Vietnam, like Mississippi, is not an aberration—it is a mirror of America. Vietnam is American foreign policy: it is only that in Peru, Bolivia and South Africa the revolutionary movement has not yet progressed to the point where napalm and Marines are necessary. Vietnam reduces to absurdity the fifth grade civics book stuff about USA democracy and morality and lays bare the reality: a white nation bombing a colored peoples; a Christian country bombing a non-Christian country; a rich nation laying waste the resources of an underdeveloped land.

Vietnam lays bare the violence beneath the smiles and in formality of American life. It exposes in raw form the age, with which human can harm one another in the name of God, country, democracy and—even worse—in the service of "clean", automated, hierarchical bureaucracies.

Vietnam gives us every reason to look at ourselves and our neighbors and say: "We are accomplices in murder".

Vietnam is the Guerrica, the Rotterdam and the Lidice of the 1960's. Johnson to most of the world recalls Hitler, invoking "national honor" and anti-communism to rationalize mass murder. We see that the truck drivers, the engineers, the secretaries are the people whose guilt will be the subjects of philosophy tracts on "responability" to be written by African philosophers in the year 2000. Can anyone say, "We are accomplices in murder"?

Many of us do know. We know that the Pentagon and the State Department are prepared to bomb China.

We know that thousands of American young men are being lied to and shipped to Vietnam to serve as cannon fodder at the hands of Vietnamese people fighting for their homes.

We know that the single-minded Communist demon as the State Department describes Him does not exist.

We know—and this knowledge defines our lives for us. We must go into the suburbs, small towns and ghettos of this country to talk with the American people about Vietnam. We must force people to commit themselves on this issue. Where there is no talk, we must induce debate; where there is debate, we must induce protest. At the risk of being called traitors, we must question injustice.

The next step for us must be massive civil disobedience. We must say to Johnson Inc.: "If you want to go on killing Vietnamese, you must jail Americans." We must bring back to America the spirit of the imprisoned Thoreau who asked Emerson: "What are you doing out there?" We will invoke a law higher than that of the state, the USA and its allies did not offer us American people duty to refuse participation in this immoral soldier. Our trial must be a political trial. We must be tried for political prisoners, not as "trespassers" or "disturbers of the peace." We must denounce legal niceties and stress moral imperatives. In our trial it must be Johnson and McNamara who stand as the defendants.

Our massive civil disobedience aimed at blocking the USA war machine will send shock waves from Maine to California, and from the U.S. to all parts of the world.

There is no other choice.

Civil disobedience is justified and necessary not only on moral grounds, but also on political grounds.

There is now no organized opposition to the war in Vietnam. Because of the country's political party structure, elections do not offer us any opportunity to say "no" to the war. The press is controlled, and feeds us war news. Congress refuses to discuss the issue. Although opinion polls indicate that one-quarter of the people in the U.S. oppose the war, there are no outlets through which this opposition can be expressed.

When a country's institutions stifle its thought and poison its moral health, civil disobedience is the only recourse of the citizen.
Escalation...

Informed sources say that MacNamara is considering "expansion of military operations into neighboring Laos to seal off the Ho Chi Minh Trail..." (Oakland Tribune, July 16)

It has been reported in Time (July 23) that "By the end of this year, the U.S. will almost certainly have nearly 200,000 men in Vietnam, and if the Communists insist on stepping up their own effort!" (translation: if N.L.F. adds troops to offset the 5 to 1 ratio that the U.S. insists upon), "the U.S. troop total may well come to 400,000 by next summer" (the maximum U.S. force in the Korean War).

There may be worse in the offing: bombing of the North Vietnamese dikes... Bombing the dikes has been discussed several times in the French press but has been blacked out of the American... In its July 6 issue (Le Monde) carries an article by the famous agricultural expert, René Dumont, describing the enormous effort put into the irrigation system to meet the needs of overpopulated North Vietnam. The most tempting moment for our military, especially if they meet serious defeats in the South during the summer, will come at the end of the rainy season in August, when the war is at their height. Boxing up the great dikes to the North of Hanoi would be comparable to an H-bomb in its effect, flooding the entire delta region, wiping out the summer rice crop and drowning from two to three million people. (emph. ours) (L.F. Stone's Weekly, July 16)

The Administration has even disclosed contingency plans in the event that its escalation forces a nuclear war. These would freeze all wages, prices and rents, close stock and commodity exchanges; halt retail sales of gasoline and non-perishable foods; print ration cards; open all secret government emergency centers in the six states surrounding Washington and order plants to implement stand-by munitions contracts. Even the minimal intake level for the dikes to the North of Hanoi would be comparable to an H-bomb in its effect, flooding the entire delta region, wiping out the summer rice crop and drowning from two to three million people. (National Guardian, July 17)

...and Some of its Consequences

President Johnson's new commitment in Vietnam has prompted a reassessment among congressional liberals who have been raising dissenting voices. Their view, in essence, is this:

That the decision for further build-up will curb the dialogue. Said one senator, who feels that congressional discussion is imperative if alternative courses of action are to be explored: "But now that we are more deeply committed, I will be more hesitant about raising questions. I've talked to several other senators who have led the discussion--and they, too, feel that the dialogue has been greatly impaired." (Christian Science Monitor, July 17)

The Federal Budget Director said yesterday that Vietnam developments have upset Administration plans to finance rising costs of what President Johnson calls the Great Society by cutting spending for other Federal programs. (S.F. Chronicle, July 23)

*A* *A *

"The American armaments have not restrained, much less slowed down by one million and a quarter years of communism from which the U.S. pretends to preserve the people of South Vietnam and Laos. On the contrary, the Americans have succeeded in attaining what the Socialist powers themselves would have difficulty in doing; to know how in a few years to cast most of the population of South Vietnam and Laos into the arms of communism, whereas the normal conditions of life of the inhabitants of the prosperous Cochinchine and the religious and monarchist convictions of the Laorians were scarcely predisposed to Marxism." (Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia, in Robert Scheer, "A View from Phnom Penh," Ramparts, July 1965)

RUSSIAN REACTIONS

The brutal truth is that, so long as we are not afraid that somebody will bomb us, the bulk of the American people will not move on Vietnam except if and when the casualty rate among ground troops moves up to Korean magnitudes, or about 100 times their present level. The Vietnamese can't bomb San Francisco. The Chinese can't, or yet, if they can, they can't convince the American people of it, which amounts to the same thing. But the Russians can. Everybody knows that. Therefore, if the Russians can not be counted on to stay out, Johnson's policy is suicidal for our whole people. And so Johnson just refuses to let you think about this, as Hitler refused to entertain the possibility of having to fight a two-front war...

("The following statement was made by Marshal Vasily Chuikov to the Soviet APN News Agency)

"Civil defense organizations have now been set up in all enterprises in the Soviet Union, in industrial centers, towns and rural localities. Their main purpose is to train the population for defense against mass-strike weapons. Today the civil defense subdivisions and units are strongpoints in the task of protecting the population from penetrating radiation and other effects of thermo-nuclear weapons. Around these strongpoints, mass formations of the civilian population are being set up which are preparing for active work in the event of nuclear war.

"On June 22nd Pravda had a front-page editorial (it reaches 7,000,000 people) of which except its exceptions: "Pravda's mail daily brings it many letters in which Soviet people share their recollections of the rigorous days of World War II, and tell of the feats of valor of their few fighting men at home and in the rear of the enemy... the heroism of the defenders of our homeland at the fronts of World War II is an inspiring example for our young generation of people... recently tens of thousands of participants in the battles with the Hitlerites were decorated with orders and medals. At present, on the appeal of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League, our young communists and Soviet Youth are organizing an USSR-wide walk along the roads of military glory. Thousands of squads of young men and women will pass through the sites of battles, will learn much that is new about the glorious fighting deeds of their fathers and mothers, older brothers and sisters; they will sense the breath of the war years. Literature on people who covered the front with glory in battle is of great value in character-building... It is clear that this useful work must be continued..." (William Mandel, "Russia and Vietnam", Spider, July 1965, emphasis in the last paragraph is the author's.)

"DIGGING IN"

(Pravda)

(In a talk with Averell Harriman early this month, Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin explained that just as the U.S. is pledged to go to war to support our allies, so Russia is pledged to go to war to support its allies. He made it clear that one of these allies is China and that, even though Moscow and Peking have not been getting along well, Moscow would be obliged to go to war to defend China if the United States engaged in a nuclear attack. The Ambassador didn't say so, but it seemed clear that he had in mind the published reports that the Air Force high command wants to bomb the Chinese nuclear installations to prevent, or at least retard, the development of China as an atomic power.)

(Drew Pearson, in the S.F. Chronicle, July 22)
...and WHY?

Our President knows exactly what he is doing, the argument goes. If we do not understand certain policies, it is because he has more intelligence (in the C.I.A. sense) than we, if we appear to be on the brink of a very large war in Asia, it is because we, as mere citizens, just are not aware of the situation.

The following excerpt from Johnson's July 14 press conference should help to dispel this reassuring myth:

Q: Mr. President, what do you think, in your judgment, are the chances at this time of a broadened and mainly a land war in Asia?
A: I don't think that anyone can prophecy what will happen from day to day or week to week or month to month. I think that it's well for us to remember... (the pledges made by Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson himself). Our national honor is at stake; our word is at stake. And it must be obvious to all Americans that they would not want the President of their country to follow any course that was inconsistent with our commitments or with our national honor. (N.Y. Times, July 14)

Who are the NLF?

The Saigon authorities, at the time of the Diem regime, made a serious mistake in systematically purging all those who fought for the Vietnamese against the French before 1954. Most of them were peasants, and their families were solidly behind them. The bulk of the NLF today is made up of relatives of the victims of the Diem repression. (George Chaffard, "Inside Vietcong Territory," Viet Report, July, 1965)

The following was told by the Secretary-General of the NLF, Huynh Tan Phat, to Georges Chaffard in the article cited above:

"We will continue to fight as long as we have to, not to establish communism, but to build a government that is free and democratic. "Our first task will be to rebuild the economy of South Vietnam. For that we are going to need the cooperation of our national bourgeoisie and capitalist class; a neutral regime will reassure them. But we are also going to need foreign economic aid and international recognition. Without the support of the socialists, countries, but to get aid from the Western countries, especially investments, we will have to follow a policy of neutrality. We know the capitalists. They will not approach the problem of reunification... when the time comes, negotiations for reunification will take place on a basis providing annexation of one zone by the other."
Community Project

Many of us started with the vague notion that in addition to the student protest movement, we must help develop a community based protest movement. This means going out into the area and self organizing with our neighbors, and talking to people at some length--finding out what they know about the war in Vietnam, supplying information, discussing ways of expressing opposition. Primarily, we are interested in seeing people who are actively involved in their own political lives. As part of the door-to-door work, we have been circulating a petition. About one-third of the people contacted have signed the petition and an additional one third are interested in seeing us again and becoming better informed.

Of the two-thirds, most of the people are interested in attending meetings in their own neighborhoods. We have started on this program and the meetings have been quite successful. For example, one group of people is now organizing a larger gathering at which they plan to have speakers and entertainers. We have been discussing the August 21st community meeting with everyone we contact and a great deal of enthusiasm is generated by this idea: over and over again we have been told that a major problem in a city like Oakland is that people don't talk to each other enough, and that the community meeting provides an opportunity for people to become less isolated.

One of the most exciting aspects of this work is finding out that, contrary to prior opinion, it is possible to arouse those outside of the academic community about the issue of Vietnam as a symptom of fundamental defects in our society. In fact, we have begun to explore fundamental problems with Vietnam as the immediate issue.

I myself have been working in an area in West Oakland which is predominantly Negro middle class. I was talking to a young man recently with the Army in the Air Force and after discussing Vietnam for a while, he asked me how many Negro generals there were. I said I didn't know and he told me there was only one. Then, referring to his Viet nam and racial discrimination, he said, "It's all the same, isn't it?" And there are a number of other such experiences which not only are personally moving, but also indicate people's readiness to join together in opposing the Administration's policy in Vietnam.

As to be expected, those who are not sympathetic to our point of view of the government and often are even resistant to accepting literature from us. We feel a great sense of urgency as the war escalates every day, and we need a great deal of help. Based on our talks with people and the results of circulating the petition, there are thousands in the Bay Area who have the potential for being mobilized.

Every Saturday morning we are setting up co-ordination centers in the area which is to be canvassed that day and holding workshops later on in the afternoon. However, people are encouraged to go door-to-door any time and can obtain information at the Vietnam Day Committee office.

-Marilyn Milligan

Community Protest Meeting

Vietnam Day Committee, Citizens Committee of Correspondence and many other groups from the Bay Area are sponsoring an all-day Community Meeting for free discussion on Peace, Poverty and Racial Discrimination on Saturday, August 21 at Merritt Park (the bandstand area in Oakland).

Group discussions will be held on racial discrimination, unemployment, slums, war and the shortcomings of the democratic process in America, the war which we will march to the office of our Congressman, Jeffery Cohelan to present our conclusions. Other items on the agenda will be a keynote speaker and a presentation by the S.F. Mime Troupe.

We need help to plan this meeting. Churches, labor unions, and civic groups are urged to send a member to the planning sessions held at 2407 Fulton Street, Berkeley, at 7:30 p.m. every Wednesday.

Funds Urgently Needed!

We must continue its work with this newspaper, direct action, and other activities. It urgently needs your financial help. Your contribution, however large or small, will help us mount anti-war activity. Enclosed is my contribution to help finance the VDC's anti-war activity:

Name

Address

Check payable to: Vietnam Day Committee, Send to Professor Samuel A. 2201, Berkeley, California

Other VDC Activities

Research Project on the University and the Cold War -

A research committee is currently engaged in investigating every aspect of University involvement in the Cold War from scientific research to political indoctrination. Those wishing to research interests or persons experience are invited to participate. A sixty-page pamphlet must be ready for the opening of school.

Book - A 160-page book is now being prepared for publication based on the speeches delivered at Vietnam Day, May 21-22.

Translation into foreign languages, and international distribution are being planned.

Movie - An avant-garde political documentary, 35 minutes in length, has been prepared and soon will be ready for international distribution. Those with knowledge of movie distribution, etc., or who have contacts with interested groups are urgently needed.

International Secretariat - To coordinate the world-wide resistance to American actions, an International Secretariat has been established. It aims to ensure that the action on the 16th of October will occur throughout the world. Those interested in this important issue can write to the VDC.

Newspaper - This paper is in need of people to work on its staff. All those who can write, type, do layout, etc., are invited.

A Play - Directed by Nina Serrano Landes, this play is being sponsored and produced by VDC. It deals with the joys and trials of running an empire--and living in it.

Artists, actors, dancers, make-up people, musicians are invited to participate.

Art - A group of artists are needed to work with the VDC. Artists and letters of all shapes, sizes and colors are invited to contribute their talents for poster-making, money raising, etc. Prop-art (s) welcome.

If you would like to work on any of these projects, come to our new office at 2407 Fulton St., or call us at 549-0811, 549-0812, or 845-6637.

VDC Statement of Policy

"The Vietnam Day Committee is a group of students, faculty and other members of the Bay Area community who oppose American intervention in Vietnam. The Committee is open to all others who are interested in this movement, and wherever else it may occur. Revolutionary struggles for self-determination are sweeping the world today. American suppression of these struggles, we believe, is immoral, and a threat to the peace of the world. The Vietnam Day Committee is organizing nonviolent direct actions, teach-ins, door-to-door organizing and other educational activities to oppose American intervention. We believe that the struggle for self-determination in other continents is related to the struggle for democracy in America--a democracy in which the people have the facts and the power to make decisions for themselves. The struggles in America against racism, poverty and bureaucratic conformity are part of the same movement as the struggle against American militarism. We must build a New America and join with those peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America building a New World."

Join the Vietnam Day Committee: only 25¢ makes you a card-carrying member.

New Office

The Vietnam Day Committee has found new and larger office space at 2407 Fulton Street. We have five spacious rooms in which to expand our present projects and begin working on many more. You'll find our office open from 10 a.m. to 10 p.m., please feel free to drop in whether it be to sit around and drink beer or to give us your help.

The Vietnam Day Committee News is published by the Vietnam Day Committee, 2407 Fulton St., Berkeley, California (549-0811) (549-0812) (845-6637).

Editor: Claudia Gellett

Associate Editor: David Rosen
WHY ARE WE KILLING WHEN PEOPLE AT HOME LIVE LIKE THIS?

WE ARE TOLD THAT WE MUST FIGHT IN VIETNAM TO PREVENT THE COMMUNISTS FROM TAKING OVER, BUT
--The Vietnamese people have been fighting foreign invaders (Chinese, Japanese, French) for 2000 years for the right to decide their own destinies.
--Aggression from North Vietnam against the South is a false issue since the Geneva Agreements specified that the division was only a cease-fire line and not a permanent partitioning of the nation.
--Will massive bombings, which kill women and children, destroy homes, schools, hospitals, dike, land and crops, be likely to win the people to our side?
--Facts prove otherwise: Desertions from the South Vietnamese army have been running 4000 a month. (St. Louis Post Dispatch, Sept. 1965)

WE ARE TOLD THAT WE HAVE TO DEFEND FREEDOM IN VIETNAM, BUT
--We have supported a succession of tyrannical dictators who have never been elected by the people of Vietnam.
--There have been 9 dictators since Diem.
--The latest of these, General Cao Ky, the present head of the Saigon government said (July 5, 1965): "People ask me what kind of heroes I have. I have only one - Adolph Hitler... We need 4 or 5 Hitlers in Vietnam."
WE ARE TOLD THAT SOUTHEAST ASIA WOULD FALL TO COMMUNISM IF WE LEFT SOUTH VIETNAM, BUT

---Indonesia, Burma, Laos, Cambodia, and Singapore became independent nations and did not "fall to communism."
---Drew Pearson says in the Phoenix Gazette (5/7/65): "Singapore went neutral and may slip over to Communism, in part because our war in Vietnam, especially our bombing of North Vietnam, has become so unpopular that, one by one, the countries of Asia are turning against us."
---Senator Aiken of Vermont said in a speech in the Senate (3/25/65) "...I believe that North Vietnam...will not become a satellite of Red China unless the U.S. forces her to become one. But, if we continue raids over North Vietnam..., we may force North Vietnam to call on China for Chinese troops by the millions."

WE ARE TOLD THAT WE WILL STAY IN VIETNAM UNTIL WE WIN THE WAR, BUT
---Congress has never even debated whether we should enter the war in Vietnam.
---A recent Gallup poll showed 70% of Republicans and Democrats would be "more inclined to vote for a candidate who favored negotiations in Vietnam."
---Yet our boys continue to be wounded and to die: "U.S. military deaths...topped 1000...the number wounded...3,779." (Los Angeles Times 9/24/65)
---Military experts say we will need a minimum of about 1½ million men to "successfully contain present Vietcong forces." (El Paso Herald-Post, 6/16/65)
---If after the war is over, the Vietnamese choose a Communist government, will we start the war again?
---Senator Morse said in a speech at UCLA, 9/24/65, that we are creating a situation that will go on 50 to 100 years. Even if we should win the war, we would have to occupy the countries which we "win."

WE ARE TOLD THAT OUR GOVERNMENT'S OFFER TO NEGOTIATE HAS BEEN REJECTED, BUT

---Why don't we stop the bombing of Vietnam long enough to assure the people that we really mean to negotiate? Would WE negotiate with a foreign government while they were bombing our country?
---Why don't we live up to the commitments made by Walter Bedell Smith, U.S. Undersecretary of State, who represented our government during the Geneva discussion in 1954 and agreed:

--That the U.S. would not use force or the threat of force to interfere with the armistice agreements at the end of the Indo-China war; that there would be free elections for Vietnam; that peoples are entitled to determine their own future.

WE THINK THERE IS A BETTER WAY FOR OUR BOYS TO SERVE OUR COUNTRY THAN BY FIGHTING VIETNAM. WE BELIEVE IN A TRULY "SELECTIVE" SERVICE:

---To fight the war on poverty; to work in the Peace Corps; to build hospitals, schools, and homes.
---To use the 4 million dollars a day that we are spending on the war in Vietnam to build a better America.
---To alleviate misery at home rather than creating it abroad.
WE BELIEVE THAT THE FOLLOWING GOALS WOULD BE REALISTIC FOR PREVENTING FURTHER LOSS OF LIFE:

--an immediate end to United States bombing in North and South Vietnam
--withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam
--implementation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements by 14 nations including:
  --the promised free elections
  --removal of foreign military bases
  --removal of military reinforcements of men and material from abroad
--call for the independence of Vietnam to reunite and seek a self-directed course

WHAT YOU CAN DO TO STOP THIS UNJUST AND IMMORAL WAR:

--Write President Johnson or your congressman, urging an end to the war
--Join local direct action groups who are working against the war
--Contact Students for a Democratic Society for information about conscientious objection and your legal rights under the draft law (702 W. 27th St., Los Angeles 7)
--Vote for candidates who call for peace and oppose those who support the war in the coming elections
--Talk to your neighbors and friends about the issues of the war. Form neighborhood discussion groups and seminars.
--Watch for announcements of public meetings and discussion to be held on the issues of the war. Attend and encourage others to attend.
--Write letters to newspapers, expressing your opinions and ideas about alternatives to the growing escalation.
FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:

P.O. Box 32364, Los Angeles 32, California

or phone:

Los Angeles: 937-0236 or 748-9045
Santa Monica: 392-2892
Orange County: 871-6886
San Fernando Valley: 783-9682

ISSUED BY INTERNATIONAL DAYS OF PROTEST COMMITTEE

OCTOBER 15-16, 1965