

SPECIAL ISSUE: the war in indochina

**THE
FREE VENCE**

BEACHHEAD

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FREE TO VENICE RESIDENTS

Grow up strong, grow quick my children
Built sound like stone, honed keen by hunger
Grow quick my son and daughter
Quick now, hurry
Your strength is the only roof
That can shelter my dying

Trien Vu



On this land
Where each blade of grass
Is human hair
Each foot of soil
Is human flesh
Where it rains blood
Life must flower

Ngo Vinh Long



KNOW

YOUR

ENEMY

OPERATION TOTAL VICTORY

The following article is a condensation of the pamphlet *Operation Total Victory*: February, 1971, Third Edition, published by the Pacific Studies Center, a non-profit cooperative research organization. Written before the failure of the Laos expedition, the pamphlet sets out a detailed analysis of the course the Doctor Strangeloves in the Pentagon and White House might take in case of such a military fiasco as indeed took place. For the complete pamphlet (available in bulk), as well as other literature, write Pacific Studies Center, 1963 University Avenue, East Palo Alto, Calif. 94303.

The allied invasion of Laos begins the most critical phase of the war. If the invasion fails it may well become a rout of the Saigon forces—it may be the last stop before the ultimate technological solution to the collapse of the 25-year effort to win over the people of Vietnam to the American order: nuclear attack. The key to the present crisis lies in the deteriorating political and military situation of the U.S. throughout Indochina.

VIETNAM

Although there had been relatively little ground combat in South Vietnam prior to the invasion, the political situation is rapidly deteriorating for the U.S. and for Thieu and Ky. The urban opposition to the U.S., led by the radical, powerful Student Union, is gaining tremendous support from almost all urban groups and classes (even Catholic refugees from North Vietnam) for their demands for total withdrawal of all U.S. personnel from Vietnam, for withdrawal of U.S. support for Thieu and Ky, and for immediate negotiations with the National Liberation Front.

NLF strategy, it appears, has been to return to small-scale guerrilla warfare and to intensive political work, rather than large-scale military operations which increasingly face mainly air power. The *New York Times*, 27 December, 1970, reported that officials say many NLF cadres "have been instructed to 'legalize'—to obtain legal identification papers, work among recognized political and labor groups and even run for office."

The U.S. attempt to destroy the cadre infrastructure of the NLF with "Operation Phoenix"—aimed at assassinating 20,000 NLF cadres per year—has failed (*New York Times*, 27 December, 1970). Meanwhile, the *New York Times* reported on October 19 that a CIA study has provided evidence that at least 30,000 NLF agents had infiltrated the South Vietnamese government "in an apparatus which has been virtually impossible to destroy."

The million-man South Vietnamese Army which the U.S. was to have "built up" in the last two years, is the most unstable and dangerous force in South Vietnam, according to Vietnam observer Francis Fitzgerald: "Led by a corrupt and demoralized officer corps and dependent on foreign support, it behaves no better than an undisciplined group of mercenaries, terrorizing the population it is meant to protect." The desertion rate is reportedly 15% per year (12,000 per month, *New York Times*, 26 January, 1971).

CAMBODIA

The failure of Nixon's "Vietnamization" was dramatically demonstrated by the Cambodian Liberation Army attack on Phnom Penh's Pochentong Airport January 22. Fifty men, aided by local villagers and airport personnel, destroyed 95% of the Cambodian Air Force. More significantly, the bombings of key installations within the city were reportedly carried out by a clandestine network within the city (*Le Monde*, 29 January, 1971). Thus, not only is more than half the country and possibly 2/3 of the population (Burchett, *Guardian*, 30 January, 1971) in the hands of the National United Front, and the rest of the countryside only under nominal control of the U.S.-backed Lon Nol regime, but even the capital is insecure from both external and internal attacks. The Cambodian guerrillas have increased from 3,000 before the coup [which replaced Prince Sihanouk with right-wing generals] to a reported 115,000 guerrillas (*Time*, 8 February), who are backed by possibly 35,000 North Vietnamese and NLF guerrillas. Even though the NUF launched the daring attack on Phnom Penh, Sihanouk said last November that the capital will be the last place to be liberated because it would give Nixon the excuse to escalate the war in Cambodia (*Le Monde*, 4 November, 1970).

LAOS

In Laos, the CIA mercenary army of Meo tribesmen is the only effective fighting force for the U.S. It is down from 70,000 men to 10-15,000, half of whom are CIA-imported Thai mercenaries. Now the average age of the Meo recruits is fifteen, and many of the units are apparently considering defecting to the Pathet Lao.

Increasingly only an air war, the U.S. war in northern Laos is losing. Now with the invasion of Southern Laos, the Pathet Lao in the north, backed by the North Vietnamese, have overrun the forward American city-base of Muong Soui and threaten to take the two major CIA bases in Laos, Sam Thong and Long Cheng. If these bases are overrun, the only forces left for the U.S. in the north will be the Royal Lao Government troops, a rag-tag army which rarely fights but rather runs opium and pilfers the American aid. (Prior to the invasion, there were at most 5,000 North Vietnamese combat troops fighting with the 50,000 Pathet Lao guerrillas.)

The Royal Lao Government has as little say in foreign affairs as domestic. The *New York Times* reported on February 2, 1971, that "In Vientiane, Laos, a military spokesman repeated his country's opposition to any incursion [of U.S. or Saigon troops into Laos] but indicated that Laotian troops were in no position to do anything if one should take place." And as so often in the past in Vietnam, a potential peace settlement (in this case between the Royal Lao Government and the Pathet Lao) which appeared hopeful in the middle of January (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 23 January, 1971) has been sabotaged by a U.S. escalation.

But "neutralist" Prince Souvanna Phouma's capitulation to the U.S. may not be enough. There are rumors in

Vientiane, the capital, of a pending right-wing coup against him. *Far Eastern Economic Review*, February 6, 1971, commented: "It is difficult to see how the neutralist Souvanna Phouma could maintain his credibility or his position in the face of a South Vietnamese invasion. He might well have to give way to the rightist opponents who would probably be more than keen to join Thieu and Lon Nol in the creation of a common Indochina-wide anti-communist front."

OPERATION DEWEY CANYON II

The invasion of Laos is part of Nixon's overall strategy to "win" the war. Nixon's top advisor, Henry Kissinger, wrote a key article in *Foreign Affairs*, June, 1969. "Hanoi's strength," wrote Kissinger, "is that it is fighting among its own people in familiar territory... Not surprisingly, Hanoi has shown superior grasp of the local situation and a greater capacity to design military operations for political ends." But Hanoi's "superior planning can substitute for material resources only up to a point... We are so powerful that Hanoi is simply unable to defeat us militarily... Since it cannot force our withdrawal, it must negotiate about it... Unfortunately, our military strength has no political corollary; we have been unable so far to create a political structure that could survive military opposition from Hanoi after we withdraw."

The failure to win in the political sphere, the recurring resort to technological solutions—this has been the pattern of Washington's imperial war effort in Vietnam. First, military advisors were supplied; then "strategic hamlets" were constructed; then a full-scale invasion was mounted; and when that failed to win the countryside, Washington turned to a nightmare assault of terror and devastation, precipitating a massive exodus of the peasant population to the urban centers. Professor Samuel P. Huntington, a Harvard colleague of Kissinger and an important policy advisor, called this flight from terror "forced urbanization," and in it he saw a neat solution to the impasse which Kissinger has described. Huntington said that the proportion of the population under Saigon's (nominal) control had risen dramatically in the three years since the massive American commitment of men and arms in 1965. "This change, however, has been largely, if not exclusively, the result of the movement of the population into the cities rather than the extension of the Government's control into the countryside." (The South Vietnamese urban population has risen from 15% of the population to 50-60% in the last six years.)

As long as forced-draft urbanization continues to drain the countryside, Huntington continues, "time in South Vietnam is increasingly on the side of the Government. But in the short run, with half the population still in the countryside, the Viet Cong will remain a powerful force which cannot be dislodged from its constituency so long as the constituency continues to exist." The logic of Huntington's position, as Noam Chomsky has observed, is that "to crush people's war, we must eliminate the people." [See box on refugees]

CONCLUSION

If and when the U.S. invasion of Laos fails, Nixon will be forced again to escalate or de-escalate. Nixon could resume the full-scale bombing of North Vietnam... The North Vietnamese, for the first time in the history of the war, have publicly indicated their apprehension that Nixon is planning to invade North Vietnam—an escalation that seems even more suicidal for the U.S. than the Laos venture. An ominous alternative at that point would be for Nixon to resort to the use of nuclear weapons. He could, for example, use tactical nuclear weapons on the ["Ho Chi Minh"] Trail and under the DMZ to isolate the NLF permanently with a radioactive barrier. Burchett suggests that the recently announced (*New York Times*, January 11, 1971) Saigon plan to move 200,000 to 1,000,000 peasants (some of the most recalcitrant NLF peasants) from northernmost South Vietnam to the south could be to create an "evacuated" zone for nuclear contamination beneath the DMZ (*Guardian*, January 23). Such an escalation would be consistent with the Vietnamization-urbanization strategy. Recently there have been a number of indications that this is in fact an alternative increasingly likely to be tried as the U.S. political foothold in Vietnam becomes smaller and smaller and its military options fewer and fewer.

A recent article in the *New York Times* may be a "trial balloon" to test reaction and to prepare the way for public acceptance of tactical nuclear weapons. C.L. Sulzberger wrote on November 15—a week before the raids on North Vietnam—that "Limited commitment to conventional defense is seen as increasingly outmoded and yet total warfare is a dreadful absurdity... Consequently, the search focuses on a third solution—between impossible nuclear disaster and unsuccessful conventional warfare. The answer may well lie in the field of truly tactical atomic weapons."

Two weeks before Sulzberger's advocacy of a "third solution," the *New York Times* ran an article on atomic land mines (recently developed for NATO), whose uses seem rather more appropriate for severing North from South Vietnam: "The atomic land mines could block a mountain pass against attacking forces by contaminating the areas with nuclear fallout and by caving in earth and rocks from the heights... in sparsely populated areas with relatively few avenues of invasion, atomic land mines could be an effective weapon."

That the United States is now on the brink of using nuclear weapons in Vietnam is no more an occasion for wonder than that it has already crossed the threshold of systematic war crimes as defined by its own Nuremberg Tribunal. Imperial war tends by nature to become genocidal war because it lacks the popular base and *raison d'être* of more conventional conflicts. Powerless to win support among the Vietnamese and unable to garner the necessary troops from their own increasingly disaffected people, the captains of the American empire must inevitably resort to ever more powerful technologies of destruction to stave off equally inevitable defeat.

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13 WAYS OF LOOKING AT A BLASTBIRD by John Haag

After the poem by Wallace Stevens, "13 Ways of Looking at a Blackbird"

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>I Among twenty darkened buildings,
the only moving thing
was the tail of the blastbird.</p> <p>II I was of three minds,
like a site
on which there are three blastbirds.</p> <p>III The blastbird arc-ed on its programed flight.
It was a small part of the total scheme.</p> <p>IV A man and a foe-man
are one.
A man and a foe-man and a blastbird
are one.</p> <p>V I do not know which to abjure,
the elegant conceptions
or the arrogant consumations,
the blastbird lifting
or just after.</p> <p>VI Grid-designs squared the round view-screen
with insistent plan.
The stardust of the blastbird
crossed it, to and fro.
The mood
traced in the image
a near imaginable woe.</p> <p>VII O spare men of Princeton,
why do you imagine stellar birds?
Do you not see how the blastbird</p> | <p>broods beneath the feet
of the women about you?</p> <p>VIII I know neat equations
and perfect, unimpeachable blue-prints;
but I know, too,
that the blastbird is implied
in what I know.</p> <p>IX When the blastbird rose out of sight,
it marked the end
of one of many eras.</p> <p>X At the sight of blastbirds
flocking to a thrown switch,
even the corps of diplomats
would look back wildly.</p> <p>XI He flew over Connecticut
in a jet plane.
Once, a fear pierced him,
in that he mistook
the pattern of his squadrom-mates
for blastbirds.</p> <p>XII The stars are receding.
The blastbird must go searching.</p> <p>XIII It meant profits all down the line.
Stocks were rising
and would continue to rise.
The blastbird sat
in the cotton fields.</p> |
|--|--|

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THE SPOILS OF VICTORY

Is Nixon's continued search for a military victory in Indochina being spurred by the recent successes in the search for oil off the South Vietnamese and Cambodian coasts?

Currently, sixteen American oil companies, along with two Japanese firms and one Canadian company, expect to begin negotiations with the Thieu-Ky regime for seventeen major oil concessions.

Many American statesmen and businessmen have long thought of Southeast Asia as a treasure chest of raw materials. "One of the world's richest areas is open to the winner in Indochina," wrote *U.S. News and World Report* just before the fall of Dienbienphu, on April 16, 1954. "Tin, rubber, rice, key strategic raw materials are what the war is really about. The U.S. sees it as a place to hold—at any cost."

Speaking in Boston in 1965, LBJ's ambassador to Vietnam, Henry Cabot Lodge, extended that analysis: "He who holds or has influence in Vietnam can affect the future of the Philippines and Formosa to the east, Thailand and Burma with their huge rice surpluses to the west, and Malaysia and Indonesia with their rubber, oil, and tin to the south. Vietnam thus does not exist in a geographical vacuum—from its large storehouses of wealth and population can be influenced and undermined."

American interests in Southeast Asian oil dates back to John D. Rockefeller's 1911 entry into the rich fields of the old Dutch East Indies. Competition with the U.S. for control of the Indies' oil was a major reason for Japan's strike at Pearl Harbor and its subsequent invasion of Indonesia.

THE COST OF THE WAR

According to the U.S. Senate Sub-Committee on Refugees, 6,000,000 people in South Vietnam have been displaced since 1964. Eight million people, out of a population that numbered approximately 17,000,000, have been killed, wounded, maimed, displaced, or rendered wards of the state since the start of the war.

The bombing of Cambodia has already "generated" more than a million refugees out of a population of 7,000,000. (The population of Phnom Penh alone has swollen from 600,000 to nearly 2 million.)

The subcommittee reports that 200,000 have been killed by U.S. bombing raids in Laos, leaving 700,000 to 800,000 homeless refugees.

What frightens the major international oil companies is the prospect of an independent Southeast Asia, developing its own resources for the needs of its own people. As Southeast Asia's important natural resources include not only oil, but also tin, tungsten, iron, bauxite, copper, nickel, and rubber, Southeast Asian development is not only possible, but likely, if current independence movements achieve victory.

But America's great oil families, who stand to lose most if Southeast Asian oil comes under Southeast Asian control, have a strong ally in the White House. The Mellons (Gulf Oil), the Rockefellers (who have large interests in all companies that grew out of the Standard Oil trust), and other oil families contributed some \$600,000 to Nixon's 1968 presidential campaign. They need only remind him that his political fortunes rest upon the continued expansion of American corporate capitalism—an expansion fueled by Asian oil and Asian oil revenues.

WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

FROM A VENICE DELEGATE

by Judy Goldberg

America's longest war entered its second decade this year and most of us have successfully been able to put it out of our minds. Somehow the war is just an abstraction talked about in terms of "body count," and no matter how devastating the figures are, it still doesn't seem real. The anti-war movement appears to have fizzled out and we're all bored with, and frustrated by, demonstrations.

But for approximately 700 women from the western part of Canada and the U.S. the war came a little closer to home and became a little more real. On April 1st there was a women's anti-war conference in Vancouver, where we met with 6 women from Indochina—two from North Vietnam, two from South Vietnam and two from Laos.



In the course of the conference we saw films and slides showing the incredible suffering our government has inflicted on their people. Over and over again we heard them reiterate that the people's war is winning, with almost all of the people of Indochina determined to drive out the American invading army.

The part of the conference that will stay with me the longest is reprinted in this issue of the *Beachhead*. It is just one of the many personal stories to come out of a war-torn country that hasn't seen peace for longer than any of us has been alive. I think I will never forget the face of Dinh Thi Huong when she recounted the horrors, or the faces of all the delegates. Dinh Thi Huong's strength, her courage and determination will live with me forever.

Inbetween our meetings with the Indochinese we had a chance to meet among ourselves to compare notes about what's happening in our various communities. Two things came out of this: 1) we were better able to assess the overall trends of the women's movement, and 2) it became obvious to us that there is a great need for a communications network and a unified women's anti-imperialist, anti-war movement. This became painfully clear to us after hours of ugly screaming sessions with a group that obviously came to disrupt the conference and to splinter the already disjointed movement to suit their own political ends. We learned some good lessons from this conference and will hopefully apply them in planning our next one—a women's conference to organize a broad-based and unified women's movement to deal with the war. I hope that other delegates like myself coming back from Vancouver will be able to inject the anti-war movement with some renewed spirit. Anyone interested in working on this new conference can call me, Judy, at 821-2889.

POW'S

THE BIG LIE

Was created by the Joe Hill Collective and reprinted in this issue of the *BEACHHEAD* with their permission. Much thanks, love, & warmth.

THE STORY OF DINH THI HUONG

The story of Dinh Thi Huong of South Vietnam is not such a pleasant one. Mrs. Huong has spent almost 6 years in the infamous tiger cages of South Vietnam. Her story is shocking, and at the same time inspiring.

I am a housewife. My parents died and my husband also. I have a 19-year-old daughter. One of my elder sisters was killed by a shell. The other is working in the Women's Union for the Liberation of South Vietnam [as is Mrs. Huong herself]. My younger brother teaches in the liberated zones.

My daughter is in jail now, for the fourth time. The first time was when she was 13. She has suffered many tortures. She was released the first time after 11 months.

The second time she was detained in a prison which was broken open by liberation forces, and so she was freed. The third time she was kept four months. The fourth time was in 1970. She is still there.

I myself was arrested in November, 1955 and released in April, 1961. I have been in prisons throughout South Vietnam, but most of my time was in four big prisons: Quy Nhon, Con Son, Thu Duc, and Phu Loi.

I was in Quy Nhon for 16 months. There I was tortured many times. They put pins under my fingernails, and hit them with wooden sticks. When they did this I was very painful.

They put electrodes to my ears, my fingers, my nipples, and my genitals. Once they tortured me until I became unconscious and left me in the room until I recovered.

They would force water mixed with salt and lime into my stomach and then they would jump on my stomach until I vomited blood. This was the water torture.

They also tied my hands behind my back and hung me in the cell. I would become unconscious and pass water and relieve myself in pain.

My body became black and blue, and I was paralyzed until six months after the torturing was ended.

I was kept in a narrow cell 3 meters long and 1 1/2 meters wide [10 feet by five feet]. Fifteen to 32 people shared my cell at different times. There were both men and women. We were all naked.

We had to eat, pass water and relieve ourselves in the same cell. I was allowed no bath in the prison although I was there over a year. My hair was very long then and dirty and covered with blood from the tortures.

We were fed rice only, sometimes with salt. Sometimes we had no food for three days running. Every day some of the prisoners in Quy Nhon would die.

One day five people died in my cell. They died at 5 a.m. but they were not taken out until 11 a.m. Most of the people who shared my cell later died. Few of the prisoners there survived. We called the prison a hell on earth. . . . The strongest men became sick after only a few days of the tortures. Many of my friends are surprised that I survived.

Con Son prison was on an island. I was kept there for 13 months in a cave lined with stones. It was 2 1/2 meters long and 1 1/2 meters wide [around 8 feet by 5 feet]. The cave was painted black and had two small holes. There were at different times from 15 to 22 prisoners there.

I was 17 months in Thu Duc, which is on the mainland. There were 17 prisoners with me, all naked, in a small cell. We were kept tied at all times.

We were allowed only one piece of clothing and no baths. When the women were menstruating they were given no rag or bath to keep clean with.

I was 15 months in Phu Loi. Here I was tortured with electricity in the same way as in Quy Nhon. They tortured me until I was unconscious. No aid was allowed.

They also hung me naked from the cell by my arms and called others to see. They also forced water and salt into my stomach and jumped on it to make me vomit.

In the cell, my hands and legs were tied. Even my mouth was shackled. There was a piece of metal around it. They would beat me and torture me when they pleased.

Before I was released I was put in a ward with other women, 500 in all. There were three old women, 70, 73 and 75 years old. The oldest two were religious, so they were suspected of aiding the peace movement [Note: the Buddhists of South Vietnam actively oppose the Thieu-Ky regime].

There were also 6 children, from newly born to five years of age. They had many diseases and they were all skin and bones. Many died there of suffocation from the lack of air.

I was released in April, 1961 after they found me not guilty. I had been arrested because they had suspected me to be a member of the anti-American patriotic association.

They tortured me so I would admit my guilt, but I was innocent. They also tried to force me to salute the Saigon flag and shout slogans in favor of the puppet government. But I refused, because of what the flag represented.

I was so sick from time to time that I would cough up blood. Before I was arrested I weighed 49 kilograms [108 lbs.]. I weighed 34 kilograms when I was released [78 lbs.].

They released me in hopes my example would scare my village. When I was freed, my village gave me good care, and I went through many hospitals. I am better now, but my health has never recovered from what it was before my arrest. [Note: years later, her face still seems worn and drawn.]

Before my arrest, I was not very involved in the struggle. But after my release I decided to join my people to fight against the Americans and puppets.

Mrs. Huong charged that the so-called "Vietnamization" policy of the Nixon government is based on attempts to frighten the people of South Vietnam into submission to Ky's regime.

As an example of the swift growth of prisons during the "Vietnamization" period [still continuing], she cited Cay Dua prison on Phu Quoc island. In early 1967, Cay Dua had 2,000 inmates, but by October of 1970, the number of inmates had risen to 28,000.

Said Mrs. Huong, after finishing her story, "The more barbarous the army is, the stronger the struggle of the people.

"Many women who are innocent when they were arrested become active in the revolution after their release."

POWs - THE BIG LIE

Lately there has been a lot of publicity about Americans held prisoner of war in North Vietnam. With Nixon escalating the war in the face of great public opposition, the P.O.W. issue has become more than just humanitarianism or concern for our boys. It has become a "big lie"-- a campaign to confuse and scare us about the war and our "enemy". This pamphlet is being published to give you other facts and views on the P.O.W.'s and some ideas on how we can bring them and all the boys home by ending the war.



This picture, distributed by "Concern For P.O.W.'s Inc." is a fake. It was produced in Washington by H. Ross Perot using an actor and props.

1. WHO IS BEHIND THIS "CONCERN FOR P.O.W.'S" CAMPAIGN?

Military and CIA men, among others. The POW campaign claims to be "non-political." But the father of Carol Hanson (she's one of the campaign leaders) trained CIA agents like Gary Powers for U-2 flights (*Santa Ana Register*, 1/30/71). It's no surprise, then, that Powers himself is now an active supporter of the campaign. In San Diego, a leader of the "Concern" campaign is the son of the American Commander in the Pacific, Admiral John S. McCain. Another big "humanitarian" is H. Ross Perot, a billionaire supporter of Nixon, who has organized trips of POW wives and families all over the world, deliberately raising their hopes and frustrations without any way of helping them- only to get publicity.

2. DO ALL RETURNED P.O.W.'S TELL STORIES OF "TORTURE" AND "BRUTALITY"?

No. The horror stories come mainly from one man, Lt. R.F. Frishman. While in Vietnam he said he was treated well. (See article inside.) But he was "debriefed" for two weeks after being released, and now tells stories about being kept in a hot room with mosquitoes, the way the Vietnamese live. He talks about "poor medical treatment", even though he was given an elaborate and expensive elbow operation by the Vietnamese.

3. WHY DON'T THE OTHER RELEASED P.O.W.'S TELL GOOD THINGS ABOUT THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT OR THE NORTH VIETNAMESE?

Some have tried. Michael McClure and George Smith, former prisoners of the N.L.F. said after their release that they were well-treated. "The United States has nothing to gain from the war in Vietnam, for the Vietcong are the people." The Army charged them with aiding the enemy (punishable by death) and kept them totally isolated for months on Okinawa. Finally, the charges were dropped for lack of evidence (*New York Times*, 12/1/65). Eight POW's besides Frishman have been released by the North Vietnamese, and most have been ordered by the Pentagon to keep silent- they wouldn't make the claims about torture. Jon M. Van Dyke, a former State Department employee, interviewed Joe V. Carpenter, one of those released in 1968. He wrote, "Carpenter said he had not been tortured. 'In general,' he stated, 'My treatment was good.' When asked why the Defense Department would not allow him to speak freely even after the press conference, Carpenter responded, 'It's all part of a plan.'" ("Were They Tortured?", *The Nation*, October 6, 1969) Only "stars" like Frishman get the honors, paycheck, and permission to speak, while the others are muzzled and threatened with courtmartial.

4. HAVE THE NORTH VIETNAMESE VIOLATED THE GENEVA CONVENTIONS?

On one point- they haven't allowed total inspection of their camps, since they know Nixon will use that information for commando-type raids, like the flop at Son Tay. Individual instances of mistreatment may have occurred. But, in general, the treatment is humane- as documented by many non-communist Western reporters- especially when compared with U.S. Army treatment of its prisoners. Recently, Americans saw a televised Christmas interview with nine POW's; they said they were well-treated and looked it. (*New York Times*, 12/28/70)

5. HOW DOES THE U.S. MILITARY TREAT ITS PRISONERS?

Compared to the few hundred held in North Vietnam- for bombing the country without even a declaration of war- the U.S. military turned over *hundreds of thousands* of "VC suspects" to the Saigon forces. Most of these are routinely tortured and killed. Recently the horror of the Con Son "Tiger Cages" were exposed (*Life*, 7/17/70). Turning prisoners over to the Saigon forces is itself a violation of the Geneva Conventions. With over two hundred thousand prisoners *now* in South Vietnam, the U.S. government has constantly violated both the letter and the spirit of the Conventions. And let's not forget the hundreds of Marines and GI's in stockades and brigs in Vietnam and elsewhere- put there for the "crime" of resisting Nixon's war propaganda. (See article *Con Son Tiger Cages*, pg. 3)

6. DO ALL PRISONERS' WIVES SUPPORT THE LETTER WRITING CAMPAIGN?

The fact is that many, if not most, of the wives are strongly against the war and favor setting a time-table and getting out. This is not strange, since that's the attitude of most Americans, including GI's returning from Vietnam.

Mrs. Lynn Glenn, 25, wife of Navy Lieutenant Daniel Glenn, who was captured in December, 1966, has said, "Airmen- my husband included- have bombed schools, maimed women, killed children."

Says Mrs. Frankie Ford of Orange Park, Fla., "If it's true that they will not be released until the U.S. gets out, then why don't they set a date and get out now? This war cannot be successful. Why should one more man die on the battlefield or in the prisons?" (Quotes from *Time*, 12/7/70) Is Nixon using the POW issue?

7. IS NIXON USING THE P.O.W. ISSUE?

From 1965, when the bombing of North Vietnam began, to 1968, when Nixon took office, not much was heard concerning the prisoners. Early reports gave a favorable picture of prisoner conditions in North Vietnam. (See article *Treatment in North Vietnam*, pg. 2)

When Nixon took office, things changed. A barrage of stories started coming out of Washington. "Nixon directed his top officials to speak out on the subject [POW's] at every opportunity." (*Time*, 12/7/70)

Did the conditions of U.S. prisoners suddenly worsen? Was new information available? According to the *Christian Science Monitor*, Nixon had a plan: to embarrass Hanoi with a propaganda barrage on the prisoner of war issue. As the *Monitor* put it, "The U.S. sought to put Hanoi dramatically in the wrong before world opinion on a sensitive issue like that of the prisoners... It is assumed that the whole prisoner issue is troublesome for Hanoi." (11/27/70)

They claim their campaign is a simple "non-political", "humanitarian" project- but, then why aren't they concerned about the U.S.'s and Saigon's prisoners being killed and brutally treated, or all of our brothers who are "prisoners of war" kept on the battlefields and in the stockades by the same politicians and generals?

'Airmen - my husband included -



have bombed schools, maimed women, killed children.'

8. WHAT'S WRONG WITH "TELLING IT TO HANOI"?

(1) This creates a climate of hostility which makes peace negotiations harder- especially after the peace proposals made by the N.L.F. at the Paris talks in October, 1970. Nixon and his friends in the "non-political" POW campaign want to hide this from the American people.

(2) It floods Hanoi's limited mail facilities, making it hard for mail from POW families to get through.

(3) It serves as a smokescreen for Nixon's continued escalation of the war in Indochina. After all, Johnson won by being for "peace" in '64, and then Nixon in '68 because he supposedly had a "peace plan." Now that the generals and politicians who want to keep the war going have played out their cards and can't defend themselves politically, they are trying to fall back on the old "big lie" technique which they've used to fool people before. Remember the phony stories of Vietnamese "aggression" and U.S. "victories" in the Tonkin Gulf, Khe Sanh, Hamburger Hill, Cambodia, and Son Tay? Or how for five years now the war has supposedly been "almost over"?

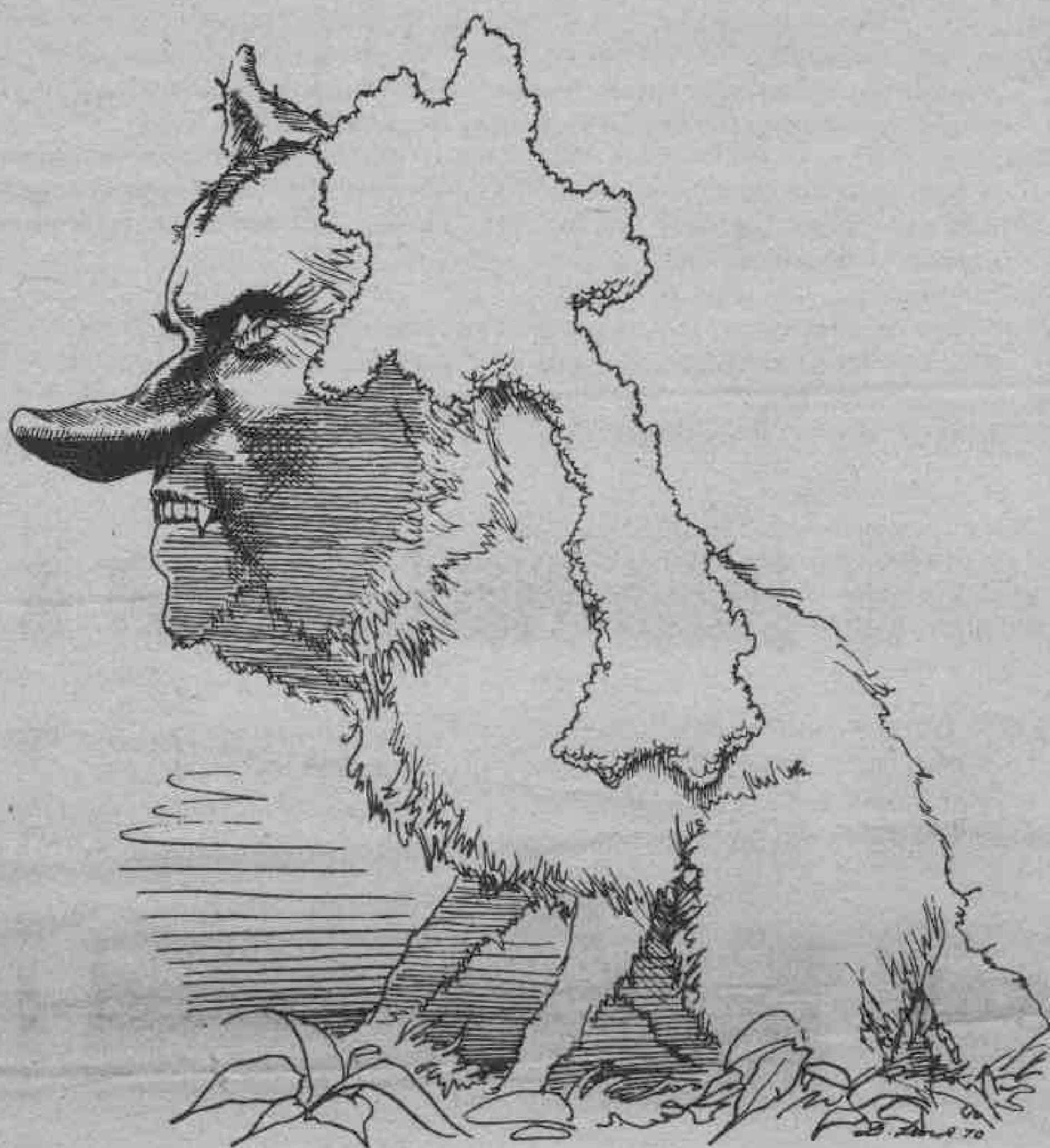
(4) The campaign places the burden of guilt on North Vietnam, for shooting down and detaining the men who have practically destroyed their country- flying raids without a declaration of war, while we have been kept in the dark. It's those who sent them in the first place, who profit from and keep up the war, that are the guilty

facts and deceptions

As the Vietnam war has become increasingly unpopular in the US, Nixon has sought to gain support for continuing the war by manipulating one last issue, the POWs (Prisoners of War.) Over the past year, Nixon and other pro-war figures have launched a multi-billion dollar "public relations" campaign to convince Americans that US pilots captured in Vietnam are being treated barbarically.

"Public service" commercials, portraying the lonely men and playing on the emotions of POW families, have saturated the media. One spot features a child asking plaintively, "Mommy, will Daddy be home for Christmas?" Bumper stickers reading "Have a Heart, Hanoi," are widely distributed. Bell Telephone, in a 4 state area of the mid-west, sent out with its regular bill this month [December, 1970], a post-card to be sent to Hanoi, demanding information about the POWs. H. Ross Perot, a millionaire supporter of Nixon, has organized trips of POWs wives and families over the world.

Nixon has no intention of becoming the first US president to lose a war. In order to escalate the war, Nixon must arouse more emotional support for his policies and more hate towards the Vietnamese people. By focusing public attention on the North Vietnamese, he hopes to quiet criticism of his actions and failures. Because people in the US know little about the POWs, he has found that he can use this as a political tool for manipulating our emotions about the war.



How Nixon is using this issue became clear during the recent "raid" on a POW camp in North Vietnam. The raid was justified by Defense Secretary Melvin Laird as a response to the DRV's [North Vietnam's] release of names of POWs who were dead. According to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, however, the raid was planned in advance and the names used as an excuse for it.

Further, while the raid was supposedly to free prisoners, the government *that* *knew beforehand that the camp had been empty for three months. Clearly, this action was done, not out of concern for the men, but as a political maneuver.*

What are the facts and deceptions upon which the POW campaign is built? First, the numbers game. For several years up to June, 1970, it was generally agreed by the Pentagon and others that there were 1551 men lost in action in all of South east Asia. In October, Laird said 2,000; in November, it was 3,000 and on December 5, 1970, he said 5,000!

The US holds the DRV responsible for all 1551 (or is it 6,000) men lost in Southeast Asia, and the publicity on the issue implies that there has been no communication regarding these men. Over the past year, the North Vietnamese have released names of 339 men alive in their camps and 22 known to be dead. Even the Pentagon only claims that 780 pilots are missing over North Vietnam; it is reasonable to assume that most of the 400 not accounted for died when their planes were shot down. The remaining 720 men went down in Laos, Cambodia or South Vietnam. Yet, the US continues to act as if the DRV were responsible for these, rather than dealing with the autonomous liberation forces of these areas. By so doing, the US denies families the information that might be available on these men.

The POW publicity implies that the DRV prevents communication on this issue. In fact, the DRV initiated setting up the Committee of Liaison with Families of Servicemen Detained in North Vietnam, which has its office in New York City as a regular channel for information about and communication with prisoners. There have been over 2,500 letters received from POWs through the committee.

The men can send and receive 1 letter a month and receive a 6 lb. package every other month. Further, about 40 of the POWs have been visited and interviewed by the Western press in North Vietnam.

Perhaps the most insidious claim made by the US is that the DRV's treatment of prisoners is "barbaric", building up racist images of orientals as sub-humans. As we've already seen, most of the discussion of torture has been based on the testimony of one POW, Lt. Robert F. Frishman. (See article, *POWs- The Big Lie*, pg. 1)

The US government also distorts the situation by saying that Hanoi refuses to negotiate on this matter. First, this ignores the fact that nine men were released through the peace movement and the possibility was open for more such releases, but the US government did not respond to this initiative. Further, an exchange of prisoners has consistently been a point in the Vietnamese peace proposals; but this

point cannot be separated from the need to arrive at a plan for the withdrawal of US troops. Traditionally, prisoners are only exchanged after the terms for ending a war are settled. If some of the POWs have been there a "long time" it is because the US has been waging war on Vietnam for a long time.

Through this issue, the US is diverting attention away from the real atrocities committed by the US and the Thieu-Ky regime. For example, on December 3, the Chicago *Sun Times* and other papers reported that Saigon "riot police beat and tear-gassed more than 100 women prisoners and threw lye or acid on the group." Earlier this year, Vice President Agnew refused to see or receive a message from South Vietnamese (not NLF) mothers inquiring about the unknown fate of their 80 children in Con Son prison.

Clearly the Nixon government's interest in the POWs is political, not humanitarian. If it were humanitarian, why does it manipulate grieving families, increasing their anguish with unfounded stories of their torture and death and wild goose chases around the globe that it knows will build their frustrations? If it were humanitarian, why does it respond to the DRV's efforts to notify families of those who have died with retaliatory raids that endanger the possibility of families receiving more information? If it were humanitarian why is it not concerned with the fate of thousands of prisoners and innocent victims in the South? If it were humanitarian, why does it not end the war?

Before we can even hope to release the POWs and bring an end to US torture of Vietnam, we must see and expose this distorted hate campaign for what it is-- a strategy for prolonging the war.

--reprinted from *off our backs* December 31, 1970.

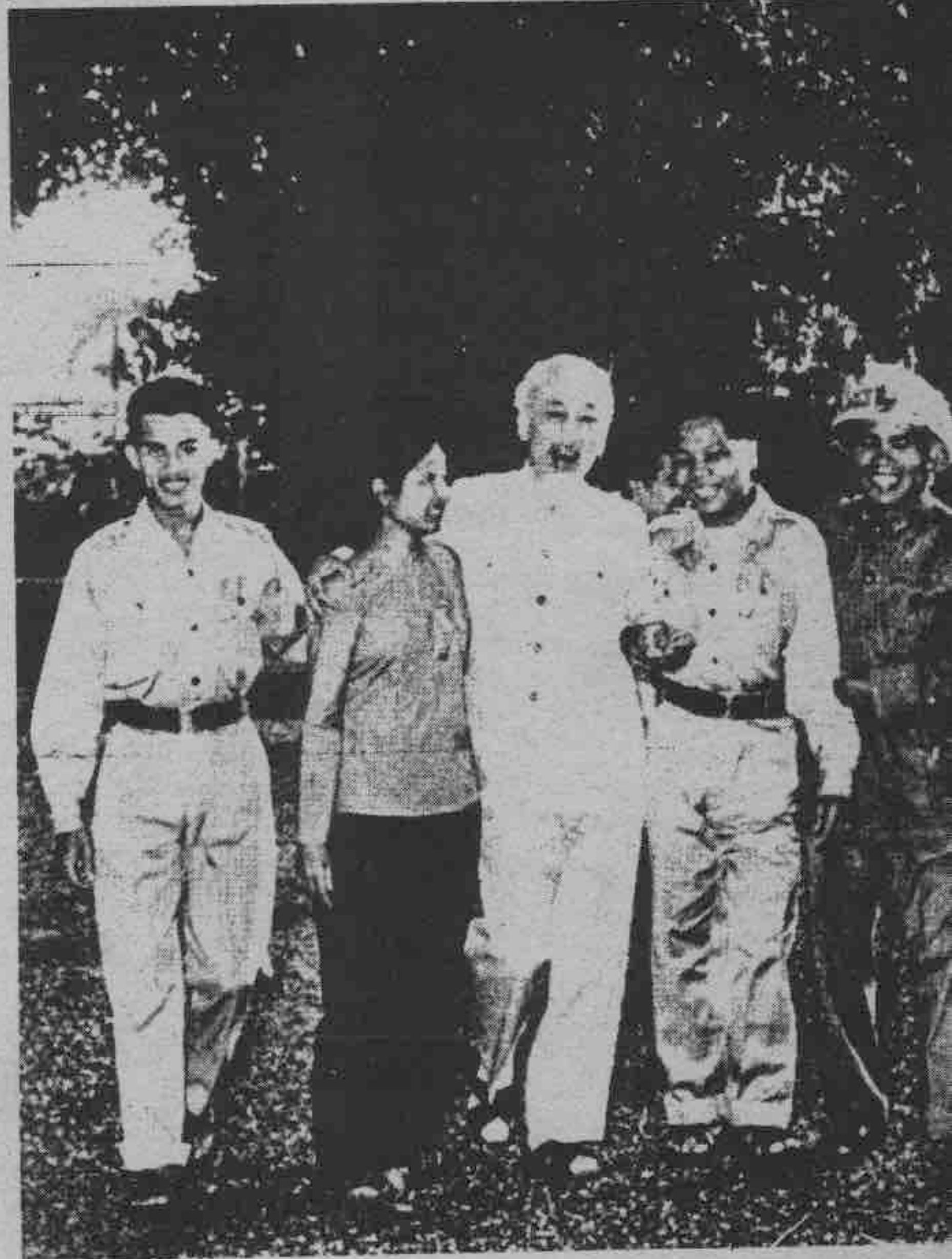
were they tortured ?

Contrary to what the Nixon administration would have us believe, most reporters have brought back favorable impressions about the conditions of prisoners in North Vietnam. And aside from the usual problems of being a prisoner anywhere in the world, the POWs have not given these reporters any evidence of brutality and mistreatment.

In the beginning of 1967, for instance, Rabbi Abraham L. Feinberg and Rev. A.J. Muste visited two captives in North Vietnam. These prisoners were unnamed, but it is known that one was a Captain from Florida and the other was a Lieutenant from Kansas. The Captain said, "I was ejected from the burning plane expecting to be killed or tortured, but instead...awakened in the care of a nurse."

The lieutenant had thought that the North Vietnamese "would bury him alive" but they had treated him "darn well." (*New York Times*, July 4, 1968)

Three pilots, Major James F. Low, Major Fred Neale Thompson and Captain Joe Victor Carpenter, were released by the North Vietnamese in 1968 (*New York Times*, August 5, 1968). Major Carpenter said, when asked about brainwashing, that he had not been subjected to any "psychological testing." Major Low told of the "active daily routine" of the prisoners that consisted mainly of meals and exercise periods. Major Thompson described the prison food as different from American foods, but said it was "substantial." He said he weighed the same as when captured. (*New York Times*, July 4, 1968.)



'There is a strong bond between the Vietnamese and American

Another flier who was interviewed in North Vietnam is Major Roger Dean Ingvalson, who made statements about the North Vietnamese people. He stated, "It was a marvelous experience. It allowed me to understand and appreciate the great spirit of sacrifice of this heroic people." He continued, "Toward the Vietnamese we have been wrong and unjust and ours has been a real aggression and a despicable one." (Look July 15, 1969)

Major James F. and Captain Joe Carpenter, who were both released in 1968, made statements at the ceremonies of their release in Hanoi. Major Low said, "When I return to the USA I will explain the attitudes of the Vietnamese people and their great determination in the fight for independence and unification of Vietnam against the US aggressors. I believe that the Vietnamese people want peace and I am certain that the US people want it too. We think we should work for such peace around the world." (New York Times, July 19, 1968)

Captain Carpenter also had strong feelings about the Vietnamese people. He stated, "My emotions this day are inexpressible by words. I owe this deep gratitude to the people and the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and to the general political department of the people's army. I have been able to observe the determination and unity of the Vietnamese people. I hope that by my efforts, upon my return home, I will be able to relay to the American people this feeling of determination.... There is a strong bond between the Vietnamese people and the American people stemming from the revolutions of both countries." (New York Times July 19, 1968)

con son tiger cages

"Representatives Augustus Hawkins and William Anderson visited Con Son (South Vietnam), accompanied by an aid, Tom Harking, and Don Luce, a Vietnamese-speaking social worker. They were given a tour of the model prison conditions.... The camp commandant did his best to keep the secret of the cages, but the visitors got through and entered two barracks-like buildings- each was clean and bare and had a catwalk overlooking a double row of heavy, crosshatched bars. As Harking took pictures, the visitors looked down into the tiger cages. Despite their findings, the official 70-page committee report had only eight lines on conditions in civilian prisons in Vietnam and made no reference to what the congressmen saw.

"Chief American adviser on Vietnamese law enforcement and prison technique is Frank E. ("Red") Walton, a former Los Angeles police officer who once commanded the Watts district. He visits Con Son regularly and, in a signed statement handed to the visitors on the way there, said the prison is 'a correctional institution worthy of higher rating than some prisons in the United States.' Later he told them, 'This place is more like a Boy Scout recreational camp.' After the cages were found, he said, 'You have no right to interfere in Vietnamese affairs. You aren't supposed to go poking your nose into doors that aren't your business.'"

"Beneath the bars crouched the prisoners. More than half of them were women, and one girl was only 15. The air was foul, the heat stupefying. The bars were crusted with lime, which the prisoners say the guards tip down on them as punishment, burning their eyes and choking their lungs. All the prisoners were sick: with TB, open sores, eye diseases and malnutrition. The sickest, Luce says, lay on the floor while others fanned them with odd bits of cloth. Few could stand- the result, the prisoners claimed, of being constantly shackled. One prisoner said they stole handfuls of grass to eat on the way back on the way back from beatings, and 'snared lizards, beetles and other insects and ate them alive, biting off and sharing pieces.'"

article and photo from Life, 7/17/70



What happened after the situation of the Con Son prisoners was exposed? A signed statement was smuggled out of Chi Hoa Prison, South Vietnam, telling of the "improvements" which were made for the people who had been in the "Tiger Cages":

"On August 3, they returned 108 of us to the mainland, including the seriously sick prisoners from the dispensary. On board the Con Son ship, many collapsed and vomited blood. They brought along 50 trustees to beat us. After some gunshots (because the women refused to be shackled) and after the repression, many of us fainted and coughed blood.

"After fifteen days back in Chi Hoa, we asked the manager-committee to solve our main demands such as allowing contacts between prisoners and their relatives and improving the prisoners' conditions. They promised to do these things, but afterwards left our demands unsolved. On August 8, Loi Nguyen Tan ordered the trustees to come into the cells and beat us with clubs, table legs, iron rods, and iron wheels. Only when blood had streamed enough did he order his puppets to stop."

And what happened to Don Luce, the man who led the Congressmen to the "Tiger Cages"?

"Soon after Con Son made worldwide headlines, Luce says his friends found themselves being followed to and from his home in Saigon. Several weeks before his South Vietnamese press credentials were due to expire, a government official told Luce they would not be renewed because he was no longer 'welcome' in Saigon....Luce's Vietnamese residence visa expires in February, and so far the embassy has shown no signs that it will help him to get a new one." (Newsweek, 11/23/70)

Is there any wonder why reporters hesitate to send home news from Vietnam which the government doesn't like? Or that after more than five years of coverups, "press blackouts," and lies about "pacification," "clearing out sanctuaries and supply lines," and "Vietnamization," hardly anybody takes seriously what the government and the big money media try to tell us?

In the negotiations to end the Korean War, the POW issue delayed a settlement for 18 months. During that time the UN forces suffered 140,000 casualties (including 9000 Americans killed.) The delay was due to a little publicized campaign of 're-education' in the camps, designed to bring about mass defections from 'communism' to the 'free world.' Today the US gov't. is waging the same campaign in Vietnam.



"You have to take them by surprise. You run a play and it fails. Then you turn around and call the same play again because they aren't expecting it."
—Pres. Nixon (quoted in Time, 12/7/70)

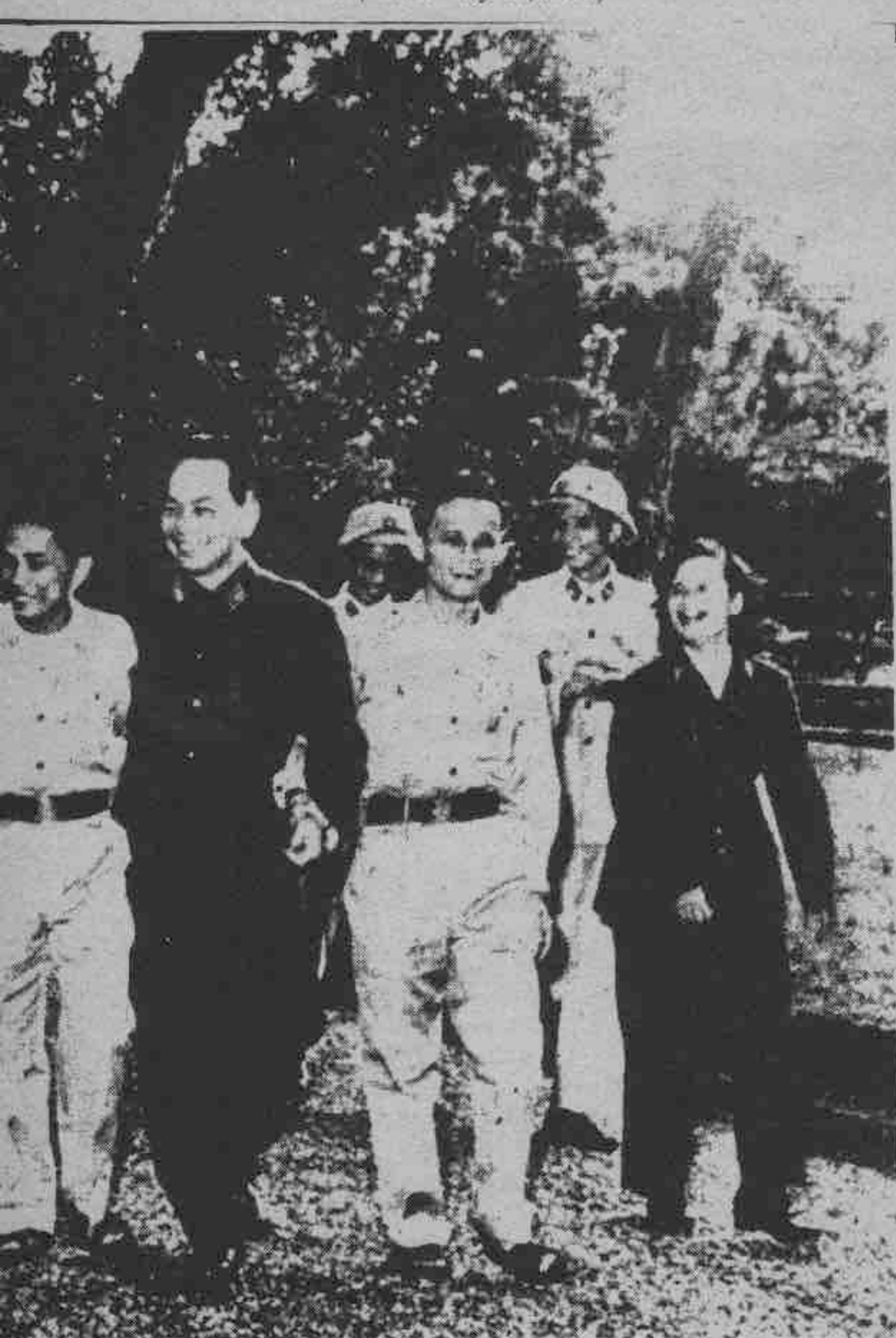
LT. FRISHMAN-- LIKE A MAN FULL OF SIN.'

And what about Lt. Robert Frishman, the man who has made the majority of the statements that tell of torture and brutality? The stories that he gave to newsmen, prior to his "debriefing," do not speak of torture or suffering. Instead, they speak of a man who expected the worst and got the best.

In an interview with Orianna Fallaci, Lt. Frishman said, "I was immediately surrounded by the villagers. They were terribly angry...And I thought, 'Now they are going to kill me.' They would have been right if they had, don't you think so? I had destroyed their village and brought them death and unhappiness. I felt like a man full of sin."

When asked how he was treated, Frishman responded, "Good! Real good... The meal is great...They give me plenty of food, and it is good. They couldn't treat me better."

About the war, he said, "I didn't know much about this war. Just what they told me: that North Vietnam was the aggressor against the South and that if the Americans didn't stop them...Now I know the truth. Now I know that the Americans were the aggressors in the South. There is no justification for that... About this fact, that this is a bad war, I have no doubts." (Look July 15, 1969)



people stemming from the revolutions of both countries'

peace with the vietnamese people



JOINT TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, SOUTH VIETNAM AND NORTH VIETNAM

PREAMBLE: Be it known that the American and Vietnamese people are not enemies. The war is carried out in the names of the people of the United States and South Vietnam but without our consent. It destroys the land and people of Vietnam. It drains America of its resources, its youth, and its honor.

We hereby agree to end the war on the following terms, so that both peoples can live under the joy of independence and can devote themselves to building a society based on human equality and respect for the earth. In rejecting the war we also reject all forms of racism and discrimination against people based on color, class, sex, national origin, and ethnic grouping which form the basis of the war policies, past and present, of the United States government.

TERMS OF THE PEACE TREATY

1. The Americans agree to immediate and total withdrawal from Vietnam, and publicly to set the date by which all U.S. military forces will be removed.
2. The Vietnamese pledge that as soon as the U.S. government publicly sets a date for total withdrawal: They will enter discussions to secure the release of all American prisoners, including pilots captured while bombing North Vietnam.
3. There will be an immediate cease-fire between U.S. forces and those led by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam.
4. They will enter discussions on the procedures to guarantee the safety of all withdrawing troops.
5. The Americans pledge to end the imposition of Thieu-Ky-Khiem on the people of South Vietnam in order to insure their right to self-determination and so that all political prisoners can be released.
6. The Vietnamese pledge to form a provisional revolutionary coalition to organize democratic elections. All parties agree to respect the results of elections in which all South Vietnamese can participate freely without the presence of any foreign troops.
7. The South Vietnamese pledge to enter discussion of procedures to guarantee the safety and political freedom of those South Vietnamese who have collaborated with the U.S. or with U.S.-supported regime.
8. The Americans and Vietnamese agree to respect the independence, peace and neutrality of Laos and Cambodia in accord with the 1954 and 1962 Geneva Conventions and not to interfere in the internal affairs of these two countries.
9. Upon these points of agreement, we pledge to end the war and resolve all other questions in the spirit of self-determination and mutual respect for the independence and political freedom of the people of Vietnam and the United States.

PLEDGE: By ratifying this agreement, we pledge to take whatever actions are appropriate to implement the terms of this joint Treaty and to insure its acceptance by the government of the United States.

I HEREWITH RATIFY THE PEOPLE'S PEACE TREATY:

NAME _____

PHONE _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ ZIP _____

**p.o. box 6204, King St Sta.
Santa Ana, Ca 92706**

THIS POW PAMPHLET WAS PREPARED BY MEMBERS AND FRIENDS OF
THE JOE HILL COLLECTIVE OF ORANGE COUNTY, CA.

Joe Hill was a revolutionary labor organizer who fought in the Mexican revolution of 1910 and as an IWW member took part in revolutionary activity around Southern California from 1910 to 1913. Hill was framed for murder by the state of Utah. Before he was shot by the firing squad his last words were--

DON'T MOURN, ORGANIZE

The present POW campaign overlooks the most basic fact about the war: both the majority of Americans and the majority of Vietnamese are against US involvement in Vietnam.

The Saigon regime is crumbling. It has been marked by one military coup after another. The last elections were such a fraud that the candidate who came in second for president is now in jail.

Prostitution and the black market are rampant in Saigon. Even with US aid, the Saigon government cannot control the country. Only 10% of Saigon's soldiers stay in the army long enough to fight.

On the other hand, since 1960, when President Eisenhower himself admitted it, there has been little doubt that the Hanoi government represents and serves the people of the North. And now in the South there is a Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) which claims to represent most of the people and countryside. The PRG has distributed the land to the peasants, set up schools and hospitals for people who have never had them before, and actually governs these "liberated territories." The US claims, of course, that the PRG rules its territories through the use of terror and force. But massive terror and force have not won South Vietnam for the Americans or the Saigon generals. The PRG exists and functions in the face of constant bombing because it meets the needs of the people and has won their wide spread support.

The role of the US in Vietnam has been a crime against humanity. The US military has made Vietnam a virtual testing ground for weapons--introducing new anti-people weapons such as napalm, phosphorous, fragmentation bombs and sophisticated chemical and biological warfare techniques. In 1968 alone, 302,890 South Vietnamese were injured by defoliant sprayings and 989,300 hectares of land were ruined much of this damage is permanent.

Over one million South Vietnamese have been physically uprooted from their homes, their land and their way of life. Many are put in "strategic hamlets," a nice name for concentration camps, so the US Army can watch over and protect them. Others have been forced to take their chances in the cities.

Here in the US, the war has had a disastrous effect on the economy. Well over half of the federal budget goes toward military spending; as a result in this rich country the schools, hospitals and welfare programs are all going broke. After years of inflation, we are now entering a serious depression. *Unemployment is up 45% in the last two years- yet the cost of living is still rising out of sight!* As a result, most people's real wages or purchasing power has decreased by 5% in the last two years. And, as usual, in the midst of this crisis, the profits of many giant corporations continue to increase.

The war has caused widescale discontent and revolt on most high school and college campuses in the country. Even within the military dissention is massive. At home, National Guard units have refused riot duty; in Vietnam, whole companies have refused to go into combat. More and more cases are being reported of GI's killing their own officers.

The *London Express* has reported that as many as 60 American soldiers a week are crossing over to the NLF. In addition, there have been uncountable acts of sabotage of planes, bombs, tanks, etc. by US soldiers. Over 50,000 US soldiers desert each year and over half are never caught. And just recently, there has been a growing wave of riots in military stockades and on whole US military bases.

The US military and government are quickly losing the war in their attempt to control Vietnam and their planes and their bombs cannot help.

The Vietnamese people are winning control of their own country. They, along with their American friends--rebelling GI's, students, national minorities, youths, working people and just plain men and women across the country--are going to force the US to get out of Indochina, to bring all the troops home now and to bring them home alive.



what we can do

The obvious solution to the POW problem is to end the war and negotiate the release of all prisoners. Since Nixon refuses to do this, but insists on escalating the war even further, the responsibility falls on us, the American people, to negotiate our own peace treaty with the Vietnamese people.

This is no easy step, no publicity gimmick for any politician or political faction. It is something we have been driven to by long years of stalling and deception by one administration after the other.

Signing the People's Peace Treaty is not like signing just another petition to end the war. Each person or group which signs pledges itself to *action*, at whatever level it feels capable of, to bring the war to a close and force Nixon to set a date for total withdrawal.

This is not just another "great event" aimed at making headlines and then being forgotten while the war drags on. It is a real commitment to steady work and action and it is alive today at the grass roots.

We, in the Joe Hill Collective, are organizing people in Orange County to endorse and implement the People's Peace Treaty. We discuss it in the factories where some of us work, the colleges where we study and the neighborhood where we live. If you want to work on the Treaty, or would like more information, please contact us.

THE COURSE OF HUMAN EVENTS

A gay women's group is forming in the Santa Monica-Venice area.

The next meeting will be Thursday evening, 7:30, at 2817 1/2 3rd Street (upstairs rear), Santa Monica. You can call Heather for more information. 392-8250.

Take note of the Renaissance Pleasure Faire at the Paramount Ranch in Agora. It starts April 24 and runs every weekend in May. See you at the Faire.

The crunch of the speculators ripping off Venice has hit the trailer court that nestles between the dirt rampart of the Marina and Grand Canal on the south side of the Washington Street bridge.

The residents have been given 30-day quit notices by the present owners, with the deadline for getting out of April 31st—even though the residents had been promised a 90-day notice.

The residents have formed a committee, and are asking for an extension through the middle of June to permit the kids to finish school and to take some of the pressure off the oldtimers, who can't find other trailer courts to move to.

The United Farm Workers union (AFL-CIO) has asked the help of the people of Venice in boycotting Safeway markets. Food Giant market, just up Lincoln Blvd. from the Safeway store, has been the most cooperative chain to date in working with them.

The Free Venice Switchboard needs volunteers. If you can spare three hours a week, call 821-6101. It is located in the Community House.

Any individual, business or organization in the Venice, Culver City and Santa Monica areas that needs odd jobs or part-time workers should contact The Southern California Community Service Company. The telephone is (213) 396-6266. The basic works of SCCSC is to seek out and secure regular part-time jobs for persons who donate their time and efforts to non-profit works.

The Venice Free Theater (people's theater) is located in the Venice Pavilion, at the foot of Windward Street and the Ocean Front Walk.

Their current production "The Adding Machine" opens Friday, April 9, and will run Friday and Saturday nights for six weeks. Curtain time is 8:00 p.m.

Further activities are:

-Children's theater, to be formed by children, 11 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. every Saturday at the Pavilion

-General meetings every Sunday, 12:30 p.m., at the Pavilion

-Drama workshop at 8:15 p.m. every Tuesday at the Pavilion

-Musical workshop at 7:30 p.m. every Wednesday at the Pavilion

Readings are at the Pavilion on Saturdays and Sundays at 1:30 p.m.

For further information call Mardee (396-6846), Connie (396-5139), Carol (396-3852—before 12 noon) and Sandy (821-2600). If no answer(s), come to the theater and rap and help—it's your theater too, if you want it to be.

Join the Save the Canals Committee, which meets most Thursdays at 8:00 p.m. at the Community House, 468 Howland Ave., at Eastern Canal.

STAFF FOR THIS ISSUE

Sharon Brannon
Brent Bryak
Mike Clare
Steve Clare
Rick Davidson
Abe Dranow
Rachel Dranow
Judy Goldberg
Jim Somers
Val Starr
Laura Stenz
Rick Stenz
Randy Watsek
Bob Wells

Articles and photos can be mailed to the BEACHHEAD, Box 664, Venice, Calif. 90291

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THE DREAM MERCHANT

Safeway-Lincoln Square Shopping Center
205 Lincoln Blvd, Venice, (396-BEDS)
Open 12:30-8:00 M,W,Th,F; Sat 11:30-6; Sun 1-5
Closed Tues.

BOOK REVIEW:

At War with Asia, by Noam Chomsky (Pantheon Books, Sept., 1970), is a powerful polemic. The theme is the all-pervasiveness of American domination of Asia, not by butter but by bombs—fragmentation bombs, phosphorous bombs, napalm and more and more bombs. This disciplined, scholarly work establishes beachheads of knowledge on just how the war in Vietnam spread to Laos and Cambodia, involving Thailand, South Korea and the Philippines on a master-to-servant relationship.

The bloody horror of this war in Asia is told in unemotional language by a linguist who knows how significant it is to be exact and truthful. He documents the sources of his factual material on the uprooting of the Laotian and South Vietnamese people, the jailing of their dissidents in primitive conditions (recall the investigation of "tiger cages" by U.S. Congressmen), the destruction of villages burnt to the ground, the defoliation of crops and the subsequent incidence of cancer and mental retardation in the children. It is a book with strong indictment material against the U.S., which has caused untold devastation in the killing and maiming of

AT WAR WITH ASIA

helpless peoples. Why does the strongest military power on earth inflict so much evil on little peoples? In Dean Acheson's words of May, 1950, he said, "It is the fundamental decision of American policy that the U.S. does not intend to permit further extension of Communist domination of the continent of Asia or the Southeast Asia area."

Chomsky wishes to clarify, expose and repudiate the necessity of war crimes justified by Americans in the name of fighting communism. What the U.S. really wants, maintains Chomsky, is a permanent base in South Vietnam for economic expansion. This would explain the long, protracted war in addition to the remarkable resistance of the Asians to it.

At War with Asia (available in your Venice library) is dedicated to the peace movement, which Chomsky hopes will intensify its resistance to a war machine hell-bent on destroying entire civilizations if they refuse to be subjugated. Like a weapon, cold, blunt and painful, it socks it to your head. The reviewer suggests you read this rational, persuasive expose of the Asian scene. And for those who are silent, she asks why.

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THE MIDNIGHT SPECIAL BOOKSTORE
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AT THE MIDNIGHT SPECIAL BOOKSTORE, 1335 1/2 W. Washington Blvd., Venice, paperback titles include:

The Indo-China Story, Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars/*At War with Asia*, Noam Chomsky/*Vietnam: Inside Story*, Wilfred G. Burchett/*Ho Chi Minh*, Jean Lacoutre/*Ecocide in Indo-China*, Weisberg/*Vietnam: Between Two Truces*, Lacoutre/*Vietnam, Vietnam*, Felix Greene/*Vietnam: North*, Burchett/*The Second Indochina War*, Burchett/*The Vietnam Reader*, ed. by Raskin and Fall/*Laos: War and Revolution*, Adams and McCoy/*The Southeast Asian World*, Keith Buchanan/*Behind the Lines*, Hanoi, Harrison Salisbury/*Hell Is a Very Small Place*, Bernard Fall/*My Lai 4*, Seymour Hersh

Paperback titles of the struggles of American war resisters include:

Trials of the Resistance/The Unlawful Concert (The Presidio Mutiny Case)

In the Service of Their Country: War Resisters in Prison/Trials of the Cantonville 9/Prison Notes, Barbara Deming

Periodicals and pamphlets include:

Ramparts Magazine/The Great South Asian War (NACLA)/*Viet Report/War Incorporated*, by the Student Research Facility/*Vietnam: A Thousand Years of Struggle*, Cannon/*Operation Total Victory: February 1971*, by Pacific Studies Center, a free pamphlet with background and analysis of Laos.

Newspapers include:

South Vietnam: In Struggle, the official organ of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front. We also carry various U.S. movement papers which discuss the war and local area activities against war and oppression from Chicago to Portland to Atlanta and from N.Y.C. to Isla Vista and L.A.



SIGN THE TREATY

By John Haag

The California Peace & Freedom Party, circulating the People-to-People Treaty of Peace between the people of the United States and the people of Vietnam, has set itself the goal of obtaining more than 25,000 signatures—more than the number of registered PFP voters in the state—by Sunday, April 25th. This is the day of the community anti-war march and rally initiated by the Venice PFP.

The Treaty affirms that the people of America and the people of Vietnam are not enemies, and declares that a state of peace exists between the two peoples regardless of any actions or opinions of the Washington government. The American people have full legal right to make this declaration inasmuch as the Washington government started the war and is carrying out the war in direct violation of Article I, Section 8 of the United States Constitution.

After April 25th people from the Peace & Freedom Party, the Free Venice Organizing Committee and other anti-war groups will continue circulating the Treaty until the U.S. government gives up its genocidal war of aggression against Vietnam, or until that government is replaced by another government which acts on the wishes of the American people rather than on the wishes of the Pentagon and the corporations. At some point copies of completed treaty petitions may be presented to Senator Fulbright or some other official with a position against the war. Ultimately, the signed originals will be delivered to the Vietnamese people,

probably through the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam.

The open-ended PFP State Central Committee, which decides policy between statewide conventions, unanimously adopted the treaty at its meeting in Isla Vista February 14, 1971, making the California PFP the first political party on the ballot anywhere in the United States to formally sign a treaty of peace with the Vietnamese people.

Ratification of the treaty by the California PFP was entirely predictable. The Peace & Freedom Party grew out of a wave of anti-war activity and sentiment in 1966 and 1967. During the initial voter registration drive which put the PFP on the ballot, the one thing which the party stood for in contrast with the existing parties of war, racism, poverty and pollution—was immediate, unconditional withdrawal from Vietnam. The first PFP platform, adopted in Richmond, California in March, 1968, stated in part:

"The Peace and Freedom Party supports the struggle for human liberation wherever that struggle takes place. . . . The war in Vietnam is not accidental; it is the logical consequence of an imperialism which requires the subordination of foreign resources, markets and political structures to the needs of American corporate property and profit. . . . We further demand the immediate withdrawal of all foreign armed forces from Vietnam."

Since the PFP's inception it has re-

jected the self-serving notion that the U.S. government has any legitimate interest to negotiate prior to total withdrawal from Southeast Asia. After withdrawal, there may be cultural and even economic matters to negotiate at the convenience of a liberated Vietnamese people. Until the U.S. government recognizes the independence and autonomy of the Vietnamese people, North and South, "negotiation" by the U.S. is merely a diplomatic extension of military force.

When we have signed the Treaty, what then? After so many petitions, demonstrations, self-immolations, tax and draft refusals, what have we accomplished beyond clearing our own consciences of guilt for the daily body counts? Johnson was retired, only to be replaced by Nixon, who can afford to remove U.S. ground forces because of technological "advances" in the capability for killing and destroying from the air. The forced urbanization of the Vietnamese begun by Kennedy's "strategic hamlets" has progressed to the stage of mass refugee camps, produced by an air war which makes the countryside uninhabitable and attempts to kill anyone who tries to live amidst the devastation.

Ultimately we, too, are the victims. We, too, die in Vietnam. Our taxes, a large portion of our daily labor, pay for the weapons used to kill Vietnamese, and for the troops from South Korea and other "allied" countries. We become the Lt. Calleys, dehumanized beyond comprehension; we are the despised "public," lied to and deceived

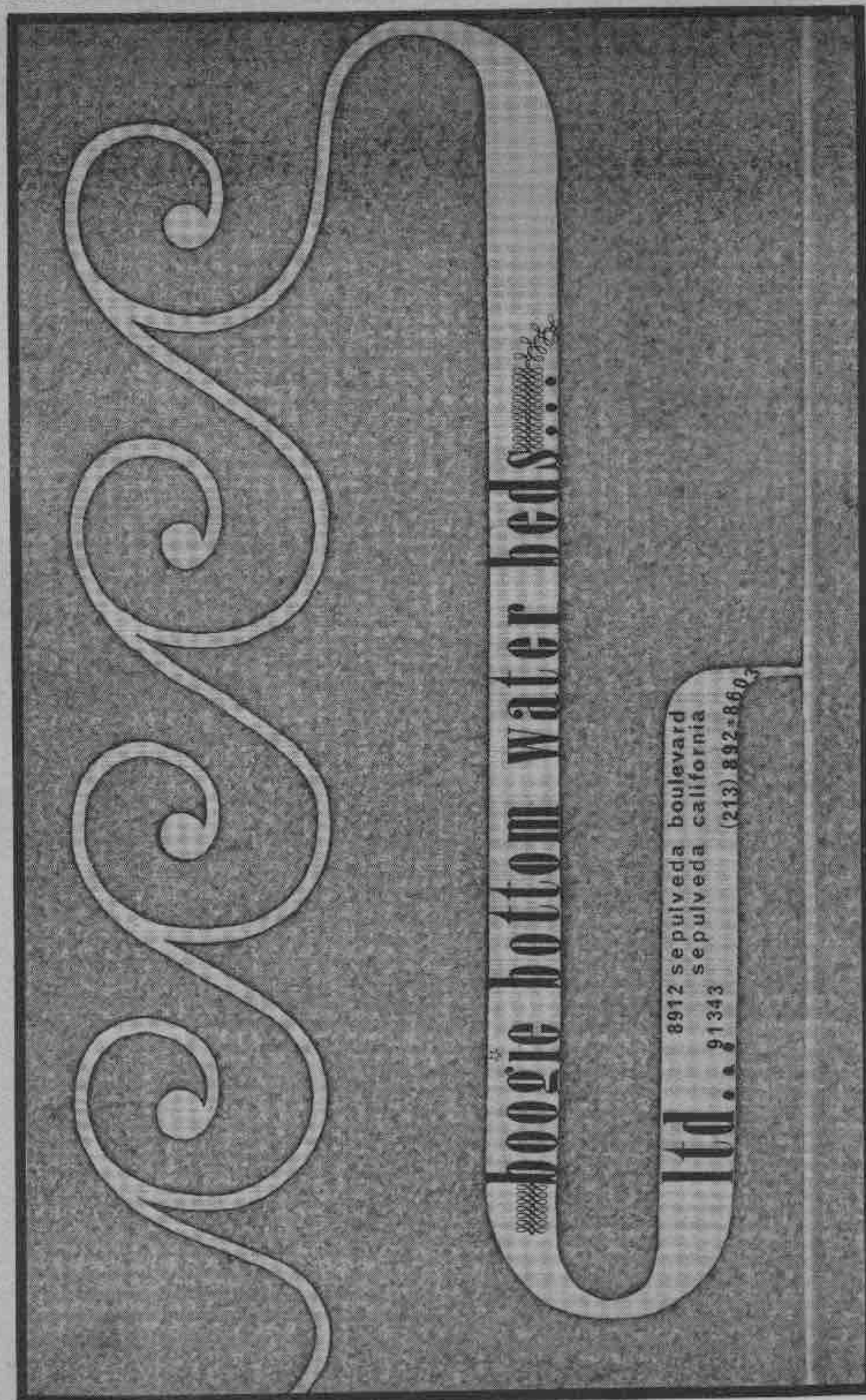
by officials and by the "news" corporations, which are owned by the same people who produce helicopter gunships, B-52's and airplane fuel.

Can signing a piece of paper possibly change all this? Certainly not, but look at the pledge that concludes the document:

"By ratifying this agreement, we pledge to take *whatever actions* are appropriate to *implement* the terms of the People-to-People Treaty and to *insure its acceptance* by the government of the United States." (Emphasis added.)

If the present government cannot accept this treaty, then we shall have to get a new government. If the present military cannot tolerate peace, then we shall have to replace the present military with one that will respect the people it supposedly defends. Since U.S. corporations are an obstacle to peace among the peoples of the earth, we will have to declare those corporations contrary to our best interests and welfare, and therefore illegal and defunct.

Sign the treaty? Certainly. Then, brothers and sisters, we may have to enforce it; by our actions, individually and collectively exercise our power to make whatever changes in our society are necessary to make peace possible. If we don't win with our peace drive this Spring, then there will be a Summer Offensive and a Fall Offensive. If we don't win this year, we'll build again next year. And the year after that. Victory will be ours, and to the victors and the vanquished alike the fruits of victory: peace and freedom.



RUNNING DOWN THE GRAND JURY

The break between jail terms has begun to come to an end for the Venice Five (Pam Donaldson, Teri Volpin, David Scheffler, Karen Duncan, and Lee Weinberg). Teri was the first "witness" called in the Tucson federal grand jury's "fishing expedition" into the L.A. movement -- but she was excused because her voice was completely gone with laryngitis.

On the 8th and 9th Lee Weinberg refused to testify on the grounds of her constitutional rights, because of the vagueness of the questions and the breadth of the investigation, and because her position as a UCLA counsellor necessitated preserving the confidential nature of her relations with students. On the 9th Lee was held in contempt and jailed for the duration of the grand jury, which is 18 months.

The next day, Saturday, about 100 Venice people gathered at the Community House, 468 Howland Ave., to demonstrate their support for the Venice Five. Dave Scheffler, one of the Five, and Marilyn Katz and Sheri Swanhuyser, explained the case and provided background information. A guerrilla theater group of high school students presented impressions of the grand jury system.

HAMPTON GETS 10%

April 3-4. 110 freaks, anarchos, commies (literally!), gays and women, of all colors and descriptions, fanned out across Santa Monica. Their cause was Jack Hampton for city council the first local PFP candidate ever in that town.

The issues were drawn, despite the efforts of the establishment to squelch them. Hampton's expose of the fact that the Santa Monica cops have been using dum-dum bullets (soft, hollow-head slugs causing excessive tissue damage which have been outlawed for use in international warfare) as standard ammunition for the past three years made page one of the *Evening Outrage*. Chief Rhinebold denied it, but after Hampton produced the written records of sale from the manufacturer, the No. 2 SM cop admitted their use when No. 1 was out of town.

Generally the response was good: worst in some of the elderly retirement buildings where fear keeps doors chained, good in the family-owned home areas, and best by far in the Ocean Park district (alias North Venice).

Hampton's position on the abolition of the police helicopter also heated up candidate meetings. Critics charged that the mechanical vulture actually reduced crime. Hampton agreed that while the SM air force might reduce crime somewhat, at an expense to individual liberties, it did nothing to strike at the conditions of racism, unemployment and poverty that are the basic causes of crime. Hampton further cited the predominant hovering of the helicopter

over the unrepresented minority and poor sections of the city as a tacit admission of this connection.

Getting the word out, however, proved to be a problem. Billboard companies which first agreed to rent space to the Hampton committee suddenly refused to do so when they found out what his positions were. Two companies even refused to rent boards on which they had unpaid tax-deductible "public service" ads such as one calling for the Viet Cong to release captured American pilots. (How about a Free Angela billboard as a public service, you MFers?)

Not being ones to take this sort of shit, the Santa Monica PFP group engaged the services of the Venice law collective of Grabill, Nathan, Adelstein and Schwartz. Dave Grabill, who previously worked with the Indian Legal Services at UCLA, requested the honorable judge to issue a restraining order directing the companies to come across with the billboards. Grabill asserted that the billboards belong to the people since they impose on the people who drive along public highways and hence should be subject to some sort of fairness doctrine as radio and TV (theoretically) are. De Judge, of course, turned thumbs down, but not before panicky billboard companies began discovering all manner of billboards they could rent to us (too late then to get the copy printed for the boards in time for the election).

Support for the campaign came from many sectors. Jack was endorsed by the Santa Monica Peace and Freedom Party,

the Entertainment Industry Branch of the NAACP (of which he has been a member for 20 years), and the Gay Liberation Front. Many liberal Democrats were turned on by the campaign's effort to show how the war in Vietnam took money out of Santa Monica which otherwise could be used for schools, low-income housing, or jobs for the unemployed. They phoned up in response to a massive mailing of 5,000 letters and asked for PFP's advice on how to mark their ballots on other election races and issues.

Results (aside from the building of an organization of several dozen Santa Monica people to continue movement work): 1,555 votes for Hampton (vs. 467 for the local California Democratic Council candidate Baker and 715 for CDC 2-year-term candidate Monckton). Precinct breakdown of the results show great PFP strength in Ocean Park. There Jack ran a close 2nd out of 18 candidates—trailing only Nat Trives, a black ex-cop running with the backing of the police department, the *Evening Outlook* and the CDC (saying something both about Trives' positions and where many CDC types are at). Jack also ran well in the black areas (15%), probably as a result of the NAACP endorsement. Even straight, north-of-Wilshire precincts in which extensive campaign work was done gave Jack 8% of the vote. Where no precinct workers set foot, the result was usually closer to 2%.

Hampton didn't win (he came in 8th out of 18 candidates: Santa Monica ain't Berkeley—yet); but the results do show



that if the effort to have SM city councilmen elected by district does succeed, PFP will have little trouble winning its first election by picking up the Ocean Park seat.

The Hampton committee raised an amazing amount of money for a PFP campaign (over \$1,500—much of it in \$1 to \$20 contributions), but some of the pig candidates spent over \$20,000 each. Not bad for an office that pays no salary and a maximum of \$50 per week reimbursement for actual expenses.

This campaign really showed the effect of massive face-to-face precinct work—of which we did more than any other candidate with the possible exception of Trives. It also showed the value of starting very early to form campaign committees, raise funds, and research the issues.

We hope that all this can be put to work on the campaign of Barrio Defense Committee leader Julia Mount in the special election in the 27th State Senate District, stretching from Hollywood to East L.A. In addition to the crucial political issues of the Barrio, this PFP campaign will also involve the issue of chicano and female representation in the presently all-anglo, all-male State Senate.

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MAY PROGRAMS AT THE VENICE LIBRARY

Every Tuesday	4:30-5:30	Sesame Street
	7:30-9:00	Family Films
Friday 7	4:00pm	Dr. Seuss Stories by Venice Mime Troupe
Sunday 16	2:30pm	Play Venetians Blind
Monday 17	7:30pm	Black is Beautiful
		Cosmetology
Wednesday 19	7:00pm	Teen Films
Friday 21	7:00pm	Tiny Tot Fashions
Saturday 22	10:30am	Winnie the Pooh marionettes

Chicano Art Exhibit all month
Attention teens! Copy needed now for "Voices of Venice" magazine.

VENICE FREE THEATRE PRESENTS A...

Rock Musical!

Photo: Terri Kedogo

Venice Free Theatre cast rehearsing for upcoming production directed by Michael Sears (center), which will be a non-book rock musical based on material from HAIR AND ZORBA. The musical will open Friday, May 21st at the Venice Pavilion.

DO IT!



ONE OR MORE OF THE FOLLOWING



TIRED OF DEMONSTRATIONS?

Yes, yet another demonstration is coming up in April. We are all tired of demonstrations; they seem to get us nowhere. They seem to be an exercise in liberal bullshit futility, proving nothing but our own powerlessness. Say not so! No one can accuse the Vietnamese of being "liberals," or media-oriented bullshit artists, right? The Vietnamese people fight with tanks, mortars, rifles, mines, shit-covered bamboo stake traps, lasso snares, darts, blowguns, spears... whatever they can get their hands on to defend themselves with—including petitions, picket signs, speeches and *demonstrations*!

"Tired" of demonstrations? Well, the Vietnamese people are tired, too. They have been "demonstrating" their determination to be free in twenty-five years of continuous warfare, the most savage the world has known. Out of necessity they have picked up the gun; yet they defend themselves with the picket sign wherever and whenever that tactic is still applicable.

In his book, *Mandate for Change*, President Eisenhower admitted: "I have never talked to a person knowledgeable in Indo-Chinese affairs who has not stated that had free elections been held [in Vietnam in 1956, as agreed to in the Geneva Accords] the communist, Ho Chi Minh, would have won over 80% of

the vote." The Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, representing, then, at least 80% of the people, has sent representatives to the Paris peace talks. The chairwoman of that delegation, Madame Binh, has conveyed to us the desire of the people of Vietnam that we **DEMONSTRATE!** against the war.

So why should we get in the streets and protest the war? Because **THE VIETNAMESE HAVE ASKED US TO DEMONSTRATE!!**

SISTER BINH MAKES IT PLAIN

The Ann Arbor Youth Conference of the People's Peace Treaty received the following direct request from Madame Binh, chief of the PRG delegation in Paris:

"The Provisionary Revolutionary Government has appealed to peace-loving people to initiate firm, broad and immediate actions, including massive street demonstrations, to condemn U.S. aggression in Laos and to check new plans to invade Laos, Cambodia, and North Vietnam... The PRG calls on the people of the world to take actions now to check even greater escalations about to occur. There is a world-wide news blackout and *people must get the news to their communities.*"

DEMONSTRATE

- ☐ APRIL 24 Mass rally in San Francisco - P.A.C. 462-8188, OUT NOW 380-3912
- ☐ APRIL 25 Venice community walk and gathering—see enclosed leaflet - PFP 821-8526
- ☐ MAY 3-5 People's Lobby in the offices of congressmen, corporations, and draftboards - P.A.C. 462-8188
- ☐ MAY 5 National Moratorium Day - campus & community demonstrations to commemorate Kent and Jackson State massacres and to demand a reordering of national priorities to meet the needs of the people. No business as usual on the day - PFP 821-8526
- ☐ MAY 5&6 Welfare demonstration to protest the possibility of mass layoffs of welfare workers and proposed cutbacks. Demonstration begins at noon May 5 and ends May 6, at the State building at 107 South Broadway in downtown L.A. - Solcial Services Union 483-8188
- ☐ MAY 16 Armed Forces Day - Solidarity demonstrations with anti-war GI's at military bases - P.A.C. 462-8188 OUT NOW 380-3912

☐ RESIST THE DRAFT

Draft counseling is effective. It can keep a man out of the armed forces—but the individual needs to see the counselor when he first turns eighteen. If not at eighteen, then as soon as possible. Once an induction has been issued there is little a counselor can do besides

obtaining a few weeks' delay. Counseling is available in the area from the Venice Draft Information Center, 73 Market Street, No. 2, Venice, and from Women's Strike for Peace, 5899 West Pico, Los Angeles.

☐ HOLD A WINTER SOLDIER INVESTIGATION

The atrocities carried out in the name of the American people in Southeast Asia by the military are only the most visible aspects of a society based on oppression and exploitation. Vietnam veterans have experienced U.S. foreign policy in its most vicious form, the attempted genocide of a whole people. This is most clearly seen by black and brown GIs who come out of the ghetto and barrio, where there already exists an "occupation army."

Active duty GIs stationed all across the U.S. and overseas are getting together. Some are refusing orders, others are converting their life insurance to be paid to peace groups, some are publishing underground papers and starting to build organizations. Black GIs have rioted against racism on almost every military installation. Thousands of soldiers have left the country, others are nowhere to be found. The military is slowly disintegrating from inside and outside pressure.

Coming out of the military are a growing number of veterans who have already been activists inside the military and even a larger number who no longer believe in "the American dream," but aren't sure what to do about it.

Last February over 150 of these vet-

erans took part in The Winter Soldier Investigation, which looked into the nature of the Vietnam war, American foreign policy and the day-to-day problems we face in our workplace and community. They attempted to show the citizens of this country exactly what is going on in their name. The veterans came from all over the country to participate and many came away with the intense desire to have local WSIs.

Twenty veterans from Southern California took part in the first Winter Soldier Investigation, and they are now working toward having one in the area. Since their return from Detroit they have been meeting with vets from all over the Southland, getting testimony and compiling an enormous amount of documentation. The nature of the testimony is oriented not only toward telling atrocity stories but trying to show a total picture involving who gives the orders and who makes the policy, etc. The testimony refers specifically to racism, sexism, and all other forms of oppression that exist in our society and are magnified in the military. Right now we are looking for vets who would like to participate and just plain old people to help in putting it together. For more info call Al at 392-4177 before 1:00 p.m.



STOP THE WAR MACHINE

The "revolution of rising expectations"—that's fancy, phony sociology lingo to explain the discontent of the poor. This is supposedly the reasoning behind the Federal government handing out crumbs in the form of anti-poverty projects to the ghetto. But we know these projects came into being after the Watts rebellion. And now that the ghetto has been quiet, these programs are being curtailed. Last week Vice President Agnew referred to such projects as being "worthless." And so there are cutbacks in Welfare and MediCal, and in Venice there are cuts in Training programs, a placement center, special library services, workers and materials for minority groups, legal aid to the poor, and cancer detection tests for women.

It would take peanuts to pay for every woman in Ghetto America to have cancer detection tests. But instead the money goes for public relations men to sell us new weapons systems to the tune of \$31 million a year. It certainly would take less than the *one trillion dollars* that has been spent on obsolete weapons since World War II to wipe out hunger in America. But what giant corporations are in favor of that? It would take less than \$18.8 million to get some decent housing for the ghettos to tear them down to be replaced by housing of fair standard. That sum has already been spent on defective missiles scrapped and buried. Nerve gas is manufactured, stored and then finally buried in the ocean. Billions of dollars are spent on this and other forms of chemical and

bacteriological warfare. What's it all for?

The biggest show of force in Vietnam has become an international brutal showdown—without your consent or mine. It has fed a war machine which has become the biggest bloodsucking colossus in all history. We pay it taxes, get involved with the draft and give that machine our labor. Some of us resist its bloodsucking, but more of us have to take the time to explain to our neighbors who cry about war plants closing down and job layoffs how they must resist the war machine. They will answer Hell, they have to eat and clothe a family.

We will have to find alternative means of feeding people. We must put an end to our feeding of a war machine that leads only to the graveyard for the sons of the poor. Ghetto leaders must find something else for jobless young men to do than to enlist in the army. The community must fight to control anti-poverty funds. The six cents out of every tax dollar that is spent for health, labor, welfare, housing and community development is the most obvious way the government shows its contempt for those it subjugates. Let's use our energies to spread the truth and resist the war machine and protest our community's cutbacks.

Write to Mrs. Russell and Mr. Braude at the City Council about the library cutbacks. Write to U.S. Senator Tunney about the Venice Skill Center Training Programs cutbacks.



Don't Mourn. ORGANIZE!!!