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EDITORIAL STATEMENT

The tormented smarm usually found in U.K.'s famous Bourbon & Tobacco Gazette will not be found in this issue. We feel that the visit of U.N. Ambassador, Arthur Goldberg, is an event of sufficient importance to warrant the printing of this Special Issue. The cause is not Arthur Goldberg, the man, but rather Arthur Goldberg as a leading spokesman for American foreign policy, and particularly, American foreign policy as it pertains to the present Vietnam conflict. The staff of the B & T Gazette is opposed to this war. We know that most American citizens are aware of the opposition to the war, but few are aware of the facts on which this opposition is based. By one means or another, these facts have been hidden. Most of the articles below are reprinted from sources with which most Americans are not familiar. To fully relate the situation in Vietnam in four pages would be impossible, but, hopefully these four pages will spur the reader on to a further investigation. It is our hope that the citizen, once he is given an honest picture of the Vietnam war, will see the immorality and impracticality of America's present course. Here, then, are the facts. "Read'em and weep."

(Editor's note: The following statement was adopted on 20 Feb., 1966, by the Lexington Committee for Alternatives in Vietnam.)

Many of us who are opposed to our present policy in Vietnam will assemble in front of Memorial Coliseum at 1:30 on Tuesday, February 22, to publicly affirm our rejection of this policy. The occasion for this demonstration is the presence on our campus of an outstanding spokesman for that policy. We invite all those who share our concern to join with us in peaceful protest against the war. In the following declaration we wish to clarify the reasons for our stand. We seek a just and honorable peace in Vietnam. If the United States is genuinely interested in trying to bring about this kind of solution to the war, it will have to act on the basis of the

following considerations:

I. THE BOMBINGS OF NORTH AND SOUTH VIETNAM MUST BE PERMANENTLY STOPPED. They do not prevent the build-up in the strength of the Viet Cong, or the passage of men and supplies from the North to the South. In the North, they only serve to intensify the support of the people for their government. In the south, the wholesale destruction of rural areas by our bombings inevitably turn the people against the regime in Saigon, in whose name we bomb. The bombings have already created nearly a million hapless refugees, many of the sick and wounded, who are forced to live in conditions deplored recently by Senator Edward Kennedy, on his return from Vietnam. The more we bomb, the more we place in doubt the sincerity of our

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desire for peace.

II. WE MUST END OUR "SCORCHED EARTH" POLICY AND OUR PROGRAM OF CROP DEFOLIATION.

Aside from the brutal and inhumane character of this policy, it makes a mockery of our declared intentions to "improve living conditions" of the people of Vietnam. The long-term results of this destruction of the land will be difficult to repair, even over a period of many years. Already the effects of prolonged bombing in the Mekong Delta have been to contaminate and erode the very river system we have pledged to develop.

III. THE UNITED STATES MUST RECOGNIZE THAT OUR STAND AGAINST COMMUNISM IN ASIA IS WEAKENED, NOT STRENGTHENED, BY OUR PRESENT POLICY IN VIETNAM. To many Asians we appear as a powerful white Western bully tormenting a defenseless Asian people. We have succeeded in alienating every major ally from our policy in Vietnam, and this is especially true of our allies in Asia. Are we seriously willing to alienate Japan in order to control South Vietnam?

IV. THE UNITED STATES SHOULD EXPLICITLY PLEDGE ITS ACCEPTANCE, WITHOUT RESERVATIONS, OF THE 1954 GENEVA AGREEMENTS. AS THE BASIS ON WHICH TO NEGOTIATE AN END TO THE WAR. This means free elections in both North and South Vietnam, the withdrawal of all foreign troops, the end of all foreign military bases, and acceptance of the right of the Vietnamese people to decide their own future. This includes the decision as to when and on what terms the two halves of the country be reunified.

V. THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (VIET CONG) MUST BE RECOGNIZED AS A LEGITIMATE POLITICAL ENTITY IN VIETNAM. They are one of the main belligerents in the war, and have the support of a significant percentage of the people in South Vietnam. Any attempt to organize a government in South Vietnam after the war ends, which does not include them, is doomed to failure. Senator Robert Kennedy, on Feb. 20, insisted that the U.S. face this fact and come to terms with it.

VI. THE UNITED STATES SHOULD WORK TO CONVEENE A NEW GENEVA-TYPE PEACE CONFERENCE, AT WHICH ALL GROUPS CONCERNED IN THE WAR ARE OFFICIALLY AND DIRECTLY REPRESENTED. This would include the National Liberation Front, the United States, North Vietnam, South Vietnam, and China, as well as Russia, France, Britain, India, and other

states with direct geographical or political concern with the status of Vietnam. VII. AS A SIGN OF THE SINCERITY OF ITS DESIRES FOR A JUST PEACE IN VIETNAM, THE UNITED STATES SHOULD DECLARE PUBLICLY THAT IT WILL NOT INCREASE THE NUMBER OF U.S. TROOPS IN VIETNAM. In addition, we should halt the construction of large American military bases, harbors and airfields in South Vietnam, all of which give the impression that America intends to maintain its military presence in Vietnam indefinitely. Such moves by our government would greatly increase the pressure on North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front to begin de-escalation on their side.

We believe that if the United States government will honestly embrace these proposals, then the peace which has so long eluded us in Vietnam will become dramatically possible for the first time.

(The following is a letter to Carolyn Kwiecien--not her real name--of Detroit, from her brother, a 20-year-old paratrooper in Vietnam):

"Dear Sister,

...I'll tell you what happened today: A recon platoon went out on a road clearing mission this morning and while they were doing that they spotted five Viet Cong. The platoon chased them to a village (which the VC ran right through). When they came upon the village they figured the five VC had held up in there so they began to clear the area of all civilians (poor rubber plantation peasant ... A 173rd paratrooper comes by a grass hut and he yells down into one of these bomb shelters and says 'I'm gonna give you 10 seconds till I blow that goddam place up'. The he looks at his watch and in 10 seconds he throws a hand grenade in the hole, it blows up and he sets the hut afire ... 4 dead children 3-4 years old.... Anyway we had 1 VC, 8 wounded kids, 3 old men, 43 old women, 3 wounded mothers and 5 dead children under 5 years old. And you know what these _____ reported? 20 suspected VC.... Don't let this letter get away from you. They might courtmartial me for the truth.

Love, _____

by: Dr. J. J. Mangalam
Department of Sociology, U.K.

Welcome, Mr. Ambassador;
And Good-bye!
For the company I keep
On Viet Nam
Is not thine; nor of thy master.

Whose company do I keep?
It is hard to say;
For, there are many muted souls,
Shy to speak in public,
Because of fear or shame or both;
And, alas! the pollsters don't reach them.
But they all cherish human life,
And its worth,
Much, much more than those,
who govern them---
Who govern the fates of millions
Of men, women and children,
Unprotected and uprocted,
Who must die
At the touch
Of buttons that command
Murder.

But why, I speak,
Why, at this time of crisis,
So crucial to all mankind,
Why have the Fates placed
In the hands of so few
The power to decide
Whether millions should die or live?

Whose company do I keep?
Not all are muted, whimpering multitudes
Of faceless tokens of mankind.
Some are men of courage;
Some of light and letters;
And some have even power,
If not power so brutal:
Pope Paul, Norman Thomas, Cooper and
Fulbright;
Spock, Cousins, Gomringer, and Kennedy too.
Priests, ministers, and rabbis,
In words loud and clear,
Have uttered the violence
We do
To justice,
To fairplay,
And to Seventeen Seventysix.

As to myself,
Let me at least protest,
In this mild and mannered form,
The acts of violence,
You and your colleagues
Share
With the Brutes of Budapest.

Below are excerpts from the statement adopted by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (S.N.C.C.). This is the Statement endorsed by Julian Bond who resulted in the Georgia House of Representatives' refusal to seat him. We reprint it here because we feel that it is a good, honest statement and because we feel ourselves very much in sympathy with the beliefs expressed in it.

"...We believe the United States government has been deceptive in claims of concern for the freedom of the Vietnamese people, just as the government has been deceptive in claiming concern for the freedom of the colored people in such other countries as the Dominican Republic, the Congo, South Africa, Rhodesia and in the U. S. itself...

"Vietnamese are being murdered because the United States is pursuing an aggressive policy in violation of international law. The U.S. is no respecter of persons or law when such persons or laws run counter to its needs and desires....

"...We question the ability and even the desire of the U.S. government to guarantee free elections abroad. We maintain that our country's cry of 'preserve freedom in the world' is a hypocritical mask behind which it squashed libertarian movements which are not bound and refuse to be bound by expediency of U.S. cold war policy.

"We are in sympathy with and support the men in this country who are unwilling to respond to the military draft which would compel them to contribute their lives to U.S. aggression in the name of the 'freedom' we find so false in this country....

"We therefore encourage these Americans who prefer to use their energy in building democratic forms within the country. We believe that work in the civil rights movement and other human relations organizations is a valid alternative to the draft. We urge all Americans to seek the alternative, knowing full well that it may cost them their lives, as painfully as in Vietnam.

EDITORIAL STAFF:

Phil Bare, Robert Frampton, Lee Sharpe,
Alan Shavzin, Margret Wadsworth.

JOHNSON INTRODUCES

THE "YELLOW DWARF" THEORY OF HISTORY

March 15, 1948, in the House of Representatives, Congressman Lyndon Johnson rose to proclaim:

"No matter what else we have of offensive or defensive weapons, without superior air power America is a bound and throttled giant; impotent and easy prey to any yellow dwarf with a pocket knife."

HOW COMPETENT ARE OUR

"MILITARY ADVISORS"

(Excerpts from a Walter Lippmann column)

In an interview published in the current issue of U.S. News and World REport, General Maxwell Taylor, who since 1961 has played a leading part in our military intervention in South Vietnam, is asked about the danger of a military confrontation with Communist China. He replies that.. "I would list the probability quite low in terms of percentag."

This has an ominous resemblance to the colloquy in 1950 between President Truman and Gen. MacArthur. "In your opinion" Truman asked MacArthur, "is there any chance that the Chinese might enter the war on the side of North Korea?" MacArthur shook his head. "I'd say there's very little chance of that happening.... I expect the actual fighting in North Korea to end by Thanksgiving. We should have our men home, or at least in Japan by Christmans."

At the very moment that Truman and MacArthur were talking, there were already more than 100,000 Chinese Communist troops in North Korea, and another 200,000 were ready to cross the Yalu. By mid-November at least 300,000 Chinese would be poised to strike and the South Koreans, the American and other UN forces would not even be aware of their presence. Before the war was over the Communist Chinese armies in Korea would reach a peak strength of more than a million men.

Lippmann concludes that: "Our present policy is as if we had set out to contain Stalinist Russia by ignoring the British, the French, the Italians, and the Germans, and had decided to make our stand against Communism by the defense of-- let us say--Bucharest."

In the previous pages, we have attempted to, indicate a few of the mistakes presently being made in Vietnam. Of course, to merely be aware of these mistakes is not enough.

The following principles are excerpted from the Nuremberg Trials. They were accepted by the U.N. as International Criminal Code on Dec. 12, 1950.

Principle I. Any person who commits or is an accomplice in the commission of an act which constitutes a crime under International Law is responsible therefore and liable to punishment.

Principle IV. The fact that a person acted pursuant to order of his government or of a superior does not free him of responsibility under International Law....

Principle VI. The Crime hereafter set out are punishable as crime under International Law...

War Crimes: Such violations shall include murder, ill-treatment or deportatio to slave labor or for any other purpose of civilian population...murder or ill-treatment of prisoners of war... wanton destruction of cities, towns or villages or devastation not justified by military necessity.

Crimes Against Humanity: namely murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation and other inhuman acts done against a civilian population, or persecution on political, racial or religious grounds

The blame for any inhuman or immoral act by a particular nation must be placed on every citizen of that nation involved. The passive citizen, no matter how "aware", is as guilty as the most ignorant. Not only do we have a guaranteed right to oppose the present Vietnam policy, but we have a moral and legal duty to do so.

The war will continue as long as we remain blind and quiet. We must open our eyes now.

ON THE HUMAN FACTS OF A BRUTAL WAR

(Ed. Note: The following is a transcript of testimony given by Nanci Gitlin before Congressmen Diggs and Bloomfield (Michigan) at Citizens Hearings on Vietnam in Detroit, Michigan, on August 7, 1965. These hearings were organized, in part, by the Detroit Committee to End the War in Vietnam.)

My name is (Mrs.) Nanci Gitlin; I work with Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) in Ann Arbor, Michigan. I recently returned from Djakarta, Indonesia, where I met with women from North and South Vietnam. The meeting was arranged by Women Strike for Peace the American delegation consisted of ten women. There were six women in the North Vietnamese delegation and three in the delegation from the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. The three groups met together for at least eight hours each day from July 12 through July 18, 1965.

I'm sure the other speakers here will talk about the political and strategic aspects of the war; therefore, here I want only to mention some of the less well-known facts about the human consequences of this unnecessary war, as conveyed to us by the Vietnamese women.

SOUTH VIETNAM

Between 1962 and April 1964, 200,000 people were affected by chemicals sprayed over the countryside. These chemicals kill crops and farm animals--they also kill old people and children who do not have the resistance to fight their effects! The least reaction to the chemicals by a healthy individual is severe vomiting. The most recent use of these chemicals was from June 7-13 in Tra Vinh province, where 30,000 people were affected.

Between 1954 and 1964, 170,000 Vietnamese citizens were killed by Saigon and American forces; 200,000 maimed by torture and 400,000 imprisoned in 1,000 jails. One third of the prisoners were women and 6,000 children have been in jail--most of them born there.

Many men are forced to join the Vietnamese army against their will. If students fail their exams they can be automatically inducted into the army. Bribery is often used, showing the army as a way to make a good living. This is very appealing in an impoverished country. Various threats are used against those who do not join, and if that does not work, they are simply rounded up from the villages in "mopping-up" raids. The men use many devices to avoid the army; some pretend to be ill or crazy: Reuter's reported from Saigon on July 14, 1965, that some men dress up as women when the recruiting officers come around. The women from the NLF claimed that 21,000 men had deserted the Vietnamese army during the month of March, 1965.

On July 8, 1965 the Lin Phung school in Ben Tre Province was bombed. 38 children were killed. The people in the area were so strongly affected by this event that the Vietnamese army told the US not to bomb any more schools--because it turned too many people against them.

The island of Boi Loi was bombed on April 15, 1965, by 300 aircraft carrying over 1,000 tons of bombs. The area of the island is only about 11 square miles.

Even churches are not spared--for example, 175 Catholics were killed while praying in the province of Can Tho on June 3, 1965.

I wish also to raise a question about the use of leaflets warning villagers of an impending raid. The government seems surprised to find that many peasants refuse to leave even though they stand a very good chance of being wounded or killed. Where are they expected to go when they evacuate? Everything they own--their houses, their cattle, their crops--are in that village beyond which may be a dense jungle probably equally unsafe. It is no surprise that people are reticent to leave the little they have to the mercy of the soldiers, especially when there are no convenient concrete bomb shelters nearby.

NORTH VIETNAM

The first bombing raids against North Vietnam began on August 5, 1964. Conco Island near the 17th parallel was bombed 100 times between August 1964 and May 1965.

In March of 1965 there were 18 attacks in North Vietnam with 716 sorties using 1,200 tons of bombs. In April of 1965 there were 38 attacks. Bombs are now being dropped over Lao Kay Province near the Chinese border. (Two of the women from North Vietnam had sent their children to a village in this province where they thought they would be safe; that village was bombed during our meeting in Djakarta.)

Several hospitals in North Vietnam have been destroyed by these bombing raids. The most notable is the Quynh Lap hospital for lepers. This was an isolated community far from any military installations and famous as the largest institution of its kind in S.E. Asia. It was bombed on June 12, 13 and 15, 1965, killing 120 persons and leaving 2,000 homeless. More than 50 buildings and clinics were destroyed. (Reported in the London Tribune, the London Observer and the Washington Star) Hospitals in Kong Hoi, Ho Xa, Nghu Dan, and Thanh Hoa have also been bombed. Every hospital in North Vietnam has a large red cross painted on its roof.

Schools in Vinh Linh and Dong Hoi province have also been bombed while the children were there. Now all North Vietnamese children must go to school at night and use tiny lights to see their work. According to a doctor in the Northern delegation, the children are having severe trouble with their eyesight as a result. The Quynh Tam church was bombed along with other churches and pagodas.

Markets have been bombed, often on market days when mostly women and children are in the vicinity. The Ho Xa and Dung Soi markets in Nghean Province were also bombed. Villages too are assaulted: 140 houses were destroyed in the village of Thans Trach.

On May 12 the US declared a cessation of bombings in North Vietnam for a week, while "peace feelers" were supposedly sent out. On that very day the village of Nghi Hai in Thanh Hoa province was destroyed. The North Vietnamese doctor said that her hospital in Nghe An province was also damaged during that period. Apparently most heavy bombing was discontinued during the "moratorium" but low-level bombing and strafing never ceased. Thus the women looked skeptically on talk of cease-fires, insisting on strict guarantees and controls.

Even if the US bombs fell only on roads and bridges it would be the civilian population that would be most affected, not the North Vietnamese army. Vietnam is an underdeveloped country; its roads are narrow--meant for oxen, not cars. The houses are built right up to the roads and when the planes strafe looking for the army they hit instead women and children living in houses on the edges of the roads. The army, of course, will steer clear of the roads when they have a whole jungle in which to hide.

North Vietnam is a country of rivers with many tiny villages whose only link to one another is over bridges. These are bridges which carry women and children and oxen and pigs and chickens to market. The army also uses the bridges, of course, but if they come upon a bridge that has been destroyed they can construct one suitable for them within a matter of hours. It will be weeks, however, before a bridge can be rebuilt for the civilians--in the meantime, they must go without food.

The situation in Vietnam is strikingly like that of England during the Second World War, when Hitler's bombs came daily to the towns and cities. The English people became more and more resolved to fight each time they saw the planes; they became more and more determined to build strength and not waver under the blows. And their hatred for Hitler grew justly more intense as his attacks continued.

The Vietnamese are no different; they do not love their people or their land any less. They too are determined to fight and to continue to fight even under the heaviest of bombing raids. As the US continues to follow this policy of decimation in Vietnam the people will fight harder because they will be convinced that the US never intends to bring freedom--its only intent will appear to be the total ruination of their country.