

DETROIT REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT RECORDS

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VIETNAM IS ONE

Speeches by

**JANE FONDA and TOM HAYDEN,
INDOCHINA PEACE CAMPAIGN**

Tuesday, September 12, 1972

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I'm here tonight with Tom Hayden and Holly Near, an actress and singer who has been traveling as part of the Indo-China Peace Campaign, and we're here in that context to join with Control, Conflict and Change. We're working from the idea that we are faced, for the first time in the history of the war in Viet Nam, with two particularly new situations that create a climate over the next two months that makes it possible for us to have a great deal of impact, all of us, on what's going to happen in the near and far future in America.

The election on the one hand, the fact that for the first time in the history of the war there is a choice, there is a difference between the two candidates, and on the other, the situation that exists in Viet Nam which Tom Hayden is going to be speaking about. I'm talking about the offensive, the five month long, most successful offensive in South Viet Nam.

We believe that our job is to reach out as far as possible, as broadly as possible with information; that the problem that confronts us today is that most Americans believe that the war is winding down and that is why fewer people are demonstrating, fewer people are acting, and that no matter what party they belong to or what age they are, unless they are availed of information they won't know what to do or how to vote or how to act.

Because of the situation, because of the debate, the turmoil, the state of mind that people are in, we can do things in the coming two months that may take generations to do the day after the elections are over. So we have organized the Indochina Peace Campaign which is a non-partisan campaign, independent of the McGovern campaign, across the country in seven key states. In the west, California; in the Midwest, Illinois, Ohio and Michigan and in the East, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York. There are full-time organizers working in all of these states. In Detroit and in Michigan, Frank Joyce and Nancy Woodside of the People's Peace Treaty Office. Into these states a vast amount of research material is being sent. Films, slide-shows people can learn to do; graphic material, some of which is hanging on the wall, which was made by the art department of the Immaculate Heart College in Los Angeles, which can be hung in auditoriums, churches, schools; speakers, gold-star mothers, POW's, Vietnamese students from South Viet Nam most of whom are in the United States on AID scholarships, but who over the course of the last years have changed their views of the war, and are speaking out most movingly and outwardly about their country, about their culture of resistance, about their history, about the fact that Viet Nam is one country. We have seen the kind of impact that the Vietnamese students have on the American people and they are speaking out at the risk of their lives. They have received deportation papers. Their scholarships have been cut.

They will be traveling on a part-time basis. Tom Hayden, Holly and myself, who will be joined by George Smith, a former Green Beret who was a POW of the National Liberation Front in South Viet Nam for two years, will be traveling between now and elections on a full-time basis into these seven states, speaking to everyone that we can get the ear of.

We opened the campaign at the Ohio State Fair, a place that was very reluctant to have us come, and we learned during the two days that we were in Ohio, that in fact there is no such thing as too far right. We have spoken to Republicans, we've spoken to policemen, we've spoken to Black people, white people, men, women, young people, old people, working people, housewives, everyone; and we've discovered that American people don't like to be lied to, that it's extremely important that information be gotten out over the next two months. I feel a particular sense of urgency because, as you know, I just came back from North Viet Nam where I spent two weeks as a guest of the Committee of Solidarity with the American People and the Film Association of North Viet Nam. Probably the potentially catastrophic, tragic aspect of what is happening in North Viet Nam is the bombing of the dike system, the irrigation system of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Whether it's done on purpose or not is fairly academic to the Vietnamese, the fact is that their dikes are being destroyed. I myself witnessed three major dike portions that had been bombed during the months of June and July. I'd like to first of all put the dikes in a social context, in a way that will make you understand what these earthen mounds mean to the Vietnamese people.

The area of North Viet Nam called the Red River Delta is the most populated area of North Viet Nam. Fifteen million peasants, rice-growing, pig-breeding peasants, live in the Red River Delta. This area of land many, many thousands of years ago was under water; it was part of the sea and it was won back from the sea, over the years, by the construction of dikes. Earthen dikes built by the hands of the peasants. Slowly, through the construction of these dikes, the earth was dried out and the land could be cultivated. It was necessary to mobilize literally millions and millions of people to do this work. They were fighting not only floods, the encroachment of the sea from the east and torrential rivers from the west, coming down the mountains from the monsoon seasons, they were also fighting drought during the dry season. So it was necessary to build dikes and irrigations canals and in doing this, it was necessary to organize a centralized administration, a state, a government to coordinate this work; and this was the very beginning of the Vietnamese nation. And so the dikes of North Viet Nam and the nation of Viet Nam grew up together.

If you were a peasant standing in your rice field, to the east of you the sea would be approximately five feet above the level of your rice paddy, so that the coastal dikes are holding back the sea, which is above the level of your rice paddy. To the west of you, towards the mountains, the rivers have been washing down from the mountains over the centuries, carrying with them large deposits of alluvial soil which has deposited itself on the bottom of the riverbed, so that slowly over the years the rivers have gotten higher and

and higher, so that at this particular time, during the monsoon season when the torrential waters rush down from the mountains, the rivers can be thirty-five to forty feet above the heads of the peasants working in their rice fields. This is why every year, for thousands of years, the people in every village, every hamlet, every district, every province, have mobilized themselves to reinforce, rebuild, build higher these earthen dikes. It is a national question. It is one of the many reasons why the people are so unified. They have struggled together against nature for four thousand years as they have struggled against foreign invaders for four thousand years.

Just to give you an example of how difficult it is to do this work, I spoke with the Cuban Ambassador to Hanoi who lives in a collective in Hanoi and who regularly goes into the fields with thirty or forty Cuban people, every week, to work with the Vietnamese in cultivating the land. So the Cubans are physically in good shape, they are strong, able-bodied people. They decided, about two weeks before I spoke to him, to go and help on the dikes, the building of the dikes, the reinforcing of the dikes. They were planning to spend all day there. He told me that at the end of three hours a dozen Cuban men passed out and they had managed to work on one meter, one square meter of land, of earth. He said it is unimaginable, the work and the difficulty of moving this wet earth and packing it in. But the Vietnamese women, and it is essentially the women working on the dikes, from morning until night, everywhere in Viet Nam you see thousands and thousands of people, particularly women, carrying the earth in baskets and pots and packing it in, all day long, before sunrise and long after sunset. In the last two years they have carried more cubic yards of earth than during the entire eighty years they were under French colonization.

Certain things indicate to many of us that the bombing is not accidental. John McNaughton, who was Under-Secretary of Defense under McNamara in 1966, said the following: (this is a quote from the Pentagon Papers)

Destruction of locks and dams, if handled right, might perhaps after the next bombing pause, offer promise. It should be studied. By shallow flooding of the rice paddies, it leads, after a time, to widespread starvation.

And in parenthesis he said, "more than a million?" He continued, "Unless food is provided, which we could offer to do at the conference table."

In 1966 in an interview in the New York Times, Richard Nixon put the bombing of the dikes of North Viet Nam in what he called "the gray area," and he went on to say, and this is a direct quote, "On the other hand, if the purpose of the strikes is to reduce the flow of supplies into the funnel that reaches down into South Viet Nam, I would say that a military justification might be arrived at." We must remember that on April 30, at the Connally ranch, Nixon said that the bombing of the dikes was an option. An option is something which implies choice.

In the district of Nam Soc which is about 40 kilometers southeast of Hanoi, there are two very large rivers. To the west, the Kien The River and to the east the Thai Bein River, one of the largest in Viet Nam, besides the Red River. The two major dikes which encircle the district of Nam Soc hold back the waters of these two rivers. At one particular point on the Thai Bein River, six other rivers, which flow down the mountain, converge. This place was bombed on two successive occasions. On July 9 and July 11. On the morning of July 11, twenty foreign correspondents went to this dike portion which had been bombed, to examine the destruction which had been done two days earlier, when a dozen U.S. Phantom Jets and A7 Intruders returned and dropped 28 bombs on the same dike portion. All of the twenty foreign correspondents testified that they believed that the attack was expressly to destroy this dike portion which, if it gives way during the floods, will inundate the entire eastern portion of the Red River Delta endangering the lives of fifteen million peasants.

When you stand on top of this dike portion, as I did on the 12th, the day after the correspondents had seen the bombing, had witnessed the bombing, what you see on all sides of you are rice paddies, stretching out as far as the eye can see, clusters of little hamlets maybe two kilometers away, in which there are no military targets. In the entire district of Nam Soc there are no major highways, no communication lines, no industry, much less military targets. The bomb craters begin about two kilometers away and as they approach the dike they begin to touch each other, there are so many, like pock marks. The dike at this point has not been severed in two, there have been no direct hits. What has happened is the earthquakes caused by the bombs falling -- and these include one thousand and two thousand pound bombs -- have caused deep cracks in the dike, running from the base of the dike up to the top. This is, according to scientists and geographers and most recently Eve Lacoste, geographer and professor at the University of Paris, the most dangerous kind of destruction to the dikes, and the most difficult to repair. When the dikes are severed in two, as are two dikes which I saw, completely cut in two, they can be filled in and it happened literally in a matter of days. When the dikes are bombed, witnesses have to go immediately to see the damage, because two days later it will be filled in. It requires mobilizing hundreds and thousands of people, but it is done. But when these fissures occur, many of them not visible, many of them inside the foundation, it is extremely difficult to do the repair work.

Another aspect of the bombing, in terms of where the bombing is taking place, which would indicate that it is not an accident, is the fact that the land, the land of the Red River Delta, runs from the mountains down to the sea and the part that is near the sea is the most populated, the land is the most fertile and it's the most easily flooded. It is in this area where, with only four exceptions, the bombing has taken place. If in fact the entire Red River Delta was considered a target, the bombing would be everywhere; but it is, with only four exceptions, in the area which is the most populated, the most fertile, where the crops are the most important and it is the most easily flooded.

Delayed Reaction Perforation bombs are being used. These are bombs which enter the foundation of the dike at a slant, lodge underneath the base of the dike and explode sometimes twenty-four hours later, making repair work extremely dangerous, very difficult to locate the fissures and holes. This damage is not visible from the air; in other words, Richard Nixon or the CIA will be able to show us real reconnaissance photos and tell us that the bombs are not hitting directly. You will recall in one of his news conferences in July, he said, talking about bombing the dikes, if we wanted to take them out, we could do it in a matter of weeks. The point is that he doesn't have to take them out, hit them directly, to do the damage that could be fatal to the crops and lives of fifteen million people. This indirect hitting on the sides of the dikes which weakens them at their base, this destroying them from within, which is not visible from the air, is sufficient to do the damage if the waters are high enough this year, and we do not know yet whether that will happen.

Repair crews are being bombed. I interviewed a young woman who had been in the Thanh Hoa province on the Mao River on June 14. There had been three strikes against the dike section on the Mao River. When the planes left, a great number of student teachers and student doctors came out to start repairing the dikes. Then the planes came back and dropped a number of anti-personnel weapons and blast bombs on the repair crew, killing many, amputating many, filling the hospital in Thanh Hao with seventeen, eighteen, nineteen, twenty-year-old people, students, with their arms and legs missing. I would like to add in parentheses that she visited the hospital and she told me that all of the people she saw, these people who were wounded so critically, were all asking the doctors, will we be able to get well and can we continue working to help the people. One of the women who was dying called her friends around the bed and gave them instructions about how they were to carry on their work, what they were to do in the village, told them not to tell her mother because she was too ill and the shock might be fatal to her. As she was dying, she asked them to please take care of her water buffalo, to be sure to give it the grass necessary for it to remain healthy. Out of respect and admiration for her courage, all of the doctors in this hospital, the young woman that I interviewed told me, gave up their vacations and now work around the clock without any days off, seven days a week.

According to Eve Lacoste, in a recent article in the New York Times, from April 16 to July 31 there were 150 attacks against the entire irrigation system, hydraulic system in the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. The dikes were cut in two in 96 places. On August 5 a factory in Hanoi, the only factory which makes the equipment to repair and maintain the dikes, was destroyed. Add to this the fact that we now know from the Pentagon Papers and from interviews Seymour Hersch has carried out with governmental officials, officials of the Nixon administration, that for the last ten years the Pentagon has been carrying out weather modification programs. Meteor-

logical warfare has now entered the scene --the seeding of the clouds over Laos, sections of South Viet Nam and now North Viet Nam, dropping particles of silver iodide into the clouds which cause the cumulus clouds to join together increasing the rainfall up to thirty times.

If the dikes give way this year it will cause famine -- that is the greatest problem to the Vietnamese people. Thousands of people may drown, but the famine is the most serious problem, not only this year, but for many years to come because the earth in the dikes which have to be rebuilt, will take many years to harden sufficiently to hold back the water. It is a very, very serious crime that is being committed. We must remember that the dikes in Korea were bombed at a time when Nixon was Vice President. We must remember that at the end of the second world war, Sess Enkhart, a Nazi colonel, was executed for flooding Holland.

We must also, however, while we remain very alert to what is happening, remember that the Vietnamese are prepared, that they will survive even flooding. They have boats. They have life preservers. They have all been given instructions to reinforce the top floors and roofs of their houses. And the families have all been given three options: they can go to the tops of the mountains with their livestock and their children and grow sweet potatoes; or they can go to the middle section of the mountains, which is now dry land, but in the event of flooding would be marshy, and grow rice; or they can remain in the low lands and grow aquatic crops. Together with the Cubans there is a great deal of research being done into what kind of crops can grow under water. So as in the case of everything else, they are resisting. They are prepared in a scientific, organized manner to resist whatever might happen.

Before Tom Hayden speaks, I would like to read you a poem. It's called "Summer '72" and it says a great deal about the Vietnamese resistance.

Sufferings are added to sufferings, and explode
into attacks. Our sorrows are born of them, today
we endure torments, tomorrow men will sing.
The North suffers so the South may live in freedom.
Our land is cut by a thousand combat trenches
which forever will unite our rivers and mountains.
For ten thousand days Viet Nam stands firm under
bombs and shells, so for a thousand years men will
carry their heads high. After victory, of all our
wounds only a small scar will remain.
Uncle Ho said our people, our rivers, our mountains
will always be. Wipe out the Yanks, cried the child
of Haiphong before being burnt to ashes. Wipe out
the Yanks, cried out each mother while evacuating her
children. Nixon, here we are, facing you. Facing the
multi-billionaire, confronting your laser, infra-red
rays, mines, Seventh Fleet, is man and his heart.
In broad daylight, North and South cast off their
camouflage and stand up as one United Viet Nam.

Could it be that for four thousand years we have waited for this occasion to exterminate our sworn enemy? The same men who are moved by a child's cry, don't turn a hair when a thousand bombs explode. The same men who love their four thousand year old land and are intoxicated by space infinite, are ready to die for the defense of a bridge, Quang Tri, Hue, Kontum, An Loc. The outer ring collapses, the inner wall crumbles. Nixon, in vain you are asking God where the main blow will fall. No God can tell you. Don't think the world is afraid of you and your crimes will remain unpunished. We'll fight you, no matter how long it takes. We'll fight you with the joy of a woman in childbirth and the zeal of those building flag towers. Forward, each of us carries Uncle Ho in his heart.

It was written in May in Hanoi and at the top of the poem is written, "From a long poem by Chai Lam Vinh we have extracted, or rather gleaned, these few lines with the knowledge that our translation can render but very imperfectly what the author wants to convey."

Thank you.

We believe that the year 1972 is very much like the year 1954, the year that the French were finally forced to terminate their involvement in Indo-China. That this is a year in which certain forces are shaping up, which, if we take advantage of them, can bring about the end of this interminable war or at least can set the stage for a stronger movement in the future, or set us back for a long period of time. In 1954 the French were facing a defeat on the battlefield. A strategy which they called Vietnamization was being destroyed. They were desperately seeking other great powers as aids in somehow forcing the Vietnamese patriots to compromise their objectives. They involved Britain, the Soviet Union and China in the Geneva Conference, in pursuit of those ends. French society domestically was war-weary. There had been an anti-war movement which for years had laid on railroad tracks, had disrupted French society, had issued calls for resistance, had even sabotaged military supplies headed for the front, had done educational work and organizing work among the French soldiers. And in the crisis of 1954, such political pressure grew in France, that is was necessary for the regime in power to be replaced by a new one which negotiated the disengagement of French forces from Viet Nam permanently.

All of those factors are again at work, although history never repeats itself exactly. A battlefield crisis, a desperate search around the world for great power solutions to the problem of Viet Nam, and a political scene in the United States

in which the war is becoming a paramount issue. The people who have not been heard from in this year 1972 in a sustained way, are the American people, in particular the anti-war movement. But maybe understanding how we got into this parallel with 1954 will help us find ways to bring about the end of the war, or at least to revive on a community basis far and wide the anti-war movement which will be terribly necessary if Nixon is re-elected and feels that he has a free hand in Indochina.

Nixon had a secret plan alright when he came to office in 1969. The secret plan was revealed by Jack Anderson this year, in the form of a secret memorandum from the National Security Council, which in the abbreviated Pentagon language is called NSSM-1. It revealed to all of us who paid attention what the real situation was as Nixon took office. First of all, Nixon was told by his advisors that the South Vietnamese regime which we support could never, never, within the future space of time given to Nixon, defend itself against an offensive. That there was no possible way for American military power in the form of air power and naval power, to be withdrawn from Indo-China. That it was impossible to pacify, that is, destroy the resistance in the Mekong Delta, the most populated area of South Viet Nam, within the first term of the Nixon administration. It was impossible. The most optimistic estimate said that it would take 8.3 years, just a little bit beyond two terms for Nixon. The pessimists said 13.4 years. That was on Nixon's desk as he took office.

What also has been revealed now by Daniel Ellsberg, is that there was a private communique from the Nixon administration to the Soviet Union, which said, that if the Soviet Union did not bring Hanoi to heel -- that is, the theory of Kissinger and Nixon is that Hanoi is a puppet of the Soviet Union, or China, depending on their purposes, in the same way that Saigon is a puppet government under American protection -- the message to the Soviets was that if they did not bring Hanoi to heel by 1972, all of North Viet Nam would once again be bombed and that Haiphong Harbor would be mined. The purpose of this memorandum was to insure peace by threatening the Soviet Union with an unacceptable choice between going to war with the United States over Haiphong, or being humiliated for not going to war, so thought Kissinger, so thought Nixon. This is what they were confidentially planning as early as January 1969, while we were being told that the war would be wound down.

What we have discovered instead, is that Vietnamization has been aimed almost entirely at ourselves. That there never was the slightest optimism that the Vietnamese on our side could hack it, as the President uses the phrase, that therefore Vietnamization was directed at us with the idea being that if American troops were withdrawn from South Viet Nam, if the war was automated, if peace gestures were hinted at continually through summit meetings, that the administration could gain time in order to wage war sufficiently to break the resistance of the other side and gain that time because of our willingness to give that time. This proceeded from a fundamental theory of

Kissinger and Nixon which is that the nature of the American people is such that they will not care about a war, as long as they do not have to fight and die in it. That's all it turns out that Vietnamization was about. Even until this year, it was thought that Vietnamization would work.

As you know, in July of 1971 a peace plan was offered to the United States, a flexible plan in Paris, called the Seven Points. Nixon has never seriously considered a reply to it, instead of that he chose the road of great power diplomacy, sending the Ping Pong team to China shortly after the Seven Points were proposed in Paris. He then supported the one-man election in Saigon, which virtually confirmed that there would be no way, through a form acceptable to Nixon, namely negotiations in Paris or elections in Saigon, that peace could be brought about by 1972. We now have been told that in the first week of November, which is the week of the one-man electoral farce in Saigon last year, the bombing of North Viet Nam was escalated under the phrase "Protective Reaction." That it was November 8 that the first raids by General Lavelle and all that knew about them, were carried out over North Viet Nam. In fact, the first raids took place on a day in which secret talks were going on between Kissinger and Le Duc Tho. None of this known to us, but all of it signifying to the Vietnamese what our negotiator said in Paris, the first week of December, which was that, you people are in no position to make ultimatums to us.

The bombing of North Viet Nam swiftly escalated in December and January, far beyond anything in the first three years, again with very little knowledge on our part. And so in January of this year, President Nixon came before the American people and announced that he would pull the rug out before any presidential candidate who tried to run on the question of Viet Nam, because the war would soon be over, so confident was he. He told us that 90 per cent of South Viet Nam was pacified, knowing that that did not mean that the people were pacified, but that he felt it was possible to guarantee stability through the election year, because of what he felt he could accomplish in the Soviet Union and China.

In the light of that background, you can begin to see what a staggering failure the Kissinger-Nixon doctrine has been. They have gotten nothing from the summits, nothing from their threats. What Nixon called the decisive military act to end the war, the mining of Haiphong, has been a farce.

The only people who have not been heard from, and who may be the real victims of the Nixon doctrine, are the American people. Certainly it is not the Vietnamese who have knuckled under, been confused or manipulated by this doctrine. Realizing that negotiations in Paris were out of the question, that elections in Saigon were out of the question, that bombing was increasing over the North, whether or not the American people knew it, they took the only route open to them -- the route of an offensive to prove in a test of arms that the Vietnamization strategy would not work. And so in April when Ambassador Bunker had gone off with his wife to vacation in Katmandu, and when the

Secretary of the Air Force was telling us that the electronic battlefield had worked to such an extent that there was no possibility of an offensive, because no military equipment could possibly have gotten through all the laser bombs and Smart Bombs which we were plastering the Ho Chi Minh Trail with, suddenly when all seemed quiet in Indo-China, out of nowhere, at least out of nowhere from the standpoint of westerners, came an offensive called for by the Vietnamese. In the words of their Central Committee in the South, as "A time, a season of the year, when it would be necessary for the Vietnamese people to show themselves once again as a land of braves, a land of warriors who always show themselves in the Springtime, who take flight like the Loc Bird." (A kind of swallow, which flies toward the sun in the Spring of the year.) That's how they announced their messages of what was going to start taking place. As early as March you could read that if you read carefully the Vietnamese dispatches. It should not have come as a surprise, but it did. It broke out everywhere in South Viet Nam, it has become now in the months it has continued, the most sustained offensive of the war, the most prolonged offensive of the war, covering the largest battlefield -- Laos, Cambodia, South Viet Nam and North Viet Nam -- in the history of the war, since 1945.

To give you a comparative example, the Viet Minh campaign, that ended at Dien Bien Phu, lasted 55 days. This offensive is one which is everywhere. In the words of President Thieu in Saigon, "our enemies are everywhere." The way to understand this offensive -- I will not try to go through the information, but I will try to describe a framework -- is to understand several kinds of fighting being carried out simultaneously. First of all, what the United States calls battles for cities, or conventional warfare, which, by American standards or John Wayne standards, has been considered to be a failure because the Vietnamese haven't taken all these cities in South Viet Nam, should really be understood as siege warfare, as warfare in which the guerillas entrap the divisions of the Saigon Army at fixed points of engagement and swallow up their forces. This has taken place at three fixed points, and not by accident. The first of them is at An Loc which is 50 miles or so north of Saigon. The second is in the Central Highlands, the third is in Quang Tri Province. These are areas which share several things in common. First of all, they are easily supplied from North Viet Nam, Laos or Cambodia. They are close to the borders. They are on the periphery of South Viet Nam. Secondly, they are in areas very far from where the so-called Saigon Army operates. The Saigon Army which is mainly a police force, operates in the populated areas in the cities and so forth, and in order to meet the offensive as it unfolds, they have found it necessary to go far out into the countryside where their supply lines can be stretched thin, where guerillas can then intersect those supply lines and bog down the troops trying to re-supply the front lines for the Saigon Army. The people left behind in the populated areas, who have been forced there from their ancestral homelands through forced urbanization, can have the occupied army peeled off their shoulders, reducing the number of police guarding them. This has happened at three points.

In the course of it, another front has unfolded, which is not a fixed front, not a stable front, but a sweeping front, a mobile front, a front which relies not so much on conventional combat and entrapment, but relies on uprisings, insurrections, small-scale guerilla warfare which is being carried out throughout the populated areas of the countryside, down the coast and across through the Delta. In the Delta where seven million of the seventeen million people of the South live. As the occupying army in the Delta was forced to move to the front at An Loc, uprisings began in the Delta in the first week of April, which have not stopped. In the first four weeks of April there were at least six hundred uprisings, some of them up to battalion-size forces, that is, 200 to 300 people in a guerilla battalion fighting within 40 miles of Saigon, in battles which, of course, the western press will not think significant at first, because we are fixated on a John Wayne type of battle scenario. But, throughout the Delta there have been uprisings until today it is being reported, even in the western press, that in all the provinces encircling Saigon guerillas have moved back into battlefield positions which they have not held since 1968. Battlefield positions where they have never been stronger. Battlefield positions in which they have forced the Saigon troops back only into the provincial capitals, positions in which they control the land by day and night.

One way that you can follow this, is by watching how the B52s, the chief monster of our military arsenal, starts to be used in the Mekong Delta, starts to be used within 15, 20, 30, 40 miles of Saigon, not simply over North Viet Nam. Not only the provinces encircling Saigon, but the key provinces of the Delta have been so brought under the control of the guerilla, that for the first time since American ground troops intervened in 1964-65, these are no longer zones in which the guerillas operate simply by night, they are zones in which they operate by day and night. No longer are they zones which are separated like drops of rain by small shafts of the Saigon forces, but instead they are like rain drops linking up together and forming a large pool. All of the administrative areas and military areas of the guerillas in the Delta and around Saigon are now linked up, no one cutting them, which means that it is technically possible, if they choose to do so, to launch, within the framework of guerilla warfare, an offensive from the Delta employing the most sophisticated technology including rockets, tanks and all the rest of it which you've seen in the northern part of the South.

At the same time, there is a conventional battle going on in Quang Tri Province, not a guerilla battle, one which could be militarily decisive. It has been caused by the fact that Thieu has become desperate. This is the week approaching by which he promised three months ago to have captured all of the territory taken during the offensive. He said by the middle of September, his forces would have recaptured all this territory. He cannot understand, much less tolerate, the disintegration of the country which he says he is President of, and so he has sent into Quang Tri Province his only remaining seasoned forces, his only remaining experienced forces, since, in the words of the New York Times two months ago,

half of his conventional troops have disintegrated, either in casualties or through defections. His two remaining divisions, which are efficient and have had combat experience, one Marines, the other Paratroopers, they're up there at Quang Tri, up the "street without joy," saying that they had to recapture Quang Tri. They have not been heard from since, as you know. They have claimed and reclaimed that they're taking Quang Tri. The road behind it has been cut off. One of the divisions is no longer combat efficient, the other division is bogged down around the city, trying to seize worthless real estate. In the meantime, the guerillas in the hillside easily supplied from Laos and North Viet Nam have entirely encircled these two experienced combat divisions, who I believe may never get out without either defecting or being defeated or surrendering. If that happens, in the words of one very, very knowledgeable person who talked to Jane while she was in Hanoi, it would be like the Thieu administration in Saigon losing both it's arms. That is, it would bring about the immediate disintegration of his armed forces. This is why the Saigon regime declared in the first week of August that everyone is their enemy, that the enemy is everywhere. Why they have closed down approximately 37 of the 42 newspapers and why they have arrested and begun to torture, in the words of the New York Times very recently, many, many people, thousands, tens of thousands of people, students, Catholics, Buddhists, from all backgrounds -- because they are in a process of very swift disintegration.

When Jane read that poem, if you remember the line in it-- the outer ring collapses and the inner wall crumbles--you will understand in one phrase how to understand the offensive. The outer wall is the fixed battles out on the periphery of South Viet Nam, the inner wall is the Saigon administration which is very swiftly crumbling because it's facing the loss of its army. Now ask yourself, what strategy is exactly available to Nixon now that this has taken place, and you will see the magnitude of the crisis that is before us. Can we draft and send to Viet Nam hundreds of thousands of American troops again? Doubtful. I would say politically impossible, probably you would also. Where then will he get troops to replace the troops who have shown themselves in action to be unable to fight, or unwilling in many cases to fight. The answer is -- nowhere. The Korean troops are being withdrawn in December, American troops will not go back, and Thieu is at the bottom of the barrel in terms of being able to find Vietnamese troops to replace his forces. This also would help us understand, I think, this terrible escalation that is taking place, because it is an American escalation that results from the failure of all other strategies.

More than half of our B52s are being used over more of the landscape of Indochina than ever before -- 900 Fighter Bombers, 7 Aircraft Carriers, 50 or 60 Destroyers -- ringing Indochina as the troops withdraw from South Viet Nam with firepower never before used on anyone in the history of the world. Never this much firepower from the air and from the sea. This is an escalation that Nixon thought would never take place.

In understanding that, we understand the magnitude of his failure, and we begin to understand the possibilities of our success. What has failed is the great-power diplomacy, what has failed is the threat against the Vietnamese people, what has failed is the Vietnamization program.

So, at election time, when the war was never to be an issue, the war is now once again an issue, and there is no indication now that there is any way Nixon can turn the war militarily to his favor. It is irreversible. It is the last strategy. It is the last leg on which U.S. involvement in Viet Nam rests, and it is being sawed off. Whether it crumbles before November or shortly after or within the next year, there is no longer any possibility of denying the Vietnamese a coalition government in South Viet Nam. They are already creating it in Quang Tri province where whole sections of the Saigon Army have defected and have been integrated as such into the Provisional Government that is trying to administer that poor province where thousands of tons of bombs fall each day. That is proceeding.

What we can do is to make it clear to people that the war is not being wound down but is being re-escalated. It is not being Vietnamized but is being re-Americanized. We must make it clear to people that Nixon is standing in the way of a coalition government and peace in South Viet Nam by supporting a dictatorship which we do not talk about enough. It is a dictatorship which is a direct descendant of the French; we should know that and say that. They come out of the French high society, these so-called Vietnamese generals. It is a dictatorship that is crucial to the opium ring and the heroin trade. It is a dictatorship which has locked up more people more rapidly than any other dictatorship in the world. It is a dictatorship that is no longer even supported by the original people who supported it, the Catholic hierarchy, part of the Buddhist hierarchy. It is a dictatorship that now is supported almost exclusively as a media device for the consumption of the American people. It is not real in any other sense.

The implications of all of this are very, very vast. The Viet Nam war has become, I think it always has been, the focus of all the main conflicts -- moral, political and military -- in the whole world, and today it is that more than ever before. The Vietnamese are resisting a doctrine, the Nixon doctrine, which if it succeeds in Viet Nam will be used in other countries. Already it's being used in the Philippines, in Brazil and many other countries around the world. The defeat of this doctrine in Vietnam would therefore have international implications of an incredible kind, in terms of our government's ability to be a low-profile policeman, not sending American troops, but simply CIA advisors to prop up armies who have repressed their own people on behalf of corrupt dictatorships. The Vietnamese are challenging great-power diplomacy which, if Kissinger has his way, will make him become something like the Godfather, offering everyone in the world deals that they cannot refuse. And if they do refuse, then they'll be killed; thinking that everyone in the world can submit to American control, either through bribery -- whether

it's a wheat deal or whatever -- or through the imposition of suffering by the application of American military force. The Vietnamese are resisting that and what they say against the doctrine is this, nothing is more precious than independence and freedom.

The preamble to their Declaration of Independence begins with quotes from ours. They stand out not simply as Vietnamese, because they say they are fighting not only for their own people but as internationalists for the people of the world. And when you think about it, the idea that nothing is more precious than independence and freedom, the idea that we have to reject the Godfather concept that everyone has a price, it is very much world-wide in its implications, in its moral and political implications. Because the independence of our country, specifically the independence of our minds, is at stake. If we cannot see through what is going on, if we remain in a state of confusion, the implications are very grave. It means that we will be repeating a cycle of our own history which we have a chance to overcome and to escape from.

Think, for instance, of the destruction of the Indian tribes only 75 or 90 years ago. Fire power, cultural genocide, forced uprooting of whole populations into camps where their identity crumbled. Think back just to that and realize that today the best seller, this is a book club, this is the reason I bring this up, the best seller in America in 1972, hardback, was Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee, a book which took the Indian cause, which documented in detail the lies, the deceit, the murder imposed by the American army and American presidents in the 19th century, the treaty violations, all of it. The book took the side of the Indians, glorified Sitting Bull, glorified the Chiefs so that their culture was fine, dignified. Then ask yourself, do we have to wait 75 years after the Viet Nam war to learn the same thing? Have gatherings at cocktail parties on the upper west side of Manhattan with authors who have written books about how fine a man Ho Chi Minh was and what a tragedy it was that Indochina had to be atom bombed? Why is it that it takes 75 years to see who was right and who was wrong? How many Americans today would say that Custer was right? Not very many in public. Would anybody say that there was any act or any statement that would have been too extreme 75 years ago, if it would have helped to save one life or terminate those wars? No, no one would say that. So we should ask ourselves, why don't we begin now to express solidarity with those suffering, struggling people of Indochina when it counts, rather than 75 years from now when it would be good for gossip, good for parties, good for graduate students, good for the New York Times book review section?

Secondly, in terms of repeating our history, you know that our judges prosecuted the Germans for war crimes, and the Japanese for war crimes. They did so in the lifetime of most of us, relying on files in Berlin and in Tokyo. And we ask ourselves, why didn't the German people resist more? The answer partly is that what was really going on was locked up in those files. We won't have that answer now that we have the Pentagon Papers. We have the documents that are the equivalent.

We have the documents that could be used today, if there were a world court, as sufficient legal evidence to bring our leaders to trial in much the same way German and Japanese leaders were taken to trial. Not that that's the way to solve problems, but in terms of our own consciousness and future identity, we ought to ask ourselves, why, having the Pentagon Papers, which the German people did not have, we are still in such a state of confusion about who is right and who is wrong and who is responsible?

And, thirdly, in terms of repeating our own history, we ought to ask ourselves whether we want to go through the 1950s again. That's when I grew up. I don't know where you were in the 1950s, but think back. In 1957 I was getting out of Dondero High School. I did not know what political protest was, even though only five or seven years before the administration was knocking off trade unionists because they were too threatening. Five years before, the Korean War had been ended, and what the Pentagon Papers call a new era of stability had been ushered in. Do you know who one of the main ushers was? -- Richard Nixon, who says it's not me who started the Viet Nam war, it's the Democrats, when in fact he was there all through the 1950s when it really started. Apparently Nixon wants to recreate the 1950s through the 1970s and 1980s. He wants to recreate what was a blight for me, in which my consciousness was nothing. I was unable literally to even imagine conflict, control or change. My mind was entirely dominated by one dimensionality. There was only the world I was in and no other alternative to it. That was accomplished rather swiftly by McCarthyism. What was a blight for me seemed to have been happiness for Nixon. What is a blight for all of us probably, is Nixon's dream for the 1970s. If we do not want to relive whatever we were living through in the 1950s, we have to come to terms with this war or else Nixon will.

The reason it becomes very crucial for us to do it is that between now and 1976, the 200th anniversary of our country is going to be celebrated. Nixon and his business friends from Hallmark Cards to Gulf Oil are planning to mobilize everyone including the Boy Scouts, small businesses, large businesses, in a big jamboree celebrating American independence. They have already ruled out the use of the word revolution and the word freedom, concentrating on the word liberty, as in certain Birch Society declarations. They will be requiring all of us to register ourselves as their kind of American between now and 1976; and if you do not have a decal on your car or on your store window, which you may not if you have belonged to certain political organizations or if you have demonstrated or been in jail, then you will not be considered entirely American during the year in which the Republicans will be trying to wrap the flag around Spiro Agnew and elect him president.

I'm convinced that sometime between now and 1976 the Viet Nam war will end, and that in its ending Americans will struggle to define themselves. On the one side will be people like President Nixon, wherever he will be then, who will be claiming that people like Jane are traitors and not American. In fact, this week there has been some evidence. As our

campaign has been generating some publicity, we've discovered curious people, one after another, coming around to say things to us in public places. At Harrisburg in the middle of a press conference, a Nixon campaign manager stood up, talked at great length about his business connections, and then told Jane she had no right to live in America and should be expelled. Then there was a neat little UPI photograph that came sailing over the wires out of Syracuse that had Jane's head on somebody else's body, and on the body it said, "Miss Army Recruiter, 1962." Next to her was a military man saying, those of you who have heard about the Indochina Peace Campaign ought to realize who this woman was only ten years ago. Then, when the Lou Gordon program came about, we found out that Herb Klein, one of the press manipulators of the Nixon administration -- you know, one of those people who watches television, clips the papers, calls up everybody who is leaning too far to the left -- happened to be on the phone with Lou Gordon and said it would be very good to have somebody from the other side present, and somebody from the other side sure was. This person told us before going on the air that not only was she the wife of a former prisoner over there, but that she was working in relation to the Committee for the Re-elections of the President in Washington, and she had checked in with them before coming to Detroit to be on the program. And all these people saying nonchalantly, as if this is quite normal for all of us who were born and raised in this country to say to each other, you have no right to live here, you're not an American, you should be tried for treason.

The concept that it's possible for somebody born and raised here to be committing treason, crazy as it may sound, is a concept certain people who happen to control the Military Industrial Complex seem to want to revive between now and 1976. We have to get ourselves together and define what is the nature of this country now that we have committed so much genocide. Who are these people who insist on doing more genocide in the name of our flag? What is necessary to make this country behave according to its democratic ideals, and act accordingly, starting now but carrying on in a very long term way? This may seem impossible, but I'm going to close by explaining through an example why I think it is possible.

I have seen people, and so have you probably, who over and over again have started by saying that we are treasonous and ended by committing what they called "treason" themselves. I have seen this especially among Vietnam veterans and men like Dan Ellsberg and Tony Russo who helped plan and carry out the Viet Nam war and who today are facing sort of treason charges coming from the Justice Department. There was a cultural evening in Los Angeles which was bigger than this not so long ago, at which a group of Vietnamese students spoke, sang, read poetry in a large church. The occasion was Ho Chi Minh's birthday. These were Vietnamese who were sent to America to become part of the system that Fortune Magazine says we should leave behind in Viet Nam, the junior manager system there, running American and Japanese banks. Instead of wearing tweeds, they were wearing black pajamas, the customary garb of the peasantry of their country. They were

facing deportation as a result, because they weren't behaving like good Vietnamese, good Indians. On the stage was Tony Russo who interrogated prisoners in those stalls over there for the Rand Corporation so as to figure out ways, not so long ago, to better destroy Vietnamese. Also on the stage was Jane, who will tell you that she was involved in Barbarella, the exporting of that image around the world only four years ago. Guarding the stage in full battle dress, wearing their U.S. Army Special Forces uniforms, were Viet Nam veterans who had killed many Vietnamese themselves only a year or two or three or five before. They were now protecting the Vietnamese on the stage who once they were assigned to kill and believed they should kill. One of them was in a wheelchair. He had lost control of every part of his body except his shoulders and his head. You may have seen him in Miami at the Republican Convention rolling his wheelchair onto the floor of the Convention demanding the right to speak. He said to many people that he was gung ho, he went for two terms over there. He does not relish the destruction of his body and the months he had to spend in VA hospitals and the abuse he has to go through now; but he says that in losing his body, the conditions were created for regaining his mind, the independence of his own mind. He is now a poet and very strongly anti-war.

The lesson of this is very complicated and like most complicated things, can be reduced to just a phrase. People do change.

Q: WHAT KIND OF CASUALTIES ARE THE LIBERATION FORCES TAKING IN THE BATTLES AT SUCH PLACES AN AN LOC AND QUANG TRI? IS THE MASSIVE BOMBING HURTING THE NLF AS MUCH AS THE MEDIA SAYS? ARE THE CASUALTIES GREATER THAN AT THE TET OFFENSIVE? I ASK BECAUSE I HAVE TROUBLE IMAGINING HOW THE LIVERATION FORCES IN STATIC LOCATIONS CAN AVOID TAKING HIGH LOSSES UNDER THE BOMBING. ALSO, CAN THE OFFENSIVE ACTUALLY LAST FOR ANOTHER YEAR, GIVEN THIS BOMBING?

A: Obviously I don't know the answer to this question. All that you can say is that very, very few peronnel are necessary for siege warfare. Massive numbers of people can be in Cambodia or just distant from the fighting at An Loc, acting in a supply capacity, while a relatively few people can be positioned along the roads and on the outisde of the Saigon troops shelling them with mortars. It does not take a lot of people in the actual combat positions in the bunkers, entrenched positions, as one might imagine, so not that many people have to be exposed directly to where the American bombs are going to fall. That's how in static locations they avoid taking high losses under the bombing. I would say that the suffering is greater among the population as a whole, among the oldest people and the youngest people, than it is among the fighters. That is so because the saturation bombing is so heavy everywhere. It's destroying cities, it's doing everything that you know it's doing and the casualties are the heaviest among the people who are the least able to defend themselves rather than those who have found ways underground and so forth, to survive. What the Vietnamese say as a formula for understanding it, that the closer that they approach total victory, the more total their suffering will become. They know that this is the way it's going to be and they see the escalation of the bombing as proof that they are very, very close to winning and they are not a suicidal people in the way that they fight, as you know. They try to conserve their forces, conserve their population and only go so far as is necessary to both win and survive. For instance, that's why right now they are not attacking Saigon or cities where the bombing would take a much heavier toll.

Q: WE AS A PEOPLE HAVE A HISTORY OF STRUGGLE, HISTORY OF REVOLUTION; IS IT NOT THAT HISTORY WHICH WE MUST REPEAT? THE HISTORY OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT, IT'S REPRESION, IT'S ATROCITY IS NOT THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

A: I agree.

Q: DO THE NORTH VIETNAMESE HAVE THE POWER TO GIVE THE COUP-DE-GRACE TO THE ARVN?

A: Yes, they have a much greater reserve force fighting with people's war, one generation growing up to replace the next, whereas the ARVN are limited by representing a dictatorship. They're at the bottom of the barrel in terms of being able to recruit. The symptoms of that that are the easiest to spot are that Thieu has had to close all the Universities in an attempt to draft everybody who is left.

Q: WHICH WAR WILL END BY 1976, ESPECIALLY IN REGARD TO LAOS AND CAMBODIA?

A: I think the entire Indochina war in Laos, Cambodia and South Viet Nam will end within the next period of time, the next four years in some fashion or other. Timing is not the crucial thing. What they say is that Vietnamization has been destroyed and it's a question of how long the burial takes. They say that this is the final phase of the struggle with no pauses expected. They say that militarily, politically and diplomatically this is the final phase. I think they mean by that, there's no strategy after Vietnamization and they are going to fight it until that strategy is destroyed.

Q: I HAVE A QUESTION ABOUT A BLOOD BATH WHICH NIXON AND OTHERS INSIST WILL HAPPEN IF THE U.S. PULLS OUT?

A: Our answers have to be brief. I will say that we have every reason to believe that there would not be a blood-bath; that the blood-bath is in fact what's happening right now. Never in Vietnamese history has there been a blood-bath. When the Vietnamese had defeated the Chinese, the Mogols, the French, the Japanese; we'll see what happens after that. When the French were defeated at Dien Bien Phu and retreated from Vietnam after the Geneva Accords, there was no blood-bath.

Just to give you a very brief story: when the 500,000-man Mongol army of Kubla Khan was defeated in the 13th Century the Vietnamese rebuilt the Mongolian fleet, added Vietnamese ships to it, loaded it with riches and sent it back to Mongolia to make it look as though Kubla Khan had not been defeated. They are a small country, they repeatedly point out, they do not want to antagonize anyone, they want to be left in peace. It would not be to their advantage, it is not in their tradition to take reprisals against people who have worked with the enemy. For example, a man who was part of the administration of the Diem regime is now the Minister of Youth and Education of the Provisional Revolutionary Government. Only recently, the 56th Regiment of the Third Division of the Saigon Army was incorporated intact into the National Liberation Front, the commander kept his rank and is now one of the commanders of the People's Liberation Armed Forces in South Viet Nam and is an administrator in the province of Quang Tri.

Q: WILL THE U.S. USE LOW PROFILE ATOMIC WEAPONS?

A: I think that it's a possibility that only public opinion can prevent. It's a possibility because that is the only strategy after Vietnamization. It's a short run, one or two day strategy of dropping neutron bombs or small scale atomic bombs that would supposedly cause a radiation belt across the DMZ to prevent any further infiltration. I say this is a possibility because I think if you study the history of Kissinger and Nixon, they of course believe that the atom bomb and hydrogen bomb are the central part of our military establishment, even though you need to have a flexible military apparatus. The lynch-pin of American power is that atom bomb,

the ultimate weapon. When Nixon says he wants to leave his successor with a viable foreign policy, what he means is a victory in Viet Nam by any means. Kissinger has been known, according to Ellsberg, and I think Nixon too, about the necessity of replenishing the threat of using atom bombs. Of course, people doubt that it would be used and, if that doubt becomes worldwide and revolutionaries say they're not going to be blackmailed by the threat of atom bombs, what good is an atom bomb, it becomes a paper tiger. The only way to show that it's not a paper tiger is to use it no matter what the moral cost or human cost, so as to threaten future revolutions. The only way I think that could be stopped, at the moment that the Saigon regime collapses and Nixon is deciding whether to use it or not, is if the anti-war movement, the Indochina Peace Campaign and other groups have really done their job in preparing people to go right out into the streets or act in whatever way is necessary to put up a wall of resistance warning people of this escalation and then doing something when the moment comes in Saigon.

Q: IS THERE MATERIAL-SLIDES AND LITERATURE, ETC.-AVAILABLE ON THE DIKE BOMBING?

A: The Peace Treaty Office out of which the Indochina Peace Campaign is being coordinated will be receiving extensive literature about the bombing of the dikes. A pamphlet has been put out by various organizations, Project Airwar in Washington, which can be made available.

Q: COULD YOU HELP FURTHER SHATTER THE MYTH OF NORTH AND SOUTH VIET NAM?

A: After the defeat of the French at the battle of Dien Bien Phu in 1954, the Geneva Accords stated that Viet Nam would be temporarily divided into two military regroupment zones. The second important point that was made at the Geneva Accords was that in 1956, two years later, general elections were to be held which would reunite Viet Nam. Eisenhower said that had elections been held at that time, Ho Chi Minh would have been elected president of a reunited Viet Nam by 80 per cent of the votes. His popularity is clearly documented in the Pentagon Papers. He had led the Viet Minh which at the time of the French defeat, controlled between 60 and 90 percent of Viet Nam, of the villages in Viet Nam, according to the French. Instead, the elections in Viet Nam were sabotaged with the help of the United States who brought Ngo Dinh Diem out of New Jersey where he had been studying at the Maryknoll Seminary as a protégé of Cardinal Spellman; he had sat out his country's war against the French in New Jersey. Not that there's anything the matter with being a Catholic but his country is a Buddhist country. He was brought from New Jersey back to Saigon and installed as the president of the regime in South Viet Nam. A direct quote from the Pentagon Papers says that South Viet Nam is essentially the creation of the United States. In other words, was it not for the fact that United States sabotaged the Geneva Accords, prevented the unification of Viet Nam, there would be no North and South. To say that North Viet Nam is invading South Viet Nam is as if you said that

Florida was attacked and Washington came to defend it, that Washington would be invading Florida.

Q: COULD YOU RELATE YOUR EXPERIENCES WITH U.S. POWs; DO THEY VIEW THEMSELVES AS WAR CRIMINALS?

A: I spent 55 minutes with seven POWs. Some of them had been in the camp since 1967, some of them since June, a couple of months. They are being treated alright. I'm sure that you don't have to be convinced of that. They're alright, they're being treated adequately, they're being given good food, the living conditions are sparse but, as they said themselves, they live better than the Vietnamese guards. One of them said, "Our Vietnamese guards understand that we're spoiled and that we wouldn't last very long if we had to live the way the Vietnamese people do, we could not endure their hardships." They expressed shame at what they had done. They didn't say specifically that they view themselves as war criminals. The Vietnamese don't. The Vietnamese say that while they are in the air they are war criminals, when they are on the land they are human beings. This perhaps answers why they are not tried as war criminals which they should be under the Geneva Accord.

The Vietnamese people seem to take an attitude that the pilots, given correct information, would be able to change and this seems to have proven true. The man who has been there the longest, since 1967, who had been 25 years in the military, has written a book about two inches thick about Vietnamese history and culture, their history of resistance and he pounded his knee and said to me, "If the Americans knew why the Vietnamese are fighting, they would rise up." Everyone of the seven men expressed a great deal of concern about the upcoming elections; they said they believe that if Nixon is re-elected they are never going to get out. They understand very well that they're being used by the Nixon administration. As the time ran out, the 55 minutes, they gave me names and addresses of their families, to please call them up and get active in the McGovern campaign or in the peace movement. I asked them if they were brainwashed and they laughed and told me that, well, they had been reading Time, Life, Newsweek, The New York Times, The Guardian, Ramparts.

Q: THIS IS A STATEMENT AND A QUESTION. I'M TROUBLED ABOUT OUR MORALITY. AT WHAT POINT WILL WE BE MOVED TO RALLY AND PROTEST, EVEN LIKE ACTION AND REACTION TO THE KENT-JACKSON MURDERS, AGAINST OUR VICIOUS, INHUMAN, GENOCIDAL ACTION IN VIETNAM. HOW DO WE GET MOVING MASSIVELY?

A: I can speak only for what has happened just in the last two or three weeks about the campaign. Maybe some people could use some clarification about that rather than generalizations about generalities. The campaign is organized in these seven states, as you know. What we have seen in the last month is the coming together of community groups, peace groups in particular, who have not come together in many cases for more than a year, in all day meetings. The other day in upstate New York there were groups from 30 communities; some of them got

up at six in the morning to come to an all day meeting, talking about how to do organizing between now and November. It was broad, it was very, very broad. We had seen the same kind of meetings in different states that we've been in for a day at a time. What these organizational meetings mean is the winding up of the peace movement rather than the winding down, at a very good time.

In terms of the public things that we have done, this is one of the two or three times that we've talked to people who are sort of pregressive and anti-war oriented. We've only spoken to one campus, the Cortland State Teachers College in upstate New York. We have mainly spoken at places like State Fairs or radio talk shows trying to make an opening to the right for the anti-war movement while at the same time encouraging the anti-war movement to take advantage of the situation by getting organized; moving toward a position where a lot of educational work can be done between now and November. This may sound soft and, in a sense, it is because we think the problem is confusion rather than social crisis at the moment. Confusion about whether the war is winding down and, until that climate is cleared up, it's hard for people to get into confrontations about the war. This is a good time for clearing up confusion because this is a time when most Americans listen most carefully, election time. This is a good time because the debate about the war is insured by the presence of McGovern in the campaign. This is a good time because the offensive is clearly going to continue for several more months. The Vietnamese are putting the war on the front page.

So, what we've tried to conceive of is a structure for a campaign that rests on existing or new groups as broadly based as possible and if you think of it like a pyramid, you'll see what we're trying to do. At the base of the pyramid are tens of thousands of people, giving out in their factories, schools, communities, organizations and so forth, a revised version of that Nixon pamphlet that you see there on the war, at precinct levels everywhere. We're talking about millions of those being put out into people's hands all through the various states, at the same time that the Peace Campaign generates momentum through publicity. Then, going inward in the pyramid are things that fewer people can do and more complicated things to do, like distributing and getting people to read the Pentagon Papers Digest. Teaching people how to do slide shows, organizing people to go out into community groups where they've never ventured before in the past, to talk about the war and try and create a climate of opinion that both Nixon and McGovern, but primarily Nixon, have to deal with between now and November. Not that something is to be expected necessarily from the November election but because our sense of timing tells us that this is a good time for these things to take place; it has been proven so by the rapid mobilization of all the anti-war groups in these states, by the unbelievable, I shouldn't say unbelievable, by the receptivity of people. In Dayton we went to a State Fair and talked there with three or four hundred people. We had a meeting that night at a theater where there was a rock concert, then afterwards

there was a meeting that started at twelve and 1200 people came from midnight until four a.m., saw the slide shows, talked, watched the film Burn. We just have a feeling that there is a capacity for people who are confused to become very mad over-night in this two-month period when they're listening, they're looking, they're paying attention. If you take advantage of this opportunity it will widen and unite the anti-war movement more than has been possible in the last year. If Nixon is re-elected, it will be much harder to start the day after the election. That doesn't exclude demonstrations, resistance or other forms of activity which we're trying to help, especially where demonstrations can take advantage of public confusion. For instance, at offices of the Committee to re-elect the President. Since the President won't debate McGovern, since the President won't come to a news conference, since he seems to siphon responsibility for Watergate and everything else away from himself to other people, we think that demonstrations followed by the leafletting of 20 or 30 thousand people in the downtown district would now be listened to by a lot of people. The same with demonstrations at newspaper offices on the grounds that they are simply lying to people, they're not giving people the information they need to come to a rational understanding about the war.

We've just found a ground-swell that is making it hard for us to function; we're starting to realize how organization often stands in the way of people. After being in Ohio for a couple of days, having to meet with organizers and Jane doing a talk show, the New York office started to get a hundred letters a day from Ohio asking for literature. The New York office phones are paralyzed. No one can use them, there are too many phone calls coming in. There are more people working in the Peace Campaign than the Peace Campaign has offices, slide shows or literature for. The only way we can break out of this is by not having just meetings like this, but by breaking them down into practical groups doing basic work, going out into the communities and at least that's been our experience so far, that's like in answer to several questions that are on these cards.

(Fonda) These questions have been virtually answered; there's one question about mass demonstrations on October 26 and November 18. I think we all feel that mass demonstrations are very important, particularly important when they support the demands of the Vietnamese people for a coalition government. I just want to say one thing because we're not very familiar with you here and where you're coming from. There seems to be a tendency among certain groups to feel that the election is not important and that we should not involve ourselves with it. That seems to me, having just been in Viet Nam, to overlook and not recognize the international importance of Viet Nam and the struggle there. There's no question about the fact that, if George McGovern is elected, it may save Viet Nam. It will certainly insure a much speedier victory and the victory in Viet Nam is an international victory, it is an international conflict, they are well aware that they are struggling for us, for the peasants in Guatemala, in the Phillipines and we must do everything. We must vote, to start with, that's the least we

can do to insure that the Vietnamese people will survive. They feel that there is a difference and, having been so successful in fighting for so long we should, I believe, respect their judgment about what will protect their lives and their land.

(Hayden) I think that that's all the questions. There was one about Henry Ford's proposed factory in South Viet Nam. What does Henry Ford's factory mean to you? Also proposed is Chase Manhattan's eastern branch in South Viet Nam. We may not be able to take over Henry Ford's factory in Detroit but we certainly can prevent it from opening up in Saigon and that's the important thing because what they're doing with these run-away factories you know very, very well. What the effect is on American labor, what the effect is on the labor in Viet Nam, where people are expected to work for something like a nickel a day or something like that, you know very well. There should be no doubt about the importance of keeping that factory closed and the way to do that is by ending the war.

For further information regarding the Indochina Peace Campaign, call the People's Peace Treaty office, 869-6775.