# SOLIDARITY BULLETIN

CONFERENCE REPORT

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This issue of the Vietnam Solidarity Bullstin represents a landmark, since it contains all the important documents of the first national conference organised by the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign. The Campaign is now securely launched in its task of bringing to the British people the spirit of complete solidarity with the people of Vietnam in their struggle for liberation from U.S. imperialism.

Our first article in this issue is the text of Pertrand Russell's address to the National Conference. This issue also includes the Conference's decisions on the Campaign's Statement of Aims and Structure, the Conference resolution expressing our full support for the Vietnamese the Conference resolution expressing our full support for the Vietnamese people's four and five point programme, and a resolution condemning the British Government's complicity in the war. The names of members of the Campaign's National Council, as well as the list of all organisations which sent delegates, are included. Finally, what is by common consent the most important project which the Campaign is planning for the near future, we publish the memorandum on the proposed War Crimes Tribunal.

people of Vietnam felt with ever-increasing works. We give our support the protest march planned for the afternoon of Sunday 3rd. July, from the protest march planned for the afternoon of Sunday 3rd. July, from Trafalgar Square to the American Embessy. On Schuracy 5th. August, we shall be holding a Vietnam Solidarity Eseting, of which full details will be sent to you later. We are organising a Photographic Exhibition on Vietnam, which will be shown in Blackpool at the time of the T.O.C. Conference and in Brighton at the time of the Labour Earty Conference.

We urge all our readers to give full support to these activities.

I welcome you to this National Conference of Solidarity, which has been convened solemnly to create a national movement in Britain of active support for the people of Vietnam. There is there a parallel for the heroism with which the Vietnamese have struggled to be free from foreign occupation and every species of brutality? When, since the reign of Nazism, have such barbarous tortures been applied to helpless people? It should never be forgotten by us that more Vietnamese died during Diem's reign, from 1954 to 1960, than from the post-1960 period, when the people of Vietnam took up arms under the leadership of the National Liberation Front. Nor can it be forgotten that the Vietnamese have known the horror of foreign occupation since the last century and have been struggling against it virtually since the Japanese occupation of 1940. The Japanese, the French and the Americans have attempted to subdue this people. They have all failed. But neither the Japanese nor the French equalled the United States in barbarism.

The United States today is a force for suffering, reaction and counter-revolution the world over. Wherever people are hungry and exploited, wherever they are oppressed and humiliated, the agency of this evil exists with the support and approval of the United States. Whether it is Mobutu of the Congo or Blanco of Brazil, whether it is Pak of South Korea, Thanom of Thailand, Ngo Dinh Diem or Cao Ky, the arms which kill the people bear an American stamp of origin 3,300 military bases protect the control by the few rich in America of 60 per cent. of the resources of the world. And when considering what horror has been perpetrated in Vietnam itself, it is more than I can bear than to describe it for you. Eight million people were placed in concentration camps under forced labour. People have been subjected to experimental weapons such as poison gas which blinds them, paralyses them, asphixiates them and causes convulsions. Chemicals which affect the nervous system and mental balance have been used over wide areas. Napalm and phosphorus, which burn and burn until only a cinder remains, have been dropped on the most densely populated areas. Weapons of sheer evil, such as the

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lazy dog, have been used throughout the country. In one province of North Vietnam alone - Thanh Hoa - 100 million slivers of steel were rained on the population during the last year. 650 sorties per week, with vast tonnages exceeding those used in World War II and the Korean War, have taken place relentlessly week after week, month after month.

And yet, despite all this, despite the fact that the United States is the most powerful military force the world has known, despite the fact that her Air Porce is not challenged and her sea power is not hampered, despite the fact that the automatic weapons in the hands of her soldiers fire several hundred rounds of bullets per minute, despite the fact that the Vietnamese are an agrarian people with little industry, these people, like the Greeks at Salamis, have defeated a great and cruel colossus.

when I think back to 1940, during the Blitz, and recall the mord of Englishmen at that time, I know clearly and without hesitation what our responsibility is to the Vietnamese. Do you remember our feelings when the Nazis were bombing our cities. Do you recall the determination which swept Britain, never to surrender and never to accept a Nazi occupation of our country. Did we suffer gas and chemicals at that time? Was our country cut in half? Were our peeple in concentration camps? Was our countryside razed with gas, chemicals, jelly gasoline and fragmentation bombs? No, none of this occurred. And yet Churchill spoke for all of us when he declared that we would fight on the beaches, but we would never surrender.

The purpose of this Conference is to declare our fervent hope for the victory of the people of Vietnam, total, unequivocal and swift. The purpose of this Conference is to build a movement in Britain worthy of the heroism of the people of Vietnam themselves; a movement which will not equivocate or pander to the economic power of the United States. We wish to build a movement capable of exposing the sordid squalor of our Prime Minister's subservience

and greed. We wish to creat a movement which will evolve concrete forms of action. Such as a War Crimes Tribunal, which will call before it victims and witnesses of the great panoply of horror which is the war of aggression waged by America in Vietnam. Our movement will be broadly based. It will seek its support amongst the working people of this country, from the trade unions, from the teachers, from the students and from all those who see in the struggle of the people of Vietnam that decency and dedication which calls forth the best responses in human beings. For let us have no doubt that we do the Vietnamese no favour by declaring our solidarity. Their struggle against economic domination is a guide to the road we ourselves must travel.

Britain has been made into a bully's lackey, and a brutal and heartless bully at that. If, today, we are not hungry because the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America die daily to keep us fed, we are degraded and corrupted by that unworthy plenty. Squalor serving planty has always defiled the bene-ficiaries of misery, from the days of Egyptian slavery and from the times of early Christianity to our own. So it is that the struggle in Vietnam is a struggle for human decency and our very own emancipation. The people of Vietnam will not be in our debt. They deserve no pity. They display heroism, not passivity, and they are overcoming and not turning to private disillusion and despair. No-one who enjoys a high standard of living in the West, which is inexorably derived from brutality and exploitation. has the right to ask people who struggle against our exploitation to abandon that struggle on terms we lay down. This is why it is unseemly for peace movements and movements of the Left to ask the Viewnamese to treat with Johnson, while he continues his criminal aggression against them. There can be no peace of any value or of any duration which is a slaves' peace, nor can we obtain peace of mind by requesting the hungry and oppressed to die in silence. They will not listen to such pathetic advice. They must not. Nor must we give it.

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Our Campaign for Solidarity, our War Crimes Tribunal, our films, our books, our meetings and our material help must have one aim: the victory of the Vietnamese over their termenters. And I express the wish that this victory may herald similar victories of the oppressed everywhere until the day when our own people reclaim their government and transform it into an instrument of good.

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#### ADVERTISERS' ANNOUNCEMENT

LABOUR'S NORTHERN VOICE has given support to the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign since the campaign started its activities.

Its most notable contribution to the Campaign was to bring out - together with the campaign - a special Vietnam Voice which was sent to every Trade Union and Labour Party in the country.

There are many local and industrial editions of the paper, for example: Miners' Voice, Dockers' Voice, Scottish Voice, etc. There may be an edition which covers your area or industry.

For full details and sample copies write to: Alan Rooney, 12 Sunnybank, Hull. Readers in Hull should write to <u>Humberside Voice</u>, 52 Hermes Close, Rilton Grange, Hull.

FORM A LOCAL VIETNAM SOLIDARITY GROUP

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If you think that you can help to form a local group of our campaign please write in immediately to the secretary.

Already groups are formed, or are in the process of being formed, in Aberdeen, Birmingham, Bristol, Croydon, Edinburgh, Fife, Hull, Nottingham, Preston, etc. There are many local activities which will be very much facilitated by the formation of these groups: the local showing of the photographic exhibition, a local speakers' service, meetings, etc.

## The Vietnam Solidarity Campaign is a movement committed to the victory of the Vietnamese people against the war of aggression and atrocity waged by the United States. We regard the struggle of the people of Vietnam as heroic and just. We intend to work in all ways available to us in their support. We will campaign strenuously against the British Government's

We declare complete solidarity with the National Liberation Front and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in their resistance to American imperialism.

complicity in the Vietnam war.

Only the defeat of this vicious aggression, only the withdrawal of American forces, weapons and bases and the triumph of the National Liberation Front and the Democratic Republic over their oppressors will serve justice and the principle of self-determination. The promotion of these aims is the purpose of our movement.

The Vietnamese people alone have the right to determine the conditions for ending the war. The negotiations proposed by Johnson and Wilson are fraudulent: words of peace to mask aggressive acts of war. We reject them contemptuously.

## THE STRUCTURE OF THE VIETNAM SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN

- (i) That this conference elect a national council to be the governing body of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign.
- (ii) That the national council be answerable to national conference, which shall be the final authority
- (iii) That a national conference be held annually as long as the need for a Vietnam Solidarity Campaign remains
- (iv) That the national council be composed of eleven elected members.
- (v) That the national council have the right to co-opt up to five further individual members and representatives of supporting Organisations and local supporters' groups.
- (vi) That the president of the Campaign be elected by annual conference.
- (vii) That the National Council's chairman be elected by annual conference.
- (viii) That the national council normally meets three times a year.
- (ix) That the chairman of the national council be also the chairman of the executive.

- (x) That the national council appoints from amongst its number an executive committee of seven to be responsible for the day-to-day work of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, and to be answerable to the National Council.
- (xi) That the national council makes all necessary further arrangements for the effective working of such a structure, including the preparation of a constitution.
- (xii) That a constitution be adopted by the next national conference.
- (xiii) That membership be open to all those who accept the aims of the campaign and pay the required subscription; and
- (xiv) That the national council takes immediate steps to set up local solidarity groups.
- (xv) That membership fees be determined by the incoming national council.

#### RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT VIETNAM SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE

" This conference unreservedly supports the struggle of the Vietnamese people against imperialist aggression on the basis of their 4 and 5 point programme."

The text of the four and five points are included herewith for information:

- (i) Text of the five part statement of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation.
- (1) The U.S. Imperialists are the saboteurs of the Geneva Agreements, the most brazen warmongers and aggressors and the sworn enemy of the Vietnamese people.
- (2) The heroic south Vietnamese people are resolved to drive out the U.S. imperialists in order to liberate south Vietnam, achieve an independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral south Vietnam, with a view to national reunification.
- (3) The valiant south Vietnamese people and the south Vietnamese Liberation Army are resolved to accomplish to the full their sacred duty to drive out the U.S. imperialists so as to liberate south Vietnam and defend North Vietnam.
- (4) The south Vietnamese people express their profound gratitude to the wholehearted support of the people of the world who cherish peace and justice, and declare their readiness to receive all assistance including weapons and all other war materials from their friends in the five continents.

(5) To unite the whole people, continue to march forward heroically and be resolved to fight and to defeat the U.C. aggressors and Vietnamese traitors.

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- (ii) Text of the four point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam
- (1) Reaffirmation of the basic national rights of the Vietnamese people: peace, independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity. In accordance with the Geneva Agreements, the U.S. must withdraw all troops, military personnel and weapons of all kinds from south Vietnam, dismantle all U.S. military bases there, cancel its "Military Alliance" with south Vietnam. The U.S. must end its policy of intervention and aggression in south Vietnam. In accordance with the Geneva Agreements, the U.S. Government must end its acts of war against north Vietnam, cease all encroachments on the territory and sovereignty of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.
- (2) Pending the peaceful reunification of Vietnam, while Vietnam is still temporarily divided into two zones, the military provisions of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam must be strictly respected: the two zones must refrain from joining any military alliance with foreign countries, and there must be no foreign military bases, troops and military personnel on their respective territories.
  - (3) The internal affairs of south Vietnam must be settled by the people of south Vietnam themselves, in accordance with the programme of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, without any foreign interference.
  - (4) The peaceful reunification of Vietnam is to be settled by the Vietnamese people in both zones, without any foreign interference.

This stand unquestionably enjoys the approval and support of all peace and justice-loving governments and peoples in the world.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam holds that the above-mentioned stand is the basis for the soundest political settlement of the Vietnam problem. If this basis is accepted, favourable conditions will be created for the peaceful settlement of the Vietnam problem and it will be possible to consider the reconvening of an international conference of the type of the 1954 Geneva Conference on Vietnam.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam declares that any approach contrary to the above-mentioned stand is inappropriate, any approach tending to secure a U.N. intervention is also inappropriate because such approaches are basically at variance with the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam.

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#### RESOLUTION ADOPTED ON THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S COMPLICITY IN VIETNAM

The extent of the British Government's complicity in the U.S. war in Vietnam is insufficiently known. It is profound and operates at many levels.

- (1) Britain has repeatedly supported U.S. apologies for the war.
- (2) Britain has supported the U.S. bombing of North Vietnam.
- (3) Britain is a principal foreign apologist for the Johnson administration's imperialism. Britain has become more than ever before a built-in part of the American aggressive system.
- (4) Britain has been ce-architect of Western imperialism in Southeast Asia by its policy in "Malaysia" and East of Suez.
- (5) Britain has recognised the illegal and unrepresentative Saigon puppet "government".
- (6) Britain is selling weapons to the U.S. for its war in Vietnam.
- (7) Britain has helped perpetrate the fraud of "peace" missions "negotiations".
- (8) Although co-chairman of the Geneva Conference in 1954, Britain has repeatedly failed to assist the implementation of the Agreements or to prevent the U.S. wrecking them.
- (9) British officers experienced in counter-insurgency warfare are training Saigon puppet troops in "Malaysia" with British weapons.
- (10) Britain's provision of the Thompson "police mission" in Saigon makes every British taxpayer responsible for the Blaughter of the Vietnamese people.

Whilst further British involvement in the war, which is sought by Washington, would be a yet greater crime, the extent of present British complicity is immense.

The Vietnem Solidarity Campaign will combat this complicity by every means available.

#### CPED ENTIALS REPORT OF VIETNAM SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE List of Organisations which sent delegates

Arab Revolution
A.S.S.E.T. (London District Council)
Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation
Bristol Sponsors for Peace in Vietnam
Cambridge Ad Hoc Vietnam Solidarity Committee
Committee for the Rights of Oman.
Croydon South Young Socialists
Brighton YCND

Ealing No. 2 National Union of Railwaymen branch East Walthamstow Young Socialists Edinburgh Ad Hoc Committee for Solidarity with Vietnam Edinburgh A.S.L.E.F. No.1 branch
Exeter University Socialist Society Ex-Servicemen's Movement for Peace Hamingay Committee for Peace in Vietnam Hammersmith North Constituency Labour Party Hampstead Young Socialists Hackney Central Constituency Labour Party
Hornchurch Constituency Labour Party
Horley Council for Party Horley Council for Peace in Vietnam Humberside Voice Hull Vietnam Solidarity Committee
International Socialism
Iraqi Students' Society Lancaster University Socialist Union London Workers' Committee London School of Economics Socialist Society Merton British Council for Peace in Vietnam Mid-Beds Constituency Labour Party National Awami Party (U.K.) National Association of Labour Student Organisations The Office Value of Street and American arrange New Left Review Nottingham Vietnam Solidarity Committee
Nottingham Voice
Oxford Vietnam Peace Movement Putney Constituency Labour Party St.Mary's (Twickenham) College Socialist Society St. Paneras North Young Socialists Southall Indian Workers' Association Socialist Action (Bromley) Sussex University Vietnam Committee The Week Willesden Clerical and Administrative Workers' Union Willesden East Constituency Labour Party

#### List of Organisations sending Observers

Australian Medical Aid for Vietnam Fund
Waltham Forest Council for Peace in Vietnam
Wood Green Constituency Labour Party
Zenit (Sweden)

#### OFFICERS ELECTED AT VIETNAM SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE

PRESIDENT: Bertrand Russell Chairman: Ralph Schoenman National Council

Ken Coates: Nottingham V.S.C.

Chris. Farley: Bertrand Russell Peace

Foundation

Quintin Hoare: Individual

Dave Horowitz: B.R.P.F.

Part Jordan: The Week

Ted Knight: Lewisham Trades Council

John La Rose: Individual

Ian Millar: Edinburgh V.S.C.

John Palmer: International Socialism

Ralph Rosenbaum: Individual

Jim Scott: Young Socialists

Ernie Tate: Individual

Tony Topham: Hull V.S.C.

Barbara Wilson: Individual

Fourteen people were nominated from the floor for the national council and a motion was carried unanimously that the three unsuccessful candidates be co-opted on to the national council under provision (v) of the structure.

#### Some Notes on the National Council

This list is made up of people who have a very good record of struggle on the question of the Vietnam war. Two people - Ken Coates and John Palmer - have fallen foul of Transport House because of their militant policies; the former having been expelled from the Labour Party and the latter has been refused endorsement as a Parliamentary candidate. Chris Farley and David Horowitz have been stalwarts of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation's activities - so well-known as not to warrant detailing - in connection with the Vietnam war. . Quintin Hoare of New Left Review has been a member of the Preparatory Committee which prepared the conference, as have Ralph Rosenbaum, Ernie Tate and Barbara Wilson. Countless hours have been put in by these comrades in ensuring the success of the conference and other campaign activities. Pat Jordan was the secretary of the Preparatory Committee. Ted Knight is secretary of his Trades Council which has a very good record on Vietnam. John La Rose is a West Indian now living in this country who has taken part in National Liberation struggles in his homeland. Ian Miller and Jim Scott have struggled, in the Labour Party and Young Socialists, against the Vietnam policy of Wilson. Tony Topham, also a Labour Party member, has been the main force behind Humberside Voice, which has a record second to none on Vietnam.

#### WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL

The following paper by Ralph Schoenman was adopted by the conference as a guide for the National Council in organising, with other sympathetic groups, an international war crimes tribunal:

#### Preface

Not since Nazi atrocities has the world been so roused by the extent of the cruelty shown to people made victims of a great military power. Throughout the world, demonstrations against the use of chemicals, gas and torture by the United States have led to a growing desire for a properly constituted international tribunal to hear the full evidence and present a definitive indictment of these crimes. A War Crimes Tribunal which accomplishes this task will make a permanent contribution to the exposure of those responsible for this barbarism. U.S. imperialism will find that its war of aggression against the people of Vietnam is exposed in the most dramatic way. Its plans for extending these crimes wherever people resist oppression and exploitation will be retter understood and, therefore, more effectively resisted.

The War Crimes Tribunal must be guided by certain strategic principles:

- 1. The composition should be broadly based and chosen with a view to affecting public opinion in North America and Western Europe.
- 2. The breadth of the composition should in no way compromise the primary object of the Tribunal which is to set out definitively the barbarous character of the war of aggression waged by the United States against the people of Vietnam. A Preparatory Committee should be established with representation from the United States, Western Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America.

#### Preparatory Committee

A Preparatory Committee of twenty-five should be formed at the earliest opportunity. The responsibilities of the Preparatory Committee are to create a Committee of Finance, a Committee of Publicity and a Committee of Administration for the War Crimes Tribunal. It is recommended that leading spokesmen of the Afro-American struggle should be represented on the Preparatory Committee. The active involvement of Negro leadership in the War Crimes Tribunal will have profound importance for the American people's resistance to U.S. imperialism. Three representatives of S.N.C.C. - James Forman, Julian Bond and John Lewis - have agreed, in principle, to participate in such a Tribunal. It is suggested that the first meeting of the Preparatory Committee should take place in Paris. It is further

suggested that the War Crimes Tribunal should be scheduled for six months from the first meeting of the Preparatory Committee.

#### Structure of Tribunal

It is recommended that there should be twelve members of the Tribunal. The twelve members should include outstanding personalities and jurists. The Preparatory Committee should consider lists of names: many of whom should be sounded by Bertrand Russell to learn of their willingness, in principle, to serve on such a Tribunal. It is suggested that the Tribunal should be convened by a small convening group consisting of such men as Bertrand Russell. Jean-Paul Sartre and François Mauriac. The Tribunal judges should hear all evidence, after which it is recommended that they prepare a report concerning the evidence. appearing before the Tribunal should include Vietnamese victims, both North and South, witnesses, journalists, scholars and scientists who are able to give evidence concerning the war crimes committed by the United States Government and its satellites in Vietnam. All proceedings are to be tape-recorded and it is recommended that a documentary film should be made by Emile de Antonio, a Director of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, an American citizen renowned for his documentary films. The Finance Committee should create a budget and launch a world appeal for support which will be signed by the convening group. The Publicity Committee should prepare printed material concerning the forthcoming War Crimes Tribunal and establish liaison with world news agencies.

The Tribunal should sit for twelve weeks and receive the evidence of approximately 200 witnesses and examine the exhibits, which include photographs and analyses of the chemicals and gases employed in Vietnam. It is recommended that the venue should be France, if possible. France is the Western European country from which visas can most likely be obtained for all participants. If it is not possible to hold the Tribunal in France, it is suggested that Sweden and Finland should be tried.

The Prosecutor responsible for the marshalling of all evidence should be the American lawyer, Mark Lane.

The Tri bunal should appoint deputies empowered to take depositions and evidence from witnesses unable to appear before the Tribunal and to prepare such evidence for the consideration of the Tribunal. These deputies, acting for the Tribunal itself, can reduce the amount of work necessary for the individual members of the Tribunal, whose eminence may make it difficult for them to participate without cessation throughout the duration of the Tribunal hearings.

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#### SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

THE SOUTH EAST LONDON CENTRE FOR SOCIALIST EDUCATION is organising a SUMMER FAIR TO RAISE MONEY TO BUY ARMS FOR THE NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY OF VIETNAM.

The time: Saturday, 9th. July at 3.00 p.m.

at

7. the Glebe, Blackheath, London S.E. 3.

There will be: an art exhibition

poetry reading

live jazz

Indian classical Sitar

and other entertainments and refreshments.

All proceeds to the National Liberation Front to buy arms.

Please do your best to publicise this venture. Every person committed to the victory of the National Liberation forces in Vietnam should give their support.

This will be the first time that an activity of this nature has been organised in Britain but not the last - it must be a huge success.

For further information contact Malcolm Caldwell, 7 the Glebe, Blackheath, London S.E. 3.

#### HOW TO GET THERE:

Take a train from Waterloo, Charing Cross or London Bridge to Blackheath station. When you come out of the station turn right and right again and walk down Lawn Terrace. Where the road curves to the left, continue walking straight on keeping to the footpath. This footpath leads into The Glebe.

#### ADVERTISERS ANNOUNCEMENT

The Week has been asked by the XUNHASARA export agency of Hanoi to act as distributor for Vietnamese journals in the western Hemisphere.

The Week, which from the start of the American agression against Vietnam has taken the side of the people of Vietnam, is very happy to announce that the following publications are available:

Vietnam Courier Women of Vietnam	weekly 3 times p.a.	10/-	per	year	and		rata
Vietnam Youth	bi-monthly	4/-	11	11	11	11	11
Vietnamese Studies Vietnam (an illustrated	Quarterly	16/-	"	"	11	11	"
Magazine)	Monthly	12/-	11	11	11	11	17
Solidarity with Vietnam	Fortnightly	3/-	11	11	"	11	11
Vietnamese Trade Unions	Quarterly	2/6	11		11	11	"

Vietnam Courier gives news of the day to day struggle against U.S. imperialism and of the Vietnamese peoples efforts to build up their economy.

Women of Vietnam deals especially with the way Vietnamese women are playing their role in defence of their country's self-determination and in construction.

Vietnam Youth is slanted especially towards the young people of Vietnam, most of whom have lived all their lives under conditions of war, struggle against foreign invaders and the threats of imperialist attack.

Vietnamese Studies examines the problem of Vietnam in a deeper and more theoretical manner.

Vietnam is an attractive and lavishly illustrated magazine covering all aspects of life in Vietnam.

Solidarity with Vietnam gives regular news of the various movements all over the world which support the struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression.

Vietnamese Trade Unions gives news and views of the Vietnamese trade union movement.

Cheques etc should be made out to the week (Vietnam account) and sent to The Week, 54, Park Rd, Lenton, Nottingham. The items are sent direct from Vietnam by airmail.

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#### TEXT OF BERTRAND RUSSELL'S LETTER TO THE PRESS ON THE VIETNAM MANIFESTO

To the Editor

Sir:

Many people who had hopes of opposition at last within the Labour movement will be disappointed by the Vietnam Manifesto. It does not constitute a contribution to the cause of justice and peace in Vietnam, but is a different formulation of Wilson's policy of complicity.

The United States is a blatant aggressor in

#### ADVERTISERS' ANNOUNCEMENT

Be sure to get

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It is not practical for AFRICA AND THE WORLD to be displayed on every brokstall or newspaper stand. Your newsagent can order the magazine if you ask him to.

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Use the form below or, if you do not wish to cut the magazine, write it out on a sheet a of paper. Please use B LOCK LETTERS for your name and adress.

To: AFRICA AND THE WORLD, 89 Fleet ST. London, E.C.4 Please send me AFRICA AND THE WORLD for 12 months. I enclose remittance for 24 shillings.

Name	
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The Committe for the Rights of Oman Invites You to the celebration of:

#### OMANI REVOLUTION DAY

a programme of music, poetry, and prose of the Omani people's liberation struggle on Sunday, 17th., July at 2 p.m.

at Mahatma Gandhi Hall, Fitzroy Square, London W.l. (Nearest Tube: Warren St) Tickets at 2/6 each obt inable from: Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, 3-4 Shavers Place, Piccadilly Circus, S.W.1.

or Omani News. 14-16 Cowcross Street, Farringdon, E.C.1.

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Vietnam and it is impossible to expect the Vietnamese to permit the aggressor to be the arbiter of a provisional government. It only promotes confusion if we slide over our moral responsibility to stand side by side with the victim against the aggressor. People should be clear that the United States' experimental war in Vietnam is in keeping with their exploitation and oppression of people in most parts of Latin America, Asia and Africa. The demand for peace in areas where people are struggling for liberation against brutal dictatorships backed by American military power is empty, because it is impossible for the people concerned to live under the old regime. They are compelled to revolt by those who suppress and torment them. The only moral position for socialists is one of solidarity with those struggling for their economic and political emancipation.

In Vietnam, the United States is using gas, chemicals and napalm. They are bombing hospitals and sanatoria. They have no more right to use their occupation of Vietnam as a basis for suggesting terms of a settlement of their own aggression than had the Nazis in Yugoslavia. The issue is as clear as the Blitz, but it is more grave. Nazi Germany did not invade Britain, nor did Nazi Germany commit war crimes against Britain involving gas, chemicals, fragmentation bombs or the placing of sixty per cent. of the rural population in concentration camps. Yet, Churchill declared that Britain would fight on

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the beaches, fight for decades, if necessary, but would never surrender. Churchill went further, calling for the unconditional surrender of the Nazis and for a conquest of Germany. The Vietnamese do not propose occupation of Washington. Their demand is simple: that the aggressor get out.

It is an unwarranted concession to the brute force of imperialism for socialists in the West to bargain with the rights of the oppressed by demanding that the Americans, who perpetrate such terrible war crimes and who have been in occupation of Vietnam for twelve years, should now determine a provisional government or set their conditions for an end to their own aggression. Britain is guilty of complicity in the use of experimental weapons and poisons. All of us have the duty to struggle for the defeat of the United States and the victory of the Vietnamese, just as we had that responsibility in support of those resisting Hitler a quarter of a century earlier.

The Vietnam Solidarity Campaign is seeking to make clear the basic issues in this struggle and to organise a series of actions in Britain supporting the National Liberation Front and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam against the Americans. We hope people in Britain will join with us in action aimed at the defeat of the United States, the exposure of their war crimes and the national liberation of the people of Vietnam.

Yours faithfully.

Bertrand Russell (President)
Vietnam Solidarity Campaign

#### MESSAGES OF GREETING TO THE CONFERENCE

1. From President HO CHI MINH of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

"I am very pleased to learn that a National Conference of the
"Vietnam Solidarity Campaign" under your sponsorship will soon be
held with the lofty aim of supporting the just demands of the
Vietnamese people in their struggle against the U.S. imperialist
aggressors for defending the North, liberating the South, proceeding
toward the reunification of their fatherland, and contributing to the
defence of peace in Southeast Asia and the World.

"All activities undertaken by freedom- and justice-loving people in Great Britain with a view to exposing the savage war crimes of the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam and condemning their war of aggression, constitute a strong encouragement to the Vietnamese people.

"I wish the Conference good success and express my sincere thanks to its participants.

"I take this opportunity to convey to you the warm feelings of the Vietnamese people and my best wishes for your good health."

HO CHI MINH.

2. From NGUYEN HUU THO, President of the National Liberation Front.

"Marmly welcome your initiative and would like to ask you to transmit to Conference Solidarity with South Vietnamese People in England (from 4 to 5/6) warm greetings and sincere gratitude of our South Vietnamese people. Wishes of successes to Conference."

Lawyer NGUYEN HUU THO President of Presidium CC of FNL S. Vietnam.

The two messages above were telegrams addressed to Bertrand Russell, on behalf of the Conference.

3. From the SOCIALISTISK UNGDOMS FORUM\*

"We are sorry we cannot send a delegate to your conference but send our warmest greetings and wish success to your endeavours to strengthen the movement to help the National Liberation Front.

"We are most impressed by your work."

\*The youth movement of the Socialist People's Party of Denmark which has 10 M.P.s out of 90 in the Danish Parliament.

4. From the SWEDISH COMMITTEE IN SUPPORT OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT IN SOUTH VIETNAM.

"As far as we can see the opinions that our Committee has on the Vietnam war... coincide with yours. We would therefore be very interested in and happy for an interchange of views, statements, leaflets, speeches

and actions... up to the point where we might work as your Swedish branch."

N.B. This Committee has collected thousands of dollars of money for the

National Liberation Front by organising a very wide range of militant

activities in Sweden.

### 5. From the WEST AFRICAN STUDENTS UNION

"We were unable to attend your meeting of the 4th. June at the Mahatma Gandhi Hall due to previous engagements. Nevertheless, we associate ourselves with any resolutions you might have passed on Vietnam at your meeting on the 4th. June 1966, in the Mahatma Gandhi Hall in London."

GERS ON DEOFONOO, General Secretary.

## 6. From the PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS (SOUTH AFRICA)

"I cannot express to you adequately our deep regret in not having been able to attend the Vietnam Solidarity Conference that your Foundation called over the past week-end. The Pan-Africanist Movement of South Africa has always vehemently supported the just struggle that the people of Vietnam are conducting against American imperialist aggression. Only recently in Cairo our Acting-President, Mr. P.K. Lebello, said that the Vietnamese people provided the greatest encouragement to freedom fighters all over the world. And it is precisely because we realise that our struggle in South Africa will be no different from that being conducted now in Vietnam that we most naturally support the struggle of the Vietnamese people there.

"Therefore I would like you to regard us as a sponsor of your Vietnam Solidarity Movement and would be only too willing to give whatever support we cap."

Yours in the struggle,
BENNIE SUNSEE (for J.M. LEMBELE, CHIEF
BENNIE SUNSEE (for J.M. LEMBELE)

## 7. From the BELFAST & DISTRICT TRADES' UNION COUNCIL.

"We are sorry not to be able to send delegates to your National Solidarity Conference to be held this week-end. It's purely a matter of finance and no lack of sympathy with the aims of the Conference.

"For a long time now, my Council has called for the ending of this terrible war and for a peace based on the 1954 Geneva Agreement. Now we grow more apprehensive.

"A few months ago we wrote to the British Prime Minister for an assurance that British troops (which would include Irishmen) would not be dragged in at the behest of the American Government. The assurance was anything but reassuring. Now rumours fly to the effect that, with the ending of the confrontation between Malaysia and Indonesia, the troops will not be brought home and we fear that they will be re-directed to the front in Vietnam.

"We trust our fears are wrong. But your Conference will have our full support if they raise the demand for the return of the troops and an end to support for U.S. policy and its war against the Vietnamese people."

BETTY SINCIAIR, Secretary.

8. From KINGSTON BRANCH A.S.S.E.T.

"My Branch wish	to send	message of	solidarity	to	your Conference,
regretting we were	unable	to secure	a delegate	to	attend."

Join the

#### VIETNAM SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN.

If you support the just demands of the Vietnamese people, if you want to work towards world peace (which can only be acheived through the ending of imperialism, the cause of all wars), then there is a place for you in the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign. The situation in Vietnam demands that people in this country who value the ideals of freedom and justice should work intensively to support the Vietnamese people in their just struggle. You can do this best by joining our Campaign. So, if you have not already done so, please fill in the form below and send it to us with a year's subscription of 10/-.

To VIETNAM SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN, 8 Reland Gardens, London S.W.7.	
I fully support the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign and wish to become a member. I enclose 10/- subscription for 1 year.	
NAME	
ADDDECC	