

Exposure of Gov't Lies Evokes Deep Reaction

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How They Twist On Viet Bombing

By Alex Harte

JAN. 2 — One week after *New York Times* correspondent Harrison Salisbury exploded the Washington lies about the nature of bombing attacks on north Vietnam, Lyndon Johnson still refuses to face up to the truth. At a news conference held yesterday in LBJ's ranch in Johnson City Texas, the president continued to insist that military targets alone are "authorized" for U.S. bombs.

"Well, I have followed our activity in Vietnam very closely," Johnson stated. "I think that the country knows, and I would like to repeat again, that it is the policy of this Government to bomb only military targets."

For the first time, however, Johnson admitted that civilians were getting killed as a result of U.S. attacks — and in the thousands:

"We regret to see these losses. We do everything we can to minimize them, but they do occur in north Vietnam as they do in south Vietnam; there are thousands of civilians that have died this year in south Vietnam as the result of detonation of grenades and bombs, and every casualty is to be regretted."

This statement by Johnson is

the latest in a series of stories, often mutually contradictory, coming out of the White House attempting to explain away and deny the facts of U.S. bombing in north Vietnam.

Before the Dec. 13 and 14 attacks on Hanoi, Washington's position was that it did not bomb centers of civilian population in general and Hanoi in particular.

Washington intended to escalate the bombing attacks on Hanoi without saying one single word about it. When the Soviet news agency Tass carried an item about the fact that workers' quarters had been bombed Dec. 13, the Pentagon issued a routine denial:

"United States policy is to attack military targets only. The only targets scheduled for attack in the Hanoi area during the past 24 hours were military targets which have been previously struck." This statement was corroborated by the State Department.

But pressure built up much faster than Washington hoped. By the next day there had been eyewitness accounts in the authoritative Paris daily, *Le Monde* and in a number of other papers. On Dec.

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VICTIM OF U.S. BOMBING. One of the civilian casualties of Dec. 2 U.S. raid on residential suburb of Hanoi. Washington still denies it carries out such raids.

By Dick Roberts

JAN. 3 — The exposure of Washington's lies about the bombing of Hanoi and the deliberate attacks on north Vietnamese civilian centers has provoked a deep reaction in this country.

This was expressed in one leading newspaper after another; in statements by individuals, including a significant letter signed by 100 university student leaders from as many different universities; and even on TV itself. Perhaps the last was the most dramatic break in the news media:

Stimpson Bullitt, the president

of the King Broadcasting Company on the West Coast, carried an editorial attacking Johnson's conduct of the Vietnam war and demanding an immediate halt to the bombing of north Vietnam. Bullitt's outfit owns station KING-TV, the NBC affiliate in Seattle; station KREM-TV, the ABC affiliate in Spokane; and station KGW-TV, the NBC affiliate in Portland.

Bullitt was totally aware of the precedent he was shattering, and he explained exactly why he was doing it. He said his editorial was prompted "by what he called the failure of all networks to give responsible coverage to critics of United States involvement in Vietnam," according to the Jan. 1 *New York Times*.

"In their regular newscasts, which are what most people see, the networks are just showing us pictures from Vietnam on the sacrifices and misfortunes of war and talking about the enemy," Mr. Bullitt said. "They're not covering the real controversy over our policies."

Distorted Picture

"Mr. Bullitt said he particularly objected to the excessive network emphasis on 'beatniks in beards and sandals' who staged demonstrations in opposition to the war. 'That just makes matters worse because it gives a distorted picture of the seriousness and importance of the criticism,' he added."

A number of newspapers carried Harrison Salisbury's dispatches from Hanoi on the front page. These include *The Denver Post* and the influential *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, the largest morning and Sunday newspaper in Ohio. Both papers editorialized on the phony Washington version of the bombings:

"Salisbury's dispatches on the

impact of the bombing are a valuable contribution to our knowledge about the war in Vietnam," *The Denver Post* stated, Dec. 28. "It is far from reassuring to have his on-the-spot reports conflict so sharply with the official pronouncements of the government of the United States."

And on the same day, *The Plain Dealer* stated, "The credibility gap yawns wider as one reads Salisbury's account from the capital, Hanoi. . . . The government is waging a war of steel and fire in Vietnam. It should not treat the American people as a second adversary, to be kept at bay with a smoke screen of distortion and soothing syrup."

The *San Francisco Chronicle* praised the *New York Times* for printing the dispatches, Dec. 29: "Harrison E. Salisbury's reports from Hanoi leave no room for doubt that American bombs have hit non-military areas of Hanoi and other north Vietnamese cities (Continued on Page 6)

SPRING ACTION MAPPED

Students Hold Antiwar Parley

By Elizabeth Barnes

CHICAGO — The student wing of the antiwar movement received a shot in the arm at a national student antiwar conference held at the University of Chicago Dec. 28-30. The conference voted to make the second week in April "Vietnam Week" on college campuses across the country.

During that week it is proposed that students plan local activities against the war which will culminate with the transporting of as many people as possible to New York and San Francisco to take part in the giant demonstrations slated by the Spring Mobilization Committee in these cities on April 15.

There were 211 participants registered at the conference from approximately 60 different local and national antiwar committees and political groups against the war. More than 50 different colleges and high schools were represented. Of the national political

groups present, the Students for a Democratic Society, the DuBois Clubs and the Young Socialist Alliance had the largest contingents.

The conference was originally called to discuss a proposal put forward by Bettina Aptheker for a national student strike against the war. But, since most of the participants at the conference (including Miss Aptheker) considered the idea of a student strike to be possible at only a few campuses, the discussion centered around alternative proposals for a national action.

The first plenary session of the conference was set aside to discuss the merits of a spring student action. There were four main speakers — Bettina Aptheker, Eugene Groves representing the National Student Association, Steve Kindred of the Students for a Democratic Society, and Sidney Peck, professor at Western Reserve University and a vice chair-

man of the Spring Mobilization Committee.

Much of the discussion was directed to the proposed demonstrations in San Francisco and New York which were projected by a conference of the antiwar movement as a whole held in Cleveland Nov. 26. Steve Kindred of SDS raised a number of considerations about the April 15 mobilization which were on the minds of many SDS members present.

He said that although he believed that the antiwar movement must "go beyond demonstrations," there are good reasons for carrying out occasional mass actions. He pointed out that demonstrations can help to build the morale of the movement and can "visibly demonstrate the presence and growth of the antiwar movement."

On the other hand, he felt that the conference should deal with the problem of whether a (Continued on Page 2)

God and Man At Yale

Two Yale students, with remarkable temerity, wrote a critical letter to the President of the Free World. Reportedly imbibing at the time, they included what one press report called an "insulting name." The White House sent the letter to Yale, recommending the students' dismissal. A Law Department professor argued successfully on their behalf that such a penalty was worse than a jail term and they hadn't been convicted of a crime. Not as yet, that is.

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

Skilled workers won precedent-setting gains in a 17-day strike at Lear Siegler, a Detroit auto parts plant. Of the 1,500 United Auto Workers members involved, 140 are skilled men. Terms of a new two-year contract were accepted by the local union on Dec. 17.

Earlier the local had voted on proposed wage increases of 11 cents an hour over two years for all workers, with skilled men getting an extra 13 cents an hour. Production workers accepted the terms 460 to 195; skilled men rejected them 44 to 26.

UAW officials ruled that the strike would continue, basing themselves on a change in the union constitution made last May. It provides that skilled workers may vote separately on contracts.

The final settlement brought no change in provisions for production workers, but skilled craftsmen won added gains. They get extra pay of 10 cents an hour the first year, plus 2.8 percent of earnings, or nine cents an hour, the second. For the first time in the industry, they will get written descriptions of job demarcations.

Since the Lear Siegler strike, craftsmen at Chrysler have demanded from the UAW a specific local charter, separate and apart from the production workers. Special demands for skilled men are expected to be pushed strongly in next summer's auto negotiations. There are some 200,000 craftsmen among 1.1 million workers represented by the UAW in auto and related industries.

* * *

Reversing a previous tendency to discourage craft formations in industrial plants, the National Labor Relations Board has just adopted a new policy that helps open the way for craft unions to raid skilled worker units of industrial unions. The NLRB now lists several factors it will take into account concerning craft union efforts to carve out bargaining units in basic industry.

Included are the skill and occupational separation of the asserted craft groups; the history of bargaining at the given plant; the history and pattern of bargaining in the given industry; extent to which the affected employees have maintained a separate identity within the broader bargaining unit; degree of their integration in plant production processes; and the representation background of the union seeking to carve out a new unit of craft workers.

The policy shift applies immediately in four major industries: steel, aluminum, lumber and wet-mill grain processing. NLRB spokesmen say decisions in other industries will be made on a case-by-case basis. The board will next consider 14 craft severance cases involving the chemical, aerospace, rubber, machinery and newspaper industries.

* * *

In a West Coast shipyard strike, seven of 30 independent yards have signed an agreement with the International Brotherhood of

Electrical Workers, and the others are expected to follow suit. Terms include an immediate hourly wage hike of 25 cents, an additional 25 cents next July 1, and three cost-of-living adjustments.

The strike continues against 13 major yards employing 1,400 IBEW members. A spokesman for these yards said they "aren't interested" in the terms of the union agreement with the independent yards. That pact provides that independents will also come under the provisions of any contract eventually concluded with the major shipbuilders.

Johnson is now "studying the strike in order to determine its effects on shipping to south Vietnam." In plain English that means strategy is being cooked up to impose a Taft-Hartley injunction.

When the strike began Nov. 3, other shipyard workers generally honored the IBEW picket lines. Business agents for other craft unions quickly stepped in to back the bosses in demanding that no-strike agreements be "honored" instead. Since then workers in other crafts have returned to the job and the struck yards are operating on a limited basis.

This scabbery has been denounced by the *Bay Area Painters News*, organ of Local 127, Oakland. In an editorial directed against Leslie K. Moore, business agent of Ship Painters Local 1176, the paper said:

"You would think, wouldn't you, that ship painters would be happy to help the electricians break a low-wage pattern affecting all shipyard workers? But it figures, after all. Why should we expect Moore to show any sympathy for other workers, after he took striping work away from house painters by signing a cut-rate sweetheart contract?"

* * *

"Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz has expressed deep concern about the recent tendency of some union members to reject labor agreements proposed by their leaders . . . Mr. Wirtz said he saw 'some indications' that the refusal of rank-and-file members to accept a settlement recommended by their leaders 'is being developed almost as a bargaining technique' as a 'way to get more' from employers . . ."

"Mr. Wirtz said the proper solution of the problem would be for unions to shun that practice and to use negotiators who could make a settlement stick with the members." — *New York Times*, Jan. 3.

This spokesman for the Johnson administration seems to be threatening that, if the union bureaucrats don't get tougher with the rank and file, the capitalist government will intrude more deeply into internal union affairs, going beyond the present repressive Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law.

With "friends" like that in government the workers don't need enemies. What they do need is an independent labor party based on the unions.

LOS ANGELES

LOS ANGELES

ANTIWAR MEETING. M. S. Arnoni, editor of *Minority of One*, on VIETNAM AND THE IMPENDING INVASION OF CHINA. Also ROBERT VAUGHAN, TV star, "The Man from Uncle."

Prominent platform guests include: Robert Brock, Woodrow Coleman, Ben Dobbs, Rev. Stephen Fritchman, Frank Greenwood, Robert Hall, Mike Hannon, Ken Harman, John Harris, Jerry Palmer, Della Rossa, Prof. Wade Savage, Grace Simons, Frank Wilkinson.

SUNDAY 2 p.m. JAN. 15

Victoria Hall, 2570 W. Pico

Ausp. L.A. Comm. to End the War in Vietnam

REVIEWS and REPORTS

DEATH IN THE NORTHEAST, By Josue DeCastro. Random House, 189 pp. \$4.95.

Within the concise 189 pages of this small book is compiled not only the history of Northeast Brazil, but — in microcosm — of all Latin America.

DeCastro, a medical doctor, specialist in nutrition, author of many books and papers, only a few of which have been translated into English, now lives in exile in Paris. His best known work available in English is *The Geography of Hunger*. He is a native of Brazil's Northeast.

The whole South American continent was originally colonized by the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, English and French, its rich soil and natural resources were given to the nobility in huge land grants (latifundia) by the various crowns. And its native populations, by virtue of the land grants, made into serfs. When the native Indians revolted against their bondage, African slaves were imported. Today slavery is outlawed (in Brazil it was abolished in 1888), but literal serfdom remains. The countries colonized by most of the European governments, except the Dutch, no longer govern but the heritage they left behind remains. Today only the nationality of the real rulers has changed. Gigantic United States corporations own most of the land, natural resources, and industries. The economic system has become an imperialist dominated capitalism grafted onto the feudal heritage.



Francisco Julião

The U.S. government "discovered" Northeast Brazil twice. The first time, during the Second World War when the U.S. needed a staging area for troops, the U.S. built a huge air and sea base at Recife. These facilities were again put to use in 1960 as part of the gigantic tracking system for guided missiles. It was in 1960 that U.S. imperialism "discovered" that this drought-ridden land was on the verge of revolution. This was the second "discovery." Huge grants, through the Alliance for Progress (which found their way into politicians' pockets, not into the peoples' stomachs), flooded the coun-

try to stop the growth of the Peasants' Leagues, to stop "another Cuban revolution."

The Peasants' Leagues had a modest beginning, with no immediate economic demands. The people working on a sugar plantation struck with one demand — six feet of earth and a personal coffin to be buried in. It was the custom for the state government to loan a coffin in which to transport a dead person to the graveyard where his body was dumped into a common, ditch grave. The peasants wanted only dignity in death. The landowner drove them off the land.

They went to Recife for legal help and it was the young lawyer, Francisco Julião who gave it to them, and who then went to build leagues all over the state. Of Julião, DeCastro says that he was a powerful sloganeer, a good orator — but a leader who could not formulate a program. His hundreds of leagues were separated one from the other, not only by distance, but by complete lack of common goals. They were never united into a state-wide single organization with a common program. The movement passed Julião by. Today it has been taken up by the Catholic Church, and the people are still hungry and landless.

The story of the Northeast is painted by DeCastro with sharp strokes and his palette colors are grim blacks and greys, with splashes of blood red. This is a book to be read and studied.

—Marvel Scholl

...Student Antiwar Parley

(Continued from Page 1)

demonstration would be worthwhile this spring, saying that he thought that it might "soak up resources and energy" thus detracting from local actions.

The view that a mass national action would be complimentary to local antiwar activity was put forward in the discussion that followed. Jack Spiegel of the United Shoe Workers and the Chicago Peace Council pointed out that the spring mobilization was important as a vehicle for reaching other layers of the population.

Massive Action

Sidney Peck, one of the originators of the April 15 proposal, ended the discussion by saying, "Those of us who were concerned about this action did not want just another round of International Days of Protest." Pointing to the possibility of a qualitatively larger demonstration, he said, "We think it is important to keep the notion of 'mass' in front of us . . . It is not merely a matter of making the record because we feel guilty about the war . . . We hope to energize and consolidate opposition movements throughout the world."

After the first plenary session, discussion was continued in a series of workshops on the following subjects: the antiwar movement and the draft, the effects of the war on education, military recruiting and training on campus, the rights of the antiwar movement and other student groups to function on campus, campus organizing against the war, and the relationship of campus antiwar groups to broader sections of the population.

Of the suggestions coming out of the workshops, one which received a good response was that students should hold war crime tribunals where university admin-

istrators would be tried for complicity with the war effort.

Another popular idea was that groups of students should form small car caravans a la Coxy's army to travel across country, stopping in various cities and towns on the way to the April 15 mobilization to present the ideas of the antiwar movement.

A second series of workshops discussed the spring action specifically. Representatives from these workshops then met together and drew up a call for action which was passed by the conference as a whole. The call included the following proposals:

"We urge all those students who wish to oppose the criminal war in Vietnam to dedicate themselves anew to the task of ending the war. Specifically we propose that April 8-15 be designated as Vietnam Week. We urge national student action during Vietnam Week which will culminate in the transportation of as many students as possible to New York and San Francisco as part of the general Spring Mobilization of the antiwar movement on April 15. Finally, we propose that the focus of Vietnam Week be on: 1) Bringing the G.I.'s home now. 2) Opposing the draft and supporting the right of individuals to refuse to cooperate with the military system. 3) Ending campus complicity with the war effort."

SDS Views

During the discussion, Steve Kindred reported that the SDS National Council had voted by a slim margin to refrain from specifically endorsing the April 15 action. But there was hope that SDS might change its position because of the stand taken by those SDSers who took part in the conference. Those who want SDS to support the mobilization are planning to push for a referendum within SDS on the subject.

Telegrams came in from various parts of the world wishing the conference success. Representatives from groups against the war in Canada and Puerto Rico spoke.

The conference ended on a note of enthusiasm when representatives of the various organizations present vied to outdo each other in pledging money to help pay for the conference and for the student committee which will be set up to coordinate the spring student action. This committee will be set up initially in New York in the office of the Spring Mobilization Committee.

The students will consult with and work with Mobilization Committee officers A.J. Muste, Dave Dellinger, Prof. Sidney Peck, Edward Keating, and Prof. Robert Greenblatt.

World Outlook

Of special interest in the Jan. 6 issue:

• Fidel Castro's Dec. 9 speech on the role of women today in the Cuban Revolution.

• Jean-Paul Sartre's explanation of the aims and purposes of the International War Crimes Tribunal.

• Indonesian Communist leaders begin self-criticism over the role of their party in the disastrous defeat in Indonesia.

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Opening for Antiwar Forces

The political impact of Harrison Salisbury's reports from north Vietnam should be a source of encouragement for the antiwar movement. An opportunity has been provided to win new forces to the movement and to give it added fire power.

Despite the administration's extremely low credibility rating, its original denial of the north Vietnamese report of the bombing of Hanoi had a certain effect. Even many of those Americans who have learned to regard Washington's word with deep suspicion had the reaction that it was not likely that they would lie so blatantly about so easily confirmed a matter.

The eye-witness account of the assistant managing editor of the nation's most respected daily has helped enormously to dispel that notion. Further, it has deepened even more the acute popular distrust of the administration and added to the revulsion against the atrocities it is committing in Vietnam. All of this is reflected in the editorial response of the far from radical papers around the country. (See story page 1.)

Some people in the antiwar movement, seeing the very real problems confronting the movement, have tended to underestimate the difficulties besetting the Johnson administration. Because it is waging a war for reactionary ends by reactionary means, the government cannot tell the American people the truth about the war. It is not, after all, a political asset to candidly state that, circumstances permitting, you would rather drown a nation in blood than see it assert its independence and right of self-determination.

Yet a growing number of Americans are coming to realize that this is the administration's aim in Vietnam. The impact of this realization is deepened by the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people, north and south. Their remarkable capacity to fight back has virtually shattered any illusions about a quick or easy victory for the U.S.

These factors have combined to make this war the most unpopular one in U.S. history. It is building up an almost unprecedented opposition to the administration waging the war and a thoroughgoing contempt for the unspeakably cruel and deceitful resident of the White House who has become the very symbol of the character of the war.

Further, the mounting political and military difficulties in Vietnam coupled with the growing dissatisfaction at home is contributing to uneasiness within the ranks of the capitalist rulers of this country. One indication is that a paper like the *New York Times*, which is not uninfluential in capitalist circles, chose to explode the administration's lies about the bombing of Hanoi.

For all of these reasons and more, there is every realistic basis for recognizing that if the antiwar movement energetically seizes this new opportunity, it can register significant gains.

The April 15 New York-San Francisco antiwar mobilization is the next central activity of the movement. There is good reason to be optimistic about the success of that action.

Racist Attack on Powell

It does not take any great perception to see the utterly racist character of Congressional moves to either refuse to seat Adam Clayton Powell in the new Congress or to strip him of his committee powers, a course the "liberal" Democrats seem to favor.

The claim that the moves against the Harlem Democrat are based on his alleged misconduct is the most blatant kind of hypocrisy. If such action were carried on in a serious way the ranks of Congress would be quite depleted.

A growing number of Negro spokesmen have joined in declaring the attack on Powell an attack on all black Americans. They are perfectly correct.

Socialist Directory

BOSTON. Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307, Boston, Mass. 02139.

CHICAGO. Socialist Workers Party and bookstore, 302 South Canal St., Room 204, Chicago, Ill. 60606. WE 9-5044.

CLEVELAND. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 2nd floor west, 9801 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44106. Telephone: 791-1669. Militant Forum meets every Sunday night at 7:30.

DENVER. Militant Labor Forum. P.O. Box 2649, Denver, Colo. 80201.

DETROIT. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Detroit, Mich. 48201. Temple 1-6135. Friday Night Socialist Forum held weekly at 8 p.m.

LOS ANGELES. Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St., L.A., Calif. 90033. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. Open 1 to 5 p.m. on Wednesday.

MILWAUKEE. 150 E. Juneau Ave., Milwaukee, Wisc. 53202.

MINNEAPOLIS. Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin

Ave., Hall 240, Minn., Minn. 55403. Federal 2-7781. Open 1 to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday, Saturday, 11 a.m.-5 p.m.

NEWARK. Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, New Jersey 07101.

NEW YORK CITY. Militant Labor Forum, 873 Broadway (at 18th St.), N.Y., N.Y. 10003. 922-6051.

OAKLAND-BERKELEY. Socialist Workers Party and Pioneer Bookstore, 2003 Milvia, Berkeley, Calif. 94704. Phone: 848-3992. Open 2 to 7 p.m. Monday thru Friday; Saturday 12 to 5 p.m.

PHILADELPHIA. Militant Labor Forum: P.O. Box 8412, Phila., Pa. 19101.

ST. LOUIS. Phone EVergreen 9-2895. Ask for Dick Clarke.

SAN DIEGO. San Diego Labor Forum, 1853 Irving St., San Diego, Calif. 92113.

SAN FRANCISCO. Militant Labor Forum, 1733 Waller, S.F., Calif. 94117. 752-1790. Socialist books and pamphlets available.

SEATTLE. Socialist Workers Party. LA 2-4325.

Antiwar Officer Faces Possible Jail Sentence

Capt. Howard Brett Levy, 29, an M.D. serving at Fort Jackson, N.C., faces court-martial and a possible eight-year term for refusing to teach his specialty, dermatology, to members of the Green Berets, for expressing his opposition to the war in Vietnam, and saying that if he were a Negro he would not fight there.

The Army says he is promoting "disloyalty and disaffection among the troops."

He has reportedly denounced the Green Berets as a murderous force. His refusal to teach them dermatology in a first aid course was based partly on medical grounds, which he said other doctors at the fort shared, and partly on the use to which it would be put.

Did Not Advocate

Dr. Levy denied he had advocated that Negroes should not fight in Vietnam. He had simply stated, "If I were a Negro I would not fight in Vietnam."

In addition to the army lawyer assigned him, Capt. Levy has retained a lawyer provided by the American Civil Liberties Union.

From the outset, Levy apparently drew attention to himself by candidly expressing anti-militarist views and by participating in local voter registration and other civil rights activity. He was said to be the first officer at Fort Jackson to refuse to join the officers' club.

Levy told newsmen that since the announcement of the pending court-martial two "ominous looking" men had been hanging around near his apartment in Fort Jackson.

Friends and critics at Fort Jackson agree Levy has done a good medical job.

The American Way of Life

Hubert's New Home

Like an earlier American Horatio, Hubert Horatio Humphrey is slowly making his way upward, although the end is not yet quite in sight.

You will recall that during its last session, Congress approved a project for a \$750,000 vice presidential mansion. (It also made \$2 million available for a new Ky palace in Saigon.) However, what with one thing and another, the final appropriation for Hubie's home was not allocated, so there will be some delay in getting the place built.

Meanwhile, Hubert and the missis have been stuck in one of those suburban \$42,000 jobs all the way out in Chevy Chase, Md. Hubie had to spend 45 minutes each way getting back and forth from the job. And, like most men, when he got home at night he wouldn't want to go out again. The kids had taken off for college and Mrs. Humphrey was stuck out in the woods.

It wasn't the place so much. Mrs. Humphrey still remembers when she and her husband were cooped up in a one-room Minneapolis apartment. But being stuck out there and with Hubert having to do all that commuting was just too much. Mrs. Humphrey decided they weren't going to wait for that new government house and she didn't want to make a stink about the way Congress has been dragging its feet on it. "I guess it's a bad time to talk about any extras," she commented.

So Mrs. Humphrey took the bull by the horns and, like so many suburbanites whose kids have

grown up, decided to get the two of them back into the city. She got Hubert to agree (it must have been the old Minnesota Farmer-Labor-Democratic influence) that they should buy into one of those cooperative apartments in D.C.

For settled-down folks, it wasn't an easy step. "I was frightened and discouraged sometimes," Mrs. Humphrey confided to a newspaper woman. "But we were getting older. One does get tired. I felt being close to Hubert's office would alleviate some of our problems."

So they took an eighth floor apartment in a co-op near the Potomac River. Of course they had to "buy" the place for a rumored \$75,000. But what with the apartment shortage you can usually resell when you're ready to move.

For a crowded city like Washington, the apartment doesn't sound too bad. Mrs. Humphrey loves it. She even invited a group of newspaper women in to see the place. And, she says, now that he's there Hubert likes it too. It's only five minutes from work and he sometimes even makes it home for lunch.

Likes City Living

It's nice not to have to maintain a big house and, besides, Mrs. Humphrey says, she can invite friends in for a nightcap after a party "without feeling like I'm dragging them way out into the country."

The newspaper women thought it was a lovely apartment. And, from the various descriptions, it sounds as nice as anything we've lived in. There are eight rooms, but they're rather good-sized. The living room is 45 feet across.

There are four bathrooms and a kitchen. One bathroom has a dressing room attached where Mrs. Humphrey has set up her sewing machine. Apparently in order to stop Hubert's grouching about moving, Mrs. Humphrey saw to it that there were some extras for him. Next to the master bedroom there is another, known as Hubert's room. This has three TV sets for viewing all channels at once. (You can really give the boss a good report on how he came over.) Five other sets are strewn around the other rooms.

In addition, Hubert has a nook. It's a cherry-paneled den with a bar and a wood-burning fireplace.

Even though it's in the city, it's a pretty light apartment. It has exposures on three sides and, for a breath of air, a balcony on each side.

One of the balconies is off of Hubert's nook. Perhaps so there shouldn't be any mishaps coming from the bar, the balcony has six-foot potted shrubbery.

The balconies offer a nice view of the Potomac, the National Airport in Virginia and a good part of the Washington skyline. But, like everything else in this world, it's not perfect. While Hubert is now only five minutes from the White House, you can see the building only faintly from his balcony.

But if he gets depressed about this, Hubie should always keep in mind that he's really only a heart-beat away.

—Herman Chauka

Detroit Clergymen Sponsor Conference on Draft Issue

DETROIT, Dec. 29 — A mass meeting at Central Methodist Church climaxed a day-long conference yesterday on opposition to the draft called and conducted by an ad hoc Clergy Committee on the Draft and co-sponsored by the Central Methodist Commission on Social Concerns. Other groups supporting and participating in the conference included Students for a Democratic Society, Citizens for Peace in Vietnam and the Student Committee on the Draft.

Speakers on a panel in the morning session discussed the brutal and racist character of the war, the operation of the selective service system and the alternatives open to individuals opposed to serving in the armed forces, especially conscientious objection and non-cooperation. Concerned young people had many questions, including the legal dangers of emigration to Canada. Atty. James Lafferty, one of the panelists, explained that this area was legally unclear and gave a brief description of the Joe Johnson deportation case to illustrate some of the problems involved.

Workshops

The afternoon was taken up with various workshops in which alternative responses to the draft were explored.

Rev. David Gracie explained the attitude of the clergy who supported the conference. "The clergymen of different faiths who sponsored the conference are opposed to the war in Vietnam as an unjust war. We felt we had a duty to young people facing service in this unjust war." He explained that "a center where other young people facing the draft can come to discuss their problems" will be established.

Although most people present

felt that both the war and the draft were unjust, there was little talk about the possibility of collective social or political action to end either one.

Featured speakers at the evening meeting were prominent civil liberties attorney, Ernest Goodman, who spoke on the Nuremberg Trials, and Paul Booth, former national secretary of SDS. Scheduled speaker U.S. Congressman John Conyers, Jr., failed to appear. The meeting was chaired by Father Maurice Geary.

Slate N. Y. Forum On Events in Cuba

NEW YORK — "Cuba Since the Tricontinental," an analysis of the evolution of Cuba's domestic and foreign policy in the past year, will be the subject of discussion at the Militant Labor Forum on Friday evening, Jan. 13. The speaker will be Harry Ring, member of the editorial staff of *The Militant*.

The Tricontinental Conference of Asian, African and Latin American delegates held in Havana last January was marked by contradictory aspects. Fidel Castro in an opening speech to the conference blasted the Mao regime for its policies toward Cuba. In a closing speech, discussing the Guatemalan guerrilla movement, he made a slanderous attack on Trotskyism. Yet the conference itself, at the urging of the Cubans and with a noticeable absence of enthusiasm by the Kremlin, adopted militant resolutions.

At the forum the events since then will be assessed in relation to that conference.

Does your local library have a subscription to THE MILITANT? If not, why not suggest that they obtain one. Librarians are often pleased to have patrons call their attention to publications that they should have available.

The Indonesian Debacle

By Joseph Hansen

[The following article is the introduction to a new pamphlet, "The Catastrophe in Indonesia," which analyses the bloody defeat the international workers movement and the colonial revolution have suffered in Indonesia since October, 1965 (see advertisement below). Besides the introduction, the pamphlet contains three articles: "Lessons of the Defeat in Indonesia" by Ernest Mandel, "The Lesson of Indonesia, Statement of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International," and "Lessons from a Defeat" by T. Soedarso. The latter article is of special importance, as its author is a member of the Indonesian Communist Party, who comes to grips with the reasons for the defeat of his party.]

* * *

The three documents reprinted here as a pamphlet deal with a defeat to the world socialist revolution — a major defeat that is still reverberating in world politics. The documents attempt to analyze the defeat and to draw some critical lessons from it.

It is quite fashionable among revolutionists to talk about the need for criticism and self-criticism in relation to setbacks to their cause. Unfortunately the breach between acknowledgment of the need and actually carrying it out is a wide one.

There are a number of reasons for this.

First of all, the struggle for socialism is a difficult one. Of all the great tasks which humanity has faced in the slow upward climb from savagery and barbarism toward genuine civilization, the battle to overcome capitalism and to establish planned economy on a world scale is undoubtedly the most toilsome and complicated single undertaking. To compensate for this, there exists a strong tendency to concentrate on the heartening signs, the successes, that prove that progress is indeed being made. The other side of this is a readiness to offset the demoralizing consequences of serious setbacks by excluding the real situation from consciousness.

Failure to Explain

These psychological reflexes are given strong and often quite deliberate reinforcement by the narrow-minded or self-seeking bureaucracies to be found in many working-class organizations. Conservative trade-union bureaucrats prefer to completely ignore defeats like the one in Indonesia when they do not actually cheer the crushing of "Communism." But opportunistic leaders of political parties whose programs are ostensibly dedicated to socialism are just as guilty. The most pernicious are those who claim to stand in the tradition of Leninism but who have converted *criticism* — the application of ruthlessly objective analysis — into a mere ritual that aims at covering up and even prettifying costly and damaging setbacks to the workers' movement.

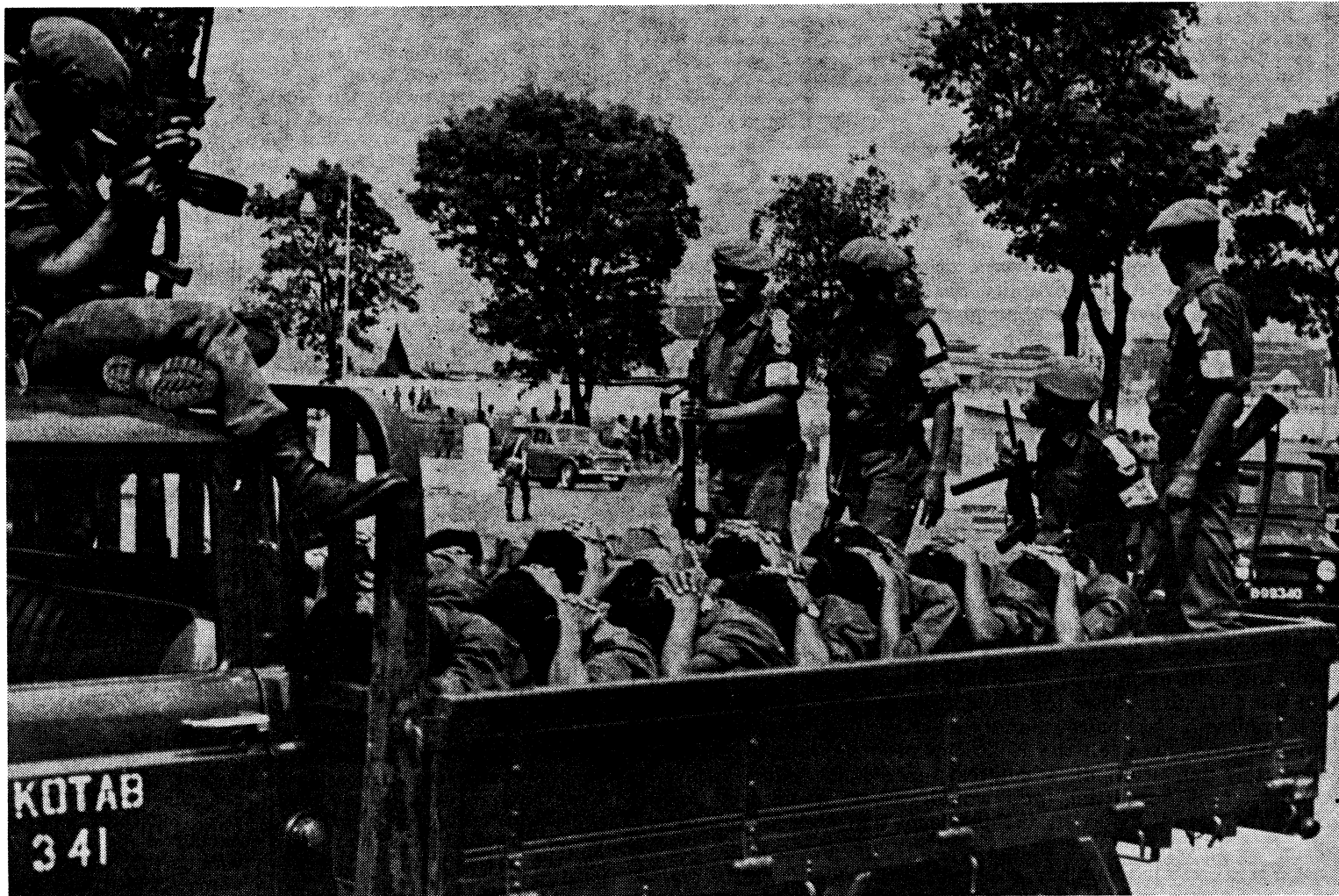
In the case of Indonesia, neither the Kremlin nor Peking has offered even

The Catastrophe In Indonesia

Three articles on the fatal consequences of Communist Party policy including one by a surviving Indonesian Communist.

50 cents

MERIT PUBLISHERS
5 East Third St.
New York, N. Y. 10003



BEGINNING OF TERROR. Armed police stand guard over youth (in truck) suspected of belonging to working class organization in Jakarta on Oct. 10, 1965. Hundreds of thousands of Communists and other leaders of workers and peasants were slaughtered in months to follow in terror unleashed by reactionary generals.

a ritualistic simulacrum. An entire year has passed since the disaster that shattered the largest Communist Party in the capitalist world, yet not a single attempt, however superficial, has been made by either of the centers to analyze what went wrong and why.

Certainly sufficient resources are available to both governments to make such an analysis. Moscow has proved its capacity to secure first-rate photographs of the other side of the moon and Peking has recently provided most convincing proof of its capacity to produce a hydrogen deterrent to war. Surely either of them, or both of them combined, should be able to crack the secret that enabled a handful of reactionary generals in a backward country to overcome a huge mass party able to count on the experience and advice of both Peking and Moscow!

It requires no James Bond or Superintendent Maigret to discover why Mao and Khrushchev's heirs are not vying in the field of analyzing the defeat in Indonesia. The policy of each is to say nothing. To put it bluntly, they have a tacit agreement not to probe into this delicate area where the only real difference concerns which was most to blame.

For revolutionists — and much broader circles! — it is nonetheless a vital matter, even a life and death matter, to understand serious defeats and how they could have been prevented. Thus in Indonesia, it was precisely the lack of widespread understanding of the defeats and setbacks suffered by the socialist revolution in the twenties and thirties, and again in the postwar period in Europe, that paved the way for another debacle comparable to the one suffered by the workers of Germany at the hands of Hitler in the early thirties.

And it is precisely because the working class generally still does not understand the role played by Stalinism in the events leading to World War II that the world today stands at the brink of a nuclear conflict.

The series of defeats in a number of countries, above all in Germany, gave the imperialists in the mid-thirties the conviction that they could plunge into

a world war without thereby signing a death warrant for capitalism. They were confirmed in their belief by what happened in the civil war in Spain where Stalin, to prove to imperialism his capacity to play the role of savior of their system and thereby win for the Kremlin at least forbearance from attack, deliberately blocked a socialist victory. Spain, as Leon Trotsky pointed out at the time, constituted the "last warning" for humanity; inasmuch as the imperialist powers, by intervening in the civil war, were converting Spain into a proving ground for World War II.

Today the course of the conflict in Vietnam offers many striking parallels to the tragedy in Spain. Not the least of these is the parallel between the defeat in Germany and the defeat in Indonesia. The events in Indonesia can be glossed over only at risk of paying a most fearful price!

In analyzing what happened in In-



LEONID BREZHNEV, General Secretary of the Soviet CP. Neither Soviet nor Chinese CPs offer any explanation of catastrophic defeat in Indonesia.

onesia, it is possible to make a serious mistake in methodology. This is to confine the analysis to the Indonesian scene alone, leaving out the international context. Such an error would emphasize what is peculiar to the archipelago and tend to obscure the general pattern that applies to other countries as well. It would likewise tend to isolate Indonesia from the overall context of international events and block an understanding of the reciprocal play of cause and effect on a world scale.

To fully appreciate the enormity of the debacle in Indonesia, it is necessary, for instance, to see it as the culmination of a series of setbacks that occurred after the colonial revolution reached a high point with the victory of the Cuban Revolution in 1959. The immediate consequence of the triumph in Cuba was to provide fresh inspiration and hope to the masses throughout the colonial world. This was particularly visible in the upsurge in the Congo and elsewhere in Africa, as in Algeria and Zanzibar.

Then a series of setbacks occurred, some due to adventurist actions associated with a wrong appreciation or wrong application of the lessons of the Cuban victory, some due — and this was much the more decisive and widespread — to class-collaborationist, "peaceful coexistence" policies.

In one country after another, the military caste seized power in coup d'etats and proceeded to crush or drive underground the revolutionary movements seeking an agrarian reform, national liberation, a planned economy. The biggest defeat before the one in Indonesia occurred in Brazil in April 1964. Other sharp setbacks occurred in the Congo and Algeria, to name but the most prominent. Since the defeat in Indonesia, Ghana has been added to the list.

In brief, the series of defeats in a number of other countries in the colonial world increased the potentiality for a defeat in Indonesia.

Thus, instead of being provided with a new example like Cuba — one that would serve both to provide fresh inspiration to the masses and also a model more applicable perhaps to conditions in their own country — the Indonesian

...le and World Socialism

masses were confronted with a series of depressing setbacks.

It was all the more important, therefore, for the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party to play a positive role and to do their utmost to help put the Indonesian Communist Party on the right track. The Chinese Revolution had enormous impact on the Indonesian masses, as it did on the masses throughout the colonial world. The successes and achievements of planned economy in China — despite the errors and limitations — further impressed the masses, especially when viewed against the continued stagnation and decay in countries like India where capitalism still prevails. The credit due the Chinese Revolution thus redounded to the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, lending extraordinary authority to their attitudes and advice.

Mao's Responsibility

But the policy of the Mao leadership was to cover up and even foster the opportunism of the Aidit group in the Indonesian Communist Party. Thus in relation to Indonesia, Mao played a role comparable to that of Stalin in the German events. Just as Stalin, out of passing diplomatic needs, blocked the German Communist Party from developing a revolutionary policy that could have stopped Hitler and put the German working class in power, so Mao out of similar passing diplomatic needs (an alliance with Sukarno and the Indonesian bourgeoisie) blocked the Indonesian Communist Party from developing a revolutionary policy that could have stopped the reactionary generals and put the Indonesian working class in power.

Clearly, the defeat in Indonesia cannot be understood without understanding how and why the Indonesian masses turned towards China and how and why it was possible for Peking to play such a pernicious role in turning these same masses away from the road to victory.

If the connection between the defeats in other countries and the defeat in Indonesia is ill understood, this holds all the more so for the international repercussions that followed upon the defeat.

In Vietnam the struggle of the freedom fighters at once became ten times more difficult.

A victory in Indonesia would have meant a great new powerful ally in the camp of the workers' states. It needs little to visualize how this would have affected the popular mood in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China, compelling the governments of these countries to firm up their foreign policy. The pressure upon them to furnish adequate aid to the Vietnamese fighters, for instance, would have increased to irresistible proportions. A revolutionary government in Indonesia would itself have intervened directly in Moscow and Peking along these lines, not to mention the aid it would have mobilized in consonance with its own immediate interests to beat back the thrust of American imperialism in Southeast Asia.

Effect on Vietnamese

Instead of this, the defeat in Indonesia acted as a new depressant on the Vietnamese freedom fighters. That they have maintained their struggle as valiantly as they have *despite this* shows how heroic they really are.

The defeat in Indonesia also had grave repercussions for the colonial revolution, the workers' states and the socialist struggle in general through the encouragement it provided the most beligerent sectors of the American ruling class — those that want to get on with the grandiose scheme of spreading their empire until it girdles the globe. The physical liquidation of the Indonesian Communist Party deprived Johnson of one of his main arguments for intervening in the civil war in Vietnam; namely, the argument that if the U.S. did not

shore up the Saigon regime it would fall and that would mean a whole row of dominoes going down. By way of compensation, the victory of the ultra-reactionary coup d'etat in Indonesia greatly strengthened the position of the U.S. armed forces in Southeast Asia and thereby reduced the risk inherent in further escalation of the war in Vietnam.

The ultimate consequences of the defeat in Indonesia can thus be seen in the flow of American casualties from Vietnam and the heightened danger of a nuclear catastrophe.

The most spectacular immediate result of the defeat in Indonesia, however, is to be seen in China. The evidence strongly indicates that it was the precipitating cause for the "cultural revolution" which has so surprised and puzzled the Sinologists.

It is rather broadly understood that Mao's ultraleft extremism led to Peking's isolation among the workers' states and Communist parties. To openly reject a united front against the military aggression of American imperialism in Vietnam with governments, parties and groupings that do not meet with Mao's full approval could obviously end only with the Chinese Communist Party standing alone; and with the blame pinned on it, moreover, for making a



Sukarno

common front impossible. This in turn had the effect of strengthening Khrushchevism, the pernicious continuation of Stalinism. It is not so widely understood that Mao's opportunism with regard to Sukarno and the Indonesian Communist Party had similar results. A major ally, the Indonesian Communist Party, was smashed; Indonesia was converted from a friendly country into an enemy power; the aggressive designs of American imperialism were given fresh impetus; and China's defenses were greatly weakened by these shifts on the international scene.

There is considerable evidence to show that these results of Mao's foreign policy caused great concern to a broad spectrum of leaders in the Chinese government and the bureaucracy as a whole. The criticisms that were voiced, even if muffled or made indirectly, undoubtedly resounded throughout the country. The all too evident rise in the war danger demanded immediate consideration of the country's defenses.

Although rather long-standing differences over domestic policies evidently played a major role in the purges and turmoil that took place under the misleading label of a "cultural revolution," the timing as well as other attendant circumstances show that it was Mao's foreign policy, above all the disaster resulting from it in Indonesia, that touched off the internal conflict that has shaken China.

How the outcome of this conflict will

ultimately affect the foreign policy of the Chinese government and how this in turn will enter into new events remains to be seen.

Lest the picture seem too dark, attention should be called to the major differences between the international setting today and the setting of the twenties and thirties.

First, the difference in level between the industrially backward and industrially advanced countries — which is the prime generator of the colonial revolution — continues to deepen. An inflationary process unremittently cuts into the standard of living of the masses. This is coupled with extreme rigidity among the indigenous oligarchies with regard to concessions and reforms. The combination repeatedly packs fresh explosives into the rotted social structures of the colonial world.

Secondly, the examples provided by Russia, Eastern Europe, China and Cuba in showing a practical alternative to capitalist stagnation are now so deeply engraved in popular consciousness as to be ineradicable among the masses in all the underdeveloped countries.

These two main factors explain one of the new features in world politics today — the quickness with which the masses recover from defeats that formerly would have left them prostrate for decades.

To this must be added the shattering of the Stalinist monolith and the appearance of new revolutionary currents such as Castroism. Both phenomena, which are of course interrelated, greatly facilitate finding a solution to the key problem of building a leadership capable of winning power.

Understanding Can Help Victory

There is thus every reason for taking an optimistic stand and holding out the expectation that the vanguard of the working class will succeed in meeting the great historic challenge. It will create the political mechanism required to assure fresh victories of the socialist revolution. It will do it in time to prevent a third world war.

One of the necessary conditions for reversing the string of defeats and opening up a series of victories is to broaden the vanguard's understanding of the meaning of the defeats, above all the major ones like the debacle in Indonesia. This pamphlet is intended to help in carrying out that task.

On the documents themselves, a word should be added as to authorship. Ernest Mandel is the editor of the Belgian socialist weekly *La Gauche*. He has written extensively on political and economic subjects of interest to the revolutionary socialist movement. His book *Traité d'Economie Marxiste* won him a firm reputation throughout Europe as a



FREEDOM FIGHTERS IN SOUTH VIETNAM. Struggle of Vietnamese revolutionaries has been made more difficult by defeat in Indonesia.

Marxist economist. An English edition of this important work is now in preparation.

The second document is by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. This is the leading body of the world party of socialist revolution founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938. As a statement of position on an important contemporary event, the document is indicative of how well the Fourth International stands in the tradition established by its founder.

The third document was written by a young member of the Indonesian Communist Party who succeeded in making his way into exile. His analysis of Aidit's policies is of the greatest interest not only in the material it provides as a guide for further study but as an indication of the determination of an important sector of the Indonesian Communist Party to learn from what happened and to utilize the lessons in such a way as to ensure victory when the masses again surge forward, as they surely will.



CHINA, 1927. Counter-revolutionary terror unleashed by Chiang Kai-shek is depicted in this horrifying beheading of worker by Chiang's butchers. Untold millions were slaughtered after Chiang's coup d'etat of April 12, 1927. Victory of counter-revolution resulted from Stalinist policy of "united front" with the butcher Chiang.

...How They Twist on Viet Bombing

(Continued from Page 1)
14, according to the *New York Times* of the following day, "United States officials acknowledged for the first time that American aircraft had been bombing military targets in Hanoi."

This was the *New York Times'* interpretation of what may go down as one of the most elaborate exercises in political double talk in the history of Washington obfuscation. The occasion was a press conference held by State Department press officer Robert J. McCloskey.

"Does it remain American policy not to bomb Hanoi?" a reporter asked. "It is not American policy to bomb other than the targets we have talked about here in the past and at Defense, and at the White House, and in Saigon: they are military or military associated targets," McCloskey replied.

"Well, could these military associated targets be located within the city limits of Hanoi?"

"Some Are Close"

"I don't know what the city limits are. I don't know how they are defined. Some are close and some are farther away . . ." The reporters persisted. "Am I correct," one asked, "that these targets that we have been talking about in the past are not in populated areas?"

"I don't know enough about the geography," the State Department high official answered, "to know what is a populated area and what is not a populated area by definition . . ." A reporter, apparently not inclined to this kind of banter, asked directly "Have we bombed Hanoi?"

"We have not. What do you mean by 'Hanoi'?" McCloskey replied.

On the following day the official line became even more blurred. In Saigon, Gen. Westmoreland, the commanding U.S. officer in Vietnam, issued a categorical denial: "A complete review of

pilot reports and photographs of the 13-14 December air strikes on the Vandien truck depot and the Yenvien railroad classification yard showed that all ordinance... was in the military target areas. None fell in the city of Hanoi."

But in Washington, there were three different versions. "Officials," according to the Dec. 16 *New York Times*, "confirmed reports that there had been damage to civilian areas inside Hanoi during the raids this week, but the question of whether American planes might have been accidentally responsible was not fully resolved here."

Cynical Story

That version rests on the lunacy of asserting that the anti-aircraft shells and missiles fired by north Vietnamese gunners against the attacking U.S. bombers had possibly fallen back on the city. Washington, however, was not unanimous in resting its defense on a comic-book interpretation, although it is still being repeated in some quarters.

"Some officials," the Dec. 16 *New York Times* continued, "had said yesterday that targets hit by American planes could be considered, in the parlance of the man in the street, as within metropolitan Hanoi." And the State Department stuck to the original McCloskey line: "There is no fixed geographical definition which would be called the city limits," it reaffirmed at a noon-time briefing.

The closest in this first series of statements that Washington came to telling the truth about the Hanoi bombings was in an article by *New York Times* military specialist, and well-known mouthpiece for the Pentagon, Hanson W. Baldwin, Dec. 17.

"Targets of key importance — very close to Hanoi, the north Vietnamese capital — have been bombed for the first time recent-

ly," Baldwin informed us. "The Hanoi railroad yards and a truck parking area in the outskirts of the city were attacked for the first time about two weeks ago and again this week. These had long been on the target list approved by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, but had not been approved by higher authority until recently."

And this is how the capitalist politicians and press would have liked to leave the whole matter. A week passed and there was no further clarification about the Hanoi assault. The myth that for a year and a half U.S. bombers had been attacking only military targets in "less populated" areas of north Vietnam remained pretty much intact.

The bombshell which shattered this myth once and for all was exploded on Christmas Day with the first Salisbury release: "This correspondent is no ballistics specialist," he wrote, "but inspection of several damaged sites and talks with witnesses make it clear that . . . damage certainly occurred right in the center of town."

New Story

It sent the capitalist spokesmen and word artists back to their photos and they emerged the following day with a new line. "Administration officials acknowledged that American pilots had accidentally struck civilian areas in north Vietnam while attempting to bomb military targets," the *New York Times* stated Dec. 27, 14 days after the first major bombing of Hanoi.

But that wasn't the only problem now confronting Washington. Salisbury had documented the devastation of other cities, including Namdinh, once the third most populated city in the country.

"When asked to cite instances in which civilian areas have accidentally been struck, officials also said they did not know of any particular instances," the Dec. 27 *New York Times* report con-



SCHOOL CHILDREN BOMBED. U.S. still maintains it bombs civilians only by "accident." Here, rescue worker digs out two children after U.S. air raid on their school in Thai-binh, North Vietnam. Forty persons were reported killed, including 30 students.

tinued. "In the specific case of Namdinh and Phuly," the Pentagon stated, "targets have been limited to highway bridges, railroad bridges and junctions, P.O.L. [petroleum, oil and lubricants] storage areas and air defense sites."

It didn't stick. The following day, Salisbury's dispatch told about what it was like while he and other newsmen huddled in the basement of a Hanoi hotel — during a U.S. raid. Former president Eisenhower, still smiling, emerged from a hospital in Washington to reassure the people.

U.S. bombing operations in north Vietnam, Ike said, "are aimed exclusively at military targets." And wandering from the script, he added, "Unfortunately there are some civilians around these targets. Is there any place in the world where there are not civilians?"

On Dec. 28, George Christian, the new White House press secretary, made his first major public debut at Johnson City. Asked whether LBJ had had any response to the Salisbury dispatches, Christian replied that Johnson had "no reaction as such."

In Norfolk, Virginia, on the same day, a commanding officer of a naval bomb squadron was invited to defend the White House line. "I'm not questioning Mr. Salisbury's honesty," the commander said, "but I found his story about Namdinh simply unbelievable. He's describing what he's seen on the ground. I guess we're looking at it from different points of view."

The most credible story of the day, for Dec. 28, however came from unnamed U.S. military sources in Saigon. According to the AP, "it was known that some civilians had been killed in the bombing raids in the Hanoi area. 'It'll happen again,' they added."

Military Targets?

"You can't tell the difference many times between civilian buildings and military structures. In addition to the problem of the structures themselves looking alike in aerial photographs, the Communists put anti-aircraft sites between houses."

In this version, you see, the "military targets" in north Vietnam are "anti-aircraft sites," and why are those there? Why are there anti-aircraft sites in residential sections of north Vietnam? It must be because those tricky Communists just want to have their civilian populations bombed, get it?

If you think that version is far

out, the front headline in the Dec. 28 *Washington Post* read, "Hanoi Seen Exploiting Its Civilian Casualties." The story explains how Hanoi's inviting foreign correspondents like Salisbury is "an evident attempt to undermine the Johnson administration's claims that its policy is to avoid bombing civilians."

The *Washington Post*, however, made one revelation that throws light on one way Vietnamese civilians are murdered: "American planes attempting to elude anti-aircraft or enemy fighters inevitably do sometimes jettison bombs in order to elude attack." But the *Washington Post*, like the unnamed military authorities in Saigon, neglected to explain why U.S. planes were flying over civilian centers to begin with.

The Defense Department finally came to the line Dec. 29 which Johnson in effect repeated in the press conference quoted above. According to this line, "the number of civilians killed by American aircraft in Namdinh indicated 'precise, careful bombing.'"

Imperialist Reasoning

This statement came from Arthur Sylvester, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs. Sylvester not only attempted to rationalize the devastation of north Vietnamese cities, but he confirmed Salisbury's revelation that the bombing had been going on since mid-1965. There have been 64 attacks on Namdinh since that time, according to Sylvester.

Pondering over the photos of Namdinh wreckage, Sylvester commented, "If, as Mr. Salisbury stated, there are no military targets in the city, it is difficult to understand why the Communists defend it so heavily, as testified by pilots who attacked the military targets."

Circular reasoning? Not quite. Just the logic of the imperialist mind: Washington starts bombing civilians in north Vietnam; they, in turn, mobilize man, woman and child to turn out in the streets in the middle of a bombing attack to shoot at the attacking planes; and this goes down in the Pentagon as a "military target." Tell us another one.

"Socialism moves with its feet firmly planted in the ground, and its head not lost in the clouds; it takes science by the hand, asks her to lead, and goes whithersoever she points."—Daniel DeLeon.

...Reaction to Gov't Lies

(Continued from Page 1)

and towns. Civilians have been killed and wounded and a considerable amount of housing has been destroyed.

"Also left in ruins, we may note, is the credibility of United States communiques, State Department and Pentagon statements, and declarations of presidential policy. . . . The *New York Times* deserves the highest credit for re-establishing the credibility of American news reporting by sending its assistant managing editor out to Hanoi to check up on a situation which was being covered up by the deviousness, ambiguity, or just plain lying of the United States government."

The *Minneapolis Tribune* was even stronger on the point: "It seems fair to say that American credibility, and perhaps the American cause, has been more severely damaged by U.S. bombing of Hanoi and other north Vietnamese cities than has the communist war effort. . . ."

Will Haunt U.S.

"The manner in which Washington's spokesmen first pooh-poohed, then denied that U.S. bombs could have hit civilian-populated areas, and admitted it only after an American correspondent's reports from Hanoi put them on the spot, may haunt this nation for a long time. And not necessarily just in connection with the war in Vietnam.

"For it is one thing for a politician — even a president — to suffer from a 'credibility gap.' But it is something quite different and much worse when a nation's good faith and word come to be regarded as unreliable in international exchanges." The *Minneapolis* paper joined the swelling ranks of capitalist opposition to John-

son's bombing policies in north Vietnam:

"If our government has opted for psychological bombing of civilian areas, we should be told about it — so that we can protest. For nothing in the history of aerial warfare, from the Spanish civil war to date, supports the theory that this sort of questionable business is military effective."

Among influential personalities outside the government who criticized Johnson were Rabbi Arthur J. Lelyveld, the president of the definitively non-radical American Jewish Congress and Walter Lippmann, the noted columnist. In a telegram to the White House, Lelyveld called for an end of the "slaughter of innocent victims."

"He Misled Me"

And Lippmann, who is moving to New York after 30 years of Washington coverage, told a reporter for the *World Journal Tribune*: "I used to see the president a great deal but I no longer do." Asked why, Lippman said: "I felt that he misled me. He was saying different things to me than to other people."

The letter from student leaders — mainly student-body presidents, and editors of campus papers — had been initiated before the Salisbury revelations, but it made special mention of them, and its release at this time carried additional weight. In frank and sober language the university leaders tore the lid off the myth that student opposition to the war, up to the form of refusing to go to Vietnam, is limited to those who have been "outspoken in dissent."

"A great many of those faced with the prospect of military duty," they wrote, "find it hard to square performance of that duty

with concepts of personal integrity and conscience. Even more are torn by reluctance to participate in a war whose toll in property and life keeps escalating, but about whose purpose and value to the United States they remain unclear.

"The truces have highlighted a growing conviction on American campuses that if our objective in the fighting in Vietnam is a negotiated settlement rather than a military 'victory,' continued escalation cannot be justified by the failure of the other side to negotiate."

Fear of Nuclear War

The students make it clear that they do not support the idea of a war to "victory" particularly because it "could not be won without recourse to nuclear weapons, if then." They call for an extension of the New Year's truce and fighting "on a reduced scale." The signers were from both religious and nonsectarian colleges including many in the South and Southwest.

In his TV editorial on the Vietnam war, Stimson Bullitt did not omit to attack the so-called editorials, primarily on local matters, that have been thrown into occasional TV news broadcasts. "They endorse Christmas seals," Bullitt said. It is that kind of feeling which the Salisbury revelations have flared up.

People are sick and tired of a lying administration and a press, newspaper, and TV media, which dishes out the lies and covers them up with moron-mentality "reasoning" every hour of the day. There is no question that the attacks on the administration in the capitalist press reflect the feelings of growing numbers of Americans.

Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

Upstate Supporter

Glens Falls, N. Y.

Here in Glens Falls I am trying to gather together all the people who voted Socialist Workers Nov. 8. For a town this size, hidden in the mountains of upstate New York, we had many such voters.

I am glad that Americans are finally seeing the light, finally waking up to the fact that they are slaves of the capitalists.

They are beginning to realize that the bombing of Vietnamese women and children aren't just accidents or that "the Vietnamese are doing it themselves."

The working people are starting to wonder why the milk that feeds their children comes so high-priced, why it takes so many hours of hard work to clothe their tired bodies as the man on the hill looks down on them.

Those who voted socialist are not afraid. They know it is their constitutional right to vote the party of their choice even though the minority parties are put down by the government, the schools,

etc., and banned as "subversive" and "un-American" when such parties are only exercising the constitutional rights set down by Americans more than a century ago.

I would like to congratulate the staff of people who bring us *The Militant*. I find that no matter what, they have the determination and the strength to always bring out the truth.

I am very interested in the Socialist Workers Party. I am following the Socialist Fund closely. You will find enclosed \$2 to add to the New York fund to help them reach 100 percent.

D. C.

Tax Dodger Still Busy

Philadelphia, Pa.

This letter is intended as an addition to my previous one which appeared in your Dec. 19 issue about Pennsylvania's sales tax. I have since learned a little more about the tax by looking at tax charts in a couple of stores.

It turns out there are a few loopholes — a few places where they charge a little less than five percent. The first ten pennies of every tax dollar are taxed a little under, rather than a little over, five percent. For example, the tax on \$1.01 to \$1.10 is five cents, not six cents. The tax on \$2.01 — \$2.10 is ten cents, and so on. So any item which costs 34,35 or 36 cents is bought cheaper in three's. Amy Lowenstein

all your readers will be very interested in. I was almost surprised to see something by Castro somewhere else before it appeared in *The Militant* since I associate *The Militant* with in-depth coverage of the Cuban revolution.

The thing about the interview in *Playboy* which I think Americans will be particularly surprised and impressed with is the candid answers Castro supplies to all the questions, friendly and hostile. We have become so used to meaningless diplomatic verbiage from government leaders that Castro's "nonsense" answers will come as a shock to many.

In this day of the "credibility gap" which is in the process of expanding to the "credibility chasm," where polls show that 70 percent of the American people do not believe what the government tells us, Castro's candidness comes as a real breath of fresh air.

There are several points in the interview, where questions are asked which will bring some aspect of Cuban life into a poor light, but in responding to them, Castro never denies that problems exist, that mistakes have been made, or that things are not working out exactly according to plan. He tries to show why things have gone wrong and what's being done about it.

A fitting comparison would be with the Johnson administration's

Thought for the Week

"Marshall Ky is reported to have been outraged at the Manila conference of the leaders of the allies in Vietnam because he was the only participant who did not arrive in a jet plane." — A Jan. 2 *New York Times* Saigon dispatch explaining why Ky is putting pressure on the U.S. to give him several jet airliners.

pronouncements about the war in Vietnam. The more the war escalates, the more we are told we are winning, just as we were winning two years ago. At every juncture, the war will be won in the near future.

I believe that Castro can admit mistakes and even call them to the attention of the Cuban people and the world, because he knows he has the support and confidence of the overwhelming majority, whereas Johnson, despite the huge electoral landslide of 1964, knows that he has the confidence of almost no one.

Castro raises many interesting political points in the interview. I feel that it would be worthwhile for *The Militant* to discuss some of them in an article.

W. R.

[We reported on the *Playboy* interview in our issue of Jan. 2.]

New York's Greeting

Hastings, Minn.

I would like to extend my New Years wishes and heart felt thanks to *The Militant* and its staff for

your courageous work in raising your voices above the deafening roar of capitalist propaganda in our supposedly "free press." You are a brightly burning light in a war darkened world.

In our neo-fascist society where one must live in constant paranoia if he lifts his hands in protest to the tyranny of the "Great White Fathers" Imperialist Crusades and murderous economy games, in a society where young men are imprisoned for refusing to murder for industry's gains, where black men are forced to kill their Asian brothers and then come home and find their house burned down by hate mongers, in a land where "Big Brother" and his badged killers try fanatically to abolish all love for humanity, it gives me strength to see a paper like *The Militant* striving so diligently to give American working people the one thing they need and have been so long without, the truth.

I salute you for your work and hope 1967 will show us great strides in the struggle for peace and fraternity.

Kenneth Kirk

Weekly Calendar

CHICAGO

WALTER SCHNEIR. A report by the author of Invitation to an Inquest. Fri., Jan. 13, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 S. Canal St. Contrib. \$1. A usp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

DETROIT

THE WORKS OF AFRICAN NOVELISTS CHINUA ACHEBE AND PETER ABRAHAM. Speaker: John Austin. Fri., Jan. 13, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. A usp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

CUBA SINCE THE TRICONTINENTAL CONFERENCE — An analysis of Cuba's domestic and foreign policy during the past year. Speaker: Harry Ring, staff writer for *The Militant*. Fri., Jan. 13, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, at 18th St. Contrib. \$1. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

SAN FRANCISCO

THE LOVE BOOK: A SYMPOSIUM ON CIVIL LIBERTIES AND BOOK BANNING. Panelists: Lenora Kandel, author of *The Love Book*; Ron Thalen of the Psychedelic Shop; Jeff Berner, publisher of *Stolen Paper Review*; Max Scherr, editor of *Berkeley Barb*; Richard J. Werthimer, ACLU att'y. Fri., Jan. 13, 8 p.m. Hall of Flowers, Golden Gate Park, San Francisco. Contrib. \$1. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

Israel-Arab Issue

Newark, N. J.

Are the Arab-Israeli incidents and relationships too embarrassing or unimportant to report on in your paper?

If not, just what is your position? Which side do you support? D. R.

[We assume D.R. is referring to the recent Israeli attack on a Jordanian village. We regard this incident as a single episode in a much larger development. In general, we regard the Israeli government as a pawn of imperialism used in the power moves to maintain control of the rich oil resources in the Arab countries. The sending of additional U.S. arms to Jordan's King Hussein after the Israeli attack with U.S.-provided arms seems to have been intended to bolster the conservative Jordan regime in the face of mounting opposition, left-wing and otherwise, in Jordan and the other Arab states. EDITOR.]

Playboy's Castro Interview

New York, N. Y.

The January 1967 issue of *Playboy* magazine has an interview with Fidel Castro which I'm sure

It Was Reported in the Press

Marxism Refuted (I) — Our contention that capitalism is essentially callous has been exploded by an Asbury Park, N.J., department store. Just before Christmas, the store's 70-year-old Santa was grabbed on a shoplifting charge. A \$1.50 bottle of men's cologne and a 37-cent bottle of callous remover had allegedly been found under his costume. However, on Dec. 28, the store's president ordered the charges dropped "in the spirit of the holiday season" and to "preserve the image of Santa Claus intact for all children."

Marxism Refuted (II) — The makers of Pertussin, a cough syrup, are demonstrating that medical care for the aged can be left in the hands of private enterprise. The company is launching a sweepstakes contest with some 5,000 prizes designed "to help thousands of American families pay their drug and medical bills in 1967." There will be five first prizes of \$1,000 and 5,000 fourth prizes of clinical thermometers. Rectal, no doubt.

Sociology Lesson — Michigan firemen, organized into an AFL-CIO unit, have found cops in various cities waging a vociferous, organized campaign to block their demand to reestablish a once-traditional wage parity between the police and fire departments. If this keeps up, the firemen will begin to think the boys in blue are a bunch of finks.

Lit Fire Under Officials — More than 8,000 New Yorkers phoned City Hall during the snow storm on Christmas weekend to report they were without heat. One group of East Harlem tenants got action, however. After being without heat for three days, they organized the children to gather Christmas trees, scrap wood and garbage and started a huge bonfire in the street that completely blocked traffic. The adults formed a picket line. In one hour city officials arrived with plumbers and got the heat back on.

Blue Chip Groups — Recently we reported that a British Rock and Roll group call themselves the

Gnomes of Zurich. They apparently are counterparts of such U.S. rock 'n' roll groups as Big Brother and the Holding Company, and Dow Jones and the Industrials.

We Goofed — In our various reports on the gift specials available at Tiffany's we probably should have mentioned that some of the items probably were not available at the Chicago store. We have only learned now that four masked gunmen knocked the store over last Oct. 15. The insurance companies paid Tiffany's \$790,000, which they said represented the wholesale price of the jewelry that was carted off. It must have filled an attaché case.

Early Subversive Nailed — The penman who inscribed the Congressional document with the un-American title, Bill of Rights, has been identified as William Lambert, a Virginian. The identification was made positive by the laboratory of the FBI.

Ha-Ha Dept — "Rebirth of Naz-

ism Doubted by Experts" — Headline in the *New York Times*.

Free, Accurate Speech — When a cop grabs you by the back of the neck it may be "socially necessary" to reply with some simple four-letter Anglo-Saxonisms, according to the American Civil Liberties Union. The ACLU made the free-speech argument in an appeals brief on behalf of a man arrested for disorderly conduct and then charged on a second disorderly count for expressing his reaction.

Malthusians Can Relax — Dr. Ulia H. Olin, a UN population specialist, says nervous tension, such as is typical of city life, reduces fertility.

New Movement — Jennie Lee, a Hollywood stripper, has organized Exotique Dancers of America to build a Burlesque Hall of Fame and to combat competition from topless waitresses.

—Harry Ring

Announcing The

Jan.-Feb. 1967

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Plea on Behalf of Blanco By Int'l Amnesty Group

Defenders of Hugo Blanco are continuing to win significant support in the world-wide fight to save the revolutionary Peruvian peasant organizer who faces possible execution.

An impressive indication of the scope of the amnesty campaign was the decision of Amnesty International to intervene on Blanco's behalf. An influential organization that has consultative status with the United Nations and the Council of Europe, the American section is headed by such figures as Francis Biddle, Victor Reuther and Roger Baldwin.

The action is extraordinary in that the organization has a policy of not intervening in cases where "violence" is involved. (Blanco was convicted by a military tribunal after a confrontation with government forces in which three policemen died. He was sentenced to 25 years. When he appealed the prosecution asked the appeals court to exercise its authority to impose the death penalty.)

Amnesty Statement

In a letter to its national sections summarizing the conflicting versions of the death of the three policemen, the London office of Amnesty International stated: "It was felt there was too great an element of doubt about the violence or non-violence to make this a good case for adoption by a Group but that the savagery of the sentence and Blanco's known idealism justified an appeal for clemency. It is entirely a matter for National Sections whether they also wish to take action." The letter then stated that it had sent letters to Peru appealing for clemency for Blanco.

Meanwhile, in Mexico a cablegram was sent to Peru on behalf of Blanco signed by 88 prominent Mexican radicals. They included the editor of the magazine, *Politica*, the well-known journalist Victor Rico Galan, who is now imprisoned in Mexico; the secretary general of the Mexican Communist Party; the editor of *Prensa Latina*; the editor of *Perpectiva Mundial*; and others.

In Paris, some 400 demonstrators defied a government ban on



Hugo Blanco

such demonstrations to gather in front of the Peruvian embassy in behalf of Blanco. The action was organized by French Trotskyists and other radical tendencies.

From Canada comes word that 32 prominent political, antiwar and academic figures in the province of Alberta have joined the international campaign to save Blanco. Signers of a petition on Blanco's behalf included the top leadership of the Alberta Young New Democrats (the youth of Canada's labor party, the New Democratic Party); the editor of *Alberta Labor*, organ of the Alberta Federation of Labor (CLC-AFL-CIO); the entire executive of the University of Alberta Vietnam Action Committee; and others.

The cablegram said in part: "We demand that Hugo Blanco and all the other political prisoners be freed immediately. Militant democratic opinion in Sweden expresses its solidarity toward the Peruvian people and its struggle for democratic rights. We condemn corruption in Peru, repressions against the people by your government and neocolonialist domination of the economy and official political life of your country by the United States."



Francis Cardinal Spellman

"O Lord our God, help us to tear their soldiers to bloody shreds with our shells; help us to cover their smiling fields with the pale forms of their patriot dead; help us to drown the thunder of the guns with the wounded, writhing in pain; help us to lay waste their humble homes with a hurricane of fire; help us to wring the hearts of their unoffending widows with unavailing grief; help us to turn them out roofless with their little children to wander unfriended through wastes of their desolated land in rags and hunger and thirst, sport of the sun-flames of summer and the icy winds of winter, broken in spirit, worn with travail, imploring Thee for the refuge of the grave and denied it — for our sakes, who adore Thee, Lord, blast their hopes, blight their lives, protract their bitter pilgrimage, make heavy their steps, water their way with their tears, stain the white snow with the blood of their wounded feet! We ask of one who is the Spirit of love and who is the ever-faithful refuge and friend of all that are sore beset, and seek His aid with humble and contrite hearts. Grant our prayer, O Lord and Thine shall be the praise and honor and glory now and ever. Amen." — From the War Prayer by Mark Twain.

Harrison Salisbury's Dispatches

A Defiant North Vietnam

By Ed Smith

JAN. 3 — The *New York Times* has now printed 11 dispatches by Harrison Salisbury — eight since his shocking descriptions of U.S. bombings of Hanoi and Namdinh, Dec. 25 and 27. These dispatches tell the story of a courageous small country mobilized in battle against the onslaught of a deadly and powerful giant.

They depict the Vietnamese people as utterly serious and dedicated to the defense of their country; and they predict that no foreseeable amount of escalation of Washington's bombings in 1967 will bring north Vietnam to its knees. At the same time, Salisbury has taken issue with the Johnson administration's attempts to deny his findings.

Salisbury summarizes the defiant mood he found in Hanoi in a New Year's Eve dispatch printed on the front page of the *New York Times* "News of the Week in Review" section, Jan. 1. "The spirit of Hanoi as the year 1967 comes in seems to this American observer to be one of grit your teeth and prepare for the worst.

Expect Bombing

"The Vietnamese have been told by 'Uncle Ho,' as they familiarly call the venerable President Ho Chi Minh, that they must expect Hanoi's destruction and Hai-phong's as well. Based on step-by-step escalation of the American bombing attacks, it is exceedingly rare to find a Hanoi resident who does not expect full-scale saturation bombing of Hanoi long before 1967 is over.

"Is the Hanoi resident appalled by this prospect? If so he conceals his feeling. He is not happy at what he regards as inevitable American bombing escalation, but somehow he expects to survive."

In one after another dispatch, it is the massive cooperation of the people to carry on in the face of daily bombing attacks to which Salisbury continually returns. "An intense effort has been made to send school children away from Hanoi," he writes Dec. 28, "although not necessarily far.

"A visit to a high school at Xuandinh, about seven miles outside the capital, found 300 pupils from Hanoi in a body of 710. The evacuated youngsters include many whose parents are officials and workers in Hanoi. The school provided an example of the intensive precautions against air attack.

"The school is dispersed throughout the village, with not more than one class in any building and no classes fewer than 150 yards apart. The classes are installed in simple structures, including huts with earth floors. Foxhole shelters are dug right under the children's desks . . .

"The children — and many adults — wear heavy, woven straw hats about an inch thick, that are said to be highly effective against fragmentation bombs. They also carry first-aid kits along with their books."

Mobilization

In a second Dec. 31 dispatch, Salisbury describes the mobilization: "A colossal number of man-hours must be devoted to the transport of goods and supplies, to the repair of bombed railroads, highways and bridges, and to the dispersal of goods, people and industries over the countryside . . .

"The population is almost totally organized. Even foreign embassies' cooks and maids must devote at least two of their free days to government work each month. Children spend about a third of their time on studies, a third on defense or defense-related tasks

Hanoi's Youth: Backbone of Defense

"Hanoi's population is very young by U.S. standards — hardly anyone seems to be more than 30 and most are under 20. This youth plays a part in maintaining morale. The youngsters are constantly seen running through training exercises, drilling with rifles, engaging in military calisthenics, moving off in countless groups and echelons on missions of one sort or another.

"Seen in theatres, crowding around posters, gathering in clumps of bicycles, they seem at ease . . . What if things get worse? Hanoi's youngsters laugh or giggle, partly in nervousness and partly because they are quick to laugh at any question. The older people may be tired and worn by long years of war, but the youngsters appear buoyant, and it is on their backs that the main burden falls." — Harrison E. Salisbury, Jan. 1, 1967.

and a third on the farm or industrial production. The same utilization of labor runs across the board."

"The seriousness with which the north Vietnamese take the air threat," he wrote Dec. 27, "has undoubtedly kept civilian casualties lower than might be expected in comparison with the vast damage said to have been done to ordinary living quarters and the destruction reported in small towns and villages."

In several articles, Salisbury notes economic protection the Hanoi government provides the mobilized population. "Such funds as have been available to north Vietnam in the war-torn years since it came into existence in 1954 have gone largely into factories and the construction of housing . . .

"The authorities contend that there has been little fluctuation of food prices although shortages have occurred." (Dec. 28.) "The Government has reduced prices on a handful of consumer goods, notably bicycles, which have been cut 30 percent . . . Bicycles, which are manufactured in north Vietnam, are vital to every aspect of life. There has been a 50 percent cut in the cost of medical supplies and pharmaceuticals, 30 percent in radios . . ." (Dec. 31.)

Salisbury began to reply to administration denials in his Dec. 27 dispatch: "Describing the Yenvien attack [on Hanoi, Dec. 14], an American communiqué said the target was rail yards. Some bombs certainly fell along the railroad. But there are large numbers of apartment houses close by, and one after another was blasted out."

His Own Eyes

The next day, Salisbury noted that "all casualty estimates and statistics in these dispatches are those of north Vietnamese officials. However, descriptions of bomb damage are based wholly on visual inspection.

"As far as this correspondent is aware, there has been no censorship of his dispatches although they are read by north Vietnamese officials before being transmitted. A number of photographs have been taken by this correspondent, and these must be cleared by officials before they can be mailed or otherwise transmitted." Some of these photographs were subsequently carried by the *New York Times*.

On Dec. 30, Salisbury refuted the Pentagon's denial of bombing other than military targets in Namdinh. First Salisbury relates that the major textile plant which he visited had been running and was not making war products. Have the other smaller industries been converted into war plants?

"This correspondent cannot say. He saw intensive destruction of civilian housing and ordinary business streets in considerable areas — damage so severe that whole blocks have been aban-

doned. These areas lie largely but not entirely in the vicinity of the textile plant. There is severe damage all over town.

"The bombed areas of Namdinh possess an appearance familiar to anyone who saw blitzed London, devastated Berlin and Warsaw, or smashed Soviet cities like Stalingrad and Kharkov. The effects of bombing at ground level seem to have changed little since World War II."

Salisbury then takes up the question of the bombing of dikes near Namdinh which he reported in an earlier article. U.S. officials denied bombing of the dikes. "The Namdinh officials think the attacks were deliberate. The dikes are in the open area outside the city with no recognizable targets in the surrounding landscape, at least at this time.

Importance of Dikes

"In any event officials take the view that the Americans will breach the dikes and are expending tens of thousands of man-hours building emergency supplementary dikes, which snake through the city itself, as well as massive secondary reinforcing earthworks outside the city.

"The question of dikes is a question of life and death in this Red River delta. In the high-water season Hanoi lies possibly 20 feet below river level and most of the countryside would be inundated, with the ruin of crops and enormous loss of life should the dikes be blasted.

"Vivid in north Vietnamese memories is the 1945 flood, when the dikes burst partly as a result of Japanese action. In the resulting disaster of flood, crop failure, and famine, it is estimated 1.5 million to 2 million lives were lost."

And in a second dispatch dated Dec. 30, Salisbury discusses government censorship of his news coverage again. "All film must be developed here for inspection by military authorities. No photos taken by this correspondent have been held up so far . . . Permission to take a picture has been refused only once — by the director of a textile factory who did not want photos of his girls working at their looms."

U. S. Gas Attack

"HONG KONG, Thursday, Dec. 29 (Reuters) — United States planes dumped gas canisters on a south Vietnamese village in Tay Ninh Province on Dec. 16 and 17, the north Vietnamese press agency said today. Many people died instantly and peasants who were out harvesting in the fields were 'intoxicated' by clouds of yellowish smoke, it said."