

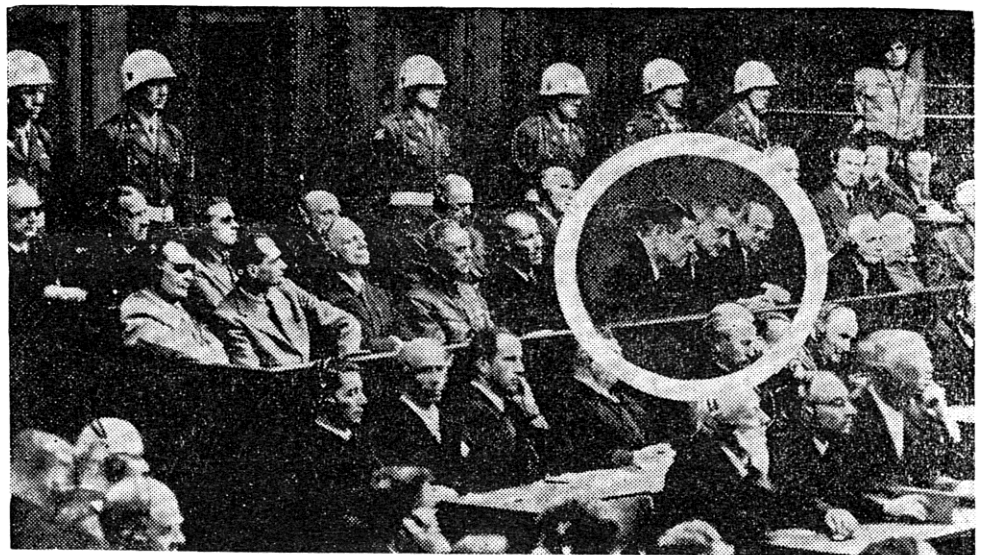
IMPACT

L.B.J. INDICTED

NUREMBERG '67

"There is not a single government in Western Europe which would dare to send a squad of soldiers to Vietnam as a symbolic gesture of sympathy with US policy there. Not even the British Government, which has become so dependent on American financial support for maintaining sterling at the level it has promised its creditors to uphold, dare contemplate such a gesture."

Professor Gunnar Myrdal is an eminent Swedish political economist and former executive secretary of the Economic Commission for Europe. He is a well-known authority on Asian politics.



AN International War Crimes Tribunal, which was formally constituted in London last November, will begin to hear evidence next month in Paris. The tribunal, initiated by Bertrand Russell, has been set up to try Johnson and his colleagues for war crimes in Vietnam. Johnson has been asked to defend his actions.

It is headed by Jean-Paul Satre and includes Vladimir Sedijer, Yugoslav historian and, Mehmit Ali Aybar, expert in international law and a member of parliament in Turkey, Mahmud Ali Pasuri, senior advocate, Supreme Court of Pakistan, former President Lazaro Cardinas -of Mexico, the Americans David Dellinger and Stokely Carmichael, and similar prominent figures in the academic and legal fields in Italy, France, Japan and the Philippines.

At the outset, the tribunal has been plagued with intolerable pressure. Naturally the conservative newspapers are harsh, indignant or carefully uninterested. The Americans have managed to put enough pressure on certain governments impelling former acceptors to resign. These include President Leopold Seghno of Senegal, Emperor Haillie Selassie of Ethiopia, President Kenneth Kaunda of

Zambia and President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania.

But the trials will be on. And if the papers give the evidence fair reporting (I suggest you won't hear much about it in Australia) the "ordinary man" might be able to see the analogy between these trials and the ones the victor nation America carried out in Nuremberg in 1946.

The accused are different persons, the accusers not of one race, but representing cosmopolitanism, but the crimes are the same.

Russell's trial represents something that is great. He is demanding the right for the responsible individual in a democracy to try the most powerful democrat in the world, if in fact that man is destroying democracy with continual lies and hypocrisy.

As Russell said in his moving opening address: "We command no armies and compel no audience to hear us. If civilization is to be more than an unfounded hope, it must be possible for people who have sought only to contribute to it, to claim the right to speak in its name and to defend it."

*An Appeal to the American Conscience.—
See Page 4.*

SOCIOLOGICAL CONTEXT OF U.S. STUDENT MOVEMENT BY B. PAGE

WHAT then has produced the change, so drastic and apparently so sudden, among the students?

I believe it has been the result of the coming together, in the last year or so, of two trends: the groups of students, primarily white, middle class, who in their rebellion, often for personal reasons from white middle class American ideas, values and ways, have coalesced into the various groups of the "Peace Movement"; and the Negroes who, traditionally kept outside white middle class America and who thus had never accepted its reality, have formed the various groups making up the "Freedom Movement."

Each strand developed independently; there was little awareness on either side of possible areas of common analysis, interests, or action. True, many white students had participated in civil rights demonstrations before 1964, but this often remained a separate area of their general disaffection with middle class America; before then there was very little interest among Negroes, whose primary concern was Civil Rights, with the "peace issue." In fact mention of anything not directly related to racial aspects of segregation—even mention of segregation's relation to our economic structure—was considered disruptive.

In the same way, in the "Peace Movement" it was considered disruptive to criticize any particular American action, such as the growing war in Vietnam, unless a parallel criticism could be levelled at the Soviet Union. What was a major factor in changing this situation for both groups was the Cuban Revolution and the blockade of October, 1962.

The developments of political concern among the white students began in the late '50s. By then a discontent, disaffection, even personal rebellion among a small but visible number of students had become noticeable.

It was a discontent basically with affluence, a life whose values were based on economics, monetary reward and the possession of articles, and, perhaps most important, a discontent with the fact that "all the good things of the American way of life" could be had with no personal struggle or sacrifice—it was necessary only to accept and find a good place in the system—there was no need to prove one's worth, even one's manhood. In fact, so long as one stayed within the values and goals of the system there was no way to do so—one had only to "sell" himself.

Today, a decade later, many are aware of how limited is the distribution of affluence in America, an awareness that has become one of the major

domestic concerns of the student movement. But in the beginning the discontent was with the "affluent society" as it influenced their own, personal lives.

Search for Meaning

As a first step toward finding new values and meaning many simply withdrew—hence the transition from the unconcerned silent generation to the highly personalistic beatnik.

Again it is important to remember that for the most part these were not students who had been left outside of the American ways of life and thinking, but were white middle class students who had become disillusioned with them, a necessary first step in the development of an independent political or social consciousness.

Those who did not withdraw began searching even in their universities for more meaning than was found in traditional campus or Republican-Democrat politics.

There was among such students a groping for some "cause" in which to affirm their identity. Throughout the late 1950s various campaigns began infiltrating campuses, from those opposing capital punishment to protest against the anti-communist affidavits in federal scholarship applications. But none of these was really significant enough to capture the long-term imagination and commitment of more than a few. Nor in the case of various attempts to rouse interest in civil rights was the time "ripe."

It was as part of this search for new meaning by which to affirm themselves that students "discovered" the "peace issue" in the early 1960s. No one can say precisely why something which various small groups had been—ineffectively—interested in ever since the First World War should have been the catalyst bringing a movement out of various student groupings, the "cause" which so many had been seeking.

It was a broad, general issue, allowing such wide variation of interpretation and belief that in the early days it seemed to require no fundamental break with our basic socio-political structure, only criticism of militaristic ways of thinking. In addition, since its orientation was toward the danger of war in Europe and at least its preliminary goal end of all nuclear weapons, criticisms made of US policy had also to be directed against that of the Soviet Union.

The international situation, despite the dampening of the Spirit of Camp David by the U-2 incident, seemed favourable to some kind of agreement, and, domestically, the ascent of Kennedy and the wave of idealism that accompanied him created an atmo-

sphere of challenge, one in which people felt it "safe" to protest and demonstrate.

Also, concentration on the peace issue brought students into contact with the older adult peace groups, as well as with students of other countries, especially England. The peace issue was something that concerned people other than students or Americans.

1962 Climax

The climax of this first,



tions to the UN, found that their reasoning implicitly led them to a defense of the Cuban people's right to undertake their social and economic problems as they saw fit.

The US blockade was called because of the Soviet missile presence, but this was in Cuba only because once before we had attacked her. Why had we attacked Cuba? Because we disagreed with the increasingly radical course of its

vague, general, humanistic stage of the peace movement was reached in 1962 when almost all of the very many groups that had by then grown up (reflecting petty differences in policy or analysis more often than political orientation), pooled their efforts in support of the various "peace candidates," men running for state or national office in the 1962 elections on the basis of some kind of anti-nuclear or peace concern.

Kennedy's blockade of Cuba, shortly before the elections, presented the movement with an identity crisis. For the first time belief in a general "cause" came into conflict with a policy undertaken by the American government and participants were forced to decide between them.

The way the problem was resolved revealed a split between generations: the older generation, those who had long believed in peace as a humanitarian ideal but had never become disaffected with white, middle class America and who still believed we had the answers and right to work for their application, these bewailed Kennedy's willingness to force a military showdown but said he must be supported in time of national crisis.

They saw the Cuban crisis as a further aspect of the conflict between the two major European - American powers, even though the scene was laid in a non-European area. They therefore felt that peace could be achieved by restoring the power balance; the needs of the Cuban people—including the reason for their need of Soviet missiles—were not major considerations. Those who opposed the blockade, usually demanding the withdrawal of both Soviet and American military potential, and the transfer of the whole question of Cuban-US rela-

Young pickets against the war in Vietnam at the White House.

social and economic policies and their effects on our interests there. This tacit defense of a people's right to oppose US interests and policies, and by revolution to remove them, gave concrete expression to the students' general discontent with middle-class America. Even more, the Cuban Revolution showed them that it was possible for a people to take the destiny of their country into their own hands.

It is significant that only those groups who accepted opposition to the blockade and all its ramifications have remained in the fight against war. But they have done so only by following the logic of the Cuban crisis further, to the realization that on the whole it is US economic interests abroad and our military and political defense of them, at the expense of those of the people concerned, that are the primary cause of the "Communist threat"—of the danger of war—and the need for their concern and action.

Thanks to the Cuban crisis of 1962 they came to realize that to effectively oppose war, to effectively work for peace, they had to oppose these American interests and the policies and actions based on them. Without this experience it is doubtful that the present mass opposition to our war in Vietnam could have been possible, an opposition that now includes all kinds of Americans, but which has been kindled and led primarily by students.

New Cause Needed

But a new cause, something else in which to affirm themselves in their quest for meaning and values as alternatives to those they had rejected, was necessary.

(Continued on Page 6)

New Definitions of the Possible

From 'Harvard Alumni Magazine'

A young poet defends the right of artists to speak out on government policy. Policy may indeed be the art of the possible, she says, but society's most imaginative members can help enlarge the meaning of 'possible.'

By Adrienne Rich

IT is a fairly common assertion about the average Australian that he is anti-intellectual. There seems to be some evidence to support this view, especially if one considers the percentage of graduates in the Australian Federal Parliament compared with the House of Commons. Mr. Calwell once spoke of the need for "grass roots politicians," and Sir Robert Menzies when in office prided himself and his colleagues as "practical men."

This brings up the question of how the layman sees the Universities. None but the fools among them would deny the immeasurable importance of these institutions to society, but how many people really understand what their role should be? Do the academics, and particularly the students, have a clear picture of their responsibilities to the community within which the University exists?

Australian anti-intellectualism, as indeed any anti-intellectualism, is partially based upon the elemental jealousy of those who are too lazy to undertake or too stupid to understand the challenge of an intellectual adventure. But in this country at least, this deplorable public attitude is fostered by the banality of a large number of students themselves. After all what is to be expected from a group whose only reply to an argument they cannot answer is to throw paper darts?

I would like to suggest that a University may usefully be viewed as a factory of ideas, and a University that does not produce ideas, and that is not actively engaged in their pursuit, is a stagnant institution, and is failing in its duty to the public upon whose taxes it is maintained.

The concept of productivity is taken for granted in the realm of the physical sciences, and if a University is to acquire status in the international circle of academic institutions, it must make contributions in research. But such is not always the case with references to the social sciences and humanities unfortunately.

A University is the heritage of the people. It is there that the accumulated knowledge of mankind's intellectual strivings is stored. It is this accumulated knowledge which is the indispensable basis of modern civilization. Those people who work in those surrounds have a moral responsibility to society.

One would hope that the possession of a University degree would mark the possessor as a person of mature outlook, and critical approach to controversial and indeed all issues. All too often, however, a degree seems to be no more than a refinement of ignorance. All too often is the

IT is true that artists and writers have little first-hand knowledge of such dangerous terrain as the Vietnamese war. Yet surely the abnegation of political involvement by literate and concerned non-experts would be a sign of deep disintegration in our national life.

There is immense political health and hope in the anti-war protests. If you try to imagine an America in which the entire population, affluent to the point of indifference, self-righteous to the point of moral paralysis, impassively watched the destruction and decimation of Vietnamese land and life, and gave unquestioning approval to this remote act of violence, you will probably agree that the spectacle would be intolerable. Not to know, not to ask—this was the crime of the first half of our century, the crime with which we still are trying to come to terms.

But it seems to me that the writer, the artist, have the right of their peculiar commitment, even beyond their right and responsibility as citizens, to question what their government is doing in their name.

Isn't it, at bottom, a matter of how seriously we are prepared to take the arts, the quality of our attention, our relationship to that innocent and dangerous object, a work of art? The poet Galway Kinnell has said that perhaps all good poems are pacifist poems. Obviously, this does not mean that they are all preaching the abolition of war. But art, simply by being what it is, stands opposed to waste, dehumanization, destruction. It does not maintain opinions on specific issues: like a newborn child, it states by its very existence the case for life.

With the sciences it shares, disturbingly, an instinctive refusal of second-hand truth, a habit of radical self-criticism. But further, it demands a specific capacity for sympathy with other human beings, as individuals, which will not permit them to be doomed or dismissed en bloc. And it sometimes turns up things we do not want to know, things that threaten the structures of our careers, our private comfort, our deep inner defenses.

In this sense art is very tough, and very subversive. "The things of the mind," said Gottfried Benn, who had

ADRIENNE RICH, the Phi Beta Kappa poet last June, was booed as well as applauded for these words, delivered at the luncheon following the PBK Literary Exercises. Radcliffe '51, wife of Business School Professor Alfred Conrad, Miss Rich is the mother of three boys and the author of four books of poetry. The latest, 'Necessities of Life,' was published last spring.



reason to know, "are irreversible: they go right along their road to the end, right to the end of the night." And these things of the mind are not limited to language: the *Areopagitica* reminds us that if you want to censor the printed page you had better also restrict the gesture of the dancer and the tune of the musician. These too will state their case eloquently.

You will have to decide finally whether you are serious about these experiences or flirting with them; whether you will throw in your lot with theirs or whether you prefer to pay your respects when convenient, feeling civilized as you hear a string quartet, edified as you watch *Lear*; but protecting yourself finally from the risk of dangerous associations.

The world has had enough of those who, while sanctioning or even devising brutality and violence, have preyed on the representations of grace, vitality, and integrity, and collected their art treasures like Hermann Goering. Perhaps it is time to go back and think of that sonnet of Rilke on the antique torso of Apollo whose planes and hollows seem to whisper to the onlooker: **You must change your life.**

In numbers of megatons, and how they translate into deaths, the political and military experts have been even more aware than the ordinary citizen of what has loomed over us ever since we exploded our bombs at Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

But if politics is the art of the possible, it is absolutely necessary that those members of society who are most gifted in the imaginative function keep pressing for new definitions of the possible. Few politicians have the gift, the time, the inclination.

And war can today no long-

er be the province of military experts. Whatever we may feel of yesterday's wars, whatever moments of terrible beauty they may have occasioned, the plain fact is that all that is done for.

The moral equivalents for war lie all about us, in a human society bursting open at the seams and bristling in all directions. The moral opportunities of war, so out-bulked in modern warfare by the occasions for mass degradation, will have to be sought elsewhere.

There is almost nothing that does not seem conceivable or endurable when offered as an alternative to a globe without memory, a descent to atavistic consciousness, or a future history of mass murder. Today's expertise, unsupported by pity and imagination, is potentially suicidal.

Most writers have a fierce instinct for privacy and non-involvement; and even a year ago it was a physical effort for me to open my lips and speak in a roomful of people about the war. None of us, I think, who has been involved in the public protests wishes to make this a way of life; none will ever find public statements on current issues a substitute for work done in a room alone.

Beyond that, I can't speak for the others; we are all different, all strange to each other in some ways, although we have talked in our different tones from the same platforms.

I hope you will listen to us—not necessarily as we speak from platforms—but that you will consider again, what our works, and above all the works of the great masters who are both yours and ours, have been saying about life and man.

(Continued on Page 6)

Bertrand Russell's appeal to the

I APPEAL TO YOU, citizens of America, as a person concerned with liberty and social justice. Many of you will feel that your country has served these ideals and, indeed, the United States possesses a revolutionary tradition which, in its origins, was true to the struggle for human liberty and for social equality. It is this tradition which has been traduced by the few who rule the US today.

Many of you may not be fully aware of the extent to which your country is controlled by industrialists who depend for their power partly upon great economic holdings in all parts of the world. The US today controls over 60% of the world's natural resources, although it contains only 6% of the world's population. The minerals and produce of vast areas of the planet are possessed by a handful of men.

I ask you to consider, the words of your own leaders, who sometimes reveal the exploitation they have practiced.

The New York Times of Feb. 12, 1950, said: "Indo-China is a prize worth a large gamble. In the North are exportable tin, tungsten, manganese, coal, lumber and rice;

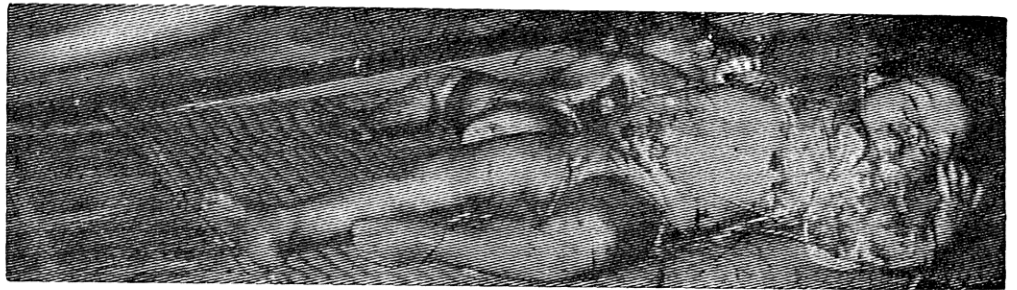


Lawyer Nguyen Huu Tho, head of the South Vietnamese National Front for Liberation.

rubber, tea, pepper and hides. Even before World War II Indo-China yielded dividends estimated at \$300 million per year."

One year later, an adviser to the US State Department said the following: "We have only partially exploited South-East Asia's resources. Nevertheless, South-East Asia supplied 90% of the world's crude rubber, 60% of its tin and 80% of its copra and coconut oil. It has sizable quantities of sugar, tea, coffee, tobacco, sisal, fruits, spices, natural resins and gums, petroleum, iron, oil and bauxite."

And in 1953, while the French were still in Vietnam fighting with American backing, President Eisenhower stated: "Now let us assume we lost Indo-China. If Indo-China goes, the tin and tungsten we so greatly value would cease coming. We are after



... and the children suffer first.

the cheapest way to prevent the occurrence of something terrible—the loss of our ability to get what we want from the riches of the Indo-Chinese territory and from South-East Asia."

This makes clear that the war in Vietnam is a war like that waged by the Germans in Eastern Europe. It is a war designed to protect the continued control over the wealth of the region by American capitalists.

When we consider that the fantastic sums of money spent on armament are awarded in contracts to the industries on whose boards of directors sit the generals who demand the weapons, we can see that the military and large industry have formed an interlocking alliance for their own profit.



THE truth is that the Vietnamese popular resistance is just like the American revolutionary resistance to the British, who controlled the economic and political life of the American colonies in the 18th Century. Vietnamese resistance is the like the resistance of the French Maquis, the Yugoslav partisans and the guerrillas of Norway and Denmark to the Nazi occupation. That is why a small peasant people is able to hold down a vast army of the most powerful industrial nation on earth.

I appeal to you to consider what has been done to the people of Vietnam by the US government. Can you, in your hearts, justify the use of poison chemicals and gas, the saturation bombing of the entire country with jelly-gasoline and phosphorus?

Although the American press lies about this, the documentary evidence concerning the nature of these gases and chemicals is overwhelming. They are poisonous and they are fatal. Napalm and phosphorus burn until the victim is reduced to a bubbling mass.

The US has also used weapons like the Lazy Dog, which is a bomb containing 10,000 slivers of razor-sharp steel. The razor darts slice to ribbons the villagers upon whom these weapons of sheer evil are constantly used. In one province of North Vietnam, the most densely populated, 100 million slivers of razor sharp steel have fallen in a period of 13 months.

It is even more revealing and terrible that more Vietnamese died during the reign of Diem, from 1954 to 1960, than since 1960, when the Vietnamese partisans took up armed resistance to the American occupation in the South.

What the papers have called the "Vietcong" is, in fact, a broad alliance, like the popular front of Europe, including all political views ranging from Catholics to Communists. The National Liberation Front has the most ardent support of the people and only the willfully blind will fail to see this.

Do you know that eight million Vietnamese were placed in internment camps under conditions of forced labor, with barbed wire and armed patrols?

Do you know that this was done on the direction of the US government and the torture and brutal murder were a continuous feature of life in these camps?

Are you aware that the gases and chemicals which have been used for five years in Vietnam blind, paralyze, asphyxiate, cause convulsions and result in unbearable death?

Try to imagine what it would mean if any enemy were bombing the US and occupied it for 12 years. How would you feel if a foreign power had saturated New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, St. Louis, San Francisco and Miami with jelly-gasoline, phosphorus and Lazy Dogs? What would you do if an occupying army used these toxic bases and chemicals in every town and hamlet they entered? Can you really think that the American people would welcome so savage an aggressor?

The fact is that everywhere in the world people have come to see the men who control the US government as brutal bullies, acting in their own economic interests and exterminating any people foolhardy enough to struggle against this naked exploitation and aggression.



WHEN the US began its war against the Vietnamese, after having paid for all of the French war against the same people, the US Defense Department owned property valued at \$160 billion. This value has since doubled.

The US Defense Depart-

ment is the world's largest organisation, owning 32 million acres in the US and millions more in foreign countries.

By now, more than 75 cents out of every 100 are spent on present wars and preparation for future war. Billions of dollars are placed in the pockets of the US military, thereby giving the Pentagon economic power affecting every facet of American life.

Military assets in the US are three times as great as the combined assets of US Steel, Metropolitan Life Insurance, American Telephone & Telegraph, General Motors and Standard Oil.

The Defense Department employs three times the number of people working in all these great world corporations.

The billions of dollars in military contracts are provided by the Pentagon and fulfilled by large industry. By 1960, \$21 billion were spent on military goods. Of this colossal sum, \$7½ billion were divided amongst ten corporations and five corporations received nearly \$1 billion each.

I ask you to consider carefully that in the executive offices of these same corporations there are 1400 army officers, including 261 generals and officers of flag rank. General Dynamics



German soldiers marching off War II.

has 187 officers, 27 generals and admirals and the former Secretary of the Army on its payroll. This is a ruling caste, which stays in power no matter who is elected to nominal public office, and every President finds himself obliged to serve the interests of this

American conscience on Vietnam

all-powerful group. Thus, American democracy has been emptied of life and meaning because the people cannot remove the real men who rule them.

It is this concentration of power which makes it necessary for the Pentagon and big industry to continue the arms race for its own sake.

The sub-contracts they award to smaller industries and war contractors involve every American city, and thus affect the jobs of millions of people.

Four million work for the Defense Department. Its payroll is \$12 billion, twice that of the US automobile industry. A further four million work directly in arms industries. In many cities military production accounts for as much as 80% of all manufacturing jobs. Over 50% of the gross national product of the US is devoted to military spending.

This vast military system covers the world with over 3000 military bases, for the simple purpose of protecting the same empire which was described so clearly in the statements of President Eisenhower, the State Department adviser and the New York Times which I mentioned earlier.

From Vietnam to the Dominican Republic, from the Middle East to the Congo, the economic interests of a few big corporations linked to the arms industry and the military itself determine what happens to American lives. It is on their orders that the US invades and oppresses starving and helpless people.

★

YET, despite the immense wealth of the US, despite



off suspect partisans during World

the fact that with only 6% of the world's people, approaching two-thirds of the world's resources are in its possession, despite the control over the world's oil, cobalt, tungsten, iron ore, rubber and other vital resources, despite the vast billions of profits that are gained by a few American

corporations at the cost of mass starvation among the peoples of the world, despite all of this, 66 million Americans live at poverty level.

The cities of America are covered in slums. The poor carry the burden of taxation and the fighting of colonial and aggressive wars.

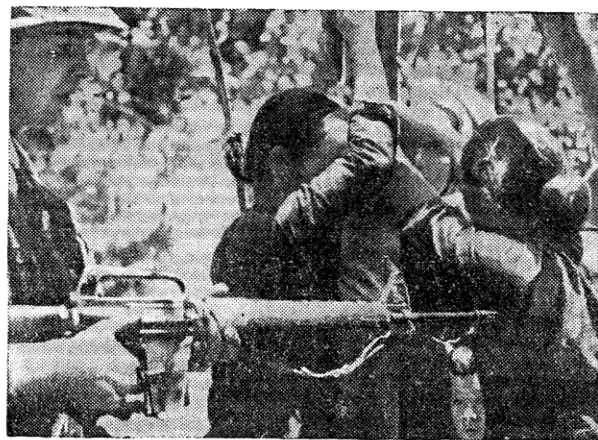
I am asking all of you to make an intellectual connection between events which occur daily around you, to try to see clearly the system which has taken control of the US and perverted its institutional life into a grotesque arsenal for a world empire.

It is the vast military machine, the great industrial combines and their intelligence agencies which are regarded by the people of three whole continents as their main enemy in life and the source of their misery and hunger.

If we examine the governments which depend for their existence upon American military force, we shall always find regimes which support the rich, the landlords and the big capitalists. This is true in Brazil, in Peru, in Venezuela, in Thailand, in South Korea, in Japan. It is true the world over.

The result of this is that in order to suppress a national revolution, such as the great historic uprisings of the Vietnamese people, the US is obliged to behave as the Japanese behaved in South-East Asia.

This is literally true. The concentration camps to which I have referred and which held nearly 60% of the rural population of South Vietnam, were scenes of torture, massacre and mass burial. The



And in Vietnam—new militarists different partisans.

special experimental weapons, like the gas and chemicals and jelly-gasoline, are as horrible as anything used by the Nazis during World War II.

It is true that the Nazis systematically exterminated the Jews and the US has not yet done anything comparable in Vietnam. With the exception of the extermination of

Jews, however, everything that the Germans did in Eastern Europe has been repeated by the US in Vietnam on a scale which is larger and with an efficiency which is more terrible and more complete.

In violation of solemn international agreements signed by American presidents and ratified by the American Congress, this Johnson government has committed war crimes, crimes against humanity and crimes against the peace.

It has committed these crimes because the Johnson government exists to preserve the economic exploitation and the military domination of subject peoples by US industrial magnates and their military arm.

The Central Intelligence Agency, which has a budget 15 times larger than all the diplomatic activity of the US, is involved in the assassination of heads of state, and plots against independent governments. This sinister activity is designed to destroy the leadership and the organization of peoples who are struggling to free themselves from the stranglehold of American economic and political domination.

US militarism is inseparable from that same predatory capitalism which reduced the American people themselves to poverty within the living memory of this generation. The same essential motives have led to barbarous and atrocious crimes on a great scale in Vietnam.

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I HAVE CALLED on intellectuals and eminent inde-

their government. Nobody considered it a sufficient excuse for Germans to say that they knew about the gas chambers and the concentration camps, the torture and the mutilation, but were unable to stop it.

I appeal to you as a human being to human beings. Remember your humanity and your own self - respect. The war against the people of Vietnam is barbaric. It is an aggressive war of conquest. During the American War of Independence, no one had to tell the Americans the purpose of their struggle or conscript them against their will. Nor was it necessary for American soldiers to go 10,000 miles to another country.

In the American revolutionary war against foreign troops Americans fought in fields and forests although they were in rags and the occupying army was the strongest of the day. Americans fought the occupier, although they were hungry and poor, and they fought them house by house.

In that war of liberation, the American revolutionaries were called terrorists and the colonial power was the one labeling them rebels and rabble. American national heroes responded with words such as Nathan Hale's and Patrick Henry's. The sentiment, "Give me liberty or give me death," inspired their struggle, just as it inspires the Vietnamese resistance to US aggression and occupation.

The Nathan Hales and Patrick Henrys of Vietnam are not the US army. Those who display heroism, love of country and that deep belief in freedom and justice which inspired the American people in 1776 are today the people of Vietnam, fighting under the revolutionary leadership of their National Liberation Front.

And so the American people are to be used as cannon-fodder by those who exploit not only the Vietnamese but the people of the US themselves. It is Americans who have been killing Vietnamese, attacking villages, occupying cities, using gas and chemicals, bombing their schools and hospitals—all this to protect the profits of American capitalism.

The men who conscript the soldiers are the same men who sign the military contracts in their own benefit. They are the same men who send American soldiers to Vietnam as company cops, protecting stolen property.

**Bertrand Russell's article
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Bertrand Russell's Article

(Continued from Page 5)

So it is that the real struggle for freedom and democracy is inside the US itself, against the usurpers of American society. I have no doubt that the American people would respond just as the Vietnamese have responded if the US were invaded and subjected to the atrocities and tortures which the US army and government have inflicted on the Vietnamese.

The American protest movement, which has inspired people all over the world, is the only true spokesman for American concern for individual liberty and social justice. The battlefield for freedom is in Washington, in the struggle against the war criminals—Johnson, Rusk and McNamara—who have degraded the US and its citizens. Indeed, they have stolen the US from its people and made the name of a great country stink in the nostrils of people the world over.

This is the harsh truth, and it is a truth which is affecting the daily lives of Americans irrevocably and increasingly. There is no looking the other way. There is no pretending that the war crimes are not occurring, that the gas and chemicals do not exist, that the torture and napalm have not been used, that the Vietnamese have not been slaughtered by American soldiers and American bombs.

There is no dignity without the courage to examine this evil and oppose it. There is no solution for the American crisis short of the emancipation of the American people themselves from these barbarous men who speak in their name and defile a great people by doing so.

The American people, however, are becoming alert and are showing that same determination and courage which the Vietnamese have so movingly displayed. The Negro struggle in Harlem, Watts and the American South, the resistance of the American students, the increasing distaste for the war shown by the American people at large, give hope to all mankind that the day when greedy and brutal men can deceive and abuse the American nation is drawing to a close.

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MY appeal to Americans is made with full awareness that the rulers of the US have spared no device in propaganda to hide from the American people the ugly face of their rulers and the truth about their behavior.

Abraham Lincoln gave expression to the hope that a people, once aroused, can be deceived no longer. All Americans who know from their own experience and from that of their closest relatives what has been done in Vietnam should come forward



Johnson style "humanity."

now. Speak the truth and take your stand alongside your brothers throughout the world. Struggle for an America free of murderous production, free of war criminals, free of exploitation and free of the hatred of subject peoples.

These peoples look to the ordinary people of the US to understand their plight and to answer their struggle with an American resistance capable of making the US again a citadel of individual liberties and social justice. The international War Crimes Tribunal is itself an appeal to the conscience of the American people, our allies in a common cause.

The War Crimes Tribunal is under preparation now. I am approaching eminent jurists, literary figures and men of public affairs in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the US itself.

Vietnamese victims of this war will give evidence. Full scientific data concerning the chemicals used, their properties and their effects will be documented. Eyewitnesses will describe what they have seen and scientists will be invited to examine the exhibits in the possession of the tribunal. The proceedings will be tape recorded and the full evidence will be published. There will be documentary film material concerning the witnesses and their evidence. We aim to provide the most exhaustive portrayal of what has happened to the people of Vietnam.

We intend that the people of the world shall be aroused as never before, the better to prevent the repetition of this tragedy elsewhere. Just as in the case of Spain, Vietnam is a barbarous rehearsal. It is our intention that neither the bona fides nor the authenticity of this tribunal will be susceptible to challenge from those who have so much to hide. President Johnson, Dean Rusk, Robert McNamara, Henry Cabot Lodge, Gen. Westmoreland and their fellow criminals will be brought before a wider justice than they recognize and a more profound condemnation than they are equipped to understand.

Sociological context of U.S. student movement cont.

By this time the civil rights movement, also helped to a position of national visibility by the Kennedy atmosphere, had become such. As noted earlier, students concerned with the peace issue had often participated in civil rights work, freedom rides, sit-ins, etc., but as a more or less separate aspect of their general disaffection with middle class America.

In the last two years this awareness has been deepened and broadened to a concern with the American poor in general; the community action projects designed to build "participatory democracy," noted in the footnote about the SDS, exist not only in Negro areas, but in poor white urban areas and in the Appalachian Mountains as well.

Nor was the message of the Cuban Revolution lost on the civil rights movement. Its example had aroused the interest of younger Negroes from the start, producing a split between generations similar to that in the peace movement.

For it is a lamentable fact that in the "older generation" of civil rights workers there exists little more than a desire to partake of the "good things" and be integrated into the American way of life.

The younger generation, for whom James Baldwin's description of our way of life is a burning house from which they want to be freed, those who work with SNCC for example and have fully dedicated themselves to the Negro people, have learned much from the methods and experience of the Cuban people.

In addition the facts of the Cuban crisis and blockade made this younger generation of civil rights workers aware of the relationship of foreign policy to their own struggle in much the same way as they made the peace movement's younger generation aware of their common interests with the plight of the American Negro and poor in general.

Thus, the student opposition to the war in Vietnam, although it is the most internationally relevant, is not the only aspect of the present American student movement. It has begun to integrate the struggle against war with the fundamental problems of poverty, ignorance, denial of democracy and racial and economic exclusion in general. And for the first time a mass

movement has begun to develop in the United States which no longer accepts the traditional American ways of thought, perception, "way of life" and dealing with problems as basic starting points.

In fact this is one of the primary reasons for the growth of the movement.

While it began with a disaffection among middle class students with middle class America, and among Negroes because of their exclusion from their own country, and was brought by the Cuban Revolution and crisis of 1962 to an awareness of the need to make concrete and specific its concern and protest, and by its confluence with the younger generation of Negro freedom fighters to an awareness of the relationship of people's needs and interests to the problems of peace, the movement as a whole remains non-ideological.

It has broken with acceptance of traditional American thinking and approaches to the world of today; it has developed to the stage of affirming the rights of people, in Cuba, Vietnam, or the United States itself to undertake solutions to their problems in the light of their own interests; it has no clear ideal as to the kind or direction or solution it feels should be sought.

I have tried to show how this is in many ways the logical outcome of the middle class origin of the movement, of the way, even in reverse, participants see the world, and the fact that it is still largely a process of search for new personal and social meaning and values to replace those that have been rejected.

Editorial continued

University degraded to a rationalization shop for the status quo, where the indoctrination process begun in the cradle and carried on through the intermediate education system is finally embellished with the requirements that characterise the more sophisticated authoritarian.

What a pity that the University is so often looked upon largely as a passport to a later salary above the basic wage, or as a sort of ultra successful marriage bureau, or a place in which the permanently immature can play at being adults! Surely it is infinitely more than any of these things.

It is a sorry state indeed when it becomes an institution in the humanities and social science departments of which, the same old cobwebby clichés of the establishment are regurgitated with moronic monotony.

The student who has learned what to think is the most abject of failures. There is only one worthwhile criterion of success and that is to learn how to think.

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Felix Greene views China's 'new revolution'



Felix Greene is the author of an important book on China, "The Wall Has Two Sides." He has visited China frequently as a journalist.

IT is always unwise to comment definitively on a revolution that it is going on—especially a Chinese revolution, for events there most fast and the unexpected lies around every corner. Who, for example, could have foretold during those hectic "Great Leap Forward" days of 1958 that from out of all that vast excitement and apparently hopeless confusion, and after many experiments and errors (all, of course, derided by the West), there would eventually develop an entirely new social-agricultural system of unquestionable success?

The rural revolution in 1958 simply could not have been brought about merely by issuing edicts from above. It fulfilled its purpose precisely because the peasants themselves were directly involved as initiators. When the 500 million peasants of China tried their hand at developing a new kind of rural economy it led to muddle, excitement, errors—and eventual success. Success, because the end could only come when a new rural economy had been devised that met the real needs of those immediately participating—the peasants themselves.

It is worth reminding ourselves of this as we watch the unfolding of the new Chinese revolution. Perhaps this time we can avoid arriving at premature conclusions. Just as the rural revolution in 1958 was precipitated by the need to meet a number of specific social and agricultural problems, so the proletarian cultural revolution today sprang from the urgent necessity to resolve issues that were creating damaging tensions within the Chinese society.

First, and above all, the Chinese clearly felt that the time had come to meet head-on the problem of revisionism in their own country. As we all know, the Chinese have been watching with increasing dismay what they term the revisionism, the "creeping capitalism" that in their eyes has subverted the revolution in the Soviet Union. They have devoted an enormous amount of careful study to determine the causes of this phenomenon. They accept the thesis of Marx and Lenin and Mao that until the classless society is finally established, "the spontaneous influence of the petty-bourgeoisie will always be directed to the re-establishment of the old order." The Chinese do not consider that they are an exception to this law; and—so it now appears—there are still many Chinese who, because of upbringing and past influence, have never been able to shed their old ideas. To make totally certain that no individuals and groups representing a drift toward capitalism are left in positions of influence is apparently the cardinal objective of the present revolution.

But behind this overriding objective there are, it seems, other imperatives at work.

The Chinese have concluded, and in my view rightly,

that the United States is likely to expand the war in Vietnam to the point where China will have no alternative but to intervene—either because her own territory is attacked or because the Vietnamese call for her aid. I have no doubt whatever that under either of these circumstances China's response will be immediate and full-hearted.

How does an industrially backward country prepare itself for a possible confrontation with the richest and militarily the most powerful nation in the world? It would act, I suggest, exactly as China is acting now. The Chinese are not in the least daunted by the overwhelming superiority of the US in destructive weaponry, for they have long believed (and the Vietnam war is a vivid contemporary validation of this theory) that it is not the amount of weaponry that will determine the outcome of a struggle but the spirit of the people involved. Thus one of the first things that a country in China's position would do is to streamline the governmental apparatus to make certain that if the struggle should come only the totally determine and wholly dedicated are found in positions of influence. To insure the closest possible harmony between the military and civilian administrations, the military would be given a position of enhanced authority. The industrial priorities would be altered to eliminate the expenditure of material and human energy on non-essential consumer goods. All this is now taking place in China.

And finally, of course, the people—especially those who are not old enough to remember the revolutionary struggles prior to 1949—must be given their head so that they can capture the zest, the readiness for self-sacrifice, the austere conditions and the sense of common achievement that alone can bring victory.

Today the revolution is confronting every Chinese with a question only he can answer: Which side are you on?

Are you on the side of those who want to build a new society or among those who want to cling to the old? Are you really out for yourself or out for the good of the community? Are you ready to take the road toward socialism or would you choose the road toward capitalism? Strangely remote as these questions may appear to us, this is the tenor of the intense self-questioning that is going on today from one end of China to the other.

It is by no means a mild affair, this latest Chinese revolution, and given its objectives, it couldn't be. As in earlier upheavals mistakes will be made; some people will be hurt. To me, however, there is something extraordinarily exhilarating and humanly encouraging in the spectacle of a whole country re-examining the quality of its life and the direction in which it is going. Nothing like this has ever before been attempted anywhere. And who are we, with the evidence of increasing violence and corruption all around us, to scoff at a whole people attempting to re-order their society?

ONE'S distrust of the conservative press is further strengthened when one reads and hears what teachers, students and professors recently saw in Communist China. Returning from summer trips abroad they mostly admit to seeing some Chinese officials personally ostracized. The tactic is to march them down streets in shame, with placards around their necks. This of course is not conducive to a healthy society but it is a long way from the cries "Red Guards rampaging," "Civil war explodes." The truth is that some people are getting hurt in this "cultural upheaval" as Felix Greene points out, but mass purges, executions and violent demonstrations are not occurring around the clock as some sections of the Western press will have us believe.

It is to the credit of the Australian that they have released these news items, but lamentably they too still run those extrava-

gant and misleading headlines. One can only hope that those recent visitors to China will tour the campuses and tell the students what they saw.

★ Spain: Riots

ALEC BAGLEY writes: Madrid, on Friday, January 27, saw the biggest demonstration by Spanish workers there has been since the civil war, reports Le Monde.

When work ended in the factories of the city suburbs, practically all the workers boycotted the public transport laid on specially for them, and marched into the centre of the city to shouts of "Freedom!" There were clashes with police and over 500 marchers were arrested.

The workers were protesting against the government's decision not to let workers' representatives

take part in the drafting of the proposed new legislation on trade unions. The success of their demonstration was impressive proof of the free union movement in the factories.

Students, who for the moment seem to have won the fight for their own free unions, tried to demonstrate in support of the workers' great march. The police prevented them and the result was a number of casualties and arrests. The disturbances at the university continued the following Monday, and increasing police interference in student affairs resulted in the death of a student, who, according to reports in The Times, jumped from a window when police came to search his room. Madrid University is now closed down, and there have been arrests at Barce-

lona University, where students have demonstrated their solidarity with their Madrid colleagues.

In the meantime, discontent is mounting throughout the country. Strikes by 7,000 miners in the Asturias and by 5,200 textile workers in Catalonia may be only the beginning of a big push from below to liberalise Spain now that it is generally recognised that Franco himself can't last much longer.

★ The Tories are a Com Front

LONDON.—The student editor of the Conservative magazine in the London University, Jim McIvor, a law student, recently published an issue which was Marxist from front cover to back. He later admitted being a Communist, and stated that he had skilfully manoeuvred himself into the position of editor. The Tories are not happy.

WORLD NEWS

Weiss's 'The Investigation'

From the 'National Guardian' America

IT is a cold play and a chilling experience, but one of immense importance for every man of the 20th Century, most particularly the products of Western "civilization."

In an artful distillation of testimony from the 1964-65 Auschwitz trial in Frankfurt, Weiss calls forth a mass of facts and figures, evasions and explanations, to lay before us not simply the horrors of what happened at Auschwitz, but the pattern of those horrors that can tell us HOW it could have happened.

Neither Auschwitz nor Jews nor Germany are mentioned by name. There are virtually no stage movements, no histrionics, no confrontations. Witnesses give testimony without personal embellishment; the accused deny all personal guilt and appear without remorse.

This is not a drama about monsters vs. martyrs, a vendetta against any one nation or people; it is a relentless exploration of human behavior, and of the kind of society which makes such dehumanization the norm and, even, a necessity for individual survival.

As such, it is as pertinent for Americans today as for Germans, past and present.

As the testimony unfolds—of death by gas, death in the ovens, death by torture, by experiment, from injections, from exhaustion—what emerges as the most overwhelming quality of that nightmare is the immense impersonality of it all. We are shown how the camp was conceived, administered and run like an enormous machine, and how all those involved—victims and executioners alike—were treated and behaved like cogs in that machine. Obedience, efficiency, orderliness—these were the qualities prized in the running of the camp, and the accused on stage seem to take pride in the impeccability with which they performed their functions.

The only indignation displayed by most defendants is at charges of personal responsibility or involvement in any of their duties. They took orders, simply took orders. "At leadership school," explains one defendant, "we were told to accept everything without question. We weren't supposed to think for ourselves; there were others around to do the thinking for us." And the rest of the accused pound the arms of their chairs in approval.

As for the prisoners, to survive, report the witnesses, meant to become hardened, cunning, to "look out for yourself." Most, unable to comprehend the enormity of their fate, allowed themselves to be led through the machine to their death without resistance. The only way out was to become a tool of that machine, a "special duty prisoner," the actual hands that stoked the ovens, dropped the gas, hauled out the bodies—to become dead to all human values but the lowest common denominator of self-preservation. The witnesses on stage, the survivors, speak with eyes downcast, in a monotone, without emotion. "But you survived," asserts the defence counsel to one witness. She just stares at him.

The issue of the play, thus doggedly pursued through the form of a trial seeking to place guilty, clearly becomes the question of individual responsibility. At what point does a man cease to have choice? When, and how, does he lose, or relinquish responsibility for his own actions? If mass behavior is dictated by the machine, who has created the machine?

Weiss's answer, or the answer he finds in the experience of Auschwitz, is summed up in the words of one of the witnesses, spoken in this production in the last moments of the play:

"Many of those whose fate it was to play the part of prisoners grew up in the same conceptions as those who ended in the role of overseer. They had committed themselves for the same nation and for the same boom and profit, and had they not been appointed prisoners they might have made as good an overseer. We have to drop the superior attitude that the concentration camp is unimaginable to us. We were all acquainted with the society from which the regime emerged that could produce such camps. The system that prevailed here was one whose foundations were familiar to us, and therefore we could even adjust ourselves to its ultimate consequences."

The camp was, after all, as we are frequently reminded throughout the play, created out of the myths of racial superiority and political witch-hunting, for the real purpose of providing slave labor for the massive German war industries. The mass exterminations were only incidental, if inevitable and inseparable, consequences of the need for cheap labor to stoke the war machine and build the base



Mountain of boots and shoes at Auschwitz bears silent witness to the extermination of 6,000,000 Jews in SS death camps.

for economic prosperity, profits for the chosen ones. Only those too old or too young, too sick or too weak to work were killed off; and when the workers dropped, there were plenty more to take their place. Given a hierarchy of values with profit at the top and efficiency as the key, all else followed logically.

It is a logic which American audiences should recognize well—as they should recognize the rationale of the accused that they were only following orders. Under what other line of reasoning are David Samas, Dennis Mora and James Johnson now in prison, convicted of "refusal to obey the order of a commanding officer" (to fight in Vietnam)? And are our racial and political shibboleths in Vietnam any different from the German fascist variety? Or the economic interests which they ill conceal?

Yet it is questionable how many in an American audience of today, who have not already made these connections, will see the correspondence between their own position and that of the accused—or even the victims—much less make the connection between the monster Germany gave birth to and the one their own country is creating today. We are, after all, the people who proclaimed the Nuremberg judgment of personal responsibility in 1946 and are now marching off 320,000 strong to an undeclared war in Vietnam.

For German audiences witnessing "The Investigation," there was the stranglehold of well-documented national

guilt, emotionally reinforced by defeat, to nail them to the play's conclusions. America has yet to admit anything but the most honorable of intentions, and is riding the crest of invincibility. This has proved generally as strong a defence against individual Americans' doubts as it did for Germans in the '40s.

And there is the added risk Weiss runs in the use of material as shocking as the Auschwitz testimony, that audiences will turn off to it altogether, before they can be drawn to face its meaning. It is, after all, the most human of weaknesses that we will face nothing we don't have to. As a witness in "The Investigation" points out, the victims of Auschwitz let themselves be killed "because they understood nothing." And millions more, he warns us, "could stand again, waiting to be destroyed. And the new methods will be more efficient than the old."

He has learned the lesson of Auschwitz the hard way. Perhaps we will have to too.

But even in the bleak record of Auschwitz, there were some—both prisoners and keepers—who successfully resisted being chained in by the limitations on their vision and choice. An important factor for such resistance, Weiss tells us, was the possession of a political understanding, a wider referent that allowed the prisoner to transcend the jungle logic of his immediate surroundings, that gave him a structure and a goal for survival. Surely we can reach for no less. And, like Peter Weiss, can at least refuse the temporary luxury of silence.

—Patricia Brooks.