While in North Vietnam, [REDACTED] said he was taken to a hospital. He asked his guide why there was no evidence on the outside of the hospital, such as a huge painted red cross, to indicate that it was a hospital. His guide replied that long ago the North Vietnamese learned not to mark their hospitals in such fashion as the Americans immediately designated such buildings as their next "military" target. b7C

[REDACTED] did not indicate if he had visited South Vietnam, but he did say that he had interviewed many refugees from South Vietnam in North Vietnam. Some of these refugees told him they had been imprisoned and tortured by Diem. b7C

Following the completion of his investigations in North Vietnam, [REDACTED] said he traveled to Stockholm, Sweden, where he presented his evidence, photographs, and the results of his interviews to the War Crimes Tribunal set up under the sponsorship of the Bertrand Russell Foundation. He said the Tribunal found his evidence corroborated that of the other investigating teams; that the U.S. is the aggressor, and is guilty of using napalm and anti-personnel bombs on villages and non-military targets. b7C

[REDACTED] said, "The United States Government lies to us daily as to what is really happening in Vietnam." b7C

During the question and answer period, [REDACTED] was asked whether or not the Russians were sending military aid to North Vietnam. He answered that on a daily basis they saw Soviet convoys driving into North Vietnam "bumper to bumper", loaded with military supplies and provisions. b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED] b7C

He was asked what he thought were the chances that Red China would enter the fighting. He answered that it had not been his job to ask questions concerning China, the USSR, their ideological split, or other such questions; but that in talking with different persons in North Vietnam they volunteered the information that if Hanoi proper is bombed, or if U.S. bombers drop their bomb loads north of the 17th Parallel, it will be unnecessary for the North Vietnamese to request military aid from China, as she would have already begun to fight.

[REDACTED] was asked what the thought the public could do to show its opposition to the American position in Vietnam. He answered, we have demonstrated everywhere, and after each large or major demonstration, the U.S. has just escalated the war that much more. He said he felt an effective thing to do was to refuse to pay the ten per cent Federal Excise Tax on our telephone bills. He said that this causes both the telephone companies and the federal government so much trouble and so much expense that it is quite considerable and thus quite effective. b7C

He also mentioned that [REDACTED] does not pay 50 per cent of her income taxes, as she figures that percentage of the tax dollar is spent for military purposes. b7C

"Or", he said, "you can do what I am doing; and that is not work quite so hard, and thus not earn quite so much; and then there will be that much less on which you pay taxes. If we have to continue to demonstrate, we should do so at the such places as Dow Chemical Plant, where the munitions are being manufactured."

According to [REDACTED] said that he was in Cambodia on March 8, 1967; and that he spent three weeks in Hanoi while on this investigating mission. b2 b7C

It was announced that he was to appear on the [REDACTED] Television Show, Sunday, May 14, 1967. b7C

[REDACTED] reported that [REDACTED] did appear on the [REDACTED] Television Show, broadcast from Television Station [REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED] b7C

KTTV, Channel 11, Los Angeles, 10:30 p.m., on Sunday night, May 14, 1967. [REDACTED] introduced him as a Los Angeles lawyer.

[REDACTED] reported that he had testified before the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal in Stockholm, which was not a trial, but merely an investigation of American conduct in Vietnam. There were no judges, as such, but a panel of experts, including some Americans. b7C

[REDACTED] said he testified to what he saw in Hanoi, and in five different North Vietnamese provinces. He said, "I saw the effects of our bombing of military targets and civilian populations. More significantly, I testified to the immoral and illegal nature of the action in Vietnam of this government; and I testified that as a result of not only my observations, but also my studies as a lawyer, that our country is wrong in Vietnam and is defying its constitution." b7C

[REDACTED] asked why other Americans did not appear before the Tribunal to present the American position. [REDACTED] said the Tribunal did not want to be blamed or held responsible for any unauthorized person purporting to represent the American position.

[REDACTED] then said that evidently the Tribunal wanted to hold a trial and condemn the U.S. [REDACTED] said "We never said we were going to have a trial or that we were going to condemn the United States. The United States has condemned itself by its own actions and has been condemned by press accounts of U.S. action in Vietnam; the napalming of kids, the murder of women and children, the use of anti-personnel bombs, and the fact that we are in that country illegally." b7C

[REDACTED] asked, "Do you believe the U.S. napalmed innocent women and children intentionally?"

[REDACTED] answered, "I certainly do!" b7C

[REDACTED] then said, "Would you like to explain why you say America is intentionally doing this to women and children?"

[REDACTED] said, "Napalm is designed not just to kill people. It is designed to torture them. The very nature of

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED] b7C

"the device and the very nature of the wound it causes are tortures. The agony people live with the rest of their lives when they are struck by napalm is just plain torture. It defies the concepts of the rules of warfare. Apart from that, when you use anti-personnel bombs from the sky, you intend to kill people whether you are aiming at military targets or aiming to bring the government to the conference tables into submission."

[REDACTED] said he felt that Ho Chi Minh was equally responsible for the carnage.

b7C

[REDACTED] countered, "I'm suggesting that we are an aggressor; that we have no business being in Vietnam; that we are in defiance of the constitutional laws of our country, and that as long as we are in that posture, there is only one thing for us to do. Get out! There is nothing to negotiate!"

[REDACTED] asked if [REDACTED] suggested that the U.S. was guilty of genocide. [REDACTED] said he did. [REDACTED] asked if [REDACTED] would agree that genocide was the deliberate annihilation of one people by another. [REDACTED] agreed. Then [REDACTED] again asked if [REDACTED] honestly felt the U.S. was engaged in genocide.

b7C

[REDACTED] answered, "I'm saying that we dropped, in 1966, according to [REDACTED] 638 thousand tons of bombs in Vietnam; more than we dropped in the whole Pacific theater. In one province we dropped two bombs for every Vietnamese. That's what I call genocide!"

b7C

[REDACTED] then asked, "They you feel this is a deliberate war to wipe out a certain race of people?"

[REDACTED] replied, "This war gives the Vietnamese two choices; either surrender or face extermination." [REDACTED] said the majority of people in Vietnam support the National Liberation Front, and that it could not exist for two minutes, let alone two years, without the support of the majority of the people.

b7C

When asked to compare the crimes of the U.S. in Vietnam with those of the Nazis during and prior to World

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[REDACTED] b7C

War II, [REDACTED] said he felt the U.S. was guilty of far greater crimes.

When asked how he financed his trips to Hanoi and Stockholm, [REDACTED] said that all his expenses were paid for by the War Crimes Tribunal.

b7C

[REDACTED] In closing this portion of his television program, [REDACTED] indicated he felt this was such a controversial topic that he would try and arrange for [REDACTED] to appear at greater length in the near future.

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APPENDIX

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE
WOMEN STRIKE FOR PEACE,
Also Known As
Women's International Strike for Peace

A source advised on May 17, 1966, that the Women Strike for Peace (WSP) in the Southern California area began its operations in the late fall of 1961, as an affiliate of the national organization formed in Washington, D.C. It is a peace oriented women's organization which is opposed to the present American foreign policy in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. It has also sought legislation which would bring about the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA). In recent months the organization has sponsored demonstrations protesting the United States involvement in Vietnam and calling for the complete withdrawal of all United States troops from Vietnam. In the spring of 1966, it was instrumental in originating and putting into effect a campaign advocating support for "peace candidates" in the upcoming 1966 Congressional elections.

The same source stated that WSP is a non-membership organization and has no officers. The organization is open to women of all political opinions who are interested in world peace. It makes no effort to exclude from its activities members of, or persons sympathetic to, the Communist Party and related groups.

The guiding force behind the Southern California WSP groups is MARY CLARKE. A second source advised in July, 1955, that CLARKE was dropped from the Western Division, Los Angeles County Communist Party (LACCP) in the Spring of 1955, for personal reasons and not because of any political differences with the LACCP.

The first source advised that Southern California WSP maintains its office at 2308 Clyde Street, Los Angeles. It receives mail through Post Office Box 19737, Los Angeles 19, California.

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California
May 17, 1957

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-55602

Title

[Redacted]

b7C

Character

SECURITY MATTER - C

Reference
b7C

Letterhead memorandum of SA
[Redacted] dated and
captioned as above at Los
Angeles.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

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Date received 5/9/67	Received from (name or symbol number) [Redacted] b2 b7D	Received by [Redacted]
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FOUNDATION BULLETIN

Volume 1 Number 5

Contents

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DATE 2/15/02 BY 37063 ELW/DSG/GW
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"Negotiations Vs. Withdrawal,"
by Bertrand Russell

"Message to Puerto Rican
People,"
by Stokely Carmichael

"In Support of the Tribunal,"
by Christopher Koch

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FOUNDATION BULLETIN

February 1, 1967.

published by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation

John Gerassi,
Chairman

Russell Stetler,
Executive Secretary.

Once again, there has been considerable speculation on the question of peace talks and possible negotiations to end the Vietnam war. In this context, we feel that Lord Russell's analysis of the arguments for a negotiated settlement as opposed to the withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam is especially relevant.

By way of introduction, we wish to point out that the Vietnamese point of view on this question is not as "inscrutable" as various Western commentators have made it out to be. If we were to believe the news analysts and self-proclaimed experts, it would appear that the position of the North Vietnamese Government is ever changing. Every proclamation of the Four and Five Points is treated as something new. Much attention is paid every inflection in the diplomat's speech as he reads the words which have been a matter of public record for many months. Moreover, many interpretations are offered to show that the North Vietnamese Government is more willing to negotiate (or "more reasonable" or simply "weaker") than the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam; or, occasionally, vice versa. Our view rejects such speculation. We have discussed this question with leaders of the North Vietnamese Government (DRV) and of the National Liberation Front (NLF), and we remain convinced that there is no hidden subtlety to the Four and Five Points. (These documents, as well as all other English language documents and publications of the NLF and DRV, are available from the U. S. Committee to Aid the NLF, Box C, Old Chelsea Station, New York, N. Y. 10011.) As they have made clear time and again, the Vietnamese demand concrete indications that the U. S. is willing to withdraw its troops. There can be no negotiations while the U. S. continues to bomb North Vietnam, to occupy South Vietnam, and, indeed, to escalate both operations.

NEGOTIATIONS OR WITHDRAWAL - WHICH WAY TO
PEACE IN VIETNAM?

By Bertrand Russell O.M., F.R.S.

Over many years I have tried to alert people to the aggressive nature of the war waged by the United States in Vietnam. Western propaganda had conditioned people to the view that any armed resistance to the Governments in power could only be subversion engineered by outside Communist powers. This rationale for Western puppet regimes in impoverished countries has affected profoundly the anti-war movement itself. Peace News was among those attacking me for advancing the view that the National Liberation Front was a broadly based popular resistance rooted in Vietnamese conditions and enjoying the widest support.

At first it was said that the Diem Government was a legitimate Government threatened by rebellion. When American troops began to pour into the country they were designated as "advisors". When napalm was used against the countryside by U.S. pilots the fact was first denied and later said to be the responsibility of the Saigon Government. The New York Times wrote in a leader that U.S. "advisors" opposed the use of napalm but could do no more than "advise" their allies in Saigon. The chemicals were at first denied and then said to be "defoliants" no more harmful than weed-killers. When the chemicals were revealed to be deadly to human life, indeed new compounds causing paralysis, convulsions, blindness and lingering death, the pretence ceased and captions began to appear such as this: "Smoking out the Vietcong: phosphorus, more deadly than gas" (Newsweek)

Gas was introduced on a wide scale. This was first denied. Then it was said to be no more than "tear gas". Now it is described by McNamara as a "basic weapon for U.S. forces in Vietnam". Bombardment was first said to be directed only at "military targets". Now hospitals, schools, sanatoria are bombed and U.S. officials state that "there is no official ruling against the bombing of hospitals".

At the time of the Bay of Tonkin, the U.S. claimed to have been "attacked" by a North Vietnamese patrol boat. Johnson had said: "There is no intention to bomb the North". Shortly afterward sporadic bombing began; now the bombing exceeds tonnages used during World War Two and the Korean War and approaches Hiroshima proportions: 3,000,000 pounds bombs fall daily on Vietnam.

This is the essential background to any understanding of the choice before us with respect to Vietnam. Many in the peace movement think the Vietnamese unwise or unreasonably stubborn for refusing to negotiate with the United States. The prolongation of the war is made the responsibility of the Vietnamese on the ground that American forces can not be defeated and, therefore, only negotiations provide a solution. It is usually added that the "real interests" of the Vietnamese lie in accepting U.S. demands for talks.

Superficially, this argument may seem compelling to a peace movement for whom words such as "cease-fire", "compromise", "negotiations" and "peaceful settlement" have a familiar ring. When examined, however, the argument disintegrates.

To demand of the Vietnamese that they negotiate with the United States is to treat equally the victim and the attacker. This can be clearly seen if we ask ourselves whether such a demand to the Poles or Norwegians would have seemed just after the Nazi attack on their countries.

Quite apart from this basic issue: the right to self-determination, there is the history of the particular struggle in Vietnam. Negotiations already took place - in 1954. The Vietnamese had defeated French colonialism after nine years of bitter struggle during which eighty per cent of the French colonial war was financed by the United States. Because of their belief that the Geneva Agreements provided for fair elections, non-intervention on the part of foreign powers and eventual unification through mutual consent, the Vietnamese agreed to divide Vietnam into North and South under the rule of the former French puppet Emperor Bao Dai.

Shortly afterwards, Eisenhower stated that anyone who knew anything about Vietnamese affairs knew that Ho Chi Minh would receive at least four out of five votes in a fair election. The elections were obstructed and the United States set up a regime in the South under the control of American officers posing as advisors. They selected former police spies of the French occupation army who were hated and despised by the population. Ngo Dinh Diem, a wealthy Catholic landowner from the North, was installed in power. The elections agreed in the negotiated settlements of

of 1954 at Geneva were never held. U.S. officers and troops began to pour into South Vietnam in what came to be known as America's "secret war". Hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese were killed. Over eight million people were placed in forced-labour camps characterised by barbed-wire, torture and starvation.

It must never be forgotten that all this took place BEFORE any fighting broke out. More Vietnamese died between 1954 and 1960 than since 1960 when the resistance of the National Liberation Front began in response to this horror.

Six years after the Geneva Agreements the resistance of the National Liberation Front began PRECISELY because the negotiated settlement had been destroyed by the United States. The critical article of those agreements was the absence of foreign troops, notably those of the great powers.

It should be abundantly clear that the very presence of the 'United States' troops in Vietnam is the grossest violation of painfully negotiated agreements. To ask the Vietnamese now after twelve years of torment to negotiate about the violated negotiations while the violation continues is to insult them.

Those who ask negotiations also overlook the illegality of the present Saigon regime under the terms of Geneva for those terms preclude any Government in the South. Elections were to have provided unification.

Until April, 1965, United States authorities said they would never negotiate. They repudiated the North Vietnamese offer to talk in Rangoon in 1964. Only after the bombing of the North went unresisted by the Soviet Union and unopposed by Western Governments did the U.S. offer to negotiate on the basis of excluding the National Liberation Front which administer 75 per cent of the country and 80 per cent of the population in South Vietnam. The Saigon regime was to be a principal. What kind of offer is this? Hitler offered better terms to Churchill during the Blitz for he did not suggest that Oswald Mosely should be a principal while Churchill was excluded nor were there hundreds of thousands of German troops in the South of England.

Each "offer" of negotiations by the Americans has been accompanied in strict counterpoint by vast troop increase. The first American proposal for talks was made

days before the announcement that 300,000 troops were intended for Vietnam. The clear and unmistakable pattern of this deceit is that the offers are blinds to hide major escalation. Each decisive increase in American violence has been preceded by such an offer to negotiate.

What this means is that each demand from Western peace groups for "peace" or "negotiations" advances the cause of the American aggression for it supports the rationale of the U.S. attack. It equates the Vietnamese with the American attacker. It implicitly sanctions the legitimacy of the Saigon puppet regime in any settlement and it places the Western peace groups, unwittingly, in the position of repudiating the Geneva agreements. Those Agreements are unmistakable: they call for the absence of foreign troops. Lastly, such demand for negotiations and peace in Vietnam asks the Vietnamese who have been betrayed twice to ignore twenty years of blood and death resulting from those betrayals and once more to enter talks with the foreign army in occupation. No European nation occupied by Hitler considered such a course; those who made peace with Hitler were despised as Quislings and galeiters.

All this is further underlined by the repeated United States declarations that the U.S. will never withdraw her troops from the South of Vietnam. It is worth noting that the Korean agreements were signed in 1953 but thirteen years later South Korea is STILL occupied by American forces. China and the United States have talked in Warsaw since 1950 about the future of Taiwan but U.S. troops still occupy Taiwan.

I wish to return now to the actual sufferings of the Vietnamese. They have borne foreign invasion, they have had their country used as an experimental laboratory for poison chemicals, poison gas and they have endured concentration camps holding eight million people in which mass burials occurred. Vast tonnages have destroyed the country; hospitals, schools and sanatoria have been bombed, rock-strafted and set on fire. Despite the enormous force of the largest military power on earth, the Vietnamese have remained unsubdued. Yet, Western peace groups demand that they accept the invader who has done all this and negotiate on his terms. The impoverished peasant, struggling heroically for his land and survival is equated with the napalm and missile bearing colossus attacking him. These are the very demands which were scorned contemptuously by the British Government during the blitz. No one dared ask the Free French Maquis or the Norwegian resistance to negotiate with Hitler, under circumstances less arduous than those of Vietnam.

The United States has made it clear now to all that it intends to occupy Vietnam. If years ago it was possible for Western peace movements to attack those of us who pointed this out, it is no longer possible today. The evidence is painfully clear. If we permit the demand for negotiations to continue, we are permitting the very CONCEPTION of negotiated settlements to be served a death-blow. This will mean that any negotiated settlement can be violated with impunity. The second step will be the opposite of the agreed settlement imposed by force. The third step will be a demand by the party violating the agreement in this way that new negotiations should occur. The demand for new negotiations would serve to legitimise the original violation of the first settlement. Finally, "peace" groups will echo the cynical demand for new negotiations.

In this way the peace movement will destroy, unwittingly, the possibility of negotiations among nations as it approves a terrible deception and allows it to become the rule in international relations.

Solidarity with the Vietnamese resistance is more than support for the victim against the aggressor. It is more, even, than identification with a heroic people who endure more than words can convey and overcome more than Westerners can begin to comprehend. It is not only acknowledgement of the right of one side and the undeniable wrong of the other. It goes further than a stand comparable to support of oppressed peoples against Hitler. It is, pre-eminently, a defence of international law, of negotiations and agreements between nations such as those solemnly arrived at by the powers in Geneva in 1954.

Words can be misleading. The peace movement through the advocacy of negotiations in Vietnam has harmed the cause it purports to promote. There is no alternative to examining the social forces behind events, the history of a particular conflict and the actual behaviour and political role of the combatants. In the last analysis, the peace movement itself will be in jeopardy if it abdicates its elementary responsibility to speak the truth about the war in Vietnam, however unpalatable that truth is to Western Governments, large finance and the military power of the Pentagon.

We must side with the Vietnamese who defend every value which the peace movement has espoused abstractly. The end of the war in Vietnam will depend on our capacity

to speak and act clearly, alerting people to its origins and motive force. When people in Britain and America oppose Johnson effectively, then and only then will the war end. No other solution is possible even if the Vietnamese would listen to the immoral advice tendered them by well-meaning but confused people in the West. Their experience tells them they can never follow such advice. Their resistance is a *cri de coeur* to our own consciences, our intellectual clarity and our self-respect.

Relentlessly, the United States extends its present aggression. Thailand is even more an occupied country than Vietnam in 1964. Giant bases are under construction aimed at China. If we rally to support the Vietnamese everywhere, if the Soviet Union acts now by making its air force available to defend Vietnam over her territory there is hope of forestalling the evident American determination to plunge us into world war. This is the measure of our responsibility to see events clearly and to act in accordance with our understanding.

* * * * *

The following statement was delivered by Stokely Carmichael, Chairman of S.N.C.C. and a member of the International War Crimes Tribunal, on a recent visit to Puerto Rico. The speech was given in Spanish.

MESSAGE TO THE PUERTO RICAN PEOPLE

BY Stokely Carmichael

"Brothers of Puerto Rico:

"I hardly know the Spanish language, but I would like to say a few words in your language. To affirm and cultivate one's own language is a necessary step in the struggle for liberation and self-determination.

"I appreciate the invitation extended to me by the people of Puerto Rico through the Movement for Independence and the University Federation for Independence. I bring you the warmest greetings of solidarity from my organization - the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee - and the Afro-American people in their struggle for liberation and Black Power.

"We feel that there is a close relationship between our struggle for Black Power and your struggle for independence.

Black Power means for us liberation from oppression by the racist white power structure of the United States. It means that we will control our own Afro-American communities. That we will direct our own affairs. That we will have power in the political and economic arenas. In the same way, independence for you means to direct and control your own lives and the wealth of your country, now controlled by a foreign power - the United States - and its Uncle Toms here. Our people are a colony within the United States; you are a colony outside the United States.

"Brothers, we see our struggle linked to the struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against foreign oppression, particularly by the United States. We all have the same enemy. For this reason, we strongly support your just struggle for independence. For this reason we support all peoples who are struggling for self-determination.

"The Vietnamese people are today suffering in a brutal war. To conduct that war, the American Army takes advantage of the Afro-American masses. It uses them to fight our own brothers. It tells us that we are going to fight for a so-called "democracy", but we know the hypocrisy of that claim. We know, in our flesh and in our blood, what "American democracy" means. For this reason we are absolutely opposed - I repeat, absolutely - to the drafting of young Afro-Americans and the drafting of young Puerto Ricans and of young people of any nationality who are oppressed like us. If we are to fight, we will fight - but in our own country, to liberate our people.

"Brothers of Puerto Rico, let us unite to achieve our goals. The forces of oppression, although very powerful, are only a minority compared to the power which all the oppressed of the world can wield. We shall destroy those forces. Let's go!"

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Christopher Koch, former Program Director for Radio Station WBAI, was one of the first Americans to visit North Vietnam after the bombing had begun. He now teaches literature at Bennington College where the following article was first circulated.

IN SUPPORT OF THE WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL

By Christopher Koch

Someone recently circulated information on Bertrand Russell's "War Crimes Tribunal." I would like to comment on one aspect of that complicated political Tribunal as it affects us.

As I began to probe my own current reactions to the war in Vietnam, I recalled the words of a conservative academic scholar during another difficult political situation -- the Spanish Civil War. His reaction came finally during an academic ceremony at the University of Salamanca. General Millan Astray, the maimed leader of the Spanish Foreign Legion, had just spoken hysterically in favor of the fascist cause, and his "iron men" in the audience had screamed back his battle cry, "Long live death!" Then fragile (almost translucent) Senor Unamuno, who had not supported the loyalists, rose and said: "At times to be silent is to lie. For silence can be interpreted as acquiescence. I could not survive a divorce between my conscience and my word."

Nor can we.

Our country proudly announced in July that we had destroyed 59,000 acres of crops in Vietnam in six months -- an eight fold increase over the average of the previous four years. Thus, even in the unlikely event that our technology will not allow us to increase that figure, we are now going to destroy 120,000 acres of crops a year for as long as the war continues in a part of the world that has always known hunger. (New York Times, 7/26/66)

The chemicals, described as harmless by the Pentagon, are so potent that if borne by the wind they can kill plants 15 miles from the spraying point. (N.Y.T., 7/26/66) The same chemicals were accidentally sprayed on Argyle, Minnesota, on July 8, 1966, and because the town found them "quite lethal," children and old people were evacuated and an antidote was flown in. (N.Y.T., 7/16/66)

Last August, 22 American scientists (including seven Nobel prize winners) asked President Johnson to order an end to chemical warfare in Vietnam, arguing that distinctions between lethal and non-lethal chemicals are difficult to make,

and that once any chemicals are used, resistance to the use of more powerful ones (and to bacteriological agents) are weakened. (N.Y.T. 9/20/66) The Pentagon replied that chemicals would continue to be used because they were deemed militarily useful. (N.Y.T., 9.21/66)

But what is not militarily useful? Our country is now using in Vietnam: a new and improved napalm which burns, sticks to the skin, and consumes the oxygen in the air; cluster bomb units that military spokesmen are not allowed to talk about; machine guns that fire 18,000 bullets a minute; new tumbling, small caliber rifle bullets that tear a hole in a man the size of a watermelon like the old dum-dums outlawed after World War I; strikes of 500,000 tons of high explosives dropped from airplanes that fly so high they cannot be heard before the bombs explode; canisters of thousands of tiny, fluted, razor sharp needles that explode above the ground and kill every living thing above ground over a city block (called "lazy dogs"); a non-poisonous tear gas sprayed into caves (which during one reported spraying killed two Australian soldiers); high speed digital computers; the largest reconnaissance force in U.S. history with sensing devices that detect body heat through the jungle from the air and that see in the dark. It is a technological masterpiece.

But technology is not enough. Ultimately the human being must be molded. Viet Cong prisoners are interrogated in airplanes and pushed out if they refuse to answer; electrodes are attached to male genitals and female breasts. (N.Y. Herald Tribune, 4/25/65) On the Canadian television documentary "The Mills of the Gods" I watched a prisoner tortured to death while Americans stood and watched, kicking the inert body when it was all over. Asked about this later on the program, General S.L.A. Marshall -- a gregarious man I have met and could have called a friend -- said he was "shocked, shocked and horrified that an American officer would allow a scene like that to be photographed." Then he added after a pause that he meant, of course, even to take place. Sergeant Donald Duncan said that he was taught to torture in the Special Forces. Do we really doubt him?

And yet despite all the technology the war inexplicably goes on. Five more years? Ten perhaps? Our president is vague about that. Pentagon officials say off the record that we may need one million men in Vietnam and that it will be brought home. (N.Y.T. 7/11/66) Now men between the ages of 24 and 36 have been asked to take the tests. There are unconfirmed reports that after the elections, graduate students may lose their deferments.

Meantime, U.S. troops pour into Asia. In Thailand and Vietnam seemingly permanent military bases are being built. General Ky has called for a U.S. invasion of North Vietnam, and Secretary of State Rusk has said that such an invasion might be necessary. Former President Eisenhower has argued that nuclear weapons may have to be used.

And what will China do as the war escalates? Our president is vague again.

We stand essentially alone in Vietnam. Our allies with sufficient independence to do so condemn us; our vassalages equivocate. Because whatever reason or right there may have been in our cause, our technological indifference to humanity and our willingness to blunder into war with a third of the world's people, have made our cause irrelevant.

I do not think we will win in Vietnam. But even that is now irrelevant. For the victory would be pyrrhic, and the arrogance of those who manipulate the technology would be insatiable. Unamuno understood that. "You will win," he told Astray, "but you will not convince. You will win because you possess brute force, but you will not convince because to convince means to persuade. And in order to persuade, you would need what you lack -- reason and right in the struggle."

We should recall also that only twenty years ago our country (with others) stood in judgement at Nuremberg and found guilty the bureaucrats of an inhuman technology. Was that justice or simply the vengeance of the victor?

It is on grounds such as these that I think we must sign the petition to support the Tribunal. I recognize that all political choices are difficult ones. The commitment to action is necessarily a commitment to a muddled world of ambiguous motives, confusing alternatives, and strange bedfellows. We can seldom pick our allies in politics -- only our enemies. But because it is in our name that Vietnam is being sacrificed to technology, the time has come when for us to remain silent is to lie.

Concrete support of our work can take many forms. Funds, of course, remain an urgent need. But we also need various kinds of equipment, such as typewriters, addressographs, mimeographs, etc. A good electric typewriter would be especially useful. (We currently rent one.) The work of the International War Crimes Tribunal will span many months, and our needs will be ever expanding. Help now if you are able.

Petition of Support for International War Crimes Tribunal

"WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, SUPPORT THE INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL INITIATED BY BERTRAND RUSSELL. WE FEEL A SOLEMN OBLIGATION TO EXPOSE WAR CRIMES AND TO INDICT THOSE WHO PERPETRATE THEM. WE BELIEVE THAT U. S. ACTIONS IN VIETNAM MUST BE EXAMINED EXHAUSTIVELY AND THE FINDINGS MADE KNOWN TO WORLD OPINION."

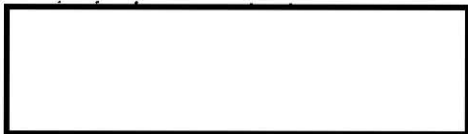
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FOUNDATION BULLETIN

Volume 1 Number 6,7
Contents

From Peaceful Protests to an
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War Crimes Tribunal
by John Gerassi

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Schlesinger on Vietnam: The
Prudential View
by Russell Stetler

Reviews: "The End of Either/Or"
"Viet Nam: Do We Under-
stand Revolution?"

by Leonard Liggio

Statement In Support of John Harris

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FOUNDATION BULLETIN

February 15 - March 1

Published by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation

We are proud to announce the addition of the distinguished American Negro writer, James Baldwin, to the International War Crimes Tribunal. Mr. Baldwin joins Stokely Carmichael and David Dellinger as representatives from the United States. The number of Tribunal members has now reached nineteen.

The work of the Tribunal's investigating teams continues. Reports by members of the first two teams will appear shortly in the New Republic (John Gerassi), March 4th, and the New Statesman (Tariq Ali and Lawrence Daly), March 3rd. In the next number of the FOUNDATION BULLETIN we shall offer selections of material from the reports of our first investigators.

Additional investigators have been dispatched. Two more teams are expected to complete their work prior to the opening of the Tribunal's hearings in Paris in mid-April. The first hearings are concerned to examine primarily the question of aggression and civilian bombardment. After presentation of material on these topics, the hearings will be adjourned to allow Tribunal members to assimilate data and to allow our commissions to prepare evidence for further sessions on the remaining questions.

The following article is reprinted from the latest issue of Alternatives. Professor Gerassi, a former editor of Time and Newsweek, was a member of the International War Crimes Tribunal's first investigating mission to North Vietnam.

From Peaceful Protests to an Inquiry into Crime:
A Committed View of the Upcoming War Crimes Tribunal

by John Gerassi

For Vietnam War Protesters, too, the long hot summer is over. Soon after the new academic year began, it became obvious that the peace movement had come to a stand-still. Already last May, SANE's March on Washington was a flop, with barely 11,000 people showing up, compared to 50,000 at the previous SANE Washington rally; in November 1965. Now, teach-ins are fading, marchers fewer -- and most of the official doves silent. There is lots of talk of backlash and backlash, peace candidates are getting trounced and the Radical Right has emerged, with Hollywoodian sex appeal, as a dynamic wave of the future.

And all the blame, we are told by Liberals, is ours. We of the Left have sought too much too fast. We have campaigned for freedom of speech on campus and freedom of drugs at home, for black power in the ghettos and red power in the third world, for defeat in Vietnam and retreat in Santo Domingo. We have frightened the decent and the moderates, and they have told us so by electing Reagan and Percy and Wallace and an uncontrolled police system in New York. The Black Panther Party was clobbered in Alabama, SNOC and CORE have lost financial support everywhere, and Johnson is ruling Congress and the world more arrogantly and arbitrarily than ever before.

The analysis, I am convinced, is false. Reagan won, in part at least, because Brown courted conservatives, not radicals, because he lost whatever image he might have had by not defining himself as a true alternative to Reagan. What radical or peacenik could vote for Brown? I was in Chicago the weekend before the election, for the first organizational meeting of NACLA (North American Congress on Latin America), which brought together people from such diverse groups as the Fellowship of Reconciliation, SDS, the University Christian Movement, SNCC, and Trade Unionists for Peace. None to whom I talked were backing Douglas against Percy, and few were going to vote for him. As one explained: "He's a hawk, and Vietnam is the most important issue today. The hell with him! I'd rather see Percy than a so-called Liberal who defends American aggression."

As for the failure of the Black Panther Party, what failure? From scratch, and against all the obvious obstacles, it got 41% of the votes in Lowndes County. In New York, it is true, the civilian review board lost to the cops by 3 to 2 if not more. But where? In the docile, genteel sections of New York where cops are loved for what they represent -- peace of mind and the good old American Way of Life. In Manhattan, however, where that way of life means shakedowns and billy clubs, overcrowded ghettos and unemployment, unease over Vietnam (anti-war Democratic Reformer Weiss almost defeated Representative Farbstein, a hawk with a perfect ADA voting record in Congress), and anger over Puerto Rican subjugation, the cops were trounced -- despite a fantastically well-financed smear campaign by the anti-reviewers, not to mention intimidation tactics by cops on each beat, implying, without ever saying, that the review board would mean lack of protection to all store-owners, and to whites in integrated neighborhoods.

And are SNCC and CORE really in trouble? True, white guilt money has stopped coming in. "Black power" has been used as an excuse to relieve guilt. But never has SNCC or CORE been as popular with Negroes, and it is they, after all, who matter. CORE is gaining so many new members in the dark, turbulent, oppressed ghettos that, as Floyd McKissick told me, it is under pressure to open new chapters as much too fast a clip. CORE is now in a position to launch new educational programs and to confront the draft for what it really is for the Negro -- a way of eliminating seething centers of unemployment. McKissick, one of the most acutely aware Negro leaders I have met, is fully conscious of the fact that twice as many Negroes die in Vietnam, proportionally, than whites, because twice as many are sent to the front lines. This is the price the poor, the unskilled, and the uneducated must pay to enjoy the American Way of Life. And McKissick knows very well that all of Secretary McNamara's talk of making the draft more equitable by lowering standards is nothing more than an attempt to draft more poor, more unemployed and more uneducated Negroes. God help McNamara and the Johnson Administration if they begin to alienate America's Middle Class -- by drafting its well-fed, well-schooled young.

So CORE and SNCC are no longer receiving those fat white checks -- and naturally, this is hurting -- but with a lot of skinny black quarters they can move mountains, and they are much more so than SCLC or the NAACP. Both Carmichael and McKissick know that revolutions are not generated from guilt but from anger, oppression, hunger and suffering -- the real kind, in the stomach or from billy clubs on the back, not in the "soul." And further, they know that this is the suffering felt by the peasants of

Vietnam, Guatemala, Peru, Algeria. In Chicago, that election weekend, I was on a TV show with Harry Golden. It was his feeling that "black power" has helped the KKK because "it has given them new justifications for fomenting hatred based on fear." Perhaps. But that, to me, is proof that finally SNCC and CORE are hitting home. If the racists are not afraid, it is precisely because they have no cause for it; that is, that nothing meaningful is being accomplished.

Harry Golden and I also clashed on Vietnam. He told me how for the first time in his life he has had to turn down a good friend, Socialist Norman Thomas, when the latter asked him to sign a statement against the war in Vietnam. "It was hard for an old radical like me to refuse, but Vietnam is such a complicated problem . . .". Yes indeed, it is complicated -- for those whose faith in the American Way of Life leads them to believe that, no matter what mistakes it commits, our government is basically well-intentioned. It can't be racist, just prudent. It can't be imperialistic, just ill-advised. It can't be exploitative, just ill-tempered. Besides, and Golden said so on the air, we do have our interests to protect all over the world. At the expense of the interest of the world's people? But then, say the Liberals in a marvelous non sequitur, what can we do? We were wrong (another mistake) to go into Vietnam, but can we now just abandon it? We were wrong to send Marines into the Dominican Republic, but could we take the chance of allowing another Castroite power to arise in the Americas? And so we help the worst elements of Trujillo's army because they are pro-American, we drop napalm bombs on Peruvian peasants (see transcript of NBC's "The Undeclared Wars," produced by Ted Yates and shown a year ago -- green beret Special Forces and all), we praise the Indonesian government's extermination of 1,000,000 "Communists," we bomb peasants in Laos, we violate international law in Cambodia, we instigate murder in the Congo, we finance, arm, and organize military coups in Argentina and Brazil . . . Where will it stop?

The world is now saying that it must stop in Vietnam. That is the test battle; and it is for us, too, we who are not just reacting to our guilt but who want to see a better America. And Johnson, McNamara, and Co. are well aware of Vietnam as a test. Thus the pressure is formidable and the stakes are high. But unlike the administration during the McCarthy era, this one is intelligent. It knows that marches and teach-ins and protests are best left alone. Few of those refusing the draft are being prosecuted anymore, few passports are being confiscated. Foreign communists are given visas to come here to denounce us, and when, as Chile's great poet Pablo Neruda, they do, they are applauded, i.e., rendered

ineffective by assimilating them into that Way of Life of ours. Dissenters are given time on TV, space in the press, good jobs in academia. Like the "White Negro," "establishment dissenters" are good for our image, for our guilt -- and for our racist or aggressive policies. SANE and Martin Luther King and most of our moderate peaceniks or integrationiks think that they profit from the new climate, America's "aversion to return to McCarthyism." In fact, they are being used by it.

And that, true radicals are beginning to realize. You don't change the game by playing by its rules. That is why the peace movement has come to a stand-still, why genuine black leaders are more interested in organizing the ghettos than in getting another civil rights bill passed. That is why, we of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation are working for a tribunal that will expose America's policies for what they are, not just to ourselves and to a few hundred students who would come to our conferences or rallies but to the whole world. We don't like the game, and the talk of "fight it but play it fairly by its rules" does not impress us. We are more concerned about those being slaughtered by our napalm and lazy-dogs than in working for "the better of two evils," whether it takes the form of a Brown or a Bobby Kennedy.

Perhaps even a few years ago it might have been possible to view such events as American intervention against the Iranian nationalist government of Mossadegh, against Jacobo Arbens in Guatemala, against Sukarno (in 1958) in Indonesia, as isolated examples of over-zeal. Today with the intervention in the Dominican Republic (and the revelation of the influence played therein by Alcoa, Sucrest, United Fruit -- and Ellsworth Bunker, a sugar magnate), in Peru (with napalm), in the Congo (where the Rockefellers turned out to be major stockholders in "Belgium's" Union Miniere), in Brazil (where Goulart was contemplating nationalizing U. S. owned corporations), etc. -- and, of course, in Vietnam, where U. S. banks now have branches, where the U. S. is wooing American investors, where Morison-Knudson has built some of our largest bases -- a naive concept of America's "arrogance of power" is no longer possible. To refuse to denounce America's "economic imperialism" because it sounds Marxist, as American Liberals tend to do, is now exactly the same as when anti-Nazi Germans refused to believe that their government was exterminating Jews simply because other powers were saying it was. The logic of America's oligopolistic development leads necessarily to these interventions, as well as to its condemnation of black power. It is that logic which leads McNamara to say with impunity, indeed with pride (and without realizing that it exposes America's imperialism): "U. S. trained units of Venezuela's armed forces and police have spearheaded a government campaign both in the cities and in the countryside. In Peru . . . U. S. trained and supported Peruvian army and air force units have played

prominent roles in this counter-guerrilla campaign. In Colombia, U. S. training, support, and equipment, including several medium helicopters, have materially aided the Colombian armed forces to establish government control in the rural insurgent areas. Violence in the mining areas and in the cities of Bolivia has continued but we are assisting this country to improve the training and equipping of its military force . . . we are supporting a small Guatemalan counter-insurgency force with weapons, vehicles, communications, equipment and training . . ." (February, 1966, before joint session of the Senate Armed Services Committee and the Senate Subcommittee on Department of Defense Appropriations).

Though ultimately, it is this whole logic -- that is, oligopolistic rule -- that we must fight, the battle is now in Vietnam. If the people do not win there, no free people ever will again. Self-determination will become an extinct concept. More importantly, the poor will be condemned to poverty evermore, the haves will continue to dominate the have-nots, as they have in Latin America where American companies -- and American concepts of democracy, free enterprise, and "free" elections -- have ruled for a century and a half and where the gap between the poor and the rich, yes, as a result, has constantly widened. In Vietnam now, the whole world is at stake. If the U. S. can be forced to withdraw, it will not become anybody's slave; but if the U. S. imposes its will, almost everybody in the world can be assured of ultimate subjugation. That is why full commitment today is a matter of life or death tomorrow.

No one, of course, except Soviet Russia, which is reluctant to do so, can challenge the U. S. in Vietnam if it desires to win militarily by systematically wiping out the whole population. But then Algeria's rebels could not stop France's military might either. In fact, France would and almost did win in Algeria militarily. But by the time that victory could have been reaped, it was no longer possible politically. And so it must be in Vietnam. We must win the political war before the Pentagon can win its military one. And this victory can no longer be achieved by protest marches and teach-ins. Our commitment must be stronger -- and it must ally itself to the commitment of anti-warriors everywhere. It must help bring about more forceful opposition abroad as well as at home. It must expose our brutality to all and encourage our students -- the Middle Class -- to realize that unless they too become totally committed, the military war will perhaps be won. Our students must oppose the draft not only in demonstrations but in deed; refuse to play by its rules, that is, to take student deferments, and then fight the ensuing jail terms through the courts. If Middle Class parents are suddenly shocked by not a few but scores, hundreds, thousands of their children willing to go to jail so

that the real American Way of Life -- that way which is generous and understanding and fair and respectful to others -- is salvaged from the brutal realpolitik efficiency of our current society, it will not support the Administration's war. Without Middle Class support, not all King Johnson's computerized horses and all the King's men can put the King's dream of worldwide hegemony together again.

The International War Crimes Tribunal, initiated by Bertrand Russell, is one attempt to help bring about this middle class disaffection. It is not to be construed as the only possible effort, but it is an important one -- as proved by the fact that it has aroused more official U. S. opposition than all the marches and all the protests. The tribunal has been smeared by the New York Times (editorial November 21, 1966, e.g.), ridiculed by American Liberals, pooh-poohed by some American peaceniks, and ignored by many uneasy American radicals. Everywhere else, in Japan or Sweden, France or Mexico, it has won wide support and wider interest. Significantly, in the U. S. SNCC and CORE have applauded it; and Stokely Carmichael and James Baldwin have indicated their willingness to join it.

By and large, Liberals' criticism of the Tribunal has been twofold: (1) that the verdict is in before the evidence and (2) that, if consequential, it must demand Johnson's punishment (i.e., execution). To this, the New York Times has added that the Tribunal is the work of a "fanatical anti-American American" and not of Russell who is "being used" as "a mere stooge of a bitter propagandist." The American and "propagandist" in question is the same, namely Ralph Schoenman, Russell's secretary and one of the directors of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation. Needless to say, the accusations are ridiculous. Though 94, Russell is not "being used" by anyone. When I visited the Foundation in London last summer, I was surprised to find that Russell insisted on seeing every letter, even a simple thank-you note, being issued in his name. Schoenman would appear fanatical to anyone who does not believe in commitment of any kind (and the Times does not, viz., Talese's profile in the November 1966 issue of Esquire, a highly revealing article about our great "impartial" daily). Schoenman is committed to such (anti-American?) things as peace and a decent life for all. Because of his commitment, he works 18, sometimes 20 hours a day on the barest minimal salary. So do others working for the Foundation. Russell himself has used up all his royalties to support it, which I suppose makes him a fanatic too.

But even if Schoenman did lead Russell by the nose, could he have such power over the Tribunal? He is in London while

Vladimir Dedijer, the world-renowned Yugoslav writer who is chairman of the Tribunal, sits in Paris. The other members include Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, the Austrian philosopher Gunther Anders, the Turkish member of Parliament and international jurist Mehmet Ali Aybar, Mexico's former president Lazaro Cardenas, Japan's Nobel Prize-winning physicist Shoichi Sakata, SNCC's Stokely Carmichael, the Philippines' Poet Laureate and Chairman of the Democratic Labor Party Amado Hernandez, Italy's Lelio Basso (who is an international lawyer, a deputy in Parliament, and a professor of sociology at Rome University), America's Dave Dellinger (a pacifist and editor of Liberation magazine), etc. Can all these world-famed luminaries be led by the nose by a young American, no matter how dedicated? Some he has never even met.

In a November 30th cover story interview in France's leading non-Communist leftwing weekly, Le Nouvel Observateur, Sartre himself tackled the other two criticisms. He readily admitted, as I have above, that we are opposed to imperialism, that we are committed to work for a just and unexploited world and that we know that the U. S. is fighting an imperialist war in Vietnam. But, Sartre said, that is not the question before us. "At Nuremberg, in 1945, appeared for the first time the notion of 'political crime.' That notion was, to be sure, questionable, since it involved imposing the law of the victor on the vanquished. But the condemnation of the leaders of Nazi Germany by the Nuremberg tribunal made sense only if it implied that any government which, in the future, committed similar condemnable acts, according to such and such article of the laws established at Nuremberg, would be equally judgeable. Our 'tribunal' now proposes to apply to capitalist imperialism only its own laws. . . . We are not concerned with whether or not a particular U. S. policy is guilty in the name of history of acts against humanity but simply to say whether or not this policy does fall under existing laws. . . . We will invent no new legislation." There is, therefore, no "trial," as the Times insists. And, may the Liberals relax!, Johnson, McNamara et al. are not going to be condemned to the wall, the gallows, or the firing squad. If it is shown that by America's own laws its actions in Vietnam are a violation of its own morality, it is hoped that public opinion, both in America and in the rest of the world, will harden against the war -- to oppose it directly, as American propagandists during World War II asked all peoples under the Nazi yoke, including Germans, to oppose Nazi conquest. It is hoped, also that Americans who are proud of the American Way of Life as it should be according to America's own definition, seeing that it is not, will then refuse to participate in the war precisely because they are patriots -- just as anti-Nazi Germans who opposed the Third Reich were true German patriots.

At the Tribunal, both Americans and Vietnamese will be invited to testify. Also, reports from investigating teams, made up of respected individuals from various countries, including the United States, will be presented. The Tribunal has invited the U. S. Government to send its own attorneys and witnesses, that is, to participate fully in the proceedings. Washington refused. Nevertheless, it will be up to the witnesses to prove that their contentions are accurate. American, French, and Japanese newsreel films, especially films shown on NBC and CBS, will be viewed. American correspondents will be invited as witnesses, and the whole procedure will be open to the press. Respected scientists and physicians will analyze the chemical weapons used by the American forces. That they are used, that civilian centers have been bombed, that prisoners have been shot -- all this we know not just from Vietnamese sources but from official Americans. What must be established is that these crimes against international laws are being perpetrated as an integral part of America's policies in Vietnam. In doing so, five basic questions will have to be answered:

- (1) The crime of aggression.
- (2) The use of experimental weaponry or weapons forbidden by the laws of war.
- (3) The scale of bombardment of civilian targets.
- (4) The treatment of prisoners of war.
- (5) The crime of genocide.

What will happen after that is conjectural. If the Tribunal, which will sit in Paris (contrary to the New York Times misinformation) in the spring, succeeds in establishing these violations of law, as I am sure it will because pro-war U. S. correspondents already admit that they are part of standard operating practices, then, by stressing them and publicizing them, I hope it will awaken the conscience of mankind, forcing it to realize that, just as it was its moral duty to stop Nazism, it is now its moral duty to stop American atrocities. Whether or not the Vietnamese also rely on atrocities to impose discipline does not excuse America. (Besides, the two sides are not to be equated: the Vietnamese did not invade the U. S., do not shower the population with bombs, napalm, lazy-dogs, and are not the aggressors.) I cannot believe that once these violations illustrating our immorality according to our own standards are known to all of us, we will not demand an end to them. And if we do, then the Tribunal will genuinely have served, as Bertrand Russell hoped and said, as an "Appeal to the American Conscience."

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Review

Schlesinger on Vietnam: The Prudential View

by Russell Stetler

Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. The Bitter Heritage: Vietnam and American Democracy, 1941-1966 (Boston, Houghton-Mifflin, 1967) pp. 126, \$3.95.

In a moment of scholarly reflection Professor Arthur Schlesinger once acknowledged that he didn't always tell the truth as a spokesman of the Kennedy Administration. He sheepishly confessed that he had lied to the New York Times about the infamous Bay of Pigs incident; yet his conscience was put at ease by the recognition that this betrayal of truth had been performed in the "national interest." "At least I had the excuse that I was working for the government," Schlesinger explained. By this logic, the professor has no excuse for misleading us today. We should expect and hope, then, that his new Vietnam book would be an enlightening contribution to the subject, prepared by a man intimately acquainted with the details of important policy decisions as a White House adviser and no longer circumscribed by the security requirements of his former vocation. One might even expect that the obligations of his renewed academic career would demand absolute candor in an important study such as The Bitter Heritage. That his return to academia has induced neither a purging nor even a diminishing of Schlesinger's habits of distortion and half-truth reflects more on the contemporary intellectual milieu than on the personal frailty of the man.

Leaving the White House has indeed caused the demise of some forces which formerly restrained Professor Schlesinger from giving the whole truth. He is noticeably freed of the duty of politeness, and the result is an unremitting victimization of Secretary Rusk. ("I'm not the village idiot," the Secretary of State recently confided to Stewart Alsop. "I know Hitler was an Austrian and Mao is a Chinese. . .") In general, Schlesinger manages a critical, often hostile, spirit toward much of the orthodoxy of the Johnson Administration. Marshall Ky he terms "one of those Frankenstein's monsters." The Saigon regime is characterized as "pervaded by nepotism, corruption and cynicism." He advocates "a middle course," "to stop widening and Americanizing" what he calls a "horrid civil war." Indignantly, Schlesinger urges that we persuade "the South Vietnamese to abandon the torture of prisoners, a practice not only horrible in itself but well calculated to make the enemy fight to the bitter end." He

argues that the bombing of North Vietnam is ineffective (and perhaps boomeranging): "Let us therefore taper off the bombing of the north as prudently as we can." A neutralized settlement, on the model of the 1962 Laos agreement, is prescribed.

Schlesinger intends to give us prudent counsel, rather than new insights or information. He notes modestly, "One cannot doubt that the study of history makes people wiser," while content to rehash that version of "history" which serves only to bewilder many people -- including the GIs -- who face the agony of Vietnam. He portrays our present policy-makers as confused and misinformed. The real truth came from the New York Times and the AP, not the USIA. ("This," he tells us sharply, "should console those who feel they are deprived of something if denied access to top secret dispatches.") The policy-makers themselves are seen as honest and well-intentioned. The prudential view is that, "We have achieved our present entanglement, not after due and deliberate consideration, but through a series of small decisions. It is not only idle but unfair to seek out guilty men. . . . The Vietnam story is a tragedy without villains. No thoughtful American can withhold sympathy as President Johnson ponders the gloomy choices which lie ahead." To those of us whose sympathy lies more with the victims of napalm and lazy-dogs than with LBJ in his small, gloomy choices, Schlesinger's cynicism is obscene. He contends that "President Johnson has made his ultimate objective very clear: he does not seek, he has said, total military victory or the unconditional surrender of North Vietnam, but a negotiated settlement." In a footnote, we are asked to disregard "flourishes like the presidential exhortation to the combat commanders in the officers' club at Camranh Bay: 'Come home with that coonskin on the wall.'" Moreover, Schlesinger's own analysis of the U. S. position on negotiations (in a later section of the book, taken from a separately conceived article) conflicts so utterly as to make this view of Johnson less than ingenuous.

There is a great danger, from the prudential viewpoint, that the frustration of the war will stimulate the growth of extremism. Schlesinger attacks the conspiratorial view of history ("whether of the followers of Robert Welch or those of C. Wright Mills") and appeals to us to accept his wisdom to avert disaster. He contributes a largely ignorant critique of Marxian historiography, arguing instead for the "inscrutability of history." Since history is inscrutable, Professor Schlesinger chooses to compress his summary of events in Vietnam (1941-1966, according to the title) into a few pages, allowing more than three-fourths of the slim volume to be padded with his less inscrutable prudence. But his summary

is noteworthy. To begin with, Schlesinger traces U. S. involvement in the Second World War to Vietnam (thus highlighting, if perhaps exaggerating, an aspect of that war which is all too often buried in the anti-Hitler message of conventional history texts). He states, ". . . the Japanese demands on Indochina in July 1941 led directly to the American decision to freeze Japanese assets in the United States; and this action, in turn, led directly to the Japanese decision to attack the American fleet at Pearl Harbor." Franklin Roosevelt's view of the Indochina question is treated in some detail. His concern for the Vietnamese is enshrined, and his proposal for the future of Vietnam "had a certain eccentricity of detail; but it was founded in realism and wisdom, and, if its essence had been carried out, the world might have been spared much bloodshed and agony." Thus, the myth of FDR is invoked to justify, in the most general terms, the U. S. commitment to Vietnam, and the late president is credited with a breadth of vision tragically lacking in future policy makers. He is the architect of a plan which only he could have carried through.

FDR is pictured as being wholly contemptuous of French colonialism. He is quoted in remarks to Secretary Hull to the effect that the "people of Indochina are entitled to something better than that." Yet even a careful reading of Schlesinger's commentary indicates that FDR's view of "something better" was not necessarily that of the Vietnamese themselves. As early as 1943 Roosevelt proposed to Anthony Eden "that Indochina, instead of being restored to the French after the war, should be placed under an international trusteeship and prepared for independence." This idea was discussed with Chiang Kai Shek at Cairo and Joseph Stalin at Teheran; as of 1944 French troops were to be denied the opportunity to enter Indochina in the course of the war. It is interesting to note that during this entire period, FDR consulted neither the French nor the Vietnamese about the future of Indochina. DeGaulle was excluded from the high level conferences, and, needless to say, the Vietnamese claim was not considered bona fide. The desperation of the French in this period is not to be discounted. In their lobbying for future rights to Indochina, they attempted to tailor their own plans to conform to the FDR specifications.

Roosevelt's plan was relatively simple. Schlesinger quotes FDR as follows (at the time of the Yalta Conference, February, 1945):

"For two whole years I have been terribly worried about Indochina. . . . I suggested to Chiang, that

Indochina be set up under a trusteeship -- have a Frenchman, one or two Indochinese, and a Chinese and a Russian, because they are on the coast, and maybe a Filipino and an American, to educate them for self-government...

"Stalin liked the idea, China liked the idea. The British didn't like it. It might bust up their empire, because if the Indochinese were to work together and eventually get their independence, the Burmese might do the same thing."

This, then, is in Schlesinger's view the great unfulfilled scheme. He laments that the idea died with Roosevelt. The State Department is vilified as switching to a pro-French position, vaguely admonishing Truman to badger the French for future reforms.

The inconsistency between the position of Roosevelt on Vietnam and that of Truman (or his State Department advisers) is only apparent. In Schlesinger's inscrutable world of small, gloomy decisions, it is convenient, even dramatic, to suggest that all would have gone well had FDR lived to fulfill his vision. The truth is that the vision was impossible of fulfillment. Roosevelt had conceived his trusteeship plan for the future of Indochina in the belief that there would be adequate time for the Western powers to take charge of the Indochinese situation and to sell the idea of long-range independence to the nationalists. Chiang Kai Shek's China and the Philippines provided models for American policy-makers. It was hoped that something along the same lines could be worked out for Indochina. But many factors wholly ignored or omitted by Schlesinger -- he indeed makes history inscrutable -- forestalled and precluded this possibility.

Roosevelt's hope was contingent, really, on the belief that at the conclusion of the war in the Pacific the French would be more or less in control of Indochina, although weak in an overall context. Militarily, their troops would be subject to Allied directives which might be framed in order to minimize the French role in Indochina. (Schlesinger quotes FDR's order to Stettinius

in early 1944 that "no French troops whatever should be used in operations in Indochina.") In such a condition, the French would have no choice but to follow the American guidelines, to open the door to Indochina, and to make concessions to the Vietnamese nationalists who might otherwise grow hostile to Western capitalism. (The Mexican revolution had already shown Roosevelt that even non-communist revolutions could result in nationalizations inimical to U.S. business interests.) Roosevelt had good reason to expect that the French would be more or less in control. They had dealt with every nationalist uprising with ruthless efficiency; the threat posed by the Vietminh movement hardly seemed serious. Moreover, Stalin's explicit approval of the Roosevelt trusteeship plan gave further indication that Ho Chi Minh might be dealt with "reasonably."

It was the Japanese who first disturbed the precarious balance of forces on which Roosevelt had calculated. After the fall of the Vichy Government, they had increasingly distrusted the French in Indochina (who had collaborated with the Axis since the secret Vichy accord with Tokyo on August 30, 1940). Anxious to improve their bargaining position with the Americans, the Free French expressed (what FDR fully expected) that the French colonial apparatus would restore its loyalty to the Allies at the earliest opportunity. A Frenchman writing in Foreign Affairs in October 1944, for example, concluded that "despite the fact that Decoux and various high government officials are Japanese puppets, the petty French officials, as we have noted, can be counted upon to help overthrow the Japanese rule when the time of invasion comes." The Japanese needed no further persuasion; on March 9, 1945 they staged a coup d'etat against the unsuspecting French apparatus in Indochina. There were mass arrests. The French were stunned and helpless. So, too, were strategists and policy makers far removed from Vietnam.

The Japanese had not only dealt a blow to the French. They had also indirectly unleashed Vietnamese forces which they themselves would be unable to control and contend with. Japan hoped to find less opportunistic allies among the Vietnamese nationalists than they had found among the French colons. Indeed, at many levels, the Vietnamese were immediately offered more by the Japanese than they had ever been conceded by the French. Administrative posts

were filled by Vietnamese in great numbers. Youth corps and militia units were formed (as the Japanese had earlier done among the nationalists elsewhere in South Asia, most notably in Indonesia). Bao Dai was given an honorary post as Emperor. Even such a symbolic gesture, joined with the sweeping series of visible changes in status and opportunities, suddenly gave the Vietnamese a taste of what it would be like to run the country for themselves. FDR's dream of gradual independence had been dealt a severe blow.

Of still greater importance were the gains of the Vietminh in this period. With the veteran French repressive apparatus temporarily out of the way, the Vietminh were able to undertake unprecedented political and military activity in the spring and summer of 1945. Many Vietnamese nationalists joined the Japanese-sponsored militias to gain training and arms, then quickly defected to the Vietminh side. By late summer the Vietminh had consolidated enormous areas under its control, and it was in this context that Ho Chi Minh declared the independence of Vietnam in September 1945.

This context is never mentioned by Schlesinger. It is the Vietnamese who ultimately scuttled Roosevelt's scheme for independence after decades of grooming the natives for self-rule. They had taken the question of self-determination into their own hands. No amount of friendly persuasion would convince them of the wisdom of waiting. This is not to say that the position of the Vietminh was generally inflexible in the immediate post-war years. Quite the contrary, the Vietminh showed a moderation which is incredible in the light of Allied actions. British troops, under General Douglas Gracey, were shamelessly open about their intent to depose the de facto Vietminh government in the fall of 1945. Dispatched to southern Vietnam from Burma and India under the pretense of disarming the Japanese, these Allied troops made it their priority to restore the French to power -- even to the point of employing Japanese forces in their mopping-up operations against the Vietminh. In the wake of the British-organized assault on the Vietminh, the French moved some fifty thousand troops into southern Vietnam before the year was out. The Vietminh organized general elections throughout Vietnam in January 1946; these made no imprint on the Allies. But the Ho Chi Minh

government remained convinced of the hopeful prospects of negotiations with the French. As Schlesinger puts it, "The French responded by a determined attempt to re-establish colonial rule. For the next eight years this effort, occasionally interrupted by spasms of negotiation, brought the French and such Vietnamese as they could persuade to go along with them into increasingly savage conflict with the Viet Minh under Ho Chi Minh -- who, in consequence, emerged increasingly as the hero of Vietnamese nationalism in its war for independence."

Leaving aside Schlesinger's glandular theory of negotiation, we must yet examine the relation of the U.S. to the French effort to "persuade" some Vietnamese "to go along with them." Schlesinger would have us believe that there is no such relation; he claims that American policy-makers "paid little attention to the fighting in Vietnam" until the victory of the Chinese communists and the outbreak of the Korean War. It is certainly true, as Schlesinger notes, that direct American aid began to reach considerable proportions in these last years of the war. But in his effort to bury FDR's trusteeship concept alongside the deceased president, Schlesinger leaves out of account its resemblance to the policy actually implemented by the French. The trusteeship, after all, was to serve as a step toward gradual independence on the model of the Philippines. There was no time or opportunity to engage the cumbersome mechanism required by this first step, but every effort was made to adhere to the Philippine model. From the outset of the French-Indochinese war, U.S. policy-makers demanded this public relations effort as the sine qua non of American support. Indeed, it was American policy-makers who rejected some of the early candidates posed by the French as potential heads of state for the "free Vietnam" they sought to maintain. The Americans insisted on Bao Dai, discredited as he was for his notorious flexibility in politics. (He had most recently served as Emperor under the Japanese occupation forces, and then abdicated in favor of Ho Chi Minh, whom he served briefly as a political counsellor of the Vietminh Government.) President Truman entrusted to William C. Bullitt the task of persuading Bao Dai to join the French side in the war against the Vietminh. Bullitt pursued Bao Dai from the clubs of Hong Kong to the game tables of the French Riviera. Only after a series of discussions which spanned more than two years was Bao Dai finally coaxed back into the political

realm. The long delay helps to explain the apparent inaction and indifference of the U.S. prior to 1949.

Schlesinger omits any reference to the activity of American personnel in Indochina in the early 1950s and solemnly avoids describing how Ngo Dinh Diem came to power. To have filled this hiatus or to have confronted squarely the issue of Diem's ascendancy would have been to divulge too much. He draws attention instead to the debate in the United States Congress in the spring of 1954 over the question of direct military involvement in the all-but-lost French campaign. He portrays this as a debate between the fools (Republicans, domino-theorists, hawks) and the sage politicians and statesmen (namely, John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson). In Schlesinger's reconstruction, tragedy is averted, wisdom prevails, and peace is secured in Vietnam. The rest is fantasy. The negotiations at Geneva "resulted in the de facto partition of Vietnam at the 17th parallel," Dulles "organized" SEATO, and the deus ex machina Mr. Diem arrives in time to request American support from President Eisenhower. We are assured that this aid is granted on the condition that various reforms be carried out. Professor Schlesinger well knows that international agreements do not result in de facto situations, but in clearly delineated de jure provisions. He undoubtedly finds the looser phrases of realpolitik more fitting to his construction of the outcome of the Geneva Conference. The de jure result expressly forbade the partition of the country except to facilitate the withdrawal of French military units. The SEATO pact and the Eisenhower-Diem relationship are mentioned for two reasons. First, they are an integral part of the formal argument for the U.S. involvement in Vietnam; they are mentioned ritualistically (although subjected to some critical analysis in terms of their cogency as justification for military action). But, secondly, they mask the responsibility of the liberals at this period.

Schlesinger would have us sympathize with the liberals who have seemingly inherited a difficult problem from the Dulles-Eisenhower Administration. Whatever the flimsy legal basis of the U.S. involvement, the U.S. made a commitment in 1954. A line was drawn across Southeast Asia. In Schlesinger's words, "That line could have

been drawn elsewhere -- along the Mekong River, for example, and the northern border of Thailand. No vital strategic interest required that it be drawn where it was. But it was drawn in South Vietnam, for better or worse; a vital American interest was thus created where none had existed before; and a series of decisions followed in train which ended by carrying the United States into the fourth largest war of its history." It would be chilling to believe that Schlesinger could go on to justify a continuation of such a war. Four hundred thousand Americans go off to die to defend a line drawn at random, a "vital American interest" created by chance. But Schlesinger does not believe his own fairy tale. He has merely given us a whimsical version of the origins of the direct American involvement in 1954 rather than show the thinking of John Kennedy and others active in placing Diem in power in Saigon.

For Schlesinger thinks like Kennedy. He may be embarrassed to discuss it, but he approves the policy which sent CIA operatives to South Vietnam disguised as Michigan State University social scientists. He knows that the "counter-insurgency" policy tested in Vietnam is not designed to stop aggression; he ridicules Rusk for his simple-minded view of China knocking over Asian dominoes. Schlesinger favors adding to the American Empire. The line could have been drawn elsewhere in Asia, but so much the better that it was drawn to include Vietnam. Let's not give it up. But he pleads the case of prudence. There is a risk in placing too great an emphasis on conquering new frontiers. We must first hold what we have. He argues for a tighter hold on Western Europe and Latin America, lamenting that "...Latin America falls to the end of the queue, while all energy and concern are absorbed by Vietnam." Always cautious, Schlesinger is supremely concerned that we be ready for new fronts; these will not be Chinese invasion forces, but the indigenous guerrilla movements already active in Latin America. He fears the FALN and the MR-13; he remembers the 14th of June and the 26th of July. These are the real threats to American hegemony. Viewed prudently, Vietnam is a place to test the napalm which will enflame the mountains of Peru. The experiment is not to fail in Vietnam, of course; yet it must be accomplished flexibly and without waste and haste. In the long run, for Schlesinger, Vietnam is worth the fight, but

it must not become an embarrassing obsession. We have nothing to lose there and everything to gain; Schlesinger would even allow some concessions (as in Laos).

In judging the book, we might feel that Schlesinger had prostituted himself, if he had ever been a different man. But it would be illogical to expect a different book from him. Arthur Schlesinger wears the stain of Cuban blood for the lies he told to mask the Bay of Pigs. Now Vietnam, the uncompleted hell, he has a cold sweat; his pores exude carrion stench. Ever loyal to his President and to his Party, to his Bill of Rights and to his Reason, yet he cannot be a man.

Review

"Viet Nam: Do We Understand Revolution?"
Maj.-Gen. Edward Lansdale, Foreign Affairs,
October 1964, pp. 75-86.

by Leonard Liggio

...the Vietnam war is now likely to ride the upswing of the blood-drenched roller coaster into the annihilation of industries, flood control and irrigation dams, and cities and villages. People must become a strategic target. And they will. Never fear, they will.

(Bernard Fall, New Republic, July 16, 1965.)

Heavy fire-power directed at peasants unrecognizable among other peasants is not selective. Since the Vietnamese guerrillas are Vietnamese peasants living among their fellows, the massive American military fire-power has been used indiscriminately against the Vietnamese people. Early in the Kennedy administration United States strategists announced the 'new theory' that the United States' massive fire-power could win

guerrilla warfare without gaining support of the native population. Walt W. Rostow has been the principle spokesman for this 'new theory' although as the official position it has appeared in the writings of other members of the Kennedy administration (cf. Roger Hilsman's introduction to the American edition (1962) of Vo Nguyen Giap's People's War, People's Army). For the past two years, the United States government has fully implemented this 'new theory' by unleashing its destructive military capabilities upon the entire population, destroying all peasants whether guerrillas or not, whether men or women and children, because a guerrilla war is ultimately a war of the whole population against their exploiters, domestic and foreign, and the whole population must be uprooted or destroyed if victory for the United States is to be gained. Genocide is the proper name for this policy.

One aspect of the 'new theory' is the application of large-scale offensives and bombing raids using napalm and defoliants to drive hundreds of thousands of peasants away from their homes and their fields into United States controlled 'reservations' around the major cities. Dependent upon the United States through the Saigon regime these refugees become the ideal subjects for 'pacification.' Dispatched to Saigon to direct the 'pacification' program in 1965, Maj.-Gen. Edward Lansdale, had already expressed his attitudes on the issues involved in a war against guerrillas. Lansdale declared military operations, whether infantry or air force, to be self-defeating in a guerrilla war:

When the military opens fire at long range, whether by infantry weapons, artillery or air strike, on a reported Vietcong concentration in a hamlet or village full of civilians, the Vietnamese officers who give those orders and the American advisers who let them 'get away with it' are helping defeat the cause of freedom.

The replacement of Vietnamese puppet troops with hundreds of thousands of Westerners can hardly have been a contribution to the counter-insurgency advocated by Gen. Lansdale; in his October 1964 article in Foreign Affairs he had insisted that American expressions of contempt for

the quality of capabilities of the Saigon army undermined the national self-image of those supported by the United States. Given the United States' violation of the major principles of Gen. Lansdale's 'philosophy' at the very time that he was sent to Saigon, Lansdale's role within the 'new theory' must be a limited one.

Gen. Lansdale, a career CIA official, is credited with the successful ending of the guerrilla rebellion in the Philippines in the early 1950s and with the development of the Diem regime in Saigon in the mid-1950s. The example of the Philippines recurs frequently in Lansdale's article. The Philippines is offered as a model for United States policy in Vietnam for the United States intervened in the Philippines national liberation struggle in 1898 and replaced Spain in the repression of the Philippine nationalists. Rejecting the view that a non-Western people could be self-governing, the United States assumed the role of governor and tutor to the "little brown brothers" by choosing puppet officials under American pro-consuls. Despite the formality of independence the United States has retained a preferred economic position and major military and naval facilities, such as Subic Bay. Lansdale notes that what he achieved in the Philippines a decade and a half ago was a temporary stalemate through political reforms after the collapse of the weak guerrilla war. Lansdale's realistic analysis of the temporary nature of his success in the Philippines is confirmed by the commentary of others, such as: "Now, the Philippines is a prime candidate for the role of the next Vietnam." This is the case because of the failure of the Philippine officials to implement the vague reforms proposed by Lansdale and of the focus of patriotic criticism at the American bases at Subic Bay and Clark Field.

Since Vietnam is viewed as the model for defeating "people's wars" Lansdale proposes combatting popular revolution with an idea and with organization. He would oppose national liberation with a better idea based on the export of American, English and French political theory. However, in Lansdale's formulation these boil down to meaningless political generalities. Lansdale's concrete indications of the organization for victory over the guerrillas begins by instilling 'patriotism' through

the theatrical gimmick of forcing all the Vietnamese clients of the United States to sign in blood a declaration of independence to save the Saigon regime, that is, to save their jobs. The succeeding step in this program of Vietnamese 'patriotism' begins with the United States assumption of the responsibility of stabilizing the government so that there is no fear among the United States' clients that they will lose their jobs. Since it would be 'premature' to set a date for elections, a permanent 'provisional' government must be kept in power by the United States. Meanwhile, to satisfy public opinion a play-acting assembly would be convoked for the politicians to posture in without going to the people with their appeals. The members of the assembly would be sent into various areas to discover if conditions existed in a district for an election and where conditions were favorable American aid should be rapidly dispatched - undoubtedly as an incentive and reward for the correct (pro-American) electoral action. Such assemblies are familiar to the Vietnamese as they were the facades behind which the French and later Diem, under Lansdale's inspiration, ruled.

For Lansdale national independence is the great cause for Vietnamese just as it was for Americans; but those who fought against Western imperialism in the mountains and jungles as the Americans fought English imperialism are the traitors while those who remained in Saigon or went abroad to Hong Kong, Paris or New York rather than fight were the patriots. Thus, in Lansdale's mythology Ho Chi Minh and Vo Nguyen Giap were the Benedict Arnolds of Vietnam because, like the 'traitorous' Continental Congress and revolutionary army, they fought the French and American imperialists. The real 'revolution' was Lansdale's management with Diem of the destruction of the other major southern Vietnamese political groups and the overthrow of the constitutional elements which might have been considered bound by international law to implement the Geneva accords. Given the unreality of Lansdale's major arguments, it is understandable that United States strategists have limited his role to distracting opinion with a play-acting assembly while they concentrate upon napalm, chemicals and 'lazy-dog' weapons in recognition of the fact that the only American alternative to national liberation is - genocide.

Review

McGeorge Bundy, "THE END OF EITHER/OR,"
Foreign Affairs, January 1967.

by Leonard Liggio

McGeorge Bundy, perhaps better than any other of the creators of present United States foreign policy, recognizes that the expansion (survival) of the United States' world dominance requires the availability of every possible instrument and policy. No option, alternative or method must be excluded from the arsenal of the policy-maker. As Bundy indicates in his praise of the Kennedy administration, a whole range of actions, apparently contradictory, contribute to the maintenance of the United States' world dominance, if properly, subtly and wisely applied.

Over and over he (Kennedy) insisted on the double assertion of policies which stood in surface contradiction with each other: resistance to tyranny and relentless pursuit of accommodation; reinforcement of defense and new leadership for disarmament; counter-insurgency and the Peace Corps; openings to the left but no closed doors to the reasonable right; an Alliance for Progress and unremitting opposition to Castro.

Refusing to examine the "long line of decisions that has brought us where we are in Viet Nam" Bundy argues for providing the policy-makers with the means to use every alternative to gain the United States objectives there and in the world generally. Bundy acknowledges that the withdrawal from Vietnam by the United States would not automatically terminate United States' domination in Southeast Asia. Bundy's major consideration is that the experience of the Vietnam conflict will increase the confidence of the American public in the government's ability to maintain United States' world dominance, including the four-fifths of all foreign investments controlled by the United States, to which he makes reference. The major consideration of maintaining and demonstrating the American public's commitment to "extensive policies" and "extensive actions" require the policy-maker to

apply military and diplomatic means, bombing and negotiations, as parallel instruments. Part of the purpose of the present Vietnam policy has been demonstrated already; the client governments of the United States in Southeast Asia are assured that the United States government will gamble on continuing them in power against popular revolutions even at the cost of hundreds of thousands of American troops and thousands of American casualties. What remains untested as yet is the willingness of the American people to sustain such policies and such losses of American lives. However, even should the American people react negatively to the present United States intervention in Vietnam, the well-prepared policy-maker is provided with a multiplicity of alternative means to the end of United States dominance. Thus, in reserve stands foreign aid for it is the best long-range means of maintaining American dominance: "We need both military and economic action." "The level of our economic aid is too low today to serve our own interests." Thus, the genocidal destruction of the Vietnamese people is consistently accompanied by offers of ever increasing economic aid - even to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The possibilities for gaining American dominance are manifold as Bundy clearly indicates.

STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF JOHN HARRIS

The persecution of John Harris is in the tradition of brutal intimidation of courageous American dissenters. Sacco and Vanzetti, the Scottsboro boys, the Rosenbergs, Morton Sobell, William Epton, David Mitchell and John Harris - they are in the great tradition of American revolutionary dissenters who have been hounded and persecuted by the perpetrators of injustice.

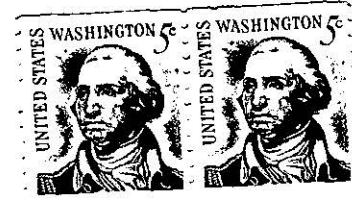
What is the crime of John Harris? He is defending the oppressed Negro people of Los Angeles. He is a militant of the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee. He leafleted about the police murder of Leonard Deadwyler. The odious California Criminal Syndicalist Act of 1919 is a notorious act of oppression. John Harris is in the tradition of American radicalism and speaks for what is decent in American life against all that is vicious and hateful. I raise my voice in his support and appeal to Americans to prevent another legal lynching of another brave man.

Bertrand Russell
1st March 1967

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VOL. 1 No. 8,9

CONTENTS

"David Mitchell vs. United States: Dissent"
by Justice William O. Douglas

"A Glimpse of American Crimes in Vietnam"
by Ralph Schoenman

"United States vs. Edward Oguendo"
by Conrad J. Lynn

Review:

Where is Vietnam?

American Poets Respond

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The final preparations are in progress for the first regular sessions of the International War Crimes Tribunal. The questions of aggression and civilian bombardment in Vietnam will be the central focus of these sessions. After presentation of documentation and testimony from witnesses on these questions, the hearings will adjourn to permit the Tribunal members to study the evidence and allow its commissions to complete investigation of the remaining questions which will be examined at later sessions of the Tribunal.

With the meeting of the Tribunal, financial needs expand greatly, and it is necessary to appeal most strongly for financial support. While further investigating teams have been sent to North Vietnam, the members of the earlier investigating teams (which surveyed bombed areas, examined the weaponry used in bombardments and interviewed hundreds of witnesses in North Vietnam) must be flown in to present their investigations to the Tribunal. Consideration of the expense of air fares to bring together, from every continent, Tribunal members, investigators and experts, may indicate the enormous costs which are necessary if the Tribunal's work is to be effective. We hope that your generosity will match that of the Tribunal membership and staff. We also hope that while the Tribunal is conducting its first hearings, you will be holding meetings to discuss the Tribunal's work and collect funds to sustain it.

Contributions should be sent as soon as possible to:

THE BERTRAND RUSSELL PEACE FOUNDATION
342 West 84th Street
New York, New York 10024

UNITED STATES VS. DAVID MITCHELL

The legal case of David Mitchell in his refusal to accept conscription into the Army of the United States has provided a qualitative improvement in the constitutional issues surrounding conscription. David Mitchell's reliance upon international legal standards in his defense, especially the relevance of the Nuremberg laws, gave his case an international significance and coverage. It was David Mitchell's courageous stand upon international standards which inspired the International War Crimes Tribunal. As Jean-Paul Sartre stated in Le Nouvel Observateur (November 30, 1966):

It is precisely from the gesture of David Mitchell and a few others that the idea of our "tribunal" is born. Our investigation, if it returns a verdict of guilty for the United States, should permit all the young Americans who oppose Johnson's policy to invoke not only the Nuremberg laws but also the judgment of a certain number of free men, who represent no party, no power. It is better that we represent nothing. ... We, on the contrary, are the agents of no power and no one can say that we impose our law on people that we hold under the boot. We are independent because we are weak. And our position is strong because we do not seek to send anyone to prison, but to bring about a rebirth, in public opinion, at a sinister moment in our history, of the idea that there can be policies which are objectively and juridically criminal.

The United States Supreme Court refused to hear David Mitchell's case. However, Mr. Justice William O. Douglas, in his dissent, provided the basis upon which, as frequently in the past, a strong dissent soon becomes the majority opinion. Without David Mitchell's several years of struggle in the courts, this fundamental stage of constitutional development would remain unrealized.

JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS' DISSENT:

Supreme Court of the United States

MITCHELL v. UNITED STATES

On Petition for Writ of Certiorari to the United States
Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit

No. 1012. Decided March 20, 1967.

Mr. Justice Douglas, dissenting.

Petitioner did not report for induction as ordered, was indicted, convicted, and sentenced to five years imprisonment and his conviction was affirmed. 369 F. 2d 323. His defense was that the "war" in Vietnam was being conducted in violation of various treaties to which we were a signatory especially the Treaty of London of August 8, 1945, 59 Stat. 1544, which in Article 6(a) declares that "waging a war of aggression" is a "crime against peace" imposing "individual responsibility." Article 8 provides:

"The fact that the Defendant acted pursuant to order of his Government or of a superior shall not free him from responsibility, but may be considered in mitigation of punishment if the Tribunal determines that justice so requires."

Petitioner claimed that the "war" in Vietnam was a "war of aggression" within the meaning of the Treaty of London and that Article 8 makes him responsible for participating in it even though he is ordered to do so.*

Mr. Justice Jackson, the United States prosecutor at Nuremberg, stated: "If certain acts in violation of treaties are crimes, they are crimes whether the United States does them or whether Germany does them, and we are not

*The trial court charged the jury that the Treaty of London did not interfere "in any manner in respect to this defendant fulfilling his duty under this order."

prepared to lay down a rule of criminal conduct against others which we would not be willing to have invoked against us." (International Conference on Military Trials, Dept. State Pub. No. 3880, p. 330.)

Article VI, cl. 2 of the Constitution states that "treaties" are a part of "the supreme law of the land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby."

There is a considerable body of opinion that our actions in Vietnam constitute the waging of an aggressive "war."

This case presents the questions:

(1) whether the Treaty of London is a treaty within the meaning of Art. VI, cl. 2;

(2) whether the question as to the waging of an aggressive (sic) "war" is in the context of this criminal prosecution a justiciable question;

(3) whether the Vietnam episode is a "war" in the sense of the Treaty;

(4) whether petitioner has standing to raise the question;

(5) whether, if he has, it may be tendered as a defense in this criminal case or in amelioration of the punishment.

These are extremely sensitive and delicate questions. But they should, I think, be answered. Even those who think that the Nuremberg judgments were unconstitutional by our guarantee relating to ex post facto laws would have to take a different view of the Treaty of London that purports to lay down a standard of future conduct for all the signatories.

I intimate no opinion on the merits. But I think the petition for certiorari should be granted. We have here a recurring question in present-day Selective Service cases.

Justice William O. Douglas' epochal dissenting opinion resulted from David Mitchell's appeal following his trial in the spring of 1966. During that trial in the Federal Court in New Haven, Ralph Schoenman presented testimony to support David Mitchell's legal defense based upon the requirements of international law. Mr. Schoenman arrived at the trial directly from Hanoi where he had gone to collect evidence specifically for the Mitchell trial. The following excerpts are drawn from Ralph Schoenman's eye-witness report of war crimes in Vietnam.

A GLIMPSE OF AMERICAN CRIMES IN VIETNAM

by

Ralph Schoenman

Over many years, Bertrand Russell has sought to alert people in the West to the nature of the war waged by the United States in Vietnam. He has established international committees of support for the people of Vietnam and is, at the moment, preparing a War Crimes Tribunal in which eminent people have been asked to participate. One American among many who have taken up resistance to the war in Vietnam is David Mitchell, who is on trial for his refusal to participate in the U.S. Army in Vietnam. Mitchell is neither a pacifist nor a conscientious objector. His contention is that the United States is guilty of crimes against peace and crimes against humanity, in the precise sense laid down at Nuremburg, and he cites as evidence the Geneva Convention, the Geneva Accords of 1954, the Kellogg-Briand Treaty, the London Agreements of Nuremburg and the United Nations Charter. All but one of these agreements were formally ratified by the United States Senate and signed by American Presidents. As such, they are fully binding within the terms of the American Constitution upon all officials of the U.S. Government and upon citizens of the United States. Thus, says Mitchell, the use by the United States of poison gas, poison chemicals, napalm, experimental fragmentation bombs, nerve gases and the vast bombardment of hospitals, schools, tuberculosis sanatoria

and leprosoia are not merely in violation of legally binding treaties, but are war crimes for which Germans were hanged. Indeed, ordinary citizens of Germany who failed to refuse orders by the government of the day were executed at Nuremburg for complicity in crimes against humanity and crimes against the peace. American Supreme Justice Robert Jackson stated at Nuremburg that the justification for the War Crimes Tribunal lay in the fact that it mattered not whether the perpetrators of war crimes were Germans or Americans. He stated that if the day should come when the United States Government were guilty of such crimes, it would be the duty of its citizens both to refuse to carry them out and to oppose those who issued such orders. David Mitchell is on trial for insisting that day has arrived.

Bertrand Russell sent me to Vietnam to gather first hand evidence concerning such war crimes, evidence which was to be used not only in defence of David Mitchell, but in the international War Crimes Tribunal which Lord Russell was in the process of establishing. I arrived in Hanoi on February 21 and travelled in five provinces under heavy bombardment. South of Thanh Hoa, in Ha Tay, Nam Ha, Ninh Binh and the surrounds of Hanoi I saw the result of 650 sorties per week, bombs of 1,000 pounds, napalm, phosphorous and a fiendish weapon known as "the lazy dog".

Meeting Ho Chi Minh

Seven o'clock on the morning after my arrival in Hanoi I was received by Prime Minister Pham Van Dong and President Ho Chi Minh. Ho Chi Minh moves with agility and dresses in simple baggy trousers, a long, open shirt and open sandals. His manner is direct, and his humour immediate. The warmth and the comradeship which were shown moved me. I retained the terrible feeling that I was an American, moving amongst the victims of the crimes of my Government and obliging them to repeat for me their everyday experience so I might write it down. Although an American citizen, I have lived in England for eight years. I return frequently to the United States, and went there immediately after my trip to North Vietnam to give evidence in the trial of David Mitchell in Hartford, Connecticut.

The Blitz and Vietnam

Ho Chi Minh and Pham Van Dong know the West well, our culture and our history. Ho Chi Minh is familiar with the streets of London, Paris, and New York. They are life-long revolutionary leaders, internationalists, literally men of the world. Both recall clearly and personally the Nazi invasion of Europe. They discussed the requests made to them so frequently by westerners to accept negotiations with the United States. How, they had been asked, could they expect the war to end unless there were negotiations? The Vietnamese leaders are reminded of England in 1940, when the Luftwaffe was bombing London, Coventry, Bristol, Manchester, and Glasgow. To the British, this was their finest hour, because, after a few months of bombing of a few cities the expectation on the part of others that the great power of Germany would intimidate them was not fulfilled. The British were proud, and indignant at the thought that they would yield. What is it that makes such resistance and such sentiments permissible for Britons after a few months of bombing, but impermissible for an agrarian people withstanding the invasion and atrocity of the United States of America? The people and leaders of Vietnam view this very simply: racism. I feel it passionately since my return to the West: the racism of imperialism, which is in the air we breathe, the same racism displayed by Johnson when he said, "Unless the United States has unchallengeable air power, we shall be hostage to every yellow dwarf with a pocket knife."

Negotiations or Surrender?

Just as a peace mission from Mussolini would have been absurd to any Englishman in 1940, and just as negotiations with Hitler while the bombs fell on London and Coventry would have been treated as an insult to the self-respect and intelligence of every Englishman, so to the Vietnamese the suggestion that they must negotiate with the United States, while American troops are in occupation of their country, is but another expression of Western arrogance and racism. When Ho Chi Minh says: "We will go on another five, ten, fifteen or twenty years, if necessary," he is not indulging in rhetoric. The Vietnamese resistance will not be ended. The Vietnamese war will be ended when the resistance within America has made it impossible for it to go on.

During my talk with Premier Pham Van Dong we dwelt on the level of consciousness in the United States and the possibilities of serious resistance. There were moments in the conversation when the weight of American responsibility and my feelings of shame and humiliation pained me too deeply, and I was silent. Pham Van Dong took my hand and said:

"My dear brother, the struggle is long and our people endure much. We are comrades in arms: you, Americans, who work to awaken your people and to resist your rulers, and we, who struggle in the field. It is the same fight."

Even while they expect little from us, they are moved and grateful for the little they receive, for they see the birth of an American resistance as one of the rewards for their sacrifice. An American emergence and an American consciousness of our place in the world and our relationship to our rulers will be the gift of the people of Vietnam to the people of the United States. It would be a mistake to think that we do them any favour. The pity of the horror which has been borne by Vietnam is not a pity deserved by the Vietnamese. There is nothing pitiful about them. In their very suffering they are heroic. It is not passivity which marks them, but sacrifice and resistance. The pity lies in the cruel historic reality which renders the American people apathetic and acquiescent as this horror is perpetrated in their name. I feel certain that the American emergence of the next generation, and the generation after that, will trace its origins to the quarter century revolution in Vietnam: that great and liberating event to which we owe more than solidarity.

Bertrand Russell has said:

"The people of Vietnam are the world's soldiers for justice. Their struggle is epic, a permanent reminder of the heroism of which human beings are capable when dedicated to a noble ideal. Let us salute the people of Vietnam."

Pham Van Dong had offered to make all facilities available for the gathering of evidence. Our requests

that victims should be able to give evidence at the trial of David Mitchell and during the proceedings of the international War Crimes Tribunal under preparation were willingly accepted by the Prime Minister, and by President Ho Chi Minh. One of the requests made was to meet captured U.S. pilots, in order to learn from them the nature of their targets in Vietnam, and their feelings about what they had been doing. This request was also met, and a meeting was established with the then most recently captured pilot, Lieutenant-Commander Gerald L. Coffee.

A Captured Pilot

When I met Coffee, I introduced myself and told him I was an American. I did not inform him of the purpose of my visit. I had decided beforehand that I should keep this information to myself until after our discussion had concluded, so as not to influence his words with knowledge of what information I was seeking. After our discussion had concluded, I sent him a letter, informing him of all aspects of my mission.

Lieutenant-Commander Coffee is a professional who was based on the U.S. aircraft carrier Kittyhawk. He was evidently in sound health, alert and showed no signs whatever of maltreatment. He had been shot down on February 3, 30 miles north of Vinh city. I asked him what happened to him, after that. He said:

"I received a broken arm from the ejection point. I got medical attention quickly. I was down in a remote area and taken to a village, to a hut where I was treated. I got the best attention possible. They made it as comfortable as they could. They bandaged me. Within a couple of hours I was given a meal of hot rice.

"When I had regained consciousness in the water, I found everything necessary had been done for me. My parachute was removed. My flotation gear was inflated. We were about half a mile from the beach. The two small boats which had rescued me were full of people. When the boats arrived, the cover jets came and strafed the boats carrying me. The people in the boats were armed with rifles, pistols and machine guns. The american jets made six strafing passes before I was able to get to the beach.

Amazed

"No mistreatment occurred at any time. The strafing of our planes had no effect on their attitude to me. I was amazed. I couldn't understand it. I had expected the worst. I stayed at a village until sundown on February 3. There were six windows in the house. People came from the whole vicinity. My belongings were taken from me. I was utterly astonished at the treatment I was getting. It became apparent to me, after a time, that this was their policy. They took me to another village. People were curious and gathered around to see me. I was offered hot tea. The children followed me and tried to touch me. That night, I was taken to another place, where I was also treated well. I was fed; my bandages were changed; they gave me all I could eat. The man in charge said that the people were deeply angry, as the bombings were still going on, and they took me to another area because of the aroused feelings of the people, but I encountered no hostility, anywhere.

Could Have Shot Me

"During the questioning, I came to realise that they could just as well have shot me. They had it non-stop, the bombing, for over a year. Everything was under attack. I wholeheartedly accept their designation of criminal. I was kept at the second place for three days. My wounds were treated. I was fed. Anybody who could speak English or French asked me: 'Why are you here? Why have you come to Vietnam?' I couldn't answer them.

"What impressed me more than anything was the overall gentleness of the people to me. Gentleness is the right word. I can hold nothing against them. The civilian casualties they suffer are not ordinary ones. They are the result, in my opinion, of unilateral, criminal

aggression. I have to say that I played a definite part in this. The word 'criminal' is exact. It is true. I can't deny it. I have observed the gentleness of these people, not only in the way they treated me. While I was in their homes, they talked together. They joked. They took tea. The atmosphere was gentle, in a family way. What I like and prefer. They made me feel at ease. They were simple people, tillers of the soil, farmers, peasants and they treated me kindly. Two things became very apparent. One was their real love for Hó Chi Minh. Whenever his name would come up their eyes would light up. They obviously revere him. The second was this fantastic and unanimous determination of theirs not to be intimidated by the bombing. I could see that each new bombing raid, with its death and destruction, brought more and more hate to their hearts for Americans.

Diagnosis and Treatment

"I was brought north slowly. My interpreter was from Thanh Hoa. We stopped at his home. We visited his family and he took me in to them. I was offered hot tea. We stayed and talked. When we arrived in Hanoi, my arm and dislocated elbow were bad. They were swollen and beginning to be infected. That was February 7. By the 11th, I had seen practically a corps of doctors, who visited me at the prison. They diagnosed me and then they operated on my hand. On the 11th I was taken to a hospital and my arm was X-rayed. They gave me an anaesthetic and returned my elbow to its socket. They put my arm in a cast, which I kept on for two weeks. Throughout this time, I was given medication. They gave me four injections in four days. On February 26 they took more X-rays and they put a new cast on, which I will keep on until the end of March.

"In prison they have questioned me and they have tried to explain their view of the true issues of the Vietnamese war and the feelings of the Vietnamese people. The living conditions are simple, but always adequate. The sanitation is fine. I am given enough clothing and more than sufficient food each day. I am able to wash when I wish. They have given me a

tooth brush and toothpaste, along with soap and towel. I can't get over the fact that the guards are so sympathetic. They help me to dress and do small things for me, ungrudgingly. They button me, because I have trouble with my broken arm.

The Logic of the Whole Story

"Apart from the discussions which I have, they have given me a great amount of literature. I received this with complete scepticism and suspiciousness. It all deals with South Vietnam and the origins of the war and the involvement of the United States. I have to say that I am unable to refute the logic of the whole story. It is unanswerable. I believe now I know, for the first time, who we are really fighting in South Vietnam.

"I know the pretences under which I was willing to fight. The pathetic thing is that you can't call it political indoctrination. I could have found out the same damn things at home, in the library, on my own. If I had only taken the time, it would have been just as easy for me to find this out at home. I was willing to take part in this war for the usual, rather vague reasons of protecting our democratic way of life, honouring our agreements with our allies and resisting communism. I have been here a short time, but I have seen enough to know that none of this applies here. My contemporaries and I are all guilty of the same thing: of not making the effort to really find out what it is all about. Unfortunately, that is really the way the majority of the American people are. Right up to February 2 I considered the anti-war demonstrations intolerable. I couldn't understand what they were stirred up about. It seemed to me outrageous. I never thought about what they were doing. I never took the time to find out. Now I feel very strongly, because of the very deep love and affection I have for my country. I feel very strongly. We have no business here. We are involved in a situation in which we have no right. I think I understand how we became involved. I have thought a lot.

Their Resistance

"When the Vietnamese were fighting their resistance against the French, we aided the French. We gave them arms and officers and paid for most of it. Mainly for two reasons. Under the French, we could still get the tin, rubber and tungsten the United States wanted from the Indo-Chinese area. They showed me a statement of Eisenhower's. Also, under the French, we were assured of a military hold in Indo-China, which we thought was necessary. But in spite of our aid and our willingness to get involved, the Vietnamese revolution defeated the French. As far as I can make out, Ho Chi Minh was able to unite a number of different revolutionary fronts and, therefore, to lead the defeat of the French. The Geneva Agreements were made and stipulated that there should be no foreign military personnel or military goods in Vietnam. The Agreements clearly guarantee the territorial integrity and independence of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.

I Can't Deny

"These are the things I have been reading, and they correspond to what I remember vaguely, from the talks we used to have. The division of the Seventeenth Parallel was provisional. There was supposed to be demilitarisation and neither Government was supposed to enter in military alliances or permit any foreign military intervention. There was supposed to be an election after two years to reunify the country, but two months after the Agreements we formed S.E.A.T.O. and included Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos as areas under our military protection. It was obvious that we still wanted a military hold on Indo-China. So the French left, and we put Diem in power and made Bao Dai the Emperor. Then he was made Premier, after a referendum which we ran. Then we started putting in massive aid to keep control and built up the army, police and militia. We set up the Military Advisory Aid Group and sent U.S. troops. I can't deny that this violates the Geneva Agreements. Those Agreements were supposed to unify Vietnam.

"The Diem Government was obviously unpopular. He persecuted non-Catholics and established a dictatorship. He put his family in office. He could never have lasted without our military backing. As the elections approached he refused offers from North Vietnam for elections and ignored the provisions of the Geneva Conference, and this was done with the insistence of our Government. It is perfectly clear, and even Eisenhower said it, that elections would have put Ho Chi Minh in as President. I tell you, I think rightly so. What is the difference between him and Washington? He is their revolutionary hero. He brought land reform and economic stability. I could see that myself. That is why we did not let Diem hold elections. These people want reunification. They want to see the labour of their revolution bear fruit. They don't want their victory over the French to be made meaningless and they dream of reunification, and we shattered that dream. Only a revolution was left to them. The revolution was based on their bitterness at the betrayal. It seems to me that the National Liberation Front was trying to free them and was called 'communist' because it tried to defeat our plan to stay. Maybe it has communist inclinations, but it seems to be a national body. We are fighting the people of Vietnam. We are refusing to deal with the people of Vietnam. I thought I was stopping the spread of communism, but I have seen the life here. They are fed. They are productive. They seem to be happy, despite what we are doing. How can it be worse than the South?

A Coup Every Day

"I know the literature I read was printed in Hanoi and, as I told you, I was completely sceptical. But I remember the reports of what Diem was like, and we always joked about how there was a coup every day, and we were setting up another bunch. At the time I thought it was the thing to do. I don't know if anyone had the foresight to realise what it meant. We make so much of the supposed aid from North Vietnam to South Vietnam, as if they were a disinterested party, horning in on something none of their business. But what they want is the reunification of their country, and they are the same people. Reunification is part of their national purpose. It's practically in the

Constitution. I think, logically, they have every right in the world to assist as best they can. They have the same goal -- reunification and independence of the country. If we escalate further it will result in drawing in other countries, including China. The devastation and the sacrifice of life will be appalling.

"Everything I have read and everything I am telling you is compounded by the fact that our cause simply isn't just. We are sacrificing whatever honour and respect we might have. We could honour these Geneva Agreements, say we were wrong, accept the four-point plan of Ho Chi Minh, because all that it is is the implementation of the Geneva Agreements. We should leave Vietnam.

A Unique Point of View

"I am 31 years old and I am from Modesto, Calif. My parents are in Hanford, California. I have a wife and three children in Sanford, Florida. My wife is expecting our fourth child and I am really worried about her. She doesn't know whether I am dead or alive. I want to write an open letter to the American people. My feelings are what I have told you. I am neither a journalist, a political scientist or a crusader. But I have a unique point of view because of my experience here and maybe people will listen to me. Don't rely on what I say. Find out for yourself and, when you see, take any step you can to stop this war. I want to write to Time, Newsweek and the U.S. News and World Report. I may be naive, but maybe they will give me space.

Respected Naval Officer

"To attest to my integrity, I want to tell you that I have been a respected naval officer for eight years. I hold the Distinguished Flying Cross. I have taken part in reconnaissance flights over Cuba. I have a personal letter of commendation from the Director of the Marine Corps, General Shoup, for my reconnaissance flights over Cuba during the missile crisis in October 1962. I have been promoted to the

rank of Lieutenant-Commander a year earlier than my peers. By writing these letters I am going to be laying my military career on the line. I have always been loyal to my profession and I love my country deeply. But the time has come when the two are not compatible. I must do what I think is right for my country.

"They will say: 'He is a prisoner. It is the way he will get home.' There are over 100 pilots captured, but it is not that with me. It will save lives and also our country's honour. Please point out the bit about political indoctrination. With the exception of my contact with the Vietnamese people, everything I have learned and everything I have told you I could have found out at home, if I had taken the time. Believe me: Nothing I have said to you is rehearsed. It reflects the thought I have given the whole thing after what I have seen and experienced. I speak to you and I want to ask you how can I best reach the American people? I want to write to Time, Newsweek and U.S. News and World Report, and I chose them because they seem to me to be the best way to reach the people I want to reach. But I have had no favours here, no special treatment, no offers. I want people to know, I really do. I am laying it on the line."

Coffee is a Catholic and a very religious man. It is plain to me that his views are prompted by no ideological commitment other than the sentiments induced by the direct contact with the situation and population of Vietnam.

Lieutenant-Commander Coffee is a professional. It was apparent to me that he believed what he had been told by his officers and, because he believed this, he was all the more shaken and disturbed by the realities he encountered. The first shock was the disparity between what he had been told about communists and the medical attention he was given by them after his capture. The second fact was the horror of the bombing in which he had so recently participated.

* . * *

UNITED STATES VS. EDWARD ANDRE OQUENDO

David Mitchell does not stand alone. Other young men are waging similar court battles as a result of their refusal to participate in what they see as a war of aggression being waged by the United States in Vietnam. The case of Edward Andre Oquendo, who is Negro and Puerto Rican, delves specifically into the racist nature of the war.

Conrad J. Lynn, a member of one of the investigating teams sent to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam by the International War Crimes Tribunal, prepared the following brief in defense of Edward Oquendo, who has been indicted by the U.S. government for refusing to be inducted into the Army.

It is our hope that evidence compiled and documented by the Tribunal will provide further substantiation of the cases of Mitchell and Oquendo and the others now being fought in the courts and the many more which will undoubtedly be fought in the future.

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
EASTERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

United States of America against Edward Andre Oquendo Defendant.

Defendant's Trial Memorandum

Statement

Edward A. Oquendo duly registered under Selective Service regulations in 1965. When he received notice that he had been classified as eligible for the Armed Forces - 1-A - he wrote a letter to his draft board accusing the United States of waging an unprincipled war of aggression against a small colored nation many thousands of miles from American shores. As a youth of Afro-American and Puerto Rican extraction, he made it plain that he could not conscientiously participate in the war crimes his country was committing.

He was ordered to report for induction. He requested a hearing before the board with representation by an attorney. By letter of March 7, 1966 the draft board notified his attorneys that no counsel would be permitted at any hearing. In August 1966 the Grand Jury indicted defendant for failure to report for induction as directed on May 20, 1966. The defendant has remained free on his own recognizance, pending trial.

Issues Involved

1. Was the draft board's order to report valid?
2. May the defendant refuse to serve in this war?
3. Is the Selective Service Act, as applied, constitutional?
4. Was the defendant entitled to a hearing, represented by counsel?

POINT I

The Local Draft Board, No. 48, asserting jurisdiction over this defendant is composed of citizens of the Borough of Brooklyn in New York City. SSS Regulation, Sec. 1603.1 But its membership is practically all-white. No Puerto Ricans serve on the Board. About one-quarter of Brooklyn's two million population consists of Negroes and Puerto Ricans. When so large a segment of the body politic is barred from the institution sending its sons to war, a prima facie case of racial discrimination is presented. 50 U.S.C.A., Appx. Sec. 455. Cf. U.S. ex rel. Lynn v. Downer, 140 F. 2d 397, cert. denied 64 S. Ct. 1263. In the cited action the majority of the Court of Appeals for this Circuit ruled, in effect, that the history of segregation in the Armed Forces excused discrimination on account of race in the Selective Service System. The executive order of President Truman in 1948 ostensibly abolishing segregation in the Armed Forces, however, made the dissenting opinion of Clark, Ch. J. the dominant judicial view. A structural defect in the composition of the Board is incompatible with constitutional requirements of due process under the Fifth Amendment of the United States Constitution.

On November 14, 1966 the question of an all-white draft selection board was raised in a suit filed in the Federal District Court in Jackson, Mississippi, by the Lawyer's Committee for Civil Rights under Law on behalf of a twenty year-old Negro, Otis Sumrall, facing induction into the Armed Forces. "The New York Times," 11/15/66.

Here, as there, a black youth has a right under the Fifth Amendment and Sec. 544 of 50 U.S.C.A., Appx. not to be classified or inducted by a local board from which Negroes or Puerto Ricans have been excluded. When it is recalled that black Americans are serving in Vietnam in a far higher proportion than their numbers in the general population warrants, when the assistant secretary of labor openly advocates concentrating of sending black youth to army service ("The Negro Family -- The Case for National Action", Daniel Moynihan, Office of Policy Planning and Research - U.S. Dept. of Labor, March 1965), when the Defense Department admitted as long ago as March, 1966 that the rate of Afro-American casualties is roughly twice the proportion of this race in the whole population, the objection of the defendant to being ordered to report for induction is seen to be no mere quibble but a fundamental assertion of his right to be selected for service without discrimination. "The New York Times", 3/10/66, p. 4. Because of the lack of a fair cross-section of people on the draft board, its order to this defendant to report for service was invalid.

POINT II

The draft is being unconstitutionally applied.

Under well-settled principles of constitutional law the test of the validity of a statute is determined by an examination of its terms juxtaposed to provisions of the basic document. But that test is only the first impression. The application of the statute in practice must also meet constitutional safeguards. *U.S. v. Gearey*, 368 F.2d 144 (1966); *Herndon v. Lowry*, 301 U.S. 242; *Barr v. City of Columbia*, 84 S. Ct. 1734 (1964). The Universal Military Training and Service Act, which this defendant is charged with violating, is based upon the war powers of Congress. Article I, Section 8, of the United States Constitution specifies that

"The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes... to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States... to declare war... to raise and support armies... to provide and maintain a navy... to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces; to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions; to provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia..."

Here, it must be noted that the war power is limited to providing for the common defense. Nowhere in the fundamental law is there authorization for waging aggressive war. The men who wrote the Constitution well knew the abuses attendant upon sole executive control of armies. The prerogative of the monarch in levying upon men and property and waging war at his whim were all too recent in their memories. A representative assembly of the people was considered a safe depository of the war-making power. Hence, the sole power in Congress to declare war. In times past the Supreme Court has recognized these plain limitations in the Constitution. Chief Justice Taney, writing the majority opinion in a case arising out of the Mexican War stated:

"...the genius and character of our institutions are peaceful and the power to declare war was not conferred upon Congress for the purpose of aggression or aggrandizement, but to enable the general government to vindicate by arms, if it should become necessary, its own rights and the rights of its citizens." *Fleming et al. v. Page*, 9 How. 603.

Is this government now waging a war of self-defense in Southeast Asia? Unless words have lost their meaning this country is pursuing an aggressive military intervention in Vietnam. Mr. Justice William O. Douglas of the United States Supreme Court declared in a speech before Middle Tennessee State University on March 8, 1966 that the "United States is violating the United Nations Charter by waging aggressive war in Vietnam." "The Nashville Tennessean", March 9, 1966. He continued: "...too often, the United States accepts the rule of law only when doing so is to our advantage." "The Nashville Banner" March 9, 1966.

Nor is it any answer to assert that Congress can draft soldiers in peace time also. The purpose of any draft must be the common defense. When the purpose has clearly become the use of the draft to raise armies for aggression, it is being unconstitutionally applied. The Selective Service System has become the chief instrument enabling the government to maintain the largest armed forces of any nation in the world. It is true that a minority of the men in service are draftees. But the threat of conscription makes many men volunteer in order to select a particular service and to end their eligibility for drafting.

"The blackmail aspects of the draft were bluntly admitted during the 1959 House Armed Services Committee hearings by Assistant Secretary of Defense Charles G. Finucane who stressed the value of the draft as a threat in encouraging enlistments..."

"We are criminal when we dominate or threaten to dominate small nations, both in terms of the people's right to self-determination (e.g. Cuba, South Vietnam) and in terms of the possibility of guerrilla aggression escalating into nuclear war..."
 'Extension of the Draft and Related Authorities,'
 H.R. 2438 (S.846), March 12, 1963, pp. 72, 73.

By refusing to obey the order of his draft board to report for induction the defendant is acting in the highest traditions of a citizen in a democratic society. He feels obligated to point out by his action the trampling of law and constitution by his government. He is summoning his fellow citizens to join with him in his effort to stop this fatal course.

POINT III

The government is violating international law and committing war crimes.

Not only does the government flout the constitution by its invalid application of the draft law, it also violates the fundamental law in its disregard for treaty obligations. In the American governmental scheme a treaty is accorded the same status as a provision of the constitution itself.

After the carnage of World War I the Supreme Court foresaw the necessity of curbing national sovereignty in order that man might survive upon the earth. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, in writing the opinion of the Court in *Holland v. Missouri*, 252 U.S. 416, placed treaties on a par with the United States Constitution:

"Acts of Congress are the Supreme Law of the Land only when made in pursuance of the constitution while treaties are declared to be so when made under the authority of the United States..."

At the same time treaties are a part of the body of international law:

"...it is clear that all tribunals in the United States will apply and enforce the principles of international law as a part of the law of the land." I Hyde, *International Law Chiefly As Interpreted and Applied By the United States* 17 (1947).

Other Western countries have long recognized the necessity of subordinating municipal law to international law. In France, Italy, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Netherlands the view prevails that treaties override all municipal or internal law. The French Constitution of 1946 incorporates this position. 49 *American Journal of International Law*, 347.

On August 27, 1928 the United States ratified "The General Pact for the Renunciation of War." Known as the Kellogg-Briand Pact it was later accepted by nearly all the nations of the world. L.I. Snyder, "Fifty Major Documents of the Twentieth Century," pp. 65-67. Article I reads:

"The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another."

Article II reads:

"The High Contracting Parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means."

In many succeeding treaties the United States renounced the use of war as an instrument of foreign policy. Finally, the United States took the lead in organizing the United Nations. The Charter of the United Nations constitutes the most ambitious effort in history to effect international peace and order by treaty. Article 2 thereof states:

"The Organization and its Members, in pursuit of the Purposes stated in Article I, shall act in accordance with the following Principles ...

3. All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means ...
4. All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state..." Snyder, supra, pp. 152-154.

In view of the Hague Regulations of 1907 and the Geneva Protocol of 1925 banning asphyxiating or poisonous gases on civilians, prohibiting the bombardment of undefended towns and villages and the destruction of foodstuffs or the humiliation, murder, and torture of prisoners, it is impossible for the United States to answer the noble New Year's message of Ho Chi Minh, Chief of State of North Vietnam directed to the American people at year's end in 1966:

"The Vietnamese and American people should have lived in peace and friendship... but the United States government has brazenly sent over 400,000 American troops along with thousands of aircraft and hundreds of warships to wage aggression against Vietnam.

"Night and day it has used napalm bombs, toxic gases, fragmentation bombs and other modern weapons to massacre our people, not sparing even old persons, women and children. It has burnt down or destroyed villages and towns, perpetrating extremely savage crimes..."

POINT IV

The individual is obligated to repudiate the war crimes of his government.

The convention setting up the International Military Tribunal for the Nuremberg trials ushered in a new era in the age-old effort of man to curb governmental savagery. Because of the horrors enacted by German fascism, attended by the lack of conscience of the German people, the international community was moved to create legal precedent for the principle of individual guilt and responsibility above the laws of a criminal state. Charter of the International Military Tribunal, Art. 1, R.K. Woetzel, "The Nuremberg Trials in International Law," Appx., p. 273. Twenty-three nations drew up the indictment of war crimes, crimes against peace and crimes against humanity. A major precedent was thus laid for the judgment and prosecution, not only of the heads of governments for war atrocities but also of individuals who knowingly participate in the war crimes of their rulers.

Article 6 of the Charter of the IMT states:

"...The following acts, or any of them are crimes coming within the jurisdiction of the Tribunal for which there shall be individual responsibility:

- a) Crimes against peace: namely, planning, preparation, initiation or waging of a war of aggression...
- b) War crimes: namely, violations of the laws or customs of war. Such violations shall include, but not be limited to, murder, ill-treatment or deportation to slave labor... of civilian populations... killing of hostages, plunder of public property, wanton destruction of cities, towns or villages or devastation not justified by military necessity.

- c) Crimes against humanity: namely, murder, extermination... and other inhumane acts committed against any civilian population, before or during the war..."

Scholars in the field of international law have long held that international law would merely remain a body of moral precepts if its rules did not directly apply to individuals as contrasted to governments. Woetzel, *supra*, p. 98. By its adherence to the Permanent Court of International Justice the United States has implicitly recognized that the atrocious war crimes being committed by its leaders may require that they be brought to justice before an international tribunal. The impending War Crimes Hearings scheduled by the Bertrand Russell Foundation only adumbrates the future. In the case of Jurisdiction of the Courts of Danzig the Permanent Court has already ruled "that there is nothing to stop the application of international law to the individual where the intention to make a right or duty apply to an individual where the intention to make a right or duty apply to an individual was manifest in the treaty." Woetzel, *supra*, p. 99.

The whole thrust of the book of the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations committee is that the United States makes a possibly fatal mistake in believing that it can escape this judgment. J. William Fulbright, "The arrogance of Power" (1967)

Nor can there be any doubt that daily atrocities are being committed by U.S. government forces. The horrors are delivered to the living rooms of many millions of Americans every day through their television sets in an obvious attempt by the government to inure the people to officially-sanctioned savagery.

Edward A. Oquendo will have no part of this noisome business. By his example he seeks to stir the somnolent conscience of the American people.

His conscience has not slept because he has observed in his own experience the inhumanity of American authorities in his own country to the oppressed black minority. As a worker for the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, he witnessed the brutality of Southern white officials determined to prevent the exercise of democratic rights by the

black masses in the Delta. He is aware that the murderer of an NAACP officer, Medgar Evers, is now a candidate for Lieutenant Governor in the State of Mississippi. And it is not at all unlikely that this scoundrel, Byron de la Beckwith, will be elected on the platform 'He Kept the Nigger in His Place.'

In his own community of Brooklyn Oquendo's activity with the Congress of Racial Equality has demonstrated to him that the real ideology which animates the majority war-fever is hatred for people of color. He knows that the brown and yellow people of Asia are his brothers and he will not participate in their slaughter.

In his memoirs, "Mandate for Change", Eisenhower admitted that had an election been permitted in July, 1956 as specified by the Geneva Agreement "possibly 80% of the population would have voted for Ho Chi Minh..." (Page 273). Now, contrary to our own revolutionary traditions the United States government is determined to prevent the Vietnamese people from living under the aegis of the father of their country. The defendant's stand with these sorely-beset brothers makes it apparent that he is rightfully the accuser rather than the accused.

POINT V

The denial of right of counsel at board hearing violated due process.

When defendant, through his counsel, made written request for a hearing with counsel present, the draft board informed him that regulations would not permit a counselor-at-law to be present. Sel. Svce. Reg. 1624.1. Such a restriction is a violation of the Sixth Amendment. It is true that Selective Service System processing is not considered a criminal proceeding but violation of orders issuing therefrom are felonies. To be deprived of counsel at an interrogatory stage of these proceedings is to be denied the effective assistance of counsel. Cf. Powell v. Ala., 287 U.S. 45; Gideon v. Wainwright, 83 S. Ct. 792 (1963); People v. McLaughlin, 291 N.Y. 480. On this ground alone the indictment should be dismissed.

But the defendant is urging no merely technical stand. He urges the Court to consider the decisive substantive issues he has raised to the end that the needed public dialogue may result in a reversal of the government's reprehensible course.

Dated: March 1, 1967

Respectfully submitted,

Conrad J. Lynn
Attorney for Defendant

* * *

LET YOUR SUPPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL
BE KNOWN:

The opening of the International War Crimes Tribunal is a significant historical event. The support of individuals and groups in America for the work of the Tribunal will contribute greatly to its mandate. Letters or cables of support would be welcomed. They may be sent to:

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

Cables: RUSSFOUND London SW 1

* * *

WHERE IS VIETNAM? American Poets Respond, an anthology of new work by 87 poets, edited by Walter Lowenfels, A Doubleday Anchor Original \$1.25 By Will Inman

WHERE IS VIETNAM? is a question asked of an interior geography. For 87 individuals, modern war scourges and erodes, blasts and withers, murders. Murders not only the hundreds and thousands of Vietnamese people, of whom more than half are under sixteen years old. But murders the pretensions of heartmost America. It may be, it just conceivably may be, that American technique and firepower, American napalm and fragmentation bombs -- will destroy any meaningful chance for the Vietnamese people to determine their own destiny. But, it is as dreadfully and implacably true that, the more successful we Americans are in destroying the Vietnamese, the more surely we are ruining our own soul. In poem after poem, exploring the inner landscapes of horror and spiritual sickness, using all the modern techniques along with the classical methods of writing, these 87 poets reveal to us what kind of people we are and whither tending. After this book, as after A POETRY READING AGAINST THE VIET NAM WAR, we Americans will never be able to claim that we didn't know what we were doing.

Angry artists have been active in demonstrating against the war, against the United States' actions in Vietnam, not only in the special period of ANGRY ARTS in New York in February 1967 nor in Washington (set for late May or June), but throughout the country and in much of the world. John Gerassi reported that leaders in North Vietnam wept when he told them of Americans who opposed the war -- 'We have to fight...but you, there, don't have to fight...' Yet we do have to fight against our government's doings, else our own souls die. And if our souls die, our lives have no meaning. In WHERE IS VIETNAM? there are poems by such persons as the Buddhist Monk Thich Nhat Hanh, Thomas Merton (Chant to be used in Processions around a site with furnaces...one of the greatest anti-war poems), Allen Ginsberg, David Henderson, Clarence Major, John Morgan (who went awol against the war from the USMC), and from numerous others known more and less who remind us repeatedly that those are real human beings we are killing. Lowenfels has done a yeoman work.

* * *

Bertrand Russell
Peace Foundation
342 West 84th Street
New York, N.Y. 10024



b7C

FIRST CLASS MAIL

BR 5/19/67

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-61745)

DATE: 6/9/67

FROM: SA [redacted] b7C

SUBJECT: WOMEN STRIKE FOR PEACE (WSP)
IS - C

SOURCE ACTIVITY RECEIVED AGENT LOCATION

b2
b7D

[redacted]	Meeting of the Valley Chapter 5/12/67	5/14/67	Writer	[redacted]
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/15/02 BY 39063 ELW/DAG/LW
954762

Informant furnished the following information:

CC: 1 - San Francisco (REGISTERED) (Retained copy maintained in file [redacted])
100- [redacted] b7C

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[redacted]

100-55602	[redacted] (SI)	100-43513	(WLA)
100-58371	[redacted] (RI-B)	100-42080	[redacted]
100-63983	[redacted]	100-39615	[redacted] (RI-B)
100-21834	[redacted] (SI)	100-69666	[redacted]
100-69925	(MOTHER'S DAY PICKETING)	100-24676	[redacted] (RI-B) b7C
100-54001	[redacted]	100-67735	[redacted]
100-64567	[redacted] (SI)	100-59835	[redacted]
100-35381	[redacted]		
100-66602	[redacted]		
105-22080	(WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL)		
100-68845	(SCNP)		
157-814	[redacted]		
100-66829	[redacted]		
100-63077	(PLP)		
100-66992	[redacted]		
100-69873	(DEMONSTRATION AGAINST PRESIDENT JOHNSON)		

b7C

2 - 100-64580 [redacted] (SI) - 2
100-22926 [redacted] (SI) - 2

GGB/tjs
(28) *[signature]* Read by *[signature]*

105-22080-10

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUNE 9, 1967	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

[signature]

LA 100-61745

May 14, 1967
Canoga Park, California

"Women Strike for Peace Meeting of 5/12/67

"During the evening of 5/12/67 the Women Strike for Peace (WSP) Valley Chapter held a public forum at the Encino Woman's Club, 4924 Paso Robles, Encino, California.

"The meeting was opened by [redacted] who said the Valley Chapter of WSP has no officers, as all its members are to busy being active to handle the extra responsibilities of an official position in the organization.

b7C

"She introduced [redacted] who spoke briefly about the fact that WSP is going to have a meeting with the Los Angeles City Board of Education on Monday, May 15th, 1967 to discuss alternatives to the armed forces recruiters on high school and junior college campuses.

[redacted] had tickets for sale at a special group rate for May 28, 1967 at the Picfair Theater, Pico Blvd & Fairfax, L.A. for the movie 'The War Game'. She sold these during the meeting.

b7C

[redacted] later in the meeting, announced there would be a picket line at the Dow Chemical Plant in Torrance, California, on Mother's Day, May 14, 1967, to protest the manufacture of napalm at that plant.

"It was announced that the next Valley Chapter WSP meeting will be held on May 19, 1967 at the home of [redacted] at 10:00 a.m.

b7C

[redacted] brought all the cookies for refreshments for the evening. [redacted] brought the paper goods. Other hostesses for the evening included:

[redacted]

LA 100-61745



b7C

[redacted] introduced the guest speaker for the evening, Attorney [redacted] [redacted] said that he had been a member of an investigating team to investigate the charges that the United States planes were bombing civilian targets and villages in North Vietnam, as the U.S. State Dept., indicates all bombing has been of military targets. b7C

"With him on this team (which he said was the third such team) were [redacted] of Univ. of Cal. at Berkeley; someone from Paris, and two others. b7C

"While on a plane enroute to their far eastern destination they learned that the Prince of Cambodia was on the same plane with them. He was pleased to learn of their mission and invited them all to his palace, which they readily accepted.

"While they were in Cambodia there were several 'border incidents'. These have become daily occurrences, according to [redacted]. b7C

"The team, including [redacted] visited many many North Vietnamese villages where they personally observed evidence of U.S. bombing incidents. He saw and took photos of bomb craters, victims of anti-personnel bombs, etc. He had with him a baseball sized bomb which he said came in hugh canisters. He told of various women & children he had seen bearing the scars of the splinters from these anti-personnel bombs. He told of the bombing of rice fields where children were collecting rice; of a 'seminary' where there were a lot of nuns staying. He told of interviewing two of the nuns who escaped from this 'seminary', who asked him to go back to the U.S. and ask the question, 'How could the Americans ever believe a seminary could be a military target?'

LA 100-61745

"He told of a small village (Lam Pay - phonetic) with only 70-80 huts that was 'nowheresville' - not near anything military that was bombed with anti-personnel bombs.

"He told about and showed pictures of persons burned by napalm. He said when a person is burned by napalm there is no antidote to stop the burning, and in fact their bodies smoke & burn for as much as a month afterwards.

"He said our reason for doing this is 'We are fighting the communists'. He said most of the photos you will see on the bulletin boards here are communists; but you have got to remember that they also are human beings, and made of flesh and blood, and that napalm hurts them just like it would any other human being.

[redacted] said he was taken to a hospital. He asked the man who was showing him around why there was no evidence on the outside (such as a huge red cross) to indicate it was a hospital. His guide replied that long ago they learned not to mark their hospitals in such a fashion as the Americans immediately designated such buildings as their next targets.

[redacted] did not indicate if he visited South Vietnam, but he did say that he had interviewed many refugees from South Vietnam in North Vietnam. Some of them told him they had been imprisoned and tortured by [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] said that following his investigations in North Vietnam he went to the War Crimes Tribunal in Stockholm, Sweden, under the sponsorship of the Bertrand Russell Roundation. He presented to the Tribunal his evidence, photographs, and the results of his interviews. The findings of the Tribunal were that his evidence corroborated that presented by the other investigating teams, and other private individuals who had gone there to testify. They found the United States guilty of bombing villages and non-military targets; and of using napalm and anti-personnel type bombs on such targets.

IA 100-61745

[redacted] said the 'United States government lies to us daily as to what is really happening in Vietnam'.

b7C

"There was a question and answer period. He was asked whether or not the Russians were sending military aid to North Vietnam. He replied that daily they saw convoys driving into North Vietnam, bumper-to-bumper, from the Soviets, loaded with military supplies and provisions.

"He was asked what he thought were the chances that Red China would enter the fighting. He answered that it had not been his job to ask questions concerning China, the USSR; their ideological split, or other such questions, but that in talking with different persons in North Vietnam they had volunteered the information that if Hanoi proper is bombed, or if U.S. bombers drop their bomb loads north of the 17th Parallel, that it will be unnecessary for the North Vietnamese to request military aid from China; as she would have already begun to fight.

"A young Caucasian male, blond hair, fair complexion, age about 20 years, who said he is in the Army (but was wearing civilian clothes) said why is all the stress placed on napalm and anti-personnel bombs; and nothing is said about the gas being used in chemical warfare in Vietnam. He said the American public is lead to believe that this gas is merely the same tear gas as used by the police, but this is not true. 'I'm in the Army and I know.'

"This young man continued that he had, during his period of training, gone into a structure where such gas had been liberated. He had the advantage of wearing a gas mask over his face at the time. When he emerged, after a very brief period of only 2 or 3 minutes, he had burns on his face and hands. He said can you imagine what this would do to the skin & lungs of a person who was exposed to such a gas without the protection of a gas mask.

[redacted] thanked this young man for bringing this matter to his attention.

b7C

LA 100-61745

[redacted] was asked why we are in the Vietnamese conflict at all. He said there is evidence that we are there to benefit big business interests. b7C

"Someone asked him what can we do? He said we have demonstrated everywhere, and after each large or major demonstration the U.S. has just escalated the war that much more. He said he felt an effective thing to do was to refuse to pay the 10% Federal Excise Tax on our telephone bills. He said this causes both the telephone companies & the Federal Government so much trouble and so much extra expense that it is quite considerable and thus quite effective.

"He also mentioned that [redacted] does not pay 60% of her income taxes, as she figures that percentage of the tax dollar is spent by the military. b7C

"Or, he said, you can do what I am doing, and that is not work quite so hard & thus not earn quite so much; and then there will be that much less on which you pay taxes.

"If we have to continue to demonstrate, we should do so at such places as Dow Chemical Plant where the munitions are being manufactured.

"He said he wished he had the tape that HO CHI MINH had made for him, but that unfortunately Pan American had his tape and his tape recorder.

"It was learned that [redacted] is to be on the [redacted] Television Show Sunday, May 14, 1967. Also that he is to be at a party on May 20th, 1967 at [redacted] Santa Monica Canyon under the sponsorship of the Southern Californians for New Politics (SCNP). b7C

[redacted] was present and he said that he belongs to the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) at the present time. He also said that [redacted] has been out to see him and will probably buy a car from him. According to [redacted] the PLP is planning to demonstrate in protest of the war in Vietnam if

LA 100-61745

"President JOHNSON comes to Los Angeles. [redacted] said he has been gone to Nevada over three different weekends; but that he also has continued to be active in [redacted] SCNP groups.

[redacted] recently. They have [redacted] b7C
[redacted] He said he had gone up and talked to [redacted] prior to the meeting and explained that although he had once demonstrated against & argued against [redacted] that he is now on the same side.

[redacted] said she had been to the Spring Mobilization in San Francisco. [redacted] said he had taken a car load of people up there to the mobilization, 4/15/67. b7C

[redacted] also said that she is working days, but she did not say what kind of work. She said her job is preventing her from attending Women for Legislative Action (WLA) meetings. b7C

"Most of the hostesses for this meeting are going, by car pool, to the Board of Education meeting on May 15th, 1967.

"Those present included:

[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

b7C

"The hostess for this meeting were papers flowers which were made by [redacted] She was unable to attend the meeting; however, as she reportedly was ill. b7C

LA 100-61745

"The meeting started at about 8:30 p.m. and ended shortly prior to 11:00 pm. There were approximately 60-70 persons present.

[redacted] was introduced. She was introduced by [redacted]. It was brought out that she is going to Vietnam to bring back both North and South Vietnamese children. Arrangements are now being made for a boat to bring these children back. She said that only the people going with her (whose names she would not reveal) know the details of her travel plans. She described the McCarron Act as very bad. b7C

"She mentioned that a Vietnamese Center will be set up in a Baptist Church in the San Fernando Valley where these children will be brought up in their own culture. She also said that the 300 homes had been lined up as foster homes for these Vietnamese children. Following the end of the war in Vietnam the children will be returned to their original homeland.

[redacted] "A woman present was circulating a petition to keep on the air. b7C

"Cards on the literature table in the foyer were available for persons to sign up as to whether or not they wanted to be on the WSP mailing list, or if they wanted to attend WSP meetings.

"It costs WSP \$40.00 to rent the Encino Women's Club. They also gave a token payment of [redacted] which he said he would turn over to help defray the expenses of the War Crimes Tribunal. b7C

"There was no 'pitch' for donations. [redacted] said there was \$81.00 in their money box; \$35.00 of which had come from other sources prior to this meeting."

ACTION:

Informant was thoroughly interviewed concerning the above and could add nothing further.

LA 100-61745

[redacted] is presently retired. Recommend 100-
case be opened on her.

b7C

Airtel and letterhead memorandum concerning the
return of [redacted] from Sweden and his attacks against the U.S.
as reported herein was rough drafted.

All other necessary action in connection with this
memo has been taken by the writer.

INDEX:

[redacted] b7C

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-61745)

DATE: 6/20/67

FROM: SA [redacted] b7C

SUBJECT: WOMEN STRIKE FOR PEACE (WSP)
IS-C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/15/02 BY 39063 ELW/DG/CJW
954762

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[redacted] b2 b7D	Valley WSP meeting on 5/12/67.	5/25/67	Writer	[redacted] (WR) b2 b7D

Informant's report is quoted as follows:

"Whittier, California
May 22, 1967

"Valley WSP Sponsored Meeting: 'Attorney [redacted] b7C reports back on his visit to North Vietnam.'

"The meeting was listed as above in the May, 1967, Los Angeles Women Strike for Peace's calendar. The meeting was held on Friday, May 12, 1967, at the Encino Women's Club, 4924 Paso Robles Avenue, Encino, California (telephone: PO 1-4742).

CC: 1 - SAN FRANCISCO (REGISTERED)
100- [redacted] b7C

[redacted] b2
[redacted] b7D

- 100-55602 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-69666 [redacted]
- 100-69591 (COMMITTEE OF RESPONSIBILITY)
- 100-63983 [redacted]
- 105-22080 (WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL) b7C
- 100-58371 [redacted] (RI-B)
- 100-66602 [redacted]
- 100-69925 (MOTHER'S DAY PICKET)
- 100-2700 (AFSC)
- 100-65284 (N-VAC)
- 100-63577 (VALLEY PEACE CENTER)
- 100-69849 (INDIVIDUALS AGAINST THE CRIME OF SILENCE)

GGB:LAL
(15) *lal* Read by *[signature]*

105-22080-11

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED <i>C</i>	FILED <i>C</i>
JUN 20 1967	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

[signature]

LA 100-61745

"Although the meeting was scheduled for 8:00 PM, it actually began at 8:35 PM. Sixty-four people, including the speaker, attended; thirty-three men and thirty-one women. Most of the attendants were middle-aged; however several school-age children accompanied an older couple. All persons were Caucasian.

"The woman who acted as chairman did not identify herself. She explained that Women Strike for Peace is made up of women who are for peace. Many are just housewives with many duties at home; so WSP has no boards or officers, which would put responsibilities on its members. But the one responsibility that all WISP's have is to achieve a peaceful world now.

"The chairman introduced one guest, [redacted] who represents the Committee of Responsibility, and is engaged in helping to bring 'war-burned' Vietnamese children here to this country for treatment, it was stated. The chairman also introduced a Valley WSP, [redacted] who announced the sale of tickets to the British anti-war film, entitled 'The War Game,' to be shown May 28, 1967, at 8:00 PM (place not heard) in the Los Angeles area. Tickets were said to cost \$2.50, and were on sale at the meeting. b7C

"The chairman introduced attorney [redacted] whom she stated had been invited by the International War Crimes Tribunal to testify in Stockholm, Sweden, regarding the United States' role in Vietnam. She stated that [redacted] was in a party of five, one of which was [redacted] b7C

"Attorney [redacted] addressed the audience from the small stage which was flanked on both sides by large poster boards upon which he had placed many snapshots of pictures allegedly taken in North Vietnam during his three-week visit in and around Hanoi. He related his trip to Cambodia (he was there on March 8, he stated), then to North Vietnam, before he attended the tribunal in Stockholm, from which he had recently returned. b7C

[redacted] stated that Secretary RUSK was invited to testify at the war crimes tribunal but had refused. [redacted] b7C

LA 100-61745

"stated that he had testified there, charging the United States with aggression on three counts. He said it was interesting that his testimony and that of a French woman, who testified at a time unknown to him, were almost identical.

[redacted] explained that he observed craters from U. S. bombs in the territory he visited, as well as talked with numerous burned victims of phosphorous bombs, and visited 'dozens of pellet-bomb victims who had kidney and intestinal damage.' He stated that some victims still had the steel pellets in them; but the United States Defense Department denies that these bombs have been directed against the civilian population of North Vietnam. b7C

"The speaker went into great detail about the CBU (cluster bomb unit) which he said contained 300 steel pellets, which splatter on contact. He held up the 'guava' bomb, which he stated he had brought from Vietnam.

[redacted] said he spent a few harrowing hours during a bombing raid by the U.S. planes, but the people seemed to be accustomed to such bombings, and had adjusted their lives to the war. He said that he learned from talking to some villagers that the U. S. planes destroyed the buildings that had crosses on them. The crosses made good targets, he said. 'Why did American aggressors think the crosses a target?' [redacted] said the people asked. b7C

[redacted] described a fragmentation bomb, which he said is called the 'pineapple.' He stated that slivers of steel fly out from this explosive. He charged that these bombs were used on children who were playing and watching cattle in a rural area, which could not possibly be called a military target. He stated that he saw the bloody clothing of a child who had been tending cattle near a well, when he was killed. He stated that he charges the United States with 'deliberate, systematic bombing of the civilian population of Vietnam.'

"At one time during his talk [redacted] related the circumstances leading to Ho Chi Minh's refusal to meet for peace. b7C

LA 100-61745

"negotiations when the U.S. planes bombed North Vietnam during the Christmas truce so they showed JOHNSON's insincerity for wanting peaceful negotiations.

"Attorney [] stated that he had testified before the war crimes tribunal that the United States is the aggressor in Vietnam. He stated that the conflict there is one of a unified country, for the Vietnamese to settle themselves. He stated that the United States has violated the Aug. 27, 1928, Kellogg-Briand Pact in which it was agreed that there shall be no war. He stated that such a conflict as goes on in Vietnam the United States should allow to be handled by the United Nations under Article 2, Section 4 of the U.N. charter, and under Article 39, which states that the Security Council shall determine acts of aggression. He concluded that the Vietnamese situation is 'a matter for a world organization.' b7C

[] stated that the United States has acted contrary to the 'judgement of Nuremberg, which condemns wars of aggression'; and the present Washington government has broken with the principles of our own Constitution to carry on the unjust war against the Vietnamese people. b7C

"During the talk, the speaker charged that the president of the United States in July, 1954, had violated the Geneva Accords. He charged that the United States is using chemical warfare, and pictorially described the victims of Napalm. He stated that 'bodies of victims' (he visited) 'smoked for ten days; they can't eat or sleep for months!' He said, 'this is torture and the judgement of Nuremberg condemns torture!'

"In conclusion, [] stated that the question is being asked: Is this war against colored people? He exclaimed, 'Communists are humans!' He described U.S. inhumanity by recalling 'forced removal of the civilian population behind barbed wires.' He stated that the Vietnamese were 'forced to build strategic hamlets.' b7C

[] concluded by exclaiming that this immoral war is being financed by our taxes - taxes are destroying human beings in Vietnam!

LA 100-61745

"The chairman, who it is learned is [redacted] b7C asked for questions from the audience. The following discussion ensued:

"Question: Were the war crimes trials at which you testified actually trials as we are accustomed to in our courts of law here?

[redacted] The war tribunals are commissions of inquiry. b7C Evidence that was presented there will be available through films and tape recordings this summer.

"Question: What would you say are our goals (U.S. goals) in Vietnam?"

[redacted] You can find it printed in the U.S. Code on Foreign Relations, Title 22 (he read a long discourse from this code). We don't want peace, he said, because we showed our lack of good intentions when we bombed Hanoi just at the time a bombing truce was being discussed there. Our soldiers commit brutality but it is denied just as [redacted] says it does not occur in the L.A.P.D.! [redacted] continued to read in the code and concluded from his reading that 'our goal is to promote free enterprise and build our military - industrial complex. He continued by adding, 'A handful of peasants have been beating back all of our power.' b7C

"Question: (Asked by a young man who said he had just returned from Vietnam and was presumed to be returning in the near future since he was overheard promising to bring back information about what was going on over there to a man sitting behind him, who had engaged him in conversation). Rather than a question, this young man volunteered the information that the troops he had been with had been told they were using 'CN' gas, when in reality they were using 'a toxic gas called C.S. gas.'

[redacted] Thank you for bringing this to our attention. b7C He stated, 'The Vietnam war is a training ground for the use of gases.'

LA 100-61745

"In answer to other questions, [redacted] stated 'Tonkin Bay was a fraud.' He also stated, 'Maybe the United States has gone as far as the Soviet Union will permit?' During the course of the questions and answers, he also stated that he confirmed the reports of reporter and photographer [redacted] particularly his charges that the heavily-bombed city of Nam Dink had no Military significance. b7C

"Question: Did you visit with Ho Chi Minh or did you get a recording of his words, and does he know some Americans disagree with the Washington war policy?

[redacted] Yes, [redacted] and I talked with 'Uncle HO' and he allowed us to make a tape. I don't have the tape here now but I can tell you what he said. [redacted] recited what sounded like a memorization of the tape.) b7C

[redacted] conveyed, by repeating HO's conversation, the fact that HO does not blame all the American people for the immoral destruction of Vietnam, because he knows there are some, such as the two who were with him then, [redacted] and [redacted] who oppose the ruthless bombings and killings of his people. He does oppose the imperialist aggressors of the present Washington government. He is heartened to hear of the wonderful peace rallies in the United States, but is not fooled into believing they will change the course of JOHNSON's policy. Furthermore, he will not be swayed from his aim to rid his country of the imperialist aggressors. 'Pan American has my tapes now,' he advised. b7C

"Question: What can we do? We march, we sit-in, we write letters and send telegrams to Congress, but nothing happens! What can we do?

[redacted] Well, you must be prepared to accept personal risk for your convictions. Some persons find the payment of the ten percent federal tax on their telephone bill to be in violation of their good conscience. The government won't bother to track down that 25 or 50 cents. b7C

LA 100-61745

[redacted] you know, has refused to pay the 60% of her income tax, which goes to pay for war material. She must have personal courage to do this.

[redacted] continued by saying that we need to put direction into our marches, such as march to something. Why not to the railroad? to the napalm factories? to the industry which manufactures war materials? [redacted] jokingly commented that he has stopped buying cars; and with less cars, a public transit system will more likely be created. He also suggested that: 'Don't earn as much money!' In this way less income tax is available to the government. b7C

[redacted] was given a hearty applause and after an announcement by an unidentified WSP was made, noting that the South Bay WSP would picket Dow Chemical Co. (in Torrance, Calif. b7C on Mother's Day, the formal meeting was adjourned at 10:15 PM.

"Before the question and answer period, [redacted] passed postcards to the audience for 'action' as a result of the meeting. Posted on a board beside the stage were the names and Washington addresses of the Congressmen (House & Senate) of the area.

"Following the program's conclusion, coffee was served and attendants viewed the photographs taken in North Vietnam, and spoke personally to [redacted]. A generous supply of WSP literature was available on tables by the door. Some materials (all included here) were offered which originated with the Committee of Responsibility, the American Friends Service Committee, Committee for Nonviolent Action (Philadelphia, Pa.), Valley Peace Center, and petitions to be mailed to the office of 'Individuals Against the Crime of Silence, and then to be forwarded to the United Nations. b7C

"Persons identified:

"1. [redacted] b7C

"2. [redacted]

LA 100-61745

"3. [REDACTED]

"4. [REDACTED] member of Valley WSP."

b7C

ACTION:

Informant was thoroughly interviewed concerning the above and could add nothing further.

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM *** UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-60428)

DATE: 7/7/67

FROM: SA [redacted] b7C

SUBJECT: ITALIAN-AMERICAN CULTURAL
SOCIETY OF LOS ANGELES (IACSLA)
IS-C

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[redacted] b2 b7D	Educational meeting of IACSLA held on 6/17/67.	6/18/67	Writer	[redacted] (WR) b2 b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/15/02 BY 39063 ELW/DAG/csw
954762

Informant's report has been Xeroxed and is attached.

ACTION:

Informant was thoroughly interviewed concerning the above and could add nothing further.

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

CC: [redacted] b2
b7D

- 100-26091 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-28082 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-26215 [redacted] (SI-B)
- 100-57199 [redacted]
- 100-22822 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-31131 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-30844 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-33822 [redacted] (I)
- 100-5051 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-56623 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-20264 [redacted] (RI-B)
- 100-47776 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-47779 [redacted] (SI)
- 65-4859 [redacted] (RI-3)
- 100-53018 [redacted]
- 100-25688 [redacted] (RI-B)
- 105-22080 (WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL)

b7C

RHC/lfs
(19) *lfs*

Read by RHC

105-22080-12

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
July 7, 1967	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

[Signature]

June 18, 1967

An educational event sponsored by the Italian-American Cultural Society of L. A. was held on Saturday, June 17, 1967 at the Hungarian Hall 1251 So. St. Andrews Pl., L. A. for the benefit of L'Unita.

About 80 people were present and among them were: [redacted]

[redacted] and [redacted]
and [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] Most of the people present were strangers to yours truly being mainly readers of the Guardian rather than the PW. The Society advertised in both.

Admission was \$1.00 per person. A collection was made which netted \$47.18 in addition to the \$81.00 collected at the door. It was decided after the meeting to send \$50. to L'Unita immediately and then decide the final outcome at the next board meeting.

[redacted] was MC, [redacted] and [redacted] made the collection.

b7C

[redacted] outlined a report on his participation in the Bertrand Russell War Tribunal held in Stockholm, Sweden. He mentioned many high ranking names such as scientists, professors, doctors, and mainly attorneys as attending. Principally discussed was the war in Vietnam even though central America, the CIA, etc. were also discussed. The final analysis was that the U. S. was guilty of atrocities in Vietnam against the civilian population tantamount to genocide. He went to great lengths to describe the type of bombs used by the U. S., napalm, etc. Listening to him this country was the worst aggressor equal to Hitler if not worse.

He responded to a question if China would enter the Vietnam war by saying that it definitely would if the Vietnamese would ask its help or if it thought its borders were violated. He responded to still another question as to whether the U. S. was planning to invade North Vietnam by saying that he had heard something to that effect that it would happen within 30 days. He urged that all join in the mass demonstration against war in Vietnam on June 23rd when President Johnson is due in L. A.

He said other meetings and sessions of the War Tribunal will be held soon and more will participate. He did not mention time or place. He spoke for so long and showed some slides of those at the Tribunal that the people were getting restless and the MC had to end the question and answer period abruptly to end the meeting.

Announcements were made of other coming events around town and then the chairman adjourned the meeting at about 10:30 P. M.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/15/02 BY 39063/DAG/6JU
954762

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-17375)

DATE: 7/13/67

FROM: SA [redacted] b7C

SUBJECT: MILITANT LABOR FORUM (MLF)
IS - SWP

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[redacted] b2 b7D	MLF meeting on 6/16/67.	6/20/67	Writer	[redacted] b2 (WR) b7D

Informant's report has been Xeroxed and is attached.

ACTION:

Informant was thoroughly interviewed concerning the above and could add nothing further.

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

CC: [redacted] b2
b7D

- 100-40804 [redacted] (RI-A)
- 105-22080 (WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL)
- 100-69650 [redacted]
- 100-69649 [redacted]
- 100-66571 [redacted]
- 100-68919 [redacted]
- 100-42438 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-32992 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-68352 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-32021 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-29057 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-50756 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-29522 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-54961 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-31005 [redacted] (SI)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1/15/02 BY 39063 ELW/DGB/CJW
954762

b7C

BDH/RB
(17)

Read by BON

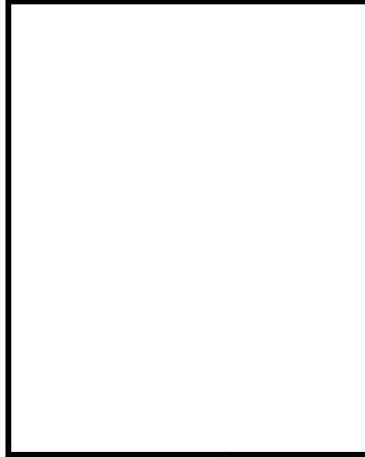
RB

105-22080-B

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
July 13, 1967	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

June 17, 1967

The Militant Labor Forum held a meeting the night of June 16, 1967, at 1702 East Fourth Street, Los Angeles. The following persons were among those present:



b7C

The featured speaker was [redacted] and his subject was "First-Hand Report from Stockholm War Crimes Tribunal". He said that two main questions were discussed at the tribunal. One was whether the United States was guilty of waging aggressive war in Vietnam, and the other was whether the United States was guilty of wanton killing of members of the Vietnamese civilian population. The conclusion of the tribunal was that the U.S. was guilty on both counts. b7C

[redacted] stated that the tribunal, when asked why it did not also consider charges of atrocities committed by the Viet Cong, took the position that this would be like questioning the activities of the anti-Nazi resistance during World War II. b7C

[redacted] the meeting, urged those in attendance to participate in the demonstrations against President Johnson during his trip to Los Angeles on June 23. b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/15/02 BY 39063 ELW/DAS/CJW

954762

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-16833)

DATE: 5/5/67

FROM : SA [redacted] b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/15/02 BY 89063ELW/RSK/vw
954762

SUBJECT: SANTA BARBARA CLUB
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT,
COMMUNIST PARTY (SCDCP)
IS-C

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[redacted]	Meeting of Santa Barbara Club, SCDCP, on 4/26/67.	4/26/67	Writer	[redacted] (SR)

b2
b7D

b2
b7D

Informant's report is quoted as follows:

"April 26, 1967
Santa Barbara

"4/26/67 At [redacted] Santa Barbara, Calif.,
home of [redacted] current members of the Communist
Party SCDCP.

"Meeting of the SB club SCDCP this date and place. b7C

"Present: [redacted]

"Discussed was the P.W. fund drive. Mr. SCHOENEMAN
of the BERTRAND RUSSELL war crimes trials org. - The peace marches
organized by [redacted] and [redacted] b7C

CC: 1 - SAN FRANCISCO (REGISTERED)
100-6609 [redacted] b7C

[redacted]
100-24068 [redacted] (SI) b7C
100-23530 [redacted] (SI)
100-56558 [redacted] (SI)
100-63201 (MR. RALPH SCHOENEMAN)
105-22080 (BERTRAND RUSSELL WAR CRIMES
TRIBUNAL)

GBP:LAL
(8)

Read by _____

105-22080-14

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
MAY 5 1967	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

[Signature]

b2
b7D

LA 100-16833

"It was agreed to not support SCHOENEMAN and to only support [redacted] in principle.

[redacted] visited above address 4/25/67. He is working for a company called Phi Kappa contacting a students for purpose of having them attend lecture - take notes & then have them typed up at which time the company prints & sells the lectures to lesser students. b7C

[redacted] gets a commission from each contact."

ACTION:

Informant was thoroughly interviewed concerning the above and could add nothing further.

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

INDEX:

PHI KAPPA
[redacted]

b7C

~~SECRET~~

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-26091) DATE: 6/27/67
FROM: SA [redacted] b7C
SUBJECT: [redacted] (SI)
SM-C

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[redacted] b1	Lecture by [redacted] on 5/31/67. b7C	6/2/67	Writer	[redacted] (WR)

CLASSIFIED BY NLS/DAR - 66267-AAG
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1
954762

Informant's report is quoted as follows:

"May 31, 1967
Los Angeles, California

"May 31, 1967
California State College at
Los Angeles.
Lecture by [redacted]
Sponsored by the Student-Faculty
Committee to End the War

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

"About 100-150 people attended the lecture including:

- CC: [redacted] (S) b1
- 100-67726 (STUDENT-FACULTY COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM, CALIF. STATE COLLEGE AT LOS ANGELES)
 - 100-68403 [redacted] (RI-A)
 - 100-69974 [redacted]
 - 100-67423 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-64667 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-65262 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-22208 [redacted]
 - 105-22080 (WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL)

105-22080-16

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUN 27 1967	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

FGK:LAL
(10) Read by FGK

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

LA 100-26091

[REDACTED]

b7C

"In his lecture, [REDACTED] said that he testified at the War Crimes Tribunal, in Stockholm, as an expert on the law of land warfare. He described the historical background of the Vietnam war and the reasons for the War Crimes Tribunal. He advised the audience to 'protest in every way possible the actions of your government' (which are objectionable). b7C

"During the lecture a message was delivered to [REDACTED] from [REDACTED] Open City Weekly, about an article or series of articles on the War Crimes Tribunal, or U.S. actions in Vietnam. b7C

[REDACTED] who also attends meetings of CEWV has stated during the past week she had been contacted by [REDACTED] who wants to avoid being drafted. [REDACTED] phone is [REDACTED] b7C

[REDACTED]

"Neither [REDACTED] nor [REDACTED] were noted in attendance at this meeting." b7C

ACTION:

Informant was thoroughly interviewed concerning the above and could add nothing further.

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

INDEX:

[REDACTED]

b7C

~~SECRET~~

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-33973)

DATE: 7/12/67

FROM: SA [redacted] b7C

SUBJECT: COMINFIL FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH OF LOS ANGELES IS - C

b2
b7D

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[redacted]	Lecture at First Unitarian Church on 6/16/67.	6/26/67	Writer	[redacted] (WR)

b2
b7D

Informant's report is quoted as follows:

"6/18/67

"Date

June 16, 1967

Place

First Unitarian Church, 2936 W. Eighth Street, Channing Hall.

Time

8 P.M. - 10:15 P.M.

Feature

Lecture

Speaker

b7C

[redacted]

b2

CC:

[redacted]

b7D

100-55602

[redacted] (SI)

100-43660

[redacted]

100-34498

[redacted] (SI-B)

100-56624

[redacted] (SI) b7C

100-27451

[redacted] (SI)

100-21339

[redacted]

100-63524

[redacted]

105-22080 (WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL)

crs/RB

(10)

RB

Read by crs

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/15/02 BY 39063 ELW/DAG/GSW
954762

105-22080-16

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED (S)	FILED (S)
July 12, 1967	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	


[Signature]

LA 100-33973

"Topic
Vietnam
Sponsor
F.S.J.
Attendance
About 150,
Among those present were:



b7C

 said March 12, 67 he spent some time b7C
in an airraid shelter in the Democratic Republic in S. Vietnam.

"March 8, 67, he flew to S. Vietnam from Laos, then to
an airport built by U. S. A. in Hanoi.

"Hanoi was bombed three times and 4 or 500 people
were killed in the village which was rebuilt in 36 days. Patients
in the Hospital were evacuated.

"Tanwai Providence, the churches were destroyed,
including a catholic church.

"The people are determined to win and will support the
administration.

"Napaalm bombs were dropped in Hanoi. When napaalm
bombs are dropped on people the body is burned and the burns
go deeper and deeper into the skin, they do not heal, and the
suffering is terrible. He showed pictures of bombed areas and
buildings.

LA 100-33973

"We have an obligation.

"What are we going to do about it?

"Each one of us has an obligation.

"We must tell the Gov't. we are not going to stand for this war.

"We are opposed to slaughter.

"Say no to our government and refuse to cooperate.

"Stockholm communists proved we led in the atrocities.

"He also stated that he testified in Stockholm at the War Crimes Tribunal initiated by BERTRAND RUSSELL that U. S. dropped napalm bombs on Hanoi."

ACTION:

Informant was thoroughly interviewed concerning the above and could add nothing further.

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

INDEX:



b7C

C

Date received 6/15/67	Received from (name or symbol number) [redacted] b2 b7D	Received by [redacted] b7C
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Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

in person by telephone by mail orally recording device written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:

Date of Report

Date

Dictated _____ to _____

Transcribed _____

Authenticated by Informant _____

Date(s) of activity

April - June 1967

Brief description of activity or material

Issues of the FOUNDATION BULLETIN, circulated by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation regarding the War Crimes Tribunal.

File where original is located if not attached

105-22080 (War Crimes Tribunal)

Remarks:

Issues included: Vol. 1 No. 1
 Vol. 1 No. 2
 Vol. 1 No. 3
 Vol. 1 No. 4
 Vol. 1 No. 10
 Vol. 1 No. 11
 Appeal to the American Conscience

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2/15/02 BY 39063 ELW/DAG/ [initials]
954762 CW

① - LA 105 - 22080 (War Crimes Tribunal)
 1 - LA [redacted] b2
 b7D

Block Stamp

105-22080-17

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUL 10 1967	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

[redacted] b7C

FOUNDATION BULLETIN

Volume 1 Number 1

Contents

"Civilization at the Bar,"
by Bertrand Russell

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2/15/02 BY 39063 ELW/PAC/LW

954762

Report:

War Crimes Tribunal Opens
in London, November 13

Document:

The Aims & Objectives of
the Tribunal

"The Disturbed Conscience
of a Historian,"
by Vladimir Dedijer

Circulated by the **BERTRAND RUSSELL PEACE FOUNDATION**
342 West 84th Street
New York, New York 10024

telephone: 212 799-0364

FOUNDATION BULLETIN

December 1, 1966.

published by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation

John Gerassi,
Chairman
Russell Stetler,
Executive Secretary

We have launched the FOUNDATION BULLETIN in order to provide our interested friends and supporters with a reliable source of the most up-to-date news regarding the work of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation and, especially, the progress of the War Crimes Tribunal. We intend to publish bi-weekly, with a view to increasing our frequency once the public hearings of the Tribunal have begun in March, 1967. We shall try, wherever possible, to include full texts of major statements by Lord Russell and other eminent figures associated with the Tribunal, along with our news reports, reviews, and other features.

We are grateful for the support we have already received in many journals and newsletters. We hope that such support will continue to grow and that the FOUNDATION BULLETIN will provide valuable material for others to reprint. In this way, we hope to reach an ever wider audience. The press attacks on the Tribunal have been vicious, and the news coverage which we have seen could only be calculated to bewilder the reader. We must, therefore, immediately establish the independent organs required to reach public opinion, to clarify the aims of the Tribunal and the scope of its work. Moreover, this work is fundamental as a prerequisite of the campaign which we must wage in the spring to make known the findings of the Tribunal.

Our readers can help in many ways. You can send us press clippings when news of the Tribunal reaches your local newspapers, or to call to our attention news items which may merit wider attention. Anyone who has done research concerning the war should write us, so that his material can be integrated into a dossier we are preparing for the Tribunal. Our readers can be most helpful simply by taking an active interest in our work, by writing us to keep us informed of their local activity and to suggest ways in which we may be helpful to them, and by helping to raise the funds which make our work possible. We welcome your comments and responses. Together we must reach the American conscience.

The article which follows is Lord Russell's most important statement to date on the international war crimes tribunal. Written October 4, 1966, it was first published, in French, in Le Monde on October 15, 1966, under the title "Le Tribunal."

CIVILIZATION AT THE BAR

by Bertrand Russell, O.M., F.R.S.

During my life I have witnessed cruelty of such magnitude that the senses are dulled and each new wave of horror exceeds the heights reached by the wave most recent in our memory. Few, however, will disagree that the genocidal policies of the Nazis epitomize depravity. Chief Prosecutor Justice Jackson of the United States Supreme Court said in his opening statement in the Nuremberg trials:

"The real complaining party at the bar is civilization. Civilization is asking whether law is so laggard as to be utterly helpless to deal with crimes of such magnitude as Germany's. . . . Civilization expects this Tribunal to put the forces of international law, its precepts, its prohibitions and its sanctions on the side of peace."

It is difficult to invoke "civilization" as a complaining party, because we are conditioned to be cynical about such appeals. Yet, there are events which call up in all of us a sudden recognition that what we value and what we recognize as important in human life is threatened fundamentally. At Nuremberg, Justice Jackson continued:

"Certainly no lawyer undertaking to prosecute crimes against the peace of the world will have to face the argument that the effort is unprecedented and, therefore, by inference, improper."

Recalling these words, there is no doubt in my mind that the moment has arrived when a solemn Tribunal must again undertake its responsibilities to civilization and examine the crimes committed by a large military power against a small people. Justice Jackson concluded at Nuremberg:

"If certain acts and violations of treaties are crimes, they are crimes whether the United

States does them or whether Germany does them. We are not prepared to lay down a rule of criminal conduct against others which we would not be willing to have invoked against us."

There was, however, a moral ambivalence rooted in the nature of the Nuremberg trials and in the role of Justice Jackson. Nuremberg was a trial conducted by the victorious party over the defeated. Nuremberg was carried by a real-politik alliance of powers and yet, through the legalisms of force majeure, crept the voice of humanity, a voice crying out against the unconscionable criminality of the Nazi terror.

I have called today for an international War Crimes Tribunal, because, once again, crimes are taking place of such magnitude that civilization and conscience dare not be so laggard as to be unable to devise a mode of assessment and condemnation consonant with decency and the survival of elementary standards of justice.

Our Tribunal, it must be noted, commands no State power. It rests on no victorious army. It claims no other than a moral authority.

Over a period of years, an industrial colossus has attacked a small peasant nation. Indeed, the vast bombardment of an agrarian people with no air force is the supreme atrocity. The Vietnamese revolution is part of an historical development through which exploited and hungry peoples are establishing their claim to the basic necessities of human life. The United States shows itself determined to overwhelm with brute force this struggle for life.

Let us examine, briefly, what is involved. The Vietnamese had negotiated during two periods, 1946 and 1954, for the independence of their country, after bitter struggle. On each of these occasions their faith was betrayed and the solemn agreements arrived at were violated, at a cost of incalculable suffering to the people of Vietnam. It must be repeated and repeated that more Vietnamese died between 1954 and 1959 than since 1960. In short, during the so-called "years of peace", the U. S. and its client Government caused more loss of life in Vietnam than they have succeeded in causing since the Vietnamese took up armed resistance in 1960, inclusive of the bombings of the North, now twenty months old. We have, on American authority, the fact that eight million Vietnamese were placed in forced labor camps in the South. We have, also on American authority, the fact that three million

pounds of bombs fall daily on the North, involving an average of 650 sorties per week and tonnages in excess of those used during World War II and the Korean War. Beyond this, the armies of the United States are using experimental weapons, such as chemicals, gas, napalm, phosphorus, lazy dog fragmentation weapons and bacteriological devices.

There can be few people in the West unaware of these facts, as they have been presented on film, on television and almost daily in our newspapers. Who among us has not seen the photographs, or read the statistics? Who, among us, can deny the David and Goliath character of this incredible Vietnamese struggle for national autonomy and social transformation?

It is this awareness which provides the proper background to my call for a War Crimes Tribunal. I do not maintain that those who are invited to serve as members of the Tribunal are without opinions about the war in Vietnam. On the contrary, it is precisely because of their passionate conviction that terrible crimes are occurring that they feel the moral obligation to form themselves into a Tribunal of conscience, for the purpose of assessing exhaustively and definitively the actions of the United States in Vietnam. We do not confuse an open mind for an empty one. We do not believe that to be just one must be without conviction. The authority of the Tribunal and its reputation for fairness will follow from the character of its membership and the correctness of its procedures.

The Tribunal members will function as a commission of enquiry, and the commissions under its direction will prepare evidence exhaustively, with proper scientific expertise subjecting documentary data to thorough and verifiable scrutiny. Defence witnesses cannot be compelled to appear, but the United States Government and President Johnson have been formally requested to provide representation for their policies before the Tribunal. The prima facie evidence of crimes sufficient to warrant the calling of such a Tribunal involves the assumption that the crimes of the apparent aggressor are unique, and that no equation can be made between the violence of the resistance of the victim and the oppression of the aggressor. Only those who cannot distinguish the rising of the Warsaw Ghetto from the violence of the Gestapo, or the struggle for survival of the partisans of Yugoslavia, the resistance of Norway, the underground in Denmark and the Maquis in France from the invading Nazi armies could fail to recognize the merit of examining the actions of the United States in a manner morally and qualitatively different from the actions of the Vietnamese resistance.

It is essential to point out that, notwithstanding the mandate of this Tribunal, juridical teams will assess every particle of evidence presented and all juridical guarantees will be provided to ensure that the evidence advanced by the United States, and the justifications offered by it, are assessed thoroughly, along with the data concerning the events themselves.

The hearings are planned to last approximately twelve weeks and to take place in Paris in March, 1967. A team of very eminent French jurists is preparing a plan of procedure for the attention of the Tribunal. Documentary film will be taken from the testimony of the witnesses, the proceedings of the Tribunal and the evidence. Tape recordings will be made of the hearings and pressed into gramophone records for wide distribution. All data, testimony and exhibits will be published. National committees are in the process of being formed in many countries to support the aims and work of the Tribunal through discussion, meetings and petitions.

We believe that the Tribunal will provide a means whereby an expression of public conscience can be formed, unfettered by the complications of state relations, and unburdened by the compulsions of real-politik. It must be capable of acting as a truly revolutionary Tribunal, which reflects in its procedures and its judgments the deepest convictions of people determined that atrocity and injustice will not go unjudged, because the victims are weak and the perpetrators vast in their control of the resources of the planet.

Report: WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL OPENS IN LONDON

On November 13, the historic war crimes tribunal initiated by Bertrand Russell became a reality. Eminent men and women, leading figures in the intellectual and cultural life of Asia and the West, outstanding jurists, and courageous representatives of the struggle for human justice, assembled in London for the opening meeting of the tribunal. In this opening session the goal was most ambitious: to settle, in a few days' time, the difficult questions relating to the scope of the tribunal's undertaking, the nature of its procedures and structural framework, and the plan of its concrete work in the coming months. It was to be a crucial preparatory meeting.

Lord Russell greeted the members of the tribunal, and put before them his own recommendations. Anticipating certain criticisms of the tribunal, Lord Russell noted (in an addendum to his opening report) the absolute importance

of creating faultless procedures for the admission of evidence. He stated, "That no one today questions the facts established at the Nuremberg trials proves the merits of rigorous methods, not the impartiality of the victorious Allies." He further called attention to the need to examine the U. S. Government's case carefully, in the likely event that they fail to provide their own defence. "It is incumbent on this Tribunal," he stressed, "to study the 'White Papers' and similar documents in which the State Department and other branches of the United States Government have set out the moral, legal, and political justifications of the intervention in Vietnam. We must assemble and examine thoroughly every official U. S. proclamation in defence of this war, so that this, too, will be a part of the permanent record of this Tribunal." On the crucial question of so-called "Vietcong atrocities" Lord Russell commented as follows:

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

The London meeting went on for three days and was followed by a press conference on November 16. (For the most part, the American press has declined to publish the statements and information made available at this press conference, preferring to use it as the occasion of personal attacks on Lord Russell and rather hysterical editorializing in what purport to be news accounts.) Much discussion was compressed into three days of meetings. All those present participated actively, immersing themselves fully in the very concrete details on which the reputation of the Tribunal will depend most directly. The enormous amount of ground to be covered caused them to work overtime, into the early hours of the morning (somewhat in the style of a sleepless SDS convention!). The fruits of this labor are detailed in the pages that follow.

THE AIMS & OBJECTIVES OF THE TRIBUNAL

The conscience of mankind is profoundly disturbed by the war being waged in Vietnam. It is a war in which the world's wealthiest and most powerful State is opposed to a nation of poor peasants, who have been fighting for their independence for a quarter of a century. It appears that this war is being waged in violation of international law and custom.

Every day, the world press and, particularly, that of the United States publishes reports which, if proved, would represent an ever growing violation of the principles established by the Nuremberg Tribunal and rules fixed by international agreements.

Moved and shocked by the suffering endured by the Vietnamese people and convinced that humanity must know the truth in order to deliver a serious and impartial judgment on the events taking place in Vietnam and where the responsibility for them lies, we have accepted the invitation of Bertrand Russell to meet, in order to examine these facts scrupulously and confront them with the rules of law which govern them.

It has been alleged that in the first nine months of 1966, the air force of the United States has dropped, in Vietnam, four million pounds of bombs daily. If it continues at this rate to the end of the year, the total will constitute a greater mass of explosives than it unloaded on the entire Pacific theater during the whole of the Second World War. The area bombarded in this way is no bigger than the states of New York and Pennsylvania. In the South, the U. S. forces and their docile Saigon allies have herded eight million people, peasants and their families, into barbed wire encampments under the surveillance of the political police. Chemical poisons have been, and are being, used to defoliate and render barren tens of thousands of acres of farmland. Crops are being systematically destroyed -- and this in a country where, even in normal times, the average man or woman eats less than half the food consumed by the average American (and lives to less than one-third of his age).

Irrigation systems are deliberately disrupted. Napalm, phosphorus bombs and a variety of other, sadistically designed and hitherto unknown weapons are being used against the population of both North and South Vietnam. More than five hundred thousand Vietnamese men, women and children have perished under this onslaught, more than the number of soldiers the United States lost in both world wars, although the population

of Vietnam had already been decimated during the Japanese and French occupations and the famine which followed the Second World War...

Even though we have not been entrusted with this task by any organized authority, we have taken the responsibility in the interest of humanity and the preservation of civilization. We act on our own accord, in complete independence from any government and any official or semi-official organization, in the firm belief that we express a deep anxiety and remorse felt by many of our fellow humans in many countries. We trust that our action will help to arouse the conscience of the world.

We, therefore, consider ourselves a Tribunal which, even if it has not the power to impose sanctions, will have to answer, amongst others, the following questions:

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

If the Tribunal decides that one, or all, of these crimes have been committed, it will be up to the Tribunal to decide who bears the responsibility for them..

This Tribunal will examine all the evidence that may

be placed before it by any source or party. The evidence may be oral, or in the form of documents. No evidence relevant to our purpose will be refused attention. No witness competent to testify about the events with which our enquiry is concerned will be denied a hearing.

The National Liberation Front of Vietnam and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam have assured us of their willingness to cooperate, to provide the necessary information, and to help us in checking the accuracy and reliability of the information. The Cambodian Head of State, Prince Sihanouk, has similarly offered to help by the production of evidence. We trust that they will honor this pledge and we shall gratefully accept their help, without prejudice to our own views or attitude. We renew, as a Tribunal, the appeal which Bertrand Russell has addressed in his name to the Government of the United States. We invite the Government of the United States to present evidence or cause it to be presented, and to instruct their officials or representatives to appear and state their case. Our purpose is to establish, without fear or favor, the full truth about this war. We sincerely hope that our efforts will contribute to the world's justice, to the re-establishment of peace and the liberation of the oppressed peoples.

Members of Tribunal

Bertrand Russell, Honorary President
Jean-Paul Sartre, Executive President
Vladimir Dedijer, Chairman & President of Tribunal Sessions

Gunther Anders, Austrian writer and philosopher
Mehmet Ali Aybar, Turkish M. P. and lawyer
Lelio Basso, deputy in Italian parliament and lawyer
Simone de Beauvoir, French writer
Lazaro Cardenas, former President of Mexico
Stokely Carmichael or an alternate designated by SNCC
David Dellinger, American pacifist writer
Isaac Deutscher, Polish exile historian
Amado Hernandez, Poet Laureate of the Philippines
Mahmud Ali Kasuri, Senior Advocate Pakistan Supreme Court
Kinji Marakawa, Japanese lawyer
Shoichi Sakata, Japanese physicist, Nobel Prize
Laurent Schwartz, French mathematician

Investigating teams composed of qualified experts in relevant intellectual disciplines (e.g., law, medicine, bio-chemistry, etc.) will be dispatched to Vietnam shortly. They will gather evidence for the Tribunal hearings which will begin in Paris in March.

The article which follows first appeared in the Belgrade newspaper Politika, dated September 18, 1966. Professor Dedijer, a distinguished historian and a partisan colonel during World War II, taught at Harvard for several years. His latest work, The Road to Sarajevo, has already received widespread critical acclaim.

THE DISTURBED CONSCIENCE OF A HISTORIAN

by Vladimir Dedijer

It was in far-off Calcutta in the spring of 1948 that I first made an attempt to penetrate into the mind of the man of Asia, to figure out the way he looks at Europe. After the Europeans had perfected their firearms and launched the industrial revolution, they forced their rule on all continents. The Spanish Hapsburgs subjugated South and Central America; the Anglo-Saxons then moved into North America, routing the native population, while eastward they brought India and other countries with ancient cultures under their control. Simultaneously, the Russian Czars were extending the boundaries of their state up to the Pacific Ocean. All these conquests were made in the name of some sort of lofty ideology, some sort of glory for which continents were plundered and millions of people with a different color and culture were put to death.

But there was another kind of Europe in existence then as well, a Europe of damned, a Europe of revolution; a Europe of scientists, poets and all manner of visionaries and rebels. An Asian friend in Calcutta pointed out to me that the idea of the right to rebel, of equality among men and among nations had in its contemporary form emerged from that very Europe such as it was and that it had become the fundamental ideological weapon in the hands of the colonial nations.

"It was those men, the men who propounded these ideas, who are the bridge linking this world together," concluded this Asian intellectual.

While in America I remembered this conversation many times as that country was in the throes of the dilemma over the war in Vietnam.

On one side of the fence is the American administration insisting that the war in Vietnam is a battle against communism and for democracy, while on the other side is a growing group of intellectuals who dispute this thesis. It is not an easy task to explain the reasons for their rebellion. They are a mixed lot including among others Anglo-Saxonist non-conformists, left-wing Catholics, neo-Thomists.

Vietnam and the question of Negro rights have even split the Catholics. Cardinal Spellman is one of the ideological forefathers of American intervention in Vietnam while at the same time young Jesuits may be seen among the demonstrators in front of the Pentagon. But most of the rebellious intellectuals are men of common sense who can see where Johnson's policy is leading.

These iconoclastic American intellectuals remind me a great deal of the Russian "Narodnyaks" (Populists) of the last century who were also men of personally pure motives, willing to sacrifice themselves for ideals in which they firmly believed, in the conviction that the masses would follow them. But there is a tragic aspect to this. The majority of the people, as was the case in Russia during the time of the "Narodnyaks," still do not respond to their call. In the United States of America, conformism is one of the facts of life. All the labor unions, including the once progressive Walter Reuther, are helping President Johnson prosecute the Vietnamese war. The more orders the armaments factories get, the more jobs and higher wages there are.

The intellectuals of America do not pull punches as far as their own bureaucracy is concerned. Their disturbed consciences do not permit them to ignore what is going on in Vietnam. Their claim is that ideology is never the reason why wars are waged but rather that other interests are at stake. This was true yesterday (the Crusades, the Thirty Years War) just as it is true in our own day. In talks with my friends at Harvard, I described the experiences of my own country, Yugoslavia; claiming they were fighting Communism the Germans razed Grmęc, Bela Krajina and Western Serbia. My conclusion is that aggression cannot hide behind lofty ideology, whether it is anti-communist or anti-capitalist.

Intellectuals in the United States are coming upon the idea that Washington has become the chief enemy of the impoverished throughout the world and that by force of arms it wishes to prevent other nations from developing freely (Dr. Martin Peretz, for instance). Some Catholic thinkers have pointed out that the U.S.A. is the wealthiest country on earth with a per capita income of \$3,000 whereas Vietnam is among the poorest with a paltry \$50.

What the American intellectuals are doing is to my mind one of the finest examples of the freethinking man's behavior in the face of a powerful bureaucracy. How profound is their scrutiny of their own souls and consciences! It therefore followed that when I received an invitation from Bertrand Russell to join his Tribunal, I remembered

my courageous friends and acquaintances at American universities.

What I have read about the manner in which the war is being waged in Vietnam; the photographs I have seen, Russell's terrifying documentation on the chemical and bacteriological warfare going on there, led me to the conclusion that once again an Asian nation, a small nation with an ancient culture, is being exterminated by the most up-to-date weapons. The statement made by an American colonel rings without surcease in my ears: "We're going to cast North Vietnam back into the Stone Age." The life of the land is being destroyed together with the people in it. Poison gases and other noisome substances cover their forests and paddy fields. All human life, all life generally is being extinguished together with the fighting men. Leaves fall from the trees, and after them die the butterflies and the birds.

A study of our epoch has mad@ me face the truth as to the extent to which this premature, violent mass death is striking at us, Yugoslavs, too. In the Wars of Napoleon, the Military Frontier, meaning Like, Kordun, parts of Slavonia, Srem, Banat and Sajkaska, lost 12 per cent of their population. The losses suffered in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the rebellions taking place in the past century were no less. The First World War killed off 1,900,000 souls in this area, and the Second World War killed almost as many.

This too has been the historic destiny of Vietnam. True, they are far away from us, at the other end of the earth; they are a nation with another kind of culture and language and yet the awareness of their mass premature, violent death is brought home to us. How many generations have gone down in the flower of youth, how many budding poets, scientists, artists have been lost for all time to come?

I often wonder what fate is in store for other small nations in other parts of the world if the aggression in Vietnam is not stopped.

Is it going to provoke a world wide conflagration, a general violent mass death such as the world has never seen? At times fear grips me and pessimism comes in its wake, when I think of the future of mankind. Will the prestige of the big powers give way before the fate of the common man?

Finally, a purely personal motive influenced my decision. I hope my mentioning it will not be taken amiss, especially as I am writing this in a newspaper for which I wrote my first reports long ago when I was just eighteen.

My late son Borivoje brought me Russell's letter one day in June. He was aflame with enthusiasm, for he as an ardent admirer of Russell's. In previous years whenever I had received a letter from Russell, we would read and discuss it together. Later in his fine English he would compose a reply for me. Borivoje had something of the rebelliousness of our people in his nature. When he was attending high school in Los Angeles, from which he eventually graduated, he described Fidel Castro as the greatest man of the age in a public address. Borivoje loved good books: Hegel, Kropotkin, Guillot he knew by heart. Progressive by conviction, he suffered greatly because of the state of the world and the injustice that was being perpetrated.

That morning, I gave him my reasons for not wanting to accept Russell's invitation: it would take me away from my writing for months and furthermore I thought some other Yugoslav should be charged with the task. In a still voice he asked me, "Haven't you become a little tired, haven't you begun to lose touch with the pulse of the new generation?"

After Borivoje's death, when Russell asked me again if I had made my decision, I remembered what my late son had said, and accepted.

Review . . .

"AMERICA'S VIETNAM POLICY: THE STRATEGY OF DECEPTION" by Edward Herman & Richard DuBoff
Washington, Public Affairs Press, 1966, 128pp. \$2.

This book is a model of understatement. The authors have taken considerable care not only to document their case very precisely, but also to limit the scope of their claims to areas in which their conclusions are absolutely inescapable. They do not speculate on the causes and underpinnings of America's Vietnam policy. They do not confront many of the issues which they themselves would readily admit to be fundamental to a deep understanding of this war. But this avoidance of major issues should not be interpreted as wishy-washy evasiveness. Professors Herman and DuBoff are by no means seeking to dilute the implications of their study. Quite the contrary, they have succeeded in strengthening the impact of their work by insisting that the reader give his undivided attention to a set of relatively straightforward questions.

The work is richly and impressively documented from a variety of conventional Western sources (e.g., The New York Times, Le Monde, Manchester Guardian, London Observer, etc.).

The statements of official U. S. policy-makers are quoted abundantly. The study is highly condensed (128 pages all told), but one rarely encounters those three suspicious dots which often damage the integrity of cited material. There is a plethora of references to additional articles and books which are not quoted directly but which may be consulted for further study of the matters under discussion. In most cases, the references are not general, but are quite specific (identifying particular chapters or giving actual page references). The result is a treasure house of valuable evidence and research-cues for students of the war and for thoughtful activists.

The gravamen of this work is quite clear: the authors cogently establish the systematic character of U. S. Government deception regarding the war in Vietnam. They show how Johnson, McNamara, Lodge, Rusk, et al. have lied consistently and shamelessly about the provisions of the Geneva Accords, about U. S. intentions to participate in "unconditional negotiations," about the role of China, etc. They expose quite brilliantly the degree to which the whole rhetoric of the Johnson administration is only a terrible and grotesque instance of Orwellian "doublethink." Each word turns into its opposite: that nation is "independent" which is most subservient, the "aggressor" is in reality the victim, etc. Perhaps these conclusions are not original; indeed, they are all too obvious to anyone who has followed the escalation of the war with a discerning eye. But the presentation by Edward Herman and Richard DuBoff is essential reading nonetheless. It is concise, penetrating, and, happily, very well written. To miss it is to do oneself a disservice. We need more works of this high caliber.

R. D. S.

VIETNAM 1966: films available from
the Free University of New York
Peter Gessner, "Time of the Locust" (about 15 minutes,
brutal documentation of atrocities and torture).
FUNY Workshop, "Dog Burning at Noon" (about 7 minutes,
a rather surrealist portrayal of the ritual of
extermination in an industrial wasteland).
NLF, "Vietnam: Land of Fire" (about 20 minutes, documentary).
DRV, "Days with the Youth Shock Brigade" (about 25 minutes,
shows the repair of destroyed installations, etc.).
All the above films are 16mm sound and can be rented inex-
pensively from the Free University of New York,
20 East Fourteenth Street,
New York, New York 10003.
Write for further details, or call 212 - OR 5 7424.

The following petition is being circulated around the world in order to establish a mandate for the international war crimes tribunal:

"WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, SUPPORT THE INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL INITIATED BY BERTRAND RUSSELL. WE FEEL A SOLEMN OBLIGATION TO EXPOSE WAR CRIMES AND TO INDICT THOSE WHO PERPETRATE THEM. WE BELIEVE THAT U. S. ACTIONS IN VIETNAM MUST BE EXAMINED EXHAUSTIVELY AND THE FINDINGS MADE KNOWN TO WORLD OPINION."

- I authorize the use of my name as a signer.
- Please send me _____ copies of the petition.
- Please send me _____ copies of Lord Russell's "Appeal to the American conscience."
- Please send me _____ copies of Lord Russell's "Postscript: To the Conscience of Mankind."

The cost of printing and mailing the petition and Lord Russell's statements is quite considerable. Please increase your contributions accordingly.

- I enclose \$_____ to support the work of the Foundation.

Name (BLOCK LETTERS, PLEASE) _____
Address _____

The FOUNDATION BULLETIN will be sent regularly to those who contribute \$5.00 or more.

Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation
342 West 84 Street
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FOUNDATION BULLETIN

Volume 1 Number 2

Contents

"The Crime,"
by Jean-Paul Sartre

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 3/15/62 BY 39063 ELW/DK/64
954762

Report:
Paris Meeting Supports
War Crimes Tribunal

Two New Members Join
War Crimes Tribunal

Reviews:
Douglas Pike's "Viet Cong"
A Poetry Reading Against
the Vietnam War

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John Gerassi,
Chairman
Russell Stetler,
Executive Secretary

We are pleased by your response to the first issue of the BULLETIN. Many readers have sent contributions, press clippings, comments, and constructive criticisms. Others have taken the initiative to arrange public meetings in their local areas to promote discussion of the war crimes issue. We hope to have a growing dialogue and exchange with our readers and to reach more and more people with news of the tribunal. We are happy to see creative approaches employed to dramatize the results of the tribunal. The San Francisco Mime Troupe, for example, has expressed interest in utilizing the tribunal proceedings as the basis of a dramatic performance exposing the grim reality of the Vietnam war.

Our financial needs are ever expanding, and we regret that we must appeal continually for further support. The current period is especially critical. In a matter of days, the tribunal's first investigating team leaves for North Vietnam, charged with the responsibility to survey bombarded areas, to examine weaponry used in the bombardments, and to interview hundreds of witnesses. Film and sound crews will be on hand wherever the team goes. The cost of sending these teams is enormous. Air fare alone amounts to thousands of dollars even for a small team. We appeal to all of you to collect funds and to contribute generously to make these missions possible.

We wish to call attention to the courage of growing numbers of young American men who are refusing to fight against the people of Vietnam. The findings of the tribunal will be especially relevant to their stand, as is pointed out below by Jean-Paul Sartre. We likewise express our solidarity with those who, since August 7th, have kept a constant vigil outside the napalm factory at Port Chicago, California. Their protest is a fulltime effort to arouse the American conscience.

This issue of the BULLETIN features contributions by Ken Coates, a director of the Foundation, who lectures in sociology at Nottingham University; Leonard Liggie, a research historian; and Will Inman, editor of KAURI poetry magazine, who will be poet-in-residence at American University this spring.

The article which follows is an interview with the Executive President of the War Crimes Tribunal, Jean-Paul Sartre. It first appeared in Le Nouvel Observateur on November 30, 1966.

THE CRIME

by Jean-Paul Sartre

Question: It has been said of Bertrand Russell's "tribunal" that it can render only a parody of justice because it has been composed of personalities who are partisan, hostile toward the American policy, and whose verdict is known in advance. According to one English journalist, "It will be conducted as in 'Alice in Wonderland': there will be the condemnation first, the trial afterwards."

J.-P. Sartre: Here are the boundaries and the sense of what our "tribunal" intends to do. The question is not for us to judge whether the American policy in Vietnam is baneful -- which is taken for granted among most of us -- but to see whether it falls within the provisions of international legislation on "war crimes."

To condemn, in the juridical sense, the struggle of American imperialism against the nations of the third world which are trying to break free of its domination would make no sense. This struggle is, in effect, only the transposition, on an international level, of the class struggle and it is determined by the structure of the groups confronting one another. The imperialist policy is a necessary historical reality and it escapes, for this reason, every juridical or moral condemnation. One can only combat it, whether as an intellectual, by showing its mechanism, or politically, by trying to escape it (which, despite appearances, the French Government really isn't doing), or by armed struggle. I know that I am, like other members of the "tribunal," a professed adversary of imperialism and that I feel I am in solidarity with all those who combat it. And the commitment, from this point of view, must be total. Each one sees the whole of the struggle and places himself on one side or the other according to motivations which develop from his objective situation into a fixed idea which he forms for himself of human life. At this level, one can hate the class enemy. But one cannot judge him in the juridical sense of the term. It is even difficult, if not impossible, insofar as one holds to a purely realistic point of view on the class struggle, to confine one's own allies within a juridical framework and to define rigorously the "crimes" committed by their government. We have seen this very well in the problem of the Stalinist camps. Either we would pass moral judgments on them, which was completely beside the point, or we would be content to evaluate the "positive"

and the "negative" in Stalin's policy. Some said, "It is the positive which prevails"; others, "It is the negative." In either case, it makes no difference.

In fact, if History's development is not ordered by the right and by the moral -- which are, on the contrary, its consequences --, the two superstructures exercise a "reverse-action" on this development. This is what permits us to judge a society in terms of the criteria which it has itself established. It is therefore absolutely normal for us to ask, at a given moment, whether an action exceeds the domain of "the useful" or of "the harmful" so as to fall within the provisions of an international jurisprudence which has been constituted little by little.

Marx wrote, roughly, in one of the prefaces to Capital:

"We are the last ones who could be accused of condemning the bourgeoisie, because we estimate that, conditioned by the process of capital and the class struggle, its leadership is necessary. But there are moments, all the same, when it goes too far."

The whole issue is to know whether, today, the imperialists have gone too far.

When Talleyrand said: "It is more than a crime, it is a mistake," he summed up very well the manner in which political acts have always been considered, in the course of history; they can be skilful or clumsy, useful or harmful; they always escape juridical sanction. There was no "criminal policy."

And then, at Nuremberg, in 1945, the notion of "political crime" appeared for the first time. That notion was questionable, to be sure, since it involved imposing the law of the victor on the vanquished. But the condemnation of the leaders of Nazi Germany by the Nuremberg tribunal made sense only if it implied that any government which, in the future, committed condemnable acts, according to such and such an act of the laws established at Nuremberg, would be subject to trial before an analogous tribunal. Our "tribunal" now proposes merely to apply to capitalist imperialism its own laws. The arsenal of jurisprudence, furthermore, is not limited to the Nuremberg laws; there had been, beforehand, the Kellogg-Briand Pact; there were the Geneva Conventions and other international accords.

Once again, the question here is not to condemn a policy in the name of history, to judge whether or not it is contrary to the interests of humanity, but to state whether it falls under the provisions of existing laws. For example, one can criticize the present policy of France, one can be totally opposed to it, as I am, but one cannot term it "criminal." This would not make sense. It was possible to do that, on the other hand, during the Algerian war. The torture, the organization of regroupment camps, the reprisals against civilian populations, the summary executions were comparable to certain crimes condemned at Nuremberg. If a "tribunal" like the one conceived by

Bertrand Russell had been constituted in that period, I certainly would have agreed to take part. The fact that we did not accomplish this in the case of France does not mean that we should not do it today for the United States.

Question: You will be asked by what law -- since it is law that you are invoking -- you set yourselves up as judges, which you are not

J.-P. Sartre: Indeed. Right now, it will be said, anyone can judge anything! And then doesn't this undertaking risk falling into petit-bourgeois idealism, on the one hand (a certain number of known personalities raise a protestation in the name of great values) and into fascism, on the other, by an avenging side reminiscent of Arsene Lupin and all the fascist literature?

To this I respond first, that the question is not to condemn anyone to an ordinary, commonplace punishment. Every ~~act~~ which is not to be carried out is obviously ridiculous. I cannot see myself condemning President Johnson to death. I would clothe myself with ridicule.

Our goal is different. It is to study the whole of the existing documents on the war in Vietnam, to call all possible witnesses to testify -- American and Vietnamese --, and to determine, in our soul and conscience, whether certain acts fall within the provisions of the laws of which I have spoken. We will invent no new legislation. We shall declare, if we establish it, what I do not prejudge: "Such and such acts, committed at such and such places, represent a violation of such and such international laws and are, in consequence, crimes. And here are the ones responsible for these acts." If a real international tribunal existed, what would make these particular ones liable, by virtue of the laws applied at Nuremberg, for example, to such and such sanction. Therefore, it is not at all a matter of a group of honest citizens voicing indignant disapproval, but of giving a juridical dimension to acts of international policy, in order to combat the tendency of the majority of the peoples to pass only practical or moral judgments on the conduct of a social group or of a government.

Question: Doesn't this lead you to grant that there is one way of waging war which is condemnable and another way which is not?

J.-P. Sartre: Absolutely not! The struggle of imperialism against certain peoples of the third world is a fact which I merely record. I oppose it with all my might, in the measure of my feeble means, but I do not have to say that there is a good way and a bad way of carrying it on. In truth, although the peaceable brave folk of our consumer societies wish to ignore it, there are wars everywhere, the world is in flames and we can have a world war at any moment. I have to take part in the struggle, but I do not have to humanize it. We must merely seek to know whether, in the

unfolding of this struggle, there are people who "go too far" in the course of it, whether the imperialist policy falls under the provisions of laws declared by imperialism itself.

We can ask ourselves, obviously, whether it is possible to wage a war of imperialist repression without violating international law. But this is not our concern. Insofar as I am a simple citizen, a philosopher, a Marxist, I have the right to think that this type of war always leads to the use of torture, the creation of concentration camps, etc. Insofar as I am a member of the "tribunal" of Bertrand Russell, this does not interest me. I must merely seek to learn whether laws are being violated, in order to reintroduce the juridical notion of international crime.

It is necessary to ask ourselves whether the ideas, however correct, that we have of the policy -- knowing that we must judge it from a realistic point of view, that it is determined by a balance of forces, that we must take account of the chosen end, etc. -- must lead us, as many people did in the time of Stalin, to consider the policy only from the angle of efficiency and to accept a passive complicity while judging the acts of a government only in a practical perspective. Doesn't a political fact likewise have an ethico-juridical structure?

On this ground, our judgment cannot be rendered in advance, even if we are committed, as individuals, to the struggle against imperialism. Once again, I oppose the government of de Gaulle with my ballot, but it does not occur to me to say that the Gaullist policy is criminal. One can speak, with indignation, of crime a propos the Ben Barka affair, but I do not see what law we would apply if we were to condemn the French Government in this affair. It is altogether different when the question is to judge an act of war of the Americans in Vietnam, bombardment, an operation ordered in high places. To wish to constitute a real tribunal and to pronounce sentences would be acting like idealists. But we have the right to assemble ourselves, as citizens, in order to restore the force of the notion of war crimes, by showing that every policy can and must be judged objectively according to juridical criteria which exist.

When one cries out at a meeting, "The war in Vietnam is a crime," one is in the domain of the emotions. This war is certainly contrary to the interests of the overwhelming majority of men, but is it juridically criminal? It is that which we shall attempt to determine, without being able to say in advance what our conclusions will be.

There are cases in which the violation of international law would seem clear. When the Government of South Africa, which has a simple mandate on the southwest African territory, refuses to enforce a decision of the United Nations enjoining it to abandon that territory, it places itself overtly in a position of international delinquency. The whole world sees this.

In Vietnam, the situation is different: certain facts

come out which must be established: our purpose is to see whether they fall under the provisions of law.

Question: Some will reproach you for not judging the Vietnamese at the same time as the Americans and will say that war crimes are being committed by both sides.

J.-P. Sartre: I refuse to place on the same plane the action of a group of poor peasants, obliged to make iron discipline rule in their ranks, and that of an immense army sustained by a super-industrialized country of two hundred million inhabitants. And then it is not the Vietnamese who have invaded America and who cause a deluge of fire to rain on an alien people. During the Algerian war, I always refused to draw a parallel between the terrorism of the bomb, which was the sole arm at the disposal of the Algerians, and the actions and exactions of a rich army of five hundred thousand men occupying the whole country. It is the same thing in Vietnam.

Question: In the course of this "trial," you will have the opportunity to make a systematic record according to juridical norms applicable to every government. Can this clear the way for a broader action against the American policy in Vietnam?

J.-P. Sartre: Certainly. But that can only come later. It is by proceeding from the results of our investigation -- if it results in a condemnation -- that one could organize demonstrations, meetings, marches, signature campaigns. Our first task will be education and information; and our "hearings" will certainly be public.

They have reproached us for doing petit-bourgeois legalism. It is true, and I accept this objection. But whom do we wish to convince? The classes which are engaged in struggle against capitalism and which are already convinced ("crimes" or not) that it is necessary to do battle until the end against imperialism, or that very large fringe of the middle class which is presently hesitant? These are the petit-bourgeois masses whom we must now awaken and arouse, because their alliance -- even on the interior level -- with the working class is desirable. And it is by means of legalisms that we can open their eyes. Furthermore, it's not so bad, either, to remind the working classes, who have been too often led into considering only efficiency, that there is an ethico-juridical structure for every historical action. In the post-Stalinist period in which we live, it is very important to place this structure on record.

Question: How do you explain the fact that the demonstrations against the war in Vietnam have been more numerous and more vigorous in West Germany, in Britain, in Italy and in Belgium than in France?

J.-P. Sartre: In France, there is, in effect, a certain

impenetrability of the petit-bourgeois conscience and even, sometimes, of the worker's conscience. This comes, I believe, from the fact that we have barely come out of a long period of colonial wars. For some time we have been "blocked" on all the problems of world importance -- in particular those of the third world -- because it was we who were oppressing Indochina, then Algeria. It was an epoch, remember, in which the entire world was disturbed by the development of nuclear arms. The French themselves were never concerned about it. They never understood that their country, which housed American bases on its territory, would be destroyed like the others in case of nuclear war. They did not understand it because their attention was constantly drawn to our colonial problems.

There is another reason for French apathy; that is the confusion which resulted from believing de Gaulle and letting his purely verbal assertion of independence pass for a true anti-imperialist policy. The Phnom Penh speech was nothing but words, since de Gaulle, although he condemns American policy in toto, does not give himself, on the domestic front, the economic means to escape the American tutelage.

But the fact that de Gaulle is the sole head of a capitalist state who has denounced the policy of the United States gives the French a good conscience. The same citizen who, hostile to the independence of Algeria, was very happy when a venerated leader put an end to a war which was impossible to win, is now very content since the definitive utterances of a great man, with whom he identifies, furnish a justification for his passivity: "Since de Gaulle expresses himself so strongly on Vietnam, it is pointless for me to do more."

If the parties of the left were united, they could prove that the Gaullist ambition to make France a serious adversary of American imperialism makes no sense since it is not based on a domestic policy capable of really freeing us from American expropriation.

Today, France is only a rebellious slave which remains submissive to the American order. The headquarters of NATO will be set up elsewhere, agreed; but the Americans can place French workers out of work when and where they please, they can paralyze our economy merely by withdrawing their computers, they can exert enormous pressures against which we are without defense.

The first point of a program of the left must be to struggle, by means of a policy of priority investments -- in large measure, public ones -- against the encroachments of American capital. This would be very difficult, I know; and France cannot do it alone. She would have to use the Common Market, and she would have to be able to induce her partners to follow the same policy. They also, for the time being, are dominated by American economic might; but one can imagine that certain countries, Italy, for example, would be amenable to revising their attitude if France followed a policy of true economic independence.

For the time being, we are waiting for the left to unite. And I do not see a way of bridging the gap which separates the

supporters and the opponents of the Atlantic Pact. The problem is in part masked, because the communists have made some concessions for the elections; but it remains before us and it continues to paralyze the left. Last spring we had a perfect example of this when Guy Mollet wanted to file a motion of censure against the foreign policy of the government. The communists were embarrassed, because certain aspects of this policy were moving in their direction; and they said, "Let us condemn, rather, the whole of the government policy, by showing that it is no more satisfactory at home than abroad." Guy Mollet refused.

In my opinion, opposition to the Atlantic Pact must be the principal criterion of a left policy. I should even say that the only common point between the abstract position of de Gaulle and what should be the attitude of the left is the claim of national sovereignty. Sovereignty which it is necessary to regain not for the sake of guarding it jealously -- one can associate oneself with other equally sovereign powers and constitute international organisms to which one hands over certain powers -- but for the sake of putting it in opposition to American imperialism, which, above all, destroys national structures.

Question: Let us suppose that the left were unified: could it have an effect in the matter of Vietnam?

J.-P. Sartre: First of all, it could mobilize opinion. This is not easy, but there are countries in which it can be done. In France, it is inconceivable to have a strike of any importance launched on the pretext of economic demands but whose real motive would be opposition to the policy of the Americans in Vietnam. In Japan -- I've just come from there -- there was a general strike on October 21st "against American imperialism." I am not saying that it was a complete success, but it was at least able to take place.

The French also, to be sure, are "against" the war in Vietnam, but they do not feel concern. They do not know that they risk being drawn into a world conflict by the development of a struggle which interests only the Americans. De Gaulle himself knows this. I was very struck by the reaction of the Japanese to the Phnom Penh speech. They said, "De Gaulle was afraid." They wanted to say that he had suddenly weighed the danger of seeing his country destroyed for something which did not concern it. This was, in effect, a speech of fear and, from this point of view, a good speech. But a simple cry of alarm does not amount to anything great.

Today we must conceive our struggle in the perspective of a durable American hegemony. The world is not dominated by two great powers, but by one only. And peaceful coexistence, despite its very positive aspects, serves the United States. Thanks to peaceful coexistence and to the Sino-Soviet dispute -- the latter resulting in large part from the former -- the Americans can bombard Vietnam in perfect

tranquility. It is incontestable that there has been a set-back for the socialist camp, owing to the rivalries which tear it asunder and the policy begun by Khrushchev. So the Americans now feel that their hands are free, to the point that President Johnson announced in a recent speech that he would not permit the Chinese to develop their atomic armament beyond a certain point. This frightening and cynical threat could not be put forward if Johnson were certain that the USSR would come to the assistance of China.

Meanwhile, this present hegemony of the United States does not exclude a certain vulnerability. In the absence of a direct confrontation with the socialist camp -- so gravely divided -- the solution can come from the weariness of the American masses and from the disquiet of the American leaders before the increasing disapproval of the entire world and in particular from all their allies.

Question: Do you think that gestures like that of David Mitchell, the young American who has refused to serve in Vietnam by invoking the Nuremberg laws, could help to seize the conscience of the Americans?

J.-P. Sartre: It is precisely from the gesture of David Mitchell and a few others that the idea of our "tribunal" is born. Our investigation, if it returns a verdict of guilty for the United States, should permit all the young Americans who oppose Johnson's policy to invoke not only the Nuremberg laws but also the judgment of a certain number of free men, who represent no party, no power. It is better that we represent nothing. What invalidates the judgments of Nuremberg in the eyes of the neo-Nazis is the fact that they were rendered by victors, whose right hinged on force. We, on the contrary, are the agents of no power and no one can say that we impose our law on people that we hold under the boot. We are independent because we are weak. And our position is strong because we do not seek to send anyone to prison, but to bring about a rebirth, in public opinion, at a sinister moment in our history, of the idea that there can be policies which are objectively and juridically criminal.

Report . . .

PARIS MEETING SUPPORTS WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL

by Ken Coates

Outside the great hall of the Mutualite in Paris November 28, thousands of young people were milling around every entrance. The hall was full, jammed with at least six thousand people, standing in every corridor, craning their necks over the stairways. Once you were in, it was impossible to move, and quite impossible to get out through the seething

thousands who were straining to get in. Altogether, perhaps ten thousand, perhaps fifteen thousand had mustered.

The occasion was not a visit from the Beatles. It was altogether more serious: a rally "Six Hours for Vietnam,"* organized under the honorary presidency of Bertrand Russell, at which, alongside other eminent spokesmen of the independent left in France, appeared a whole galaxy of international figures, centered around a group of members of the War Crimes Tribunal.

The meeting was chaired by Laurent Schwartz, himself a member of the tribunal, and among his colleagues speaking were Jean-Paul Sartre, Vladimir Dedijer, Dave Dellinger, Courtland Cox (representing SNCC), and Ralph Schoenman, who brought a personal message from Bertrand Russell.

Other speakers included the Nobel prizewinner, Professor Alfred Kastler; the secretary of the Moroccan Union Nationale des Forces Populaires, Abderamane Youssefi; Paul Verges, leader of the independence movement in Reunion; and Lawrence Daly, secretary of the Scottish Miners' Union.

The meeting was big in every sense of the word. After a plenary session, which included a film in which Fidel Castro spoke in defense of the Vietnamese revolution and which altogether lasted for some three hours, the rally broke up into a number of seminars, some of which contained well over one thousand people, to discuss various aspects of aid to the Vietnamese people's struggle.

But with all its vast size and marathon organization, the thing that was most inspiring about the rally was its enormous enthusiasm. Time and again the youthful audience cheered militant speakers to the echo.

Sartre, who went out of his way to appeal on behalf of the Peruvian revolutionary, Hugo Blanco, who is in imminent danger of being judicially murdered in prison, was given a standing ovation.

(The November 30 Le Monde reported him as saying, "We want peace in Vietnam, but not just any kind of peace. Peace must consist of recognition of the independence and sovereignty of Vietnam. But we don't want peace solely because of moral reasons. Morality is not a sufficient justification. Our themes, the themes of our struggle, must be political. . . . This is the way we must show our solidarity with the Viet-

* "In six hours, six hundred tons of bombs fell on Vietnamese huts," read the advertisement for the meeting. Max Ernst contributed a specially executed painting for the poster.

namese people. Their struggle is our struggle. It is our struggle against American hegemony, against American imperialism." Sartre ended by declaring, "A defeat for the Vietnamese people would be a political defeat for us, a defeat for all the free peoples. Because Vietnam is fighting for us.")

Similar ovations were given the spokesman of the Vietnamese National Liberation Front, and Dave Dellinger, who appealed for aid to the American people -- not of money ("We've got too much of that already," he said) but of solidarity in the struggle for peace.

Courtland Cox, who has been working in the field for SNCC, in the heart of the most bitterly racist areas of the southern states, said that the oppression of the black people at home in the USA, and of the Vietnamese people abroad, were part of one and the same struggle. "You won't get us to fight the people of Vietnam; not if hell freezes over," he said. "We are brothers."

Lawrence Daly also received deafening applause when he put the case for solidarity with the Vietnamese people and described the struggle in Britain.

Not every speech was received so warmly. Kastler's call for a United Nations neutral force of peace-keepers was received with mounting unease, turning into boos and catcalls.

Report

TWO NEW MEMBERS JOIN WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL

Mr. Lawrence Daly, General Secretary of the Scottish Mineworkers' Union, and Professor Wolfgang Abendroth of Marburg University, distinguished professor of Political Science, have both agreed to serve on the international War Crimes Tribunal. Mr. Daly requested permission from the executive of his union before taking this step. This was given unanimously and the union's chairman issued a statement that the union was proud that its General Secretary had been asked to take part.

The addition of Mr. Daly and Professor Abendroth brings the total number of tribunal members to eighteen. When the final composition of the tribunal has been decided, we shall give full biographical sketches of all members and officers of the tribunal.

The composition of the tribunal's investigating teams (the first of which leaves for North Vietnam later this month) will be announced in the next issue of the BULLETIN.

December 20, 1966 marks the sixth anniversary of the founding of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. For nearly two-thirds of its history to date, the NLF was never mentioned in the Western press. Moreover, when the term "NLF" was first introduced to the readers of The New York Times, the Front was always described as "the political arm of the Vietcong." This calculated effort to bewilder the American public had a more grotesque counterpart in South Vietnam, where the staff of the United States Information Agency considered the renaming of the guerrillas an integral part of their "communications" work. Realizing that the term "Vietcong" had not turned the population against the National Liberation Front, the USIA responded characteristically. The New York Times reported on June 5, 1962 that the USIA was sponsoring a contest "for a new name for the Viet Cong guerrillas," conceding that it did not think that "Communist is the type of name to inspire hatred among the country's illiterate masses." The USIA offered a prize of \$47 for a "colloquial peasant term implying disgust or ridicule." Unsuccessful in Vietnam, the U. S. information officers hope to have better luck at home. The book we are reviewing below merits consideration in this light. - R.D.S.

Review . . .

"VIET CONG: The Organization and Techniques of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam,"
by Douglas Pike (Cambridge, M.I.T. Press, 1966)
490 pages, illustrated, \$8.95

by Leonard Liggio

In one of his several flights of fancy which pass for scholarly commentary, Douglas Pike speaks of the "muzzy world of the pseudo-event." In many ways this would be a good description of his own work. By the application of the pseudo-scientific methodology of contemporary political science, Pike has created a work which pretends to offer the serious reader much and which actually delivers very little. It is not by accident that this work attempts to pre-empt the position of the authoritative study of the National Liberation Front, despite the fact that it is essentially a pseudo-authority. The book comes with all of the impressive attributes of what passes for authority in the field of international relations: sponsorship by the M. I. T. Center for International Studies, publication by M. I. T. Press, etc. But this remains, in the end, nothing more than an academic front for the United States Government. Douglas Pike served in the American foreign service with the U. S. Information Agency in Saigon from 1960 to 1964, when it was decided that the USIA would give him a grant and a leave to spend 1964-1965 at the M. I. T. Center to prepare this book for the communication of the proper perspective to the American public.

While obviously not the authoritative study which it pretends to be, Viet Cong contains, amidst the bulk of pseudo-information, bits and pieces of information which are of interest to the serious student of the national liberation struggle in Vietnam. One of the major failures of this work is the absence of historical perspective, so that one catches the real threads of recent Vietnamese events only after passing through a hundred pages of pseudo-information. Pike refers to the failure of the Viet Minh before the end of the First Vietnam War to achieve an alliance with the other major nationalist forces in the south -- the so-called sects, Cao Dai, Hoa Hao, and Binh Xuyen; this resulted in the limitation of Viet Minh dominance to the north and permitted the initiation of U. S. intervention to create a puppet state in South Vietnam.

However, once they had thwarted the Viet Minh in the south, these sects were considered expendable by the CIA and its puppet regime in Saigon. The sect forces and leadership were then attacked by Diem's forces and either destroyed or driven into the villages, rice paddies, and swamps. Pike indicates that adherents of the sects, especially the majority of the Cao Dai, "made up the bulk of the early NLF support." "The high percentage of Cao Dai is explained by the fact that the Cao Dai was the first major social group to begin actively opposing the Diem government." Even in the treatment of the development of the NLF along the lines of the official myth (i.e., a communist plot engineered by Ho Chi Minh from Hanoi) Pike makes the admission that it was in alliance with former Viet Minh that "dissident elements in South Vietnam, the most numerous of whom were the Cao Dai, began a political-paramilitary organizational effort that culminated on December 20, 1966 in the creation of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam." Pike also mentioned, in scattered references, that the Front's origins can be found in the 1954 Saigon-Cholon Peace Committee headed by the present NLF Chairman, Nguyen Huu Tho, who had been arrested by the French in 1950 for leading a protest against U. S. support of the French and who was later imprisoned by the Diem regime. Summing up the origins of the leadership of the NLF, Pike says: "Many of the original participants in the NLF had turned to it because they had been denied participation in South Vietnam's political process, even in the role of loyal opposition."

An important aspect of the book is the discussion of the peasants' role as the foundation for the National Liberation Front. The peasant adherents of the Cao Dai, Hoa Hao, etc. were strong in the present centers of NLF power -- north-west and south-west of Saigon, the Mekong Delta, and the Camau peninsula. The Viet Minh had distributed thousands of acres of rice paddy from feudal landlords to the tenant cultivators. The Diem regime sought to restore this land to the landlords

after 1954, and the peasants' defense of their land-ownership, alongside the Cao Dai guerrilla remnants, etc., was the basis of the NLF. Much of the resistance centered around Diem's Land Ordinance Fifty-Seven (1957): Vietnamese with whom the author (Pike) talked agree that unrest was widespread in the Vietnamese countryside in 1958, but all have insisted that the Diem government was by no means as well organized or as efficient as would have been necessary to have been as repressive as the Communists claimed." Pike says this in opposition to the views of the Vietnam specialist Phillippe Devillers that the NLF guerrillas originated in the semi-organized resistance from 1958 against the attempts of Diem's police and army to enforce Saigon's feudal land policies. Instead, according to Pike, "Such an effort had to be the child of the North" and "of necessity it must have been created in Hanoi and imported." Pike denies that the NLF began with "persons suffering genuine grievances" and insists that the reverse was the case and that the Viet Cong "sprang full blown into existence." Yet, in another chapter, Pike admits that the Farmers' Liberation Association is the backbone of the NLF; it was the first organized and the largest mass organization in the NLF with several million members. Pike's lengthy discussions of the questions of the peasants and of land tenure contradict his declarations that the origins of the Viet Cong must be found in Hanoi and not "with persons suffering genuine grievances."

Although something of the real origins of the NLF forces its way through the maze of materials presented in Pike's work, the book cannot be viewed as anything other than what it was programmed to be: the United States Government's official position on the origins and operations of the "Viet Cong." Since it will find its way to the shelves of every university and major public library, by one means or another, the United States Government can be satisfied that it will have its desired effect on many whose interest in their country's present aggression takes them to the Vietnam shelf of the library -- the effect of confusing and blurring the facts and the issues.

Readers of the FOUNDATION BULLETIN should know about the excellent article "American Atrocities in Vietnam," by Eric Norden, which appeared first in the February 1966 issue of LIBERATION. Reprints are available in the form of a twenty-page pamphlet, which also includes "Political Realism and Moral Disaster," by Dave Dellinger. Mr. Norden's article is based entirely on material compiled from Western press sources. Reprints are available at a cost of 25¢ each, or 7 copies for \$1.50, or 10¢ each for one hundred or more, from the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation or from

LIBERATION
5 Beekman St.
New York, N. Y. 10038

Review . . .

"A POETRY READING AGAINST THE VIETNAM WAR,"
collection gathered by Robert Bly and David Ray,
published by The American Writers Against the
Vietnam War, \$1.00, Sixties Press, Odin House,
Madison, Minnesota, 1966.

by Will Inman

The poems and prose pieces in this collection are in themselves -- indictment, trial, and judgment of the United States in particular and of war as national policy in general. In words out of the mouths of Hitler and Goering and of other German and Japanese leaders, from Thucydides, from American servicemen -- both the sickened and the justifying --, from poets who weigh our national rhetoric against our actual realities, from reporters who strip us with our own claims, and, finally, measuring all these against Lyndon Johnson's campaign promises and his later actions -- these American Writers Against the Vietnam War have terribly and irrevocably found the United States and President Johnson guilty of genocide against the Vietnamese and of an inhumanity of purpose and practice incredible to a sentimentally patriotic people, were not just that sentimentality the very kind of softsoap behind which murder festers and bursts loose.

A Catholic priest tells of being bombed and his parishioners being murdered and napalmed. Harcourt Brace refuses to allow poems of e e cummings to be included in this group. Lyndon Johnson assures us that the air attacks on North Vietnam "are a necessary part of the surest road to peace." And L L Case (The Realist) takes a public opinion poll among the slaughtered. Sigmund Freud analyzes us and finds those who accept state belligerence -- "open to deeds of cruelty, fraud, treachery, and barbarity so incompatible with their level of civilization that one would have thought them impossible."

But where, in America, is our Bach . . . our Goethe and Schiller . . . our Beethoven, to whom we can look for proof that we cannot, after all, be so totally lost as a people? These poets, these writers -- are our such; they live among us. And yet we, out of our own mouths, from our own witness, stand condemned -- caught daily with fresh blood on our hands and in our jaws.

Our cynicism is beyond belief. . . . to quote Robert Bly. . .

"Rusk's assistants eat hurriedly,
Talking of Teilhard de Chardin,
Long to get back to their offices. . . ."

We who are so cultured, so spiritual, how could we be murderers? And Walt Whitman's painful answer . . .

"As I stand aloof and look there is to me something profoundly affecting in large masses of men following the lead of those who do not believe in men."

This is a devastating book, a potent weapon of conscience, of scourging, of horror in our own hands. Americans owe it to ourselves to read it, sweat over it, draw living conclusions from its portents. But do not expect to be comforted. Expect, rather, to vomit. Nausea, then anger, are -- under such conditions -- the prerequisites of valid humanity.

The New York POETS FOR PEACE will fast publicly for twenty-four hours, beginning at 8:00 p.m. on Friday, January 13, 1967, at St. Mark's Church in the Bowerie (Second Avenue and Tenth Street, NYC). The fast will conclude with a reading of poetry by the participants. The reading will begin at 4:00 Saturday afternoon, January 14.

The following petition is being circulated around the world in order to establish a mandate for the international war crimes tribunal:

"WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, SUPPORT THE INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL INITIATED BY BERTRAND RUSSELL. WE FEEL A SOLEMN OBLIGATION TO EXPOSE WAR CRIMES AND TO INDICT THOSE WHO PERPETRATE THEM. WE BELIEVE THAT U. S. ACTIONS IN VIETNAM MUST BE EXAMINED EXHAUSTIVELY AND THE FINDINGS MADE KNOWN TO WORLD OPINION."

We have already collected a few thousand signatures in this country. We aim for tens of thousands. Your help is urgently needed in this effort.

Local groups are urged to reproduce the petition themselves (along with our return address) to save time and mailing costs. If need be, we are prepared to send copies in quantity to anyone who requests them.

I wish to send a gift subscription to the BULLETIN to

Name -----

Address -----

I enclose \$_____ to cover the costs of printing and mailing. My name is -----.

BR
4/11/67

Bertrand Russell
Peace Foundation
342 West 84th Street
New York, N. Y. 10024

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FOUNDATION BULLETIN

Volume 1 Number 3
Contents

"Appeal to American Negro Soldiers"
by Bertrand Russell

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"Eichmann and Everyman,"
by Ralph Schoenman

"Report from Hanoi,"
by Russell Stetler

Report:
Tribunal Sends First
Investigating Mission

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January 1, 1967.

published by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation

John Gerassi,
Chairman

Russell Stetler,
Executive Secretary

Report: TRIBUNAL SENDS FIRST INVESTIGATING MISSION TO HANOI

The first investigating mission to be dispatched by the International War Crimes Tribunal has just arrived in Hanoi. Its composition is as follows:

Dr. Malcolm Caldwell of Great Britain, a lecturer in the economic history of Southeast Asia at the School of African and Oriental Studies at the University of London; author of Problems of Independence in Asia.

Professor John Gerassi of the United States, Chairman of the American Branch of the Foundation; former correspondent of Time and editor of Newsweek; author of The Great Fear in Latin America; now teaching at New York University.

Leon Matarasso of France, an eminent jurist.

Roger Pic of France, photographer, who has previously travelled very widely in Vietnam.

Professor Setsure Tsurushima of Japan, an economist from Kyoto University.

Professor Jean-Pierre Vigier of France, a mathematician from the University of Paris.

The team has been met in Hanoi by Wilfred Burchett, the Australian journalist who has reported from North Vietnam and NLF-controlled areas of South Vietnam for several years.

The first investigating mission will travel throughout North Vietnam over a period of several weeks; it will report its findings to the tribunal in March. Mr. Pic will photograph and film the work of the team; his material will supplement the depositions, documents, affidavits, and other evidence collected.

Travel alone is quite expensive. Your continued help is urgently needed to finance this work. Send for copies of the "Appeal for Support for the International War Crimes Tribunal" and distribute them widely to your friends. Collect money. Contribute as generously as you are able.

The following message, dated September 19, 1966, was tape-recorded for radio broadcast by the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

MESSAGE TO AMERICAN NEGRO SOLDIERS IN VIETNAM

by Bertrand Russell

I address myself to you, American Negro soldiers, because you are engaged in a war so unjust and cruel, against an Asian people who wish only to live better and to be left alone. Today in the United States the brutality which the Vietnamese experience at the hands of the American army is experienced by American Negroes, whether in the North or South of the United States.

You may know that I have established an international War Crimes Tribunal, which has been set up to examine and condemn the terrible crimes committed against the people of Vietnam. Gas, chemicals, jelly-gasoline, acids, "lazy dogs," torture and mutilation of prisoners -- all these horrors are being committed by American soldiers in Vietnam, on orders from Washington. At the same time, in Harlem, Watts, Chicago, Detroit, Atlanta and in Mississippi, American Negroes are tortured and killed. Humiliation and brutality are imposed on Negro children and families across the United States.

It is clear that the same Government and the same power structure which commits these acts against Negro citizens of the United States is directing acts of cruelty against the Vietnamese. I think you know from your own experience in Vietnam that the people of Vietnam suffer the way oppressed American Negroes suffer in the United States. I think you know also that the oppressor is the same in each case.

I appeal to you, American Negro soldiers, to think where your real struggle lies. Is it in Vietnam, or is it in defence of your own people against oppression in the United States? Refuse to fight this dirty war any longer. Come forward with evidence of the crimes of Johnson and the U. S. Government in Vietnam. I have already appealed to American soldiers in general to do this, but I am addressing this particular appeal to you personally, as Negroes, because the American Negro is made to suffer more than any other group, both in the United States and in Vietnam.

You know that thirty per cent of the U. S. Army in Vietnam consists of American Negroes. You are used to fight the dirty wars of the Johnson Government not only because the U. S. Government assigns to its Negro population the dirtiest and the most dangerous jobs, but because

the Johnson Government fears courageous and alert Negro men in the United States, who will defend their people against racism, poverty, police brutality, and death. Militant Negro organizations are supporting our War Crimes Tribunal in the United States and condemning the war in Vietnam. This is because the struggle against the war in Vietnam and the struggle for the rights of American Negroes is the same struggle against the same enemy.

I extend to you my greetings and my warm feelings, and I know you will respond to the appeal of your people in the United States and your brothers who are the Vietnamese people themselves.

EICHMANN AND EVERYMAN:
THE MORAL CHALLENGE OF VIETNAM

by Ralph Schoenman

"He who witnesses a crime in silence, commits it," wrote Jose Marti, the Cuban revolutionary leader in the struggle against Spain. "We," said Eichmann, "only provided the lorries." These two men, both in their lives and in their words, man the barricades of a moral divide. It does not matter whose is the authority or the State power concerned. The authors of particular injustice or the identity of those hypnotised and helpless before horror do not affect the issue: there are not two sides in this matter. There is only one. There is no neutrality or "non-alignment" between Marti and Eichmann, there are only those who move from passivity, in the face of horror, to resistance, and those who shrink from resistance, no matter what camouflage they contrive to disguise this from themselves and from the world.

Which struggle, then, historically, can equal that of the Vietnamese peasantry in our time, and which oppressor has enjoyed such power in relation to his victim as that cultivated and boasted of by the rulers of the United States? Vietnam is a poor country. A peasant there can expect to live for less than thirty years. They have known death very intimately. They have known war for three generations. They know their powerful enemies as only those who must live within the reach of people pathologically determined to do great injury know their enemies. They are aware that the absentee landlords who have served the Japanese, the French and now the Americans may be inconstant in their choice of foreign master, but never, under any circumstances, alter their rapacious extortion of rent, usury and endless labor from the mass of people, who groan under the weight of their rule.

This is the Vietnam that people who live in the belly of that beast which is Western capitalism know, at best, in an abstract way.

Who, in our midst, understand intimately what gives the strength to illiterate and emaciated peasants in Vietnam to hold out against that military colossus which is United States imperialism today? These Vietnamese peasants receive half the calories (1,700), consumed on the average in Western Europe and North America. There is not one large industry in Vietnam, such as can be found in any of the dreary merchant towns of the capitalist West.

But truly everyone in the West is aware of this. Who can say that he is unaware that Vietnam is a poor country, desperately poor? Who can say that he is unfamiliar with the torture and mutilation of Vietnamese captured by the United States forces and the Saigon Government, for the pictures depicting these incredible scenes have filled our newspapers, our television screens and our newsreels? Who, now, does not know that a small people, without an air force, has endured bombing for nearly two years, with tonnages in excess of those used during the Second World War and the Korean War, for the United States Government boasts of its kill ratio and the performance of its air force frequently and loudly. Three million pounds of bombs daily fall in North Vietnam, according to Robert McNamara. The weapons include napalm, which burns unremittingly, causing the victims to turn into a bubbling mass. Napalm's purpose is not only to inflict agonizing death on the victims, but to cause terror in the observers, who find it impossible to extinguish the torch-lit Vietnamese peasants. Neither dirt nor water will stop napalm.

Chemicals and gas have been used, with the full approval of the United States Department of Defense, since 1961 and 1962, respectively. Gas, said Robert McNamara, is a basic weapon of the U. S. forces in Vietnam. The United States Army has issued a field manual, which states:

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

Washington officials stated:

"Arsenic and cyanide compounds are being used in the southern part of Vietnam, but not yet in the North."

I have been to North Vietnam, and travelled in five provinces. I have seen personally the victims of lazy-dog fragmentation bombs -- those cylinders containing slivers of razor-sharp steel, causing all in their path to be sliced, as a machete slices cane. I have seen the victims of chemical agents and nerve gases, which cause convulsions,

paralysis, blindness and perforation of the lungs. I have spoken at length to people who endured the forced labor camps of the South which, according to Time magazine and the London Observer, held eight million peasants -- fifty-nine per cent of the rural population.

It is important to note that more Vietnamese died between 1954 and 1959 than since 1960, the date when the National Liberation Front began armed struggle in the South. This is an incredible fact, for despite the vast and unrelenting bombardment of the North and the horror perpetrated by American forces in the South, more died during the so-called "years of peace", at the hands of America's puppets in Saigon and their American advisors, than during full-scale armed conflict.

What, then, do we do? The people of Vietnam are conducting alone a national struggle for survival, breathtaking in its daring and daily heroism. What can we do which can really help them in their struggle? What ought we to be doing, in order to struggle with them in a manner worthy of their sacrifice and on a par with their human commitment? I pose this question seriously and concretely.

The United States controls sixty percent of the world's resources, while containing only six percent of the world's population. The United States maintains over 3,600 military bases to protect this empire against the revolution sweeping the victims of American capitalism. That capitalism transmuted now into an imperialist system is prepared to use any means to crush those who rise up on behalf of decency and the most elementary necessities of life. I believe the most telling and serious help to be provided the people of Vietnam is to open as many fronts against American imperialism as possible. Wherever conditions favor struggle, struggle should be undertaken, and assisted by those who are in a position to do so. Whether in Peru or Thailand; whether in Southern Africa or in Western Europe, struggle against American imperialism is the most concrete and serious form of solidarity possible. The Vietnamese are carrying the whole burden for the cause of oppressed peoples in the world. A real revolutionary international would waste no time in opening up new fronts. The true resistance in the spirit of Marti would lose no time in blowing up the pipelines in Iraq or the locks of the Panama Canal, or whatever strategic installation of American imperialism afforded itself as a target to those conscious of their duty to the Vietnamese and to the victims of oppression everywhere.

In Western Europe and in North America, the working class is being asked to finance the military apparatus and the corporate means of exploitation and oppression in the theater of revolutionary struggle today -- Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

We, then, who conceive our responsibility without mistiness or rationalization, must enter consciously into political and revolutionary struggle in the West. Wherever workers are exploited or made to experience hardship, it is our task to pose the relation between their suffering and the oppression waged by American capitalism in Vietnam.

This is the true setting for the international War Crimes Tribunal which has been proposed by Bertrand Russell and which is under full and urgent preparation. This Tribunal commands no State power and cannot compel the accused to give evidence or to submit to the findings of its members. This, however, is not a disadvantage, for if this international War Crimes Tribunal is to play the historical role available to it, it will serve in a true sense as a revolutionary Tribunal of justice, voicing the powerless but morally strong feelings and convictions of those who know what oppression is in the world. I believe that this War Crimes Tribunal can set new standards, departing from the tired precedents of Nuremberg and other attempts at legal precepts which, in reality, conform to the real-politik of the State powers providing them.

The war in Vietnam -- that incredible war of aggression -- has historical and sociological roots which must be dug out, examined and put on display. The Tribunal's authority will derive from the eminence of their procedures and the thoroughness with which they prepare and present the full evidence of what the United States has done to the people of Vietnam. All mass organizations who claim they are in solidarity with the people of Vietnam, who profess to value the absence of war and a peace worthy of the name, will be tested by their response to this Tribunal. I believe that the truth about Vietnam, when assessed by a body of eminent and qualified people and exhaustively set out, will afford all engaged in serious struggle with basic tools for the task before us. The Vietnamese revolution is a cry from the depths. It appeals to us to see in it our own future, and it warns us of our own fate if we fail.

October 4, 1966.

Support the tribunal by signing and circulating the following petition:

"WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, SUPPORT THE INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL INITIATED BY BERTRAND RUSSELL. WE FEEL A SOLEMN OBLIGATION TO EXPOSE WAR CRIMES AND TO INDICT THOSE WHO PERPETRATE THEM. WE BELIEVE THAT US ACTIONS IN VIETNAM MUST BE EXAMINED EXHAUSTIVELY AND THE FINDINGS MADE KNOWN TO WORLD OPINION."

Copies are available from the Foundation office.

In early November, Ralph Schoenman and Russell Stetler visited Cambodia and North Vietnam briefly, in order to hold discussions regarding the investigating missions then contemplated by the tribunal. They received assurances of full cooperation from the authorities of both areas, and they brought these assurances to the members of the tribunal at the inaugural meeting in London.

REPORT FROM HANOI

by Russell Stetler

It has now been widely reported that the morale in Hanoi is high and that the bombardment has only steeled the determination of the people. Morale certainly is high, and the bombing has led to great resolve; but we must also understand very clearly that high morale and iron will are not simply emotional reactions, rooted in revenge, anger, and hatred. The Vietnamese response is more than a reaction. The Vietnamese have come to grips with the war itself, and their response is exceedingly rational and thoughtfully considered. Morale and confidence, elan and will -- these depend on the concrete success of positive measures taken by the Vietnamese to deal with the war. The accomplishments are visible.

The civilian defense system, for example, is not abstract or a figment of the impassioned imagination. It is an elaborate network, covering every residence and workplace. Along every street in Hanoi is a row of closely-spaced individual cylindrical shelters. Each of these pedestrian shelters now has a cover, an innovation developed in the course of daily bombardments in various villages. Ten months ago the shelters in Hanoi did not have them, but they have been installed recently because they have been tested in the crucible of real attack and found to be more effective.

To the casual observer, the air defense system is less impressive. It is obvious that without an air force or more missiles, ground defense is of limited effectiveness. Yet here, too, we must understand that the degree of success -- or lack of it -- is not easily concealed or distorted. People in a small village may have no way of checking the overall figures reported by the Government, but they can hardly avoid verifying the accuracy of results turned in by the local militia or self-defense units. One afternoon while I was in Hanoi, the Vietnamese who worked in my hotel rushed outside as anti-aircraft guns crackled in the distance. I followed in time to see the vapors of the clashing missiles and reconnaissance jets. Two U. S. planes were shot down (never to be admitted by the Pentagon). There are too many witnesses for an over-enthusiastic gunner to risk exaggeration.

Morale is high because some planes are shot down and, more importantly, because countless lives are saved. Visible improve-

ment in both areas means a great deal. The Vietnamese have a realistic picture of what is in store in coming months. They do not expect "restraining influences" in the U. S. somehow to inhibit the Johnson administration from pushing still farther in its war of incineration and annihilation. All my Vietnamese friends assured me that Hanoi would soon be bombed. They concede the destruction of every physical structure in that city. They have long ago begun the considerable preparation required to save the maximum number of lives. The children have been evacuated to relatively safer rural areas. Already, parents have adjusted to this "boarding school" routine. On Saturdays and Sundays, they are to be seen in long lines waiting to purchase bus tickets to take them to the outlying provinces to visit with their children. On the lighter side, my guide told me that everyone was having a second honeymoon with the children away. (True enough, it was not only young lovers who sat around Hanoi's lakes on Saturday nights.)

Factories, too, have been broken up and relocated on a decentralized basis, in anticipation of a long period of bombardment. But the primary emphasis -- and the chief source of morale -- is the effort to preserve life. Every family is equipped with a sampan in the delta areas, on the assumption that the dikes will be destroyed. The resultant flood is thought of as though it were a natural disaster. It is a fact of life to be dealt with. No miracle is expected.

There is a grim corollary to the Vietnamese emphasis on preserving life. The Johnson administration seems to recognize that this is the source of morale, and acts accordingly. The bombings of North Vietnam are an attempt to break morale, and to do so they must be calculated to terrorize the population and to kill as effectively as possible. My judgment is not merely logical hypothesis; it is amply supported by the widespread use of weapons -- such as fragmentation bombs and "lazy dogs" -- which are nothing but anti-personnel weapons, of no possible use against military targets. Fragmentation bombs containing pellets of steel and the "lazy dog" with its tightly packed slivers of razor-edge steel bounce off bridges and other steel and concrete structures. To use them against non-human "military targets" is like using mouse-traps and rat poison against tanks and airplanes. It is a conscious lie to say otherwise. Hundreds of these small bombs are dropped at one time. Their transistorized timing devices detonate them at irregular intervals, such that some explode as they are being dropped and others lie dormant for minutes, hours, even a few days. When the planes have left and first-aid teams emerge to treat the victims of an air attack, some are invariably stricken by the delayed-action bombs, whose tiny pellets or slivers are deadly to human or animal life at a distance of many yards. It requires more than cynicism to design, build, and use such weapons.

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Contents

"The Western Press and
U. S. War Crimes,"
by Bertrand Russell

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2/15/62 BY 39063 ELL/DAL "War and Victory,"
WW by Gunther Anders

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Report:
Tribunal's Work Progresses,
Despite U. S. Harassment

Review:
Goodwin's Triumph or Tragedy

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Report

TRIBUNAL'S WORK PROGRESSES, DESPITE U. S. HARASSMENT

Background: France and the Tribunal

We wish to take this opportunity to clarify a matter which has been the subject of considerable controversy and misunderstanding. Ever since the earliest announcement by Lord Russell of his intention to convene the International War Crimes Tribunal in Paris, there has been unending speculation about the attitude of the French Government regarding the Tribunal. Numerous editorials and columns in the Western Press have raised the question, "Will DeGaulle allow the Tribunal?" As one might expect, the Western Press has moved hastily from speculation and questions to "informed opinions" and definitive answers from the usual "reliable sources." Months ago, the New York Times (along with many other newspapers throughout the United States) carried "news stories" indicating that General DeGaulle had banned the Tribunal. Needless to say, these reports confused many of our friends and supporters. The fact that they were repeated in left and anti-war publications here only added to the bewilderment. The New York Times has consistently refused to print corrections or letters to the editor regarding the official French policy toward the Tribunal. Their failure to print the facts in this matter leaves no doubt as to their intentions. It is ironic that the newspaper whose articles have done so much to enlarge our awareness of the war and the effects of the bombardment of North Vietnam chooses to play this role when an effort is made to expose fully the truth about Vietnam.

To set the record straight, we must note that the French Government has so far refused to ban the Tribunal, despite overt pressure from the U. S. Government. When news leaks in Washington indicated that General DeGaulle would "interfere" with the Tribunal, representatives of the French Government stated categorically that they would not ban the Tribunal, but would intervene in the event that some French law is violated. (One could hardly expect them to say that they would ignore violations of French law!) The French denials of the Washington news leaks have been consistently omitted from press accounts in this country. Every effort has been made to discredit the Tribunal by suggesting that it has been banned from France, where popular and official opposition to American policy in Vietnam is known to be very strong. (The less restrained opponents of the Tribunal, including the New York Daily News, have run even more fantastic stories, claiming, for example, that the Tribunal's location had been switched to Sweden -- only to be banned by the Swedish authorities!)

(Continued on page 12.)

THE WESTERN PRESS AND U. S. WAR CRIMES

by Bertrand Russell, O. M., F. R. S.

The United States maintains an army of occupation in Vietnam, engaged in suppressing a movement of resistance which, by humane standards, commands the support of the vast majority of the people. The Resistance in Vietnam advances demands for national sovereignty and independence, the right to self-determination. It is in this setting that we must study the record of American actions.

"Anyone who has spent much time in the field has seen the heads of prisoners held under water, bayonet blades pressed against throats, victims (with) bamboo slivers run under their fingernails, wires from a field telephone connected to arms, nipples or testicles."

This statement appeared in the New York Times Magazine, November 28, 1965, and was written by the correspondent of Newsweek, Mr. William Tuohy. Such torture and mutilation on the part of American forces has been described with increasing frequency. Earlier, Donald Wise, the Chief Foreign Correspondent in London of the Sunday Mirror, reported:

"No American is in a position to tell his pupils to stop torturing. They are in no mood to, either. Standard tortures are dunking men, head first, into water tanks, slicing them up with knives, swinging silk stockings full of sand against temples and hooking them to the electric generators of military headquarters.

(Sunday Mirror, April 4, 1965.)

This documentation is verified in independent reports by American correspondents:

"One of the most infamous methods of torture used by the Government forces is partial electrocution, or 'frying.' This correspondent was present when the torture was employed. Wires were attached to the thumbs of a Vietcong prisoner. At the other end of the string was a field generator. The mechanism produced electrical current that burned and shocked the prisoner."

American reporters have stated that electrical torture is employed throughout Vietnam by American forces, including the battlefield, where small, portable generators have been "modified" for torture purposes and "are prized for high mobility."

"The ding-a-ling method of interrogation involves

connection of electrodes from the generator to the temples of the subject. In the case of women, the electrodes are attached to the nipples."

stated A. P. correspondent, Malcolm Browne. An American soldier wrote to his sister, in the spring of 1965:

"Our platoon leader stuck one end of this wire to the lady's chest. It was a kind of electric shock, because she got a real bad burn. They took the same wire and tried it on the lady's husband and brother, but on their lower parts."

The New York Herald Tribune is more detailed:

"Techniques designed to force prisoners to talk involve cutting off the fingers, ears, finger-nails or sexual organs of another prisoner. A string of ears decorate the wall of a Government military installation. One American installation has a Vietcong ear preserved in alcohol." (April 25, 1965.)

Malcolm Browne of the Associated Press writes:

"Many a news correspondent has seen the hands whacked off prisoners with machetes. Prisoners are castrated or blinded. A suspect has been towed, after interrogation, behind an armoured carrier across the fields. Many soldiers enjoy beating up Vietcong prisoners. The subjects of interrogation so often die after questioning that intelligence seems to be a secondary matter." (The New Face of War, 1965.)

The Australian journalist, Wilfred Burchett, gave this description, substantiated by the International Control Commission, of a young girl:

"The girl bared her right shoulder. I wanted to vomit. The satiny skin ended in small, cauliflower-like eruptions, where the flesh had been torn out with red-hot pincers. There were half-a-dozen searing scars on the upper part of the arm. The girl was tortured for months. She had soapy water and urine forced down the mouth and nostrils, electricity applied to the vagina and nipples, flesh torn from the breasts, thighs and shoulders by red-hot pincers, a ruler thrust into the vagina. These were interspersed with beatings, starvation and milder forms of torture."

This reporting has been so considerable that we begin to understand how it is possible for more Vietnamese to have died before the National Liberation Front began its resistance in the South than since. The years of peace between 1954 and 1960, so-called, claimed more lives in Vietnam than the period since 1960, which includes nearly two years of bombing of the North

with tonnages, according to Secretary of Defense McNamara, of four million pounds daily. The American Press, in its descriptions of the treatment of prisoners speaks freely:

"A helicopter pilot looked up from his drink to relate what happened to a captive. The man did not respond, so the officer heaved him out of the helicopter from 2,900 feet."

Similar reports appeared in the Herald Tribune:

"Vietcong prisoners were interrogated in an airplane flown towards Saigon. The first refused to answer questions, and was thrown out of the aircraft at 3,000 feet."

Again, in the New York Times of July 7, 1965:

"One American helicopter crewman told friends that he had become infuriated by a youth, pushed him out of a helicopter at 1,000 feet."

In the New York Herald Tribune of September 29, 1965, a detailed description is given of the treatment of prisoners after capture:

"They get a V.C. and make him hold his hands against his cheeks. Then they take wire and run it through the one hand and through his cheek and into his mouth. They pull the wire out through the other hand. They knot both ends around stakes."

The New York Times Magazine of November 28, 1965 states:

"Further villagers were rounded up and one man was brought before the company commander. The Vietnamese officer turned to his adviser and said: 'I think I shoot this man. O.K.?' 'Go ahead,' said the adviser. The officer fired a carbine round point blank, striking the villager below the chest. The man slumped and died. The patrol moved on."

The Houston Chronicle of December 24, 1964, described the fate of captured prisoners:

"There were four, all suspected of being Vietcong. They lined them up and shot the first man. Then they questioned the second. They shot him too."

David Halberstam reports in 1965:

"The marines simply lined up the seventeen and shot them down in cold blood."

Reuter's reports on November 18, 1965:

"In one place, Americans found three Vietnamese wounded. 'You won't smile any more,' said one of the soldiers, pumping bullets into his body. The other two met the same fate."

The Chicago Daily News reports, November 19, 1965:

"It is almost impossible to walk without stumbling upon a body. Suddenly, a wounded soldier lifted one arm weakly. An American sergeant poured a long burst of rifle bullets into him. 'I'd like to find more of those bastards trying to give up,' the sergeant said. No one disagreed with him."

The New York Times of October 14, 1965, quotes a former executive of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva:

"When (the Vietcong prisoners) were tortured, the American army started to destroy Vietcong hospitals and to cut off medical supply."

U. P. I. reports on August 3, 1965:

" 'I got me a Vietcong. I got at least two of them bastards.' The Americans ordered a Vietnamese to go down into the hole to pull out their victims. The victims were three children, between 11 and 14."

Malcolm Browne of the Associated Press reported again:

"A man leaped up fifty yards away and began to run. Every machine gun poured fire at that man. Finally, he went down silently. We found him on his back in the mud, four bullet holes across the top of his naked chest. He was alive, moving his legs and arms. The squad looked down at the man and laughed. One of the men picked up a heavy stake, lying in the mud, and rammed one end of it into the ground, next to the wounded man's throat. He forced the stake down over the throat, trying to throttle the man. Someone stamped on the free end of the stake, to break the wounded man's neck, but the stake broke instead. Another man tried stamping on the man's throat, but somehow the spark of life was still too strong. Finally, the whole group laughed and walked back to the path.

"Two women ran up from one of the huts. One of them put a hand to her mouth as she saw the wounded man, whom she recognized as her husband. She dashed back to her hut and returned in a moment, carrying a bucket which she filled with water. She poured paddy

water over the wounds, to clean off the clotting blood. Occasionally she would stroke his forehead, muttering something. Slowly, she looked around at the troops, and then she spotted me. Her eyes fixed on me, in an expression that still haunts me sometimes."

The New York Post of April 30, 1965, quotes a marine who, after having shot a villager in the back, said:

"Don't think we're killers. We're marines."

The New York Journal American on September 16, 1965, states:

"This is a new breed of Americans that most of us don't know about, and it is time we got used to it. The eighteen and nineteen-year-olds have steel in their backbones and maybe too much of the killer instinct. These kids seem to enjoy killing Vietcong."

I have concentrated on the small daily events of this war, as reported in the Western Press, because these accounts disclose more than the equally full Western descriptions of the special and experimental weapons, which have been developed and used on a vast scale against the Vietnamese people. The casual accounts of the behavior of the American occupying army in Vietnam have been published without noticeable protest from significant numbers amongst those who have read these articles. It is necessary to understand why.

Two weeks ago, one of the editors of the New York Times, Mr. James Reston, wrote an article entitled, "That Coon Skin on the Wall." In this article, he quotes the President of the United States in his remarks to American troops at Cam Ranh Bay: "Come home with that coon skin on the wall." "Coon skin" referred to Vietnamese. "Coon" is an American expression for Negroes. "Coon skin" explains how it is possible for the most esteemed paper in the Western world to print, without inhibition or apparent embarrassment, descriptions which are just those we have come to know in Auschwitz, Dachau and Buchenwald. The President of the United States who so addressed his soldiers is the same man who said in the House of Representatives of that country on March 15, 1948:

"No matter what else we have of offensive or defensive weapons, without superior air power America is a bound and throttled giant, impotent and easy prey to any yellow dwarf with a pocket knife."

This is the legacy, the true and direct inheritance of the extermination squads and the gas chambers to which the

the yellow dwarfs and the coons and the gooks were sent to inferior extermination.

The New York Times of September 25, 1966, published a lengthy article by the leading military correspondent, Hanson Baldwin:

"The Defense Department contends that our utilization of chemical agents in Vietnam is not only militarily useful, but more humane than bullets or explosives."

Mr. Baldwin states:

"Production of many different types of chemicals has been expanded in the United States since 1960. These include the deadly nerve gases and the newer so-called 'benevolent incapacitators.'"

He continues:

"Many of the experts add that modern chemical agents offer greater hope for humane warfare than any other weapons."

Documented reports of these chemicals and gases establish that they result in paralysis, convulsions, asphyxiation and blindness. They have been used throughout South Vietnam. A Washington official stated on November 1, 1965, at the National Foreign Policy Conference:

"We are making limited use of arsenic and cyanide compounds in the southern part of Vietnam, but not yet in the North."

The documentation which I possess concerning the bombing of hospitals, schools, and sanatoria, consciously and systematically, is taken also from Western sources. The use of such weapons as bombs containing millions of razor-sharp steel fragments, jelly-gasoline in immense quantity, phosphorus and bacterial devices is considerable. The development of forced labor camps and a policy of scorched earth, which has led to the imprisonment of 59% of the rural population of South Vietnam, numbering eight million people, is Western in origin and has been reported in Time magazine and the London Observer.

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are a means of disseminating important information about the war in Vietnam and the progress of the international War Crimes Tribunal. Please help spread the word by providing a gift subscription (\$5.00 each) to someone you know should be informed about our work (particularly a student or staff worker in the movement, who might not be able to afford to subscribe).

Gunther Anders, a member of the international War Crimes Tribunal, was born in Breslau in 1902. He studied philosophy with Edmund Husserl at the University of Freiburg, taking his Ph.D. in 1925. From 1928 to 1933 he was in Berlin in close connection with the writers' group which included Bertold Brecht and Alfred Doblin. Forced into exile by the Nazis, Dr. Anders went first to France and then to the United States. In 1950, he returned to Europe and settled in Vienna. He is the author of The Obsolescence of Man and various other writings focusing on the apocalyptic situation man has created for himself by the unlocking of the secrets of the atom.

WAR AND VICTORY:
On the American aggression in Vietnam

by Gunther Anders

War as Victory

The belief that today's aggressors wish to crown their aggressions with victories is naive. To win wars is no longer the aim of those who are eager to wage wars -- at least not for those who make the prosperity of their country depend upon their armament industry. What the American industry demands, in order to guarantee the continuation of its arms production, and, thereby, the continuation of the nation's prosperity, is to have wars. Wars are the basis of the industrialist's power. If this basis collapsed -- and it would collapse through the victorious conclusion of a war-- this power would feel defeated, and actually would be defeated. In other words, at the present stage of capitalism wars as such are victories. Victories, in the old fashioned sense of the word, would be defeats, since they would promote a situation in which the further production of weapons (the prerequisite of power and prosperity) would become superfluous. Therefore, today nothing is considered to be more subversive than a successful "Blitz", since the "Blitz" would immediately annihilate the further demand for weapons. What is desired is the smooth continuity and escalation of the sale and the consumption of armaments, a continuity and escalation just as regular and just as reliable as that of the sale and consumption of bread or gasoline. This means that what the U. S. desires is a war which will never end; which cannot be terminated. No wonder that those of our fellow-men who criticize and try to alter this situation are called, and treated as, subversives.

Pseudo-Fairness

Nothing is more dishonest than cowardice cloaked as objectivity, justice or fairness. Many who fear to be slandered as being biased, have made it their scandalous principle never to mention an aggressor belonging to the so-called "free

world" without simultaneously discrediting his victim. In a way this tactic amounts to acting as if they believed in something like a God-given "equilibrium of guilt", or a "balance of infamies" -- a simply non-sensical belief which, if true, would, for instance, imply that as many American women and children are being slaughtered by Vietnamese napalm bombs as Vietnamese women and children are being slaughtered by American napalm bombs. This is not only nonsense but outright hypocrisy, and I am afraid that this hypocrisy, which today is becoming epidemic, will eventually become the moral ruin of many peace movements.

He who applies the same yardstick to the murderers and to the victims is taking sides: for by accusing both of the same violence, he is excusing the aggressors. Let's leave this task to the murderers themselves.

ABC

If we confine ourselves -- and this danger exists, for instance, in the anti-atomic bomb movements -- to fighting against nuclear weapons, we prove that we do not master the ABC of our epoch. There are those who believe that the "B" and "C" (the bacteriological and chemical) weapons, or the new mechanical gadgets such as the "lazy dog" -- weapons which are being "tested" and escalated in Vietnam today -- will not provoke the final catastrophe of mankind, at least not as directly as will atomic weapons, and are thus in their view less dangerous. This argument leads to a frightening self-delusion. If these new weapons are so often belittled as being "only comparatively dangerous" or "only conventional", or if they are even being welcomed as "humane", this has become possible only because today's blackmail with total nuclear destruction has become the yardstick by which the magnitude of other weapons is being measured. In other words, the production and the daily testing of the new weapons in Vietnam are taking place under the protection of atomic blackmail. This is indeed a "shield," although, of course, not in the sense in which the manufacturers and managers of public opinion like to use this word today. For it is not "peace" or "mankind" which is being shielded by the nuclear deterrent, but rather the fact of the production of those means of production, the effect of which is not total. So, it is not only atomic weapons themselves which we have to fight, but, just as energetically, their function of shielding the production of other types of arms.

The Chances of the Game

On March 7, 1966 (see Newsweek of 9.5.66), two American jets tried to support some units of the U. S. First Infantry Division which was engaged in battle with the Viet Cong. However, they missed their mark. The napalm bombs didn't fall upon those whom they wishes to "educate" by this means in the principles of the "Free World" -- not upon the Vietcong soldiers -- instead they fell upon those who were, we are to assume, fighting for these

principles -- upon their American fellow-soldiers, twenty of whom "screaming," their "clothes ablaze," died "in the mud."

What should we say? Should we perhaps exclaim, "How ghastly that such accidents are possible!" Wouldn't this imply that it might have been less frightful, even not frightful at all, if the American pilots had aimed more precisely so that only the Vietnamese would have burned to death? This would be infamous. However, it would be no less infamous to welcome this mishap and to stress that at last the aggressors had the chance to experience what they are doing to others. And no less infamous to say, "Now maybe they will learn that this misfortune was not an exception, that they are always hitting themselves, even when they believe they have hit the mark and struck only the enemy." These arguments, however true they may be, are no less vulgar than the words of those who regret that the wrong people were burned to death. After all, these American soldiers are victims, too; even those who already may enjoy their bloody work and who may be proud of it, since others drilled them to enjoy this sort of pleasure and this sort of pride.

Even worse than these "mishaps" is the attitude which General De-Puy of the First Infantry Division took after this terrible misfortune had struck his unit. In a tone which he meant to sound dauntless, but which, in reality, only betrayed his utter emotional illiteracy, he stated, "We are not angry at the Air Force," and in order to stress the harmlessness of this "mishap" he commented that, after all, "this was an error of only fifty metres." Apparently General De-Puy felt and wishes to convey that the accident would actually have been appalling if the bombs had missed their mark by 100 metres, and that to err is human! Human even when, through an error, "B" goes up in flames instead of "A"; that, after all, in the game played in Vietnam, such human errors cannot be excluded; that it would be inhuman to expect that every bomb could hit its target, that it would be unfair to demand such inhuman achievements, even in the war against the Viet Cong. In his words, which are obscene, although he may have meant them as words of consolation: "It's the chances of the game." Game indeed!

To Lie by Means of Truths

With the generous gesture of "we have nothing to hide" the Americans, during the last months, repeatedly not only admitted but even emphasized, that they have accidentally bombed "the wrong villages" in Vietnam. Nothing is more hypocritical than such an exhibition of veracity. For by stressing their error in having bombed this or that village, they are implying that their bombing of other Vietnamese villages has been and will be legitimate. Whenever a criminal volunteers a confession we have to ask which untrue supposition he thereby tries to make us believe to be valid.

Schoenman Detained by French Police

Considering this context of confusion and misinformation, we must give special attention to the detention of Ralph Schoenman. Mr. Schoenman, personal secretary to Lord Russell for several years and General Secretary of the International War Crimes Tribunal, has been the object of scurrilous attack by the New York Times (which described him, editorially, as a "fanatical anti-American American"). On January 10, at about 11:00 p.m., he was abducted by the French authorities while on his way from the hotel to the restaurant at Orly Airport, Paris. With five colleagues, he was in Paris en route for Phnom Penh as a member of the second investigating team dispatched by the Tribunal. At first his colleagues, awaiting him in the restaurant, suspected nothing, thinking he might have been delayed by a telephone call. However, they later discovered the police searching through his luggage in his hotel bedroom, on the pretext of looking for his passport. This action is surprising, as, over a period of months, Mr. Schoenman has entered France regularly without the slightest difficulty. As usual, he had showed his passport both at the airport entry point and at the hotel where he had registered.

After Mr. Schoenman's arrest, the police refused to answer any questions as to his whereabouts. No one was allowed to see him or even to speak with him by telephone. This serious situation was immediately made known to Giselle Halimi and Laurent Schwartz in Paris, and to Lord Russell in Wales. Protests and enquiries by these three throughout the night failed to elicit any cooperation. Giselle Halimi, as Mr. Schoenman's lawyer, took her enquiries to top level in the Ministry of the Interior, but without results. Mr. Schoenman was kept for a whole night incommunicado.

That Ralph Schoenman is not, in fact, persona non grata in France, and that the whole episode has been, to say the least, an embarrassment to the French Government, was strongly suggested by the developments of the following morning. At a press conference held at Orly Airport at 9:00 a.m. January 11, representatives of the Tribunal were informed by the Air Police that Mr. Schoenman had been "forbidden entry into France as the result of a request originating from London, perhaps from an American source." It was further stated that the action of the police was "only in response to a particular request, and did not represent any formal decision by the French authorities." The police spokesman added that Mr. Schoenman would be allowed to continue his scheduled trip to Cambodia, and he accordingly left on the 11:00 flight.

In reporting this incident, the New York Times once again misinformed its readers. On January 12, a "Special to the New York Times" described Mr. Schoenman's detention and stated, "There was no official explanation, and the detention was believed to be an indication of the French Government's opposition to the Russell group's plan to stage a Vietnam 'war crimes tribunal' here in March." Adhering to the credo, "All the News That's Fit to Print," the Times' article concluded, "The Air France flight, to

Pnom Penh, Cambodia, goes on to Shanghai. Also aboard were some 50 Chinese, mostly diplomats on their way home to Peking from various Western posts."

State Department Revokes Stetler's Passport

As Mr. Schoenman was being detained in Paris, the State Department in Washington notified the Tribunal's Deputy General Secretary, Russell Stetler, that his passport was revoked as a result of his trip to Hanoi. (Messrs. Schoenman and Stetler went to Cambodia and North Vietnam in November to arrange for the Tribunal's investigating missions.) Mr. Stetler was informed by letter that his passport would be invalid for future travel if he fails to surrender it in compliance with the revocation notice. The State Department warned that to travel on an invalidated passport is a criminal offense, punishable by up to five years imprisonment and a fine of \$2,000. The letter was dated January 9; the following day, the U. S. Supreme Court announced its decisions in U. S. v. Travis and U. S. v. Laub et al., two cases involving the right to travel. The high court held that the defendants had not committed a criminal offense by traveling to Cuba in defiance of the State Department ban. The State Department's right to withdraw one's passport for travel to "restricted areas" is being challenged by Dr. Staughton Lynd, whose passport was revoked after his trip to Hanoi last year.

Second Investigating Team Arrives in Cambodia

The Tribunal's second investigating team has arrived in Cambodia, where it will examine charges of border violations and interview victims of civilian bombardment from NLF-controlled areas of South Vietnam. The team includes Mr. Schoenman; Carol Brightman of the USA, editor of VIET REPORT; Dr. Behar, a French physician; Dr. Gustavo Tolentino, a Dominican physician, now resident in Canada, whose speciality is radiology; Tariq Ali, of Pakistan, former president of the Oxford Union; and Lawrence Daly, Scottish union leader.

In conclusion, we stress that the work of the Tribunal is progressing smoothly and according to schedule. Plans for the public sessions have been agreed upon, and the necessary technical arrangements are in hand. The harassment of Ralph Schoenman is an acknowledgement of the seriousness with which the U. S. Government regards the Tribunal. That it should expect to damage the effectiveness of the Tribunal by removing one figure reflects, however, its profound misunderstanding of the nature, scope, and present development of our activities. The administrative work of the Tribunal is now in the hands of an established team, with offices in several countries. No conceivable action by the United States Government against any individual can halt the preparation now in progress for a Tribunal destined to arouse the conscience of mankind.

Review

Richard N. Goodwin, Triumph or Tragedy: Reflections on Vietnam (New York, Vintage Books, 1966) 143 pages, \$1.45

by Leonard P. Liggio

Since he has served as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State and as special assistant to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, Richard N. Goodwin has been very closely involved in the formulation and enunciation of the foreign policy of the United States, especially on Vietnam. Thus, his book is important for understanding both the development of the United States' intervention in Vietnam, which he defends, and the alternative operation of that intervention expressed by those, including Goodwin, who are associated with Senator Robert Kennedy. The outstanding characteristics of this book are the justification of the government's Vietnam policy and the attempt to disprove basic differences between the positions of Robert Kennedy and the Johnson Administration.

The latter purpose relates to the politics of the Democratic Party, of which Goodwin notes, "It (the Vietnam war) is endangering our prosperity. It is, far more than is yet clear, seriously weakening national support for the Democratic Party and the President himself." Goodwin immediately proceeds to limit the policy debate in the United States to "two middle grounds." One (which he might call the Johnson-Kennedy, or Democratic position) emphasizes the war against the people of South Vietnam, while maintaining or halting the bombing of North Vietnam. The other position would use all military capacity against the North, as well as against South Vietnam. Goodwin's distinctions are false on several levels; but his greatest failure lies in attempting to join the Kennedy demand for cessation of bombing of North Vietnam with Johnson's continuation of the bombings at the present or at an increasing rate. Goodwin presents authoritative information on the origins of the policy decision to bomb North Vietnam in February 1965. The purpose of the bombing at that time was to end the collapse of the morale of the Saigon forces by an immediate blood-commitment against North Vietnam, which would cause North Vietnam to enter into a diplomatic agreement denouncing the National Liberation Front and "we could avoid the unpleasant, looming need to send in large numbers of combat troops. Thus the most fateful decision of all was made. The war went North. What had been an important but subdued conflict became a major international crisis."

Goodwin argues against the bombing of North Vietnam as being unproductive. The bombing cannot diminish the military strength of North Vietnam, and it increases the patriotism of the Vietnamese whose "feeling and resistance are not matters that military specialists or computers or the Rand Corporation can assess." In addition, Goodwin fears that widened bombing of North Vietnam will

be answered by the 300,000 man People's Army of Vietnam and by increased risk of conflict with China and the Soviet Union. Nowhere does Goodwin indicate any questioning of the bombings from regard to morality or for international codes of justice. Emphasis must be placed on Goodwin's apparent support for United States bombings in South Vietnam; there again Goodwin would be convinced by the utility or disutility of the bombings, but not by the standards of morality or international justice. Perhaps Goodwin speaks more widely than he knows when he says that the American mind is "streaked with violence." Yet Goodwin reveals the deeper root of this "American violence" -- it is racism. Goodwin dismisses the experience of communist nationalism in Eastern Europe as a restraint on United States intervention in Southeast Asia because only Europeans have the education, tradition, etc. to have independent governments. But it is the fact of China's and North Vietnam's strongly independent and nationalist stances of which the United States constantly complains. Apparently, Goodwin agrees with the State Department's definition of an independent government -- a regime which accepts foreign aid from the United States.

Goodwin says that during his tenure in the State Department and on the staff of Kennedy and Johnson the ultimate question of policy was: Why should we try to contain China? Despite the lack of evidence of Chinese aggressiveness, Goodwin posits his defense of the Vietnam war on the fact that the United States is (and has been, since 1945) an Asian power, and any loss of United States influence means a gain for China, something to be prevented at all costs. Why? Besides idealism, the material reasons offered include: aiding the Soviet Union, holding the Western European countries in America's orbit, strengthening the weak regimes of the Third World, and preserving the status quo in America. Goodwin admits that Vietnam is not vital to the security of the United States, that the United States has no international obligation to intervene, and that the official story about North Vietnamese aggression is not compelling. But for him, this became unimportant once the President committed American combat units in 1965: "The battle, therefore, has come to transcend the issue of Vietnam itself, making withdrawal intolerable until we achieve a resolution that does not involve American defeat." Skeptical of claims of military victory (he details many of the official statements of optimism of the past decade and a half), Goodwin's ultimate vision in Vietnam is rooted in American military activity -- and military victory by defeating the guerrillas and holding the countryside until the Vietnamese are re-made in the Pentagon's image, even if it kills them. "If we now lack the manpower for this most important task -- and we do -- then both Americans and Vietnamese might well be recruited, or even conscripted, for it."

Goodwin's, and by inference Robert Kennedy's, criticism

of the present operation of the Vietnam war is that the Administration's methods gamble too much. Johnson has risked everything on Vietnam, committing the major part of the U. S. military manpower as well as making it the symbol of the United States' power to dominate the world. For Goodwin (Kennedy), Vietnam is not decisive -- "Win or lose, we face similar challenges" -- and there is no trust in the domino theory: "In 1949, the biggest domino of all, China, fell, and others did not follow." The real issue is the long-run ability of the U. S. Government to maintain its hegemony over most of the world; that requires the acquiescence of the American people in a continuing series of interventions and small wars against the countries of the Third World. The Administration's Vietnam operation risks the acquiescence of the American people, and the whole imperial system resting upon it. The Administration is gambling on the patience of the American people to accept the deaths of its own sons and the genocide of fellow human beings. If the Administration loses the gamble, if the American people are awakened to what is being done to them by the Vietnamese martyrdom, there will be a fundamental change in the world system which Robert Kennedy seeks to preserve. The Vietnam war, thus, poses an unresolvable dilemma for Goodwin: to withdraw would risk "the demonstration of American futility"; to continue focuses the total attention of the American people on a concentrated model of the world system which has been created in their name. Yet that model -- showing the Vietnamese people who bear the suffering and respond with heroic resistance -- hardly figures in Goodwin's analysis, just as it hardly figures in daily coverage in the American news media. Goodwin can only escape the dilemma by masking the reality of that heroism and suffering, by keeping it from the American people for as long as possible. That may be the ultimate gamble of Goodwin et al.

A REMINDER . . .

Our readers should feel free to reprint any material which appears in the FOUNDATION BULLETIN. We lack the resources to offer a publication capable of reaching tens of thousands of readers at the present time. We rely on our small readership to fill the gap for us, to get the facts out by word of mouth and public meetings, to reproduce articles and news reports, etc.

The FOUNDATION BULLETIN is sent regularly to all those who contribute five dollars or more to support the work of the Foundation. Copies of the "Appeal for Support for the International War Crimes Tribunal," Lord Russell's "Appeal to the American Conscience," and petitions of support for the Tribunal are available from the Foundation office in quantity. The cost of printing and mailing this literature is high; please increase your contributions accordingly.

Canadian readers of the BULLETIN will want to contact the Canadian Committee to Support the International War Crimes Tribunal Box 70, Terminal "A", Ottawa, Ontario.

Petition of Support for International War Crimes Tribunal

"WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, SUPPORT THE INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL INITIATED BY BERTRAND RUSSELL. WE FEEL A SOLEMN OBLIGATION TO EXPOSE WAR CRIMES AND TO INDICT THOSE WHO PERPETRATE THEM. WE BELIEVE THAT U. S. ACTIONS IN VIETNAM MUST BE EXAMINED EXHAUSTIVELY AND THE FINDINGS MADE KNOWN TO WORLD OPINION."

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The above petition has been circulated by

Name _____

Address _____

I have collected \$ _____ to support the International War Crimes Tribunal and the work of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation. I have enclosed a check in that amount.

Bertrand Russell
Peace Foundation
342 West 84th Street
New York, N. Y. 10024

FIRST CLASS MAIL

FOUNDATION BULLETIN

Volume ₁ Number ₁₀
Contents

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/15/62 BY 38063 ELW/DAS/CJW
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"Message to the Spring
Mobilization of April 15"
by Bertrand Russell

"Report on Medical Aspects
of Investigation by Fourth
Team for War Crimes Tribunal"

"A Glimpse of American Crimes
in Vietnam" (Cont'd.)
by Ralph Schoenman

Review:

The Lost Revolution,
The U.S. in Vietnam, 1946-66

Circulated by the **BERTRAND RUSSELL PEACE FOUNDATION**
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Published by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation

APPEALS ON BEHALF OF HUGO BLANCO

Bertrand Russell:

"To His Holiness the Pope:

"I am moved to approach you because of your stirring declaration.

"I appeal to Your Holiness in the name of humanity and the universal ideal of concern for one's fellow men. Your enormous authority can work for human brotherhood and social justice. In three continents hundreds of millions of men, women and children starve, suffer from disease, ignorance, and appalling oppression. Their lives are blighted by fear. The suggestion of effort on the part of the oppressed to better their lot is met by brutal force. In this situation a great humanitarian has risked his life to serve the ideals of human brotherhood and the christian ethic of love for one's fellow men. Hugo Blanco has devoted his life to the hungry and landless of Peru. He has raised his voice on behalf of the forgotten. He has sought to gain for the suffering people of Peru land on which to live, food with which to survive and a vision of life which permits hope for their children. It is unchristian to kill a man for giving his life to the poor. In the spirit of your recent moving declaration about the exploitation of man by man I appeal to you to use your great authority and to ask the President of Peru to grant amnesty to Hugo Blanco. Your voice can save this selfless and deeply good man. I beg you to raise it now for the sake of all who love mankind and individual selflessness."

Jean-Paul Sartre:

"The struggle of the Vietnamese people is the main combat being carried on today against American imperialism. It is not the only one. In Peru, the former student and great peasant leader, Hugo Blanco, is threatened with being shot any day.

"His crime: to have unionized the most poverty-stricken rural area of the country for the first time. Unionized and educated, the peasants began to recuperate the land which the big landowners had stolen from them; and began demanding a better standard of living. Their movement ran up against the 'democracy' of the military -- violence.

"Hundreds of peasants were massacred, and, in the struggle, three policemen were killed. It is for the death of these puppets that Blanco must now 'pay.'

"Imprisoned in 1963, tried in September 1966, condemned to 25 years in prison by a military tribunal, the judgment is being reconsidered right now. A month after the meeting of the heads of the inter-American armies in Buenos Aires -- the armed forces seek his death.

"Hugo Blanco was not an armed combatant -- his movement was purely unionist. He should not have been tried by a military court but by a civilian tribunal. He sought economic development and human advancement for the most poverty-stricken workers in the world. He does not merit death.

"The sentence demanded against Hugo Blanco (and the comrades imprisoned with him who have asked to share his fate) would constitute a series of judicial murders perpetrated against the peasants' and workers' union leaders, and threatens all Peruvians who seek a genuine change in their country."

* * *

We urge the readers of the Foundation Bulletin to support Bertrand Russell and Jean-Paul Sartre's requests on behalf of Hugo Blanco.

Messages may be sent to:

President of the Republic
Lima
Peru

BERTRAND RUSSELL'S RECORDED MESSAGE FOR THE SPRING MOBILIZATION (April 15) which was not presented due to the shortening of the Mobilization program because of rain.

It is clear to all who have the will to see that the United States Government is committing genocide in Vietnam. The Secretary of Defence informed the Senate that approximately 4,000,000 pounds of bombs fall daily on Vietnam. The tonnage exceeds all the bombing in the Pacific theatre during the entirety of World War Two. It exceeds the bombing in Western Europe during the same period.

This concentration of explosives is taking place in a relatively tiny area -- in a country the size of New York and Pennsylvania. The Washington Post of March 17 reported that in the month previous, the United States Air Force dropped 68,000 tons thus raising the daily total of bombardment to 4 and a half million pounds daily. This is four times the Korean total.

Four and a half million pounds daily of bombardment in a small peasant country is terror bombing aimed at the population. Reports from North Vietnam brought by our investigators make clear that roads, bridges and railways are rarely hit. Villages, towns, hospitals, schools, churches, pagodas, tuberculosis sanatoria and leprosaria -- these are destroyed and specially targeted.

Fragmentation bombs, steel pellet bombs, napalm, white phosphorous and magnesium bombs are used to terrorise and massacre the peasants of North Vietnam. That is their sole purpose.

For any person capable of human impulse, for any man with a shred of intellectual probity, for any with the faintest murmur of moral feeling -- this supreme atrocity is hateful. The cynical men who discourse in the newspapers about the extent of civilian damage as opposed to military targets are men who lack honour. They compare with Germans who argued as to the extent to which Jews polluted the Aryan race when these Germans discussed the Gas Chambers.

What is our proper response to this criminal barbarism? It is simple and compelling. We must call for an end to the aggression and for the victory of the Vietnamese people in

their struggle for national independence. We must document the full record of the U.S. war of annihilation and expose the motive nestling behind the power. This is the task of the War Crimes Tribunal. The evidence from the U.S. Government's own acknowledged deeds is overwhelming -- every bit as overwhelming as the evidence of Nazi atrocity. We will demonstrate this and with procedures unassailable by the most shameless dissembler of American aggression.

In the South of Vietnam the United States by its own proud admission wages a scorched earth war of burning and killing all in the path of foraging army units. Must the American people be cannon fodder for the directors of U.S. capitalism and the Pentagon? Must the American people allow the crimes against the people of Vietnam to be their responsibility? This is the consequence of allowing Johnson and his gang of cut throats to be identified with the people of the United States. That is the real anti-Americanism. I say it is intolerable to allow this filthy Government to be identified with the American people. Johnson is not the United States. You who resist his barbarism are the only honourable representatives of America and the anti-Americans are those who insist that we identify Johnson and his policy with you the American people.

The cost to the American people of this cruel war of aggression is very high. The country is being brutalized. The U.S. soldier fights for conquest on behalf of high finance. The Vietnamese fight for survival, for national independence, for land reform, for social justice. The whole people are against the U.S. war and even the Pentagon must acknowledge that American casualties exceed 1,000 a week, killed and wounded. This figure is lower than the truth for the U.S. Government always lies about this war to the American people. Yet it is high, very high.

Considering that only a small proportion of the U.S. forces are engaged in front-line battle, this is an enormous percentage of men lost. A generation is scheduled by Johnson for slaughter. A whole nation is subjected to inhuman war involving torture and experimental weapons.

All of you know this. I appeal to you to move beyond decrying war in the abstract. Support the victims of this aggression. Support the Tribunal in its effort to present the evidence overwhelmingly. Fix the responsibility where it belongs. Do not always permit the argument to centre on the assumptions of the aggressor. Remember that the Vietnamese are being asked to countenance mass murder on their soil by a foreign invader. They are denied the right to retaliate. Not one city in the U.S. is under attack from Vietnam. Even the Seventh Fleet and the air bases in the very south of their own country are immune from Vietnamese attack. Why? What permits the U.S. to massacre at will and declare their own bases and fleets immune from reprisal? There is a clear necessity for all of us. We must forget vague formulas which enable us to avoid supporting the victims of aggression. We must stop looking for others to take responsibility. The United Nations is not the arena. South Vietnam and the United States are the arenas of struggle.

It is in Vietnam and in America that this aggression must be defeated. Demand an end to the U.S. aggression now. The troops should come home NOW. The crimes should be exposed and denounced NOW. The Vietnamese should have our solidarity and unflinching support NOW. The American people should be told their Government is waging an aggressive and imperialist war NOW. This is the task of the American movement as it is the challenge to our War Crimes Tribunal. This Spring the people of America should be mobilised to stop the destruction of Vietnam. Let us join in a clear struggle to the end NOW.

Bertrand Russell

* * *

The fourth investigating mission of the International War Crimes Tribunal visited the Democratic Republic of Vietnam during March, 1967. The fourth investigating mission was composed of three Americans -- Conrad Lynn (chairman); outstanding civil rights attorney; Charles Cobb and Julius Lester, both members of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) -- and the English surgeon, Dr. Martin Birnstingl, St. Bartholomew's Hospital, University of London. The following report is the preliminary medical statement by Dr. Birnstingl.

REPORT ON MEDICAL ASPECTS OF INVESTIGATION BY FOURTH
TEAM FOR THE INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL

Hanoi, 31 March 1967

Introduction. This is a brief memorandum, since a full report will be prepared after my return to London.

1. Places Visited by 4th Investigating Team

After arriving in Hanoi on 18 March, we visited several bombed areas in Hanoi and in the outskirts of the city. These were in populated areas and we saw no military or strategic targets nearby.

On 26 March we visited the neighbourhood of Thanh Hoa where we spent 3 days. We interviewed a number of provincial officials and representatives of medical services, teachers, militia, village and co-operative leaders and other people.

On 27 March we visited Dan Loi village, Thieu Son district (Thanh Hoa). This appeared to be an isolated village with no evidence of military, defensive or strategic targets nearby. The village had been raided on 13 March 1967 using fragmentation and "pineapple" anti-personnel bombs. 9 villagers had been killed including 3 women and 6 children. 4 villagers had been injured. 12 houses had been destroyed, together with animals and agricultural implements. We interviewed several villagers who

had lost relatives in this attack. Although distressed and angered by the bombing it was clear that it had served to increase their determination to help in the pursuit of the war and to increase food production, this being the opposite effect to that presumably intended by the U.S. aggressors.

On 26 March we visited a convent for nuns close to Thanh Hoa city. This had been recently bombed with demolition (HE) bombs which had partly destroyed the convent and damaged the vegetable gardens, where there were very large craters. We also visited a nearby pagoda, probably 18th century, which had been completely wrecked by bombing. Such buildings are part of the historical heritage of the DRV and were civilian targets without military value.

On 26 March we also visited Thanh Hoa city and saw the devastation of the whole neighbourhood. Every solid-built structure appeared severely damaged, most were roofless and only a few were still in use. A few families were still living in the city. We saw evidence that both demolition and anti-personnel bombs had been used in the attacks, which had been made on many occasions and were continuing. We visited the large (600 bed) anti-tuberculosis hospital and centre. This had been a large complex of buildings extending over an area of some acres, built by the DRV and completed about 1961. As well as providing in-patient treatment of tuberculosis, the centre had carried out much out-patient and dispensary work in Thanh Hoa province. It had been a most valuable contribution to the health services of the region and a costly tribute to the enterprise of the DRV. The hospital had been bombed on 1 July, 14 July and 21 August 1965, regardless of the fact that the complex of buildings was clearly of a medical nature. Heavy demolition bombs had been used and all the buildings rendered useless, so that it had been abandoned.

On 27 March we visited an emergency surgical post under the medical charge of Dr. Doan Le Dan. This was at Dong Thinh, Dong Son district (Thanh Hoa) and was part of the dispersed Thanh Hoa Provincial Hospital, the latter having been destroyed by bombing on 1 June and 25 September 1965. At the surgical post we examined 4 civilians seriously injured during recent raids. M. aged 11: injury

to R. arm. M. aged 38: opd. fracture R. tibia and fibula. Penetrating head wound. M. aged 24: amputation through R. arm. F. aged 37: perforating wound R. colon and R. kidney, due to injury by a single steel pellet (anti-personnel bomb). As a surgeon it was clear to me that these victims had received the highest standards of surgical care and that it is probable that the life of every one of them was saved by timely and skilled surgery. I wish to emphasize my admiration for the excellent organisation of this particular surgical team and the high professional ability of its various members. I also feel sure that this team is typical of many other mobile teams who continue to carry out efficient modern surgery under very difficult and dangerous conditions. They deserve the highest praise.

On 28 March we visited Toan Phuc hamlet, Thieu Toan village (Thanh Hoa). Two days previously, on 26 March, 3 planes had arrived from the SE and flown over the place after which they had returned from NW and dropped 12 demolition bombs, probably 100 lb., on an irrigation dyke and surrounding rice fields. The sluice had now been closed so that the dyke was dry, but there was a main dyke and channel about 150 m. away which remained undamaged. The large craters were scattered about an area of about 100 m. square and we were told that 4 hectares of rice had been damaged by the explosion and by considerable flung mud. 1 villager had been killed and 12 wounded, whilst walking on the dyke and in the fields. The damage to the dyke and to the rice fields was already in course of repair. We could see no military target in the region and this attack seemed to have been made with the sole intention of interfering with the water supply to the rice crop. I consider this an act of gross inhumanity.

On 28 March we also visited Dong Xuan cooperative, Tho Xuan dsstrict (Thanh Hoa). The village had been raided on 23 April 1966 and 1 June 1966, killing a total of 52 villagers and wounding 83. We interviewed several survivors, who described their tragic losses from amongst their nearest relatives. The attacks had been made with HE bombs and with rockets. In the second attack, villagers had been killed by strafing with cannon fire from the aircraft and we were shown several 20 mm. cannon shells, used in the attack.

Summary. During our visit to Thanh Hoa Province we saw incontrovertible evidence of attacks on civilian targets including a provincial city, a hospital, religious establishments, villages and an irrigation dyke. Witnesses told us of attacks with aircraft cannon, rockets and anti-personnel bombing whilst working in the fields and returning from work. Such acts show a flagrant disregard for normal standards of human behaviour and a violation of previous international agreements.

2. List of Medical Persons Interviewed During Visit to DRV

Dr. Pham Ngoc Thach	Minister of Health
Dr. Nguyen Van Tin	Vice Minister of Health
Prof. Ton That Tung	Surgeon, Hospital Viet Duc Kuu Nghi
Prof. Pham Van Phuc	Surgeon, Hospital St. Paul
Dr. Khanh	Orthopaedic Surgeon, Hospital St. Paul
Dr. Nguyen Cao Tham	Ministry of Health
Dr. Luu Van Thong	Surgeon, Hospital Viet Duc
Prof. Nguyen Xuan Nguyen	Ophthalmology and Trachoma Institute
Dr. Ton That Hoat	Surgeon, Ophth. and Trachoma Institute
Dr. Doan Le Dan	Surgeon, Thanh Hoa District Hospital

I wish to thank these colleagues, as well as a number of other doctors, surgeons, anaesthetists, pathologists and others for their generous help during my stay in DRV.

3. General Statement on Medical Services in DRV

I have been given ample opportunity to discuss medical problems with senior doctors in the DRV. I have visited, often on several occasions, the Viet Duc Hospital, St. Paul's Hospital, the Ophthalmological Institute and also a mobile surgical team attached to Thanh Hoa Provincial Hospital. I have been received with courtesy and generosity and have been provided with considerable material from which to prepare a fuller report upon returning to London. I have collected evidence about injuries to civilians with napalm, phosphorus, fragmentation bombs and in-particular

with anti-personnel bombs. This evidence will be presented elsewhere. Since the establishment of the DRV enormous progress has been made in the provision of health services throughout the country. This achievement deserves wider recognition in the world at large and is worthy of high praise. Quite apart from the scale and organisation of the medical services, I have been particularly impressed by the ability and enterprise of the leaders of the medical profession in the DRV. It is to their efforts, as well as to the far-sighted health policy of the Government, that present achievements are due. Were it not for the callous attempt of the United States to destroy the material fruits of the Vietnamese revolution, medical services in Vietnam would already have become the envy of socialist peoples throughout the world.

Martin Birnstingl M.S., F.R.C.S.

Consultant Surgeon

St. Bartholomew's Hospital

University of London

London

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Price List for Foundation Literature

- "Aims and Objectives of the International War Crimes Tribunal" - 10¢ a piece
\$4.00 for 50
\$15.00 for 200
- "An Appeal to the American Conscience" by Bertrand Russell (graphic, with Postscript) - 30¢ a piece
\$12.00 for 50
- "Appeal to the American Conscience" (small) - 5¢ a piece
\$2.00 for 50
\$10.00 for 300
- "Message to the Spring Mobilization" by Bertrand Russell - 5¢ a piece
\$2.00 for 50
\$10.00 for 300

A GLIMPSE OF AMERICAN CRIMES IN VIETNAM (Continued)

by Ralph Schoenman

My meeting with the Lieutenant-Commander lasted almost four hours. He spoke with earnestness and listened with great attentiveness to all that I might say. He seemed eager to be reassured that his newfound thoughts and sentiments were worthy. I resisted the strong temptation to tell him precisely what I felt, but conveyed these feelings in my letter to him subsequently.

The Blood Pounded

My thoughts during the time I was with the Lieutenant-Commander turned again and again to my experience of the previous week, to the moments when the blood pounded my head as I fought down cries and sought to retain composure in my conversations with children and parents, doctors, teachers, poor peasants, militia girls. Faces flashed before me. I think of Le Van Lac, whose eight year old daughter was killed on September 15, all of whose neighbors were killed, including a mother and four children, a wife and husband and two children. "Le Van Lac's eye, ear, shoulder and right arm were lacerated. He has been rendered deaf and impotent -- unable any longer to work. As we spoke to one another, I tried to convey something of my feelings. I told him of my determination to translate his suffering into effective action against my Government and, as we said "Goodbye"; he suddenly embraced me, yelling very loudly in Vietnamese: "I am very painful. Please recognise my pain."

Ngoc

A poor peasant, wizened and old at 41, told me of the simple heroism of her 13 year old son, Ngoc:

"It was Sunday, April 4, 1965. Ngoc was at home. Suddenly, the jets came and bombed. There is nothing in my village but huts, no buildings. I do not know why they attacked us. Ngoc was writing a lesson for his little brother, Hoa, who is seven. We tried to get to a shelter, but the children of the neighbours,

who were having their meal, were injured and could not reach the shelter. One of them had been killed immediately. Ngoc leaped from the shelter and, although the bombs were exploding, he was able to bring back one of the injured children. The second child he brought back had a broken leg, with the bone protruding. Blood was everywhere. The third time he was hit by a lazy dog. His left side was sliced open and, although he was so wounded, he crawled into the shelter with the small child. He told me: 'I may die, Mummy, but don't cry. You and Daddy must work to have enough food for my brothers and sisters. If I die, I have done the best I could.'

"That was eight in the morning. He remained in that shelter with me until eleven. He was taken to a provincial hospital to be operated on. They tried to remove the slivers of steel, but the tiny darts had pierced his liver and pancreas. I followed him to the hospital, but he asked me to go back to his younger brothers and sisters, who were so small. He said: 'Don't worry. I shall come back to help you with the farming.' So I stayed in the house and the next day I learned he had died at 7 a.m.

"I have no place to house my children. On that day, four of Ngoc's friends in the fifth grade were killed. The first air raids made me afraid. But now I am used to the bombing. We produce and farm and that is our resistance. I am utterly defiant. I will never forget that Ngoc sacrificed his life. I will revenge him. I will work to produce rice, so we can defeat the people who bomb us. Everyone loves their children. I love my children. So you can know my pain. I believe if the U.S. pilots saw their children die like I saw Ngoc die, I believe they would not drop these steel bombs on my village..

Hatred in My Heart

"I have learned that you are an American. I want to tell you I have not done anything harmful to the Americans. Neither did my boy. U.S. bombs killed him. I bear deep anger and hatred in my heart. I wish you American boys could help stop these bloody killers who are killing our children.

"Before the revolution I was a servant with a landlord. I cannot read or write. I cannot speak well or use nice words. I just tell you about what has happened in my village and to my family and to my son. I hope you will bring the truth to your people. My boy died and so I have this opportunity to tell you of his sacrifice. I am more determined than ever to do anything I can to defeat the attackers. I request you to make them know this."

Travel by Night

We travelled by night, a team of eight, including doctors and photographers. We were without light and we stopped often during alerts. The road was pitted, though passable, and the extra-ordinarily beautiful countryside showed the effects of unrelenting bombardment. The radio carried the poems continually recited by Vietnamese in a living oral tradition, applying recitative to the experience of recent days: the poetry of Vietnam and its people.

What is a war crime? That question has been put to me many times over recent years by fellow Americans and, I might say, by fellow Englishmen, amongst whom I have lived for eight years. "Propaganda" is the instinctive response of those in the West confronted with the facts of the war waged by the United States against the Vietnamese revolution. It is a curious response.

The "Lazy Dog"

On this village and school were dropped 1,000 pound bombs and lazy dogs. At another part of the village I picked up a lazy dog bomb. This was Van Dinh hamlet, Van Hon Village, Thieu Hon district, February 26, 1966. A lazy dog is a grenade-like bomb containing 250 slivers of razor-sharp steel. There are 40 such bombs in a cylinder: 10,000 pieces of steel in a sudden storm of hail, lacerating anyone exposed or seeking shelter from the half ton bombs. The lazy dog has been dropped continuously on the most heavily populated areas of North Vietnam. 10,000 cylinders of lazy dog bombs have fallen on Thanh Hoa province since April 1965. 1,281 rockets have been used. Thirty-seven guided missiles have been launched against villages in Thanh Hoa province. 3,000 bombs alone were dropped on Nam Rong bridge, which still stands. Roads, means of

communication, schools, hospitals, the tuberculosis clinic, sanatoria and old age rest houses have been bombed in Thanh Hoa province. I visited all. I picked a lazy dog out of the ruins of a school where it had fallen after the 1,000 pound bomb had made great craters, destroying the shelters and exposing the inhabitants.

We Like to Sing

"Usually, my friends go to school every day. We like to sing 'Ha Tinh Quang Binh'. My friends are Nhung, Ky, Chau, Nguyen. They are thirteen, twelve, fourteen, twelve. They are all girls. I have a friend who is a boy, named Liem. He was thirteen. My friend Ky liked to play. She would say: 'You go first. You go quickly, or I will step on your heel.'" (Rhymes in Vietnamese.)

"When the bombs fell I saw Ky's bowel and intestine come out of her body. Her head blew away. Her arm and leg blew away. Nhung was buried alive and was dug out dead. Chau's teeth were broken by stones which shattered them. Nguyen was buried alive. Liem was beheaded. My friend Phuong laughs sometimes; cries; speaks without knowing what she says; she screams; she is twelve. I was buried completely. Teacher Minh dug me out. I have pains in my spine. Canh and Khoa had their chests crushed.

"When I become a grown-up I would like to be a teacher. I would like to ask you, uncle, to convey my best wishes of good health to my American small friends."

Children Protruding from the Earth

Nguyen Thai Mao was recently twelve. She has been strafed frequently on the way to school. She spoke of a bombing attack on her village on February 9 of this year. Her teacher, a young man of 24 named Thai Van Nham:

"Fragments of clothing, books and furniture flew so high that all in the vicinity knew the school was bombed. Students were blasted. Many were buried in the earth. I was among those buried

alive. I was dug out later and was brought to consciousness. There was nothing left but a bomb crater, 55 feet wide and 21 feet deep. Everything was levelled. Parts of the children were protruding from the earth. We found their heads 20 yards away. Their bowels and intestines were scattered everywhere. Two of my children were spattered on a palm tree and hung from it. Children were pressed to the trench walls. Blood filled the trenches. Children clutched their books tightly to their chests. The books were smeared in blood and ink. Some of them could speak a little when dug out. Then blood shot from their mouths, due to their crushed organs and they died. One little girl, Hoang Thai Nha, twelve, could only be recognised and identified by her rubber shoes. Six of the children were too mutilated to be recognisable to the parents. One dug out became conscious and asked how many of her friends died before haemorrhaging. Little Hung's body was found on top of unfinished poems he had written, along with a notebook of paintings. He had aspired to be a poet, painter and composer. His poems, paintings and songs are all signed: 'Composer, Dinh Hung'. He was thirteen."

The bombing of Huong Phuc school on February 9 is one event: a daily event for the past fourteen months in Vietnam. For Vietnam, enduring 650 sorties per week with tonnages in excess of those used during the Second World War, with napalm and fragmentation bombs, the targets and victims are the population at large. There are no other targets. The population knows that the United States wishes to impose so ghastly a price in national suffering that the will to resist will be broken.

The Will to Resist

The will to resist is like ozone after a bombing storm in Vietnam. In every village, production teams work round the clock to increase food output. Militia units, under the command of nineteen year old girls, mount the most exposed positions to fire at diving jets with rifles and what amount to little more than muskets. Old machine guns are mounted on the very bridges subject to attack. The militia do not take shelter. When American planes are at the climax of their dive, bullets fly from thousands of rifles and machine guns and the whole population is in arms. Everyone who can hold a rifle is firing one.

The old age and invalid home in Thanh Hoa was levelled. It is a scene of vast craters, filled with water, and the shells of buildings. Mosaics litter the ground -- lovely pieces of the floor and walls in soft watercolour design. Out of one crater I picked the tattered pages of books which had once been part of the old age home library. Here, those Vietnamese who had lived through three generations of struggle against the Japanese, the French and the Americans had retired in the ill health of old age to rest. Many of them were feeble through years of brutal labour before the victory of Dien Bien Phu released them from feudalism. Even in their old age, the fruits of their struggle were denied them and, like the children of the schools, their soft bodies were smashed and splattered. One very famous hero of the resistance to France, recuperating from severe wounds, went insane in this final attack.

A Study in Horror

The destruction of Thanh Hoa tuberculosis sanatorium is a study in horror. On Sunday, February 27, the Director gave me the following account:

"This is the second most important sanatorium in our country. It was set up by our own efforts. We had no help from abroad. We cherish it all the more because of this. The third floor of the tuberculosis sanatorium had very large Red Cross flags hanging outside. There are large Red Cross crosses on the entrance, clear to any aircraft. At 8:00 a.m., four groups of four aircraft came. Among the sixteen were five F-105D jets. The rest were F-101 and F-102. The planes circled several times and attacked. They dove at the clinic. Five F-105D jets dove together. Each dive released ten bombs per plane, totalling 50. The others dropped two each, totalling 22. Many patients were got to the trenches with difficulty. After the first attack, they circled, and each plane dove repeatedly, strafing everything standing with rockets. There was 30 minutes of uninterrupted bombing, with 1,000 ton bombs, accompanied by rocket strafing of all who ran out of the buildings. Five doctors were hit and killed instantly. Two of them were women. Physicians and specialists and nurses were killed. Fifty-eight patients were killed

almost immediately by strafing. All through the bombing, the shrapnel fragments, lazy dogs and the rockets, doctors and personnel carried patients to trenches. Patients and the sick carried others, while vomiting blood and haemorrhaging. It was only this heroism which kept casualties down.

"If we had been dependent upon only the ability of doctors and nurses to rescue patients, the number of deaths would have been infinitely higher. Some of the patients, though weak and ill, tried to save medical equipment: X-ray machines, medicines, implements, files. Throughout these efforts they were strafed. In the surrounding area, people whose own houses were bombed and burning abandoned them, and also the shelters, to help rescue patients and equipment of the clinic.

Rocket Strafing

After the first bombing, the personnel tried to evacuate surviving patients from the ruins. Five days later, the survivors were removed to new hospitals and sanatoria. A few days later, two jets came again and bombed the ruins of the sanatorium. They strafed everywhere in the vicinity. They bombed and strafed the clinic and all buildings of the sanatorium for 30 minutes. Two planes were F-105 jets. Each dropped ten half-ton bombs at a time. Other planes came and fired rockets. Two planes dispersed and returned again to fire rockets. There were three total bombings and strafings. Thus, of the sanatorium and clinic, nothing is left."

As the doctor spoke, I moved amidst the rubble, the great craters, the twisted ruins of X-ray machines and the broken glass of medicines and photo-electric lamps. Occasionally, there were bloodstains. It was difficult to imagine the vast sanatorium, with its many operating rooms and quarters for patients.

They Speak of Civilisation

The Director continued:

"All of our people understand now that the sanatorium was a clearly intended target of the attack. There was no error. We were hit in three separate and prolonged

waves from diving planes. This was a hospital. There were large Red Cross flags flying. Our patients and doctors were strafed seeking shelter. We realise that the enemy will do anything. The U.S. maintains that the treatment of tuberculosis and leprosy is one of our most urgent and difficult tasks, so they destroy. It is entirely in keeping with their bacteriological warfare. The bombing of our sanatorium has affected us profoundly. Every effort has been made by the population to assist in the lodging and treatment of the surviving patients.

"They talk about civilisation, It is unimaginable. Our hatred is great. The more we confront this bombing of our leprosaria, hospitals, clinics, sanatoria, schools and villages, the more we struggle."

The K71 tuberculosis sanatorium covered two and a half hectares. There were 30 large buildings and 560 resident patients. There were 425 visiting patients per week and 350 doctors and nurses.

The equipment destroyed included X-ray machines, sterilisation equipment, refrigeration facilities, circulatory and respiratory machines, oxygen equipment, distilling and purification equipment, electronic machinery, modern operation rooms and facilities, antibiotics and drugs. I inspected the remnants and ruins of the following stores of drugs: INH (produced in Vietnam); Streptomycin; Rimifon; Subtilis; Filatov; vitamin compounds; vitamin oils; cod liver oil; sulphur; iodine and various medicines and serums. Medical supplies for the surrounding population were destroyed. Tonics, food supplements, enriching additives for special regimens and diets were all lost in the bombing. Plasma, the blood bank, ambulances, first aid units, the medical library, monographs and notebooks of doctors, microscopes, bacterial cultures, all operating equipment and chambers, tables, electronic devices, lamps and infra-red equipment were all devastated. This was not an isolated event. Wherever I went I saw comparable destruction.

REVIEW

Robert Shaplen, The Lost Revolution, The U.S. in Vietnam, 1946-1966, (Revised Edition), New York, Harper & Row, 1966, xxii, 406 pp. \$1.95

by Leonard P. Liggio

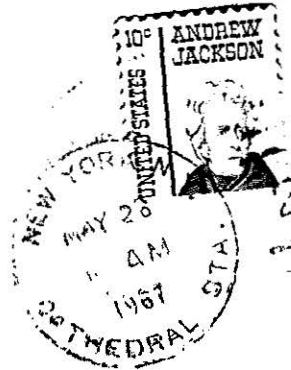
Detail is not lacking in this major history of Vietnam, yet the selection of details lacks meaning due to the failure of the author to understand the historical movements he is discussing. Shaplen, in his conclusion, indicates that he accepts the defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam as an accomplished fact. But, his theme of a Lost Revolution signifies his belief that the U.S. could have maintained its dominance in Vietnam if it had affirmatively responded to the demand for Vietnamese national liberation at the conclusion of the Second World War. His confusion in this regard is revealed by his combining of two contrary concepts: Vietnamese national liberation and U.S. dominance. It is these two incompatible positions which Shaplen believes could have gained U.S. objectives in Vietnam without the cost and dishonor of the role which the United States fulfills there. Such a failure to understand the needs of national liberation and the fundamental objectives of U.S. foreign policy narrowly limit the value of Shaplen's work.

The material is more satisfactory for the period before the Geneva Agreements of 1954 than for the period since that time. For the earlier period Shaplen drew on his experience in Vietnam which had permitted him contact with all the major political trends -- French political and military officials and the Vietnamese bureaucrats allied to them, and their opposition, the religious sects and the Vietminh. Thus, there is first-hand knowledge of the positions and methods of the various opposing groups that he discusses. In the period since 1954 there is no familiarity with the groups who are opposing the American political and military officials and Vietnamese bureaucrats allied to them; Shaplen fails to live up to the standards set in the earlier part of the book and the weakness of most of his work is related to his lack of contact and discussion with groups against which the U.S. is fighting, the National Liberation Front or the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

In discussing the Diem regime, Shaplen, except for a passing reference to the feudal land system and the abolition of elections of village chiefs, fails to analyze the social and economic conditions which are the central issues upon which the revolutionary developments in Vietnam have existed for over two decades. This is indicative of the kind of 'revolution' Shaplen believes that the U.S. could have supported twenty years ago, and accounts for the contradictory concepts of Vietnamese independence and American dominance which he posits. In the absence of such information it is understandable that a detailed discussion of the development of the N.L.F. is lacking. For the Diem period and the present, the material treated is essentially the relations between the U.S. and the Saigon government; attracted by the intrigues of post-Diem Saigon politics, Shaplen offers no discussion of the actual nature of Vietnamese political reality, especially the attraction of the program of the N.L.F.

A major failure of Shaplen, as well as most other commentators on Vietnam in the post-Geneva Agreement period, is the absence of analysis of the inter-relationship of U.S. policy in all the countries of South-East Asia, especially those covered by the Geneva Agreements: Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. The successful manipulations in Laos by the U.S. diplomatic and military officials, and the unsuccessful ones in Cambodia, are the preliminary strategies preceding the increasing U.S. military involvement in Vietnam. The Laos crisis of the Spring of 1961 involving the introduction of major U.S. combat units, air bases and naval forces in Thailand, was accompanied by the visit of Lyndon Johnson to Saigon and the commitment of American troops to fight Diem's opponents. Thus, the current concern that Thailand may follow a pattern of U.S. involvement similar to that in Vietnam is to lose sight of the fact that major army units and air bases were established in Thailand before any similar involvement existed in Vietnam. The present U.S. policy in Vietnam is the result of anything but accident; that policy is founded upon clear objectives of United States dominance in Southeast Asia.

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Contents

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DATE 2/15/82 BY 39063 ELW/DGE/GSW
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Report:

Tribunal Opens in
Stockholm

"Inaugural Address"
by Jean-Paul Sartre

"Response to de Gaulle"
by Jean-Paul Sartre

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TRIBUNAL OPENS IN STOCKHOLM

The International War Crimes Tribunal initiated its first session on May 2 in Stockholm at the Folkets Hus, a major conference site operated by the Swedish Federation of Labor. The inaugural address by Jean-Paul Sartre, the Tribunal's Executive President, is presented in this issue of the Foundation Bulletin. Further important material from the Tribunal sessions will be published in succeeding issues of the Foundation Bulletin which continues to be produced under Russell Stetler's direction from Europe where he is fulfilling his functions as Deputy General Secretary of the Tribunal.

The ministry of Premier Georges Pompidou had assured the Tribunal that it would not hinder its sessions in Paris if two conditions were met: 1. the meetings would be private, that is, open to the world press and invited members of the public, but not in a public center with open admission to the French public; and 2. the meetings would not involve insults to a head of state. Cooperation on the first condition was extended by the Tribunal which transferred the meeting place in accordance with the government's wishes; the second condition was academic, as anyone familiar with the Tribunal's statements (which have appeared in the Foundation Bulletin) knows, since the Tribunal has never been intended to have the atmosphere of a mock trial. Given the legitimate and principled organization of this international juridic investigation, the French government had granted visas to the Vietnamese witnesses who would testify before the Tribunal.

However, the Tribunal was aware that a division existed within the French government regarding its work; this division was acknowledged by French officials themselves. The French government's rejection of the request for a visa for the Yugoslavian historian, Vladimir Dedijer, the President of the Tribunal sessions, indicated a possible reversal of attitude toward the Tribunal. Jean-Paul Sartre, the Tribunal's Executive President, wrote to

President de Gaulle concerning this arbitrary action, and received a reply dated April 19 indicating that the Tribunal could not meet in Paris.

At the same time, Russell Stetler, who flew from London to Paris to attend the final preparatory meeting for the Tribunal, was detained at Le Bourget airport. He was placed in the custody of the Frontier Police and informed that he was to be denied entry into France (only two weeks before, Mr. Stetler had entered France on Tribunal business at the same location without any difficulty). After persistent questioning of the Surete officer, the officer stated that he acted on instructions from the Foreign Ministry; the handwritten note offered certain fantastic allegations about Mr. Stetler, such as that he might travel on a false South African passport! (Having worked in England and Europe last summer on the initial development of the Tribunal, Mr. Stetler accompanied Ralph Schoenman to Hanoi early in November -- see "Report from Hanoi," Foundation Bulletin No. 3 -- and participated in the inaugural meeting of the Tribunal members in London. At the end of March he returned to London and Paris to join in the final preparations for the Tribunal sessions.)

Jean-Paul Sartre's response to de Gaulle is reprinted in this issue of the Foundation Bulletin. Originally appearing as the featured report entitled "Two exceptional documents" in "Le Nouvel Observateur" its editors contrasted de Gaulle's statement that "It is not you that I should teach that all justice belongs solely to the State," with Sartre's that "As soon as one wants to judge them from a moral point of view, governments cease functioning."

The day following Mr. Stetler's deportation to London the reversal of the French government's position toward all opponents, French and non-French, of the U.S. war in Vietnam was indicated. The French police banned both a weekend conference of the French National Vietnam Committee, whose president is Laurent Schwartz, professor of mathematics at the University of Paris, and a Tribunal meeting in the suburbs. Thus, the interference with the sessions of the International War Crimes Tribunal was part of an overall change of policy by the French government, striking directly at

all opposition in France to the U.S. war in Vietnam. This policy reversal by the French government reflects the intensified diplomatic pressure by the Johnson Administration in conjunction with the escalation in which the city of Haiphong and the major airfields of Hanoi were bombed by U.S. aircraft. While de Gaulle self-righteously claims to condemn U.S. aggression in Vietnam, there is tragic irony in his denying a voice to the victims of that aggression.

The Tribunal sessions were transferred to Stockholm since the Swedish government had already, after much consideration of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam during recent months, indicated that the sessions would not be hindered in Sweden. Russell Stetler and Peter Weiss, who had been an officer of the Tribunal, announced in a press conference on April 25 that the sessions would begin in Stockholm within a week. This rapid transfer to Stockholm was aided by the Swedish Committee in Support of the International War Crimes Tribunal which includes a number of members of the Swedish parliament as well as many personalities from the arts, professions and universities.

Much work and money has been expended to achieve this successful initiation of the sessions of the International War Crimes Tribunal; additional work and money will be necessary to carry the Tribunal through to a successful conclusion. The generosity of Americans in this endeavor is particularly important.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS BY JEAN-PAUL SARTRE

Our Tribunal was formed on the initiative of Bertrand Russell, with the aim of deciding whether the accusations of "war crimes" made against the Government of the United States and against the Governments of South Korea, of Australia and of New Zealand, in connection with the war in Vietnam, are justified. On the occasion of this inaugural session, the Tribunal wishes to make known its origins, its functions, its aims and its terms of reference. It intends to make its position quite clear on the question of what has been called its "legitimacy".

In 1945, something occurred which was entirely without historical precedent: the setting up in Nuremberg of the first international Tribunal called on to judge crimes committed by a belligerent power. Up till that time, it is true, there had existed certain international agreements, such as the Briand-Kellogg pact, aimed at limiting the "jus ad bellum"; but, since no organ had been created to apply them, relations between the powers continued to be governed by the law of the jungle. It could not be otherwise: the nations who had built their wealth upon the conquest of great colonial empires would not have tolerated that their activities in Africa and in Asia should be judged according to these criteria. After 1939, the mad rage of Nazism placed the world in such danger that the Allies, horrified, decided to sit in judgement on and to condemn, if they were victorious, wars of aggression and of conquest, cruelty to prisoners, tortures and those racist practices which can be termed "genocidal", without realising that they were thereby condemning themselves for their conduct in the colonies.

As a consequence - that is to say, both because it condemned Nazi crimes, and because in a more universal sense it opened the way to a genuine jurisdiction permitting the denunciation and condemnation of war crimes wherever committed and whoever the authors - the Nuremberg Tribunal remains the demonstration of this vitally important change: the replacement of the "jus ad bellum" by the "jus contra bellum".

Unfortunately, as always happens when a new organism is created by the exigencies of history, that Tribunal was not exempt from serious failings. It has been criticised as having been nothing but a diktat of the conquerors to the conquered and, which amounts to the same thing, as not having been truly international: one group of nations judging another. Would it have been better to have chosen the judges from among the citizens of neutral countries? I do not know. What is certain is that, although its decisions were entirely just from an ethical point of view, they are far from having convinced all Germans. And that signifies that the legitimacy of the judges and of their sentences continues to be challenged; and that it has been possible to claim that, if the fortunes of war had been different, an Axis Tribunal would have condemned the Allies for the bombing of Dresden or of Hiroshima.

That legitimacy, however, would not have been difficult to establish. It would have been enough if the organ created to judge the Nazis had remained in existence after having carried out that specific task, or if the organization of the United Nations had drawn all the consequences from what had just been done and had, by a vote in its General Assembly, consolidated the body's existence as a permanent Tribunal empowered to take cognizance of and to judge all charges of war crimes, even if the accused should happen to be the government of one of those countries which through the agencies of their judges delivered the Nuremberg verdicts. In this way, the implicit universality of the original intention would have been made clear and explicit. Well, what happened is well-known: hardly had the last German war-criminal been judged than the Tribunal disappeared into thin air, and nobody has heard anything about it since.

Are we then so innocent? Have there been no further war-crimes since 1945. Since then, has nobody resorted to violence, or to aggression? Has there been no "genocide"? Has no strong country attempted to break by the use of force, the sovereignty of a small nation? Has there been no occasion to denounce, anywhere in the world, Ouradours or Auschwitzes? You know the truth. In the last twenty years, the great historical event has been the struggle of the Third World for its liberation: colonial empires have collapsed and in their place sovereign nations have come into existence, or have recovered a lost traditional independence, destroyed by colonization. All this has taken place in suffering, in sweat, and in blood. A Tribunal such as that of Nuremberg has become a permanent necessity. Before the judgement of the Nazis, war had no laws, as I have said. The Nuremberg Tribunal, an ambiguous body, was no doubt born of the right of the strongest; but at the same time it opens a perspective for the future by setting a precedent, the embryo of a tradition. None can go back on that, prevent Nuremberg from having happened, prevent people from thinking back to its sessions whenever a small, poor country is the object of aggression, prevent them from saying to themselves: "but it is this, precisely this, which was condemned at Nuremberg." Thus the hurried and incomplete provisions made by the Allies in 1945 and then abandoned have created a real lacuna in international life. There is a cruel lack of that institution - which appeared, asserted its permanence and its universality, defined

irreversibly certain rights and obligations, only to disappear leaving a void which must be filled and which nobody is filling.

There are, in fact, two sources of power. The first is the State with its institutions. Well, in this time of violence, most governments would be afraid, if they took such an initiative, that it might one day turn against them, and that they might find themselves in the dock. Furthermore, for many of them the United States is a powerful ally: which of them would dare ask for the resurrection of a Tribunal whose first action would obviously be to order an enquiry into the Vietnamese conflict? The other source of power is the people, during revolutionary periods in which it changes its institutions. But, although the struggle remains an implacable one, by what means could the masses, compartmentalized by frontiers as they are, succeed in uniting and in imposing on the various governments an institution which would be a genuine Court of the People.

The Russell Tribunal was born of the recognition of these two, contradictory facts: the Nuremberg verdict has made necessary the existence of an institution for the investigation and, where appropriate, the condemnation of war crimes: but neither governments nor people are, at the present time, capable of creating such an institution. We are entirely conscious of the fact that we have received no mandate from anyone. But if we have taken the initiative of coming together, it is because we knew that nobody could give us a mandate. Certainly our Tribunal is not an institution. But it does not claim to replace any established body: on the contrary, it emerged from a void, and in response to an appeal. We have not been recruited and invested with real powers by governments. But then we have just seen that such powers, at Nuremberg, did not suffice to endow the judges with an uncontested legitimacy. Quite the contrary: the fact that the verdicts could be carried out permitted those who had been conquered to challenge their validity; backed up by force, those verdicts appeared as the simple expression of the adage "Right is Might". The Russell Tribunal considers, on the contrary, that its legitimacy derives equally from its total powerlessness, and from its universality.

We are powerless: it is the guarantee of our independence. We receive no aid - except from our support committees which are, like ourselves, associations of private individuals. Representing no government and no party, nobody can give us orders: we will examine the facts "in our hearts and consciences" one might say or, if you prefer, openly and independently. No one of us can say, today, how the proceedings will go, or if we will reply by a yes or a no to the accusations, or if we will not reply - considering them perhaps well-founded but not conclusively proved. What is certain, in any case, is that our powerlessness, even if we are convinced by the evidence presented, makes it impossible for us to pass a sentence. What could a condemnation mean, even the mildest of condemnations, if we do not possess the means to see it carried out? We will limit ourselves therefore, if that is what turns out to be necessary, to stating that such and such an act falls under the jurisdiction of Nuremberg. It is therefore, according to that jurisdiction, a war-crime, and if the law was applied it would be subject to such and such a penalty. In such a case, we will, if that is possible, decide who are the authors of the crime. Thus the Russell Tribunal will have no other concern, in its investigations as in its conclusions, than to bring about a general recognition of the need for an international institution for which it has neither the means nor the ambition to be a substitute, whose essential role would be the resuscitation of the jus contra bellum which was still-born at Nuremberg, - the substitution of ethical and juridical rules for the law of the jungle.

Precisely because we are simple citizens we have been able, by recruiting our members on a wide international basis, to give our Tribunal a more universal structure than that of Nuremberg. I do not mean merely that a larger number of countries are represented; from that point of view there would be many gaps to fill. But above all, whereas in 1945 the Germans were only present in the dock, or at best on the stand as witnesses for the prosecution, several of the judges here are citizens of the United States, this means that they come from that country whose own policies are under investigation, and that they have, therefore, their own understanding of it and, whatever their opinions, an intimate relationship with it, with its institutions and its traditions - a relationship which will inevitably mark the Tribunal's conclusions.

However, whatever our desire for impartiality and for universality, we are entirely conscious that this desire does not suffice to legitimise our enterprise. What we want, in fact, is that its legitimisation should be retrospective or, if you prefer, a posteriori. For we are not working for ourselves and our own edification, neither do we have any pretensions to imposing our conclusions from on high. What we wish is to maintain, thanks to the collaboration of the Press, a constant contact between ourselves and the masses who in all parts of the world are living and suffering the tragedy of Vietnam. We hope that they will learn as we learn, that they will discover together with us the reports, the documents, the testimony, that they will evaluate them and make up their minds about them day by day, together with us. We want the conclusions, whatever they may be, to be drawn by each individual in his own mind at the same time as we draw them ourselves; even beforehand perhaps. This session is a common enterprise whose final term must be, in the phrase of a philosopher, "une verite devenue". Yes, if the masses ratify our judgement, then it will become truth, and we, at the very moment when we efface ourselves before those masses who will make themselves the guardians and the mighty support for that truth, we will know that we have been legitimised and that the people, by showing us its agreement, is revealing a deeper need: the need for a real "War Crimes Tribunal" to be brought into being as a permanent body - that is to say, the need that it should be possible to denounce and punish such crimes wherever and whenever they may be committed.

"What a strange Tribunal: a jury and no judge!" It is true: we are only a jury, we have neither the power to condemn, nor the power to acquit, anybody. Therefore, no prosecution. There will not even be strictly speaking a prosecution case. Maitre Matarasso, President of the Legal Commission, is going to read you a list of charges which will take the place of a prosecution case. We the jury, at the end of the session, will have to pronounce on these charges: are they well-founded or not? But the judges are everywhere: they are the peoples of the world, and in particular the American people. It is for them that we are working.

* * *

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* * *

SARTRE TO DE GAULLE (Le Nouvel Observateur, April 26 - May 3)

"As soon as one wants to judge them from a moral point of view, governments cease functioning..."

In fact, I wrote to de Gaulle about the Yugoslavian historian Vladimir Dedijer. Here's why: Vladimir Dedijer is one of the members of the tribunal established by the initiative of Lord Bertrand Russell, and he was chosen to preside over the sessions. I am "executive president" but, when we meet, Dedijer will direct the work sessions, and we shall only be jurors at his side.

Dedijer went to London several times during the last few months to meet Bertrand Russell and other members of the tribunal. A French transit visa allowed him to stop over for 24 hours in Paris each time. On his last trip, two weeks ago, he asked the French Embassy in London to give him not another transit visa but a sojourn visa, in order to be able to attend the first meeting of the tribunal, planned for the 26th of April, in Paris. Not only was it refused, but his transit visa was taken away. In other words, he had become "undesirable" in France.

This was a serious matter, because the tribunal could not meet without its chairman and because this decision went against the indirect assurances which had been given us. We had made four "soundings" of persons close to the government and each time they had given us to understand we could meet in France without difficulties. One of the members of the tribunal even had this official authorization confirmed two days before the cancellation of Dedijer's visa.

The tribunal then asked me to write -- in its name, evidently, and not in my personal capacity -- a letter to General de Gaulle. I did so. In substance I said:

"There had been no indication up to now that the government was opposed to holding the tribunal in France, but the incident that has just occurred in London seems to show that the public powers have changed their minds; I cannot imagine that we are to be informed of this change by the actions of the consular service, and I venture to hope that they will grant visas not only to Dedijer but to all those who will be called to take part in the tribunal or to give testimony before it." Furthermore, I

pointed out that Dedijer had never interfered, directly or indirectly, in French affairs.

The next day I received the letter you have read. De Gaulle called me "my dear master" ("mon cher Maitre"). This, I believe, was for the purpose of stressing that it was the writer he was addressing, not the chairman of a tribunal he is unwilling to recognize. The only people for whom I am "Master" are the waiters in cafes, who know that I write. Actually, it is the representative of the tribunal that de Gaulle is answering.

His letter, moreover, is so far from being "private" that it was followed, in two days, by another letter from the prefect of police who begins thus, taking up the very terms which de Gaulle used: "As you know, the government feels that the meeting in France of an organization named 'the International Tribunal against the Crimes of the War in Vietnam' is a public demonstration that contravenes international law and custom..." And the prefect of police told me that the meetings that we had planned were forbidden. Therefore I consider de Gaulle's letter -- which has been published by the government since then -- as a public letter to which I must answer publicly.

It is in two parts, as his speeches often are: de Gaulle begins by saying "but of course, naturally", and ends up by saying "evidently not."

The "of course, naturally", is the paragraph on the fact that "the pen and the word are free with us" and that "it would not be a question of holding private citizens in leash, whose views, moreover, are (...) close to the official position of the French Republic." This protestation of liberalism makes all the less of an impression on me in that recent incidents show, on the contrary, that the government now intends to prohibit popular and free manifestations against the war in Vietnam.

Example: the National Vietnam Committee, which has nothing to do with the tribunal, rented the auditorium of the municipal theatre of Issy-les-Moulineaux to hold several meetings there. Now it received from the prefect of Hauts-de-Seine a letter saying the following: "We must forbid these meetings because it would be neither normal nor legal for a meeting of political character to take place in a municipal theatre." That is an especially ridiculous answer because numerous political meetings have already been held in this theatre and in many others. The meetings of the National Vietnam Committee were able to be held finally in Paris, in the Salle Pleyel, but the decision of the prefect of Hauts-de-Seine, plus the ban on the "Russell Tribunal", indicates a desire to thwart -- as much as is possible -- the development of mass movements against the war in Vietnam.

This clear changeover of government attitude is explainable, I think, by two reasons. First, American pressure is stronger and stronger. Speaking only of the tribunal, it is quite possible that Vice-President Humphrey, on meeting de Gaulle two weeks ago, insisted on the importance that America attaches to our not meeting in France. And the means of blackmail of the United States, in spite of a political stance of "independence", are numerous. French economy is not less and less connected to the American economy, as some would have us believe: the two are connected more and more. For example, it would be enough for America to stop lending France their large computers to break down our whole economy. And there are dozens of other ways to do the same thing.

Today our government is so vulnerable to American pressure -- and that constitutes the second reason for its reversal -- that its failure at the last elections, far from obliging it, as certain naive people thought, to an opening to the left, forces it to search for new supports on the right, on the side of the "Atlanticists." The prohibition of the tribunal is a gift to Lecanuet and Giscard, whom de Gaulle will need more and more.

("Nouvel Observateur" asks:

Above all de Gaulle states an official position. Opposition to the war in Vietnam? It is up to the government to deal with that, and it is dealing with it. Let it do its job; it doesn't need you. But still this government has

responsibilities to its allies and it can't let one of them be condemned on its territory in a parody of justice.)

Jean-Paul Sartre -- I will answer these two points: the "let me take care of it" and the "parody of justice".

The first is the more important. It explains the idea de Gaulle has of political power. For him, the government must not rely on the country but hold it-self above it, without ever allowing the country to participate directly in the actions the government takes up. Now, a country is not limited to its government alone. The attitude which consists of blaming the policy of the United States, in words and measured terms, while prohibiting the masses from directly showing their opposition to the war in Vietnam, is completely anti-democratic.

The same thing happened at the time of the O.A.S. The Government fought it alone, with its "cops" ("barbouzes"), but, at the same time it had those people bludgeoned who cried out "O.A.S. assassins". It even had eight of them killed at the Charonne subway station. All of Gaullism is here: the leader has his ideas on Vietnam, he explains them sometimes in speeches -- saying at the same time that he is incapable, for the moment, to do whatever would be effective -- but, above all, he doesn't want his point of view made popular, upheld by the masses, because that would link him to them, -- and that is the thing which he basically fears most.

Now there is the formal argument upon which de Gaulle bases the second part of his answer: we would be constituting a tribunal "outside of law". This time we come up against the Gaullist conception of justice: he writes in his letter that justice can only be "of the State". The State exists first, and then it gives itself institutions and chooses men to make them function. Therefore, the judge becomes a representative of power and the State is able (as we saw in the Ben Barka affair and in many others) to exercise on him a direct pressure. This leads to a complete subordination of the courts to the State.

True justice must draw its power from both the State and the masses. Furthermore, it was thus conceived

at the time of the French Revolution: the jury was created in order to enable the citizen to participate in justice.

But it is not even a question of that, since we do not pretend (although de Gaulle pretends to believe it) to substitute ourselves for a justice which already existed. This would be the case, if we were meeting to judge a private citizen -- guilty, in our eyes, of some criminal act, -- even though tribunals actually exist to judge him.

We are undertaking something else. First of all, we shall not put on any "robes", not even symbolically: the jurors -- de Gaulle should know that -- do not wear any. We will simply organize sessions in a trial which would normally come before an international tribunal which does not exist. Up to this point, the Western nations have done everything in their power to prevent its creation and now they refuse our organization the right to draw an indictment (without judges, without verdict) on the process of the war in Vietnam. Why? Because -- at any price -- these nations don't want politics seen from the angle of the right, of criminality, for that would enable the people to judge the acts of their government according to standards other than cleverness or clumsiness, of efficiency or inefficiency. There was Nuremberg, of course, but people were in a hurry after having applied the law of the conqueror to the conquered (a just law, for once), to dissolve the tribunal, for fear of having to find themselves one day at the bench of the accused. During the Algerian war, for example, this tribunal would have had much to do.

Why did we appoint ourselves? Precisely because no one else did. Only governments or people could do it. Now, governments want to retain the possibility of committing war crimes without running the risk of being judged: therefore, they aren't going to create an international organization qualified to do this. As for the people, except in case of revolution, they don't name tribunals, and therefore they cannot appoint us.

Moreover the tribunal never intended to pronounce condemnations and will not do so: It will limit itself to the presentation of conclusions that it will have taken from the depositions of the witnesses and from the communications of commissions of experts, of which certain ones have already

returned from North Vietnam. The conclusions will establish whether, yes or no, this or that action committed by the American army constitutes a war crime in the eyes of existing international law and, if the conclusion is "yes", they will evaluate what penalties such crimes of a similar nature received at Nuremberg. Moreover, the tribunal will not judge only according to the laws applied at Nuremberg, which are insufficient. It will refer itself equally to the Briand-Kellogg treaty and the Geneva convention, -- which the Americans are not respecting in Vietnam.

Even thus the jurisdiction will be insufficient. Frankly, what would be necessary is that the jurors meet and, without intending to apply it to any war in particular, form an international body of law, embryonic for the moment, and that a permanent international court be charged with applying this legislation in all instances. The conclusions we arrive at will be of no interest if they remain the conclusions of a few persons: they must be ratified by the masses, whom we only have to inform with a maximum of honesty.

I give as an example the case of the "guava" bombs, the little bullet bombs which can't destroy any military or industrial installation nor any work of art and which are uniquely "antipersonnel". A tribunal commission went to make an on-the-spot inquiry to see what use the Americans make of them and what its effects are. The press had already spoken of it, but vaguely. Without revealing to public opinion something which it did not know of, the tribunal will submit to public opinion a detailed and precise report which will convince it even more.

Thus, our intention is to inform opinion at the same time that we inform ourselves, in the hope that people feel the same as we do about the use of napalm and of fragmentation bombs and that they will draw the same conclusions as we do.

That means that, to reach the masses, the reports of our commissions must be widely dispersed, and the press could play an important role in this. I know that several journals, such as the "Nouvel Observateur", will be on our side. But I also know that most of the others

will give them only a few lines and then rapidly cease to speak of them at all. Therefore we must do this publicity campaign ourselves. When we have collected all the testimonies and all the reports of the experts and drawn our conclusions, we will publish a white book and, at the same time, we will try, by all the means at our disposal, to provoke demonstrations, a mobilization of trade unions, of students, and we will launch a signature campaign in the hope that our conclusions will be ratified. We will go to the very end of our commitment and thus it is that the action of the tribunal will take on its true meaning.

But, again, we do not substitute ourselves for any existing tribunal and we do not even pretend to be that international tribunal which should be in existence. We are "private citizens", as de Gaulle says, who have taken the initiative and who, while informing ourselves, inform others, in order to remind governments that the people are the source of all justice. Moreover, if de Gaulle forbids us to address the masses, while affirming that he holds a position on the war in Vietnam which is close to our position, the reason is that the source of his power is not popular, because he does not draw his authority from the masses, -- as the last elections proved, in which he had a minority.

De Gaulle professes to believe that we cannot do anything more than to bear witness which would carry weight because of our "moral credit". That is a joke. We cannot, as he does, settle for a proclamation recommending the retreat of the American troops and the organization of a consultation between Vietnamese. We must exert pressure to have it clearly declared that there is only one victim of aggression in this war, and that is Ho Chi Minh.

(Question: What effective political move could a government which would not settle for words and would really want action take against the war in Vietnam?)

Jean-Paul Sartre -- Firstly, it would have to align itself firmly on the side of Ho Chi Minh and the N.L.F. in adopting the preliminaries which are for them the condition of every negotiation and in fact only restate the Geneva agreements. Next, this government must persuade the governments of foreign countries to adopt the same position and to conduct a common action with it. Given what England, Germany and Italy are today, I know that this would be difficult, but do not forget that a government is strong only if it supports itself

on the masses. If a French leftist government, supported by the masses, declared itself clearly hostile to the American action in Vietnam, it is certain that the masses of neighboring countries would be "contaminated" and would act in a more effective manner on their government. Actually, since there is no true democracy in Europe, one government deals with another. In a really democratic system, the masses serve as intermediary between one government and another.

(Question: But do you believe that the European masses, and particularly the French masses, can be mobilized today against the war in Vietnam?)

Jean-Paul Sartre -- I believe it much more than I should have believed possible. I have the feeling that opinion has changed. Let us give credit where credit is due: this change is due, in part, to de Gaulle. But people believed that de Gaulle was going to go all the way in his condemnation, and they took him seriously, when he was merely seeking to pose as champion of the undeveloped countries. In my opinion, if a leftist government wanted to mobilize the masses today, it could succeed. Look at Japan: in spite of the American influence, a general strike was unleashed; it didn't succeed 100 per cent, but it took place in any event. Today in France we are not yet there, but the people are beginning to move.

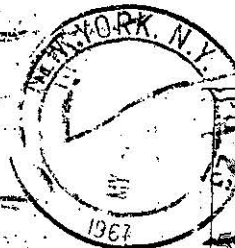
I would like to emphasize this again: to forbid us to meet, de Gaulle evokes, among other things "the traditional friendship" which connects us to the United States. That clearly means, as I remarked before, that as soon as it is a matter of judging from a moral point of view, governments cease functioning. There is a general effort to suppress the notion of morality in politics. That strikes me all the more since, in all the socialist countries I have gone to, since the beginning of de-Stalinization, the first problem one was faced with was: how to reintroduce into Marxism (and, consequently, into politics in general) the element of morality. It is quite evident that in the West this problem is not faced at all and that politics is no more than strictly utilitarian and self-interested.

(Question: Is another country ready to receive you?)

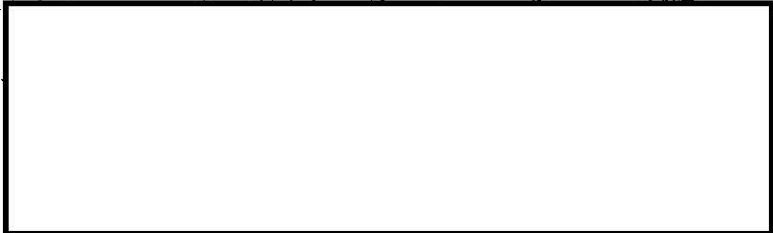
Jean-Paul Sartre -- No. Several countries have already forbidden us to meet on their territory and I fear we will meet with more refusals: certain governments would be only too happy to invoke de Gaulle's action in order to justify their action. Perhaps we will ultimately be obliged to meet on a boat, anchored outside of territorial waters, like those of pirate English radios. In any case, one thing is certain -- that we will meet. Paradoxically, these difficulties that they give us form the legitimate basis of our tribunal, and, moreover, they prove something: that they are afraid of us. Certainly not of Bertrand Russell, who is 94 years old, nor of me, 62 years old, nor of our friends. If we were simply a handful of simple-minded intellectuals who ridiculously pretended to set ourselves up as judges, they would let us proceed peacefully.

Why are they afraid of us? Because we are facing a problem which no western government wants to face: the problem of war crime, which once more, they all want to reserve the power to commit.

Bertrand Russell
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APPEAL TO THE AMERICAN CONSCIENCE

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BERTRAND RUSSELL



APPEAL TO THE AMERICAN CONSCIENCE

BERTRAND RUSSELL



I APPEAL TO YOU, citizens of America, as a person concerned with liberty and social justice. Many of you will feel that your country has served these ideals and, indeed, the United States possesses a revolutionary tradition which, in its origins, was true to the struggle for human liberty and for social equality. It is this tradition which has been traduced by the few who rule the United States today. Many of you may not be fully aware of the extent to which your country is controlled by industrialists who depend for their power partly upon great economic holdings in all parts of the world.

The United States today controls over sixty per cent of the world's natural resources, although it contains only six per cent of the world's population. The minerals and produce of vast areas of the planet are possessed by a handful of men. I ask you to consider the words of your own leaders, who sometimes reveal the exploitation they have practiced. The *New York Times* of 12th February 1950 said:

Indo-China is a prize worth a large gamble. In the north are exportable tin, tungsten, manganese, coal, lumber and rice; rubber, tea, pepper and hides. Even before World War II Indo-China yielded dividends estimated at 300 million dollars per year.

One year later, an adviser to the United States State Department said the following:

We have only partially exploited Southeast Asia's resources. Nevertheless, Southeast Asia supplied 90 per cent of the world's crude rubber, 60 per cent of its tin and 80 per cent of its copra and coconut oil. It has sizeable quantities of sugar, tea, coffee, tobacco, sisal, fruits, spices, natural resins and gums, petroleum, iron ore and bauxite.

And in 1953, while the French were still in Vietnam fighting with American backing, President Eisenhower stated:

Now let us assume we lost Indo-China. If Indo-China goes, the tin and tungsten we so greatly value would cease coming. We are after the cheapest way to prevent the occurrence of something terrible – the loss of our ability to get what we want from the riches of the Indo-Chinese territory and from Southeast Asia.

This makes clear that the war in Vietnam is a war like that waged by the Germans in Eastern Europe. It is a war designed to protect the continued control over the wealth of the region by American capitalists. When we consider that the fantastic sums of money spent on

armament are awarded in contracts to the industries on whose boards of directors sit the generals who demand the weapons, we can see that the military and large industry have formed an interlocking alliance for their own profit.

The truth is that the Vietnamese popular resistance is just like the American revolutionary resistance to the British, who controlled the economic and political life of the American colonies in the eighteenth century.

Vietnamese resistance is like the resistance of the French Maquis, the Yugoslav partisans and the guerrillas of Norway and Denmark to the Nazi occupation. That is why a small peasant people is able to hold down a vast army of the most powerful industrial nation on earth.

I appeal to you to consider what has been done to the people of Vietnam by the United States Government. Can you, in your hearts, justify the use of poison chemicals and gas, the saturation bombing of the entire country with jelly-gasoline and phosphorus? Although the American Press lies about this, the documentary evidence concerning the nature of these gases and chemicals is overwhelming. They are poisonous and they are fatal. Napalm and phosphorus burn until the victim is reduced to a bubbling mass. The United States has also used weapons like the lazy dog, which is a bomb containing ten thousand slivers of razor-sharp steel. These razor darts slice to ribbons the villagers upon whom these weapons of sheer evil are constantly used. In one province of North Vietnam, the most densely populated, one hundred million slivers of razor-sharp steel have fallen in a period of thirteen months.

It is even more revealing and terrible that more Vietnamese died during the reign of Diem, from 1954 to 1960, than since 1960, when the Vietnamese partisans took up armed resistance to the American occupation in the South. What the papers have called the 'Vietcong' is, in fact, a broad alliance, like the popular fronts of Europe, including all political views ranging from Catholics to Communists. The National Liberation Front has the most ardent support of the people and only the wilfully blind will fail to see this. Do you know that eight million Vietnamese were placed in internment camps under conditions of forced labour, with barbed wire and armed patrols? Do you know that this was done on the direction of the United States Government

He kicked a small spool of wire out of the doorway and made room.

"We just rode Nuongs, you can tell that by the wire here," he said.

"Why?" he was asked. Nuongs are Chinese mercenaries from Formosa. . . .

"They always want the wire for the prisoners", the kid said. "Don't you know that? They get a VC and make him hold his hands against his cheeks. Then they take this wire and run it right through the one hand and right through his cheek and into his mouth. Then they pull the wire out through the other cheek and stick it through the other hand. They knot both ends around sticks. You never seen them prisoners like that? Oh, you ought to see how quiet them gooks sit in a helicopter when we got them wrapped up like that." (New York Herald Tribune, September 29, 1965.)

and that torture and brutal murder were a continuous feature of life in these camps? Are you aware that the gases and chemicals which have been used for five years in Vietnam blind, paralyse, asphyxiate, cause convulsions and result in unbearable death? Try to imagine what it would mean if an enemy were bombing the United States and occupied it for twelve years. How would you feel if a foreign power had saturated New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, St. Louis, San Francisco and Miami with jelly-gasoline, phosphorus and lazy dogs? What would you do if an occupying army used these toxic gases and chemicals in every town and hamlet they entered? Can you really think that the American people would welcome so savage an aggressor? The fact is that everywhere in the world people have come to see the men who control the United States Government as brutal bullies, acting in their own economic interests and exterminating any people foolhardy enough to struggle against this naked exploitation and aggression.

When the United States began its war against the Vietnamese, after having paid for all of the French war against the same people, the U.S. Defence Department owned property valued at one hundred and sixty billion dollars. This value has since doubled. The U.S. Defence Department is the world's largest organisation, owning thirty-two million acres in the United States and millions more in foreign countries. By now, more than 75 cents out of every 100 are spent on present wars and preparation for future war. Billions of dollars are placed in the pockets of the U.S. military, thereby giving the Pentagon economic power affecting every facet of American life.

Military assets in the United States are three times as great as the combined assets of U.S. Steel, Metropolitan Life Insurance, American Telephone and Telegraph, General Motors and Standard Oil. The Defence Department employs three times the number of people working in all these great world corporations. The billions of dollars in military contracts are provided by the Pentagon and fulfilled by large industry. By 1960, twenty-one billion dollars were spent on military goods.

Of this colossal sum, seven and one-half billion were divided amongst ten corporations and five corporations received nearly one billion dollars each. I ask you to consider carefully that in the executive offices of these same corporations there are 1,400 army officers, including 261 generals and officers of flag rank. General



Dynamics has 187 officers, 27 generals and admirals and the former Secretary of the Army on its payroll.

This is a ruling caste, which stays in power no matter who is elected to nominal public office, and every President finds himself obliged to serve the interests of this all-powerful group. Thus, American democracy has been emptied of life and meaning because the people cannot remove the real men who rule them.

It is this concentration of power which makes it necessary for the Pentagon and big industry to continue the arms race for its own sake. The sub-contracts they award to smaller industries and war contractors involve every American city and, thus, affect the jobs of millions of people. Four million work for the Defence Department. Its payroll is twelve billion dollars, twice that of the U.S. automobile industry. A further four million work directly in arms industries. In many cities military production accounts for as much as 80 per cent of all manufacturing jobs. Over 50 per cent of the national public expenditure of the United States is devoted to military spending. This vast military system covers the world with over three thousand military bases, for the simple purpose of protecting the same empire which was described so clearly in the statements of President Eisenhower, the State Department adviser and the *New York Times* which I mentioned earlier to you. From Vietnam to the Dominican Republic, from the Middle East to the Congo, the economic interests of a few big corporations linked to the arms industry and the military itself determine what happens to American lives. It is on their orders that the United States invades and oppresses starving and helpless people.

Yet, despite the immense wealth of the United States, despite the fact that with only six per cent of the world's people approaching two-thirds of the world's resources are in its possession, despite the control over the world's oil, cobalt, tungsten, iron ore, rubber and other vital resources, despite the vast billions of profits that are gained by a few American corporations at the cost of mass starvation amongst the peoples of the world, despite all this, sixty-six million Americans live at poverty level. The cities of America are covered in slums. The poor carry the burden of taxation and the fighting of colonial and aggressive wars. I am asking all of you to make an intellectual connection between events which occur daily around you, to try to see clearly the system which has taken control of the



United States and perverted its institutional life into a grotesque arsenal for a world empire. It is the vast military machine, the great industrial combines and their intelligence agencies which are regarded by the people of three whole continents as their main enemy in life and the source of their misery and hunger. If we examine the governments which depend for their existence upon American military force, we shall always find regimes which support the rich, the landlords and the big capitalists. This is true in Brazil, in Peru, in Venezuela, in Thailand, in South Korea, in Japan. It is true the world over.

The result of this is that in order to suppress a national revolution, such as the great historic uprising of the Vietnamese people, the United States is obliged to behave as the Japanese behaved in Southeast Asia and the Nazis behaved in Eastern Europe. This is literally true. The concentration camps to which I have referred, and which held nearly sixty per cent of the rural population of South Vietnam, were scenes of torture, massacre and mass burial. The special experimental weapons, like the gas and chemicals and jelly-gasoline, are as horrible as anything used by the Nazis during the Second World War. It is true that the Nazis systematically exterminated the Jews and the United States has not yet done anything comparable in Vietnam. With the exception of the extermination of the Jews, however, everything that the Germans did in Eastern Europe has been repeated by the United States in Vietnam on a scale which is larger and with an efficiency which is more terrible and more complete.

In violation of solemn international agreements signed by American Presidents and ratified by the American Congress, this Johnson Government has committed war crimes, crimes against humanity and crimes against the peace. It has committed these crimes because the Johnson Government exists to preserve the economic exploitation and the military domination of subject peoples by U.S. industrial magnates and their military arm. The Central Intelligence Agency, which has a budget fifteen times larger than all the diplomatic activity of the United States, is involved in the assassination of heads of state, and plots against independent governments. This sinister activity is designed to destroy the leadership and the organisation of peoples who are struggling to free themselves from the stranglehold of American economic and political domination.

As the Communists withdrew from Quangnai last Monday, US jet bombers pounded the hills into which they were headed. Many Vietnamese—one estimate was as high as 500—were killed by the strikes. The American contention is that they were Vietcong soldiers. But three out of four patients seeking treatment in a Vietnamese hospital afterwards for burns from napalm or jellied gasoline were village women. (New York Times, June 6, 1965.)

There is a new breed of Americans that most of us don't know about and it is time we got used to it. The 18 and 19-year-olds, fashionably referred to as high school drop-outs, have steel in their backbones and maybe too much of what prize fighters call the killer instinct. These kids seem to enjoy killing Vietcong. . . . (New York Journal-American, September 16, 1965.)

United States' militarism is inseparable from that same predatory capitalism which reduced the American people themselves to poverty within the living memory of this generation. The same essential motives have led to barbarous and atrocious crimes on a great scale in Vietnam.

I have called on intellectuals and eminent independent men and women from all parts of the world to join in an international War Crimes Tribunal which will hear evidence concerning the crimes of the U.S. Government in Vietnam. You will remember that Germans were considered guilty if they acquiesced in and accepted the crimes of their government. Nobody considered it a sufficient excuse for Germans to say that they knew about the gas chambers and the concentration camps, the torture and the mutilation, but were unable to stop it. I appeal to you as a human being to human beings.

Remember your humanity and your own self-respect.

The war against the people of Vietnam is barbaric. It is an aggressive war of conquest. During the American War of Independence, no one had to tell Americans the purpose of their struggle or conscript them against their will. Nor was it necessary for American soldiers to go ten thousand miles to another country. In the American revolutionary war against foreign troops Americans fought in fields and forests although they were in rags and the occupying army was the strongest of the day. Americans fought the occupier, although they were hungry and poor, and they fought them house by house. In that war of liberation, the American revolutionaries were called terrorists and the colonial power was the one labelling them rebels and rabble.

American national heroes responded with words such as Nathan Hale's and Patrick Henry's. The sentiment, 'Give me liberty or give me death', inspired their struggle, just as it inspires the Vietnamese resistance to United States' aggression and occupation. The Nathan Hales and Patrick Henrys of Vietnam are not the United States army. Those who display heroism, love of country and that deep belief in freedom and justice which inspired the American people in 1776 are today the people of Vietnam, fighting under the revolutionary leadership of their National Liberation Front. And so the American people are to be used as cannon-fodder by those who exploit not only the Vietnamese but the people of the United States themselves. It is Americans who have been killing Vietnamese, attacking villages,

However, several villagers were rounded up and one man was brought before the company commander. The Vietnamese officer briefly questioned the suspect, then turned to his adviser . . . and said, "I think I shoot this man. Okay?"

"Go ahead," said the adviser.

The officer fired a carbine round point-blank, striking the villager below the chest. The man slumped and died. The patrol moved on. Later, a correspondent asked the adviser, who had seemed a decent enough fellow, why he had given his approval.

. . . "These people could have moved to a Government area. In this war they are either on our side or they are not. There is no in-between" (New York Times Magazine, November 28, 1965.)

occupying cities, using gas and chemicals, bombing their schools and hospitals — all this to protect the profits of American capitalism. The men who conscript the soldiers are the same men who sign the military contracts in their own benefit. They are the same men who send American soldiers to Vietnam as company cops, protecting stolen property.

So it is that the real struggle for freedom and democracy is inside the United States itself, against the usurpers of American society. I have no doubt that the American people would respond just as the Vietnamese have responded if the United States were invaded and subjected to the atrocities and tortures which the United States army and government have inflicted on the Vietnamese. The American protest movement, which has inspired people all over the world, is the only true spokesman for American concern for individual liberty and social justice. The battlefront for freedom is in Washington, in the struggle against the war criminals — Johnson, Rusk and McNamara — who have degraded the United States and its citizens. Indeed, they have stolen the United States from its people and made the name of a great country stink in the nostrils of people the world over. This is the harsh truth, and it is a truth which is affecting the daily lives of Americans irrevocably and increasingly. There is no looking the other way. There is no pretending that the war crimes are not occurring, that the gas and chemicals do not exist, that the torture and napalm have not been used, that the Vietnamese have not been slaughtered by American soldiers and American bombs. There is no dignity without the courage to examine this evil and oppose it.

There is no solution for the American crisis short of the emancipation of the American people themselves from these barbarous men who speak in their name and defile a great people by doing so. The American people, however, are becoming alert and are showing that same determination and courage which the Vietnamese have so movingly displayed. The Negro struggle in Harlem, Watts and the American South, the resistance of the American students, the increasing distaste for this war shown by the American people at large, give hope to all mankind that the day when greedy and brutal men can deceive and abuse the American nation is drawing to a close.

My appeal to Americans is made with full awareness that the rulers of the United States have spared no



device in propaganda to hide from the American people the ugly face of their rulers and the truth about their behaviour. Abraham Lincoln gave expression to the hope that a people, once aroused, can be deceived no longer. All Americans who know from their own experience and from that of their closest relatives what has been done in Vietnam should come forward now.

Speak the truth and take your stand alongside your brothers throughout the world. Struggle for an America free of murderous production, free of war criminals, free of exploitation and free of the hatred of subject peoples. These peoples look to the ordinary people of the United States to understand their plight and to answer their struggle with an American resistance capable of making the United States again a citadel of individual liberty and social justice. The international War Crimes Tribunal is itself an appeal to the conscience of the American people, our allies in a common cause.

The War Crimes Tribunal is under urgent preparation now. I am approaching eminent jurists, literary figures and men of public affairs in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the United States itself. Vietnamese victims of this war will give evidence. Full scientific data concerning the chemicals used, their properties and their effects will be documented. Eye-witnesses will describe what they have seen and scientists will be invited to examine the exhibits in the possession of the Tribunal. The proceedings will be tape-recorded and the full evidence will be published. There will be documentary film material concerning the witnesses and their evidence.

We aim to provide the most exhaustive portrayal of what has happened to the people of Vietnam. We intend that the peoples of the world shall be aroused as never before, the better to prevent the repetition of this tragedy elsewhere. Just as in the case of Spain, Vietnam is a barbarous rehearsal. It is our intention that neither the bona fides nor the authenticity of this Tribunal will be susceptible to challenge from those who have so much to hide. President Johnson, Dean Rusk, Robert McNamara, Henry Cabot Lodge, General Westmoreland and their fellow criminals will be brought before a wider justice than they recognise and a more profound condemnation than they are equipped to understand.

POST SCRIPT: THE CONSCIENCE OF MANKIND

My Appeal to the American Conscience poses to the American people the relation of war crimes in Vietnam to their Government, society - to their very lives. Not only the American people are confronted by these events. So are we all. World opinion and world action must halt these vast atrocities, or 'Eichmann' will come to stand for Everyman. 'We', said Eichmann, 'only provided the lorries'. 'He who witnesses a crime in silence, commits it', said Jose Marti.

Eichmann symbolises damaged humanity: those who do not know; those who will not think; those who cannot care. Marti expressed the quick, unfettered sense of human responsibility, of impatience with excuses for horror and of contempt for moral evasion. Who, among us, is not a witness to these crimes?

There can be few literate adults in the Western world unfamiliar with the war in Vietnam waged by the United States Government. The mass media of communication, notably television and news magazines, have displayed unremittingly the most graphic evidence of atrocities carried out by American forces and those responsible to them in Vietnam.

Photographs showing mutilation and torture of villagers and National Liberation Front prisoners have appeared on the front pages of the *New York Times*, *New York Herald Tribune*, the *Washington Post* and innumerable other newspapers and journals. *Newsweek*, *Time*, *Life* and *Look* magazines have carried large numbers of photographs of American forces engaged in operations in Vietnam with phosphorus, poison gas, chemicals and napalm. Such captions as, 'Smoking out the Vietcong: phosphorus more deadly than gas', have accompanied pictures in these journals.

The bombardment of hospitals, schools and tuberculosis sanatoria has been recorded unselfconsciously. The mere compilation of the photographs, reports and data from the Western Press affords a list of crimes as terrible as many of the acts for which Germans were executed at Nuremberg.

Chief Prosecutor Justice Jackson of the United States Supreme Court said in his opening statement at the Nuremberg trials:

'The real complaining party at the bar is civilisation. Civilisation is asking whether law is so laggard as to be utterly helpless to deal with crimes of such magnitude as Germany's ... Civilisation expects this Tribunal to put the forces of international law, its precepts, its prohibitions and most of its sanctions on the side of peace.'

The precedent of Nuremberg has direct relevance to our present situation. This was again articulated by Justice Jackson:

'Certainly no future lawyer or nation undertaking to

prosecute crimes against the peace of the world will have to face the argument that the effort is unprecedented and, therefore, by inference, improper.'

In holding a War Crimes Tribunal in 1967 we maintain that our situation is analogous to the circumstances which made necessary the Nuremberg trials. We feel as people felt 25 years ago when Jews were being crammed into gas chambers. We are compelled to speak out, indeed to cry out, against crimes committed in Vietnam.

We maintain that there is overwhelming evidence of a prima facie character, evidence shown daily by the very media of communication of the Western countries. This evidence supporting the charge of war crimes has induced us to prepare the international Tribunal which will function as a commission of enquiry.

What, then, is the nature of this Tribunal? Witnesses who are under accusation are free to attend, but will not be compelled. It has no power to sentence the accused or carry out penalties. It is not the spokesman of any government. These facts rule out an adversary procedure because without the ability to bring the accused to give evidence in their defence a trial is impossible. A mock trial would not serve the needs of the Tribunal, for its procedures would be inadequate to its purpose. The War Crimes Tribunal will, therefore, be more an international commission of enquiry which, as in the case of a grand jury, has prima facie evidence sufficient to investigate the crimes it believes to have been committed.

The weight and impact of the Tribunal will be a result of the eminence and representative character of its members. They will be men who are unimpeachable and whom no-one could accuse of treating evidence inadequately or unfairly.

This point is emphasised because there will be some who will say that those who believe crimes to have been committed cannot judge the evidence impartially. This is to confuse an open mind for an empty one. We are not blank slates with no feelings or impressions. The Tribunal is called into being because of a passionate conviction that terrible atrocities and crimes against humanity are taking place at this moment against a small people.

The Tribunal, like the grand jury which brings an indictment, will weigh evidence fairly but will hear that evidence because of its belief that crimes are being committed.

There will be the most precise examination of the characteristics, properties and effects of the chemicals, gas and other weapons used in Vietnam. More than two hundred witnesses and victims will come to testify from Vietnam. Scientists who have studied

weaponry will give evidence. Doctors, nurses, newspapermen and witnesses will testify. Motion picture film and still photographs of the raids and the victims will be presented for the Tribunal's consideration. Documentary film will be made from the testimony of the witnesses, the proceedings of the Tribunal and the evidence. Tape recordings will be made of the hearings and pressed into gramophone records for wide distribution. Full data and testimony will be published. The mere announcement of the Tribunal has led to the most widespread international interest and support. Spontaneous actions in favour of the Tribunal have taken place in many countries. Petitions calling on people everywhere to support the Tribunal are being circulated prior to the hearings. Committees of support are being formed in many countries. Teach-ins, debates and meetings concerning the War Crimes Tribunal are being organised. Funds are being collected. Badges and stickers are being distributed. By such means as these it is becoming clear that a considerable mandate is being produced for the Tribunal proceedings. These proceedings will last twelve weeks and will take place in Paris.

The initiative in forming the international War Crimes Tribunal is that of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation. We have sought to invite esteemed and accomplished people who have made a special contribution to human civilisation. Several of them are experts in international law, with particular knowledge and experience concerning war crimes. These latter include Professor (Dr. Juris) Vladimir Dedijer of Yugoslavia and Lelio Basso, international lawyer and Editor of *International Socialist Journal*.

Other members include: Gunther Anders, the Austrian writer; Simone de Beauvoir and Jean-Paul Sartre from France; former President Lazaro Cardenas of Mexico; Stokely Carmichael, National Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee in the United States; Professor Josue de Castro of Brazil, former head of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organisation; Isaac Deutscher, the British historian; Danilo Dolci from Sicily; and Peter Weiss, the Swedish playwright. It should be clear that the Tribunal is geographically representative as well as prominent.

Because of the eminence of the Tribunal members, not all of them can be in Paris for twelve weeks. The legal staff of the Tribunal will take depositions from witnesses and present findings to Tribunal members wherever they are. At the conclusion of the hearings the judgement of the Tribunal will be printed. Support for this judgement will be solicited on the most intensive and world-wide scale.

There are those who raise the question of violence on

the part of the National Liberation Front and the Vietnamese resistance to the United States. The War Crimes Tribunal would no more think of considering as crimes the Vietnamese resistance to American aggression than did the Nuremberg Tribunal treat the rising of the Warsaw Ghetto, the struggle for survival of the partisans of Yugoslavia, the resistance of Norway, the underground in Denmark and the Maquis in France as worthy of condemnation. It was the Gestapo who were condemned and not their victims. That assessment was central to the Nuremberg trials themselves and so it is with respect to the War Crimes Tribunal and Vietnam.

Although it is impossible to compel defence witnesses to appear, the Tribunal is prepared to hear witnesses for the defence, but only those who have been formally requested by the United States Government to appear on its behalf. Unauthorised witnesses cannot be accepted in defence of the United States' actions because they would inevitably be considered inadequate or unfair by the United States Government, which would insist on regarding the matter of its defence to be its own concern. The serious and solemn character of the Tribunal proceedings require that Government approved defence only will be permitted where the United States is concerned. For these reasons, I have written President Johnson requesting him to appear in his own defence or designate persons to come on his Government's behalf.

The international War Crimes Tribunal views its responsibilities to be to civilisation and to mankind. Chief Prosecutor Justice Jackson of the United States Supreme Court had said at Nuremberg:

'If certain acts and violation of treaties are crimes, they are crimes whether the United States does them or whether Germany does them. We are not prepared to lay down a rule of criminal conduct against others which we would not be willing to have invoked against us.'

This Tribunal was called in the conviction that these crimes have again been committed and that judgement must again be invoked against those responsible.

It is important to note that the Nuremberg Tribunal was conducted by victorious nations against a defeated one. The international War Crimes Tribunal has no victor's powers, nor any State authority. It holds a brief for the decent feelings of people everywhere.

The international investigating committee which is being completed will travel throughout Vietnam, gathering evidence. People of all countries: Help the War Crimes Tribunal. Make it a Tribunal of the conscience of mankind.



Published by:
THE INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL
11A Wormwood Street, London, E.C.2

B.R. 4/6/67

For further information please contact:

Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation
342 WEST 84th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10024

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, LOS ANGELES (105-22080)

DATE: 7/26/67

FROM : SA [redacted] b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/15/02 BY 39063 ELW/CRS/CJW
954762

SUBJECT: INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL
IS-C

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[redacted] b7C b7D	International War Crimes Tribunal at 1st Unitarian Church of LA on 6/15/67.	6/21/67	Writer	[redacted] (WR) b2 b7D

Source's report is quoted as follows:

"Los Angeles, Calif.
June 16, 1967

"Date, June 15, 1967

"Time: 8 PM - 10 PM.

"Place: 1st Unitarian Church
2936 W. 8th St., Los Angeles, Calif.

"Sponsors, not listed, but advertised 'People's World',
International War Crimes tribunal.

"Function - meeting.

"The speaker at the above function was [redacted] b7C

"He spoke of war crimes which he claims the United States are inflicting upon the North Vietnamese people.

CC: [redacted] b2
[redacted] b7D

100-55602 [redacted] (SI)
100-DEAD [redacted] (SI)

b7C

CEW:LAL
(4)
LAL

Read by CRW

105-22080-18

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED... <i>VE</i> ...	FILED... <i>VE</i> ...
JUL 26 1967	
FBI - L.S.	

IA 105-22080

"He told of United States destroying a paper mill only to kill the peopl_ working in this mill.

"Also the V.C. do not put red cross signs on their hospitals, because if they did we would bomb them.

"He said we bombed the V.C. schools killing their little children.

"That President JOHNSON ordered bombings just before there were to be peace talks. He said Washington did not want peace to come.

"He spoke of Senator WAYNE MORSE of Oregon not liking the Presidents policy in Vietnam.

"He spoke of the Los Angeles Police Officer [redacted] of having such bad treatment by the Los Angeles Police Dept. b7C

"He told of police brutality all over the country to our Negros who he mentioned as dying in Asia.

"He asked us to demonstrate like we had never did before. He said just tearing up the American flag, and burning our draft cards were not enough. That we must sacrifice ourselves 'such as not paying our 10% govt. tax on our telephones, and all other govt. taxes. That this money was used to bomb the children and old people of Asia, and if we paid these taxes were as guilty as tho we dropped the bombs ourselves. He told of different types of bombs such as the lazy boy which did not do any damage to buildings only killed little children, and old people.

"He told of his trip to Stockholm and a professor who went with him from U.S.C. he did not mention his name.

"He said he intened to return to Stockholm, and tell the Commission of the crimes he saw committed in North Vietnam by the United States.


LA 105-22080

"The cost of admission was fifty cents per person. A collection was taken midway of meeting several persons gave five and twenty dollar bills.

"The following persons were knowed to me:



b7C

"The following autos bearing licenses numbers:  were parked in front of the 1st Unitarian Church at 2950 W. 8th St. Los Angeles, Calif.

b7C

"About four men left these cars and entered this building wearing round red buttons about one inch in dia. with black lettering."

ACTION:

Source was thoroughly interviewed concerning the above and could add nothing further.

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

INDEX:



b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-60428)

DATE: 7/26/67

FROM : SA [redacted] b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/15/02 BY 39063 ELN/BAK/CW

SUBJECT: ITALIAN-AMERICAN CULTURAL
SOCIETY OF LOS ANGELES (IACSLA)
IS-C

954762

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[redacted] (conceal) b7C b7D	Meeting sponsored by IACSLA on 6/17/67.	6/21/67	Writer	[redacted] (NYC)

b2
b7D

Informant's report is quoted as follows:

"L. A. Calif.
6/19/67

"Purpose of meeting: Stockholm War Crimes Tribunal - Inside Facts.

"Time, Date, Place, etc: Hungarian Hall, 1251 So. St. Andrews L.A. Cal. 7P.M. - 10 P.M. Sat. June 17, 1967.

"Admission Price: \$1.00 (includes coffee & cake).

"Principal Speaker: [redacted] attorney; at the Tribunal showed slides. b7C

"Sponsor-Ausp: Italian-American Cultural Society.

CC: [redacted] b2 b7D

105-22080 (WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL)
100-26091 [redacted] (SI)
100-31131 [redacted] (SI) b7C
100-30844 [redacted] (SI)

CRW:LAL
(6) *CRW* Read by CSW

105-22080-19

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED <i>VP</i>	FILED <i>VP</i>
JUL 26 1967	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

LA 100-60428

[REDACTED]

"Amt. money taken in: Approx. \$60.00 at door
exactly \$47.18 - collection b7C
\$107.18 approx. total.*

"One of the lady collectors was - [REDACTED]

"Money collected in addn: \$5.00 check given by me
to [REDACTED] (in addn. to \$1.00 bill
+ admission 1.00) for her book 'And My
Heart Was At Home'.

[REDACTED] L.A.
Calif. 90026 upon rept. of \$5.00 check for book mailed to me by
[REDACTED] on credit, asked me if I'd 'read the book yet?' I replied
no, but I'd skimmed thru it & was fascinated & could hardly
wait to sit down & read it. She asked me to 'write to her' -
keep in touch - at this point a couple sitting next to me, who
came in late, inquired about the book & I called [REDACTED] back &
she sold them a book on credit. She again thanked me & said
'keep in touch.'

b7C

[REDACTED] at speaker table, said a collection was
necessary 'cause the price of admission didn't begin to cover
expenses.

"The slides shown were of participants in war crimes
tribunal & most of the hour was taken to giving a long, long,
list of 'credits' to the various participants who they were,
& everything they'd ever done.

"The 7 PM to 8:15 period was coffee & cake time.
A lady did fold folders to give out re Pres. JOHNSON's coming
to L.A. & 'reception' to him from various groups.

"One word going around is that someone may release a
skunk, or some mice in Century Plaza banquet room while the
President speaks.

"The speaker during slides also dwelt on how horrible
the U.S.A. is & the horror on children of Napalm, & the fact that
no one but us uses Napalm.

LA 100-60428

"After approx. 35 minutes of slides bal. of evening was devoted to question & answers.

"Personally known to me the following persons were present:



b7C

ACTION:

Informant was thoroughly interviewed concerning the above and could add nothing further.

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

~~SECRET~~

TO : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-26091)

DATE: 8/14/67

FROM : SA [redacted] b7C

2/15/02
CLASSIFIED BY NKS/DAG-60267-ARG
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1 ✓
954762

SUBJECT: [redacted] (SI)
SM-C b7C

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION	b1
[redacted] (S) b1	Speech by [redacted] on 7/22/67.	7/28/67 b7C	Writer	[redacted] (WR)	(S)

Informant's report has been Xeroxed and is attached.

ACTION:

Informant was thoroughly interviewed concerning the above and could add nothing further.

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

INDEX:

[redacted] b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

CC: [redacted] (S) b1

- 100-68940 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-68941 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-68930 [redacted] (SI) b7C
- 100-40134 [redacted] (RI-B)
- 100-34216 [redacted] (SI)
- 105-22080 (WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL)
- 100-68395 [redacted]

FGK:LAL
(9) *ed*

Read by _____

105-22080-20

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED <i>SAS</i>	FILED <i>SAS</i>
AUG 14 1967	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

[Signature]

~~SECRET~~

July 25, 1967
Los Angeles, California

July 22, 1967 (Saturday)
Santa Ana Peace Center
206 W. Third Street
Santa Ana, California
Lecture by [redacted]

b7C

About 35 people attended the lecture:

[redacted]

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 2/15/02 BY 39063 ELW/DAG/CJW
954762

In the lecture, [redacted] said that he was present at the War Crimes Tribunal which was held in Stockholm. At the Tribunal, he presented a paper on the law of land warfare. b7C

Later at the home of [redacted] talked about his visit to Cuba, and of the consumption and production of rice in Cuba. b7C

[redacted] said that he is the attorney for [redacted] a defendant from the June 23, demonstration.

b7C

[redacted] said that [redacted]

[redacted] discussed with the [redacted]

b7C

[redacted] said that [redacted]

b7C

TO: SAC,

- | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|---|---|
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| <input type="checkbox"/> Albuquerque | <input type="checkbox"/> Indianapolis | <input type="checkbox"/> Norfolk | <input type="checkbox"/> Washington Field |
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| <input type="checkbox"/> Detroit | <input type="checkbox"/> New Haven | <input type="checkbox"/> Seattle | <input type="checkbox"/> Tokyo |
| <input type="checkbox"/> El Paso | <input type="checkbox"/> New Orleans | <input type="checkbox"/> Springfield | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Honolulu | | | |

DEC 20 1967

Date _____

RE:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 2/15/02 BY 39063 ELW/DRG/GW
954762

For information Retention optional For appropriate action Surep, by _____

The enclosed is for your information. If used in a future report, conceal all sources, paraphrase contents.

Enclosed are corrected pages from report of SA _____ dated _____

Remarks:

105,22080
SEARCHED _____ INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED _____ FILED _____
DEC 20 1967
FBI - LOS ANGELES

Enc.
Bufile
Urfile

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-17375)

DATE: 2/9/68

FROM: SA [redacted] b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/15/02 BY 37063 ELL/DGG/ajw
954762

SUBJECT: LOS ANGELES LOCAL -
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (LAL-SWP)
IS-SWP

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[redacted] b2 b7D	LAL-SWP membership meeting on 1/23/68.	1/25/68	Writer	[redacted] (WR)

Informant's report is quoted as follows:

CC: 1 - SAN FRANCISCO (REGISTERED)
100- [redacted] b7C (Retained copy maintained
in file _____)

1 - NEW YORK (REGISTERED)
100-4013 (AFRO-AMERICANS FOR [redacted] b7C
AND [redacted])

[redacted] b2
[redacted] b7D

- 100-70732 [redacted] b7C
- 100-69390 [redacted] (SI)
- 105-22080 (BERTRAND RUSSELL WAR
CRIMES TRIBUNAL) [redacted] (PFP)
- 100-70668 (DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST
DOW CHEMICAL COMPANY) 25-79658 (ANTI-DRAFT DEMONSTRATIONS)
- 100-63201 (RALPH SCHOENMAN) (SI)
- 100-70444 [redacted] (SI) b7C
- 100-58654 (PAC) [redacted] (SI) b7C
- 100-59650 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-24035 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-19949 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-54859 (OSCAR COOVER) (SI)
- 100-24141 [redacted] (SI) b7C
- 100-58416 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-70318 [redacted] b7C
- 100-70414 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-70073 (PFP)
- 100-68888 (SMC)
- 100-70727 (SCMC)
- 100-57253 (YSA)
- 100-70026 [redacted] (SI) b7C
- 100-69649 [redacted] (SI)

COPIES CONTINUED ON PAGE 2.

WNH:LAL
(56)

Read by WNH

105-22080-22

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 9 1968	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

LA 100-17375

COPIES CONTINUED:

100-66151	[REDACTED] (SI)	100-29632	[REDACTED] (SI)
100-38143	[REDACTED] (SI)	100-34235	[REDACTED] (SI)
100-31033	[REDACTED] (SI)	100-31766	[REDACTED] (SI)
100-29560	[REDACTED] (SI)	100-69804	[REDACTED] (SI)
100-58890	[REDACTED] (SI)	100-29463	[REDACTED] (SI)
100-70430	(WALTER LIPPMAN)	100-64667	[REDACTED] (SI)
100-56607	[REDACTED] (SI)	100-56608	[REDACTED] (SI)
100-23553	[REDACTED] (SI)	100-66510	[REDACTED] (SI)
100-68351	[REDACTED] (SI)	100-68352	[REDACTED] (SI)
100-32021	[REDACTED] (SI)	100-29057	[REDACTED] (SI)
100-29374	[REDACTED] (SI)	100-50756	[REDACTED] (SI)
100-29648	[REDACTED] (SI)	100-23383	[REDACTED] (SI)
100-29522	[REDACTED] (SI)	100-54961	[REDACTED] (SI)
100-31005	[REDACTED] (SI)	100-30670	[REDACTED] (SI)
100-67411	[REDACTED] (SI)	100-69958	[REDACTED] (SI)

b7C

b7C

"1/24/68

"On January 23, 1968, I attended a meeting of the Los Angeles Branch of the Socialist Workers Party at 1702 East Fourth Street, Los Angeles, California.

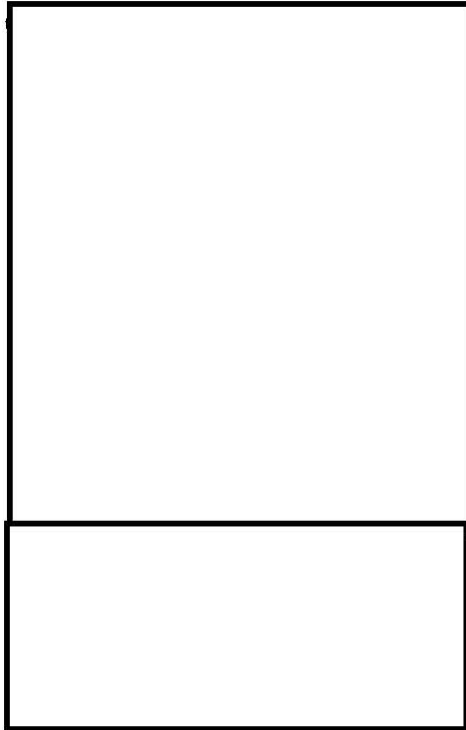
"Present were:

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b7C

LA 100-17375



b7C

WALTER LIPPMAN



from San Francisco

b7C

"The meeting was called to order by [redacted] b7C
[redacted] was elected [redacted] for this meeting. The minutes
of the previous meeting were read by [redacted] and they
were accepted as read.

[redacted] gave the executive committee report. He
said a reporter from San Francisco will report on that branch's b7C
Peace and Freedom Party discussion at tonight's branch meeting. He
said [redacted] will be assigned to finances to assist [redacted]
and [redacted] will be assigned to do BERTRAND RUSSELL War Crimes
Tribunal and BERTRAND RUSSELL Peace Foundation work. He said the
executive committee proposes to devote the January 28th meeting to
the Peace and Freedom Party discussion and to hold the Branch Con-
ference on February 4th and to cancel branch meetings of January 30

LA 100-17375

"and February 6th. A motion to lay over decision on this point until conclusion of meeting was carried. [redacted] said no forum will be held on February 2 but that a branch mobilization to sell literature, hand out campaign material and leaflets be held at the Sports Arena that night at the [redacted] meeting. He said the Herald Examiner strikers will hold a rally on January 26 at 5 PM and that we will hold a Militant sale there. He said some material on the strike was available. b7C

[redacted] gave the antiwar report. He said the Student Mobilization Committee will hold a Conference in Chicago the weekend of January 27 & 28. He said plans are being made for ten days of protest - April 20-30 - with a student strike being called for April 26 and a massive march for April 27. b7C

"OSCAR COOVER said the planning meeting call for the Dow Action Conference, January 29th, 8 PM, Mayfair Hotel, is available. He said a rally or march is planned for April 27th. He said the Compton Antiwar Initiative needs help because they are lagging in signatures.

[redacted] said Peace Action Council will hold a conference on the draft on February 10th.

[redacted] gave the forum report. He said 127 people were at the RALPH SCHOENMAN forum - 26 SWP members and 101 others. He said a breakdown of the 101 others was: 44 young people, 6 Y.S.A. members, 7 blacks, and 44 others. He said \$90.00 was taken in at the door and \$60.00 worth of literature was sold - \$30.00 of it to SCHOENMAN. [redacted] said the January 26th forum will be a symposium on antiwar initiatives. b7C

[redacted] said a recount of literature sold showed \$75.00 was sold.

"Announcements: b7C

"1. [redacted] said two new members have been recruited to the Y.S.A. for a total of 21 members, three more are waiting in line and will join on Sunday bringing the total to 24 members. He

LA 100-17375

"said \$108.00 worth of literature was sold at UCLA last week.

"2. [redacted] made the Modern Book Shop announcement.

"3. [redacted] said Afro-Americans for [redacted] and [redacted] will sponsor an Evening in Stereo on Feb. 3 at 9 PM.

b7C

"4. [redacted] said volunteers are needed for Militant sales work for two meetings on January 26th.

"5. OSCAR COOVER said Southern California Mobilization Committee will hold a work meeting January 24 at the home of [redacted].

"Intermission for payment of dues and pledges.

"Discussion on Peace and Freedom Party.

"OSCAR COOVER said he was withdrawing his motion on Peace and Freedom Party.

[redacted] reported on the Bay Area discussion on Peace and Freedom Party. He said the Bay Area agreed with the general outline of [redacted] document. Discussion and questions: WALTER LIPPMAN, [redacted]

[redacted] made a procedural motion: branch prepare a transcript of all the tape discussion plus any documents.

b7C

"OSCAR COOVER made a procedural motion: reproduce San Francisco document, circulate it in Los Angeles, and any differing point of view be mimeographed and distributed in Los Angeles.

" [redacted] made a motion to refer both motions to the executive committee. Motion carried.

[redacted] asked for 15 minutes to discuss Peace and Freedom Party. Granted. [redacted] gave his talk.

LA 100-17375

[REDACTED] brought up the motion to hold mtng. on b7C
Jan. 28 and Feb. 4. Motion to approve was carried."

ACTION:

Informant was thoroughly interviewed concerning the
above and could add nothing further.

All necessary action in connection with this memo has
been taken by the writer.

INDEX:

COMPTON INITIATIVE

~~SECRET~~

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-DEAD)
FROM: SA [REDACTED] b7C
SUBJECT: DOW ACTION COMMITTEE
IS - C

DATE: 2/16/68

2/15/02
CLASSIFIED BY NLS/DAG-60267-AB
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 1
954762

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[REDACTED] (S) b1	Meeting of Dow Action Committee at LA, 1/25/68.	2/2/68	Writer	[REDACTED] (S) b1 (WR)

Informant's report has been Xeroxed and is attached.

CC: [REDACTED] (S) b1

- 100-70456 [REDACTED]
- 100-54859 (OSCAR COOVER) (SI)
- 100-70510 [REDACTED] (SI)
- 100-58890 [REDACTED] (SI)
- 100-64667 [REDACTED] (SI)
- 100-63646 [REDACTED] (SI)
- 100-70444 [REDACTED] (SI) b7C
- 100-68930 [REDACTED] (SI)
- 100-23437 [REDACTED] (SI)
- 100-38143 [REDACTED] (SI)
- 100-33159 [REDACTED] (SI)
- 100-69131 [REDACTED] (SI)
- 100-70629 [REDACTED]
- 100-50428 [REDACTED]
- 100-69189 [REDACTED]
- 100-70518 [REDACTED]
- 100-69337 [REDACTED]
- 100-70727 (SCMC)
- 100-68883 (SMC)
- 100-17375 (SWP)
- 100-70668 (DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST DOW CHEMICAL COMPANY)

105-22080 (WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL)
100-66519 (SDS)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

105-22080-23

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FEB 16 1968	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

FGK/djy
(25) *djy*

Read by F.G.K.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

LA 100-DEAD

ACTION:

Informant was thoroughly interviewed concerning the above and could add nothing further.

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

INDEX:

NATIONAL STUDENT MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE

b7C

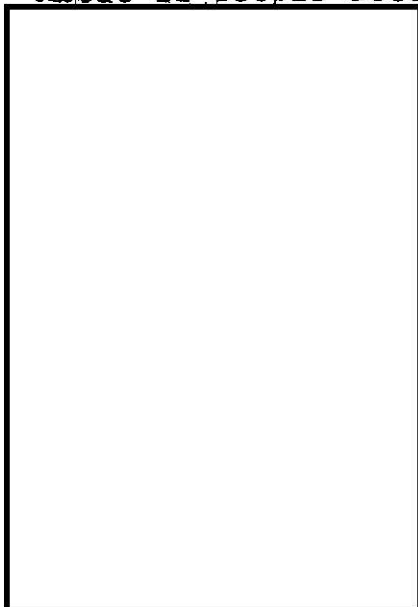
~~SECRET~~

January 30, 1968
Los Angeles, California

January 25, 1968 (Thursday)
8247½ Blackburn Ave.
Los Angeles, California
Dow Action Committee
Meeting.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/15/02 BY 39063 ELW/DAG/CA
954762

About 22 people attended the meeting:



b7C

The Dow Action Committee was formed by members of the Southern California Mobilization Committee, the Student Mobilization Committee, and the Socialist Workers' Party to organize an anti-Vietnam war protest campaign which will be directed mainly against the Dow Chemical Company. The activities of this committee will commence on or about February 1, 1968, with the campaign to last about three months.

The work of this committee will be linked to national and international protest around the end of April. The final days of protest will probably April 27, when most of the activity is expected.

[redacted] and [redacted] said they will go to Chicago this weekend to attend a meeting of the National Student Mobilization Committee. [redacted] said he will probably return Sunday, but [redacted] will probably not return until Monday evening or Tuesday morning. [redacted] said that the War Crimes Tribunal was paying for his return fare.

Coover said that SDS and the Student Mobilization Committee overlap.

and others said they attended a Western Mobilization Committee in San Francisco last weekend. b7C

About \$20. was collected at this meeting for the work of the Committee.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-17375)

DATE: 2/20/68

FROM : SA [redacted] b7C

SUBJECT: LOS ANGELES LOCAL -
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (LAL-SWP)
IS-SWP.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/15/02 BY 39063 ELW/DAG/LSW
954762

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION	
[redacted] (conceal) b7C b7D	LAL-SWP Militant Labor Forum on 1/19/68.	1/25/68	Writer	[redacted] (WR)	b2 b7D

Informant's report has been Xeroxed and is attached.

ACTION: [redacted] is [redacted]
[redacted] is [redacted]

b7C

Informant was thoroughly interviewed concerning the above and could add nothing further.

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

b2
b7D

CC: [redacted]

- 100-63646 [redacted] (SI) b7C
- 100-63201 (RALPH SCHOENMAN) (SI)
- 100-22080 (WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL)
- 100-68888 (SMC)
- 100-70727 (SCMC)
- 100-29632 [redacted] (SI) b7C
- 100-31033 [redacted] (SI)

WNH:LAL
(9) *ed* Read by [signature]

105-22080-24

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
FEB 20 1968	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

[signature]

January 22, 1968

On January 19, 1968 I attended a meeting at the Los Angeles Headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party, 1702 E. Fourth Street, Los Angeles, California from 8:30 p.m. until 10:30 p.m.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/15/02 BY SP063 E-LW/DAG/CJW
954762

There were approximately 80 people in attendance of which five or six were Negro and the rest Caucasian. The age group was mixed, however there were a large number of young people around an average age of 19.

Of those in attendance were the following recognized people:

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Member of the S.W.P.

b7C

The Chairman introduced the speaker for the evening who was Ralph Schoenman, affiliations: Secretary to Bertram Russell, Secretary General of the recent "International War Crimes Tribunal" and others.

The Chairman stated that Mr. Schoenman's topic for the evening was "Revolution and Counter Revolution in Bolivia and Viet Nam".

Mr. Schoenman began his speech by saying that armed Revolution was the only way to combat the Imperialists in the United States.

He went then to the Bolivian Revolution stating that the Revolutionists in Bolivia had counted on the Communists in the Bolivian cities to organize the cities in the Revolution, however knowing the line of thought of the Bolivian Communist Party he could not understand why the Revolutionists had depended on the Communists. He blamed the failure of the Bolivian Revolution on the Communists. During this portion of his speech he made several references to

1-22-68
[Handwritten signature]

"El Che".

Mr. Schoenman then went lightly into our part in Viet Nam stating something about an agreement between the Allies and Ho Chi Min, but that that agreement had not been kept. He also stated that we actually lost the war in South Viet Nam over two years ago.

Mr. Schoenman then went into the organization of Revolution, stating that the leaders must have full control in order to succeed. He stated that the Black Movement in the United States was the Vanguard of Revolution in the United States. He stated that he would like to see more leadership in the Black Movement. A statement was made by Mr. Schoenman to the effect that the price for Stokley Carmichael should be Dean Rusk, and he named two other political figures.

Mr. Schoenman then talked about the recent War Crimes Tribunal stating that the United States had been invited to present their case, to prove that our position in Viet Nam was right, he further stated that President Johnson had been asked or anyone else who would present the Governments side, but he went on to say that no one showed up.

Mr. Schoenman discussed massive oppression and repression. He also stated that the United States controlled 60% of the world's resources.

After his speech a question and answer period was held.

One gentleman asked where Mr. Schoenman felt ~~them~~ the main places of resistance were. Mr. Schoenmans reply was Africa, India and South America, then went on to describe the events taking place in these countries at this time.

asked Mr. Schoenman what he meant by the line of thinking of the Bolivian Communist Party to which Mr. Schoenman replied that it was a known fact that the Bolivian Communist Party does not at this time believe in armed

b7C

insurrection in the United States.

Another gentleman asked if Mr. Schoenman believed that Revolution in the United States was possible and if so what would the loss of life be. Mr. Schoenman did not reply to the loss of life portion of the question. However he did state that with proper organization a Revolution in the United States is possible and that it should be soon.

There was a short announcement period during which we were told that next Friday there would be four speakers at the Forum.

In addition there would be a reception for Mr. Schoneman on January 20, 1968 at 2425 N. Claremont, sponsored by the Student Mobilization Committee and the Southern California Mobilization Committee.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-17375)

DATE: 3/7/68

FROM : SA [REDACTED] b7C

SUBJECT: MILITANT LABOR FORUM (MLF)
IS - SWP

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[REDACTED]	1/19/68	2/13/68	IC [REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
		b7C	[REDACTED]	(WR)

b2
b7D

b2
b7D

Source's report has been Xeroxed and is attached.

ACTION:

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/15/02 BY 39063 ELW/DAG/CJW
954762

b2
b7D

CC: [REDACTED]

- 100-63201 (RALPH SCHOENMAN) (SI)
- 100-31005 [REDACTED] (SI)
- 100-36312 [REDACTED] (SI)
- 100-64580 [REDACTED]
- 100-69007 [REDACTED]
- 100-48478 [REDACTED] (SI)
- 100-70450 [REDACTED]
- 100-68293 [REDACTED] (SI)
- 100-65741 [REDACTED]
- 100-NEW [REDACTED]
- 105-22080 (BERTRAND RUSSELL FOUNDATION)
- 100-32261 [REDACTED]
- 100-32065 [REDACTED]

b7C

RHB/mmd
(15) Read by _____

105-22080-25

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
MAR 7 1968	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

February 6, 1968

ACTIVITY: Speech by RALPH SCHOENMAN, Secretary to Bertrand Russell

SPONSOR: Militant Labor Forum

LOCATION: 1702 E. 4th St. L.A.

DATE: 1-19-68 - 8:30 to 11:00 p.m.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2/15/02 BY 39063 ELW/DAG/CJW

954762

ATTENDANCE: Approx. 200

PERSONS IDENTIFIED:

Ralph Schoenman

b7C

Schoenman was the principal speaker, who among other things stated he "recommended assassination of public officials (Rusk, McNamara, Johnson and Police Chiefs) as a means of revolutionary justice". His address is Russell Foundation, 3 and 4 Shavers Pl., Haymarket, London SW1, phone WH 1-4209. Description - Male, caucasian age 28, wears beard. He was arrested and deported from Bolivia for defending [redacted]

[redacted] He was to leave for Sweden around the 2nd of February. It was announced that a reception for Schoenman would be given at 8:30 p.m. on the 20th of February at [redacted] L.A. (This is the [redacted])

[redacted] residing at [redacted] L.A. phone [redacted] and is employed at [redacted] L.A.

[redacted] is a male, caucasian, 65 yrs, 5'9", 175 lbs, grey hair, residing at [redacted] L.A. He reportedly writes for Communist Publications. He stated that the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions and the Communist Party USA are not militant enough. He urged "lets get on with the revolution. What are we waiting for?"

The attached exhibits 1-4 were distributed at the meeting.

- #1. Leaflet announcing reception for Ralph Schoenman - date and loc. above.
- #2. Leaflet - STOP PRODUCTION OF NAPALM BY DOW ann. a demons, 1-29-68 at the Mayfair Hotel, 8:00 p.m., L.A. List of sponsors. DOW ACTION COMMITTEE P.O. Box 4021 Inglewood, Calif.
- #3. "FOR AN INDEPENDENT BLACK POLITICAL PARTY" by PAUL BOUTELLE, Vice-Presidential Candidate, Socialist Workers Party.
- #4. Leaflet - "Join The 1968 Socialist Campaign" - endorse the Halstead-Boutelle Ticket. List. by Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 873 Broadway, New York, New York.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-66519)

DATE: 3/7/68

FROM: SA [redacted] b7C

SUBJECT: STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS)
IS - C

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[redacted] (conceal)	Report re SDS meeting, 2/17/68.	2/21/68	Writer	[redacted]

b2
b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/15/02 BY 39063 ELN/CAG/CJW
954762

Informant's report has been Xeroxed and is attached.

CC: 1 - ATLANTA (REGISTERED) (Retained copy maintained in file _____)
100- (STOKELEY CARMICHAEL)

2 - NEW YORK (REGISTERED)
100-146275 [redacted] b7C
100-118453 [redacted]

- 25-79658 (ANTI-DRAFT ACTIVITIES) 100-70769 (YOUNG SOCIALISTS FOR [redacted] ND b7C)
- 100-64605 [redacted] (RI-B)
- 100-71209 (DOW ACTION COMMITTEE)
- 100-68888 (NATIONAL STUDENT STRIKE FOR PEACE)
- 100-70629 [redacted] (105-22080) (BERTRAND RUSSELL FOUNDATION)
- 100-70456 [redacted]
- 100-68528 [redacted] (100-67596 (UCLA VDC)
- 100-70444 [redacted] (100-67852 (UCLA SDS)
- 100-DEAD [redacted] b7C
- 100-69189 [redacted]
- 100-70513 [redacted]
- 100-64119 [redacted]
- 100-69974 [redacted]
- 100-70116 (THE RESISTANCE)
- 100-70510 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-64657 [redacted]
- 100-70453 [redacted]

105-22080-26

SEARCHED _____	INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED _____	FILED _____
MAR 7 1968	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

4

RJR/djy
(26)
djy

Read by RJR

LA 100-66519

ACTION:

Informant was thoroughly interviewed concerning the above and was unable to further identify [redacted] (LNU). b7C

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

INDEX:



b7C

S. S. Open "Planning Meeting"
(Regional Conference)

Feb. 18, 1968

Page 1

Date of Meeting-

Feb. 17, 1968

Location of Meeting-

W.
First Unitarian Church, 2936 Eighth St., L.A.

Duration of Meeting-

Set for 10:00 a.m., however started approx. 10:30, lasting until approx. 2:45 p.m.

Purpose of Meeting-

To discuss the S.D.S. plans for 10 days of Resistance set for the anti-draft week in April 20 - April 30.

Approx. No. of persons present -

37 (had expected many more, however, explained because of rain and perhaps difficulty in directions in finding location, was possibly the reasons for others not showing up.)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 3/15/02 BY 39063 ELW/DAG/KJW

954762

Meeting spokesman-

b7C

Agenda-

Plans for the 10 days of resistance tried to be set for April 20-30th dates. Tried to get actions pinpointed for each day of this period, however, much difficulty in getting this set definitely, with the S.D.S. next meeting to further accomplish this. Spent all the period trying to get together, with difficulty in getting the Dow Action Committee and S.D.S. to work together one of the 10 days in the action, and finally suggested the Dow Action Committee get together at their next meeting and talk it over to see if they could co-operate with the S.D.S. planning, and perhaps then, if they could fit in with the S.D.S. in co-operating, might work together then, but at this time, the S.D.S. could not see how Dow Action Committee could fit in, Dow Action Committee extended invitation to S.D.S. for them to come also to their meeting, Mon., Feb. 19, Berendo Jr. High School, 1157 South Berendo St., L.A., Room 101 9 p.m. These two groups questioned back and forth, no affirmative response gotten, this being the closing of the meeting.

Some dates and plans set-

Fri., Apr. 26 set for a student walkout strike, all over L.A. Colleges and high schools. Further affirmed that three or four of the 10 days be set along this program, instead of just the one day. Affirmed by responses.

Sat., April 27 set for picketing at the L.A. police station (150 N. Los Angeles St.) against police brutality.

The tactics and issues of the 10 days of resistance will include first, education action, then others being, Guerilla theatres of action, Imperialism protesting which would be on anti-draft (Vietnam), S.E. Asia and S. Africa and other countries who are being suppressed by U.S. imperialism (incl. Asia and Cuba), police brutality, support of the Black Power Leaders and White power leaders who would include Dr. Spock support. These full ten days will be on an international basis also. Will start a week or two before the 20th of April, to lead up to the 10 days ahead of time in planning pre-draftweek actions.

Other

Persons seen or heard-

[Redacted]

b7C

[Redacted] may be spelled wrong, however, was selling the tickets for the Stokely Carmichael (Birthday Benefit for Huey P. Newton) for Feb. 18, at L.A. Sports Arena, 3 p.m. Represented a Black Power group.

[Redacted]

b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted] had referred to him as [Redacted] previously, Feb. 13 report. Spelling maybe wrong, correct spelling then, for man's name) from Resistance group meetings held at Unitarian Church. May be Shoemaker

[Redacted]

b7C

Literature sold and given out from tables. Sheet-SDS- 10 Days of Resistance-A Program for the Spring, however, was passed out to all seated free

1. Join Young Socialists for [Redacted] and [Redacted]
2. Vote Socialist Workers in '68
3. A letter to GI's on the '68 Elections (from [Redacted]) b7C
4. The Socialist Candidates in '68
5. [Redacted] A common aspiration: the overthrow of imperialism, unites Cuba with Africa and Asia) Bertrand Russell Peace Foundat
6. AARDVARK (A journal of fact and opinion by UCLA VDC-SDS)
7. Black Control of the Black Communities-Vote Socialist Workers in '68
8. [Redacted] Vote Socialist Workers in '68.
9. Does Los Angeles need a civil rights defense committee?
10. Combat Repression
11. Defense of Antiwar Figures
12. Book Bazaar
13. The Impact of Malcolm X on Today's Young Militants

b7C

Note:

[Redacted] in selling ticket to [Redacted] stated that Betty Shabazz, appearing in program at Sports Arena tomorrow, is Malcolm X wife

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-63577)

DATE: 5/21/68

FROM: SA [redacted] b7C

SUBJECT: VALLEY PEACE CENTER (VPC)
IS - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/15/02 BY 39063 ELW/DAG/CJW
954762

SOURCE	ACTIVITY)	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[redacted] (conceal)	VPC Exec.Bd. meeting, on 4/29/68.	5/1/68	Writer	[redacted] (WH)

b2
b7D

Source's report has been Xeroxed and is attached.

b2
b7D

CC: [redacted]

- 100-71323 [redacted]
- 100-52995 [redacted] (RI-B)
- 100-71162 [redacted]
- 100-60736 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-71324 [redacted]
- 100-68277 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-40290 [redacted] (RI-B)
- 100-69581 [redacted]
- 100-69494 [redacted]
- 100-71322 [redacted]
- 25-78026 [redacted]
- 100-71332 [redacted]
- 100-39615 [redacted] (RI-B)
- 100-71457 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-68654 (PAC)
- 100-63201 (RALPH SCHOENMAN) (SI)
- 105-22080 (WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL)
- 100-3607 (SCEF)

b7C

WSB/mmd [signature]
(20) Read by WYA

105-22080-27
[Stamp: MAY 21 1968]
[Signature]

LA 100-63577

ACTION:

Source was thoroughly interviewed concerning the above and could add nothing further.

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

INDEX:



b7C

THE PEACE MAKERS
SAN FERNANDO HIGH SCHOOL

April 29, 1968
Los Angeles, Calif.

EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING VAL LEY PEACE CENTER
7105 Hayvenhurst Ave., Van Nuys

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/15/02 BY 39063 ELW/CBS/CJW
954762

This Board Meeting was called to formulate definite plans of action based upon the findings of the Commission On Civil Disorders.

Twenty three persons were present. Those present included the following:

[REDACTED]

b7C

A Rally at the Van Nuys City Hall is planned for May 25, 1968. On May 6 a committee will go before the City Council to seek a permit for this action.

The VPC will release a newsrelease this week supporting further investigation into the death of Gregory Clark by the LAPD. A lobbying effort directed at Valley Councilmen will also be initiated to embarrass the LAPD.

[REDACTED] discussed the PAC sponsored seminars on "Oppression" and recommended that more white radicals attend. This group meets irregularly and is formulating revolutionary tactics to cause insurrection and destruction of public property. b7C

[REDACTED] will attend these meetings on behalf of the VPC.

Ralph Shonman (spelling?) who is Bertrand Russell's secretary arrives in L.A. this week with a 17 minute film clip entitled "War Tribunal". This film which depicts the horror of the war in Vietnam is a part of a full length feature now in the works. Shonman will be in LA for three weeks lecturing and showing the film. [REDACTED] is to be contacted for bookings. The VPC tentatively plans to feature Shonman within the next two weeks at the Pacoima Unitarian Church. No date has been set. b7C

[REDACTED] of SCEF arrives in town the week of May 10th on a fund raising lecture tour. The Woodland Hills P and F plans to feature him. b7C

April 29, 1968
Los Angeles, Calif.

Exec. Bd. Mtg. VPC (cont.)

On the subject of the VPC doing something in support of the findings of the Comm. on Civil Disorders:

[redacted]
[redacted] who lives in [redacted] b7C
will investigate recent riots at San Fernando H.S. [redacted]
will be on campus this week interviewing radical teachers, students, and parents, to find out details. The VPC supports the idea that this riot was a race riot between Negroes and Mexicans versus a white group known as "The Peace Makers". The "Peace Makers" is allegedly a Valley Car Club which rode up to S.F.H.S. and caused the riot. The Foothill Division and the media allegedly misreported the cause and effect of this riot. The VPC through its research will attempt to show that this racist act was covered up by the Foothill Division of the LAPD.

[redacted] will be assisted by [redacted] and [redacted] b7C

[redacted] a member of SDS and P and F and resides in the [redacted] [redacted] is a self avowed revolutionary. He is a leader of the radical left student element at Valley State College and constantly decries that the VPC must become more of an activist group. It was his suggestion that the white community begin sit-ins and demonstrations at the Foothill Div. LAPD in support of the black and brown rioters at SFHS. b7C

[redacted] will begin the lobby effort on behalf of the deceased Gregory Clark and will organize a campaign against police brutality. This campaign will be directed at the City Council. b7C

[redacted] ex school teacher (left to become a mother) in Pacoima area, now residing in [redacted] in Wood-land Hills will begin interviewing mothers in Pacoima to find injustices that the VPC can act upon. b7C

[redacted] will be organizing a lecture campaign for the VPC Lecture Bureau and will pursue such organizations as the Litton Mt. Club and Taft H.S. to gain a place for radical left speakers. All this will be under the guise of lecturing on the Comm. on Civil Disorders Report. b7C

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

C

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-71244)
FROM: SA [redacted] b7C
SUBJECT: TEN DAYS OF PROTEST
IS - C

DATE: 5/22/68

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/15/02 BY 39263 ELW/DAG/KY
954762

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[redacted]	Parade & Rally (PAC) on 4/27/68.	5/3/68	IC [redacted]	[redacted] (WR)

b2
b7D

b2
b7D

b7C

Source's report has been Xeroxed and is attached.

- CC: [redacted] b2
[redacted] b7D
- 100-63654 (PAC)
 - 100-66519 (SDS)
 - 100-59608 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-58679 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-53490 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-68528 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-71416 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-66097 [redacted] (SI)
 - 25-79569 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-61725 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-71332 [redacted] b7C
 - 25-78025 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-62037 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-71424 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-34228 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-24620 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-69314 [redacted] (RI-B)
 - 100-23198 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-23196 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-19534 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-68125 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-54669 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-60120 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-64984 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-67803 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-71618 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-68136 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-33159 [redacted] b7C
 - 100-64507 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-53913 [redacted] (SI)
 - 157-1957 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-64359 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-67423 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-59419 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-70463 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-68727 [redacted] (RI-B)
 - 100-70856 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-4486 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-23660 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-20319 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-63201 (RALPH SCHOENMAN) (SI)
 - 100-41460 [redacted] (SI)
 - 100-60136 [redacted] (SI) b7C

COPIES CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO

RHB (mm) [signature]
(106) Read by _____

105-22080-20
SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
MAY 22 1968
FBI - LOS ANGELES

LA 100-71244

COPIES CONTINUED:

100-58070	[REDACTED] (SI)	100-68005	[REDACTED] (SI)
100-71410	[REDACTED]	100-36540	[REDACTED] (SI)
100-39376	[REDACTED] (SI)	100-32634	[REDACTED] (SI)
100-71444	[REDACTED]	100-34222	[REDACTED]
105-19523	[REDACTED]	100-28093	[REDACTED] (SI)
100-68460	[REDACTED] (SI)	100-64605	[REDACTED] (SI)
100-64162	[REDACTED]	100-71071	[REDACTED]
100-68980	[REDACTED]	100-65128	[REDACTED] (SI)
100-39704	[REDACTED] (SI) b7C	100-71334	[REDACTED] b7C
100-70629	[REDACTED]	100-58890	[REDACTED] (SI)
100-48919	[REDACTED]	100-36466	[REDACTED] (SI)
25-80511	[REDACTED]	100-63656	[REDACTED] (SI)
100-68984	[REDACTED] (RI-A)	100-70348	[REDACTED]
100-61005	[REDACTED] (SI)	100-67274	[REDACTED] (RI-A)
100-43317	[REDACTED] (SI)	100-4663	[REDACTED]
100-65160	[REDACTED]	100-68539	[REDACTED] (SI)
157-9	(ANP)	100-71172	(BROWN BERETS)
157-1008	(BLACK NATIONALISTS)	100-70760	(CATHOLIC PEACE ASSOCIATION OF LOS ANGELES)
100-70073	(PFP)	100-70652	(TEACHERS FOR PEACE IN VIET NAM)
100-69935	(VETERANS FOR PEACE)	157-1815	(BLACK CONGRESS)
100-67387	(LOS ANGELES PHYSICIANS FOR SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY) b7C	100-63822	(SNCC)
100-70119	[REDACTED] b7C	100-71723	[REDACTED]
100-68444	(FREEDOM DRAFT MOVEMENT)	100-1937	[REDACTED] (SI) b7C
157-2345	[REDACTED]	157-2350	[REDACTED]
105-22080	(WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL)	100-56057	[REDACTED] (SI)
100-24620	[REDACTED] (SI)	100-66313	[REDACTED]
100-68979	[REDACTED]	157-2349	[REDACTED]
157-2061	[REDACTED]	100-58819	[REDACTED] (SI) b7C
100-33876	[REDACTED]	157-1599	[REDACTED]
157-1308	[REDACTED]	100-24182	[REDACTED]
157-1812	[REDACTED]		

LA 100-71244

ACTION:

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

INDEX:

[redacted] (my Actor)
[redacted]
[redacted]
SOCIAL WORKERS FOR PEACE
[redacted]

b7C

April 30, 1968

ACTIVITY: Parade and Rally -- "TEN DAYS TO SHAKE THE EMPIRE - S.D.S."

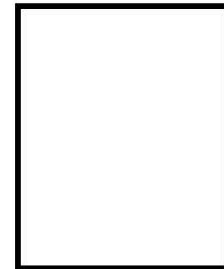
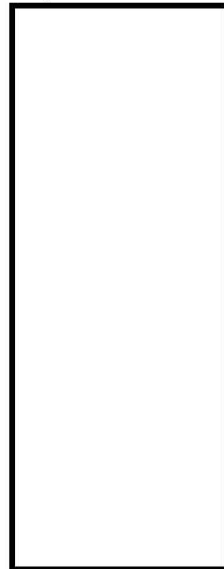
SPONSOR: PEACE ACTION COUNCIL

LOCATION: 14th and 15th Streets, between Main and Hill Streets
March to City Hall.

DATE & TIME: 4-27-68 -- 11:00 a.m. to 4:40 p.m.

Approximate Attendance: 2500 persons total, approximately 2000 persons took part in parade.

Persons Identified: Visual



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/15/02 BY 39063 ELW/DAS/CJW
954762

b7C

b7C

[Redacted]

b7C

Ralph Schoenman

[Redacted]

|

b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

|

Information printed on PEACE ACTION COUNCIL hanbills distributed prior to this event was that demonstration participants would assemble in the area of 14th St., 14th Pl., 15th St. and Main, Broadway & Hill Streets at 11:00 a.m. and would start to march up Broadway at 1:00 p.m. and hold a rally with speakers on the steps of the Spring Street entrance of the City Hall at 3:00 p.m. (See exhibit #1)

On the evening of 4-26-68 information was received from a confidential source [Redacted] that Cuban youths (anti-Communist) numbering 20 to 30; under the direction of an [Redacted] [Redacted] would meet in De Longpre Park (Hollywood Div.) at 12:00 noon. They were then to proceed downtown and create a serious incident against the P.A.C. Surveillance was maintained at the park from 11:45 a.m. until 12:35 p.m. with no activity to report.

b2
b7D
b7C

The parade from the assembly area got underway at approximately 12:45 p.m. with the main body of demonstrators marching north on Hill St. from 15th St. to Olympic, then east on Olympic to Broadway then north on Broadway. The smaller groups marched north on Main (from 15th St.) to Olympic then west to Broadway then north. The larger group that began on Hill St. numbered approximately 1250. The group that started on Main St. numbered approximately 500. Part of the parade group marched north bound on Broadway on the west side and a lesser group went on the east side of the street.

At 1:45 p.m. a group of nine Nazi Party members were reported marching north on Broadway from 4th St. By 1:50 p.m. this group had reached the front of the City Hall and a small fight ensued between the Nazi's and a group of BROWN BERET members and BLACK MILITANTS. No police action was necessary.

At approximately 2:10 p.m. the head of the parade reached the City Hall. There were approximately 100 persons who had not participated in the march waiting in the area. At this time the rear of the parade was at 7th & Broadway.

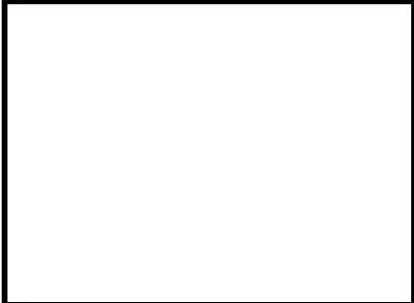
Signs carried had organizational names as follows:

- Catholic Peace Association of Los Angeles
- Peace & Freedom Party
- Social Workers For Peace
- Veterans For Peace
- Teachers for Peace in Vietnam
- L.A. Physicians for Social Responsibility

Picket signs carried by the demonstrators read as follows:

- Huey Must Be Set Free
- Withdraw Racist Cops From The Ghettos
- Free Huey P. Newton
- Confront Warmakers
- Withdraw the Troops Now
- A Badge is Not a License
- Free Eldridge Cleaver
- Bring The Troops Home Now
- Down With A Racist Selective Service
- Black Control of Black Communities
- Abolish the C.I.A.
- Support Dr. Spock - End Political Arrests
- Women Power Is Peace Power
- Abolish The Draft Now
- Dow Shall Not Kill
- Dick Gregory For President
- End White Racism

At 3:00 p.m. the rally began after a short musical interlude. The lead-off speaker and [redacted] representing the P.A.C. Other speakers were: b7C



b7C

Ralph Schoenman

- Veterans For Peace
- Chairman, Black Congress
- SNCC
- Freedom Draft Movement
- SDS
- Brown Berets
- Brown Berets
- Brown Berets
- Representing the Unions
- Exec. Sec. of the International War Crimes Tribunal and Sec. to Bertrand Russell

[redacted] and [redacted] delivered their speeches in Spanish. [redacted] aped the Castro - type delivery almost to perfection. [redacted] read a telegram from an unknown union representative. b7C

SCHOENMAN's speech was very inflamatory not only in delivery but also in context. He called for revolution and revolutionary methods to change the course of events for the people in the United States.

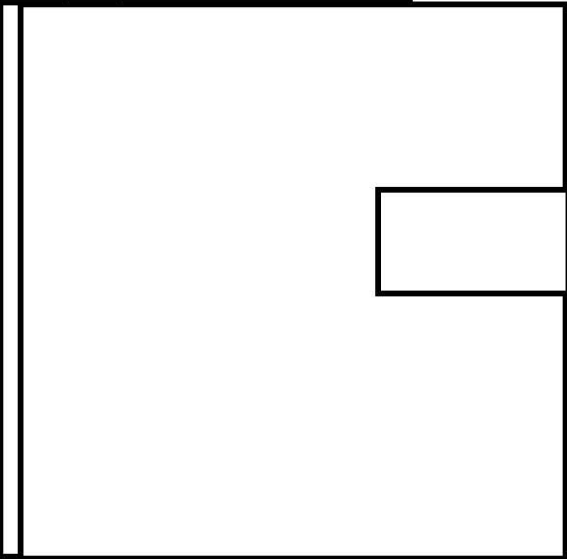
The rally ended at 4:40 p.m. with people dispersing back to their cars without incident.

The LAPD photo lab took photos of the entire event under P#581 and the following identifications were made:

Photo #



Ralph Schoenman



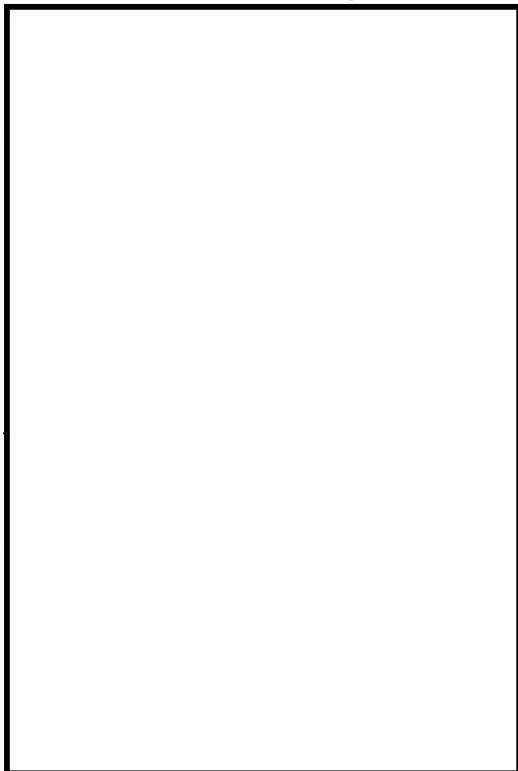
- 9,17,23,24,25,26,52,106,211
- 9,153,216,217
- 9,17,24,26,59,60,169
- 10,52,210
- 10,93
- 12
- 17,153
- 23,25,224
- 24,26,126
- 24,220
- 25,115
- 27,28,29,30,102,200,204
- 27,28,29,30
- 27,28,29,30,104,108
- 33,34,36
- 47
- 50,126,155,216
- 50
- 55,58,59,60
- 55,63,65,93,153,169
- 63,65,164
- 67,68,115
- 70
- 223
- 190

4

b7C

b7C

Photo #



76
 77,78,100,167
 79,103,108,204
 80
 96
 103,142
 106,107
 121
 125
 126
 128
 128
 144
 149
 149, 251
 153, 217
 189,234,251,252
 235,252
 235,252
 243
 246,247,248
 249,250

b7C

License numbers were obtained of those vehicles observed during the parade and those parking in the assembly area with the occupants participating in the parade. Vehicle license numbers and their registered owners are as follows:



'63 Ford sedan



'55 Ford Sta. Wgn.



'59 Mercedes Benz



b7C



'62 V/W sedan



'62 Rambler 2 dr. sedan



'62 Chev. Sta. wgn.



'60 Rambler Sta. wgn.



'61 V/W Sta. wgn.



[Redacted]

'56 Hudson 4 dr. sedan

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'60 Chev 4dr sedan

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'64 Plymouth sedan

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'63 Rena ult sedan

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'57 Chev. 4 dr. sedan

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'64 Plymouth sta. wgn

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'56 V/W sedan

[Redacted]

b7C

[Redacted]

'60 Morris 4 dr. sedan

[Redacted]

b7C

[Redacted]

'62 Chev. sedan

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'49 Ford sta. wgn

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'65 V/W sedan

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'62 Rambler Sta wgn.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'65 Buick sedan

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'65 V/W sedan

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'65 V/W sedan

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'65 Chev. wagon

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'63 V/W wagon

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'59 Chev. 4 dr. sedan

[Redacted]

'57 Rambler Sta. wgn.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'59 V/W sedan

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'63 Chev coupe

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'61 V/W sedan

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'62 Dodge sedan

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'63 Chev. wagon

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'60 Volvo 4 dr sedan

[Redacted]

b7C

[Redacted]

'64 V/W pnt

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'64 Merc. wagon

[Redacted]

b7C

[Redacted]

'64 V/W coupe

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'64 Dodge sedan

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'65 Chev coupe

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'64 Ford sedan

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'56 Dodge Sta. wgn

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'59 Rambler sedan 2 dr.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'59 Ford 2 dr sedan

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'62 Merc sedan

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'59 Simca

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'60 Rambler 2 dr sedan

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'60 Rambler sedan

Dandy Auto Store
10612 E. Valley, El Monte

[Redacted]

'65 Chev. coupe

[Redacted]

b7C

[Redacted]

'65 V/W sedan

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'66 Datsun sedan

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'65 Peugeot

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'65 Plymouth

[Redacted]

b7C

[Redacted]

'65 Chev. sedan

[Redacted]

'65 Cad

b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'66 Olds coupe

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'66 Toyota

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'66 Chev. sedan

Wheels, Inc.
24600 S. Main St., Wilmington

[Redacted]

'59 Citroen 4 dr sedan

[Redacted]

b7C

[Redacted]

'66 Merc. wagon

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'66 V/W sedan

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'66 Ford Conv.

Golden State Auto L...
8615 E. Florence, Downey

[Redacted]

'66 Ford sedan

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'66 Plymouth sedan

[Redacted]

b7C

[Redacted]

'66 V/W sedan

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'63 Ford wagon

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'59 Plymouth

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'64 V/W wagon

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'67 Fiat sedan

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'67 V/W sedan

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'66 V/W

[Redacted]

b7C

[Redacted]

'64 Chev. sedan

[Redacted]

b7C

[Redacted]

'67 Chev. sedan

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'67 V/W sedan

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'67 Dodge wagon

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'67 Plymouth sedan

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'67 Renault sedan

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'67 Opel coupe

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'68 Volvo

[Redacted]

b7C

[Redacted]

'67 Volvo sedan

[Redacted]

b7C

[Redacted]

'67 Datsun wagon

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'62 Chev. wagon

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'67 austin sedan

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'65 V/W sedan

[Redacted]

nder

A.

[Redacted]

'67 Triumph conv.

[Redacted]

A.

[Redacted]

'62 Rambler sedan & dr. 9

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'67 V/W sedan

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'64 Plymouth

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b7C

'66 Ford

[Redacted]

b7C

[Redacted]

'63 Ford wagon

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

1025 1/2 San Bo... L.A.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

'67 Lincoln conv.

Ford Motor Co.
3921 Wilshire Blvd. L.A.

Exhibits:

"A" Parade Permit Application

1.8 P.A.C. mailer & handbill on demonstration

The following exhibits were distributed during the demonstration:

- 2. Leaflet - INSTRUCTIONS FOR PARADE MARCHERS
- 3. Leaflets entitled a) NAPALM FACT SHEET and b) HERBICIDE FACT SHEET. Put out by the DOW ACTION COMMITTEE, 746 S. Alvarado St., L.A.
- 4. Leaflet entitled "END LAWLESS LAW ENFORCEMENT!" a MIKE HANNON for D.A. campaign sheet. Put out by Hannon Campaign Fund, 544 N. Western Ave. L.A.
- 5. Leaflet announcing a benefit "The Angry Voice" to be held at 13719 Lemoli Ave., Hawthorne on 4-27-68.
- 6. Leaflet entitled "A CALL TO RESIST" Put out by Supporters of the Resistance, 1355 Westwood Blvd. Room 201, L.A. Calif.
- 7. Crown Hill Letters, Box 5136 L.A. 55.
- 8. Leaflet announcing May Day celebration at a Meeting to Support Liberation Struggles at the Armenian Cultural Center, 1501 Venice Blvd. on May, 1 1968.
- 9. Leaflet entitled "THE REAL WORK BEGINS" put out by the Peace and Freedom Movement 993 S. Western Ave. L.A.
- 10. Reprint from the Free Press re MIKE HANNON for D.A. dated 3-29-68. Put out by Mike Hannon "headquarters, 544 N. Western Ave. L.A.
- 11. Information sheet on Wilshire-Westlake Peace & Freedom Club. Put out by PEACE AND FREEDOM, 1094 West 31st St

12. Leaflet announcing Wilshire-Westlake Peace & Freedom Club sponsored "Hear Your Candidates Speak" May 1, 1968.
13. Leaflet entitled "FREE THE BROWN BERETS"
14. Leaflet announcing a Teach-In "White Society, Black Revolt" to be held at L.A. Valley College on May 12, 1968. Spons. by PEACE AND FREEDOM Movement.
15. Leaflet "Do Not Patronize!" List of sponsors of the George Putnam News Program. Put out by the Committee To Save The Dignity of the Chicano.
16. Newspaper - CHALLENGE - publication of the PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY.

Newspaper clippings.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES (105-22080)

DATE: 6/4/68

FROM: SA [redacted] b7C

SUBJECT: BERTRAND RUSSELL PEACE FOUNDATION (BRPF)
IS - C

b7C

b7D

SOURCE ACTIVITY RECEIVED AGENT LOCATION

[redacted]	A mail-out on BRPF.	5/10/68	Writer	[redacted]	b2 b7D
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(Conceal)

Source furnished a mail-out on the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation P.O. Box 69790 Los Angeles, California 90069, Telephone: 272-1174 which was prepared by AD Compositors 3969 Beverly Blvd., Los Angeles.

Listed on the mail as Western U.S. Officers for the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation are the following individuals:

[redacted] b7C

[redacted] b2
b7D

CC: [redacted]

- 100-NEW [redacted]
- 100-56027 [redacted]
- 100-64667 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-71249 [redacted]
- 100-34639 [redacted] (SI)
- 157-1713 [redacted] b7C
- 100-28319 [redacted]
- 100-64359 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-69494 [redacted]
- 100-70068 [redacted]
- 100-55602 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-69584 [redacted]
- 100-68064 [redacted]

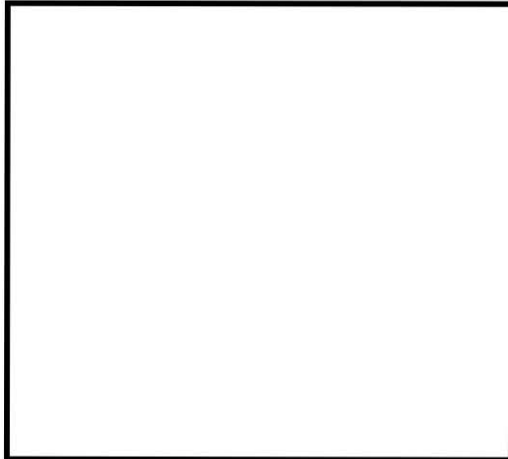
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/15/02 BY 39063 ELW/DAG/CW
954762

105-22080-219
SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
JUN 4 1968
FBI - LOS ANGELES

TGM/mmd [signature]
(15) Read by [signature]

LA 105-22080

Western Advisory Board:



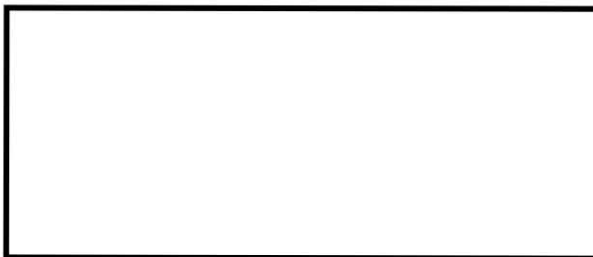
b7C

ACTION:

Source was thoroughly interviewed concerning the above and could add nothing further.

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

INDEX:



b7C

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-17375)
FROM: SA [redacted] b7C
SUBJECT: LOS ANGELES LOCAL-SOCIAL
WORKERS PARTY (LAL - SWP)
IS - SWP

DATE: 8/26/68

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/15/02 BY 39063 ELW/DAG/CWJ
954762

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[redacted] b2 b7D	LAL-SWP meeting held 6/24/68 at LA.	8/6/68	Writer	[redacted] b2 (WR) b7D

Informant's report has been Xeroxed and is attached.

CC: [redacted] b2
b7D

- 100-71209 (DAC)
- 100-1753 (SCDCP)
- 105-22080 (BERTRAND RUSSELL
PEACE FOUNDATION)
- 100-68554 (PAC)
- 100-69550 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-54359 (OSCAR COOVER) (SI)
- 100-56733 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-70510 [redacted] b7C
- 100-58890 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-29463 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-64667 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-31005 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-56672 [redacted] (SI)

LWS-pag
(15) *pag*

Read by *[signature]*

105-22080-30

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
AUG 26 1968	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

[signature]

LA 100-17375

ACTION:

Informant was thoroughly interviewed concerning the above and could add nothing further.

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

INDEX: DEMONSTRATION AT FRENCH CONSULATE,
6/22/68.

On 6/24 There was an executive committee meeting at 1702 East 4th Street, Los Angeles, Calif.

[redacted] said that the demonstration at the French Consulate on 6/22/68 was quite successful. At the peak there was about 100 people, a few blacks along with a broad representation of the radical community, The Dow Action Committee, Peace Action Council. One youth was successful in hoisting a red flag atop the building. The Communist Party was there but they declined to speak. About 20 plus took part in the demonstration. We distributed and sold literature. [redacted] was the spokesman for the party. The Edmund forum on the French Revolution was successful. About 60 persons attended.

A reassignment of the following personnell: [redacted] will be working with the Black Fraction and the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation. Comrades in the Anti War Movement will fill the vacuum left by Mike and will work through the peace action council. The following person was present:

[redacted]

b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/15/02 BY 39063 FLW/DSS/C (LW)
954762

Oscar Coover

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-33973)

DATE: 10/1/68

FROM: SA [redacted] b7C

SUBJECT: COMINFIL FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH OF LOS ANGELES IS - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2/15/02 BY 39063 FLW/DAG/CJW 954762

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[redacted]	Morning Service 9/11/68 at the First Unitarian Church on 8/11/68.	Writer	[redacted]	(WR)

b2
b7D

b2
b7D

Informant's report is quoted as follows:

"August 31, 1968

"Morning Service was held at the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, 2936 West 8th Street, Los Angeles, California 90005, on the Sunday morning of August 11, 1968.

[redacted] conducted the Service. b7C

CC:

b2
b7D

- 100-DEAD [redacted] (105-22080) (BERTRAND RUSSELL FOUNDATION)
- 100-24539 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-24642 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-23167 [redacted] 100-64667 [redacted] (SI) b7C
- 100-68906 [redacted] b7C
- 100-55235 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-61186 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-70693 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-24718 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-47932 [redacted] (SI)
- 157-1803 (BLACK UNITARIANS FOR RADICAL REFORM)
- 100-31229 (FSJ)

105-22080-31

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
OCT 1 1968	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

RJR/lch
(16)

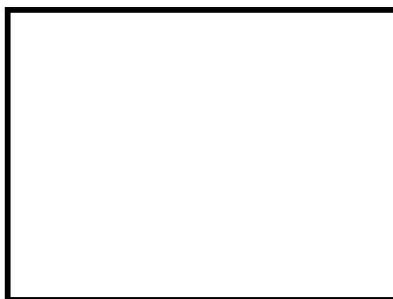
Read by RR

lch

LA 100-33973

"The Morning Address: 'The Liberal Church As A Liberated Zone' was given by [redacted] of the Palo Alto Unitarian Church. [redacted] and [redacted] b7C
[redacted] exchanged pulpits for the day.

"Among those observed during the course of the morning and early afternoon were:



b7C

"The Black Unitarians for Radical Reform were scheduled to meet on this Sunday at 1:00 P.M. in the Emerson Room of the Church, program unknown.

"The fellowship for Social Justice was also scheduled to meet on this Sunday at 1:00 P.M. in the Severana Room of the Church to see a short film produced by the Bertrand Russell Foundation and to hear [redacted] b7C
speak briefly on the work of the foundation.

"The college Center was scheduled to meet too at 12:30 P.M. in the Hugh Hardyman Center of the Church."

ACTION:

Informant was thoroughly interviewed concerning the above and could add nothing further.

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

INDEX:



b7C

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-71209)
FROM: SA [redacted] b7C
SUBJECT: DOW ACTION COMMITTEE (DAC)
IS-C

DATE: 10/29/68

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/15/02 BY 39063 E/W/DAG/CSW
954762

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[redacted]	DAC meeting on 9/30/68.	10/11/68	Writer	[redacted] (WR)

b2
b7D

Informant's report has been Xeroxed and is attached.

CC: 1 - WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE (REGISTERED)
100- (STOKELEY CARMICHAEL)

[redacted] b2
[redacted] b7D

- 100-71334 [redacted]
- 100-71830 [redacted]
- 100-71283 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-72207 [redacted]
- 100-70444 [redacted]
- 100-72098 [redacted]
- 100-70734 [redacted]
- 100-70704 [redacted] b7C
- 100-71535 [redacted]
- 100-68137 [redacted]
- 100-71964 [redacted]
- 157-1976 [redacted]
- 100-71958 [redacted]
- 100-66604 (VIDEM)
- 100-72093 (LIBERATION UNIVERSITY)
- 100-68528 [redacted] (SI)
- 105-22080 (BERTRAND RUSSELL FOUNDATION)
- 100-67470 [redacted]
- 100-70456 [redacted]
- 100-71927 (SOCIAL WORKERS FOR PEACE)

100-70629 [redacted] (RI-B)
100-71444 [redacted]
100-33834 [redacted] b7C
100-71438 [redacted]
100-70311 [redacted] (RI-B)

RJR:LAL
(28) *[signature]* Read by *[signature]*

105-22080-32
SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
OCT 29 1968
FBI - LOS ANGELES

LA 100-71209

ACTION:

Informant was thoroughly interviewed concerning the above and could add nothing further.

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

INDEX:



b7C

Date- Monday, Sept. 30, 1968

Location- [redacted] b7C

Duration- 8:30 - 11:00 (approx.)

No. Present- 20

[redacted] b7C

Present-

[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/15/02 BY 39063 ELL/DAG/CSJ
954762

[redacted]

b7C

[redacted] "Black Revolutionary Movement")

Agenda-

Minutes of last meeting read and approved. Financial report given by [redacted] while no reports were given on publicity, [redacted] or Education and Research. [redacted] fund-raising committee, [redacted] passed leaflet for a party to take place on Sat., Oct. 5, at 8:30 p.m. The party, theme to be "October Prom and Post-Curfew Dance-A-Thon" will be held at 970 So. St. Andrews Place, L.A. The door donation will be \$1.50, with drinks and food at no charge. Uclid Avenue Express is, tentatively, to provide the music.

b7C

Oct. 12, with a scheduled march in San Francisco, by veterans and servicemen, was discussed, with D.A.C.'s plans for attending. [redacted] gave a price-schedule for the chartering of a bus, if desired. Rate of bus would be \$450-\$490, with or without restroom facilities, (approx. figures) and depending on number of persons who would be going, both from D.A.C. and/or other groups. [redacted] thought this an expense persons couldn't commit themselves to, and suggested the use of a truck, instead. [redacted] angrily, stated a truck would be "like a cattle truck", and having traveled this way, before, said persons would be tired, cold, and having to stop numerous times at restrooms, felt they would be too tired when they arrived there to be of any effectiveness. [redacted] said

b7C

Oct. 2, 1968
Page 2. (cont.)

if her volkswagon bus could be put into shape for the trip, and [redacted] would agree, to use his, persons could travel for less.

After figuring costs, for this, might run each one \$15 or \$20 with [redacted] stating there would be a place where persons could stay over-night, Sat. night, the group could leave sometime Friday evening or afternoon returning Sunday afternoon. A motion was then made to the effect that persons could be gotten in touch with to see how many wanted to go, then figuring on getting there either by car or best way they could if bus wasn't chosen as way to go. If enough could go to fill charter bus(41 approx.) then [redacted] could have the bus chartered. Motion made and passed. b7C

Liberation University discussed by [redacted] saying the schedule had been revised, somewhat [redacted] class to be set, yet, possibly to start next Monday evening. The printing class, to be taught by [redacted], was set for tomorrow evening, Oct. 1, to be held at 320 Wilshire Blvd., Santa Monica. Set to begin at 6:30 p.m., persons from D.A.C., who desired to attend, could meet at 5:45 p.m. at D.A.C. headquarters. [redacted] possibly [redacted] showed interest in this class. [redacted] giving [redacted] name, but couldn't speak for him, as he had left meeting prior to this). b7C

Motion, made by [redacted] to have D.A.C. write to Bertrum Russell Foundation, in regard to advertisement in magazine, for information on film and pamphlets on scenes from Vietnam to be made available to groups or persons, interested in obtaining same for educational purposes and fund-raising. It dealt with genocide and was gathered by over 150 investigators traveling through Vietnam, and were questioned by panel of leading world figures including [redacted] Simone de Beauvoir, Stokely Carmichael, [redacted] and [redacted] she added. Motion made and approved to write. She, also, mentioned article in The National Review Magazine, in which [redacted] had been interviewed. She, added, that she had talked to [redacted] during the recent march, on Sunset Strip, and he had stated, in answer to her question as to when he was coming back to D.A.C. for the Education and Research Committee as he was needed. He stated, she related, he planned on coming back after the 1st of January. [redacted] was elated at this, exchanging glances with [redacted] replied, "That's great, glad to hear this". b7C

[redacted] spoke on the Black Revolutionary Movement. She stated she had been arrested for just talking loudly saying she had been disturbing the peace, and it was just her natural voice. Her voice, she added, if she wanted to talk loud, could be heard 12 blocks away. She said the black have gone through different phases in the revolutionary struggle. First, they had wanted integration, then moved on to separation, then a coalition with the whites, and now, she thought they would be moving into other plans. She said blacks should go back to their own people, and get education as to what the blacks(their own people) are really doing, then return to the white groups and try to educate them. She stressed the white groups need education, and no revolution is won without a struggle. [redacted] asked if they wanted Communism or Socialism. [redacted] stated neither that it was a different kind of struggle, that b7C

D.A.C. Meeting(cont.)

Oct. 2, 1968

Page 3.

they aren't the solution, to which [redacted] stated someday the world is going to be socialist, let's face it, he added. He asked her if it were true that the blacks were arming themselves against the whites, with her reply that they weren't arming themselves against the whites and she didn't want to come into the white communities to live and felt blacks didn't either, but the middle-class black liked it where they lived but are forced out because the govt. won't fix up the houses, etc. so they are livable. She said they are only arming for self-defense if it comes to this. She said white people can come into their neighborhoods anytime without fear, and was safer than the black coming into the white neighborhoods, they are questioned, arrested, and sometimes shot when they do. Other remarks made pertaining to poverty, education, and saying the black had no leaders(when [redacted] said it seemed their leaders were being taken away from them). She said everyone is a leader, and even the white people's meetings are of a different class, than their's. Each one could talk without democratic procedures and regulations of order to follow, with no one being told you're out of order when trying to speak, then being told to shut up when one had something they were trying to speak on. Stated white people should come into their meetings and see for themselves, inviting them to call one of their groups and see when and where meetings are being held. b7C

Call was reported to have come from [redacted] Social Workers for Peace, that a call, for food and support, was needed by the Mexican-Americans who were locked in at the Board of Education, downtown L.A. [redacted] said persons should go down, and possibly food could be put in through a window, that could be broken to do this. [redacted] stated persons could, perhaps, call the Fire Dept. saying there was a fire, there, and they'd have to go and open the doors if they saw smoke. Someone stated there was a guard there, and if a fire did start, the guard could call the fire dept. [redacted] said, then, maybe she shouldn't have said this remark, she might get herself in trouble. [redacted] said maybe she'd go and several others stated they might go, however, no definite arrangements for doing so was seen, at close of meeting. b7C

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-17375) DATE: 1/6/69
FROM: SA [redacted] b7C
SUBJECT: LOS ANGELES LOCAL-SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (LAL-SWP)
IS-SWP

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[redacted] b2 b7D	LAL-SWP membership meeting, 12/3/68.	12/18/68	Writer	[redacted] (WR) b2 b7D

Informant's report is quoted as follows:

"On 12/3/68 there was a membership branch meeting of the Socialist Workers Party at 1702 E. 4th St. Los Angeles, Calif. Minutes read by [redacted] [redacted] stated that [redacted] b7C

CC: 1 - SAN DIEGO (REGISTERED) 100-12087 [redacted] b7C

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DATE 3/16/72 BY 39063/ELW/DAG/LCW
954762

b2
b7D

(105-22080) (BERTRAND RUSSELL FOUNDATION)
100-72775 (VIET NAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR)

- 100-72059 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-72394 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-34107 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-69583 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-57253 (YSA)
- 100-69650 [redacted] (SI) b7C
- 100-63547 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-19949 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-24141 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-58416 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-31033 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-31766 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-69804 [redacted] (SI)

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LWS/pag Read by [signature]
(31) [signature]

105-22080-33
[initials]
[signature]

LA 100-17375

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100-58890 [redacted] (SI)
100-64667 [redacted] (SI)
100-56608 [redacted] (SI)
100-32992 [redacted] (SI)
100-58628 [redacted] (SI) b7C
100-68351 [redacted] (SI)
100-68352 [redacted] (SI)
100-29057 [redacted] (SI)
100-29374 [redacted] (SI)
100-50756 [redacted] (SI)
100-29522 [redacted] (SI)
100-54961 [redacted] (SI)
100-30670 [redacted] (SI)

"would be going to New York for about two months to work on the Bertrun Russel Foundation to give this organization a more cohesive form. The organization from the center have not been very strong, and the executive and the N.C. thought [redacted] could serve a more viable role in the organization. Also that the branch conference will be held at the next couple of branch meeting .

b7C

[redacted] reported that the Vietnam Vets has been engaging in activities such as leafletting the greyhound bus depot and plans are to do the same a Camp Pendleton. The returns have been favorable, more GI's are becoming aware of our organization.

[redacted] reported that it was near time for rummage sorting & sale. Comrades were ask__ to help. b7C

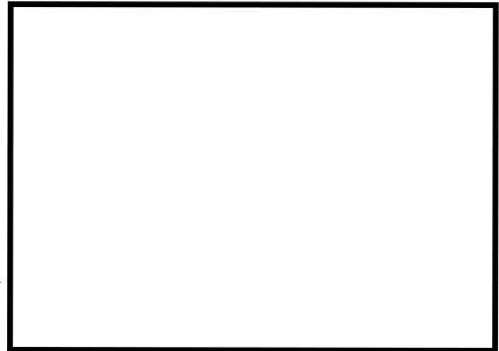
[redacted] reported that the YSA Convention was a huge success. Over 785 in attendance, and increase from last convention of near 400. He stated that his report on the convention will be detailed at the forum on 12-6-68.

LA 100-17375

"The following persons was present at this meeting:



b7C



b7C

ACTION:

Informant was thoroughly interviewed concerning the above and could add nothing further.

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-17375)

DATE: 1/6/69

FROM : SA [redacted] b7C

SUBJECT: LOS ANGELES LOCAL-SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (LAL-SWP)
IS-SWP

b2
b7D

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[redacted]	LAL-SWP Executive Committee meeting, 12/9/68.	12/18/68	Writer	[redacted] (WR) b2 b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/15/02 BY 39063 ELW/LDSG/CJW
954762

Informant's report has been Xeroxed and is attached.

ACTION:

Informant was thoroughly interviewed concerning the above and could add nothing further.

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

b2
b7D

[redacted]

105-22080 (BERTRAND RUSSELL FOUNDATION)

100-71243 [redacted]

157-2091 (NEWTON-CLEAVER
DEFENSE COMMITTEE)

b7C

100-66604 (VIDEM)

100-69650 [redacted] (SI)

100-56733 [redacted] (SI)

100-69804 [redacted] (SI)

100-58890 [redacted] (SI)

100-64667 [redacted] (SI)

LWS/pag Read by LWS

(11) pag

105-22080-34

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JAN 6 1969	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

There Was an Executive Committee Meeting of the SWP LA Local
at 1702 E. 4th Street, Los Angeles, California, on 12/9/68

[redacted] announced that [redacted] would be taking a temp^{b7C}
leave to go to New York to Work in the building of the Russell Peace
foundation. This Assignment would last until mid February. That [redacted]
[redacted] would be moved into full time relationship with the Newton
Cleaver defense Work. She will work in the Office of the Newton Cleaver
defense Work. The Branch Conference will be held on 12/17/68.

[redacted] said that we are holding our own in the G.I. Anti-^{b7C}
war movement. We leafleted the GI's at the Greyhound Bus station
and received a good reception. We are trying to raise monies to help
GI'S who want to go to the GI Teachin which is scheduled to be iheld
in Chicago on 12/27-29 in Chicago.

I Recognized the following in attendance: [redacted]
[redacted]

b7C

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DATE 2/15/02 BY 39063 ELW/DAG/LJW
954762

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-17375)

DATE: 1/15/69

FROM: SA [redacted] b7C

SUBJECT: LOS ANGELES LOCAL-SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (LAL-SWP) IS - SWP

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 2/15/02 BY 39063 ELW/DPG/CW 954762

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[redacted]	LAL-SWP m/s meeting on 12/3/68.	12/20/68	Writer	[redacted] (WR, b2 b7D)

Informant's report is quoted as follows:

CC: 1 - NEW YORK (REGISTERED) 100- [redacted] (RALPH SCHOENMAN)

1 - SAN DIEGO (REGISTERED) 100-12087 [redacted] b7C

- [redacted]
- 100-72566 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-69583 [redacted] (SI) b7C
- 100-72179 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-72172 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-71965 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-72059 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-72394 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-72546 (GI'S AND VIETNAM VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR) 100-29632 [redacted] (SI) b7C
- 105-22080 (BERTRAND RUSSELL FOUNDATION) 100-31033 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-68888 (SMC) 100-3176 [redacted] (SI)
- 157-2091 (NEWTON-CLEAVER DEFENSE COMMITTEE) 100-69804 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-57253 (YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE)
- 100-58890 [redacted] (SI) b7C

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WNH/lch (47)

Read by [signature]

105-22080-35
JAN 15 1969
FBI - LOS ANGELES

b2 b7D

b2 b7D

LA 100-17375

b7C

COPIES CONTINUED

100-68664	[redacted] (SI)	100-68940	[redacted] (SI)
100-70430	(WALTER LIPPMAN) (SI)	100-64667	[redacted] (SI)
100-70414	[redacted] (SI)	100-56608	[redacted] (SI)
100-32992	[redacted] (SI)		[redacted] (SI)
100-58628	[redacted] (SI)	100-23553	[redacted] (SI)
100-66510	[redacted] (SI)	100-68351	[redacted] (SI)
100-68352	[redacted] (SI)	100-32021	[redacted] (SI)
100-29057	[redacted] (SI)	100-29374	[redacted] (SI)
100-50756	[redacted] (SI)	100-29522	[redacted] (SI)
100-54961	[redacted] (SI)	100-30670	[redacted] (SI)

"12-4-68

"On December 3, 1968, I attended a meeting of the Los Angeles Branch of the Socialist Workers Part at 1702 East Fourth Street, Los Angeles, California.

"Present were:

[redacted]

[redacted] San Diego

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

b7C

LA 100-17375

[REDACTED] b7C

[REDACTED] from German section of 4th International.

"The meeting was called to order by [REDACTED] He introduced [REDACTED] He said [REDACTED] had attended the Y.S.A. convention. [REDACTED] said a French comrade was in Berkeley but would be in Los Angeles over the weekend and a receptionist for [REDACTED] and the French Comrade would be held on Saturday night. [REDACTED] was elected chairman for this meeting. The minutes of the previous meeting were read by [REDACTED] and they were accepted as read.

[REDACTED] gave the executive committee report. b7C He said [REDACTED] has been asked to take an assignment in New York City from mid-December to mid February to work with RALPH SCHOENMAN in setting up a national organization for the Bertrand Russell Foundation. A motion to accept was carried. He said the branch conference will begin at the branch meeting of December 17 and continue at the following branch meeting if necessary.

[REDACTED] gave the antiwar report. He said the b7C GIs & the Vietnam Vets for Peace held a social on Nov 30 with 25-30 marines from Camp Pendleton and 1 soldier from Fort Mac Arthur present plus other people. He said an evaluation meeting was held the next day and it was decided that since the Nov 30 social had been such a success a christmas party would be held. He said the leafletting of Greyhound Bus Depot and Camp Pendleton will continue. He said several GI's and Vets have indicated they want to attend the Chicago antiwar conference in December.

[REDACTED] said the call is out for the GI- b7C Civilian Antiwar Conference to be held in Chicago Dec 27-29. He said the program will be as follows:

"Dec 27- GI teach in
Dec 28- Movement Conference
Dec 29- Student Mobilization Conference

LA 100-17375

"He said an effort will be made to seal campus representatives to the conference.

[redacted] gave the sub drive report. He said 6 people showed up for the mobilization and 7 subs were sold. He said another mobilization will be held this Saturday.

b7C

[redacted] gave a report on NEWTON-CLEAVER Defense Committee rally. He said 2000 people, mainly black, attended the trade tech rally. He said \$1918.25 came in at the gate and through button sales plus \$3480.34 in the collection for a total of \$5398.59. He said an additional \$3000.00 was pledged. He said the cost of the meeting was only \$600.00. He said the steering committee meeting didn't broaden the committee as hoped but an other attempt to broaden the coalition will be made. He said an active workers conference and planning conference will be held Dec 7 at 1st Unitarian Church from 1-3 pm to discuss a projected street demonstration. He said the S.W.P.-Y.S.A. fraction will meet at 11am.

b7C

[redacted] gave a youth report. He said 400 members were in the Y.S.A. at the last convention. He said at this convention the YSA has 647 members plus 78 candidates plus 60 people who were recruited at the convention for a total membership of 785 people. He said 120 non comrades attended the convention. He said the national office projects a membership of over 1000 by summer 1969. He said the national office will conduct a \$25,000 fund drive for the 1st four months of 1969. He said 791 people registered for the convention this year and 342 at the last convention. He said there were 110 elected delegates at this convention and 43 at the last. He said 25 states were represented.

"Announcements

"1. WALTER LIPPMANN said the class on Labor's Giant Step will begin on Sunday at 4pm.

b7C

"2. [redacted] said [redacted] and [redacted] will report on the YSA conference at the forum.

LA 100-17375

"3. [redacted] said the rummage sale will be held on Dec. 13-14. She said sorting will be done on Sat afternoon Dec. 7.

"4. [redacted] made the Modern Book Shop announcements

"5. [redacted] said a New Years Eve party will be held Dec. 31st. b7C

"6. [redacted] said the Hollenbech Police Station Picket line continues everyday at 3:30 pm.

"Intermission for payment of dues and pledges.

[redacted] gave an educational on Germany."

ACTION:

Informant was thoroughly interviewed concerning the above and could add nothing further.

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

INDEX:

[redacted]

b7C

OFFICE MEMORANDUM UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-68654)

DATE: 3/12/69

FROM: SA [redacted] b7C

SUBJECT: PEACE ACTION COUNCIL (PAC)
IS - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/15/02 BY 39063 ELU/DAG/CSW
954762

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[redacted]	Meeting 2/19/69	2/27/69	Writer	[redacted]

b2
b7D

b2
b7D

Informant's report has been xeroxed and is attached.

ACTION

Informant was thoroughly interviewed concerning the above and could add nothing further.

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

INDEX: [redacted] b7C

CC: [redacted] b2
[redacted] b7D

- 100-28093 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-72207 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-59650 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-71283 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-36540 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-70704 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-71535 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-39376 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-32975 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-71243 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-43626 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-51745 (WSP)
- 100-58137 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-54359 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-58890 [redacted] (SI)

- 100-64667 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-17375 (SWP)
- 100-57253 (YSA)
- 157-1815 (BLACK CONGRESS)
- 100-46589 [redacted]
- 100-34620 [redacted] b7C
- 100-61511 [redacted]
- 100-60788 (CAL STATE, LA)
- 65-7694 [redacted]
- 100-60712 (SAN FERNANDO VALLEY COLLEGE)
- 105-22080 (BERTRAM RUSSELL FOUNDATION)
- 100-19949 [redacted] (SI)

RJR/el
(29) *el*

Read by *AC*

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
MAR 12 1969
FBI - LOS ANGELES

105-22080-30

Date- Wed., Feb. 19, 1969
Location- 555 N. Western, L.A.
Duration- 8:15-10:50 p.m. (approx.)
No. Present- 29

[redacted] [redacted] b7C

Seen or heard-

[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/15/62 BY 39063 ELW/DAG/CJU
954762

b7C

[redacted] (think this is last name; if from W.S.P., then
is correct name)

[redacted]

b7C

[redacted] S.W.P.-Y.S.A.-which is correct
spelling?)

Agenda-

Discussed was a proposed conference to be held, tentatively
for mid-April. It would deal with discussions and ways of end-
ing the war, amnesty for all, and anti-draft issues. An unknown
youth from Black Congress thought it should include other phases
such as racial, poverty, education, Africa and East Asia subjects.
[redacted] and [redacted] thought a Conference Committee
might be formed and should include all of S. California. b7C

A meeting for Sun., Feb. 23, to have taken place at the
Unitarian Church with plans for having tried to have [redacted]
and [redacted] (check spelling) to have been speakers didn't turn
out, as one of two (would be out of town at that time, not sure
which one) wasn't available. Secondly, there wasn't enough time
to have carried it out successfully both financially and crowd- b7C
wise. 4000 leaflets had been mailed out, several months ago, and
thus, only 15 might have shown. [redacted] said, anyway. He said he
would put a note of cancellation on the church bulletin board.

May 18, there will be a fund-raising event to take place at
the Greek Theatre at 2 p.m. with [redacted] heading the b7C
program of entertainment. This is to be put on by P.A.C. and
some other groups. Tickets are, tentatively, to be \$3.50, \$4.50,
and \$5.50, though not definite yet. Irving was to apply to the
Dept. of Parks and Recreation for a permit the next day, Thursday,
Feb. 20.

[redacted] spoke on the April 6 G.I. March, passing out [redacted] b7C

b7C
 leaflets for this. He mentioned that they had been leafletting at the downtown Greyhound Bus Station and a Pinkerton Security Guard made them leave from inside and feeling legally they were allowed inside to leaflet and spoke to their attorney on this. Last Sunday, Feb. 16, they returned with others and again were asked to leave. [redacted] said they informed the guard of their rights and the station manager came out and said they just weren't wanted there and when they refused to leave called the police. Police came and plainclothesmen and looked at the leaflet and said they didn't see anything illegal about it or doing anything illegal, however, police stayed right beside them until they left (about an hour). They are going down this Friday evening, again, as it is the last time to reach the G.I.'s before teach-in on Sat. night at Unitarian Church. Jim stated 8 p.m. for leafletting and someone corrected him saying 6 (or 6:30 p.m.) and he said yes. (check both times). He said there would be a "cocktail party" as a fund-raising and start for April 6 G.I. March. It is to be held at the [redacted]. He asked for anyone wishing to help donate items or donations as they are just getting started with "the coffee house" and need help.

b7C
 Someone stated there should be a meeting for this (Apr. 6) march and perhaps, a committee should be formed and someone go down to the coffee house to see what is needed and kind-of- [redacted] acquainted. P.A.C. office would be too small for a meeting, [redacted] said. [redacted] said City College might be obtained and another would look into Cal State, L.A. for possibilities of the meeting to be held there. Both sites will be looked into to see which might be more suitable. [redacted] said 30 04 40 colleges should have some representation and will give [redacted] names of persons who have contact at the various colleges, and then, these persons should be at the conference meeting, when decided where. The meeting has been set for a week from Saturday, March 1, and will know where, before then.

b7C
 G.I.'s will have hearing on permit issuance for Apr. 6 soon. [redacted] said he was going to apply for 5000 persons participation. [redacted] said it may be enough, however, [redacted] had told him, [redacted] said, to ask for 15 (or 25,000) figure. (not sure which. Green Power will be there, at McArthur Park, with food. There is a love-in there, also, that day. Persons are to start forming for the march at approx. 12 p.m. with march getting underway for 2 p.m. at 1 block East of Oxford, going down Wilshire Blvd. to the park. Don [redacted] may be one of speakers, on "open mike" system. One youth, from S.W.P. felt a soldier should speak at coming conference, and also at the rally at the park. [redacted] said U.C.L.A. has been quiet with nothing doing and Apr. 6 planning may spark some interest there.

b7C
 [redacted] said he knew an attorney, who was in Army Reserves and was, then, drafted into Army and thinks he'll be out soon. Thinks he would be interested to represent and speak against the Presidio sentencing of the G.I.'s (no name mentioned) when Presidio arrests was mentioned.

[redacted] said the Nixon Administration is no better than the Johnson one and seeing this, already, said of the two, comparing,

Feb. 20, 1969

Page 3.

that he sees now, Johnson had done the better job, by pulling out. And since Nixon can't very well pull out and must stay 4 years, we have to put up with him and make the best of it and see what happens, he added.

b7C Suggestion, by [redacted] to allot subsistence to G.I.'s and put [redacted] on possible salary until April 6, gone against by [redacted]. He stated P.A.C. owes \$200 in liabilities above assets and owes [redacted] \$250 and can only pay next month's office rent because [redacted] is willing to wait for his money. Even though P.A.C. offered to support G.I.'s, he hadn't meant financially, but through mailings, etc. If [redacted] or anyone else wants to borrow money, [redacted] laughed, they should see [redacted] as he's always lending money. [redacted] said perhaps a loan could be obtained, by P.A.C., from Women Strike for Peace, as they had lent for some other April action to a group, in the past. [redacted] said [redacted] should call them and find out, presenting plans to them.

b7C [redacted] (correct this spelling, feel it is wrong) from the San Fernando Valley College, who'd help defense of arrested students in college campus riots there, might be asked to help line up persons for the G.I. Conference, March 1.

b7C [redacted] stated he'd just returned from New York City; said he'd been there doing something with Bertram Russell Foundation. [redacted] said he was just back from Cuba. Another unknown S.W.P. youth (always selling militants newspapers at demos.) said he was going to New York tomorrow (Feb. 20).

b7C [redacted] stated P.A.C. wasn't in competition with S.W.P. when such youth said P.A.C. has been dropping down in numbers attending the meetings and S.W.P. has been growing and perhaps, some of P.A.C. people should attend their meetings as maybe it would be what they are looking for and seeking. [redacted] passed out folders on [redacted] and ones for [redacted] on their qualifications in coming election.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO: SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-2091) DATE: 8/21/69

FROM: SA [redacted] b7C

SUBJECT: ELDRIDGE CLEAVER DEFENSE COMMITTEE
RM

C

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
--------	----------	----------	-------	----------

b2
b7D

[redacted]	Leaflet re International Committee to Defend Eldridge Cleaver,	8/4/69	Writer	[redacted] (WR)
------------	--	--------	--------	--------------------

b2
b7D

Source's report has been xeroxed and is attached:

1 - ALBUQUERQUE (RM)
100- [redacted]

1 - ATLANTA (RM)
100- [redacted]

b7C

2 - CHICAGO (RM)
100-26453 [redacted]
100-39500 [redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/15/02 BY 39063 ELW/DAG/CJW
954762

1 - NEW YORK (RM)
100- [redacted]

3 - SAN FRANCISCO (RM)
100- [redacted]
100- [redacted]
100-26778 [redacted]

1 - WASHINGTON OFFICE (RM)
100- (STOKELY CARMICHAEL)

b2
b7D

CC: [redacted]

FBL/alq
(50) *aly* Read by _____

105-22000-37

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
AUG 21 1969	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

LA 157-2091

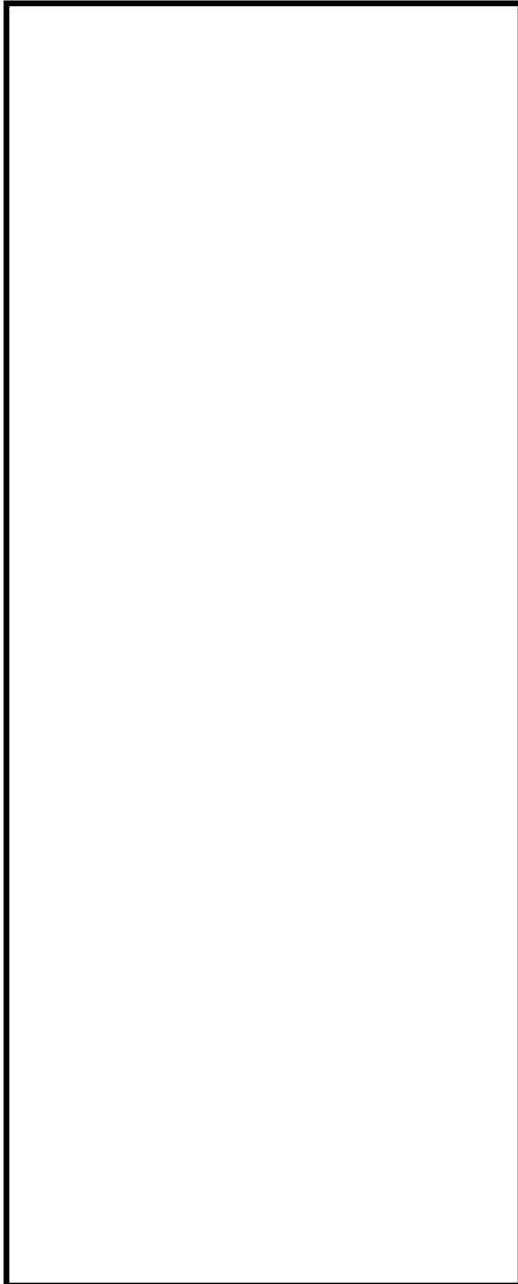
100-69581 [REDACTED]
100-46589 [REDACTED]
105-22080 (BERTRAND RUSSELL FOUNDATION)
100-68064 [REDACTED]
100-42973 [REDACTED]
100-64359 [REDACTED] (SI)
100-73006 [REDACTED]
100-67448 [REDACTED]
100-30576 [REDACTED]
157-4106 [REDACTED]
65-7694 [REDACTED]
100-64660 [REDACTED] (SI)
100-71902 [REDACTED]
100-17528 [REDACTED]
100-41391 [REDACTED]
100-61831 [REDACTED] b7C
105-16518 [REDACTED]
157-2231 [REDACTED]
100-28640 [REDACTED]
100-67508 [REDACTED] (SI-B)
100-45724 [REDACTED]
157-1409 [REDACTED] (SI)
157-2509 (MRS. BERRY SHABAZZ)
100-67470 [REDACTED]
100-33089 [REDACTED]
100-41246 [REDACTED]
100-23241 [REDACTED]
100-70263 [REDACTED]
100-30291 [REDACTED]
100-30243 [REDACTED]
157-4251 [REDACTED]
157-3698 [REDACTED]
100-38476 [REDACTED]
100-31025 [REDACTED]
157-1794 [REDACTED]
100-4692 [REDACTED]
157-3583 [REDACTED]
100-17501 [REDACTED]
100-63694 [REDACTED]

LA 157-2091

ACTION:

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

INDEX:



b7C

(CON'T Page 4)

LA 157-2091

(CON'T)
INDEX:

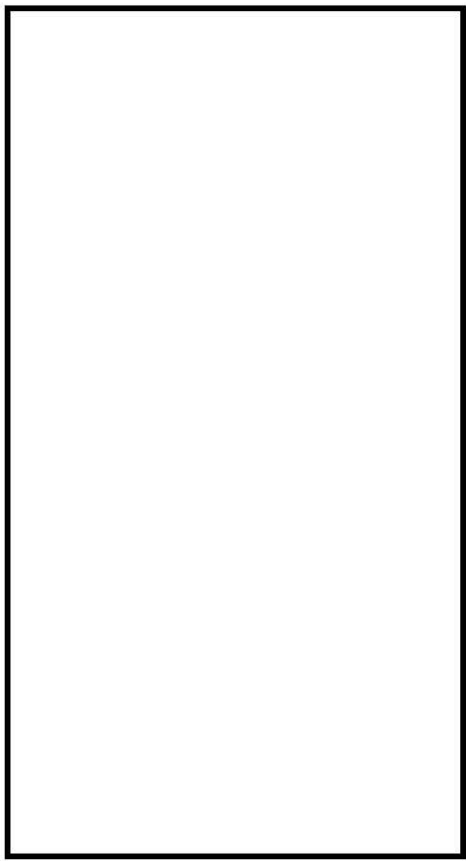


b7C

(CON'T Page 5)

LA 157-2091

(CON'T)
INDEX:



b7C

International Committee to Defend Eldridge Cleaver

495 Beach Street San Francisco, California 94133

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DATE 2/15/02 BY 39063 ELW/DAG/CSW
954762

Dear Friends:

Eldridge Cleaver, author of the book Soul on Ice, Senior Editor of Ramparts Magazine, Minister of Information of The Black Panther Party, and a major theoretician of the black liberation movement, is about to be thrown into jail. He will be returned to jail in 25 days unless something is done to prevent it. We are writing you to communicate the facts of this crisis and to enlist your support in the campaign to insure the safety and political freedom of this brilliant spokesman.

It is unnecessary for us to outline for you the nature of the forces which seek to suppress the voice of Cleaver and others like him. At stake for us all is political and intellectual freedom, and for Eldridge Cleaver political, intellectual and actual freedom. In America, the right of black people to organize in their own self-interest is being challenged by local authorities with the connivance and support of the federal government.

Eldridge Cleaver was released on parole three months ago after being arbitrarily held for two months without so much as a hearing to determine the facts of his case. The legal opinion, by Judge R. Sherwin of the California Superior Court, which accomplished Cleaver's release, reads in part: "The uncontradicted evidence presented to this court indicated that the petitioner had been a model parolee. The peril to his parole status stemmed from no failure of personal rehabilitation, but from his undue eloquence in pursuing political goals ... not only was there absence of cause for cancellation of parole, it was the product of a type of pressure unbecoming, to say the least, to the law enforcement paraphernalia of this state." One member of the establishment had the courage to admit the truth! But naturally this has not been the prevailing sentiment of the power structure. On September 27, 1968, Judge Sherwin's decision was overthrown by the California Appellate Court, operating at the behest of the Adult Authority, the agency responsible for parolees. The pretexts for the reimprisonment are charges stemming from Eldridge Cleaver's involvement in the so-called "Oakland shoot out" where the Panthers were ambushed by the police, where a mere boy, 16 year old Panther Bobby Hutton was shot in the back, murdered in cold blood by Oakland police, and where Eldridge Cleaver, who emerged from a building naked to show that he was unarmed, was also shot. Eldridge has been indicted for his involvement in the Oakland shoot out, and before his trial has been allowed to take place, he will have been clapped into jail, where his very life will be in danger due to the brutality and violence which

is common in American prisons. In other words, Eldridge Cleaver is presumed guilty before being proven so. His constitutional rights are being violated in the most flagrant manner possible. Furthermore, he will be cast in a disparaging light during his trial for he will be in jail when it comes up. The revocation of Cleaver's parole is further evidence of the increasing level of political suppression and intellectual persecution being practiced by frightened and tyrannical authorities in the United States. We see here a similar pattern to that which prevailed in pre-war Germany.

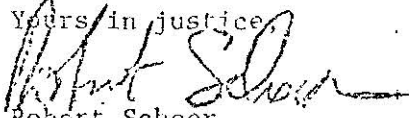
As a leading theoretician of the black liberation movement, Eldridge Cleaver's importance in the all-over picture of the emergence of Third World struggles is obvious. The necessity of supporting him is just as urgent as is the necessity of supporting any person, or peoples who are struggling to escape from the domination of a ruthless capitalist and imperialist oppressor. Black people in America are a colonized class. And Eldridge Cleaver is a political prisoner -- an articulate and magnetic spokesman against whom the power structure is motivated because he speaks the truth. His situation is similar to that of Dreyfuss, Eugene Debbs, Daniel and Sinayevsky, Tom Mooney and Sacco and Vanzetti. These people were similarly framed and persecuted for political reasons.

We must not allow this important voice to be silenced. Eldridge is an exceptional human being, one who regenerated himself after years in prison, who repudiated racism, who spoke out honestly about how America could purge itself of the cancer of racism. Heralded as a gifted writer, he could have walked out of prison into the comfortable and glamorous life of royalties and literary cocktail parties. But instead he chose the dangerous life of organizing for the Black Panther Party and within that context he has spoken out vociferously and uncompromisingly against not only racism, but against the forces which exploit blacks and whites alike. In this way, his position is similar to that of Frantz Fanon in that he has been able to integrate a revolutionary perspective with an understanding of the psychological factors that work in the oppression and liberation of his oppressed people.

We write this letter to inform you of the nature of the pressing situation which faces us. We feel that once you know the facts of Mr. Cleaver's situation, you will feel compelled, as we do, to help him. The ^{International Committee to Defend Eldridge Cleaver} (International Committee to Defend Eldridge Cleaver, headquartered at Ramparts magazine, San Francisco) is mounting a campaign in behalf of Mr. Cleaver. We are seeking the support of intellectuals and political activists on the European continent. You can help us by contributing funds, but more importantly we urge you to organize among your compatriots. We want the American authorities to feel the heat of a huge wave of worldwide public protest against the mistreatment of Eldridge Cleaver. He has been paroled twice in response to public pressure. We hope you will join with us in again defying the arrogance of the authorities.

There are many ways in which you can help. Write, speak and protest on the widest possible scale. Issue demands to the American embassy, sending copies to us. Circulate the petitions that we have sent you. Write letters to major American and world publications. Contact as many prominent persons as you can. These methods, plus others that you devise -- all will help in our struggle.

We need Eldridge on the outside, and we have it within our power to affect his fate. Let us see to it that he is allowed to continue to make his unique and powerful contribution to the betterment of us all.

Yours in justice

Robert Scheer,
Editor-in-Chief,
Ramparts Magazine,
For the sponsors of the committee.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-33973)

DATE: 7/17/70

FROM : SA [redacted] b7C

SUBJECT: FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH
OF LOS ANGELES
IS - C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/15/02 BY 39063ELW/DAG/CSW
954762

SOURCE	ACTIVITY	RECEIVED	AGENT	LOCATION
[redacted]	Data Re Cominfil - First Unitarian Church of LA 6/17/70	6/18/70	Writer	[redacted] (WR)

b7C
b7D

b2
b7D

Source's report is quoted as follows:

"Report on 1st. Unitarian Church
"2936 W. 8 St., Los Angeles, Calif. 6-17-70

"Following information was on the various bulletin
boards in courtyard of church.

"Freedom Tree Communications, 555 N. Western Ave.,
Los Angeles, Calif. Call [redacted] Notice
reported that the Los Angeles County was divided as the
telephone company breaks it down into message-units. Each
area was to be organized to have meetings, etc., to spread
and teach information so meaningful change can be produced

b7C

CC: [redacted] b2
[redacted] b7D

- 105-6127 [redacted]
- 105-22080 (BERTRAND RUSSELL) b7C
- 100-8119 [redacted] (SI)
- 100-31229 (FELLOWSHIP SOCIETY FOR JUSTICE)
- 105-15823 (LEE HARVEY OSWALD)
- 100-45560 (USC)
- 157-1803 (BLACK UNITARIANS FOR RADICAL REFORM)
- 100-63577 (VALLEY PEACE CENTER)
- 100-73827 (HAYMARKET)

105-22080-38

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
JUL 17 1970	
FBI - LOS ANGELES	

LFW/sal
(11) [redacted] Read By LFW



LA 100-33973

and those interested were to phone [redacted]

b7C

"New Ideas Book Shop, 1731 N. Vermont, Los Angeles, Calif. Books from CARL MARX to BERTRAND RUSSELL. [redacted]

"Peace vigil every Wednesday at noon by the Fellowship Society for Justice in front of the Federal Bldg., Los Angeles, Calif. Bldg. at 300 N. Los Angeles St.

"Petition requesting names in support of [redacted] bill 1460, that no one must serve overseas in undeclared wars.

b7C

"Request that people write to President NIXON, Senator FULBRIGHT, and others, to pull troops out of Southwest Asia.

"Another petition to support bill A609 HR17123 in Washington, D.C. or Sacramento, Calif.

"Movie advertised to expose new facts in the JOHN F. KENNEDY shooting by OSWALD that was on bulletin by the Hollywood - Los Feliz Jewish Community Center, 4200 Sunset at Bates, Los Angeles, Calif.

"Ad in regard to a talk by [redacted] at University of Southern Calif. Ad was by the Humanist Assn. of Los Angeles, 1761 N. Harvard, Los Angeles, Calif. [redacted] Mention was made of radio station, KF and it's believed one of the above has a program on the station.

b7C

"Black Unitarians for Radical Reform 861 S. Victoria, Los Angeles, Calif. are having an African party 6-27-70. Phone 939-8839, RSVP. The following was listed too, UHURU of [redacted]

b7C

LA 100-33973

"Valley Peace Center, 7105 Haynehurst Van Nuys, Calif.

"The former home of the Haymarket Coffee Shop, 507 N. Hoover St., Los Angeles, Calif. was passed and it appeared still closed due to the past fire."

ACTION:

Source was thoroughly interviewed concerning the above and could add nothing further.

All necessary action in connection with this memo has been taken by the writer.

INDEX: FREEDOM TREE COMMUNICATIONS 555, No. Western Ave., LA
NEW IDEAS BOOK SHOP 1731 No. Vermont Ave., LA

[REDACTED]
LOS FELIZ JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTER

b7C

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954762

Date prepared

6-14-71

b7C

b2

Date received b7D

6/14/71

Received from (name or symbol number)

[Redacted]

Received by

S.A.

Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

- in person
- by telephone
- by mail
- orally
- recording device
- written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:
Date

Dictated _____ to _____

Transcribed _____

Authenticated
by Informant _____

Date of Report

6-5-71

Date(s) of activity

6-4-71

b2
b7D

Brief description of activity or material

YOUNG WORKERS LIBERATION LEAGUE
MEETING @ 964 N. Vermont
Ave - 6/4/71

[Redacted]

* INDIVIDUALS DESIGNATED BY AN ASTERISK (*) ONLY ATTENDED A MEETING AND DID NOT ACTIVELY PARTICIPATE.
VIOLENCE OR REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES WERE NOT DISCUSSED.

Information recorded on a card index by _____ on date _____

Remarks:

CC: 100-65227 (YWLL)

CHANNELIZED
DATE 6-17-71

- 97-16
- 105-22080
- 100-74084
- 100-28093
- 100-68654
- 100-77634
- 100-NEW

(PW)
(BERTRAND RUSSELL)
[Redacted] (SI)
(PAC)
(PEOPLES PEACE TREATY)
(PHILANTHROPIC SNAIL)
(964 N. Vermont Ave. L.A.)

b7C

SEARCHED
DATE 6-17-71

LFW/tgb
(8) *tgb*

Readyby LFW

105-22080-39

Block Stamp

SEARCHED _____
SERIALIZED _____
INDEXED _____
FILED _____
JUN 17 1971
FBI - NEW YORK
[Handwritten initials]

Philanthropic Inail
964 N. Vermont Ave, Los Angeles, Calif 6-4-71

Program listed, "Young Workers Liberation League presents "A Forum and Film Series", 7 to 9 PM

50¢ charge at door. Books on sale at refreshment counter included some on writings of Engels, Marx, Lenin, etc., and the People's World, etc.

About 20 chairs at tables in front room, 11 at tables in a small room and 16 at tables in room where film and speaker was scheduled for the night.

16 people attended, 2 women and 3 men over 50 yrs. of age, 11 under 25 years old, 3 or 4 seemed about 15. Two girls in the eleven. All present were white.

A film, 16mm, "Threatening Skies" with introduction by Bertrand Russell was shown.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2/15/02 BY 39063 FLU/DAG/CW

954762
It was in color in some segments and all in sound.

Excerpts from speeches by, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon were used in film.

It portrayed what was suppose to be a black U.S. soldier taking a picture of a white U.S. soldier posing next to a dead Vietnamese.

A woman narrator said Vietnam has fought 4000 years against many enemies and will win this victory too.

It reported that the U.S. used gas against the Vietnamese, also defoliate the countryside to force the people into the cities.

It was said a Red China statement "The NLF is in villages like fish in the sea", so the U.S. uses gas, defoliation to dry-up the sea.

It was claimed chemicals has cause babies to be born deformed, because of U.S. bombings.

Film showed what was said to be American and Vietnamese students meeting on composing the People's Peace Treaty.

It then gave each point of the treaty.

The people of N. Vietnam were praised for fighting what was said, the U.S. invader.

A white male, about 6 feet, 185 lbs, long brown hair, beard, and moustache introduced himself as [redacted]

He was in early twenties

He introduced [redacted] who

was listed as [redacted] of the Peace Action Council.

b7C

[redacted] was to speak on the Peoples Peace Treaty but by 8:30 he had not gotten to it.

He smiled and said he only reads the Los Angeles Times and said he had many newspaper clippings.

[redacted] read several of them, showing a headline about U.S. bombers to stay on after troop withdrawal.

He said it proves the U.S. plans to carry on the war.

Also he said Nixon's Vietnamization is to have Asians fight Asians for this government is conducting a war of genocide.

4.
 [redacted] said reading the financial pages will show why that U.S. continues its imperialistic aims in Asia.

b7C

He read an item he claimed stated that [redacted] was thinking of starting an auto manufacturing plant in S. Vietnam, as well as other large companies looking to S.W. Asia.

He stated the government will continue to send young men to die to defend the interests of the rich.

b7C

[redacted] collected the 50¢ charge at the door.

Date prepared

6/15/71

Date received

6/14/71

Received from (name or symbol number)

[Redacted]

b2
b7D

Received by

SA [Redacted]

b7C

Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

in person by telephone by mail orally recording device written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:
Date

Dictated _____ to _____

Transcribed _____

Authenticated by Informant _____

Date of Report

6/14/71

Date(s) of activity

6/4/71

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954762

Brief description of activity or material

Leaflet, Young Workers Liberation League

964 North Vermont, L.A.

File where original is located if not attached

[Redacted]

b2
b7D

* INDIVIDUALS DESIGNATED BY AN ASTERISK (*) ONLY ATTENDED A MEETING AND DID NOT ACTIVELY PARTICIPATE. VIOLENCE OR REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES WERE NOT DISCUSSED.

Information recorded on a card index by _____ on date _____

Remarks:

Copy in YWLL file 100-65227 and the files of [Redacted]

[Redacted]

b7C

CHANNELIZED
DATE 6/17/71 b.j.g.

SEARCHED
DATE 6/18/71 b.j.g.

1 - SAN FRANCISCO REGISTERED
(1 - 100-53930) [Redacted]

100-28093 [Redacted] (SI)

100-74237 [Redacted] (SI)

100-54669 [Redacted] (SI)

100-68654 (PAC)

157-2325 [Redacted]

100-77634 (PEOPLES PEACE TREATY COMMITTEE)

105-22080 (BERTRAND RUSSELL)

100-76508 (NUCFAD)

157-1618 (BPP)

b7C

CCW/mth
(10) mth Read by CCW

Block Stamp

105-22080-40

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
JUN 25 1971
FBI - LOS ANGELES

THE

Young Workers Liberation League

PRESENTS

A

FORUM AND FILM
SERIES

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DATE 2/15/02 BY 39063 ELW/DAS/GJW

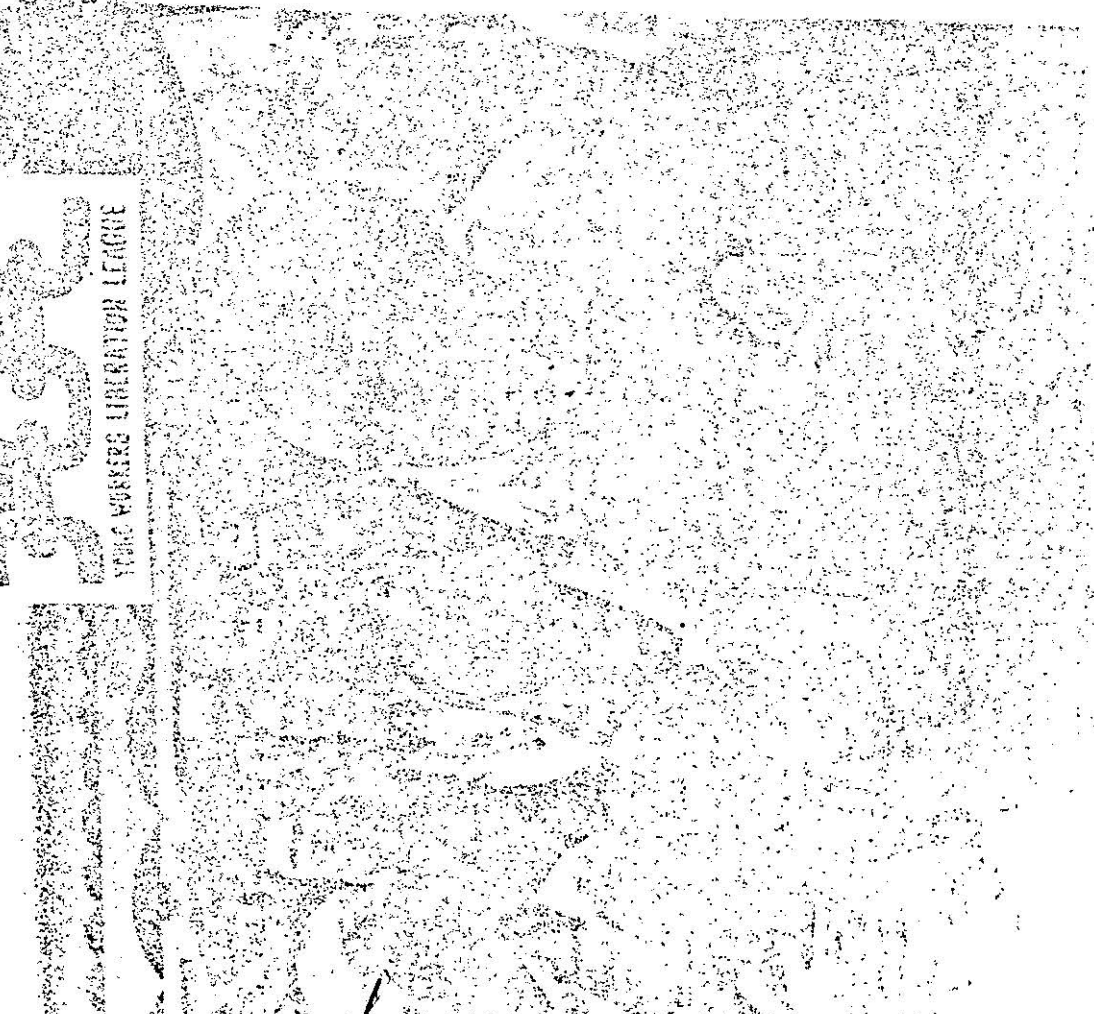
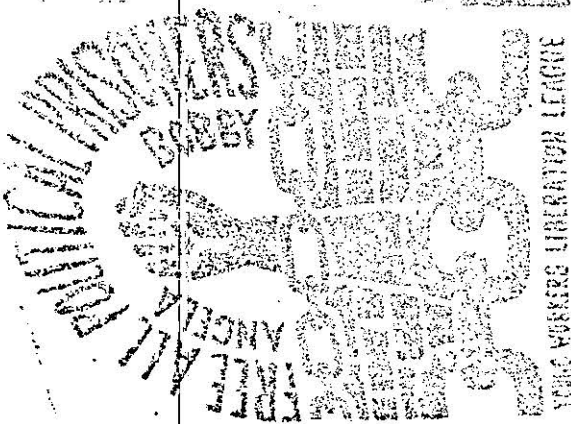
954762

at the

PHILANTHROPIC SNAIL
964 North Vermont
Los Angeles, Calif.
(1 block north of L.A. City College)

7:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m.

DONATION: 50¢



coffee house, open all night following
the forum & film series as well as other
nights.

June 4

Peace

IRVING SARNOFF, CHAIRMAN OF THE PEACE ACTION COUNCIL, WILL SPEAK ON THE PEOPLE'S PEACE TREATY. WE WILL SEE THE FILM "THREATENING SKIES", WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY BERTRAND RUSSELL. THE FILM, A DOCUMENTARY OF THE ATROCITIES OF U.S. MILITARY BOMBINGS IN VIET NAM; AND IN THE FACE OF THESE, THE COURAGE AND DETERMINATION OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE TO DEFEND THEIR NATION.

June 18

Ecology

A MARXIST VIEW OF ECOLOGY WILL BE GIVEN BY GREGORY BINION, CHAIRMAN OF THE SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA YOUNG WORKERS LIBERATION LEAGUE - A MARXIST-LENINIST YOUTH ORGANIZATION. THE FILM BEING SHOWN "MAKE IT REAL", IS AN ECOLOGY FILM MADE FOR THE 1970 EARTH DAY TEACH-IN. THIS FILM PRESENTS A COLLAGE OF THE EXTENT AND CAUSES OF POLLUTION AND BEGINS TO TIE THE QUESTION OF ECOLOGY TO ITS REAL FOUNDATIONS - THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM.

July 2

Women

THIS FORUM WILL BE LED BY COMMUNITY ORGANIZER, LUCY FRIED, AFTER WHICH, "HER STORY", A FILM ABOUT WOMENS' LIBERATION, WILL BE SHOWN.

July 16

Political Prisoners

A MEMBER OF THE SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA COMMITTEE TO FREE ANGELA DAVIS WILL TALK AT THIS FORUM ON POLITICAL PRISONERS.

FOLLOWING THE SPEAKER, A TWENTY MINUTE FILM INTERVIEW WITH CHAIRMAN OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, "FREE BOBBY" - WHEN HE WAS IMPRISONED IN THE SAN FRANCISCO JAIL AT THE END OF 1969. SEALE DISCUSSES THE BLACK NATION, MALE SUPREMACY, AND SPEAKS OF DIRECTION TO MOVE IN FOR THE FIGHT AGAINST U.S. IMPERIALISM.

Come and
Join Us!

DISCUSSION FOLLOWING ALL FORUMS & FILMS

LABOR & MATERIAL DONATED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/15/02 BY 39063 ELW/DAG/GJW
954762

Date prepared
8/21/72 b7C

Date received
8/21/72
Received from (name or symbol number)
[Redacted]

b2
b7D

Received
JA

Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

in person by telephone by mail orally recording device written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent:
Date

Date of Report
8/20/72

Dictated _____ to _____

Date(s) of activity
8/17/72

Transcribed _____

Authenticated
by Informant _____

Brief description of activity or material

SWP-YSA National Educational
Conference, Oberlin, Ohio, 8/17/72

File where original is located if attached
[Redacted] b2
b7D

* INDIVIDUALS DESIGNATED BY AN ASTERISK (*) ONLY ATTENDED A MEETING AND DID NOT ACTIVELY PARTICIPATE.
VIOLENCE OR REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES WERE NOT DISCUSSED.

Information recorded on a card index by _____ on date _____

Remarks:

2 - Cleveland (RM)

2 - CLEVELAND (RM)

CC: 100-17375 (SWP)

- 100-57253 (YSA)
- 100-76402 (NPAC)
- 100-68888 (SMC)
- 100-77698 [Redacted] (ADEX) b7C
- 100-75643 [Redacted] (ADEX)
- 105-22080 (BERTRAND RUSSELL)

TO BE DESTROYED

INDEX: SWP-YSA NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL
CONFERENCE

[Redacted] b7C

105-22080-41
Block Stamp

JAW/cmm
(7) cmm Read by _____

SEARCHED _____ INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED _____ FILED _____
AUG 23 1972
FBI - LOS ANGELES

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DATE 2/15/02 BY 39063 ELW/DKG/CJW

August 20, 1972
West Covina, CA

954762

(Thursday)

The first general meeting on August 17, 1972 of the SWP Oberlin Educational Conference was held in Finney Chapel from 10:15 to 11:30 a.m., the main lecture on "Prospects for Political Revolution in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe" by Gus Horowitz. The speaker declared that the world Trotskyist movement would do everything possible to promote political revolution in Eastern Europe and the USSR. For example, the SWP, he said, should persue the CP on its silence in the Soviet crack-down on dissidents. He claimed that the Polish workers' uprising in 1970 and the student-worker uprising in 1968 were portents of the cracks in the Soviet bureaucracy and the rise of world revolution.

At the end of this session, a call for volunteers was sent out to those willing to go to Miami Beach to seal literature at the GOP National Convention.

From 2:10 to 3:20 p.m. in the same chapel, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] delivered the party's anti-war report to the conference body. (This was the first of three such fraction reports which were attended from about 500 to 800 persons.) [REDACTED] stated that the most important aspect of the present anti-war movement to remember is that, "The authority of those who rule this country has been called into question." She maintained that the anti-war movement does make it difficult for the US to negotiate in Paris; and that the only thing that has restrained the President militarily is the threat of the anti-war movement mobilizing into the streets. [REDACTED]

b7C

b7C

[redacted] reminded the audience that the NPAC-style united b7C
action front began with the Bolsheviks to bring the working masses around
a popular-front banner when they aren't ready to follow the revolutionary
party. This provides social revolutionaries "with the full freedom to vie
for hegemony for the revolutionary party." She added that NPAC-SMC is
winning a hegemony in the anti-war movement as "the most consistent defen-
ders of the Vietnamese revolution." She also announced that Bertrand Rus-
sell would be bringing his war crimes tribunal to the US and that NPAC
would welcome and collaborate with this project.

Local information: [redacted] said on this day that in the fall he
will be on the Regional Committee, possibly as Organizer. He also predic- b7C
ted that [redacted] would be the next LAYSA Organizer. [redacted]