

***End the War in Vietnam!***

**M**ORE and more killing is the only answer President Johnson seems able to give to the worldwide protests against the hideous U.S. war against the people of Vietnam. It is his only answer to the demonstrations of the people of South Vietnam against the hated U.S. puppet government and against the U.S. presence in their country, which have torn to shreds all his protestations about honoring "our commitment to help Vietnam and turn back aggression from the North." It is his only answer to the demands of the people of the United States that the war be brought to an end, and to the public opinion polls that show the sharp drop in his popularity among the American people due to the continued escalation of the war.

The Pentagon has announced that another 100,000 troops will go to Vietnam before the year's end. On June 9, Maj. Gen. Ben Sternberg, commander of the 101st Airborne Division, just returned from 26 months in Vietnam, said 500,000 more troops would be needed there. In his latest news conference (June 18) President Johnson threatened a still further escalation of the war, and increased bombing of the North. Even as he was speaking, the bombing of targets in South Vietnam by U.S. B-52's from Guam was increased from one raid daily to three. And the *Wall Street Journal* reported from Washington, June 20:

The Johnson Administration is moving inexorably toward another significant escalation of the Vietnam war—the bombing of oil storage depots and perhaps other power sources in North Vietnam.

Lyndon Johnson, Robert McNamara, Dean Rusk—you and all the others who make U.S. policies—can you sleep well these nights? Surely if you are human the bloody deeds for which you have been responsible must have murdered sleep. Surely the ghosts move through your nightmares of the tens of thousands of Vietnamese people—the figure of 170,000 has been given—killed through the civil war for which the United States is responsible, the countless thousands of others maimed, burned by napalm, poisoned by chemicals, the women and children, the old and the sick killed by our bombs in both South and North Vietnam, the 24,000 dead and wounded American soldiers, the ten flaming Buddhist suicides, the three Americans who have immolated themselves, and now many more deaths as Ky's troops move in with U.S. equipment to put down by violence the Buddhist and student dissidents in Danang, Hue, Quang Tri and Saigon itself. Only brute force, which the U.S. Government has supported, has

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June 1966

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enabled Premier Nguyen Cao Ky and Chief of State Nguyen Van Thieu to stay in power. They have already completely violated their commitment to the Buddhists regarding a civilian government. The addition of ten civilian nonentities to the generals' junta was a meaningless gesture. The elections for a constituent assembly, scheduled for September 11, will be equally meaningless. The Buddhist leaders had expected that the assembly would be empowered to set up a civilian government. Ky, who has confirmed his previous statement that he expects to stay in power for at least another year, has now declared that this assembly must be dissolved after a constitution is drafted and then the junta will hold *another* election for a national legislative assembly to form the basis of a civilian government. The Buddhists have stated repeatedly that they will boycott the elections unless Ky and Thieu resign. But even without such a boycott elections would be meaningless with the National Liberation Front in control of about four-fifths of the territory of South Vietnam, an area with a population of 10 million of the 14 million South Vietnamese.

The Buddhists are a peaceful people—as indeed are the Vietnamese by nature. Buddhist protests have largely taken the form of moving their household altars into the streets. In their demonstrations in Danang, Hue and Saigon, they have made clear that while they are not “pro-Communist,” they are against continuing the war and against U.S. interference in their affairs, and that only a civilian government pledged to end the war will satisfy them. The use of armed force against them, the placing of the militant leader Thich Tri Quang, greatly weakened by a protest hunger strike, under house arrest in Hue, and the police blockade of the Buddhist Secular Affairs Institute compound in Saigon, after an alleged shooting of a policeman by a Buddhist youth, can only heighten the people's hatred of the Ky regime.

#### ***Step Up Drive for Peace During Summer***

**WE URGE** all our readers to use the summer months to intensify their efforts to put an end to all this. Bombard the President, your Senators and Congressmen with demands to end the war in Vietnam, agitate your neighbors to do likewise, write letters to the press, seek out and join—or initiate—peace actions in your own vicinity, support any peace candidate running in your area!

Votes for peace in the Congressional elections this fall will count with the President more than anything else. His concern was shown when White House press secretary Bill Moyers put in several calls on his behalf to California during the Democratic primaries. While only incumbents won among the candidates critical of the Vietnam war, a strong vote was piled up by three peace candidates in Northern California, who each polled about 45 per cent or more of the total Democratic vote in his district. They were Robert Scheer and Edward

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Keating, both connected with *Ramparts* magazine, and Philip V. Drath.

Significant, too, was the vote of 86,149 rolled up by Dorothy Healey, Communist Party spokesman, for the office of county assessor in Los Angeles. Mrs. Healey's stress on the negative effects of the war in Vietnam on domestic issues was held to be a major factor in her gaining the largest vote ever recorded by a Communist in this area.

While Howard M. Morgan, backed by Senator Wayne Morse in his stand against the Vietnam war, lost his race for the Democratic nomination for Senator in Oregon to the Administration-backed candidate, he too polled a considerable number of votes.

With some 100 candidates critical of Administration policies in Vietnam, the fall Congressional elections offer an important opportunity to cast a vote for peace. New York has a considerable number of such candidates, especially in the ranks of the Reform Democrats, who are being backed by various peace organizations. Communist theoretician and writer, Dr. Herbert Aptheker, head of the American Institute of Marxist Studies, is running on a Peace and Freedom Ticket in Brooklyn's 12th Congressional District. Dr. Aptheker visited North Vietnam a few months ago, with Prof. Staughton Lynd of Yale University, and Thomas Hayden, a former President of SDS.

To assist in the campaigns of candidates "pledged to ending the war in Vietnam and supporting grassroots anti-poverty, civil rights program," an organization called the National Conference for New Politics was set up in New York (with an office at 663 Fifth Avenue) with offices also planned in Washington, D. C. and Los Angeles. Their \$500,000 fund campaign to help peace candidates offers one constructive form of participation. They have started a summer workshop program to train campaign workers, the first beginning June 20 at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. Co-chairman of the NCNP are Julian Bond of SNCC, elected twice to the Georgia House of Representatives but denied his seat, and Simon Casady, ousted as President of the California Democratic Council because of his criticism of U.S. Vietnam policy.

The summer projects of the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam are described on page 11 of this issue. Assisting in these projects are the Students for a Democratic Society, the Du Bois Clubs of America and other peace organizations. Special attention should be given to demonstrations scheduled for July 4th in various cities, and the Hiroshima Day demonstrations, August 6th.

Among recent peace actions and statements special note should be given to the grounds on which SNCC refused to participate in the White House Civil Rights Conference on June first. SNCC said:

We cannot in good conscience meet with the chief policy-maker of the Vietnam war to discuss human rights, when he flagrantly violates the human rights of the colored people in Vietnam.

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While the Administration headed off any over-all expression of opposition, a large number of those attending the Civil Rights Conference wanted to call for U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam.

Extraordinarily impressive was the three-page ad calling for an end to the Vietnam war in the *New York Times* on June 6. It carried 6,400 signatures of educators and professional people from 180 college and university faculties in 39 states, representing the very cream of the intellectual world. It was sponsored by the Ad Hoc Universities Committee for the Statement on Vietnam and the Committee of the Professions.

And a salute to the students and faculty members of Amherst and New York University for walking out of commencement exercises in protest against the giving of an honorary degree to Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara because they disapproved of his deeds in Vietnam.

#### **Labor and Peace**

THE main imperative for an effective peace movement is mobilization of greater opposition to the war in Vietnam in the ranks of labor. There is progress in this direction in the growth of Trade Unionists for Peace nationally and the formation of a Trade Union Division of SANE. There are hopeful signs too in the breaking away of some leading AFL-CIO unions from the warlike policies advocated by President George Meany. The unstinting support to Administration policy in Vietnam expressed by the Federation's convention last October, is today being increasingly challenged by top AFL-CIO figures.

It was significant that the main speaker invited to address the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Atlantic City convention was UN Secretary General U Thant. Addressing the convention on May 24, he made a strong plea for the end of outside military intervention in Vietnam and restoration of peace on the basis of the Geneva agreements, urging greater trade union efforts in this direction. The convention gave him a standing ovation.

In his keynote speech Jacob Potofsky, ACW President and an AFL-CIO Vice President, assailed those "in high office" who have sought to stifle dissent from government policies in Vietnam. He also urged re-examination of U.S. policy toward mainland China. Secretary Treasurer Frank Rosenblum devoted most of his speech to the war in Vietnam, which he called "not only dangerous but ineffective and immoral as well," and detrimental to anti-poverty and social welfare programs at home. Continuation of our policies in Vietnam "can unleash thermonuclear war"; we are not wanted there, cannot win and "we are great enough and strong enough to withdraw without serious embarrassment." A unanimous resolution opposed escalation of the war and called for negotiations for peace.

The United Auto Workers Convention at Long Beach, Calif., Ma

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16-21, passed a much milder resolution against further escalation of the war and for negotiations; and disgraced itself by attacks on anti-war student demonstrators. However, the resolution also called for "re-evaluation" of the U.S. position on recognition of China and for its representation in the UN and for strengthened trade and cultural ties with the USSR and other socialist countries.

UAW Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazzy strongly supported the right of dissent, spoke out against further escalation and for a cease-fire and a negotiated peace. Mazzy has been among the most outspoken labor officials on the question of Vietnam although, under pressure from his union, he has cancelled some appearances before anti-war rallies.

However mild the foreign policy resolution sponsored by UAW President Walter Reuther, it still marked a distinct departure from the position of Meany and his foreign policy advisor Jay Lovestone, head of the AFL-CIO International Affairs department. A sharp attack on the latter was made by Victor Reuther (brother of Walter), in charge of the UAW's International Affairs Department, in a news conference held during the convention. Charging that Lovestone's department is closely bound up with the CIA, he declared: "The tragedy of AFL-CIO activities in the field of foreign affairs is that they are a vest pocket operation run by Jay Lovestone."

The foreign policy resolution of the 175,000-member Packinghouse, Food and Allied Workers Union, passed at their convention in Los Angeles May 16-20, was the strongest of the three, calling for a cease-fire and a halt to the bombing in Vietnam. This union and its President, Ralph Helstein (an AFL-CIO vice president), have been outspoken in their peace advocacy. The Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers Union at its May convention, supported a policy of continued search for peace through negotiations, and opposed further escalation. (Many delegates had urged a complete pull-out.) District 65 in New York, largest RWDSU affiliate, its President David Livingston and its Secretary-Treasurer, Cleveland Robinson, have been especially active in opposition to the war in Vietnam.

Special mention must be given to the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen's Union. Its Secretary-Treasurer Patrick Gorman has spoken out repeatedly against what he has called the "unimaginable tragedy" of the Vietnam war and the union's publications have editorialized against it. Also active in peace work have been the Hotel, Motel and Restaurant Workers' Union, the Drug and Hospital Workers' Union (especially Local 1199 in New York) and others.

Some of the official organs of the Teamsters' Union have registered opposition to U.S. policy in Vietnam. The *Missouri Teamster* of April 8, said editorially that critics of the Vietnam war were truly patriotic, and that "Peace is the only salvation for us and the conference table is the only road to it."

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The monthly magazine *Labor Today* devoted its last summer's issue to U.S. policy in Vietnam and has had numerous articles opposing the war in the months since.

All of the former CIO unions which are now independent, have spoken out against the war. The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and its President Harry Bridges and its organ *The Dispatcher* have consistently opposed the war in Vietnam. A stand against the war has been taken by the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers' Union and its President, Albert Fitzgerald, by the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union and by the State, County and Municipal Workers.

**Meany and the ILO—Soviet T.U. Visit Blocked**

A PARTICULARLY flagrant example of Meany's reactionary stand was his boycott of the 50th Conference of the International Labor Conference held in Geneva the first three weeks of June. Meany has long labored, hitherto successfully, to keep trade union representatives of any socialist country from any official positions in the ILO. When for the first time this year such a representative, Leo Chajn of Poland, was chosen conference President, the AFL-CIO walked out—although the U.S. employer delegation continued to participate. Another breakthrough was the election of Pyotr T. Pimenov, Secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, to the ILO executive committee. Only pressure from the Administration prevented Meany from pulling the AFL-CIO out of the ILO altogether.

Meany's action in this case led to a serious breach between the UAW leadership and Meany. Walter Reuther, in a letter to Meany denounced the boycott of the ILO conference as "unwise, undemocratic . . . and unauthorized." Reuther also issued a statement that the UAW was "deeply disturbed about the growing negative character of the AFL-CIO policy in the field of international affairs. . . ." There were bitter exchanges on the subject in the AFL-CIO Executive Council where the 18 to 6 vote upholding Meany showed stronger support for Reuther's position than expected. The Council will have a special session in the fall to review the foreign policy positions of the AFL-CIO.

The UAW had invited a group of eight officers and members of the Soviet trade unions to visit this country, by arrangements made through the Citizens' Exchange Corps. When the Soviet visitors' visas were withdrawn two days before their expected arrival, Victor Reuther discovered this was Meany's doing. He reported that Under Secretary of State U. Alexis Johnson had finally agreed to admit the group if it added a half dozen non-trade-union representatives, thus supporting the Meany viewpoint that Soviet trade unionists are not "true representatives" of Soviet workers. This evil Meany-State Department collusion to prevent normal exchanges between U.S. and

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Soviet trade unions must be opposed and reversed. Such exchanges offer one of the best means of exposing the fallacy of the anti-Communism on which U.S. reactionary policies around the world are based.

And much more must be done to mobilize labor action for peace.

Many of the union statements noted above have unfortunately been emasculated for fear of offending the President and losing his support on domestic issues, and have been couched in terms of supporting his peace efforts—though no such efforts exist. It is urgent that it be fully understood that continuation of the war in Vietnam is incompatible with the anti-poverty program and other gains for workers promised by Johnson. With their sons being drafted in increasing numbers surely the time must come when the workers realize that only U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam is in their real interests.

#### **Soviet Support of Vietnamese People**

THE Soviet Union has been consistent and firm in its support of the Vietnamese people in their fight against U.S. aggression, and in its denunciation of U.S. imperialist policies in Southeast Asia. It has provided whatever assistance the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has requested for defense against U.S. bombing attacks, and has made clear its readiness to step up this aid if the DRV requests, even to the sending of volunteers.

There was no basis whatever for speculation in the U.S. press that this policy was changing because of statements by Premier Alexey Kosygin in his June 8 election speech, in which he spoke of "sober-minded" leaders of the United States being concerned about how to get out of the war in Vietnam. He probably had in mind people like Senators Fulbright and Morse. Premier Kosygin and other Soviet leaders have declared repeatedly that they want better relations with the United States, but that no improvement is possible as long as U.S. military aggression in Vietnam continues. During his recent visit to the United Arab Republic, Kosygin made his strongest attacks yet on U.S. policies in Vietnam. In the election speech, he made a special point of the *failures* of U.S. policy in Vietnam and the constant worsening of its military position despite all the troops and equipment poured in.

In a speech on June 17, during his state visit to Finland, Premier Kosygin pulled no punches in condemnation of U.S. policy in Vietnam. He declared that U.S. unwillingness to heed world opinion was leading it "further and further to international isolation." Calling NATO an organization "injurious and dangerous to peace," the Soviet Premier warned of the danger that the European states drawn into NATO "perhaps even against their will and desire, can become involved in military conflicts started by American ruling circles anywhere in the world." In a joint communique, the Finnish Government endorsed a

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Soviet proposal for an East-West conference on European security.

All Soviet leaders in recent speeches have condemned aggressive U.S. policies in Vietnam and elsewhere. Mikhail Suslov, CPSU Central Committee Secretary and Politbureau member, in an election address in Leningrad June 7, dwelt at length on the exacerbation of world tensions by U. S. imperialism, which he termed "the principal reactionary force today." He assailed the "criminal war against the people of Vietnam" being carried on by "the U.S. interventionist army," denounced recent U.S. provocations against Cuba, and warned against the new dangers of German militarism and the efforts of the German Federal Republic, encouraged by the U.S. imperialists, to gain access to nuclear weapons. Similar strong statements were made on behalf of the Central Committee of the CPSU by A. N. Shelepin, also a Secretary of the Central Committee and Politbureau member, in an address in Outer Mongolia at the same time, and likewise by N. V. Podgorny, Politbureau member and President of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. He too assailed the "criminal war of the United States" against the Vietnamese people and called U.S. imperialism "the leading force of world reaction."

And on June 10, Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU, told 6,000 constituents of the Bauman Electoral District that "our invariable policy is to render every kind of support to the peoples defending their freedom and independence in the struggle against imperialism and to help the liberation and revolutionary movement." He declared:

The goal of Soviet foreign policy is to wage a consistent struggle against the aggressive policy of imperialism, for peace and the prevention of thermo-nuclear war, for the affirmation of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

Brezhnev continued with a demand that U.S. aggression against the Vietnamese be stopped, and a settlement made in accord with the proposals of the DRV and the South Vietnam National Liberation Front. He said U.S. atrocities had resulted in the growing isolation of the United States, that U.S. imperialism was suffering a serious defeat and that the USSR was doing everything in its power to organize an anti-imperialist front in support of Vietnam. He declared:

The Soviet people are linked with the heroic Vietnamese people by bonds of fraternal friendship and militant solidarity. Our country and other socialist countries provide and will continue to provide on an ever-growing scale, the necessary assistance in the just struggle of the people of Vietnam.

Our aid is of a diverse nature. It is military and economic aid. It is active political support of our Vietnamese brothers. We are taking new measures and making new efforts to help speed up the victory of the heroic Vietnamese people. We are firmly convinced, comrades, that the Vietnamese people will absolutely win out!

CPYRGHT The Soviet people are continuing to hold protest meetings throughout the USSR protesting the U.S. war in Vietnam. J. S., June 20

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