Answer to question—what news from Viet Nam don't we get—with some very important exceptions the greatest sin of the U.S. press in the past war period is that it has left the U.S. people bewildered in the face of an unending series of crises. To Americans these crises involving U.S. intervention seem to erupt without warning. But in fact they have each had a major build up extending back months or usually years.


Guatemala in 1954—supposedly one of the great CIA successes.

Two Chinese island crises in 1958-59. Looked as if in both cases we would go to war supposedly in defense of two islands.

Lebanon and Iraq in 1958. After the monarchy in Iraq was overthrown. Original plan was to go into Iraq and try to restore the monarchy. Fortunately there was some thought. Near intervention in the Spring of 1954 in Indo-China. Direct intervention in Viet Nam.

Intervention carefully and skillfully kept from the American people.

Dominican Republic last spring. Capital Times—

"If the U.S. follows through we would be the busiest imperialist country in the world."

In my opening sentence there was the qualification—with some exceptions. (Priase of some of the WISC. papers.)

Second theme— if you lack the will to be fooled, one can maintain and overcome the obstacle of living in a country whose press is so inadequate.

Story about the two wines in Harlem. After the Lebanon incident. Period of 1958 crucial one in the civil rights battle. Previous fall—1957
Gov. Faubus first crisis over school desegregation. President Eisenhower dispatched troops. Faubus did not give up the battle— Summer of 1958 new crisis over integration in Sept. of 1958. In this milieu U.S. decided it had to do something about democracy in Iraq. Anyway a friend was coming out of an apt. on 115th street. "met with two wines talking about the world situation. "How is it that Pres. Eisen. can send troops to Lebanon when he can't seem to straighten out the trouble with Governor Faubus, asked one. It's because said the other—those Negroes ain't got not oil.

The fact is that many college trained Americans lack clear thinking. Many of these college trained people pay with their lives for their intellectual lack.

Back in 1953 on a rather extended tour through S.E. Asia, I was in Saigon (Spring of 1953) one year before the battle of Dien Bien Fou, when pressure was beginning to build up on Pres. Eisen. for more direct military intervention. Pressure reached a climax in 1954. Came back to U.S. and wrote an article in the N.A.A.C.P. Monthly magazine the Crisis. Article called Our Disgrace in Indo-China. "example— point out one thing— early in the article quote from Robert S. Lynd—Whose War— the three generations of Rockefellers engaged in developing L.A.China lobby in China, and American capital is moving into Africa.

N.Y. Times— If Nkrumah tires to stage a come back the U.S. and Britian will not permit it. Worthy article— working committee of Nehru's party—militancy — anti-colonial period. The change over from Colonialism to independence has been checked and recently attempts have been made to reverse this. "working party made note of this consider it grave. Also I received a briefing from the french— I had during them an unexpected feeling of
ignorance.
As of now 90% of V. N. held by the V. M. It is just in the last few months that the U.S. press has begun to report this. Only as the war gets more and more disastrous that truth begins to come out. During an interview in Saigon with an MSA official he complained that the agrarian reform act which called for lower interest rate to permit farmers to buy land had not been implemented because the big land owners are the government.

According to a French official, only 20% of the V.N. are Communists, with any kind of training, the rest are simply those who want the French to go home.

If you listen to the newscasts as they announce the days fatalities—they generally use the word Communist instead of this information. Also there is a depraved quality to the newscasters as they announce the casualties.

On Dec. 11, 1953—during an interview on N.B.C. Romula was asked about the Communist menace in Indo-China. Romulo has been referred to as a "little brown American."

He said that he had visited Indo-China and had met the national leadership among them he had found great admiration for America. Many of these leaders have become Communists having had to look elsewhere when they needed aid. (Had America not given the Philippines their freedom in 1946— I would probably be called a Communist now—and this is from a "little brown American."

Nixon in 1953 on a trip to Hanoi—told the S.V. to tone down their demands and remain in the French union. Also Nixon—affirmed U.S. opposition to a negotiated peace settlement, when at the same time the French premier was not demanding unconditional settlement.

At the end of the article—what are we going to do about this?— American liberals seem to be silent.
(McCarthy period). Lynd—what does integrity in democratic context prompt young men to do. Draw a parallel today with the question of the draft. Questioning the actions of America.

N.Y. Times—virtually all information which tends to substantiate the thesis that China may be preparing for a war in 1968 or so has been classified by Johnson administration top secret.

Geneva agreements—editor of Minority of One—Arnoni—reprinted agreements. Had a great deal of difficulty in getting a copy of the agreements from the state department.

It is Washington and Saigon that have violated the Geneva agreements under Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson.

Press has failed to tell American people first about the existence of the CIA and the role of the CIA in countries like V.N. This is not from lack of evidence.

CIA set up in 1947 and not mentioned until after the U-2 incident. Press knew about the role of Colonel Lansdale who imposed Diem on the South V.N. Also Diem was eliminated by the CIA just before Kennedy—probably by the same forces. Role of the CIA can easily be documented. Is something that American people have not been told about.

From an article that will be out pretty soon in the April issue of the Realist—before the end of the decade the CIA will have liquidated at least a few of the more active peace leaders in the U.S. As in France—will seek to terrorize the more effective individuals. (bombing, kidnappings.)

Is not a far fetched claim to speculate that LBJ must well realize that the CIA will also eliminate him if he decides to go soft in order to win the new election, on the V.N. issue.

CIA very active in U.S. debriefing college professors, newsmen etc.
Very vital role of CIA with its poor intelligence. But look through newspapers and find precious little. During period of 1962-64 when there were virtually no Americans speaking out on the war in V.N. What few voices were ignored by the press. Spring of 1963, 1½ years after Kennedy's decision—62 Americans sent an open letter to Kennedy. It was first published in the Washington Post, then the N.Y. Times. Letter never received an answer. One thing about the system we live under—will take money from any source.

Letter widespread in Europe and Africa—(France, Algeria, Britain, Chile, British Guinea, North Vietnam.) Gives us an idea of how difficult it is to mobilize protest in this country in the field of foreign policy. As a result of failing military policy before the escalation—press has had to give certain amount of coverage to the protest movement. "The tide of the time has the most important part upon the life of men."

It is something we ought to ponder a great deal. In failing to communicate the truth about the tide of the time the American press is really failing the American nation in the most fatal way.

Putting it in domestic terms—"the sudden eruption of the Black revolt" took most white Americans by surprise. Demonstrations erupted in a chain reaction, in the most unlikely places. Who can we blame for this surprise of white America—the press, government, church, educational system. To give you an idea of how a considerable segment of us can be misled about the tide of the times—actually happened in Mississippi after the 1954 Supreme Court decision—May 17, 1954 "Black Monda
Monday" after Senator Byrd announced his plan of massive resistance—parallel to Douglas and Rusk, a Mississippi editor trying to cheer up his readers told them— that those 9 justices were not immortal, eventually they will retire or die off. If the segregationists and other right wing elements were to work really hard to elect a truly conservative president then that truly conservative president would be able to eventually appoint new justices. And they would be able to reverse the school board decision. It is no more ridiculous than the editorials now on the War in V.N.
The Vietnamese are prepared to sacrifice their whole population. I was told by Tom Hayden that the V. say on the high level if their country is wiped out some other people will be inspired by their resistance and they will pick up the torch and carry it on."

Worthy—there isn’t any chance for a political victory. Anti-colonial feelings are just as irreversible as the supreme court decision on school desegregation.

Uncle Tom diplomacy—coined by Ralph Matthews of the Afro-American. One of the things that is very interesting about the U.S. is that it gets itself in the position of singling out a leader, making him a leader, with all the window dressing, then before long in the international field, the U.S. then becomes a puppet of the puppet.

E.G. Truce negotiations in Korea. Rhea tried to prevent a truce. He released a great deal of N. Korean prisoners so that the negotiations going on about what to do with orisoners would be disrupted. When this incident was reported in Newsweek they quoted a French diplomat as saying "if this was one of our puppets an accident would be arranged."
The American people didn’t realise what type of
of person "he a was until his overthrow, in 1960.

Same thing with Batista.
Along the same theme—potential of Negro protest against the war. Sncc Statement. (Bill will give it to you if you want it, Alicia.)

Historic statement, turning point.

Realist article again—turning point—resolution passed by the AAA, Jamaica, Venezuela, --

the Negro struggle in North America is becoming sharper and the people are identifying their struggle with those of Africa and Asia. During Watts—proclaim themselves to be fighting as brothers with those in V.N. Don't have to go too far to find these Negro militants.

Another element that the press doesn't touch upon is Asians fighting Asian.

Press in general does not explain that a colored nation reacts to a threat against itself exactly as a white nation does. Have a parallel between the mentality of a James Clark of Selma and a Sheriff L. Johnson.

It is the achilles heel of American foreign policy. (Our not understanding the color line.)

Press doesn't understand the motivation of the guerrilla's.

H.C. M. ** what they are fighting for—against whom, and what will be the result of their trouble.

Woodrow Wilson—news is the atmosphere of events—goes back to what I said before about the American people in understanding the tide of the times.

What we don't get in the American mass media is the atmosphere of the events.

Nation article aug. 30, 1965—

Essential point—to deal with American attitudes toward American policy. Ought to realize that there are a dozen potential V.N.'s. (really means privileges
of empire.)

What are people really going to do about this? Character destiny. "The thorn that ripped the flesh are from the seeds I planted.

If you support Dullas, Rusk and Macamara in Cuba etc, it is inevitable are going to strengthen the far right in this country.

Quote from Fred. Douglas.