

1 of 5

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS SERVICE  
WITHDRAWAL SHEET (PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES)

FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
	Agency: Justice Department		
<del>#1 Cable</del>	<del>Hoover to Pres.</del> <i>open 7-25-85 NLS 85-252</i>	<del>5/13/67</del>	<del>A</del>
<del>#4 Cable</del>	<del>Hoover to Pres.</del> <i>open 7-6-99 NLS 95-274</i>	<del>5/12/67</del>	<del>A+C</del>

FILE LOCATION

NSF Country File  
Vietnam, The Bertrand Russell "Trial"

RESTRICTION CODES

- (A) Closed by Executive Order 11652 governing access to national security information.
- (B) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the document.
- (C) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in the donor's deed of gift.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS SERVICE  
WITHDRAWAL SHEET (PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES)

2 of 5

FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
	STATE letter APR 28 1978		
	Agency: State Department		
	<i>Open 5.29.98 RAC</i>		
#6 Cable	Stockholm 1350 <i>Exempt</i> C 1 p	5/8/67	A
<i>NOT YET OPEN</i>			
#9 Cable	Stockholm 1342 <i>sanitized</i> STET S 3 p <i>STET</i> <i>sanitized</i> RAC 5-14-98	<i>STET</i> 5/7/67	A
#10 Cable	Stockholm 1333 <i>sanitized</i> C 2 p	5/5/67	A
	<i>Open 5.29.98 RAC</i>		
#10a Cable	Stockholm 1332 <i>open 8-13-79</i> C 2 p	5/5/67	A
#10c Cable	Stockholm 1269 <i>Exempt</i> C 2 p	4/25/67	A
	<i>Open 5.29.98 RAC</i>		
#11 Cable	Stockholm 1337 <i>open 8-13-79</i> C 2 p	5/6/67	A
#12 Cable	Stockholm 1343 " C 1 p	5/8/67	A
#20a Memo	Katzenbach to Pres. " C 1 p	2/17/67	A

FILE LOCATION

NSF Country File  
Vietnam, The Bertrand Russell [REDACTED] "Trial"

RESTRICTION CODES

- (A) Closed by Executive Order 11652 governing access to national security information.
- (B) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the document.
- (C) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in the donor's deed of gift.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS SERVICE  
WITHDRAWAL SHEET (PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES)

3 of 5

FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
#2 Cable	Agency: State Department <del>Stockholm 1382</del> <i>Exempt - State 7-14-58</i> <i>Open RAC 1-29-99</i>	<del>TS 1 p</del> 5/12/67	<del>A</del>

FILE LOCATION

NSF Country File  
Vietnam, The Bertrand Russell "Trial"

RESTRICTION CODES

- (A) Closed by Executive Order 11652 governing access to national security information.  
(B) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the document.  
(C) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in the donor's deed of gift.



4 of 5

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS SERVICE  
WITHDRAWAL SHEET (PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES)

FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
#24a Memo	Agency: CIA  Memo for the Record S 4 p <del>Exempt 10-11-96 NLS 575-275</del> Exempt 6-27-03 NLS 02-124 C removed per jcl/Pg 2/28/12	12/1/66	A <del>C</del>

FILE LOCATION

NSF Country File  
Vietnam, The Bertrand Russell "Trial"

RESTRICTION CODES

- (A) Closed by Executive Order 11652 governing access to national security information.  
(B) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the document.  
(C) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in the donor's deed of gift.



NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS SERVICE  
WITHDRAWAL SHEET (PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES)

5 of 5

FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
	Agency: White House/CIA <i>NSC 12-14-78</i> <i>CIA 5-24-78</i> <i>Open 5.29.98 RAC</i> <i>8-13-79</i>		
#21 Memo	<i>Ropa to Rostow</i> <i>Sanitized</i> <i>S</i> <i>1 p</i> <i>Sanitized 9-26-96 NLJ 95-486 more info released</i>	12/21/66	A

FILE LOCATION

NSF Country File  
Vietnam, The Bertrand Russell "Trial"

RESTRICTION CODES

- (A) Closed by Executive Order 11652 governing access to national security information.
- (B) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the document.
- (C) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in the donor's deed of gift.

~~SECRET NOFORN~~

JORDEN  
WATSON

12-15 AM 5-13-67 LRC  
TO: THE PRESIDENT 001  
TO: SECRETARY OF STATE 002  
TO: DIRECTOR CIA 001  
FROM: DIRECTOR FBI

1967 MAY 13 04 23

(~~SECRET NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~)

MEETING OF U.S. PEACE MOVEMENT REPRESENTATIVES WITH NORTH VIETNAMESE REPRESENTATIVE FROM STOCKHOLM, MAY FOURTEEN-FIFTEEN, SIXTY SEVEN, PARIS, FRANCE.

REFERENCE IS MADE TO COMMUNICATION FROM THIS BUREAU MAY ELEVEN LAST WHICH REPORTED POSSIBLE MEETING BETWEEN NORTH VIETNAMESE AND REPRESENTATIVES OF U.S. PEACE MOVEMENT IN PARIS, MAY FOURTEEN-FIFTEEN NEXT.

ON MAY TWELVE INSTANT A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, AND WHO IS CLOSE TO STANLEY LEVISON, CONFIDENTIAL ADVISOR TO MARTIN LUTHER KING AND A FORMER CLANDESTINE MEMBER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY (CP), FURNISHED INFORMATION WHICH DISCLOSED CONTACT BETWEEN LEVISON MARTIN

PAGE TWO

LUTHER KING AND ANDREW YOUNG CONCERNING NORTH VIETNAMESE INVITATION. KING WANTED LEVISON-S EVALUATION OF THE INVITATION ALTHOUGH HE ADVISED NEITHER HE NOR YOUNG WOULD ATTEND. IT WAS LEVISON-S BELIEF THAT KING HAD MADE THE CORRECT DECISION SINCE HE COULD GET INTO TROUBLE BY DEALING WITH THOSE WHO WERE INVITED. LEVISON HAS NO RESPECT FOR THEIR "REALISTIC OBJECTIVE" JUDGMENT: THEREFORE FEELS IT WOULD BE EXERCISE IN FUTILITY AND EVEN MISLEADING. HE FEELS GROUP WOULD EXAGGERATE INFLUENCE OF PEACE MOVEMENT IN UNITED STATES TO POINT WHERE WRONG IMPRESSION WOULD BE CREATED IN MINDS OF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE. KING WAS IN AGREEMENT WITH LEVISON.

AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO SUCH A GROUP MAKING THE TRIP, LEVISON SUGGESTED THAT SINCE THE NORTH VIETNAMESE WANT AN HONEST APPRAISAL OF PEACE SENTIMENTS IN THIS COUNTRY, THAT A SMALL GROUP OF RESPONSIBLE, REASONABLE PEOPLE SIT DOWN AND MAKE SUCH AN ESTIMATE AND OFFER IT TO THEM THROUGH AN AGENCY LIKE U.THANT.

LEVISON FELT IF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE ARE BEING MISLEAD BY LACK OF INFORMATION, BY OVERESTIMATING PEACE MOVEMENT, AN OBJECTIVE APPRAISAL BY THE GROUP HE SUGGESTED MIGHT CAUSE THEM TO MAKE SOME CONCESSIONS AND MOVE TOWARD THE PEACE TABLE. LEVISON FELT THAT IN GOOD CONSCIENCE THE MATTER SHOULD BE PURSUED FURTHER SINCE HE ENVISIONED NEGATIVE PUBLICITY.

DECLASSIFIED

Authority

NJ 85-252

By

NARS, Date 7-25-85

PRESERVATION COPY



PAGE THREE

FOR THE PEACE MOVEMENT IF IT IS NOT DONE. IN OTHER WORDS, A RENEWAL OF OLD THE CHARGE THAT HANOI IS BASING ITS POLICY ON THE PEACE MOVEMENT IN UNITED STATES MIGHT BE MADE.

IT WAS LEVISON'S SUGGESTION THAT PEOPLE LIKE JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH KING, JAMES WECHSLER, THE EDITOR OF THE "NEW YORK POST"; DR. JOHN BENNETT, PRESIDENT OF UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY AND DR. EUGENE CARSON BLAKE, PRESIDENT OF WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, SHOULD BE URGED TO MAKE AN OBJECTIVE APPRAISAL. THEIR REPORT WOULD BE SUBMITTED AS A MINORITY REPORT.

KING WAS CONVINCED THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD REVOKE HIS PASSPORT IF HE DECIDED TO MAKE A TRIP TO PARIS, THEREFORE HE COULD NOT TAKE A CHANCE ON THAT. HE FELT THAT HIS JOB IS IN THE UNITED STATES WHERE HE MUST CONTINUE TO GET NEGRO SUPPORT AGAINST WAR AND BOMBING. KING SAID THAT IF OPPOSITION AGAINST THE PRESIDENT COULD MATERIALIZE TO FORCE CESSATION OF BOMBING, HE WOULD GO TO HANOI TO MEET WITH HO CHI MINH TO URGE NEGOTIATION.

THE CONFERENCE ENDED WITH LEVISON AGREEING TO CONTACT CORA WEISS TO DISSUADE HER FROM MAKING THE TRIP, AND TO FOLLOW HIS RECOMMENDATION THAT MORE INFLUENTIAL PEOPLE SUCH AS GALBRAITH COMMUNICATE THROUGH U. THANT. LEVISON SAID THAT THE RESULTS OF HIS MEETING WITH WEISS WOULD BE TRANSMITTED TO KING WHEN LEVISON SEES KING, POSSIBLE IN CHICAGO ON MAY TWELVE INSTANT.

GP-1

END AND HOLD FOR ACKS

~~SECRET NOFORN~~



INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

~~TOP SECRET~~

Action

CONTROL: 12192

Info

RECD : MAY 12, 1967 7:32 AM

PP RUEHC  
DE RUDKLM 103A 1321150  
ZNY TTTT  
P 121025Z MAY 67  
FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY  
STATE GRNC  
BT

~~TOP SECRET~~ STOCKHOLM 1382

NODIS-ASPEN

REFERENCE: STOCKHOLM 1372

1. DURING TALK EVENING MAY 11 ON OTHER SUBJECT, BERGSTROM SAID HE HAD BEEN SUCCESSFUL EARLIER IN DAY IN PERSUADING DAGENS NYHETER REPORTER NOT RPT NOT TO PUBLISH FOR TIME BEING STORY ABOUT SWEDISH CONTACTS NVN EMBASSY WARSAW. HE SAID HE HAD FOLLOWED GENERAL LINES OF STATEMENT WHICH GOS HAD DECIDED NOT TO RELEASE, I.E., CONTACTS IN WARSAW HAD BEEN FOR PURPOSE OF KEEPING GOS INFORMED OF HANOI'S VIEW ON WAR. HE ALSO STRESSED NVN WANTED NO PUBLICITY ABOUT THESE CONTACTS AND THAT PUBLICITY COULD EMBARRASS POLES.

2. BERGSTROM SAID HE MADE ONLY ONE PROMISE TO DANGES NYHETER REPORTER. IF ANYONE ELSE SHOULD PICK UP THIS STORY WITH INTENTION OF PUBLISHING IT, DAGENS NYHETER WOULD BE GIVEN THE CHANCE OF

PAGE 2 RUDKLM 103A ~~TOP SECRET~~  
DOING SO FIRST.

3. BERGSTROM'S ONLY COMMENT WAS TO EFFECT THAT FOREIGN MINISTRY WOULD HAVE TO BE MORE CAREFUL IN FUTURE ABOUT SENDING OBERG ON TRIPS TO WARSAW.

GP-1. CAMERON

~~TOP SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED

Authority RAC 22452

By us NARA, Date 1-29-99

1967 MAY 9 16 06

ul

S  
cy  
[Signature]

EHX434  
OO RUEHEX  
DE RUEHC 3349 1291555  
ZNR UUUUU  
O 091540Z MAY 67  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
INFO RUEHEX/WHITE HOUSE  
RUEHIA/USIA  
O R 091500Z MAY 67  
FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1035  
INFO RUOTCR/AMEMBASSY LONDON 139  
PUFNCR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 135  
STATE CRNC  
BT  
UNCLAS STOCKHOLM 1354

RUSSELL "TRIBUNAL"

REF: STOCKHOLM 1350

1. FOLLOWING ARE TRANSLATIONS PRINCIPAL STATEMENTS MADE BY PRIME MINISTER ERLANDER ON TV EVENING MAY 3 IN RESPONSE QUESTIONS ON RUSSELL PROCEEDINGS:

2. IN RESPONSE QUESTION GOES ATTITUDE TOWARD "TRIBUNAL" POSSIBLY LOCATING ITS SECOND SESSION IN STOCKHOLM, ERLANDER REPLIED: "RUSSELL TRIBUNAL NOT A MEANS FOR FACILITATING PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS VIET-NAM CONFLICT, AND I DO HOPE THIS VIEW WILL ALSO GAIN GROUND WITHIN TRIBUNAL".

PAGE 2 RUOKLW 067A UNCLAS

3. "ACTIVITIES OF TRIBUNAL HAVE REDUCED SWEDEN'S POSSIBILITIES IMMEDIATE VIET-NAM CONFLICT. SWEDEN'S ROLE SHOULD NATURALLY NOT BE EXAGGERATED. IT TRUE WE ONE FEW NEUTRAL COUNTRIES IN WORLD WHICH COULD HAVE BEEN EMPLOYED FOR THIS, BUT AS THINGS STAND TODAY WE DO NOT KNOW IF IT REALLY SHOULD COME TO SUCH A SITUATION".

4. "TRIBUNAL" PROCEEDINGS MAY HAVE HARMED US-SWEDISH RELATIONS AT SHORTER RANGE BUT "OVER LONG RUN, I CONVINCED WE WILL BE ABLE EXPLAIN IT ALL, NAMELY THAT WE ARE COUNTRY HAVING VERY FAR-REACHING RIGHTS WHEN IT COMES TO FREEDOM ASSEMBLY AND FREEDOM SPEECH". ERLANDER ADDED US "WITH ITS OWN STRONG DEMOCRATIC TRADITIONS" SHOULD NOT FIND IT DIFFICULT UNDERSTAND SWEDISH POSITION.

5. REPORT THAT PRESIDENT JOHNSON SENT LETTER PROTESTING "TRIBUNAL" SESSIONS IN STOCKHOLM FALSE. REPORTS MUST REFER CONVERSATION WITH ROSTOW IN BONN: "ROSTOW THEN CAME TO ME TO CONVEY PRESIDENT'S CONCERN AND REGRET THAT THAT TRIBUNAL TO BE HELD SWEDEN. I REPLIED I DID NOT BELIEVE TRIBUNAL WOULD PROMOTE THAT WHICH WE ALL WANT,

PRESERVATION COPY

PAGE 3 RUDKLM 067A UNCLAS

NAMELY, PEACE IN VIET-NAM, BUT THAT, ON OTHER HAND, SWEDISH LAW ON FREEDOM ASSEMBLY AND FREEDOM SPEECH MADE IT IMPOSSIBLE PREVENT TRIBUNAL FROM HOLDING SESSION SWEDEN AS PRIVATELY ORGANIZED AFFAIR. ROSTOW DID NOT VOICE ANY WARNINGS FOR FUTURE. HE POINTED OUT IT WOULD CAUSE MUCH SURPRISE IN UNITED STATES THAT NEUTRAL COUNTRY SHOULD PERMIT THE TRIBUNAL SESSIONS."

CAMERON

BT



4

*Mr. Watson  
Jordan*

~~SECRET NOFORN~~

11:45PM 5-11-67 MSE  
TO THE PRESIDENT 001  
TO SECRETARY OF STATE 011  
TO DIRECTOR, CIA 002  
FROM DIRECTOR, FBI

1967 MAY 12 03 57

S

~~SECRET~~ - NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

MEETING OF U.S. PEACE MOVEMENT REPRESENTATIVES WITH  
NORTH VIETNAMESE REPRESENTATIVE FROM STOCKHOLM, MAY  
FOURTEEN - FIFTEEN, NINETEEN SIXTY SEVEN, PARIS, FRANCE.

ON MAY ELEVEN INSTANT A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE WHO IS VERY  
CLOSE TO STANLEY LEVISON, CONFIDENTIAL ADVISOR TO MARTIN LUTHER  
KING AND FORMER CLANDESTINE MEMBER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY (CP),  
ADVISED THAT LEVISON AND ANDY YOUNG, EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT  
TO MARTIN LUTHER KING, WERE IN CONTACT THIS DATE. YOUNG  
ADVISED HE HAD VERY IMPORTANT MATTER TO DISCUSS WITH LEVISON SINCE  
HE COULD NOT REACH MARTIN LUTHER KING. ACCORDING TO YOUNG, ONE CORA  
WEISS CONTACTED HIM TO RELATE SHE HAD RECEIVED WORD (FROM WHOM IS  
UNKNOWN) THAT THE NORTH VIETNAMESE REPRESENTATIVE IN STOCKHOLM,  
SWEDEN, WOULD LIKE DESPERATELY TO MEET IN PARIS, FRANCE, MAY FOURTEEN  
NEXT WITH A GROUP FROM U.S. PEACE MOVEMENT AND CONSEQUENTLY, THEY HAVE  
INVITED MARTIN LUTHER KING, DR. BENJAMIN SPOCK, DAVE DELLINGER OF  
"LIBERATION MAGAZINE", CARL OGLESBY, FORMER PRESIDENT OF STUDENTS FOR  
DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, IVANHOE DONALDSON, CHAIRMAN OF STUDENT NON-  
VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, AND DAGMAR WILSON OF WOMEN STRIKE FOR  
PEACE.

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 12958, Sec. 3.6

NLJ 95-274

By ck, NARA Date 6-14-99

PRESERVATION COPY

PAGE TWO

CARL OGLESBY AND DAVE DELLINGER ARE REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN IN ATTENDANCE AT THE RECENT "INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL" SET UP IN STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN BY LORD BERTRAND RUSSELL.

WEISS SAID THAT THE NORTH VIETNAMESE ARE ANXIOUS TO HAVE A REAL APPRAISAL OF WHAT SITUATION IS IN THIS COUNTRY. LEVISON FELT THAT POSSIBLY WEISS HAD SUGGESTED SUCH A MEETING SINCE IN HIS OPINION, THE NORTH VIETNAMESE WOULD HAVE NO REASON TO KNOW OGLESBY AND DONALDSON. LEVISON SAID HE DID NOT TRUST WEISS' JUDGMENT. LEVISON SUGGESTED EITHER YOUNG OR JAMES BEVEL REPRESENT KING, SINCE IN HIS OPINION, IT COULD RUIN KING IF WEISS CONTRIVED THE MEETING. FURTHER, LEVISON FELT THAT THOSE INVITED ARE THE POOREST REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT. LEVISON DESCRIBED CORA WEISS AS A "SCATTERBRAIN, WHO IS ARROGANT AND WITH LEFT SYMPATHIES". IN HIS OPINION, SHE WAS NEVER ORGANIZATIONALLY CONNECTED (WITH THE CP).

ACCORDING TO YOUNG, THE NORTH VIETNAMESE WANT THE REPRESENTATIVES MENTIONED ABOVE IN PARIS BY MONDAY (MAY FIFTEEN NEXT).

SUBSEQUENTLY, LEVISON WAS IN CONTACT WITH UNKNOWN MALE DURING WHICH HE REPEATED AFOREMENTIONED INFORMATION. HE SAID THAT KING DEFINITELY WILL NOT ATTEND AND WAS UNCERTAIN IF YOUNG WOULD GO.

PAGE THREE

A SECOND SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, ADVISED CORA (RUBIN) WEISS WAS A MEMBER OF THE CENTRAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE (CCC) OF WOMEN STRIKE FOR PEACE DURING THE PERIOD JUNE-DECEMBER, NINETEEN SIXTY SIX.

IN MARCH, NINETEEN FIFTY SIX, A THIRD SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, ADVISED THAT ON MARCH TWENTY SIX NINETEEN FIFTY SIX, CORA RUBIN WHILE ATTENDING THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN, MADISON, WISCONSIN, WAS PRESENT AT A PUBLIC MEETING SPONSORED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN CHAPTER OF LABOR YOUTH LEAGUE (LYL).

LYL HAS BEEN DESIGNATED PURSUANT TO EXECUTIVE ORDER ONE ZERO FOUR FIVE ZERO.

GP-1

~~SECRET NOFORN~~



190249 <sup>5</sup>

## OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

90

Origin

SS

ACTION: CIRCULAR

MAY 8 8 25 PM '67

Info:

GPM

STATE: 190249 CIRCULAR

SP

JOINT STATE-USIA MESSAGE

SC

SAH

PASS USIS

L

H

Subject: Bertrand Russell "war crimes tribunal"

SAL

AF

ARA

1) The self-proclaimed "International War Crimes Tribunal"

EA

organized in the name of Bertrand Russell is underway in Stockholm,

EUR

after being turned down by General ~~De Gaulle~~ <sup>de Gaulle</sup> in its bid to meet in

NEA

IO

Paris, despite public statements by Prime Minister Erlander that

USIA

NSC

it was not welcome in Sweden and would not contribute to the cause

INR

of peace in Vietnam.

CIA

NSA

DOD

2) There has been no official USG public comment on the tribunal,

NIC

ACDA

which of course has no legal or official standing whatsoever.

(Press reports of letter from President Johnson to Erlander

are categorically untrue.) The biased and propagandistic

nature of this project has been fully documented in the

press, so there is no reason for statements to this effect to

be attributed to U.S. officials, either for the record or

Drafted by:

U:FASieverts:el:5/8

8808

Telegraphic transmission and  
classification approved by:

The Under Secretary

Clearances:

USIA-Mr. Pauker

EA/VN-Mr. Miller

EUR/SCAN-Mr. McKillop

DOD/ISA-Mr. Holland

EA/P-Mr. Armstrong

EUR - Mr. Leddy

DOD/PA-Col. Biondi(draft)L/EA-Mr. Feldman

INR - Mr. Smyser

S/S-Mr. Walsh

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

P - Mr. Arzac



## LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

on background. We hope to continue to avoid focussing attention on the tribunal, or raising its stature, by making it the subject of official U.S. notice.

3) Within these guidelines missions may find it useful to draw on following material if asked about the tribunal or its charges by host government officials, private citizens, or friendly reporters.

4) From its inception a year ago the Russell "tribunal" has functioned as a front and outlet for outspokenly hostile propaganda supporting the communist cause and attacking U.S. policy and actions in Vietnam. Its operations have been paralleled by a North Vietnamese "Commission to Investigate U.S. War Crimes" composed in part of NVN government officials, which has issued a number of statements and documents keyed to the Russell proceedings. The Russell group has sent some half-dozen "investigating teams" to North Vietnam, who were warmly received in Hanoi, where they held "press conferences" to announce evidence of "war crimes" that they had been shown.

5) Besides the 95-year old Lord Russell, the tribunal has associated

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

## LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

with it a number of other well-known "names", among them Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Isaac Deutscher, and the Yugoslav writer Vladimir Dedijer. However a number of other well known persons whose names were associated with the project at one time or another have severed their connection as the blatantly one-sided and propagandistic character of the project became clear. The prestige of the group was also weakened by the resignation or public disavowal of the "tribunal" by a number of well-known heads of state who had been listed as sponsors of the "Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation," a major source of funds for the project. Among those who took such action were Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, President Leopold Senghor of Senegal, President ~~Rajendra Prasad~~ <sup>Radhakrishnan</sup> of India, and President Ayub Khan of Pakistan.

- 6) The "tribunal" charges fall into five categories of "war crimes," as follows:
- A) aggression and violation of treaties;
  - B) use of or experimentation with new or forbidden weapons, such as gas or special chemicals;
  - C) bombing of civilian targets, such as hospitals, schools, and dikes;

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE



LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

D) torture and mistreatment of prisoners;

E) genocide, described as "creation of forced labor camps, deportation of population, or acts to exterminate population."

7) Missions already have available variety of documentation on U.S. role and policy in Vietnam conflict, which can be drawn on in responding to questions raised by above charges. In addition, following comments keyed to specific charges may be helpful:

A) U.S. and other free world forces are assisting Republic of Vietnam to defend itself against aggression by North Vietnam. North Vietnamese aggression violates explicit provisions of Geneva Accords of 1954 and 1962, as well as international law and practice. For full discussion of legal aspects see Department Legal Memorandum "Legality of U.S. Participation in the Defense of Vietnam", reprinted in Dept. of State Bulletin, March 28, 1966.

B) U.S., GVN, and other free world forces are not using any "experimental" weapons or weapons forbidden by international law. Charges that U.S. forces using "poison gas" are false. Riot control agents ("tear gas"), which have no lasting effects and are used by police forces around the world, have been employed in some operations to avoid casualties, particularly to civilians. Tear gas has also

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE



## LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

been used by the Viet Cong. Defoliating chemicals that have been employed are the same as conventional, commercially-available herbicides and have no harmful effects on humans or animals. Anti-personnel weapons (Container Bomb Unit, or CBU) are used only against gun crews firing against attacking aircraft, and prior to bomber attacks. The targets are specific anti-aircraft installations. Napalm has been used only sparingly in North Vietnam.

C) U.S. air strikes against North Vietnam have been carefully limited to military targets. U.S. pilots exercise care and caution to <sup>avoid</sup> ~~avoid~~ damage to civilian facilities, and injury to non-military personnel. In many cases, North Vietnamese military installations are located in or near civilian facilities. Under the Geneva Conventions, hospitals must be marked with a red cross visible from the air, and must not be co-located with military facilities. North Vietnam does not comply with these requirements. Dikes and dams have not been military targets, though on a few occasions they have been hit when near military targets. Damage to dikes has not caused serious flooding resulting in loss of life. Such charges as these could be investigated by an independent, impartial body like the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in Geneva. The Hanoi government has rejected repeated requests by the ICRC to visit North Vietnam.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE



## LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

D) Prisoners of War captured by the GVN, U.S., and other free world forces in North Vietnam are treated in accordance with the Geneva Convention on Prisoners of War. PW Camps have been visited number of times by ICRC representatives. There have been no rpt no reprisals against civilians, or execution of hostages. By contrast, VC have executed a number of prisoners of war as announced acts of reprisal, including three American soldiers. Conditions in liberated VC PW camps showed evidence of prisoner mistreatment, brutality, and starvation. ICRC has not been able inspect VC or North Vietnamese PW facilities, despite repeated applications.

E) There have been no acts of genocide by U.S. or other free world forces. U.S. clearly has not acted to destroy or "exterminate" Vietnamese population. U.S. military actions are limited to military targets related to North Vietnamese aggression against the South. President Johnson has repeatedly stated that U.S. has no intention of attempting to destroy the communist regime in Hanoi. U.S. forces are assisting the

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

## LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

the government and military forces of the Republic of Vietnam to defeat North Vietnamese communist forces attempting to take over South Vietnam by military means. Communist forces regularly use torture, murder, and terror tactics as part of systematic campaign against civilian population of SVN. See Depcirtel 176647 sent April 17 to all addressee posts for detailed discussion of VC terrorism.

8) Additional material on Russell "tribunal" in USIA wireless file backgrounder sent April 27 to all USIS posts for discretionary use. See also USIA Infoguide 67-6 of Sept. 19, 1966. USIA press service transmitting critical foreign media reaction in wireless files.

(EXCEPT SANAA)

SEND TO: ALL DIPLOMATIC POSTS/ (STOCKHOLM, COPENHAGEN, OSLO, HELSINKI,

LONDON, PARIS, SAIGON: PRIORITY)

Polads as follows:

CINCPAC	USBER BERLIN
COMAC	USUN
CINCSTRIKE	USRO
CINCLANT	Amcong HONG KONG
CINCOS	U.S. Mission GENEVA
ELCON RYUKYUS	
CINCEUR	
CINCUSAREUR	
SHAPE	

RUSK

END

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE



EHX3 79  
OO RUEHGX  
DE RUEHC 7425 1232155  
ZNY CCCCC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

*Cy Bator*

*6*

O R 082152Z MAY 67  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
INFO RUEHGX/WHITE HOUSE WASHDC  
RUEHIA/USIA WASHDC  
O R 082125Z MAY 67

1967 MAY 8 22 00

*(Handwritten circle with 'C')*

FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1032  
INFO RUDTCR/AMEMBASSY LONDON 133  
RUFNCR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 134  
RUMJIR/AMEMBASSY SAIGON 37  
STATE GRNC

DECLASSIFIED

Authority RAC 22453

By inc NARA, Date 5.29.98

BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STOCKHOLM 1350

REFERENCE STATE 189430, (NOTAL) STOCKHOLM 1342 (NOTAL)

1. BERGSTROM CAME APARTMENT 6:30 EVENING MAY 8 BECAUSE HE HAD BEEN UNABLE SEE ME IN OFFICE EARLIER. POLITICAL COUNSELOR ALSO PRESENT. BERGSTROM HAD RETURNED TO STOCKHOLM LATE MAY 7 CUTTING SHORT IS TRIP WITH NILSSON TO BUCHAREST AND SOFIA.

2. I ASKED HOW GOS SAW NEXT FEW DAYS RUSSELL SESSIONSPM I REVIEWELZAJ RFDEZ HYZEWE CJUZ MAY 4 AS DANGER SIGNAL SUGGESTING EXCESSES TO COME, AND IN THIS CONNECTION RECALLED ERLANDER OFFICIAL STATEMENT GOS EXPECTED "TRIBUNAL" OBSERVE SWEDISH LAWS. BERGSTROM AWARE FLEISHER STORY BUT COMMENTED THAT IT HAD NOT APPEARED SWEDISH PRESS.

~~PAGE 2 RUDKLN 868A CONFIDENTIAL~~

3. BERGSTROM SAID GOS ALERT TO RUSSELL SESSIONS BUT HE WAS WORRIED THAT "PRIVATE" NATURE HEARINGS MADE IT LEGALLY DIFFICULT DO ANYTHING. I NOTED "PRIVATE" NATURE DIFFICULT COMPREHEND WHEN WORLD TV AND PRESS AT ALL SESSIONS WHERE "WITNESSES" OR "EVIDENCE" PRODUCED. I TOLD HIM WASHINGTON WOULD BE WATCHING GOS ACTIONS TO IMPLEMENT PM STATEMENT ON SWEDISH LAW.

4. AT THIS POINT WE SAW MAIN SWEDISH NEWS TELECAST WHERE PM REPEATED FOR CAMERAS HIS EARLIER STATEMENTS ABOUT REPORTED PRESIDENT'S LETTER AND ABOUT ROSTOW TALK IN BONN. ERLANDER REITERATED STRONGLY THAT RUSSELL SHOW NOT HELPING SEARCH FOR PEACE IN VIET-NAM. HOWEVER, UNDER QUESTIONING HE SAID "TRIBUNAL" DID TELL HIM AT LEAST ONE NEW FACT -- U.S. USE OF CBU IN NORTH VIET-NAM.

5. BERGSTROM UNDERSTOOD OUR CONCERN AND HAZARDS AHEAD. HE HAS SOME IDEA OF HOW TO MEET PARTIALLY PROBLEM GOS OFFICIAL STANCE AND THIS MAY BE HELPFUL. BUT, HE ALSO AWARE THAT GOS COULD BE FACED WITH VIOLATION LAW WHICH IT CAN NEITHER PREVENT NOR RECTIFY. HERE AGAIN DOMESTIC POLITICAL REQUIREMENTS WILL CONTROL.

GP-3  
CAMERON  
BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NNNN

PRESERVATION COPY



UNCLASSIFIED

L  
7

Received Washington CommCen

8:47 A.M. Friday 5 May 67

VZCZCEEA971

PP WTE10

DE WTE 875

Received LBJ Ranch CommCen

11:03 A.M. Friday 5 May 67

FROM WALT ROSTOW  
TO THE PRESIDENT  
CITE WH70255

UNCLAS

MAY 5, 1967

YOU MAY BE INTERESTED--AND A LITTLE CHEERED--BY THE  
USIA SUMMARY OF EUROPEAN PRESS REACTION TO THE SHENANIGANS  
IN STOCKHOLM.

MOST FREE WORLD COMMENT ON THE RUSSELL TRIBUNAL  
VIEWED IT AS A PUBLICITY-SEEKING "FARCE" WITHOUT STATUS  
AS A LEGITIMATE FORUM. THE OPENING SESSION IN STOCKHOLM  
DREW MODERATE AND GENERALLY DISPARAGING COVERAGE IN  
MOST AREAS.

PRAGUE RADIO CHARGED THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAD  
EXERTED STRONG DIPLOMATIC AND POLITICAL PRESSURES ON THE  
SWEDISH GOVERNMENT TO BAN THE MEETINGS. IT SAID THE  
TRIBUNAL HAD BEEN "VERY WARMLY WELCOMED" IN SWEDEN,  
ALTHOUGH SOME "REACTIONARY" SWEDISH PAPERS HAD ATTACKED  
IT.

MAJOR BRITISH PAPERS WEDNESDAY CARRIED STORIES ON THE  
OPENING SESSION. LONDON'S CONSERVATIVE DAILY TELEGRAPH,  
UNDER THE HEADING "MOCKING JUSTICE," CALLED THE TRIBUNAL  
A "MACABRE, DISTASTEFUL AND PUERILE EXERCISE..."  
SPONSORED BY "A BOUNCH OF LEFT-WING LITTERATEURS,  
PAMPHLETEERS AND PROPAGANDISTS WHO ARE MANIFESTLY  
ENGAGED IN WHAT IS NOTHING MORE THAN ANOTHER ANTI-  
AMERICAN DEMONSTRATION." THE PAPER CONTINUED:

"THE IMPERFECT IMITATION OF JUDICIAL PROCEDURES IS ONLY  
FOR SHOW. THE 'TRIBUNAL' IS NEITHER AUTHORITATIVE  
NOR IMPARTIAL AND LACKS THE PROFESSIONAL SKILL NEEDED  
TO MAKE ITS CONCLUSIONS ANYTHING MORE SERIOUS THAN  
GRATUITOUS IMPERTINENCES. EVEN SO, THE SWEDISH GOVERNMENT  
MIGHT HAVE BEEN EXPECTED TO FOLLOW FRANCE'S EXAMPLE  
BY BANNING THE PERFORMANCE."

THE PAPER SAID THE REPUTATIONS OF AMERICAN LEADERS WOULD  
"NOT SUFFER UNDULY, BUT LORD RUSSELL'S REPUTATION AMONG  
MANY ADMIRERS MAY PROVE MORE VULNERABLE. THE ACKNOWLEDGED  
MASTER OF ENGLISH PROSE IS PRESENTED AS THE AUTHOR OF  
A DIATRIBE COUCHED IN CLICHE-RIDDEN JOURNALESE; THE GREAT  
LOGICIAN IS SEEN AS A VEHICLE OF COMMONPLACE POLITICAL  
INVECTIVE. IT IS THIS WHICH LENDS A TOUCH OF SADNESS  
TO AN OCCASION WHICH MIGHT OTHERWISE INSPIRE ONLY  
CONTEMPT."

IN CONTRAST, THE LIBERAL GUARDIAN, A CONSISTENT CRITIC  
OF U.S. VIETNAM POLICY, THOUGHT THAT EVEN THOUGH THE  
FINDINGS WERE "PREDICTABLE," THERE WAS "NO REASON WHY  
IT SHOULD BE EITHER CONDEMNED OR APPLAUDED." THE PAPER  
ADDED: "IT IS A BODY OF PRIVATE CITIZENS COLLECTING  
INFORMATION FOR THEIR OWN PURPOSES. IF IT BREAKS LAWS  
IT CAN BE PROSECUTED. IF IT UNEARTHS FACTS NOT HITHERTO KNOWN  
IT WILL HAVE ADDED TO OUR KNOWLEDGE."



THE PAPER MAINTAINED THAT THE TRIBUNAL FELL INTO "THAT CATEGORY OF EVENTS ABOUT WHICH IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO HAVE AN OPINION, BUT FOR THOSE WITH OPINIONS THERE ARE REMEDIES AT HAND. THOSE WHO DO NOT LIKE THE TRIBUNAL CAN HOLD A MOCK TRIAL OF RALPH SCHOENMAN," LORD RUSSELL'S SECRETARY, "ON CHARGES OF THEIR OWN CHOICE."

TUESDAY'S LONDON TIMES CARRIED A STOCKHOLM CORRESPONDENT'S REPORT DECLARING THAT "STARTLING NEW INFORMATION ABOUT AMERICAN WAR TECHNIQUES" WAS PROMISED BY THE TRIBUNAL ORGANIZERS. HE WROTE THAT "MORE THAN 20 CRATES OF DOCUMENTS" HAD ARRIVED FROM PARIS AND LONDON, AND THAT "EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS OF RAIDS ON NORTH VIETNAM VILLAGES, A FOUR-HOUR FILM OF THE RAIDS, EXAMPLES OF AMERICAN WEAPONRY... AND RECORDED INTERVIEWS WITH NORTH VIETNAM VILLAGERS" WOULD BE PRESENTED.

REUTERS CARRIED A DISPATCH WEDNESDAY WHICH SAID THAT "GRUESOME PHOTOGRAPHS DEPICTING MUTILATED CIVILIANS AFTER ALLEGED AMERICAN BOMB RAIDS OVER NORTH VIETNAM SHOCKED ONLOOKERS" AT THE TRIBUNAL. THE REPORT STATED THAT THE TRIBUNAL HAD ENTERED ITS SECOND DAY "WITH AN ARRAY OF COMPELLING TESTIMONY."

THE FRENCH NEWS AGENCY AFP, IN AN ACCOUNT OF THE INAUGURAL SESSION, SAID THAT LORD RUSSELL HAD ACCUSED THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT OF "HYPOCRISY AND FRAILTY" FOR REFUSING TO ALLOW THE SESSIONS TO BE HELD IN FRANCE.

IN PARIS, THIERRY MAULNIER, OF THE ACADEMIE FRANCAISE, WRITING IN TUESDAY'S CONSERVATIVE FIGARO, ASSERTED THAT THE PURPOSE OF THE MEETING WAS TO "DISCREDIT" AMERICAN ACTIONS IN VIETNAM: "FOR THIS, COLLECTING SIGNATURES AND HERALDING FAMOUS VOICES IS NOT ENOUGH. IT HAS ALREADY BEEN DONE. A TRIBUNAL IS SOMETHING DIFFERENT. IT IS IMPOSING IN ITSELF--EVEN MORE SO AN INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL.... IT IS A MATTER OF CREATING IN THE PUBLIC MIND A PARALLEL BETWEEN THE TRIBUNAL WHICH CONDEMNED THE NAZI WAR CRIMES AND THE ONE WHICH IS TO CONDEMN THE AMERICAN 'WAR CRIMES'. USING THE WORD TRIBUNAL FORCES ONE TO RECOGNIZE AN ANALOGY OF THE ACTIONS AND OF THE GUILT."

THE WRITER SAID EGYPT'S ARMY HAD "OCCUPIED A GOOD PART" OF YEMEN AND ITS AIR FORCE HAD DROPPED NAPALM BOMBS ON GUERRILLA VILLAGES THERE. YET, HE SAID, "I HAVE NEVER HEARD THAT THIS AFFAIR INTERESTED THE RUSSELL-SARTRE TRIBUNAL. THUS IT IS NOT THE INTERVENTION WHICH IS CONDEMNED, BUT THE SIDES TAKEN. IT IS A QUESTION OF CREATING A CERTAIN CONFUSION IN THE SPECTATOR'S MIND. THE FIGHT IS CARRIED ON WITH PROPAGANDA WEAPONS ON THE SIDE OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT AND NORTH VIETNAM..."

TODAY'S RADICAL-LIBERAL EKSTRABLADET OF COPENHAGEN CARRIED A FULL-PAGE REPRINT OF RUSSELL'S OPENING STATEMENT. COMMENTARIES IN OTHER DANISH PAPERS BRANDED THE TRIBUNAL A "FARCE" (CONSERVATIVE BERLINGSKE TIDENDE), AND "A POLITICAL ACTION STAGED AS A DRAMATIC TRIAL" (INDEPENDENT INFORMATION).

MEXICO CITY PAPERS HAD FRONT-PAGE STORIES UNDER DISPARAGING HEADLINES: "GATHERING OF DEMAGOGUES TO 'JUDGE' U.S." (CONSERVATIVE EL SOL DE MEXICO), AND "DECREPIT RUSSELL FARCE BEGINS" (MODERATELY CONSERVATIVE ULTIMAS NOTICIAS).



190249 8

## OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
☐ CHARGE TO

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

90

Origin

SS

Info:

GPM

SP

SC

SAH

L

H

SAL

AF

ARA

EA

EUR

NEA

IO

P

USIA

NSC

INR

CIA

NSA

DOD

NIC

ACDA

ACTION: CIRCULAR

MAY 8 8 25 PM '67

STATE: 190249 CIRCULAR  
JOINT STATE-USIA MESSAGE

PASS USIS

Subject: Bertrand Russell "war crimes tribunal"

- 1) The self-proclaimed "International War Crimes Tribunal" organized in the name of Bertrand Russell is underway in Stockholm, after being turned down by General ~~De Gaulle~~ <sup>de Gaulle</sup> in its bid to meet in Paris, despite public statements by Prime Minister Erlander that it was not welcome in Sweden and would not contribute to the cause of peace in Vietnam.
  - 2) There has been no official USG public comment on the tribunal, which of course has no legal or official standing whatsoever.
- (Press reports of letter from President Johnson to Erlander are categorically untrue.) The biased and propagandistic nature of this project has been fully documented in the press, so there is no reason for statements to this effect to be attributed to U.S. officials, either for the record or

Drafted by:

U: FASieverts:el:5/8

Tel. Ext. 8808

Telegraphic transmission and  
classification approved by:

The Under Secretary

Clearances:

USIA-Mr. Pauker

EA/VN-Mr. Miller

EUR/SCAN-Mr. McKillop

DOD/ISA-Mr. Holland

EA/P-Mr. Armstrong

EUR - Mr. Leddy

DOD/PA-Col. Blondi(draft)

L/EA-Mr. Feldman

INR - Mr. Smyser

S/S-Mr. Walsh

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

P - Mr. Arzac

## LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

on background. We hope to continue to avoid focussing attention on the tribunal, or raising its stature, by making it the subject of official U.S. notice.

3) Within these guidelines missions may find it useful to draw on following material if asked about the tribunal or its charges by host government officials, private citizens, or friendly reporters.

4) From its inception a year ago the Russell "tribunal" has functioned as a front and outlet for outspokenly hostile propaganda supporting the communist cause and attacking U.S. policy and actions in Vietnam. Its operations have been paralleled by a North Vietnamese "Commission to Investigate U.S. War Crimes" composed in part of NVN government officials, which has issued a number of statements and documents keyed to the Russell proceedings. The Russell group has sent some half-dozen "investigating teams" to North Vietnam, who were warmly received in Hanoi, where they held "press conferences" to announce evidence of "war crimes" that they had been shown.

5) Besides the 95-year old Lord Russell, the tribunal has associated

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE



**LIMITED OFFICIAL USE**

with it a number of other well-known "names", among them Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Isaac Deutscher, and the Yugoslav writer Vladimir Dedijer. However a number of other well known persons whose names were associated with the project at one time or another have severed their connection as the blatantly one-sided and propagandistic character of the project became clear. The prestige of the group was also weakened by the resignation or public disavowal of the "tribunal" by a number of well-known heads of state who had been listed as sponsors of the "Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation," a major source of funds for the project. Among those who took such action were Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, President Leopold Senghor of Senegal, President ~~Radhakrishnan~~ <sup>Radhakrishnan</sup> of India, and President Ayub Khan of Pakistan.

- 6) The "tribunal" charges fall into five categories of "war crimes," as follows:
- A) aggression and violation of treaties;
  - B) use of or experimentation with new or forbidden weapons, such as gas or special chemicals;
  - C) bombing of civilian targets, such as hospitals, schools, and dikes;

**LIMITED OFFICIAL USE**



## LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

D) torture and mistreatment of prisoners;

E) genocide, described as "creation of forced labor camps, deportation of population, or acts to exterminate population."

7) Missions already have available variety of documentation on U.S. role and policy in Vietnam conflict, which can be drawn on in responding to questions raised by above charges. In addition, following comments keyed to specific charges may be helpful:

A) U.S. and other free world forces are assisting Republic of Vietnam to defend itself against aggression by North Vietnam. North Vietnamese aggression violates explicit provisions of Geneva Accords of 1954 and 1962, as well as international law and practice. For full discussion of legal aspects see Department Legal Memorandum "Legality of U.S. Participation in the Defense of Vietnam", reprinted in Dept. of State Bulletin, March 28, 1966.

B) U.S., GVN, and other free world forces are not using any "experimental" weapons or weapons forbidden by international law. Charges that U.S. forces using "poison gas" are false. Riot control agents ("tear gas"), which have no lasting effects and are used by police forces around the world, have been employed in some operations to avoid casualties, particularly to civilians. Tear gas has also

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE



## LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

been used by the Viet Cong. Defoliating chemicals that have been employed are the same as conventional, commercially-available herbicides and have no harmful effects on humans or animals. Anti-personnel weapons (Container Bomb Unit, or CBU) are used only against gun crews firing against attacking aircraft, and prior to bomber attacks. The targets are specific anti-aircraft installations. Napalm has been used only sparingly in North Vietnam.

C) U.S. air strikes against North Vietnam have been carefully limited to military targets. U.S. pilots exercise care and caution to <sup>avoid</sup> ~~avoid~~ damage to civilian facilities, and injury to non-military personnel. In many cases, North Vietnamese military installations are located in or near civilian facilities. Under the Geneva Conventions, hospitals must be marked with a red cross visible from the air, and must not be co-located with military facilities. North Vietnam does not comply with these requirements. Dikes and dams have not been military targets, though on a few occasions they have been hit when near military targets. Damage to dikes has not caused serious flooding resulting in loss of life. Such charges as these could be investigated by an independent, impartial body like the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in Geneva. The Hanoi government has rejected repeated requests by the ICRC to visit North Vietnam.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE



## LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

D) Prisoners of War captured by the GVN, U.S., and other free world forces in North Vietnam are treated in accordance with the Geneva Convention on Prisoners of War. PW Camps have been visited number of times by ICRC representatives. There have been no rpt no reprisals against civilians, or execution of hostages. By contrast, VC have executed a number of prisoners of war as announced acts of reprisal, including three American soldiers. Conditions in liberated VC PW camps showed evidence of prisoner mistreatment, brutality, and starvation. ICRC has not been able inspect VC or North Vietnamese PW facilities, despite repeated applications.

E) There have been no acts of genocide by U.S. or other free world forces. U.S. clearly has not acted to destroy or "exterminate" Vietnamese population. U.S. military actions are limited to military targets related to North Vietnamese aggression against the South. President Johnson has repeatedly stated that U.S. has no intention of attempting to destroy the communist regime in Hanoi. U.S. forces are assisting the

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE



## LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

the government and military forces of the Republic of Vietnam to defeat North Vietnamese communist forces attempting to take over South Vietnam by military means. Communist forces regularly use torture, murder, and terror tactics as part of systematic campaign against civilian population of SVN. See Depcirtel 176647 sent April 17 to all addressee posts for detailed discussion of VC terrorism.

8) Additional material on Russell "tribunal" in USIA wireless file backgrounder sent April 27 to all USIS posts for discretionary use. See also USIA Infoguide 67-6 of Sept. 19, 1966. USIA press service transmitting critical foreign media reaction in wireless files.

(EXCEPT SANAA)  
SEND TO: ALL DIPLOMATIC POSTS/ (STOCKHOLM, COPENHAGEN, OSLO, HELSINKI,  
LONDON, PARIS, SAIGON: PRIORITY)

Polads as follows:	CINCPAC	USBER BERLIN
	COMAC	USUN
	CINCSTRIKE	USRO
	CINCLANT	Amcogen HONG KONG
	CINCSO	U.S. Mission GENEVA
	ELCON RYUKYUS	
	CINCEUR	
	CINCUSAREUR	
	SHAPE	

RUSK

END

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

9

# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

53

Action

SS VZCZCDKA777VV LMA601

006404

Info DE RUDKLM 049A 1271345  
ZNY SSSSS

1967 MAY 7 AM 10 43

GPM P 071330Z MAY 67  
SP FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
SC TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY  
SAH INFO RUDTCR/AMEMBASSY LONDON  
L RUFNCR/AMEMBASSY PARIS  
H STATE GRNC  
BT

STOCKHOLM 1342

SANITIZED

Authority RAC 22454  
By ics, NARA, Date 8.14.98

EA  
EUR RUSSELL PROCEEDINGS AT MID-POINT

P  
USIA 1. RUSSELL "TRIBUNAL" NOW PLANS TRY FINISH STOCKHOLM SESSIONS  
NSC MAY 10. WE KNOW SPONSORS ARE DISAPPOINTED THAT STOCKHOLM  
INR SESSIONS HAVE BEEN POORLY ORGANIZED AND THAT THEY HAVE NOT HAD  
CIA GOOD PRESS HERE. THERE HAVE BEEN UNTIL NOW MORE OBSTACLES  
NSA HERE THAN WERE FORESEEN. OUR OVER-ALL VIEW OF RUSSELL IMPACT  
DOD IS CIRCUMSCRIBED AND WE HAVE HAD NO DIRECT CONTACT WITH RUSSELL  
NIC PARTICIPANTS. WE RECOGNIZE THEREFORE THAT EVALUATION SET FORTH  
BELOW MUST BE A TENTATIVE ONE.  
RSR 2. RUSSELL ORGANIZERS CAUGHT SWEDISH GOVERNMENT ON THE WRONG  
FOOT. DESPITE WARNINGS FROM THE EMBASSY AND FROM ITS OWN FOREIGN

PAGE 2 RUDKLM 049A  
MINISTRY, GOS DID NOT FOCUS ON PROBLEM THESE PROCEEDINGS WOULD  
BE FOR SWEDEN. BY CHANCE, EVENTUAL DECISION CAME WHEN  
PRIME MINISTER WAS IN BONN, FOREIGN MINISTER IN REYJKAVIK AND  
WHEN POWER OF DECISION ESSENTIALLY IN HANDS LEFT-WING MINISTERS  
PALME, MYRDAL AND WICKMAN. DECISION WAS CONDITIONED BY DOMESTIC  
POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH RESPONSIBLE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS  
HAD NO WILL FOR OTHER THAN A RETREAT INTO THE LAW WHICH COULD  
GIVE A GLOSS TO THEIR ACTION. HOWEVER, ONCE INTO IT, GOS DID GIVE  
RUSSELL GROUP SOME CAUTION ABOUT BOUNDS OF SWEDISH LEGAL  
TOLERANCE. MANY EXCESSES HAVE BEEN AVOIDED THUS FAR AND RESULTANT  
SQUABBLES WITHIN RUSSELL GROUP OVER DEGREE OF RESTRAINT NEEDED  
HAVE DETRACTED FROM SUBSTANCE PROCEEDINGS. THUS THE QUICK  
GAVELLING DOWN OF PHILIPPINE DELEGATE HERNANDEZ MAY 4 WHEN HE  
MADE THE FIRST ATTEMPT TO INTRODUCE NAMES AMERICAN OFFICIALS  
INTO PROCEEDINGS.



-2-STOCKHOLM 1342, 071330Z MAY 7.

3. HOWEVER, NOW THAT SESSIONS APPROACH END THERE IS LESS NEED FOR ORGANIZERS TO BE CAREFUL ABOUT SWEDISH LAW. THESE ORGANIZERS MAY ALSO BE NOW SHARE EMBASSY'S CONCLUSION THAT GOS WILL NOT CLOSE DOWN THESE PROCEEDINGS SHORT OF SHOCKING OBSCENITY AGAINST AN AMERICAN OFFICIAL OR SERIOUS VIOLENCE IN HEARINGS THEMSELVES (A-692). CONSEQUENTLY, EMBASSY EXPECTS LANGUAGE

PAGE 3 RUDKLM 049A S  
OF RUSSELL GROUP TO BECOME WILDER IN NEXT WEEK. AND, FINAL REPORT OF THESE PROCEEDINGS WILL OIKELY BE HARD, PSEUDO-LEGALISTIC ATTACK ON US AND, VERY PROBABLY, ITS LEADERS. ORGANIZERS CAN DO THIS WITH REASONABLE ASSURANCE GOS WILL NOT CONSIDER INTERFERRING UNTIL AFTER THE EVENT AND THEN PRUDENCE TOWARD SOCIAL DEMOCRATS' LEFT WILL PROBABLY RESULT IN NO EFFECTIVE ACTION. SWEDES TALENT FOR WINDOW-DRESSING SHOULD NOT BE UNDERESTIMATED.

4. RUSSELL GROUP'S PRESS CONFERENCES AND FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS' REACTIONS ARE BAD AND WORLD DAILY PRESS TREATMENT MAY REFLECT THESE. CERTAINLY, THE AFFAIR GOES BADLY AT THIS POINT TO ANY FAIR OBSERVER IN STOCKHOLM. AND, WE HAVE SEEN NO REPORT

TS OF  
ANY RESPONSIBLE VOICE RAISED ELSEWHERE BACKING THE AFFAIR. BUT, WE QUESTION THAT POOR PUBLICITY AT THIS STAGE SERIOUSLY HURTS EVENTUAL AIM OF A SESSION IN STOCKHOLM. OUR PRIVATE SATISFACTION AT FUMBLES, TROUBLES AND BAD PRESS OF RUSSELL GROUP IN SWEDEN IS TEMPERED CONSIDERABLY BY KNOWLEDGE THAT FROM ORGANIZERS' STANDPOINT ONLY TWO MAIN FACTS ARE IMPORTANT:  
A) SESSIONS HELD IN A WESTERN DEMOCRACY;  
B) FINAL REPORT OF SESSION WILL THEREFORE HOPEFULLY BECOME A BASIC DOCUMENT FOR ALL OF WORLD EXCEPT MOST SOPHISTICATED AND MOST HONEST.

THUS, US COULD BE PLAGUED BY 1967 VERSION 1960 STOCKHOLM APPEAL AND PICASSO'S DOVE.

PAGE 4 RUDKLM 049 A  
5. THIS EVALUATION MAY NOT TAKEN ENOUGH ACCOUNT OF SPLITS WE KNOW EXIST WITHIN RUSSELL CAMP OR OF ERRATIC BEHAVIOR SCHOENMAN, RUSSELL AND OTHERS. EITHER OF THESE COULD LEAD TO DIFFUSION OF MEETING'S EVENTUAL IMPACT.

-3-STOCKHOLM 1342, -071330Z MAY 7.

6. WE SPECULATE THAT STAND-OFF ATTITUDE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES MAY REFLECT LESS FEARS OF RUSSELL GROUP'S TROTSKY COLORATIONS THAN OF UNCERTAINTY THAT THIS MIXED CREW CAN BRING OFF ANYTHING WORTHWHILE FOR THE COMMUNISTS. BUT WE MUST EXPECT THAT THE COMMUNISTS WILL FIND USEFUL A JUDICIAL LOOKING REPORT WITH A STOCKHOLM DATELINE CONDEMNING US BOMBINGS AGAINST NVN AND US VIOLATIONS "INTERNATIONAL LAW" ON AGRESSION.

7. ON SMALLER STAGE OF SWEDEN, TELLING FACTS ARE THAT ALTHOUGH ABOUT 90 PERCENT SWEDISH PRESS OPPOSED RUSSELL MEETINGS HERE, NATIONALIZED SWEDISH TV AND RADIO, AFTER PRODDING FROM LEFT, ARE GIVING PROCEEDINGS GOOD COVERAGE IN FAVORABLE LIGHT AND THAT GOS IS GIVING RUSSELL ORGANIZERS THE SCOPE THEY NEED.

8. AGAINST BACKGROUND THIS ANALYSIS, WE AGREE WITH STATEMENT  THAT BEST SOLUTION FOR US WOULD BE FOR GOS TO HALT PROCEEDINGS BEFORE THEIR CONCLUSION. BUT OUR ANALYSIS EXCLUDES SUCH SWEDISH ACTION AS SERIOUS POSSIBILITY. HOWEVER, BELIEVE WE SHOULD ASSURE OURSELVES THAT FOREIGN MINISTRY

25X1A6a

PAGE 5 RUDKLM 049A  
WHICH EARLIER WAS CAUGHT SHORT ON HOLDING "TRIBUNAL" SESSIONS HERE IS FULLY AWARE OF DANGERS OF EXCESSES DURING FINAL SESSIONS AND IN REPORT. SUGGEST WE BE INSTRUCTED TO CAUTION FOREIGN MINISTRY STRONGLY THAT WE WILL BE WATCHING CLOSELY GOS HANDLING EXPECTED EXCESSES IN LIGHT PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT GOS EXPECTS "TRIBUNAL" OBEY SWEDISH LAWS AND REGULATIONS.

25X1A6a

9.   
GP-3  
CAMERON  
BT



INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

10

84

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Action

DKA587LMA562

SS

PP RUEHC  
DE RUDKLM 038A 1251715  
ZNY CCCCC

Info

P 051700Z MAY 67

GPM

FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY

SP

RUMJIR/AMEMBASSY SAIGON

SC

INFO RUFHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN

SAH

STATE GRNC

L

BT

H

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STOCKHOLM 1333

SAL

JOINT STATE/USIS MESSAGE

EA

EUR

P

NSC

INR

CIA

NSA

DOD

NIC

AID

RSR

PAGE 2 RUDKLM 038A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2. EMBASSY-USIS HAVE AGREED THAT US INTERESTS WOULD NOT BE HELPED BY GVN ATTEMPT AID FREE ASIA COMMITTEE'S HEARINGS FOR FOLLOWING REASONS:

A. THE RUSSELL PROCEEDINGS ARE FALTERING BADLY THANKS TO SCHOEMAN ANTAGONIZING PRESS BY CONCENTRATING ATTENTION ON WRANGLES WITH SWEDISH GOVERNMENT AND WITH SWEDISH RUSSELL COMMITTEE. RUSSELL GROUP HERE HAS ALREADY COMPLAINED OF LACK OF PRESS ATTENTION. BARTRE'S WASPISH REACTION TO SECRETARY'S BRUSH OFF OF "TRIBUNAL INVITATION" TO TESTIFY SHOWS THAT EVEN FORMER IS AWARE "TRIBUNAL" NOT GETTING ITS "STORY" OVER THEREFORE, ANY COUNTER-TRIBUNAL PARTICULARLY IF BADLY ORGANIZED, WOULD TEND MAKE RUSSELL PROCEEDINGS LOOK BETTER.

B. FREE ASIA COMMITTEE WHILE UNDOUBTEDLY WELL-INTENTIONED, HAS BEEN EXTREMELY INEPT IN THE PAST AND WE HAVE NO REASON TO BELIEVE IT CAN IMPROVE ITS PERFORMANCE.

C. LEAD TIME IS NOW SO SHORT THAT RUSSELL GROUP AND NEWS CORPS WILL BE DISPERSED BY TIME FREE ASIA GROUP GETS ITS "HEARINGS" UNDER WAY AND ONLY ONE-SIDED SWEDISH PRESS WILL DO ANY DETAILED REPORTING.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

005295

1967 MAY 5 PM 1 49

DECLASSIFIED

Authority EAC 22455

By iss NARA, Date 5.29.98

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE 2 - STOCKHOLM 1333 5/5/67

D. SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY ON ALIENS COMMISSION WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY VOTE AGAINST VISAS FOR SOUTH VIETNAMESE FOR SAME REASONS THEY VOTED IN FAVOR OF VISAS FOR NORTH VIETNAMESE.

PAGE 3 RUDKLM 038A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3. BASED ON ABOVE, EMBASSY-USIS RECOMMENDS THAT GVN BE ENCOURAGED REPLY FREE ASIA COMMITTEE AT STAMLATAN 84, STOCKHOLM, EITHER DIRECTLY OR THROUGH ITS EMBASSY IN BONN, REGRETTING THERE IS NOT SUFFICIENT TIME ORGANIZE THE DISPATCH OF LARGE NUMBERS REQUESTED WITNESSES FOR COUNTER "TRIBUNAL."

GP-1

CAMERON

BT

NOTE: PASSED USIA 5/5/67 3:25 P.M.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



NNNNXVZCZCDKA585LMA558

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PP RUEHC

DE RUDKLM 037A 1251645

ZNY CCCCC

P 051630Z MAY 67

FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO RUDTCR/AMEMBASSYLONDON

RUFNCR/AMEMBASSY PARIS

STATE LRNC

BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STOCKHOLM 1332

REF: STOCKHOLM 1325

RUSSELL ROUNDUP

005296

1967 MAY 5 PM 1 49

DECLASSIFIED

Authority STATE letter APR 28 1978

By led, NARS, Date 8/13/79

1. RUSSELL GROUP NOW PLANNING NIGHT SESSION IN ATTEMPT GET THROUGH "EVIDENCE" BEFORE MAY 12.

2. BOTH FOREIGN AND SWEDISH MEMBERS RUSSELL GROUP HAVE COMPLAINED OF POOR SWEDISH AND FOREIGN PRESS COVERAGE, MOST OF WHICH HAS CENTERED ON SCHOEMAN ANTICS BEFORE FIRST INVITATIONAL

PAGE 2 RUDKLM 037A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
"TRIBUNAL." ONLY EFFECT COMPLAINT THUS FAR HAS BEEN INCREASED COVERAGE BY SWEDISH RADIO AND TV. MINIMAL SWEDISH EDITORIAL COMMENT THIS WEEK OF "TRIBUNAL," PARTLY BECAUSE NO NEWSPAPERS PUBLISHED MAY 1 AND MAY 4.

3. NEW YORK NOT TOKYO NOW BEING DISCUSSED AS LOCATION SECOND SESSION.

4. SARTRE, OBVIOUSLY STUNG BY SECRETARY'S REPLY TO "TRIBUNAL'S INVITATION," GAVE SEVERAL VITUPERATIVE QUOTES TO NEWSMAN MAY 4.

5. JEAN-PIERRE VIGIER, FRENCH INVESTIGATOR FOR "TRIBUNAL" GAVE LONG EXPLANATION EVENING MAY 4 ON SWEDISH TV ABOUT CLUSTER BOMB UNITS. IN PRIVATE, HE TOLD REUTERS THAT NORTH VIET-NAM "WAS BEING HURT" BY US BOMBING.

6. SOME OBSERVERS PROFESS TO SEE SIGNIFICANCE IN PHAN VAN BACH STATEMENT THAT BASIC PROBLEM IS THAT NORTH VIET-NAM WANTS TO RE-UNIFY VIET-NAM AND US WANTS TO PERPETUATE DIVISION. HOWEVER, LATER REPORTS SHOW THAT WHENEVER PHAN VAN BACH MADE THIS STATEMENT, HE COUPLED IT WITH STATEMENT THAT US "AIMS TO MAKE A PERMANENT MILITARY BASE OUT OF SOUTH VIET-NAM."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-2- STOCKHOLM 1332, May 5

PAGE 3 RUDKLM 037A ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

7. FLEISHER REPORT TO WASHINGTON POST MAY 4 (REFTEL) WAS INACCURATE ON SEQUENCE SENTENCES IN HERNANDEZ REMARKS. HERNANDEZ BECAME FIRST SPEAKER AT "TRIBUNAL" TO MENTION PRESIDENT, SECRETARIES RUSK OR MCNAMARA, AND HE WAS THEN IMMEDIATELY INTERBY "PRESIDING JUDGE." HE STARTED AGAIN TALKING ABOUT "MURDERER OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE" AND WAS AGAIN HALTED. HE THEN BEGAN A THIRD TIME REFERRING AGAIN TO THE AMERICAN OFFICIALS SAYING THAT THEY WERE BEHIND THE WAR IN VIET-NAM BUT NOT CALLING THEM "MURDERERS OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE." RELIABLE AMERICAN AND BRITISH NEWSPAPERMEN HAVE CONFIRMED SEQUENCE TO US AND SWEDISH PRESS HAS NOT REPORTED AT ALL HERNANDEZ REMARKS ON US OFFICIALS

8. NBC MAN HERE HAS JUST TOLD US EVENING SESSION "TRIBUNAL" MAY 5 WILL ALSO CONSIDER CALLING CAPTURED US PILOTS FROM NORTH VIET-NAM AS "WITNESSES".

GP-3.

CAMERON

BT



# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

106

48

UNCLASSIFIED

Action

027473D 18  
1967 APR 27 AM 30

SS  
Info  
GPM  
SP  
SC  
SAH  
L  
H  
EA  
EUR  
P  
USIA  
NSC  
INR  
CIA  
NSA  
DOD  
AID  
RSR

RERVZCZCDKA514 LMA263  
PP RUEHC RUDSC RUFJC  
DE RUDKLM 190A 1171505  
ZNR UUUUU  
P 271455Z APR 67  
FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY  
INFO RUDSC/AMEMBASSY LONDON  
RUFJC/AMEMBASSY PARIS  
STATE GRNC  
BT  
UNCLAS STOCKHOLM 1283

REF: STOCKHOLM 1274

SUBJECT: "RUSSELL TRIBUNAL"

FOLLOWING IS TRANSLATION FROM MINISTRY PRESS RELEASE APRIL 27:  
"AT THE MEETING OF THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COUNCIL\* TODAY THE  
QUESTION ABOUT THE SO CALLED RUSSELL TRIBUNAL WAS THE SUBJECT  
OF DISCUSSION. IT APPEARED AT THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL THAT  
ALL POLITICAL PARTIES REPRESENTED ON THE COUNCIL\* SHARE THE  
VIEW THAT THE TRIBUNAL CANNOT PROMOTE THE AIM OF ACHIEVING  
PEACE IN VIET-NAM. THE MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL WERE UNANIMOUS  
IN REGRETTING THAT, IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT THE GOVERNMENT  
HAS GIVEN CLEAR EXPRESSION TO THIS ITS VIEW, THE MEETING OF  
THE TRIBUNAL HAS NEVERTHELESS BEEN PLACED IN SWEDEN. THE

PAGE 2 RUDKLM 190A UNCLAS  
FOREIGN RELATIONS COUNCIL NOTED AT THE SAME TIME THAT PREVAILING  
REGULATIONS AND PRACTICE CONCERNING FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND  
FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY DO NOT PROVIDE A MEANS FOR PREVENTING THE  
TRIBUNAL'S MEETING IN STOCKHOLM."  
CAMERON  
BT

\* A body of parliamentary representatives of the non-communist  
parties which advises the government on foreign policy matters  
\*\* Communists are not on council

UNCLASSIFIED

# INCOMING TELEGRAM Department of State

100

90-S

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Action

SS

Info

1967 APR 25 PM 5 18

025352

GPM TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
SP INFO RUFHOL/AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY  
SC RUDTCR/AMEMBASSY LONDON  
SAH RUFNCR/AMEMBASSY PARIS  
L STATE GRNC  
BT

H ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STOCKHOLM 1269

EA REF: STOCKHOLM 1264, 1268

IO SUBJECT: "RUSSELL TRIBUNAL" MEETINGS STOCKHOLM

P

NSC 1. FONMIN DIRECTOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS BERGSTROM AND OBERG  
INR CAME BY APARTMENT EVENING APRIL 25 TO TELL ME OUTCOME OF CONSULTATIVE  
CIA COMMITTEE OF CABINET (PALME PRESENT AND, ACCORDING RELIABLE NEWS-  
NSA PAPERMAN, ALSO CHAIRMAN) EARLIER AFTERNOON SAME DAY (PARA 3  
DOD STOCKHOLM 1264). THIS COMMITTEE REVIEWED POSSIBLE LEGAL MEANS OF  
NIC PREVENTING MEETING RUSSELL TRIBUNAL AND CONCLUDED THAT NO SUCH  
BASIS EXISTED FOR PREVENTING INITIAL SESSIONS. GROUP DECIDED  
AGAINST USING VISA DENIAL AS INSTRUMENT. BERGSTROM REFERRED TO  
EXPLANATION HE HAD GIVEN ME EARLIER AND ADDED THAT IN AGITATED  
RSR POLITICAL CLIMATE SWEDEN VISA ACTION WOULD BE COUNTER PRODUCTIVZ  
FOR GOVERNMENT.

2. BERGSTROM THEN GAVE ME PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT WHICH HAD BEEN  
RELEASED 30 MINUTES EARLIER TO SWEDISH NEWS SERVICE (STOCKHOLM  
1268). HE SAID THIS TEXT HAD BEEN APPROVED BY PRIMIN IN GERMANY AND  
BY FONMIN IN REYKJAVIK. FONMIN HAD ASKED BERGSTROM TO GIVE  
ME MESSAGE THAT HE WAS VERY UNHAPPY AT THIS DEVELOPMENT.

3. THEN BERGSTROM EXPLAINED THAT GOS HAD NO LEGAL MEANS TO PREVENT  
OPENING MEETINGS FROM TAKING PLACE. HE SAID GOS INTENDED FOLLOW  
PROCEEDINGS CLOSELY TO ASSURE ITSELF THAT MEETINGS DID NOT REPEAT  
NOT CONTRAVENE SWEDISH LAWS AND REGULATIONS ON MAINTENANCE OF  
PUBLIC ORDER AND THOSE PROHIBITING DEFAMATION OF HEADS OF STATE  
(THESE LAWS COME INTO EFFECT ONLY AFTER THE FACT).

4. BERGSTROM SAID CLOSED SESSIONS WOULD TAKE PLACE AT FOXETHUS  
FROM THURSDAY, APRIL 27, TO APRIL 29. THEN DURING SUBSEQUENT  
SESSIONS UNTIL MAY 8 PRESS AND SELECTED INDIVIDUALS WOULD BE  
ADMITTED BY INVITATION.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority RAC 2256  
By ics NARA, Date 5.29.98



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-2- STOCKHOLM 1269, 4-25-67

5. SWEDES SAID THAT LABOR UNION PARTICIPANTS PLANNED ISSUE STATEMENT, PERHAPS LATER THIS EVENING. THIS STATEMENT WOULD SAY THAT TRADE UNIONS WOULD CONTINUE THEIR SUPPORT ONLY IF SESSIONS WERE DIGNIFIED AND DEVOTED TO "OBJECTIVE" INFORMATION ABOUT VIET-NAM WAR. BERGSTROM AND OBERG SAW THESE PARTICIPANTS AS MODERATING INFLUENCE IN RUSSELL TRIBUNAL SESSIONS.

6. BOTH SWEDES STRESSED FONMINISTRY'S UNHAPPINESS WITH THIS DEVELOPMENT AND THEY ASSOCIATED PRIMIN AND FONMIN WITH THIS.

7. I MADE FOLLOWING POINTS:

A. I REGRETTED MOST ADVERSE EFFECT THIS DEVELOPMENT ON US2 SWEDISH RELATIONS WHILE RECOGNIZING THAT OFFICIALS MENTIONED ABOVE HAD TRIED TO PREVENT "RUSSELL TRIBUNAL" MEETINGS STOCKHOLM.

B. I THOUGHT WASHINGTON WOULD SEE PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT AS SECOND ACTION IN SHORT PERIOD OF TEN DAYS IN WHICH DOMESTIC POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS HAD BEEN GIVEN GREATER WEIGHT THAN SWEDEN'S RELATIONS WITH US.

C. WE COULD NOT UNDERSTAND HOW SWEDISH ACTION COULD FORWARD PEACE IN VIET-NAM. I FELT SURE WASHINGTON'S ASSESSMENT WOULD BE THAT THIS SECOND SWEDISH ACTION WOULD SERVE TO HARDEN HANOI'S POSITION TOWARDS NEGOTIATION.

8. BERGSTROM DID NOT TAKE EXCEPTION THESE POINTS. SAID HE WOULD NOT REPEAT NOT BE SURPRISED IF WE RECEIVED STIFF INSTRUCTIONS TO CONVEY TO FONMINISTRY. ADDED THAT EVEN AT POINT OF GREATEST DISAGREEMENT WE MUST CONTINUE TO EXCHANGE VIEWS AND DISCUSS OUR DIFFERENCES.

9. I TOLD BERGSTROM THAT WE WOULD CONTINUE TO REPLY ALL PRESS QUESTIONS WITH NO COMMENT UNTIL WE RECEIVED OTHER INSTRUCTIONS FROM DEPARTMENT. GP-3. CAMERON

NOTE: PASSED S/S-O, WHITE HOUSE, USIA 4-25-67, 5:50 PM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

# INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

10 d

90

UNCLASSIFIED

Action

025337

SS

Info

ISWSXFGIKCW LMA174

1967 APR 25 PM 4 34

GEM  
SP  
SC  
SAH  
L  
H  
EA  
EUR  
IO  
P  
USIA  
NSC  
INR  
CIA  
NSA  
DOD  
RSR

PP RUEHC  
EE RUDKLM 172A 1152035  
ZNR UUUUU  
P 252015Z APR 67  
FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
TO RUEHC. SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY  
INFO RUFKC/AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY  
RUDSC/AMEMBASSY LONDON  
RUFJC/AMEMBASSY PARIS  
STATE GRNC  
BT  
UNCLAS STOCKHOLM 1268

REF: STOCKHOLM 1265

1. FOL IS TRANSLATION ERLANDER STATEMENT GIVEN TO SWEDISH NEWS SERVICE 6:30 PM APRIL 25: "IN THE DECLARATION LAST NIGHT, I APPEALED TO THE ORGANIZERS OF THE RUSSELL TRIBUNAL NOT TO HOLD THEIR PLANNED MEETING IN SWEDEN. WHEN NEVERTHELESS THE ORGANIZERS CHOSE SWEDEN AS THE MEETING PLACE, THE GOVT WILL NOT TAKE ACTION TO PREVENT THE MEETING FROM TAKING PLACE. THE GOVT EXPECTS AS A MATTER OF COURSE THAT THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE MEETING WILL OBSERVE THOSE RULES AND REGULATIONS WHICH ARE VALID IN THE COUNTRY THEY VISIT."

2. IN TELEPHONE INTERVIEW WITH RADIO SWEDEN FROM KOLN AT 6:45 PM APRIL 25, ERLANDER, IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION, ADDED FOL STATEMENTS:

A. "I HAVE ALWAYS STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF HAVING FULL INFORMATION ON VIETNAM."

B. "THE TRIBUNAL MAY, OF COURSE, BE A HINDERANCE TO PEACE, BUT ONE MUST NOT IMAGINE THAT ANY GREAT ACCIDENT WILL TAKE PLACE BECAUSE OF IT" (THIS WAS REPEATED THREE TIMES IN DIFFERENT PHRASEOLOGY).

C. "THE TRIBUNAL WILL NOT ACCUSE A STATE OR A PERSON. THERE IS NO REASONS TO HINDER THE TRIBUNAL." CAMERON

UNCLASSIFIED



DECLASSIFIED

*By Jordan*  
**CONFIDENTIAL** *11*

1967 MAY 6 11 43

EHX266  
OO RUEHEX  
DE RUEHC 5991 1261135  
ZNY CCCCC  
O 061124Z MAY 67  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
INFO RUEHEX/WHITE HOUSE  
RUEHIA/USIA  
O R 061045Z MAY 67  
FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1019  
INFO RUOTCR/AMEMBASSY LONDON 181  
RUFNCR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 127  
STATE GRNC  
BT  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STOCKHOLM 1337

DECLASSIFIED

Authority STATE letter APR 28 1978  
By Lcd, NARS, Date 8/13/79

*S*

RUSSELL ROUND-UP

REFERENCE STOCKHOLM 1332

1. STOCKHOLM AFTERNOON TABLOIDS MAY 5 FEATURED REPORT TO "TRIBUNAL" OF SWEDISH MEMBERS RUSSELL INVESTIGATION TEAM, JOHN TAKMAN AND AXEL HOJER (STOCKHOLM 1039 AND 1156). AS EXPECTED, THEY CONCENTRATED ON US BOMB DAMAGE TO CIVILIAN TARGETS WHICH THEY SAY THEY SAW IN THEIR THREE-WEEK VISIT NORTH VIET-NAM MARCH 1967.

~~PAGE 2 RIDKLM 041A CONFIDENTIAL~~

2. SWEDISH TV MAIN NEWS BROADCAST EVENING MAY 5 FEATURED INTERVIEW WITH CBS-TV CORRESPONDENT, MORLEY SAFER, WHO DESCRIBED "TRIBUNAL" AS "CHARADE," "FARCE" AND "NOT INTERESTED IN PEACE IN VIET-NAM." SAFER SAID HE WAS STRUCK BY "ATMOSPHERE OF HATRED AGAINST US IN TRIBUNAL." SAFER ALSO SAID SWEDES SAY NO WORSE ABOUT US ON VIET-NAM THAN AMERICANS DO AND THAT HOLDING RUSSELL SESSIONS HERE WILL NOT AFFECT AMERICAN OPINION SWEDEN. HE DID SAY SWEDES HAD "FAT, SMUG ATTITUDE" ABOUT VIET-NAM.

3. BOTH STOCKHOLM MORNING PAPERS MAY 6 PLAY RUSSELL STORY ON BACK PAGE, EXCEPT FOR PICTURE ON FIRST PAGE DAGENS NYHETER OF EIGHT YEAR OLD NORTH VIETNAMESE BOY, DO VAN NGOC, WHO WILL "TESTIFY" AT MAY 6 SESSION, SHOWING ALLEGED NAPALM BURN SCARS. BOY AND TWO OTHER INJURED NORTH VIETNAMESE ADULTS WERE EXAMINED MAY 5 BY SWEDISH DOCTORS TO SEE IF PLASTIC SURGERY POSSIBLE.

2. PRESERVATION COPY

4. NO REPEAT NO EDITORIAL COMMENT STOCKHOLM AFTERNOONERS MAY 5 OR MORNINGS MAY 6, ALTHOUGH SVENSKA DAGBLADET CARRIES CARTOON SATIRIZING ONE-SIDED SWEDISH TV COVERAGE OF "TRIBUNAL."

~~PAGE 3 RUDKLM 041A C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

5. LONDON OBSERVER CORRESPONDENT SPENT HOUR WITH EMBOFF MAY 5 REVIEWING NORTH VIETNAMESE STATEMENTS AT "TRIBUNAL" OBVIOUSLY LOOKING FOR STORY ON POSSIBLE CHANGE IN NVN ATTITUDES TOWARD NEGOTIATIONS. OBSERVER MAN (WHO QUITE CONSERVATIVE AND BETE-NOIR OF "TRIBUNAL" MEMBERS BECAUSE OF TOUGH QUESTIONS) THINKS HE DETECTS SPLIT BETWEEN NVN AND NFL PEOPLE HERE WITH POINT AT ISSUE BEING NVN WILLINGNESS NEGOTIATE AGAINST NFL INTRANSIGENCE. WOULD NOT GIVE SOURCES BUT WE SUSPECT HE MAY BE BASING HIS THEORY ON TALKS WITH HA VAN LAU AND A MOSCOW NFL REPRESENTATIVE. LATTER TOLD OBSERVER THAT EDITOR HELSINKI KANSAN UUTISET (WHO NFL MAN BELIEVES TO HAVE GOOD MOSCOW LINES) TOLD HIM IN HELSINKI APRIL 20 THAT WAR CANNOT BE WON AND THAT NFL MUST NEGOTIATE. SPECULATIVE STORY ALONG THESE LINES WILL PROBABLY APPEAR OBSERVE

MAY 7. HA VAN LAU MAY BE DOING SOME TALKING BECAUSE DAGENS NYHETER MAY 6 SPECULATES THAT HE MAY HAVE NEW "PEACE INITIATIVE."

6. "TRIBUNAL" ANNOUNCED MAY 6 IT HAD DECIDED AGAINST CALLING US PILOTS AS WITNESSES BECAUSE OF PROBLEM WITH GENEVA CONVENTION. BERKLEY PROFESSOR JOE NEILANDS (WHO HAD LONG RECORD VIETNIK ACTIVITY IN STOCKHOLM 1965-66) TOLD "TRIBUNAL" MAY 5 THAT HE HAD

~~PAGE 4 RUDKLM 041A C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

TALKED TO PILOTS IN NORTH VIET-NAM AND THAT THEY WERE NOT BRAIN-WASHED.

7. NEILANDS, U OF PENN INSTRUCTOR KOLKO AND OTHER AMERICANS REFUSING ANSWER QUESTIONS ON RECORD FOR US CORRESPONDENTS. LATTER BELIEVE THEY FEAR PROSECUTION UPON RETURN US. NEILANDS CLAIMS CIA AND FBI AGENTS ATTENDING RUSSELL SESSIONS AND CORRESPONDENTS ACTING FOR AGENTS.

8. NBC AND CBS TV AND WESTINGHOUSE RADIO ALL PLANNING COVERAGE SCHEDULED ANTI-VIET-NAM DEMONSTRATIONS AT US TRADE CENTER AFTERNOON MAY 6, AS WELL AS ANTI-RUSSELL DEMONSTRATION ALSO SCHEDULED MAY 6, IN SEARCH FOR "HARD NEWS" WHICH "TRIBUNAL" NOT PROVIDING.

9. "TRIBUNAL" REPORTED BY NY TIMES MAN TO US MAY 3 AND IN DAGENS NYHETER MAY 6 TO BE IN FINANCIAL TROUBLE. MEETING MUST VACATE FOLKETS HUS FOR AT LEAST DAY MAY 9 AND MANY DELEGATES HAVE HAD GIVE UP HOTEL ROOMS TO LIONS CONVENTION. SOME DELEGATES COMMUTING FROM 30 MILES OUTSIDE STOCKHOLM.

GP-3

CAMERON

BT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NNNN



**CONFIDENTIAL**

KK

1967 MAY 8 09 35

EHX338  
OO RUEHEX  
DE RUEHC 6551 1280930  
ZNY CCCCC  
O 080930Z MAY 67  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
INFO RUEHEX/WHITE HOUSE  
RUEHIA/USIA  
O R 080830Z MA 67  
FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1025  
INFO RUDTCR/AMEMBASSY LONDON 185  
RUFNCR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 131  
STATE GRNC  
BT  
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ STOCKHOLM 1343



S

1 DAGENS NYHETER MAY 8 HEADLINED STORY THAT PRESIDENT HAD SENT PERSONAL LETTER ERLANDER PROTESTING "RUSSELL TRIBUNAL" IN SWEDEN.

2. PRIME MINISTER GAVE SWEDISH RADIO STATEMENT 8:00 A.M. MAY 8 THAT HE HAD RECEIVED NO MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT ON RUSSELL TRIAL. HE SAID DAGENS NYHETER STORY APPARENTLY BASED ON NEWSWEEK REPORT. ERLANDER SAID THAT ALLEGED REMARK OF PRESIDENT THAT "IF DE GAULLE COULD STOP IT, WHY COULDN'T SWEDEN" PROBABLY MADE TO WHITE HOUSE AIDE BUT NOT TO HIM. ERLANDER SAID HE HAD HOUR LONG CONVERSATION WITH W.W. ROSTOW IN BONN ON RUSSELL PROCEEDINGS.

3. FOREIGN MINISTRY HAS ALSO DENIED REPORT. BP-3. CAMERON  
BT

DECLASSIFIED

**CONFIDENTIAL**

Authority STATE letter APR 28 1978  
By Local, NARS, Date 8/12/79

NNNN



DIRECTOR

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY  
WASHINGTON

13-5  
May 5, 1967

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Honorable  
Walt W. Rostow  
The White House



I am attaching a summary of current world press comments on the Bertrand Russell so-called "International Tribunal."

In this connection I thought you might also like to see the attached transcript of Eric Sevareid's remarks on this subject as broadcast over CBS television.

  
Leonard Marks

501 MAY 9 11 51 AM '67  
FBI  
**PRESERVATION COPY**



LE FIGARO  SCINLEIA 

Voice of Ethiopia

Ceylon 13a

RUDE PRAVO Le Monde Daily News

The Japan Times



The Manila Times

Frankfurter Allgemeine

TANJUG

The Times of India

 AFRIQUE R(D)F nouvelle

LA PRENSA



NEW CHINA NEWS

DAILY EXPRESS

The Daily Mirror

EXCELSIOR

EL PERIODICO DE LA VIDA NACIONAL

The Ethiopian Herald

DIE  WELT 

THE YOMIURI

CORRIERE DELLA SERA 



MEDIA  
REACTION  
ANALYSIS

THE RUSSELL TRIBUNAL

May 5, 1967

Office of Policy and Research

ИЗВЕСТИЯ

新華通訊社新聞  
HSINHUA DAILY BULLETIN

ZYCIE WARSZAWY



РАБОТНИЧЕСКО  
ДЕЛО

БОРБА



L'ESPRESSO

EL TIEMPO  
THE STATESMAN

JORNAL DO BRASIL

WORKING PEOPLE'S DAILY

The Straits Times

## THE RUSSELL TRIBUNAL

The world press generally has given only minor news treatment to Bertrand Russell's so-called "international tribunal on war crimes" which opened in Stockholm this week.

Sparse free world editorial comment -- mainly in Sweden, Denmark, Great Britain, Belgium, and the Netherlands -- generally condemned the meeting as nothing more than an anti-American propaganda spectacle. Most headlines and commentaries scoffed at the tribunal, describing it variously as "a farce," "a parody of justice," "an instrument of Communist propaganda," "a gathering of demagogues," and "a wretched spectacle."

Moscow radio merely noted that the tribunal had opened in Stockholm. However, Soviet broadcasts gave considerable attention to a report that a commission of Soviet jurists which was investigating "the crimes of the U.S. aggressors in Vietnam" had prepared a publication in three languages containing "eyewitness testimony." Peking radio carried no mention of the Stockholm tribunal.

### Largely Ignored in Britain

In London, the popular, mass-circulation press generally ignored the opening of the tribunal. The Times of London ran this report Thursday:

"As attack after attack was made on the U.S. Vietnam policy in Stockholm today, the self-appointed role of the Bertrand Russell international war crimes tribunal was defined beyond any possible contradiction. The tribunal intends to provide the most passionate, thorough and well-documented challenge to American war policy ever delivered in the West."

The paper said that "perhaps the most cleverly aimed... of a succession of vicious darts" thrown at the U.S. was a message sent to Secretary Rusk inviting testimony by him or his designated representatives. It continued: "America is known to be anxious not to recognize the tribunal in any way or encourage extra publicity for it. It is, indeed, extremely upset that Sweden has allowed it into Stockholm at all."



London's conservative Daily Telegraph called the tribunal a "macabre, distasteful and puerile exercise..." sponsored "by a bunch of left-wing litterateurs, pamphleteers and propagandists who are manifestly engaged in what is nothing more than another anti-American demonstration."

"The imperfect imitation of judicial procedures" was "only for show," the paper declared, and the "performance" should have been banned by the Swedish government. The reputations of American leaders would "not suffer unduly," it said, "but Lord Russell's reputation among many admirers may prove more vulnerable."

A sharply different view was expressed by the liberal Guardian, a consistent critic of U.S. Vietnam policy, which thought that even though the findings were "predictable," there was "no reason why it should be either condemned or applauded." The paper added: "It is a body of private citizens collecting information for their own purposes. If it breaks laws it can be prosecuted. If it unearths facts not hitherto known it will have added to our knowledge."

Brussels's influential La Libre Belgique termed the tribunal a "parody of justice" which did not serve the cause of peace. The paper continued:

"On what grounds are they posing as judges? No authority has been assigned to them.... The trouble is that the new form of psychological action dreamed up by these gentlemen creates additional confusion. Where will we be if everybody assumes the right to put on the robe?"

Mass-circulation La Meuse of Liege, under the heading "Jean Paul Sartre Opens the 'Court' of Slander in Stockholm," commented that the tribunal condemned itself from the beginning by appearing as an instrument of Communist propaganda.

In Paris, a writer said in an article in conservative Figaro that Egypt's army had "occupied a good part" of Yemen and its air force had dropped napalm bombs on guerrilla villages there. He said:

"I have never heard that this affair interested the Russell-Sartre tribunal. Thus it is not the intervention which is condemned, but the sides taken."

"It is a question of creating a certain confusion in the spectator's mind. The fight is carried on with propaganda weapons on the side of the national liberation front and North Vietnam..."

The Swedish press, which was strongly critical of the tribunal's decision to meet in Stockholm, expressed concern about the effect of the meetings on relations with the U.S. Liberal Expressen of Stockholm quoted Bjorn Alander, Washington correspondent of Swedish radio and television, as warning in a lecture delivered last week in Sweden:

"The war crimes tribunal against the U.S. in Stockholm can become a staggering blow to our relations with the U.S. The Americans will look upon Sweden as the center for anti-Americanism in Europe. We run the risk of being hurt badly, even at the level of trade policies."

Nicosia's independent Cyprus Mail judged that the tribunal "professes to be motivated by concern for human suffering, but it ignores the Viet Cong terrorism in South Vietnam.... The amount of human suffering that would certainly follow a Communist takeover of the Southeast Asian countries is equally disregarded." The paper continued:

"The result of the 'trial' is a foregone conclusion. The tribunal will find President Johnson guilty and the worldwide Communist propaganda machine will immediately go to work on the biggest ever of its long record of smear campaigns."

Available reports indicated that most Near East and South Asian media gave the story low-key treatment without comment. Cairo radio said: "The court will not pass any verdict but will investigate the crimes committed by the U.S., which has attacked Vietnam -- tens of thousands of miles from U.S. territory."

Mexico City newspapers had front-page stories under disparaging headlines: "Gathering of Demagogues to 'Judge' U.S." (conservative El Sol de Mexico), and "Decrepit Russell Farce Begins" (moderately conservative Ultimas Noticias).



### Communist Media

Moscow TASS briefly reported the opening of the tribunal. Soviet broadcasts said a "commission of Soviet jurists to investigate the crimes of the U.S. aggressors in Vietnam has prepared a publication in three languages of the first volume of documents containing eye-witness testimony."

The broadcast quoted the president of the Soviet Association of Jurists as saying that "the U.S. crimes in Vietnam are a repetition of heinous misdeeds of the Hitlerites, and sometimes even surpass them. As the testimony of witnesses show, the entire territory of Vietnam has become a military training ground, where the American brasshats are testing means of mass annihilation of people."

Prague radio's correspondent in Stockholm said the tribunal was meeting "despite the fact that the U.S. government has exerted strong diplomatic and political pressure on the Swedish government to ban the meetings."

He said the tribunal had been "very warmly welcomed" in Sweden, although "reactionary" Swedish papers had accused it of being biased.

CBS EVENING NEWS WITH WALTER CRONKITE

5/2/67

13.6  
LEONARD  
FYI  
ES

CRONKITE: In Europe, a war crimes trial, for the Johnson administration. That story in a moment.

(ANNOUNCEMENT)

CRONKITE: In Stockholm, Sweden, today, there was the beginning of a trial of sorts, in which the Johnson administration is the defendant, because of its Vietnam policies. There is no doubt about the outcome. More on that from Eric Sevareid.

SEVAREID: It is not likely that President Johnson or Secretaries Rusk and McNamara will be losing any sleep over their so-called trial for war crimes, which opened today in Stockholm. The effects of gratuitous insults generally wane rapidly.

This affair in Stockholm is an anti-American propaganda ploy. It is being staged there because the bulk of the British left wing wanted nothing to do with it, and because deGaulle would not permit it to take place in France. Even the Soviet Union allows very little publicity about it. But many fiery denunciations of Washington will come out of it, will be printed and broadcast around much of the world, finding some believers, and having a reverse effect on others because of the sheer blatancy of the business.

It would receive almost no attention were it not associated with the name of Lord Bertrand Russell, though he will not attend in person. Lord Russell has been one of the shining intellects of this century, whose works will be studied for generations. He is now 95 years old. From his home in Wales he operates what one journalist has called a protest factory. Statements protesting almost anything, in particular almost anything the United States



SEVAREID (Continued): government says or does, pour out under his name. Much of it is the work of a tense, humorless young American expatriate named Ralph Schoenman, one of a small band of far left Americans, some of them committed Communists, who have operated in England for several years..

Some who know him argue that Lord Russell is not at all senile. But his stability might be judged by the facts that he once called both President Kennedy and Prime Minister Macmillan murderers worse than Hitler, that at one time he advocated preventive war against the Soviet Union, that he regards the Warren Commission Report as a part of a giant conspiracy, that he claims the United States has put 8 million Vietnamese into concentration camps.. That, incidentally, would be one half the population of South Vietnam.

If the Vietnam war is an affront to reason, for many people Lord Russell's brand of opposition to it is a mutilation of reason.

Walter.



UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY  
WASHINGTON

14  
May 4, 1967

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Honorable  
Walt Rostow  
The White House

I want to call your attention to the enclosed resume of world press comment on the "Russell Tribunal" contained in our report of May 3.

*this portion  
sent Pres. at  
Roosevelt 5/5/67  
by wire.*

You will note that the European press, including Swedish and French press journals, were highly critical of the sponsors.

Typical comments called the tribunal "a farce,"  
"macabre, distasteful and puerile exercise,"  
"another anti-American demonstration."

Previous press comment will be found in the report of May 1 which is also attached.



Leonard H. Marks



RECEIVED  
ROSTOW'S OFFICE

1967 MAY 5 AM 8 43

of May 1 which is also attached.

Previous press comment will be found in the report

"another anti-American demonstration."

"massacre" distasteful and hostile exercise."

Typical comments called the tirade "a farce."

criticism of the sponsors.

Swedish and French press journals were highly

Don will note that the European press, including

contained in our report of May 3.

of world press comment on the "Kluge Tirade."

I want to call your attention to the enclosed teletype

The White House

Walt Rostow

MEMORANDUM FOR:

The Honorable

May 4, 1967

DIRECTOR



WASHINGTON

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

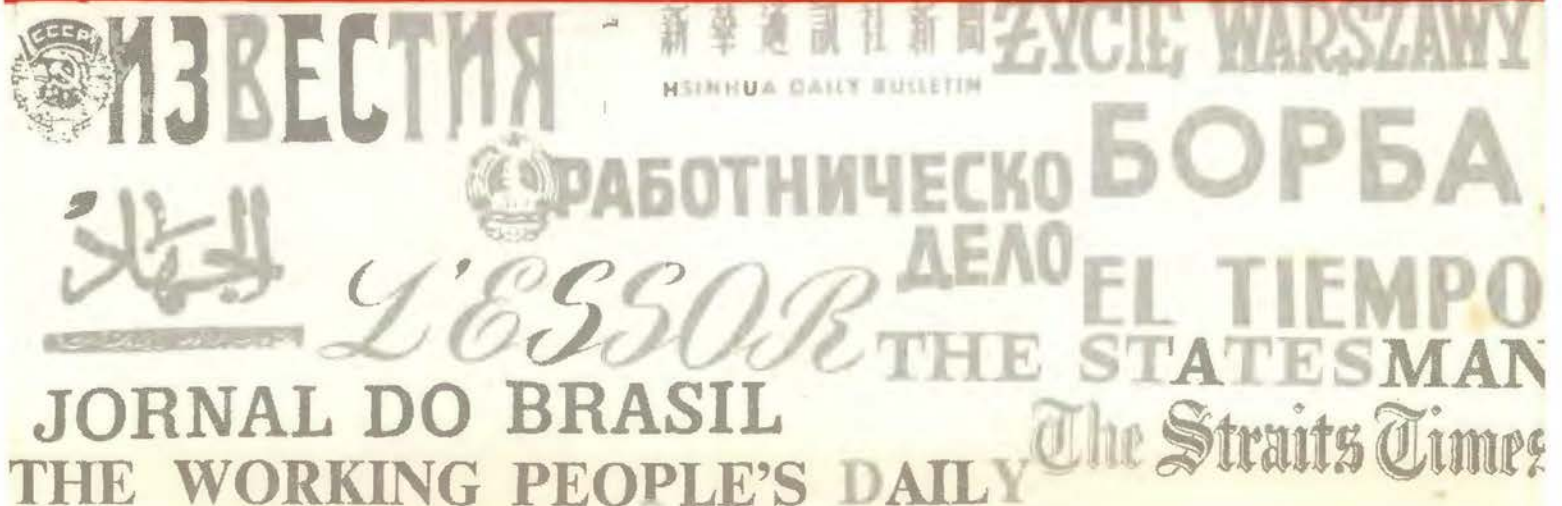


# MEDIA REACTION ANALYSIS

WORLDWIDE TREATMENT  
OF CURRENT ISSUES

May 3, 1967

Office of Policy and Research





...THE RUSSELL "FARCE"  
...SVETLANA'S PRESS CONFERENCE  
...GREEK COUP AFTERMATH

### THE RUSSELL TRIBUNAL

Most free world comment on the Russell tribunal viewed it as a publicity-seeking "farce" without status as a legitimate forum. The opening session in Stockholm drew moderate and generally disparaging coverage in most areas.

Prague radio charged that the U.S. Government had exerted strong diplomatic and political pressures on the Swedish Government to ban the meetings. It said the tribunal had been "very warmly welcomed" in Sweden, although some "reactionary" Swedish papers had attacked it.

Major British papers Wednesday carried stories on the opening session. London's conservative Daily Telegraph, under the heading "Mocking Justice," called the tribunal a "macabre, distasteful and puerile exercise..." sponsored by "a bunch of left-wing litterateurs, pamphleteers and propagandists who are manifestly engaged in what is nothing more than another anti-American demonstration." The paper continued:

"The imperfect imitation of judicial procedures is only for show. The 'tribunal' is neither authoritative nor impartial and lacks the professional skill needed to make its conclusions anything more serious than gratuitous impertinences. Even so, the Swedish government might have been expected to follow France's example by banning the performance."

The paper said the reputations of American leaders would "not suffer unduly, but Lord Russell's reputation among many admirers may prove more vulnerable. The acknowledged master of English prose is presented as the author of a diatribe couched in cliché-ridden journalese; the great logician is seen as a vehicle of commonplace political invective. It is this which lends a touch of sadness to an occasion which might otherwise inspire only contempt."

In contrast, the liberal Guardian, a consistent critic of U.S. Vietnam policy, thought that even though the findings were "predictable,"

there was "no reason why it should be either condemned or applauded." The paper added: "It is a body of private citizens collecting information for their own purposes. If it breaks laws it can be prosecuted. If it unearths facts not hitherto known it will have added to our knowledge."

The paper maintained that the tribunal fell into "that category of events about which it is not necessary to have an opinion, but for those with opinions there are remedies at hand. Those who do not like the tribunal can hold a mock trial of Ralph Schoenman," Lord Russell's secretary, "on charges of their own choice."

Tuesday's London Times carried a Stockholm correspondent's report declaring that "startling new information about American war techniques" was promised by the tribunal organizers. He wrote that "more than 20 crates of documents" had arrived from Paris and London, and that "eyewitness accounts of raids on North Vietnam villages, a four-hour film of the raids, examples of American weaponry... and recorded interviews with North Vietnam villagers" would be presented.

Reuters carried a dispatch Wednesday which said that "gruesome photographs depicting mutilated civilians after alleged American bomb raids over North Vietnam shocked onlookers" at the tribunal. The report stated that the tribunal had entered its second day "with an array of compelling testimony."

The French news agency AFP, in an account of the inaugural session, said that Lord Russell had accused the French government of "hypocrisy and frailty" for refusing to allow the sessions to be held in France.

In Paris, Thierry Maulnier, of the Academie Francaise, writing in Tuesday's conservative Figaro, asserted that the purpose of the meeting was to "discredit" American actions in Vietnam: "For this, collecting signatures and heralding famous voices is not enough. It has already been done. A tribunal is something different. It is imposing in itself,-- even more so an international tribunal.... It is a matter of creating in the public mind a parallel between the tribunal which condemned the Nazi war crimes and the one which is to condemn the American 'war crimes'. Using the word tribunal forces one to recognize an analogy of the actions and of the guilt."



The writer said Egypt's army had "occupied a good part" of Yemen and its air force had dropped napalm bombs on guerrilla villages there. Yet, he said, "I have never heard that this affair interested the Russell-Sartre tribunal. Thus it is not the intervention which is condemned, but the sides taken. It is a question of creating a certain confusion in the spectator's mind. The fight is carried on with propaganda weapons on the side of the national liberation front and North Vietnam..."

Today's Radical-Liberal Ekstrabladet of Copenhagen carried a full-page reprint of Russell's opening statement. Commentaries in other Danish papers branded the tribunal a "farce" (conservative Berlingske Tidende), and "a political action staged as a dramatic trial" (independent Information).

Mexico City papers had front-page stories under disparaging headlines: "Gathering of Demagogues to 'Judge' U.S." (conservative El Sol de Mexico), and "Decrepit Russell Farce Begins" (moderately conservative Ultimas Noticias).

#### Communist Media

Prague radio's correspondent in Stockholm said the tribunal was meeting "despite the fact that the U.S. Government has exerted strong diplomatic and political pressure on the Swedish Government to ban the meetings... Today's session heard evidence from lawyers and scientific experts on the way the Americans are committing aggression and violating the basic norms of international law."

He said the tribunal had been "very warmly welcomed" in Sweden, although "reactionary" Swedish papers had accused it of being biased and had "repeated the American arguments of 'Communist infiltration in Vietnam.'"

## SVETLANA'S PRESS CONFERENCE

Papers in many parts of the world devoted prominent news and feature space to Svetlana Alliluyeva's press conference. They agreed that she had made a stunning appearance as "the most important defector" in memory.

Editors said the setting was auspicious and the U.S. public sympathetic. Some emphasized that although her appearance on the world scene at this time had not been heralded as an episode in East-West relations, the political import of her statements was apparent.

London's pro-Labor Sun reported: "She came in, arms swinging slightly -- an ordinary, pleasant woman who was suddenly the center of interest of the Western world. The setting of the press conference could not have been more symbolic of the Western way of life." The London Daily Express declared: "It was an astonishing sixty minutes."

Kuala Lumpur's Malay Mail observed that "although she did not reveal much about her future plans and secrets concerning her late father and the Russia of his day, she did lift partly the veil which had shrouded her own self.... Apart from saying that her father was not solely to blame for the massacres in Russia when he was master of the country, Svetlana carefully avoided discussion of politics..."

The paper noted the U.S. position: "As the State Department has taken care to make clear to the Soviet government that it has had nothing to do with Svetlana's decision, her stay in America should not embarrass the U.S."

Her decision to "get out" of India and go to America brought an angry reaction from the independent Free Press Journal of Bombay, which is usually critical of the U.S.: "Life begins at forty and Svetlana is going to have a cool million in her pocket (after taxes) once her famous manuscript is through the publisher's mill.... Perhaps a new husband and a well-guarded New York apartment may help the process of assimilation. And in the fullness of time Svetlana can again have a go at India, which is a lovely country to get out from."



The London Economist was concerned about her future in this country: "The Americans seem to have been captivated by Mrs. Alliluyeva's candor and courage. But she is no ordinary cold war defector eager to lend herself to anti-Soviet propaganda . . . . She still loves her country, welcomes its increasing freedom of debate and hopes to return there some day; after all, her children are still in Russia.

"If Mrs. Alliluyeva fails to find in America the consideration, the privacy and the freedom which she expects, the Soviet Union, now attempting to discredit her, will have the last laugh."

Judgments of the political import of her defection ranged from expectations that she would have much to say later, to assertions that she had spoken for a generation seeking freedom.

London's Daily Telegraph mused:

"The dictator's daughter had given the impression in a statement issued at her arrival in New York that she hoped to remain aloof from East-West politics. But she left no doubt" at the press conference "that in the simplest sense she has strong political views and will communicate these in her writing."

The London Times said: "So many great changes have swept Russia since Stalin's death that it is hard to take in the simple, enormous fact that his own daughter is now speaking out against Communism. Svetlana speaks as one of countless young or middle-aged Russians" who "would not wish to leave Russia even if they could; but they share her restlessness, her awareness of something big that is lacking in their lives. With all the material advances, and their pride in their astronauts, they want to live, and write, and speak more freely, and pursue the old search for what life is about . . . . What they react against is a diet of bread alone."

Similarly, independent-conservative Corriere della Sera of Milan asserted: "For her generation the myth has collapsed -- the myth started in 1917 to the effect that the world was divided into the good and the bad, into those in a Communist ecstasy and those in a capitalist hell . . . . Many millions of Russians share Svetlana's views."

Ceylon's Sun of Colombo said today: "Mrs. Svetlana Alliluyeva's observations made in the U.S. bring out into prominence that the days of militant godlessness are fast fading in the Soviet Union, and the younger generation of Russians find the drab dialectical materialism of Marx-Engels insufficient to meet their emotional urges.

"She has expressed her hope that the new generation in Russia would in time 'bring a new society.' ... She expressed hope that the 18 and 20-year-olds will 'be more sympathetic to democracy.' This change which Mrs. Svetlana Alliluyeva envisages is already taking place. It is a truism admitted today by both friend and foe of the Soviet Union."

### GREEK COUP AFTERMATH

News coverage of events in Greece declined in volume in the West European press, with some editors urging diplomatic and public protests against the Greek military government.

Communist media enlarged the campaign against "reactionary Greek forces backed by a network of American agents." Moscow radio and East European broadcasts carried reports of meetings and statements protesting the arrest of "resistance leader" Manolis Glezos.

Britain's liberal Guardian said: "Something must be done in the face of this setback to freedom in Europe. Diplomatic protests might prove ineffective, but at least they should be tried. The new regime could be informed by the ambassadors of the horror felt in democratic countries. NATO could well consider whether Greece still meets the qualifications for membership.... To make no protest against the new dictatorship will leave in the lurch all those Greeks who have so far regarded themselves as part of the European democratic community."

Rome's Socialist Avanti urged "no compromise with Greek fascism." The paper said: "It would be a betrayal of the Greek people and of democracy everywhere if we were to allow everything to return to normal after the first shock is past."



Danish papers continued to criticize the leaders of the coup and King Constantine. Tabloid Ekstrabladet said the Danish government would be wise to "send its regrets" to the King if he tried to go to Denmark to attend the June wedding of his sister-in-law, Princess Margrethe.

In Brussels, independent La Libre Belgique said: "Although Greece has been freed from the threat of Communism, it would be dangerous to assert that everything is settled."

Brussels' conservative De Standaard accused the U.S. of doing "nothing to make the coup fail." It suggested that "a diplomatic quarantine of the new regime" might cause its downfall. "One can hardly say that the military who have seized power embody the ideals of the Atlantic Alliance," the paper added, "unless one holds the view that such ideals include the prohibition of miniskirts, the arrest of political adversaries, the institution of censorship and obligatory attendance at Sunday mass..."

**LE FIGARO** **Scinteia**  
*Voice of Ethiopia*  
**RUDE PRAVO** **Le Monde** **Daily News**  
**The Japan Times** **The Manila Times**  
**Frankfurter Allgemeine** **The Times of India**  
**AFRIQUE nouvelle** **LA PRENSA**  
**DAILY EXPRESS** **NEW CHINA NEWS**  
**EXCELSIOR** **The Ethiopian Herald**  
**DIE WELT** **THE YOMIURI**  
**CORRIERE DELLA SERA**



**MEDIA  
REACTION  
ANALYSIS**

**WORLDWIDE TREATMENT  
OF CURRENT ISSUES**

May 1, 1967

Office of Policy and Research

**ИЗВЕСТИЯ** **新華通訊社新聞** **ZYCIE WARSZAWY**  
**РАБОТНИЧЕСКОЕ ДЕЛО** **БОРБА**  
**L'ESSOR** **EL TIEMPO**  
**JORNAL DO BRASIL** **THE STATESMAN**  
**THE WORKING PEOPLE'S DAILY** **The Straits Times**



... THE WAR IN VIETNAM  
... RUSSELL TRIBUNAL

### U.S. STATEMENTS ON VIETNAM

New statements by U.S. leaders convinced British and some East Asian editors that America was "talking tough" in expectation of a hardening military situation in Vietnam. They said this new American tone was evidence that negotiation hopes had receded further.

Soviet media concentrated on General Westmoreland's visit, calling him a "carrion vulture" whose "guest performances" proved there was a "deadlock" in U.S. policy.

Today's editions of British papers said U.S. statements revealed a new "tough stand" in expectation of intensified warfare.

The conservative Daily Mail of London said the U.S. was now "speaking with a new aggressive voice about the Vietnam war." It said that although peace probes would continue, "Mr. Rusk indicated that the diplomatic scene was regarded as 'sterile' and that no quick negotiations could be expected...."

"The reason for Mr. Rusk's tough stand remains uncertain. It is possible that the Americans in fact expect a major offensive by regular North Vietnamese units. On the other hand, this aggressive language may be designed to prepare public opinion for a further intensification of the war. But there is also a theory that the Americans are talking tough to persuade the Russians that if a U.S.-Soviet confrontation is to be avoided, they must use all the means at their disposal to get Hanoi to negotiate on terms acceptable to the Americans."

Similarly, the Washington correspondent of the pro-Labor Daily Mirror asserted that President Johnson was "on the verge of a major decision... that could lead to a dramatic escalation of the Vietnam war. It might even produce a direct confrontation between America and Russia and China. The President has to decide what action to take against North Vietnam's great port, Haiphong -- and its main source of supply for war materials from the two Communist giants."

The conservative Daily Telegraph's man in Washington declared: "President Johnson has made it clear that the next stage in Vietnam will be harder fighting rather than peace efforts. He has had less success in changing the public mood from resignation to enthusiasm. State Department officials made no secret of their belief that there is no prospect of negotiations before a test of wills on the battleground in South Vietnam and in the air over the north."

Britain's Sunday press reported a "somber" mood in Washington. The conservative Sunday Times correspondent found that "a new and tougher mood suddenly pervades the Administration. The highest officials are now reluctant to indicate any specific limitations on the bombing of North Vietnam except to say that population centers are still excluded."

The conservative Sunday Telegraph's reporter said President Johnson had "struck a somber note" at the White House correspondents' banquet:

"Though the President said he would 'do anything in the world' he honorably could 'to end the conflict and torment,' it was 'plain from the way he said it that he sees honorable ways out as remote at this juncture.'"

General Westmoreland's speech before Congress was generally approved in the London press as appropriate for a field commander. The Times' correspondent reported that he "did not... appeal to Congress and the people above the head of the President, but to support his Commander-in-Chief against political attack, as he is to be fully supported by Mr. Johnson in the field.... He has pressed quietly for more men and weapons and for more bombing, and it has paid off more handsomely than the public politicking of the MacArthurs and the LeMays."

The conservative Daily Express affirmed: "The speech of General Westmoreland, an exposure of the heartless terrorism of the Viet Cong against ordinary people in South Vietnam, underlines afresh the gravity of the problem facing the U.S. ...

"Divided by half a world from the crisis, people in Britain have not sufficiently appreciated how heavy have been the sacrifices which the U.S. have made in an enterprise on behalf of freedom. Theirs has been a thankless task, pursued by abuse and contumely, and carried on against an utterly ruthless foe, while at the same time they have been compelled to fight with one arm tied."



Japanese papers said General Westmoreland's address to Congress signaled further expansion of the war. They debated whether his statements would "help national unity."

Mainichi's correspondent doubted the General's efforts "would help achieve national consensus." Tokyo Shimbun reported: "Despite some sharp comments by doves, Westmoreland's speeches appeared to have impressed the majority in Congress and greatly helped national unity."

Various Washington reports to Tokyo papers said a "stiffer attitude" was indicated by the State Department discussion of a possible "conventional warfare attack by North Vietnam across the demilitarized zone," and "a marked change of nuance on the possibility of a Haiphong blockade."

Asahi's Saigon reporter wondered if President Johnson would "allow the situation to drag on as at present" or if, with Bunker's arrival, "he is considering some change of direction."

Seoul papers prominently played a wire service report that the U.S. was considering a "tougher line in the Vietnam war."

The Hong Kong Standard wrote: "Washington reports are speaking of a new, hard-line U.S. policy on Vietnam. It is not clear, however, just what this implies. Presumably there has been a hardening of the attitude taken towards special truces such as the one proposed for Buddha's birthday."

### THE RUSSELL TRIBUNAL

Sparse free world comment on Bertrand Russell's Vietnam "war crimes" tribunal generally stressed adverse Swedish reaction and the difficulties and delays which marked the initial meeting in Stockholm. Papers described the opening message from Russell as an "anti-American tirade" and regarded the tribunal as a propaganda "spectacle" designed to condemn U.S. actions in Vietnam.

Swedish commentators worried that holding the sessions in Stockholm would lead to a deterioration of Swedish-American relations.

London's conservative Sunday Telegraph carried a lengthy article from a Stockholm correspondent emphasizing that the tribunal was facing "increasing hostile reaction" in Sweden and noting that newspapers which had criticized American policy in Vietnam were attacking the tribunal. He reported "growing fears that the tribunal will turn out to be an embarrassing anti-American demonstration."

The writer described the opening message from Lord Russell as "a general anti-American tirade, with sideswipes at the CIA," which was "in sharp contrast to assurances by members and Swedish supporters of the tribunal that it would act as an impartial investigating body."

In Nicosia, the independent Cyprus Mail termed Russell "something of a crank" and said the tribunal "professes to be motivated by concern for human suffering, but it ignores the Viet Cong terrorism in South Vietnam.... The amount of further human suffering that would certainly follow a Communist takeover of the Southeast Asian countries is equally disregarded." The paper said:

"The result of the 'trial' is a foregone conclusion. The tribunal will find President Johnson guilty and the worldwide Communist propaganda machine will immediately go to work on the biggest ever of its long record of smear campaigns."

Algerian papers carried brief reports on inside pages. Two Iraqi dailies noted without comment that the tribunal had opened. Saudi Arabia's al-Nadua ran a back-page item playing up the difficulties of finding a location for the meeting after de Gaulle's "refusal" to allow the sessions in France.

Italy's influential Corriere della Sera, Milan, also highlighted reports that de Gaulle had turned down the tribunal's bid to meet in France. The paper wrote: "De Gaulle says he can't allow a mock trial by people without legal powers whose verdicts could be exploited internationally against an ally."

Meanwhile, Swedish commentators expressed concern that holding the sessions in Stockholm might severely damage relations with the U.S.



Liberal Expressen of Stockholm quoted Bjorn Ahlander, Washington correspondent of Swedish radio and television, as warning in a lecture delivered last week in Sweden:

"The war crimes tribunal against the U.S. in Stockholm can become a staggering blow to our relations with the U.S. The Americans will look upon Sweden as the center for anti-Americanism in Europe. We run the risk of being hurt badly, even at the level of trade policies."

Stockholm's conservative Svenska Dagbladet, which earlier called the tribunal a "wretched spectacle," expressed fear Friday that holding the meeting in Stockholm "might lead many people in the world to misunderstand the neutral position that Sweden traditionally takes in foreign policy." The paper continued:

"The irresponsible forces which misuse the freedoms of speech and assembly of our democratic society act contrarily to the opinion of the overwhelming majority of the people of this country. This must naturally be known abroad, to foreign governments especially but also to foreign public opinion."

Swedish papers carried a foreign ministry press release stressing that members of the Swedish Foreign Relations Council "unanimously regretted" that the tribunal was meeting in Stockholm. Editors echoed and amplified the council's view that the tribunal could not promote peace in Vietnam.

Reuters reported that Swedish youths paraded through the streets of Stockholm protesting the tribunal. According to the dispatch, the youths carried placards reading: "Put Tribunal Trash in Jail," "You're Not Wanted Here," and "Tribunal is Shame on Sweden."

A later Reuters dispatch said a "bitter quarrel" between the tribunal and the Swedish government had ended with a tribunal apology. The dispute reportedly arose when Ralph Schoenman, personal secretary to Russell, denied that a cable from Swedish Prime Minister Tage Erlander contained the words "and I urge you not to choose Sweden as the site" of the meeting.



OFFICE OF  
THE DIRECTOR

The Honorable  
Walt Rostow

15

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

WASHINGTON

April 27, 1967

CS

MEMORANDUM FOR: The President

THROUGH: The Honorable  
Robert E. Kintner  
The White House

The "Tribunal" conducted by Bertrand Russell in Sweden has received considerable press attention during the past several days. A digest of world press comment is attached.


You will note that the proceedings were variously described as:

"A kangaroo court"

"An abuse of freedom of speech and assembly"

"A wretched spectacle"

"A misuse of freedom of speech"

  
Leonard H. Marks

Attachment

PRESERVATION COPY



**LE FIGARO**

*Voice of Ethiopia*

الجُمُهورية

**Scinteia**

Ceylon 152

**RUDE PRAVO**

**Le Monde**

**Daily News**

The **Japan Times**



The **Manila Times**

**Frankfurter Allgemeine**

The **Times of India**

TANJUG



**AFRIQUE nouvelle**

R(T)F

**LA PRENSA**

البَحْث

**NEW CHINA NEWS**

**DAILY EXPRESS**

The **Daily Mirror**

**EXCELSIOR**

EL PERIODICO DE LA VIDA NACIONAL

The **Ethiopian Herald**

**DIE WELT**

আনন্দ বাজার

THE **YOMIURI**

**CORRIERE DELLA SERA**



**MEDIA  
REACTION  
ANALYSIS**

**RUSSELL TRIBUNAL  
IN STOCKHOLM**

**April 26, 1967**

Office of Policy and Research



**ИЗВЕСТИЯ**

新華通訊社新聞  
HSINHUA DAILY BULLETIN

**ZYCIE WARSZAWY**



**РАБОТНИЧЕСКО  
ДЕЛО**

**БОРБА**

الجُمُهورية

**L'ESSOR**

**EL TIEMPO**

**JORNAL DO BRASIL**

THE **STATESMAN**

**THE WORKING PEOPLE'S DAILY**

The **Straits Times**

## RUSSELL TRIBUNAL IN STOCKHOLM

The announcement that Bertrand Russell's so-called Vietnam war crimes tribunal would be held in Stockholm drew early free world comment only in Sweden and the Netherlands. Three of the four Swedish papers commenting strongly disapproved. A Dutch paper condemned the tribunal as a "kangaroo court."

Critics of the decision to hold the tribunal in Stockholm said it was an "abuse" of freedom of speech and assembly, it had no standing as a legally authorized body, it would not contribute to bringing peace to Vietnam, and it would lead to a misunderstanding of Sweden's position. Some observers felt the police might have to intervene if President Johnson is slandered since Swedish law prohibits defamation of heads of state.

The French news agency AFP carried a report Tuesday that Swedish Prime Minister Tage Erlander had declared "that the Swedish Government takes it for granted that those persons attending the sessions of the Russell tribunal, which has been authorized to meet in Stockholm, will respect all the laws and regulations of the country."

The dispatch continued: "After recalling that he had again Monday asked the tribunal's organizers not to convene in Stockholm, Erlander said that he had received assurance that the tribunal will make no declarations insulting to foreign personalities. He added that the Foreign Affairs Commission, in conformity with the country's regulations, will examine any requests for visas that may be made by witnesses for the tribunal."

A second AFP story said that it had been decided to hold the meeting in Sweden following this week's "refusal" by President Charles de Gaulle to allow the session to be held in France.

Liberal Dagens Nyheter of Stockholm commented Tuesday: "In a democratic state one should naturally be allowed to express any opinion about the war in Vietnam. But to give these expres-



sions of opinion the form of a trial creates the impression that there is some kind of parallel to a juridically authorized body." Organization of the meeting in the form of a court is "directly misleading." Moreover, "the tribunal cannot be expected to contribute to making peace in Vietnam."

Stockholm's conservative Svenska Dagbladet said Wednesday: "It must once more be firmly stated that the whole tribunal is a wretched spectacle.... For Sweden, it is serious enough that the tribunal will hold its sessions in our country, which can result in misunderstandings about our position in the world. Abroad, people will no doubt be surprised that the tribunal, despite the clear opposition from the government, will be meeting here and that many Swedish parliamentarians and labor leaders are prepared to participate."

The paper continued:

"Freedom of assembly is one thing; to abuse it is another. But the sponsors should not feel too secure. What they do privately is of no consequence. But when it comes to the public part of the session, it is possible that the police will be obliged to intervene."

Liberal Expressen of Stockholm wrote Tuesday that to protest against the Vietnam war is one thing, but to pretend that it is an impartial legal trial is another. It added:

"The Russell tribunal, which pretends to be an international court, has formed its verdict before any session has yet been held. The U.S. is guilty of war crimes in Vietnam. A court which simultaneously acts as prosecutor is a common thing in totalitarian states. But it is alien to our form of justice."

The paper concluded that the tribunal represented a "misuse" of freedom of speech. However, it thought there was not, ought not to be any legal possibility of stopping "this homeless Russell tribunal from holding its sessions in Sweden."

In an earlier commentary, Expressen's chief editor said it was "inconceivable how Swedish contributors of documents to the tribunal have not felt any need even to indicate the differences between the positions of citizens in a country with free and secret elections and full freedom of speech and the so-called people's democracies, which lack any of these and other democratic freedoms."

In contrast with other Stockholm dailies, Social Democratic Aftonbladet saw "no reasonable obstacles" to plans to hold the tribunal in Stockholm. On the contrary, it said, "Sweden is a suitable country for it." Moreover, "it would be incompatible with our traditions of freedom of assembly, among other things, to try to stop the tribunal."

The paper declared that the tribunal would investigate methods used by the U.S. in Vietnam, adding that "it is valuable to get this illuminated."

In the Netherlands, liberal Algemeen Handelsblad, Amsterdam, condemned the tribunal as a "kangaroo court." The paper remarked: "The truth is that the Vietnam tribunal, judged by the best objective standards, is a collection of demagogues and oversimplifiers who engage in anti-U.S. propaganda in a cumbersome, roundabout way."

"They could attain their objective much more simply without going through the shenanigans of setting up a tribunal and finding a locale for it. But then maximum publicity is undoubtedly one of the chief goals of this purely political stunt."



GP

Swedish official view as to  
Russell's "Vietnam war crimes tribunal".

1. The Swedish Premier, Mr. Erlander in his reply December 9, 1966, to Bertrand Russell's communication of the intention of the "Vietnam war crimes tribunal" to meet in Stockholm, stated that he could not foresee how such sessions could in any way contribute to a peaceful settlement of the tragic situation in Vietnam. He therefore appealed to Russell not to choose Sweden as a meeting-place.
2. The organizers of the tribunal reconsidered the meeting-place and finally scheduled the first session to be held in France at the end of April. However, General de Gaulle on April 22 forbade the tribunal from holding sessions in France. In announcing General de Gaulle's decision, French members of the organizing group said they would seek to hold the session in some other country and that Sweden was considered to be their next choice (The New York Times, April 23).
3. This prompted Mr. Erlander on April 24 to restate that the Swedish Government did not want the tribunal to hold sessions in Sweden. He further said that "it is wellknown that there is a unanimous opinion in Sweden, most recently expressed in the debate on foreign affairs in the Swedish Parliament, that the Vietnam war must reach a peaceful solution and that the American bombings of North Vietnam must cease as a first step towards the establishing of contacts for negotiations. In the opinion of the Swedish Government the Russell tribunal cannot further a peaceful solution. This is the reason why a number of countries, most recently France, which like Sweden are critical of the role of the United States in the Vietnam war, have turned the tribunal away. I therefore once more very definitely state that the Swedish Government does not want the tribunal to hold its sessions in Sweden".
4. In spite of Mr. Erlander's statement the organizers made public late the same evening (April 24) that even so they intended to hold the session in Stockholm, starting two days later, April 26.
5. Mr. Erlander then made the following statement (April 25): In an announcement yesterday I appealed to the organizers of the Russell's tribunal not to hold their scheduled session in Sweden. Now that they have nevertheless chosen Sweden as the meeting-place, the Swedish Government will not take any steps to prevent the session from taking place. The Government obviously presupposes that the participants in the session will observe the laws and regulations of the country they are visiting.

Washington, D.C., April 26, 1967.

**PRESERVATION COPY**

VZCZCEE971  
PP WTE10  
DE WTE 875

FROM WALT ROSTOW  
TO THE PRESIDENT  
CITE WH70255

1967 MAY 5 16 07

UNCLAS

MAY 5, 1967

S

YOU MAY BE INTERESTED--AND A LITTLE CHEERED--BY THE  
USIA SUMMARY OF EUROPEAN PRESS REACTION TO THE SHENANIGANS  
IN STOCKHOLM.

MOST FREE WORLD COMMENT ON THE RUSSELL TRIBUNAL  
VIEWED IT AS A PUBLICITY-SEEKING "FARCE" WITHOUT STATUS  
AS A LEGITIMATE FORUM. THE OPENING SESSION IN STOCKHOLM  
DREW MODERATE AND GENERALLY DISPARAGING COVERAGE IN  
MOST AREAS.

PRAGUE RADIO CHARGED THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAD  
EXERTED STRONG DIPLOMATIC AND POLITICAL PRESSURES ON THE  
SWEDISH GOVERNMENT TO BAN THE MEETINGS. IT SAID THE  
TRIBUNAL HAD BEEN "VERY WARMLY WELCOMED" IN SWEDEN,  
ALTHOUGH SOME "REACTIONARY" SWEDISH PAPERS HAD ATTACKED  
IT.

MAJOR BRITISH PAPERS WEDNESDAY CARRIED STORIES ON THE  
OPENING SESSION. LONDON'S CONSERVATIVE DAILY TELEGRAPH,  
UNDER THE HEADING "MOCKING JUSTICE," CALLED THE TRIBUNAL  
A "MACABRE, DISTASTEFUL AND PUERILE EXERCISE..."  
SPONSORED BY "A BUNCH OF LEFT-WING LITTERATEURS,  
PAMPHLETEERS AND PROPAGANDISTS WHO ARE MANIFESTLY  
ENGAGED IN WHAT IS NOTHING MORE THAN ANOTHER ANTI-  
AMERICAN DEMONSTRATION." THE PAPER CONTINUED:

"THE IMPERFECT IMITATION OF JUDICIAL PROCEDURES IS ONLY  
FOR SHOW. THE 'TRIBUNAL' IS NEITHER AUTHORITATIVE  
NOR IMPARTIAL AND LACKS THE PROFESSIONAL SKILL NEEDED  
TO MAKE ITS CONCLUSIONS ANYTHING MORE SERIOUS THAN  
GRATUITOUS IMPERTINENCES. EVEN SO, THE SWEDISH GOVERNMENT  
MIGHT HAVE BEEN EXPECTED TO FOLLOW FRANCE'S EXAMPLE  
BY BANNING THE PERFORMANCE."

THE PAPER SAID THE REPUTATIONS OF AMERICAN LEADERS WOULD  
"NOT SUFFER UNDULY, BUT LORD RUSSELL'S REPUTATION AMONG  
MANY ADMIRERS MAY PROVE MORE VULNERABLE. THE ACKNOWLEDGED  
MASTER OF ENGLISH PROSE IS PRESENTED AS THE AUTHOR OF  
A DIATRIBE COUCHED IN CLICHE-RIDDEN JOURNALESE; THE GREAT  
LOGICIAN IS SEEN AS A VEHICLE OF COMMONPLACE POLITICAL  
INVECTIVE. IT IS THIS WHICH LENDS A TOUCH OF SADNESS  
TO AN OCCASION WHICH MIGHT OTHERWISE INSPIRE ONLY  
CONTEMPT."



IN CONTRAST, THE LIBERAL GUARDIAN, A CONSISTENT CRITIC OF U.S. VIETNAM POLICY, THOUGHT THAT EVEN THOUGH THE FINDINGS WERE "PREDICTABLE," THERE WAS "NO REASON WHY IT SHOULD BE EITHER CONDEMNED OR APPLAUDED." THE PAPER ADDED: "IT IS A BODY OF PRIVATE CITIZENS COLLECTING INFORMATION FOR THEIR OWN PURPOSES. IF IT BREAKS LAWS IT CAN BE PROSECUTED. IF IT UNEARTHS FACTS NOT HITHERTO KNOWN IT WILL HAVE ADDED TO OUR KNOWLEDGE."

THE PAPER MAINTAINED THAT THE TRIBUNAL FELL INTO "THAT CATEGORY OF EVENTS ABOUT WHICH IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO HAVE AN OPINION, BUT FOR THOSE WITH OPINIONS THERE ARE REMEDIES AT HAND. THOSE WHO DO NOT LIKE THE TRIBUNAL CAN HOLD A MOCK TRIAL OF RALPH SCHOENMAN," LORD RUSSELL'S SECRETARY, "ON CHARGES OF THEIR OWN CHOICE."

TUESDAY'S LONDON TIMES CARRIED A STOCKHOLM CORRESPONDENT'S REPORT DECLARING THAT "STARTLING NEW INFORMATION ABOUT AMERICAN WAR TECHNIQUES" WAS PROMISED BY THE TRIBUNAL ORGANIZERS. HE WROTE THAT "MORE THAN 20 CRATES OF DOCUMENTS" HAD ARRIVED FROM PARIS AND LONDON, AND THAT "EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS OF RAIDS ON NORTH VIETNAM VILLAGES, A FOUR-HOUR FILM OF THE RAIDS, EXAMPLES OF AMERICAN WEAPONRY... AND RECORDED INTERVIEWS WITH NORTH VIETNAM VILLAGERS" WOULD BE PRESENTED.

REUTERS CARRIED A DISPATCH WEDNESDAY WHICH SAID THAT "GRUESOME PHOTOGRAPHS DEPICTING MUTILATED CIVILIANS AFTER ALLEGED AMERICAN BOMB RAIDS OVER NORTH VIETNAM SHOCKED ONLOOKERS" AT THE TRIBUNAL. THE REPORT STATED THAT THE TRIBUNAL HAD ENTERED ITS SECOND DAY "WITH AN ARRAY OF COMPELLING TESTIMONY."

THE FRENCH NEWS AGENCY AFP, IN AN ACCOUNT OF THE INAUGURAL SESSION, SAID THAT LORD RUSSELL HAD ACCUSED THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT OF "HYPOCRISY AND FRAILTY" FOR REFUSING TO ALLOW THE SESSIONS TO BE HELD IN FRANCE.

IN PARIS, THIERRY MAULNIER, OF THE ACADEMIE FRANCAISE, WRITING IN TUESDAY'S CONSERVATIVE FIGARO, ASSERTED THAT THE PURPOSE OF THE MEETING WAS TO "DISCREDIT" AMERICAN ACTIONS IN VIETNAM: "FOR THIS, COLLECTING SIGNATURES AND HERALDING FAMOUS VOICES IS NOT ENOUGH. IT HAS ALREADY BEEN DONE. A TRIBUNAL IS SOMETHING DIFFERENT. IT IS IMPOSING IN ITSELF--EVEN MORE SO AN INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL.... IT IS A MATTER OF CREATING IN THE PUBLIC MIND A PARALLEL BETWEEN THE TRIBUNAL WHICH CONDEMNED THE NAZI WAR CRIMES AND THE ONE WHICH IS TO CONDEMN THE AMERICAN 'WAR CRIMES'. USING THE WORD TRIBUNAL FORCES ONE TO RECOGNIZE AN ANALOGY OF THE ACTIONS AND OF THE GUILT."

THE WRITER SAID EGYPT'S ARMY HAD "OCCUPIED A GOOD PART" OF YEMEN AND ITS AIR FORCE HAD DROPPED NAPALM BOMBS ON GUERRILLA VILLAGES THERE. YET, HE SAID, "I HAVE NEVER HEARD THAT THIS AFFAIR INTERESTED THE RUSSELL-SARTRE TRIBUNAL. THUS IT IS NOT THE INTERVENTION WHICH IS CONDEMNED, BUT THE SIDES TAKEN. IT IS A QUESTION OF CREATING A CERTAIN CONFUSION IN THE SPECTATOR'S MIND. THE FIGHT IS CARRIED ON WITH PROPAGANDA WEAPONS ON THE SIDE OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT AND NORTH VIETNAM..."

TODAY'S RADICAL-LIBERAL EKSTRABLADET OF COPENHAGEN CARRIED A FULL-PAGE REPRINT OF RUSSELL'S OPENING STATEMENT. COMMENTARIES IN OTHER DANISH PAPERS BRANDED THE TRIBUNAL A "FARCE" (CONSERVATIVE BERLINGSKE TIDENDE), AND "A POLITICAL ACTION STAGED AS A DRAMATIC TRIAL" (INDEPENDENT INFORMATION).

MEXICO CITY PAPERS HAD FRONT-PAGE STORIES UNDER DISPARAGING HEADLINES: "GATHERING OF DEMAGOGUES TO 'JUDGE' U.S." (CONSERVATIVE EL SOL DE MEXICO), AND "DECREPIT RUSSELL FARCE BEGINS" (MODERATELY CONSERVATIVE ULTIMAS NOTICIAS).

DTG: 051347Z MAY 67

GPS: 1000

FBIS 33 (SEE 63)

HO MESSAGES TO RUSSELL, SARTRE

HANOI VNA INTERNATIONAL SERVICE IN ENGLISH 1505Z 5 MAY 67 B

(TEXT) HANOI--PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH RECENTLY SENT A VERBAL MESSAGE TO LORD BERTRAND RUSSELL, INITIATOR OF THE INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL. THE MESSAGE READS IN FULL AS FOLLOWS:

TO LORD BERTRAND RUSSELL, LONDON:

I AM VERY GLAD TO SEE THE INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL OPEN ITS FIRST FORMAL SESSION. THE LOFTY WORK SPONSORED BY YOU HAS NOW BEGUN, TO BE MATERIALIZED. THIS IS A VERY IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL EVENT, ESPECIALLY AT A TIME WHEN THE UNITED STATES IS FRENZIEDLY ESCALATING THE WAR, STRIKING AT HAIPHONG PORT AND HANOI CAPITAL CITY. THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE AND THE PEACE- AND JUSTICE-LOVING PEOPLE OF THE WORLD ARE LOOKING FORWARD TO THE SUCCESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL.

WISHING YOU GOOD HEALTH, HO CHI MINH.

-0-

HANOI VNA INTERNATIONAL SERVICE IN ENGLISH 1509Z 5 MAY 67 B

(TEXT) HANOI--PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH RECENTLY SENT A MESSAGE TO JEAN PAUL SARTRE, PRESIDENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL NOW HOLDING ITS SESSION IN STOCKHOLM. THE MESSAGE READS IN FULL AS FOLLOWS:

TO MR. JEAN PAUL SARTRE, PRESIDENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL ON WAR CRIMES IN VIETNAM:

ON THE OCCASION OF THE OPENING OF THE FIRST FORMAL SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL ON WAR CRIMES IN VIETNAM, I WISH TO CONVEY TO YOU, AS WELL AS TO ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE TRIBUNAL, MY WARNEST CONGRATULATIONS AND SINCERE WISHES FOR GOOD SUCCESS.

THE OPENING OF THE FIRST SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL BEARS A PROFOUND SIGNIFICANCE, ESPECIALLY AT A TIME WHEN THE AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS ARE INTENSIFYING TO THE UTMOST THEIR WAR ESCALATION, STRIKING AT HAIPHONG PORT AND HANOI, OUR CAPITAL. IT IS A POWERFUL ENCOURAGEMENT NOT ONLY FOR US VIETNAMESE PEOPLE, BUT ALSO FOR ALL THE PEOPLES FIGHTING FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, FREEDOM, AND PEACE.

THE NOBLE WORK OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL, WARMLY APPROVED AND SUPPORTED BY PROGRESSIVE MANKIND, HOWEVER, HAS MET AND WILL STILL MEET WITH NUMEROUS DIFFICULTIES AND OBSTACLES CREATED BY THE AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS AND THE REACTIONARY FORCES. BUT I AM CONVINCED THAT ITS ANIMATORS WOULD PERSEVERE LIKE IN THE PAST AND TAKE APPROPRIATE MEASURES TO CARRY THROUGH ITS WORK. IT IS CERTAIN THAT ALL THE PEACE- AND JUSTICE-LOVING PEOPLES AND PERSONS IN THE WORLD WILL BE ONR THEIR SIDE AND WILL SUPPORT THEM WHOLEHEARTEDLY.

WE CONVEY OUR SINCERE THANKS TO ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL ON WAR CRIMES IN VIETNAM FOR THEIR WARM SUPPORT TO THE JUST WAR OF RESISTANCE OF OUR PEOPLE.

PLEASE ACCEPT, MR. PRESIDENT, THE ASSURANCES OF MY VERY HIGH CONSIDERATION.

SIGNED: HO CHI MINH

5 MAY 1735Z RJC/CP



19  
-  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Thursday, April 27, 1967 -- 4:30 pm

Mr. President:

As you can see, the Swedes are properly churned up on the Russell business.

Honest, Sir, I delivered the message loud and clear. It is just that, as an old State Department hand, I always disliked Memcons where the U.S. official used up all the time showing how wise and tough he was.

I have no trouble at all being tough when I am carrying out your instructions.

Walt  
W. Rostow

TRIBUNAL (SCHEDULED)

BY SAM HALL

STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN, APRIL 27 (REUTERS)-A MAJOR POLITICAL ROW ~~BECAME~~ IN SWEDEN TODAY AS FOREIGN MINISTER TORSTEN NILSSON RE-EXAMINED SWEDEN'S RELUCTANT PERMISSION FOR BRITISH PHILOSOPHER BERTRAND RUSSELL'S VIETNAM "WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL" TO OPEN HERE SATURDAY.

THE 17-MAN TRIBUNAL WILL STUDY PRESS REPORTS, VARIOUS DOCUMENTS AND TESTIMONY FROM INVESTIGATING TEAMS RETURNED FROM NORTH VIETNAM AND CONSIDER WHETHER PRZSIDENT JOHNSON, THE UNITED STATES AND ITS VIETNAM WAR ALLIES SHOULD BE JUDGED WAR CRIMINALS.

NILSSON WENT INTO CONFERENCE TODAY WITH HIS FOREIGN MINISTRY AIDES AND AN AUTHORITATIVE SOURCE SAID THEY "WERE LOOKING CLOSELY AT THE SITUATION AGAIN.

"MR. NILSSON IS VERY AWARE OF THE NEGATIVE REACTION (TO THE TRIBUNAL) IN THE UNITED STATES," THE SOURCE SAID.

SWEDISH PREMIER TAGE ERLANDER SAID MONDAY THAT THE TRIBUNAL, EARLIER BANNED FROM LONDON AND PARIS, WAS NOT WANTED IN SWEDEN.

BUT HE SAID IT COULD GO AHEAD AFTER HE RECEIVED ASSURANCES FROM SWEDISH ORGANIZERS THAT THE TRIBUNAL WOULD NEITHER ASSUME THE CHARACTER OF A COURTROOM NOR ACCUSE ANY PRIVATE PERSON AND WOULD SIMPLY BE A REPRESENTATION OF THE FACTS.

(MORE) GRB 1:44P

FIRST ADD STOCKHOLM TRIBUNAL X X X FACTS.

THE GOVERNMENT WAS REPORTED TO HAVE HAD SECOND THOUGHTS FOLLOWING STATEMENTS BY THE FIRST TRIBUNAL MEMBER TO ARRIVE HERE, BRITISH TRADE UNIONIST LAWRENCE DALY, WHO SAID WEDNESDAY THAT THE TRIBUNAL WAS A PARALLEL TO THE NUERNBERG WAR CRIMES TRIALS WHICH FOLLOWED WORLD WAR II.

DALY SAID HE PERSONALLY HAD CONCLUDED THAT THE U.S. WAS A WAR CRIMINAL.

ARGUMENT IN SWEDEN OVER THE TRIBUNAL WAS CENTERED ON LEFTWING AND LABOR UNION GROUPS OPENLY SUPPORTING IT, PATRIOTS MAINTAINING THAT SWEDEN SHOULD NOT VIOLATE ITS TRADITIONS OF NEUTRALITY AND DEMOCRACY BY BANNING THE TRIBUNAL AND OTHERS FEARING HARM TO SWEDEN'S FOREIGN RELATIONS.

SEVERAL GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION LEADERS ISSUED A STATEMENT THURSDAY SAYING THE TRIBUNAL "CANNOT FURTHER THE AIM OF ACHIEVING PEACE IN VIETNAM."

REGRETTING THAT IT WAS TO BE HELD IN SWEDEN, THEY SAID IT WAS UNFORTUNATE THE SWEDISH LAWS DID NOT PERMIT THEM STOPPING THE TRIBUNAL.

(MORE) GRB 1:48P

*Rostow*

SECOND ADD STOCKHOLM TRIBUNAL X X X TRIBUNAL.

CONSERVATIVE PARTY LEADER YNGVE (CORRECT) HOLMBERG DEMANDED THE GOVERNMENT DISSOCIATE ITSELF FROM THE TRIBUNAL.

"THERE ARE GREAT RISKS THAT LARGE AREAS OF THE WORLD WILL MISINTERPRET THE NEUTRAL TRADITIONS OF SWEDISH FOREIGN POLICY," HE SAID. "THE GOVERNMENT'S RETREAT BEFORE THE RUTHLESS LEFTIST FORCES SUPPORTING THE TRIBUNAL IS HIGHLY REMARKABLE."

OTHER TRIBUNAL MEMBERS SOUGHT TO STRESS THE INTENDED OBJECTIVITY OF THE TRIBUNAL.

BERLIN-BORN SWEDISH PLAYWRIGHT PETER WEISS SAID: "WE IN THE SWEDISH COMMITTEE ARE SURE THAT IF DELEGATES OF THE TRIBUNAL . . . HAVE COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS COMMITTED WAR CRIMES, THIS IS DEFINITELY NOT THE ATTITUDE OF THE TRIBUNAL ITSELF.

"THE AIMS ARE TO INVESTIGATE THE FACTS REGARDING THE WAR IN VIETNAM AND PRESENT THEM TO WORLD OPINION," HE SAID.

ANOTHER TRIBUNAL MEMBER, 51-YEAR-OLD AMERICAN PACIFIST DAVE DELLINGER SAID: "IF THE TRIBUNAL IS PARTISAN OR UNFAIR IT WILL SIMPLY BE FORGOTTEN."

THE BRITISH SECRETARY OF THE TRIBUNAL, RUSSEL STETLER, DENIED IT WOULD BE A "TRIAL OF JOHNSON, RUSK AND MCNAMARA" AND SAID HE WOULD WELCOME ANY SOUTH VIETNAMESE WITNESSES.

GRB 1:51P



20  
28  
(2)  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

Saturday, February 18, 1967  
3:50 p.m.

Mr. President:

Herewith a helpful item in  
tomorrow's The New York Times  
Magazine -- of all places -- sent  
over by Nick in advance.

W. Rostow

553  
200

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority STATE letter APR 28 1978  
By lcl, NARS, Date 8/13/79

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

February 17, 1967

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~


MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

This coming Sunday's (February 19) New York Times Magazine carries a long, highly critical article on the Bertrand Russell "war crimes" campaign, written by British journalist Bernard Levin, the theme of which is indicated by the following quotation: "(Russell) has turned into a full-time purveyor of political garbage indistinguishable from the routine products of the Soviet machine .... (and) sunk to defending--not just denying or minimizing, but actively defending--the atrocities of the Viet Cong in Vietnam." We provided background material for this article, a copy of which is attached.

A week ago the Pakistan Government publicly disavowed the Russell "war crimes tribunal". Earlier four African Heads of State (Haile Selassie, Sekou Toure, Kaunda, and Nyerere) and President Radakrishnan of India issued personal statements dissociating themselves from this campaign. In each case this was the result of careful approaches by our Embassies.

In recent weeks "investigating teams" of the Russell group have been gathering "evidence" of U.S. "war crimes" in North Vietnam. The "tribunal" has said it plans to meet in March, in Paris. The French Government has made it clear they would not be welcome. Two other possible meeting sites, England and Sweden, have taken similar attitudes. In light of this governmental hostility (in part the result of approaches by our Embassies) a spokesman for the group a few days ago said the "tribunal" might meet on a ship at sea, and not until July.

We are continuing to keep an eye on their activities.

  
ACTING SECRETARY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RECEIVED  
COSTA RICA OFFICE

1967 FEB 18 AM 9 22



# Bertrand Russell: Prosecutor, Judge and Jury

By BERNARD LEVIN

LONDON.  
IN a meeting room at the Caxton Hall, London, which is, among other things, the principal office for civil weddings in Britain (Anthony Eden was married there the second time), a curious and—rather pathetic ceremony is about to begin. A press conference has been called by Bertrand Russell, the third Earl Russell and 94-year-old philosopher, to announce the details of a "War Crimes Tribunal," modeled on the Nuremberg Tribunal that tried and sentenced the Nazi leaders, which will arraign and try President Johnson, Robert McNamara, Dean Rusk

How about Stokely Carmichael? Is he in Paris, too? No, he is in the United States. And Danilo Dolci, the famous Sicilian reformer and implacable opponent of the Mafia? I suppose he is in Sicily? No, he is in London; unfortunately, he has resigned from the tribunal bench. And ex-President Cárdenas of Mexico; doubtless in Mexico? Doubtless. At any rate he is not here.

We contain our disappointment as best we may, seeking to be impressed by such surrogate celebrities as Mehmet Ali Aybar of the Turkish Workers' party; Kinju Morikawa of the Japanese Committee for the Investi-

For at last the precise nature of the ceremony on which we are attending has become clear. It is the equivalent of the religious custom of showing to the faithful the saint's bones, or vestments, or miraculously liquefying blood. The man who has now become the holiest relic the international left possesses is to be unwrapped and shown to the populace. And if he performs a miracle or two while the ceremony is going on, so much the better.

Russell takes his place; Schoenman sits beside him. There are a few words of introduction, and the sage is called upon to address the congregation. He turns to Schoenman, a questioning look on his face. His sidekick nods, smiles gently, gestures Russell to his feet. The sage rises.

Unimaginably old, immeasurably frail, his white hair blowing in the breezes of all the storms he has weathered through a long and eventful life, Russell speaks. His voice is soft and weak, yet perfectly clear. His grasp of the speech he is reading, its pages held in a thin, blue-veined hand, is obviously complete. It tells of his admiration for the people of Vietnam, assaulted, tortured and killed by the Americans. He announces that it is proposed to examine the "war of annihilation" being conducted by the United States in Vietnam. And he is at pains to rebut the unworthy suggestion that, because the verdict of the tribunal has been determined in advance by its members, it may perhaps be discounted, or even appealed against, on the grounds of bias. "I have rejected," he says, "the view that only indifferent men are impartial men."

He sits down. There is a brief announcement to the effect that he will now leave, and he does, oblivious of the protests of those who have been brought here under the impression that Bertrand Russell was to give a press conference. The holy relic has been shown, and is laid back in its velvet-lined ark till the saint's day comes round again.

The rest of the proceedings is something of an anticlimax.

MUCH the same could be said of these last years of Russell's career.

(Continued on Page 55)

**In his "War Crimes Tribunal," the British philosopher, 94, plans to arraign—and convict (the verdict has already been announced)—Johnson, McNamara and Rusk for "conducting a war of annihilation in Vietnam."**

and others deemed responsible for the American action in Vietnam. And we are waiting for Russell to appear and open the proceedings.

We have been waiting for some time, for it is already half an hour since the meeting was supposed to start. "We" are press and television men from all over the world, and while we are waiting we are looking eagerly about for some of the celebrated people who, according to the list with which we have been provided, are to sit on this tribunal and sternly judge the malefactors. Jean-Paul Sartre, for instance—where is he? He is in Paris. Ah, well—Simone de Beauvoir, then? Also in Paris.

BERNARD LEVIN is a regular contributor to The Daily Mail of London and New Statesman. Recently he joined Kingsley Amis, John Braine and other British writers in publicly affirming support of American action in Vietnam.

gation of United States War Crimes in Vietnam; Isaac Deutscher, indefatigable believer in the perfectibility of Soviet Communism; Gunther Anders, sedulous cultivator of the myth of Claude Eatherley (the "Hiroshima pilot"), and Vladimir Dedijer, the Yugoslav writer who now prefers to live outside Yugoslavia. (Dedijer, recognizing me in the front row, comes and talks to me, most civilly, despite the fact that I have repeatedly attacked Russell's present attitudes in print; but after all, this is England.)

Around and about, and in and out, there wanders a young man with a round, neat beard, and a smile of infinite self-satisfaction. This is Ralph Schoenman, Bertrand Russell's secretary, assistant, spokesman and general left-hand man. We shall hear more of him presently.

A stir, a bustle, a craning of necks; he comes! He comes! Say rather, without disrespect, it comes.

Lord Russell listens to a speaker in Trafalgar Square during a demonstration by Britain's National Union of Seamen. The man with the beard is American Ralph Schoenman, Russell's assistant and spokesman.



## Bertrand Russell (Cont.)

(From Page 24)

How has it come about that a man possessed of one of the finest, most acute minds of our time—of *any* time—has fallen into a state of such gullibility, lack of discrimination, twisted logic and rancorous hatred of the United States that he has turned into a full-time purveyor of political garbage indistinguishable from the routine products of the Soviet machine?

How has the only really great English philosopher since John Stuart Mill—and it comes as a startling *memento mori* to discover that Mill (who died in 1873) was Russell's godfather—come to abandon philosophy, and indeed the last vestiges of a critical and philosophical approach, for hysteria? How has the author of "The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism" which, written as early as 1920, outlined with astonishing insight what would happen in Russia to Marx's dream of a Communist paradise on earth, turned into the man whose fawning adulation of Khrushchev at the time of the Cuban missile crisis must have nauseated even those with the strongest political stomachs? How has the man whose first major public action was his participation in a commission to examine the Congo atroc-

ities of King Leopold I of the Belgians now sunk to defending—not just denying or minimizing, but actively defending—the atrocities of the Vietcong in Vietnam?

**I**N case anybody is inclined to doubt my description of what Russell has become, it is my melancholy duty to present the evidence—and the evidence is plentiful. Is this, for instance, from Russell's latest book, a description of United States policy that seems likely from the author of "Principia Mathematica" or "Human Knowledge?"

"When United States capitalists hoard food and poison it they not only deprive the starving, but force the developing countries to buy food at high costs. The riches of the earth are destroyed, wasted, stolen by the few and used to murder the millions. Three thousand and three hundred military bases are spread across the planet to prevent the peoples from destroying this evil system."

Or take this judicious appraisal of the role of the British Prime Minister in the Vietnam conflict:

"Harold Wilson's groveling capitulation to foreign bankers has made him a butcher's assistant and all of

us a nation of accomplices. The Prime Minister's relationship to Johnson, in its fawning sycophancy and pathetic attempts to emulate Washington's military adventures, increasingly resembles Mussolini's relationship to the Führer."

Or compare the telegrams Russell sent to President Kennedy and Mr. Khrushchev respectively at the height of the Cuba missile crisis. To Kennedy—whom he had just bracketed with Macmillan as one of the “murderers worse than Hitler” (he had also told the British people, “You are to die because rich Americans dislike the government that Cubans prefer”)—Russell cabled:

"Your action desperate. Threat to human survival. No conceivable justification. Civilized man condemns it. We will not have mass murder. Ultimatums mean war. I do not speak for power but plead for civilized man. End this madness."

And to Khrushchev he telegraphed:

"Dear Premier Khrushchev, may I humbly appeal for your further help in lowering the temperature despite the worsening situation. Your continued forbearance is our great hope. With high regard and sincere thanks."

**66 Russell seems to have set up a giant protest factory, fully automated, in his (unpronounceable and virtually unspellable) Welsh fastness of Penrhynyddruth. 99**

And somewhat later in the crisis, he sent Khrushchev this:

"The United States rejection of your proposals to trade Soviet installations in Cuba against NATO installations in Turkey is totally unjustifiable and is a sign of insane paranoia."

**A**S for Russell's gullibility, and the irresponsible way in which he peddles anything that might redound to America's discredit, there are almost too many examples to choose from. In language reminiscent of the abuse heaped on defendants before the Nazi "People's Court," or used by Andrei Vishinsky in Sta-

*(Continued)*

[illegible]

**Russ-Girl**...she manages to look this great all the time. Hip-hugger pleated skirt in Dacron® and cotton gabardine with the exclusive Russ-Press no-iron finish. Navy, plum, loden, brown, beige, pre-teen sizes 6-14, about \$8. Tuck this nylon ribbed poor boy top in it. Matching colors, S-M-L, about \$6. Both, also available in sizes 7-14. At fine stores everywhere. Russ Girl, a division of Russ Togs, 1372 Broadway, New York 10018.

RIGHT RUBS TONK, INC. CRACKER SLIGHTLY HIGHER IN THE WEEK, SOMEWHAT HIG IN FOR ITS POLYESTER FIBER





**LAUREATE**—Russell is congratulated by students at Princeton on being named winner of the 1950 Nobel Prize for Literature.

(Continued)

lin's purge trials, he retails every charge he reads or hears, in any quarter, however suspect, of atrocities alleged against American soldiers, including such actions as ripping open the stomachs of pregnant women and exhibiting their unborn children, as well as putting 8-million(!) South Vietnamese into concentration camps.

At times, indeed, "insane paranoia" appears to be hovering uncomfortably close:

"The C.I.A. . . . draws up lists of popular leaders to be assassinated. It plots to start wars. It invades countries. . . . In Argentina, American tanks smashed the civilian government of Arturo Frondizi. . . . Brutal military putsches have been imposed upon Ecuador, Bolivia, Guatemala and Honduras. . . . The United Nations has become a tool of American aggression. . . . In the Congo, mercenary troops, acting for Belgian and American interests . . . have shamelessly killed. . . . The dregs of American militarism have been used for this purpose . . . right-wing generals, with United States money, have taken control of Indonesia. . . ."

Clearly, Russell does not limit his activities these days to Vietnam. Indeed, he seems to have set up a giant protest factory, fully automated, in his (unpronounceable and virtually unspellable) Welsh fastness of Penrhynedduraeth. Day and night, protests pour out against actions in parts of the world that Russell might not too easily find on a map. One day it is a protest against the Venezuelan Government for allegedly (no evidence provided) imprisoning 5,000 political opponents; another day, it is a complaint about police brutality in

Harlem; next, it is a charge that most of the members of the democratic Greek Cabinet were Nazi collaborators during the war; anon, he is warning that any attempt by outsiders to impose a solution of the Cyprus problem will lead to disaster; now he is condemning the British Government for sending arms to Iraq; then he is complaining that West Germany is run by Nazis and opposition to them is stifled. Occasionally, he even protests against the actions of some Communist government, though it is noticeable, and sad, that his language in doing so is far milder than when he is on the warpath against the United States.

Russell is, of course, a firm believer in the theory that the Warren Commission was a gigantic conspiracy to hush up the truth about President Kennedy's assassination ("grotesque contradictions, fabrications and deletions"), and in his attitude to the Warren Report lies one of the darkest elements in Russell's tragedy; it is not that he refuses to accept the Warren Commission's findings, but that he issued a violent attack on the report when it was published ("a document that covers its authors in shame") without, as he subsequently admitted, having read it. (What, one cannot help wondering, would the author of "An Inquiry Into Meaning and Truth" have said, in his prime, about that?)

But perhaps worst of all in the long *dégringolade* that Russell has performed has been his condonation of Vietcong atrocities. When he was asked to declare whether his "War Crimes Tribunal" would also investigate war crimes by the Communist forces in Vietnam, he attacked those

(Continued on Page 60)

## Ci-Ci designed by Micia of Rome —in Dacron®



### The adventures of Ci-Ci in America

It's me—Ci-Ci—here to show you one of my favorite new dresses made in America of Dacron® polyester and Tycora®. Vittorio said, "Cat's whiskers" when he saw it, which is his way of saying he likes it a lot. It's double-knit jacquard weave.

Hand-washable and crease-resistant. It's cut like a little tent and has daisies all over it and a streamer with a bow.

You can have it in lavender and aqua or yellow with lavender.

Sizes 3-6x, about \$15. Sizes 7-12, about \$18.

Available at Bloomingdale's, all stores  
Julius Garfinckel & Co., Washington, D.C.  
Filene's, Boston

or write Ci-Ci, 112 West 34th Street,  
New York, N.Y. 10011.

©DuPont's Reg. T.M.





# Vanleigh SALE

ENDS FEBRUARY 25th \*



Vanleigh's Sale is the easy, inexpensive way of getting magnificent decorator furniture and accessories. Whatever you want, you'll find it at Vanleigh at exceptionally low Sale Prices.

\* ADMISSION ONLY THROUGH AN INTERIOR DECORATOR OR HOME FURNISHING DEALER.

**VANLEIGH FURNITURE SHOWROOMS,**  
323 EAST 44TH STREET, (Between 1st and 2nd Avenues), New York.  
684-6700. Free parking across the street. Sale hours: Daily and Saturdays 9 to 5. Thursdays until 8:30. OPEN WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY UNTIL 5.

(Continued from Page 57)

who "suffer from an inability to distinguish the violence of an oppressed people from that of the overwhelmingly powerful invader." He went on to defend the Vietcong bombing of a Saigon restaurant (an explosion in which more than a score of South Vietnamese were killed or seriously injured) on the grounds that American officers were in the habit of eating there, thus making it "a clear target for the Vietnamese resistance," and ended: "We do not regard the violence of the resistance as a crime, because we are able to distinguish the victim from the aggressor, as easily as we could distinguish the Jews of the Warsaw Ghetto from the Gestapo."

**W**HAT, then, has happened to Russell, grandson of one of Queen Victoria's most distinguished Prime Ministers, creator (virtually single-handed) of modern mathematical and linguistic philosophy, lifelong humanitarian, radical and (particularly) skeptic, courageous defender of unpopular causes, relentless critic of Communism in theory and practice, friend and associate through three-quarters of a century of many—perhaps most—of the world's greatest statesmen, writers, thinkers?

The simplest—and in many ways the kindest—explanation will not hold water. Russell is not *senile*. Indeed, it is quite clear that in many ways his faculties are undimmed, and those who have talked with him recently have been impressed by the vigor of his mind. I shall have more to say about the influence of those around him; but it must be made clear that he is no brain-softened dotard, signing documents he does not understand. What Russell puts his hand

to, he believes. What we have to decide is why he believes it, especially when it is manifest nonsense.

Some have claimed to find the roots of Russell's present decline, with its foundation of anti-Americanism, in the shameful treatment he received as long ago as 1940, when he was prevented, in a trumped-up legal action, from taking up his appointment as professor of philosophy at the College of the City of New York. This case, which to this day makes sorry reading for admirers of the United States who would like to believe that the worst McCarthyite tactics started as well as finished with McCarthy, was a classic of prejudice, malice, religious bigotry and judicial boondoggling combining to hound from office a man more distinguished than all his opponents together. Yet apart from the fact that it happened over 25 years ago, it never seemed to have left any lasting mark on Russell, who indeed behaved, while the battle was going on in the courts and press and universities of America, with admirable imperturbability. Moreover, he got his revenge shortly afterward with one of the most elegant jokes in history; on the flyleaf of his next book, published when the fracas was over, he wrote, after the title:

By **BERTRAND RUSSELL,**  
M.A., F.R.S.

Holder of the Nicholas Murray Butler Medal of Columbia University (1915), the Sylvester Medal of the Royal Society (1932) and the de Morgan Medal of the London Mathematical Society (1933), Honorary Member of the Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Fellow (1895-1901) and Lecturer (1910-1916) of Trinity College, Cambridge, Herbert Spencer Lecturer at Oxford (1914). Visiting Professor of Phi-

(Continued)



**TWO VIEWS**—Above, a camera study of Russell by Alfred Eisenstadt, and a sketch by the political cartoonist, Vicky, both 1959.



**Rexter**

First in  
Decorator-Styled  
HI-INTENSITY  
LAMPS\*



at better stores  
everywhere  
from \$19.95

Licensed by TENSOM CORP.  
made in U.S.A.

REXTER CORP. 1811 Ave. Ave. L.L.C. N.Y. 11101

**HOME  
ELEVATORS...  
BUY  
or  
RENT**

Write for  
brochure,  
call for  
free  
estimate.



**INCLINATOR-ELEVETTE CO.  
OF NEW YORK, INC.**

475 Fifth Avenue  
New York 17, N. Y.  
BRyant 9-0644

1213 Teaneck Rd.  
Teaneck, N. J.  
TEaneck 3-0680

EXCLUSIVE DISTRIBUTORS  
INCLINATOR CO. OF AMERICA

## A man needs this special kind of support.

Thousands of ordinary actions can put sudden strain on areas that require male support. Only Jockey brand briefs are meticulously tailored to fit the male figure — to give the comfortable protection every man needs. Jockey Super brief (mesh pouch) \$1.50. Jockey Classic brief (solid fabric pouch) \$1.25 or a 3-pack for \$3.69.

It's not Jockey brand if it doesn't have the Jockey boy.



(Continued)

losophy at Harvard University (1914) and at the Chinese Government University of Peking (1920-1921). Turner Lecturer at Cambridge (1928). Special Lecturer at the London School of Economics and Political Science (1937) and at the University of Oxford (1938). Visiting Professor of Philosophy at the University of Chicago (1938-1939). Professor of Philosophy at the University of California at Los Angeles (1939-1940). Occasional Lecturer at the Universities of Uppsala, Copenhagen, Barcelona, the Sorbonne, etc., etc.

Judicially pronounced unworthy to be Professor of Philosophy at the College of the City of New York (1940).

**A**NOTHER possibility raises a subject that Russell would these days doubtless prefer to leave unraised. It may be that Russell's extreme hostility to the United States, and extreme tenderness to the Soviet Union, come from a desire to make amends for the days (not so long ago, either) when he was calling for preventive war against the Soviet Union.

When the United States still had a huge lead in atomic weapons, Russell was one of a group (it also included T. S. Eliot and Lady Violet Bonham Carter, the *grande dame* of British liberalism) urging the United States to impose a political agreement on the Soviet Union under threat of atomic attack. And Russell went further than any of them. "Communism," he wrote, "must be wiped out, and world government must be established." It would not be surprising if remorse at having taken such an attitude in the late nineteen forties was one of the things that color his view today.

But I doubt if the whole explanation can be found in this; apart from anything else, he has never before used language so intemperate or unbalanced as he does today about the United States; not even when he was seeing through Communism in 1920, or calling for its destruction in 1948, did he gibber uncontrollably at it as he now does at America.

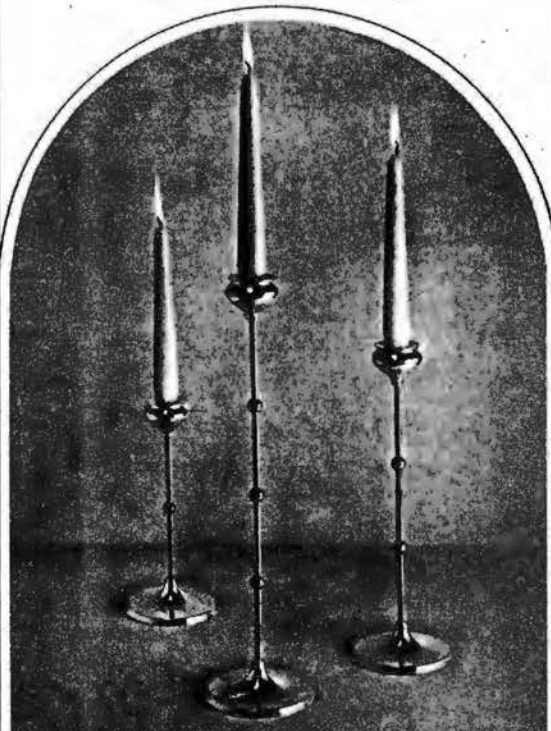
A major clue is, I feel, the very virulence of his anti-Americanism. Which brings us to the subject of his American expatriate employe, Ralph Schoenman.

Schoenman, now 31, was born in New York, and seems

(Continued on Page 67)

## Silver with a future

(In limited editions only)



Here's a candlestick that will go to any length. Take it apart or build it up to any of three heights from 6 1/2" to 16". Use one or a group. Either way the results are sensational. Best of all, you'll never have to polish... this import is tarnish-proof silverplate with gold-tone joints. **24.99 pr.**

## fortunoff's westbrook

WESTBURY, L.I.: OLD COUNTRY RD. AT THE RACEWAY - EVES TO 10/SAT TO 6  
CALL 516 - ED 4-8000' OR WRITE P.O. BOX 145 WESTBURY, N.Y. 11590



### \* Chateau

Wistful as a day in the French countryside. Delicate wildflowers, fine old castles and the family crest. Idyllic in Lilac, Wisteria, Cherry Blossom or Fern. All Cotton. About \$12.00.

### SHAPELY CLASSIC

AVAILABLE IN NEW YORK  
AT STERNS.

MACR SHIRT CORP., CINCINNATI, OHIO - NEW YORK: 1407 BROADWAY



(Continued from Page 62)

to have grown up with a deep, and deeply neurotic, hatred of his native land, the origins of which are obscure. (He claims to have been ill treated at Princeton for such activities as protesting against Senator McCarthy's activities and Mississippi race murders, though it seems that he was at odds with the United States before that; certainly he seems to believe that he has been repeatedly hounded by the F.B.I., that his relatives and friends have suffered from their association with him.) Anyway, in 1958, he shook America's dust from his feet and came to Britain.

He plunged quickly into various protest activities, such as the unilateral nuclear disarmament movement, in which Russell was already engaged. These activities have led to several brushes with the law; Schoenman has been fined and jailed on such charges as obstructing the police, disorderly behavior, inciting the public to commit breaches of the peace. More than once he has faced the withdrawal of his visa; but each time he has been allowed to stay—the last time, it is understood, on condition that he did not again break the law. In 1960 he was taken on by Russell; since when he has never looked back—nor Russell forward.

Schoenman's controversial style may be classified as the Extreme Hysterical—his letters to the press are full of charges against his opponents of lying, suppression, ignorance, malice and the like—and at times he reaches a level at which it becomes difficult to continue to regard him as being fully responsible for his actions. Thus, in one dispute with a London newspaper he complained of its treatment of him to Britain's Press Council—a body set up to consider and report on cases of alleged impropriety by newspapers, the chairman of which is an august former judge of the High Court, Lord Devlin. When Devlin and the council rejected Schoenman's complaint as without foundation, he immediately issued a statement saying that their decision was consciously dishonest.

Now what has all this got to do with Bertrand Russell? Well, it is clear that Schoenman exercises enormous influence on Russell. The 94-year-old philosopher trusts his young helper absolutely (one attempt by a former friend and associate of Russell's to tell him that his concurrence in Schoenman's views and activities was doing his reputation harm ended with the friend being permanently barred), and Schoenman's hand can be easily discerned in some of the statements Russell puts out.

The language, for one thing, is at times American-English rather than English-English (and Russell has always been known for the classical purity of his prose); it includes such usages as to "habituate" for to "frequent," as in the Vietnamese restaurant "habituated" by Americans; the verb "dissociate" used without a personal pronoun ("dissociate from"); "trade" used as a verb meaning "exchange"; even the phrase "company cops," which would be wholly unknown in Britain.



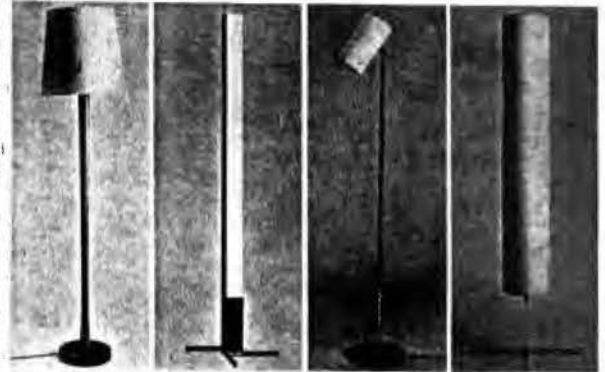
**STORM CENTER**—Russell calmly plays marble solitaire with his third wife, the former Patricia Helen Spence (he is now married a fourth time), during the furor over his appointment to a professorship at New York's City College in 1940. The appointment was revoked by the state Supreme Court on the ground he advocated free love and trial marriage.

Yet even this will not do as a complete explanation of Russell's present confusion. For even if Schoenman prepares singlehanded all the documents, all the statements, all the protests, it is beyond dispute that Russell agrees to them. Schoenman may be Mephistopheles, but he is not Svengali; he may have persuaded Russell to believe in, and propagate, the most odious rubbish, but the fact remains that Russell *does* believe it, and is not just a mindless puppet, good for nothing but holding the pen. Russell must be held responsible for his words and his deeds. (Not that, to do him justice, he would ever seek to avoid such responsibility; whatever else the old man lacks, it is not courage.)

**W**HAT I think has distorted, and finally destroyed, Russell's capacity for critical judgment, is his unbearable horror at the prospect that mankind may perish in a nuclear Armageddon. He has lived far beyond the span that most men may expect, and may have come to think of himself as a representative of mankind throughout history—and the future. His mind has in its time been one of the most glorious that ever adorned the human race; he has compelled his recognition as the peer of Leibniz, Descartes, Newton, Archimedes, Kant; he has defied injustice, and lived to see it fall; he has lived, privately as well as publicly, fully and richly; and now he sees the possibility that the human race, which he has so long and valiantly labored to show can be master of its destiny, will vanish utterly in a radioactive wilderness, and make Plato and Shakespeare and Beethoven and Rembrandt, and the

(Continued)

# We're in the floor covering business.



#4501—\$53

#41-628—\$200

#1501—\$35

#18059—\$150

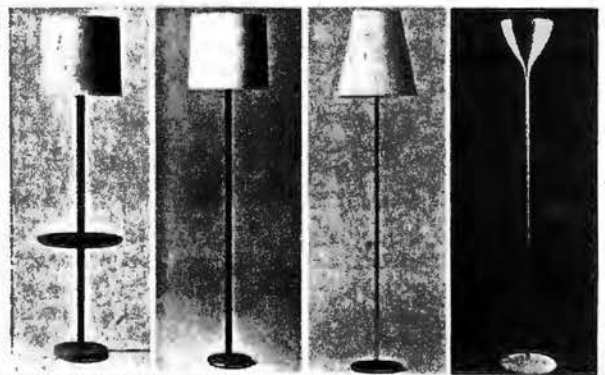


#18110—\$200

#302—\$59

#2023—\$59

#853—\$45.50 (Brass)



#9003T \$59 (Walnut)

#4010—\$59

#1349—\$45

#41-837—\$110

By the way—we also cover walls, tables, and ceilings. For a look into our business send 25¢ for our 64 page 1967 catalog. For an even closer look visit our new store. We have two floors covered.

SEND 25¢ FOR 64 PG. 1967 CATALOG  
Mail orders and browsers are invited

**GEORGE KOVACS**

Dept. T-116, 831 Madison Ave. — 69th St., N. Y. 10021, UN 1-8955, Open Thurs. till 8



# 5 TO 1 YOU'LL LIKE MOTT'S APPLE JUICE BETTER



You're looking at the reason  
no other juice stacks up  
to Mott's: it's the Mott's Apple.

Five kinds of apples, not just  
one, give you fresh-apple flavor  
so delicious and crisp  
it almost crackles. Kids love it.  
So do grown-ups.

And Mott's is 100%

apple juice—no fizz to fill  
you up, no added sugar to fill  
you out. That's why it's the  
perfect pick-me-up for any time  
of day—breakfast, lunch,  
dinner, or between meals.

5 to 1 your gang  
will prefer Mott's apple juice.  
That's not a bet. It's a sure thing.



# MOTT'S

(Continued)

millions of innocent people who only want to live in peace, and the hills and fields, and the goodness of which men and women are capable, and Bertrand Russell, all one with the dust.

To prevent that, he has frenziedly devoted what must now be his comparatively few remaining years. Philosophy he now rejects with contempt as a wasteful digression; the only thing that now matters is preventing man from blowing himself and the earth to pieces.

From there it is but a single step to pinning the blame on particular men; and from there but another to selecting those who guide the destinies of the most powerful nation in the world as the men responsible; and thence to regarding them and their system as evil; and thence to regarding their opponents as good and true and always right; and thence to—well, to the "War Crimes Tribunal," which will put President Johnson and the United States on "trial" before judges who have already made up their minds that the defendants are guilty as charged.

The tribunal, which is supposed to open its hearings in March in Paris (though it is said that the French Government will in the end find a way of preventing it—certainly no hall has yet been announced for the proceedings), has been set up by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, one of two organizations formed by him and Schoenman in 1963. (The other, called the Atlantic Peace Foundation, which was supposed to start "international centers for the study of war and peace," appears to have sunk without trace.)

Those listed as "sponsors" of the foundation (Schoenman is one of the directors, and in fact seems to run the whole show) are a strange collection. Three of them—Presidents Nyerere of Tanzania, Senghor of Senegal and Kaunda of Zambia—have resigned (presumably when they realized into what paths the foundation's activities were straying), thus inevitably producing a statement from Russell in which he said that they had "yielded to intolerable pressure" from "neo-colonialism"; one of them—the Emperor of Ethiopia, Haile Selassie—has not only dissociated

**66He has lived far beyond the span most men may expect, and may have come to think of himself as a representative of mankind throughout history—and the future.99**

himself from the foundation's activities, but complained that his name was used to bolster them without his permission or even knowledge; at three of them—the former Queen of Belgium, Mr. Nehru of India and D. Albert Schweitzer—are dead.

Nevertheless, under these checkered auspices, and before a bench of "judges" who have declared themselves satisfied of the guilt of the accused, America's leaders are to go on "trial"; and early this year Ralph Schoenman went to North Vietnam to gather the "evidence." Let the president of the tribunal, Bertrand Russell, show in what judicial frame of mind it will approach its work. From a message he sent for broadcasting over Hanoi radio:

"I greet you, the people of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. . . I know that, as I speak, America's bombs are falling on hospitals and schools and helpless women and children are dying. . . These crimes weigh heavily on our conscience. They fill us with determination to resist, in every way available to us the brutal rulers of the United States. . .

"Along with others, I am preparing a War Crimes Tribunal to bring to justice those responsible for these crimes. Johnson, McNamara and Rusk stand condemned before the world. The day is not far off when the people of the United States themselves will deal with them."

**T**HUS, an old man in a hurry, who has left his judgment, his reputation and his usefulness behind. ■

## SOLUTIONS TO LAST WEEK'S PUZZLES

(G. W.) BRACE: BETWEEN WIND AND WATER—One dreams of "the good boat." Mine is one that will sail. She moves easily and silently, "as slick as a squid." She points high; she cuts out to windward; she goes where she looks. Small enough to be handled alone, she is very simply rigged.

MCIV	ROPER	DATER	SIAM
AURI	OVOL	AMATI	TOGO
GRANDBANKS	WITHDRAWAL		
TELLY	SENN	DEBAR	
IDEATES	HITIT	PAUL	
LODGES	CANON	TENNYSON	
LOWER	SAVING	GRACE	ERE
ANAS	ANNO	AIRE	ALIX
TER	PRINCIPALLY	LEFEU	
DROOPY	MONEL	PERILS	
STORMS	SALON	BRAINS	
FIESTA	HEGEL	PLANET	
ALLES	DEPOSITIONS	ELM	
DOLS	CERT	RECK	CREA
ONE	HELDIN	CHECK	BREAK
SERPENTS	ELATE	CROSSE	
ALTA	EVANS	FLUSTER	
SIMLA	ELAND	ALOIS	
COMPOUNDED	ACCOUNT	FOR	
AMIE	REINA	NAMED	IFFY
PETR	SATAN	DRESS	EFTS

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

December 12, 1966

~~SECRET~~

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. ROSTOW

SUBJECT: The Bertrand Russell "Trial"

DECLASSIFIED  
Authority EAC 22457  
By *ira* NARA, Date 5.29.98

The proposal in the attached from Dan Jacobs makes some sense. Russell and his fellow "jurists" have a pretty clear propaganda field at this point in the absence of a well-organized counter effort. The Agency is monitoring preparations for the tribunal and otherwise attempting to discredit it. You will probably agree, however, that the range of counter activities described in Cord Meyer's memo (also attached) is not likely to impede seriously the propaganda impact of the tribunal if it does take place.

That remains in doubt. Latest information is that Russell's people are trying to locate the tribunal in Stockholm, but the Swedes are apparently disposed to deny them visas.

If the tribunal does convene somewhere, we would be well advised to be more extensively prepared than at present to counteract even its momentary impact. The Jacobs proposal would have favorable witnesses appear in the proceedings in the belief that their testimony would affect the tribunal's contrived propaganda. However, the tribunal would be "stacked," insuring that testimony favorable to our cause would be ignored. This would as well unnecessarily dignify the proceedings.

A variant on the Jacobs proposal might be to convene a seminar across town of prominent Vietnamese and others who support our Vietnam objectives. Their expert appraisal of and daily commentary on the tribunal's proceedings might provide effective competition for media coverage and hopefully blunt the tribunal's propaganda edge.

There doubtless are other options for coping more effectively with this prospect. Bill Jorden and I recommend a call from you to Des Fitzgerald requesting the Agency to develop a broader range of options, possibly for consideration by the 303 Committee.

  
D. W. Ropa

~~SECRET~~

FBIS 28 FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

SWEDISH NOTE TO RUSSELL

PARIS AFP IN ENGLISH 1136Z 12 DEC 66 E

(TEXT) STOCKHOLM--THE SWEDISH GOVERNMENT OPPOSES LORD RUSSELL'S (CHOICE OF) SWEDEN AS THE SITE FOR HIS TRIBUNAL WHICH WILL JUDGE PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND OTHER U.S. LEADERS FOR ALLEGED WAR CRIMES COMMITTED IN VIETNAM, THE FOREIGN MINISTRY ANNOUNCED TODAY.

PRIME MINISTER TAGE ERLANDER IN A CABLE TO THE BRITISH LEFTIST PHILOSOPHER ON FRIDAY SAID: THE SWEDISH GOVERNMENT IS OF THE OPINION THAT SUCH A MEETING WILL NOT FAVOR A SOLUTION OF THE TRAGIC SITUATION IN VIETNAM. HE ASKED LORD RUSSEL NOT TO CHOOSE SWEDEN FOR THE TRIAL AT WHICH WITNESSES FROM NORTH AND SOUTH VIETNAM WOULD BE HEARD.

THE PRIME MINISTER'S CABLE WAS A REPLY TO A LETTER FROM LORD RUSSELL ASKING FOR VISAS FOR THE VIETNAMESE WITNESSES. THE ATTITUDE TAKEN BY THE SWEDISH GOVERNMENT IMPLIED THAT IT WOULD REJECT THE VISA REQUESTS AND THAT CONSEQUENTLY IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE TO HOLD THE TRIAL HERE.

12 DEC 1333Z AT/GS



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT  
WASHINGTON

December 2, 1966

TO: Walt Rostow  
FROM: William Connell

WJ  
what think you?  
WJ

I thought you might be interested in seeing this letter from Dan Jacobs, who is an extremely bright and able writer, and who used to work with us in the Senate 5 or 6 years ago. It seems to me he makes sense.

cc: Bill Moyers  
Robert Komer

✓  
November 19, 1966

William Connell  
Administrative Assistant  
Office of the Vice President  
Executive Office Building  
Washington, D.C.



Dear Bill:

How are you? I've just completed a tour as speechwriter to the Democratic candidate for Governor of New York -- which proved to have been not a very good thing to do. Was greeted by the Vice-President as he left our Democratic dinner, but, regretfully, had little chance in the rush to greet him back.

This letter concerns the international war crimes tribunal Bertrand Russell is planning to hold in Paris in March. As you know, he plans to have such eminent and fair-minded jurists as Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, and Stokeley Carmichael sit in judgment on LBJ, Dean Rusk, Robert McNamara and the United States of America.

The "war crimes trial" was originally scheduled to be held in Paris this month but was postponed. A few months ago, I began exploring whether something might be done to counter its propaganda impact, but was diverted by my involvement in the New York State campaign.

✓ While this will be a propaganda circus, it will, nonetheless, have considerable impact in Europe, particularly amongst the intellectuals. The United States should -- and presumably will -- officially ignore it. However, a small private project might usefully take advantage of the forum Lord Russell is providing to present the other side of the story.

I was in Paris during the Kravchenko trial in 1948. Victor Kravchenko, the Soviet defector and author of "I Chose Freedom," was suing the Communist literary weekly "Les Lettres Françaises" for libel. To prove his charges about conditions inside the Soviet Union -- little known at that time -- he brought into court various Russian refugees. Their testimony, reported in the non-communist press, had considerable influence on European thinking at a crucial time.

Bertrand Russell's tribunal may have an equal influence, but to reinforce prejudices against the United States position

in Viet-nam, unless the non-Communist press is provided with a daily quota of material setting forth the other side of the case.

✓ My proposal is to organize a small non-governmental project that would bring effective political men from South-east Asia to present their side of what has been happening over the past ten years. The tribunal would be hard put to refuse them the right to testify. If it did so, they could then stand outside in the corridors talking to the television camaras or could call daily press conferences.

They should be from Laos, South Viet-nam, Thailand, and a refugee or two from North Viet-nam. It might even be possible to get Prince Souvanna Phouma, the neutralist Premier of Laos to testify, as he has for a number of years been traveling about, just livid, lecturing to anyone who will listen about the way North Viet-nam is violating both the Geneva Accords of 1962 and the neutrality of his country by not withdrawing its troops.

The U.S. has been taking a beating on this issue in part because our case has not been made as effectively as it could be. Some of the key points -- which I will not go into at length here -- have not been made. We can take advantage of the forum Lord Russell is providing and turn it to our own purposes. The non-communist press will be grateful to be provided with alternative material each day to give balance to what it must report from this side-show.

I have no way of knowing whether the U.S. government is doing anything about this in a covert way. I made an inquiry back in August but, of course, the response revealed nothing, one way or the other.

If you think this is worth doing, I'd appreciate hearing from you and could use any advice or assistance you can provide.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



Dan B. Jacobs

11 East 92nd Street  
New York, N.Y. 10028

Tel: New York TE 1 - 7893



MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Peter Jessup

24  
JP  
HPC

Walt Rostow asked the DCI for information on the Russell trial and, particularly, on Schoenman.

Would you please insure that the attached material gets to his attention.

WJ

*Cm*  
Cord Meyer, Jr.

1 Dec. 1966  
(DATE)

## **Publication or Copyrighted Material not Scanned in Its Entirety**

[For Full Access, Contact the Archives of the Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Library and Museum]

**Type of Material:** Journal

**Author(s):**

**Title of Publication or Description:** The New Leader

**Publisher:** American Labor Conference on International Affairs, Inc.

**Title of Series/Chapter/Article:**

**Edition:**

**Volume Number:** XLIX

**Issue Number:** 21

**Date of Publication:** 1966

**Page Numbers:** 35 numbered pages

OCT 24, 1966 • 40c

# THE NEW LEADER

A BIWEEKLY  
OF NEWS AND  
OPINION...  
43RD YEAR OF  
PUBLICATION

## REVIVING REPUBLICAN LIBERALISM

GEORGE F. GILDER

## HAROLD WILSON'S LAST CHANCE

JAMES A. COUSINS JR.

## BREACHING THE BERLIN WALL

DONALD R. SHANOR

## LORD RUSSELL AND THE WAR CRIMES 'TRIAL'

SIDNEY HOOK





# THINKING ALOUD

## Lord Russell and the War Crimes "Trial"

*By Sidney Hook*

**A** FEW MONTHS ago Bertrand Russell, the nonagenarian but still vigorous English philosopher, issued a call for an International Tribunal of Justice to put on trial "the war-criminals—Johnson, Rusk, McNamara, Lodge, and their fellow criminals." Next month, on November 13, a preliminary meeting of the group is scheduled to be held in London.

Promptly and enthusiastically endorsed by Radio Hanoi and the Communist press throughout the world, the indictment published by Russell accuses the American government and its leaders of deliberate and systematic resort to the use of "concentration camps, torture, massacre, poison gas and chemical warfare" against the Vietnamese people. It charges the United States with behaving like the Nazis in Eastern Europe and the Japanese in Southeast Asia "on a scale which is larger and with an efficiency which is more terrible and complete."

The explanation of these horrible crimes against humanity, according to Russell, is simple. The American leaders have done "all this to protect the interests of American capitalism" and further "their own economic interests." The people ruled by these capitalists are kept ignorant of the facts by a lying press; they are unaware that they, too, are being exploited by the war criminals and industrial overlords: "... 66 million Americans live at the poverty level. The cities of America are covered with slums. The poor carry the burden of taxation and the fighting of colonial and aggressive wars."

Russell holds out hope, however, that the rule of these "greedy and brutal men" will be overthrown just as soon as Americans understand the connection between the crimes perpetrated in Vietnam and the poverty of the American masses. "The Negro struggle in Harlem and Watts—the resistance of American students" are encouraging signs. The War Crimes

Tribunal, by providing "the most exhaustive portrayal of what has happened to the people of Vietnam," will contribute to this end.

What is curious about this document, issued in the name of one of the most distinguished minds of our century, is the simplism of its thought and the virulence of its language, matching the crudest Communist propaganda leaflets. The only charge absent from its litany of crimes is that of germ warfare, the standard Communist canard during the Korean War that was laid to rest at the cessation of hostilities.

In view of Russell's declaration that the Tribunal is to provide "the most exhaustive portrayal of what has happened to the people of Vietnam," perhaps a more important omission is the lack of any reference to the tens of thousands of Vietnamese men, women and children murdered and mutilated by Vietcong terrorists. These, apparently, are not regarded as crimes against humanity. Nor is there reference to Ho Chi Minh's bloody purges, whose excesses have been admitted by Hanoi and which caused almost a million refugees to flee South. The Vietcong is mentioned only where Russell denies that it is Communist controlled. It is merely "a broad alliance, like the popular fronts of Europe"—presumably something like the movement headed by Leon Blum in France.

Because of its extremism, some observers have doubted that Russell himself is author of the statement, despite the use of the first person pronouns in it. Some sentences, such as the assertion that American capitalists "send American soldiers to Vietnam as company cops," are written in an American idiom untypical of Russell. Elsewhere, the document reads as if someone were trying to imitate Russell's style. None the less, there can be little doubt that it expresses his sentiments. He has broadcast the substance of it on the Hanoi and Vietcong radios. He has earlier charged that



American soldiers in Vietnam were using their bayonets to rip open the bellies of pregnant women—a charge last laid, not against the Nazis in Eastern Europe, but against the German soldiers in Belgium during World War I. The historical irony is that Russell came into public limelight by deriding these and other atrocity stories about the Germans.

**S**TILL, a case can be made for an objective investigation of the conduct of the Vietnamese war, as of any war. All wars spell death and suffering, which are always evil even when necessary in defense of a good cause. Sometimes the death and suffering are unnecessary and therefore doubly evil. It is absurd, however, to say that all wars are equally inhumane. A war in which prisoners and wounded are murdered after being tortured is worse than a war fought under the Geneva conventions. A war in which non-combatants are destroyed by the planting or hurling of bombs, or deliberately subjected to bombing from the air, is worse than one in which the non-combatant population is spared and only military forces and installations attacked.

Some day when conditions permit, an investigation into the way the war has been conducted in Vietnam, into its crimes as distinct from its accidents, may be perfectly in order. An "exhaustive portrayal of what happened to the people of Vietnam"—if honest and objective—could be instructive to all the peoples of the world. While it would not abolish war, it might powerfully affect the way it was fought. But whoever conducts such an investigation must not be a party to the conflict or violently prejudiced against either side. He must not be so precommitted to an antecedent conclusion that he weighs the evidence unfairly. He must not have previously condoned the type of "crimes" to be investigated.

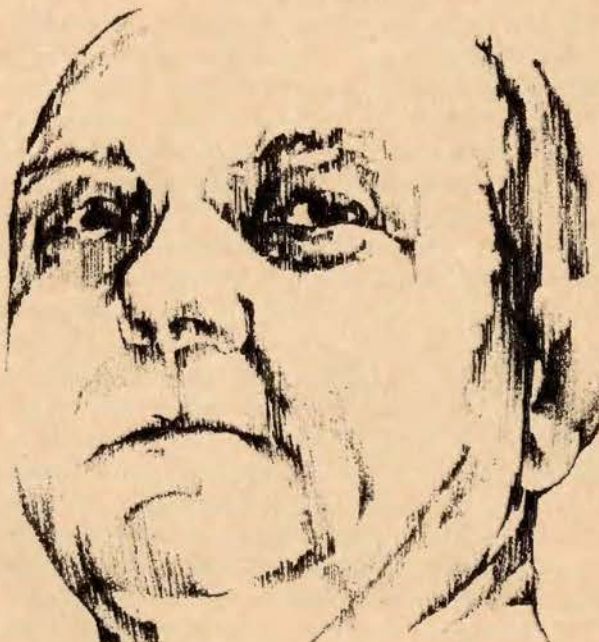
How well does Bertrand Russell pass these tests? How "objective" is this searcher for objective truth? Does he come into court with morally clean hands? How trustworthy and reliable are his reports? How much confidence can any fair person, informed of the past, have in "the *bona fides* and authenticity" of any tribunal he organizes?

Note that to begin with Russell proclaimed in the most unmeasured terms the guilt of President Johnson, Secretary of Defense McNamara, Secretary of State Rusk, and other American leaders—and then he proposed to sit in judgment on them. Having pronounced the verdict of Guilty!, he is now, like a character out of Gilbert and Sullivan, arranging for the trial. He and his selected associates have set themselves up to play the roles of judge, juror, and accuser all at once.

This objection to "trying" people declared guilty in advance has been raised by many critics of the

Tribunal, and it apparently has stung Russell and his associates. In a letter in the *New York Times* of October 6, he defends his Tribunal as a grand jury considering *prima facie* evidence in order to bring an indictment. But Russell has *already* drawn up the indictment. Further, he seems unfamiliar with the fact that the grand jury which indicts is not the same jury which sits in judgment at the trial to resolve the issue of the truth of the indictment. He also mentions the Dewey Commission, which fairly examined the evidence of Stalin's purge trials in the 1930s. That Commission, which I helped organize, was first of all an inquiry into "evidence" already introduced in the Moscow trials. It gave Trotsky a hearing denied him by the Moscow courts that convicted him without indicting him.

The analogue to the Dewey Commission would be



a commission of inquiry to examine the evidence to be introduced (or not introduced) before the Russell Tribunal. By announcing that only the alleged crimes of the American government will be judged and not those of the Vietcong and the Hanoi regime, the Russell Tribunal is more likely to function like the Moscow Tribunal than like the Dewey Commission. So resentful is Russell of the criticism of his procedure that he suggests that those who make these criticisms are also responsible for the crimes against the people of Vietnam. He writes: "I suggest that those who raise procedural points in objecting to the International War Crimes Tribunal would be better occupied in assessing their own responsibility for the horrendous acts against the people of Vietnam . . ."

This sounds more like Andrei Vishinsky than like the author of *Justice in War Time*. This is exactly the



way English superpatriots spoke of Russell when he questioned the stories about German atrocities in Belgium in World War I.

The charge against the American "war criminals" is indiscriminate warfare against the Vietnamese people. If this were true, North Vietnamese centers of population would long since have been destroyed. But in any event, Bertrand Russell has no moral standing in the court. He has justified indiscriminate warfare against a whole people. He was an eloquent defender of a preventive atomic war against the Soviet Union when the Kremlin refused to accept the American and UN offer to internationalize the sources of atomic energy. Clearly, atom bombs are a much greater menace to civilian populations than pin-point bombing with conventional weapons. To condone one and condemn the other is like starting a forest fire and becoming hysterical over the danger of a campfire.

Morally, Russell's position is further weakened by the fact that he urged a preventive war on purely ideological grounds. Johnson in Vietnam, like Truman in Korea, whatever the wisdom of their decisions, intervened to repel actual aggressions—to counteract actions that unleashed war. But Russell urged preventive war to destroy Communism in the Soviet Union and elsewhere. He anticipated that the Kremlin would refuse to yield to any ultimatum to internationalize atomic energy and coldly, if not cheerfully, accepted the consequences of inevitable atomic war. In such a war, he wrote, "I have no doubt that America would win in the end, but unless Western Europe can be preserved from invasion, it will be lost to civilization for centuries [since the Communists would seize Western Europe and we would have to bomb it too]. Communism must be wiped out, and world government must be established." (Written in 1948, this was published in the *Saturday Review* of October 16, 1954.)

The "American capitalists and their political and military servants," apparently more humane than Russell, refused to employ their monopoly of atomic power to destroy the Russian people in order to get rid of Communism. Instead, they offered Communist countries Marshall Plan aid and sought to reach an accommodation on the principle that the political status-quo should not be altered by outside foreign forces. Far from being blindly anti-Communist and going to war for ideological reasons, as Russell urged, the United States has even aided some Communist regimes to preserve their independence at tremendous costs to the American taxpayer. This policy has had greater support from Main Street than Wall Street. The chief errors in United States policy may be traced not so much to the fear of native Communists coming to power by legitimate political means as to mistaken appraisal of the involvement of foreign Communist regimes as in the Dominican Republic, and their efforts

to impose their will on neighboring peoples by invasion or subversion.

Obviously, Russell is not sufficiently free from violent bias against either side in the Vietnam war to assess fairly the respective guilt of the combatants. Indeed, there is a good deal of evidence to show that he has become almost pathologically anti-American, not against individual Americans, but against the American nation—its leaders and policies, and its people to the extent that they support these leaders and policies. Perhaps the most emphatic expression of Russell's hostility to the United States—not without its humorous aspects—occurred at the time of the Cuban missile crisis. Russell had by that time swung from a political posture in favor of preventive atomic war to one of nuclear disarmament. When President Kennedy announced the discovery of Soviet nuclear missiles in Cuba, positioned to fire at the United States, Russell taxed the President with lying. He denied that there were such missiles in Cuba and dismissed the photographs as fakes. He denounced the American heads of state as "worse than Hitler" and as the crisis deepened, wrote: "You are going to die because rich Americans dislike the government Cubans prefer. Do not yield to ferocious and insane murderers."

When Khrushchev finally admitted the presence of Soviet missiles in Cuba, Russell was not embarrassed in the least. As a founder of the Ban-the-Bomb movement, one expected at the very least that he would condemn Khrushchev for smuggling nuclear weapons into Cuba, thus precipitating the crisis. Instead, he *praised* Khrushchev for his forbearance. Russell's attitude and sympathies were clearly expressed in the text of two telegrams. The first was to Kennedy:

YOUR ACTION DESPERATE THREAT TO HUMAN SURVIVAL NO CONCEIVABLE JUSTIFICATION CIVILIZED MAN CONDEMNS IT. WE WILL NOT HAVE MASS MURDER ULTIMATUM MEANS WAR I DO NOT SPEAK FOR POWER BUT PLEAD FOR CIVILIZED MAN END THIS MADNESS.

The second was to Khrushchev, who had dispatched the missiles and whose adventurism was subsequently criticized by his own comrades:

MAY I HUMBLY APPEAL FOR YOUR FURTHER HELP IN LOWERING THE TEMPERATURE DESPITE THE WORSENING SITUATION YOUR CONTINUED FORBEARANCE IS OUR GREAT HOPE WITH MY HIGH REGARDS AND SINCERE THANKS.

Apparently Russell's high regard for Khrushchev was unaffected not only by Khrushchev's role in the Cuban missile crisis but by the butchery of the Hungarian Freedom Fighters, carried out on Khrushchev's express orders.

**O**NE MIGHT interpret Russell's blatant anti-Americanism, his shrill denunciation of its foreign policy, and his uncharacteristic servility to Khrushchev



as a kind of subconscious compensation for his earlier espousal of a nuclear preventive war against Communism. But this can hardly explain the tone and substance of his criticisms of American domestic policies and conditions in recent years. Far from recognizing the great, if incomplete, strides made toward the elimination of poverty and racial discrimination, Russell writes of the United States as if its minorities lived under a perpetual reign of terror organized against them by the Federal government, and as if the American working class was still suffering the throes of hunger and unemployment. About the time the FBI arrested and jailed John Kasper, the white racist rabble rouser, for encouraging violation of a Federal court order, Russell wrote of conditions in America:

"Members of the FBI join even mildly liberal organizations as spies and report any unguarded word. Anybody who goes so far as to support equal rights for colored people, or to say a good word for the UN is liable to a visit by officers of the FBI and threatened, if not with prosecution, at least with black-listing and consequent inability to earn a living. When a sufficient state of terror has been produced by these means, the victim is informed there is a way out; if he will denounce a sufficient number of his friends, he may obtain absolution."

These and other fantastic statements, unmatched even by the worst drivel about America broadcast by Radio Moscow or Peking, brought forth an indignant refutation by Norman Thomas, the veteran Socialist leader, and a more consistent opponent of war than Russell. His "Open Letter to Bertrand Russell" (NL, January 7, 1957) refuting these falsehoods left Russell unmoved. Russell's fury against the United States has reached such a pitch that despite his claims to have returned to his earlier pacifism, he has recently appealed to Premier Kosygin of the Soviet Union to send the Soviet Air Force to combat the American planes

in Vietnam—thus inviting the very global war he professes to fear.

In his latest characterization of the United States, Russell speaks of the American welfare state as if it were an economic-military dictatorship ruling over a brainwashed and poverty stricken population. He ignores the fact that the standard of living of the American working class, despite pockets of poverty, is not only the highest in the world but is currently the highest in American history. He ignores the progress the Negro, the Puerto Rican and other minorities have made with the help of all three branches of the American government. He ignores the fact that most principled and consistent opponents of Communist aggression are not the American capitalists—many of whom wish to do business with the Communist countries, including Communist China—but the organized American labor movement.

One does not have to approve of American foreign policy in Vietnam or elsewhere to be appalled by the virulence and hatred of Russell's caricature of America's culture and economy. When he shifted from the advocacy of appeasement of Fascism in the '30s to resistance, he never spoke of Nazi Germany in comparable terms. What explains his transition from a staunch opponent of Communism—we were premature anti-Communists in many battles together!—to a role more appropriate to Lord Haw-Haw than to Lord Russell?

I am assuming, and I think it is true, that Russell is still in possession of his remarkable faculties—that he is not a pitiable old man blindly signing statements drawn up in his name by those upon whom he has become physically and mentally dependent. One reason for believing that he is responsible for what he has written is that he has recorded large portions of it for Radio Hanoi for transmission to American service men in South Vietnam.





**T**HERE ARE SOME who contend that Russell's transformation from a fanatical anti-Communist—prepared to destroy Communism almost at any cost including nuclear war—into a fanatical anti anti-Communist and anti-American, is a consequence of the humiliations he suffered in the United States in 1940-42. At that time he was unjustly denied an opportunity to teach at the City College because of his views on sex and marriage—views that are widely held today. Later he was rudely and arbitrarily dismissed from his post at the Barnes Foundation which had been procured for him by John Dewey.

This shocking treatment left him with a justified resentment which still burned fiercely when I last met him in the Fall of 1953. But it does not explain the shift of ground. For although he was very critical of the United States at the time, asserting with typical



exaggeration that the United States had become a police state under McCarthy, he was even more critical of Communism.

The real reasons for Russell's conversion say more for his motives than his judgment. When the Soviet Union acquired the full panoply of nuclear weapons, Russell became convinced that their proliferation would in all likelihood lead to a world war which would destroy the whole of civilization, perhaps all human life. He was aware that the West, particularly the United States, had officially declared its willingness to accept general and complete disarmament provided it was universal and multilateral, subject to strict international control in order to prevent totalitarian countries, unhampered by a free press or a free public opinion, from launching atomic Pearl Harbors. At first Russell thought that the Soviet Union would accept

such controls, since they were in everyone's interest. But when it became clear that the Communists would not permit effective inspection on their territory, Russell's views underwent a profound change. He declared: "I am for controlled nuclear disarmament but, if the Communists cannot be induced to agree to it, then I am for unilateral disarmament even if it means the horrors of Communist domination." In effect, to avoid the risks of war Russell was willing to settle for peace at any price.

The foolishness of such a position is apparent, since it can only harden Communist intransigence. It offers the premium of total victory for stubbornness and unreasonableness in negotiation. It expects those who enjoy the reality of freedom and independence, however limited, to surrender them out of fear of a problematic world disaster. Freedom and independence are still precious values in the Western world. Even Russell was once prepared to sacrifice half a billion lives if necessary to prevent the triumph of Communism. The logic of Russell's new position, the emphasis on peace at any price, compelled him to downgrade the importance of the values and institutions of freedom in the open societies of the West.

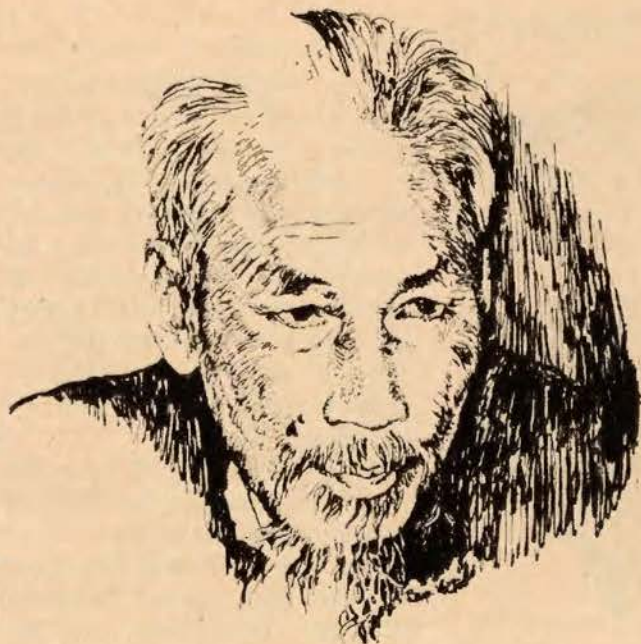
He began to refer to the West and especially the United States as the "so-called" free societies—which he did not do when, less free than they are now, they were struggling against Fascism—and to play down the evils of Communist dictatorship in the Soviet Union, China and North Vietnam. If the United States is a dictatorship of the capitalists and their military henchmen under a formal veneer of rhetoric about democracy, the talk about freedom is hollow and hypocritical. Since the choice is between one kind of dictatorship and another, according to Russell's political logic, we may as well stay alive. Instead of resisting Communist aggression by war, which may destroy everyone, it is wiser to yield. "The horrors of Communist domination" will not last forever. Kublai Khan, after all, followed Gengis Khan.

It is thinking of this sort which explains why Russell has declared that West Berlin and West Germany are not worth defending, that India was more at fault than China after China invaded, that the intervention of North Vietnam into South Vietnam is not aggression. It explains why he refuses to speak of the deliberate murder of tens of thousands of South Vietnamese by Vietcong terrorists in connection with what he purports to be a "most exhaustive portrayal of what has happened to the people of Vietnam," and why he plays up as deliberate American atrocities the unfortunate accidental loss of life incurred by the efforts of American military forces to help the South Vietnamese repel the incursions of North Vietnam and its partisans.

Bertrand Russell is no more a Communist today than he was during the many years he denounced its



terror. But his desperate fear of war has made him the willing ally of the Communist cause. Even in 1938 when he was pleading that the best defense of England and Denmark against Hitler was "their very defenselessness," and that in the event of a Nazi invasion and takeover "the consequences both to ourselves and the world would be infinitely less terrible than the consequences of war," he did not speak up for the Nazis or defend their actions or pretend that they represented the forces of peace and liberation. Today, however, Russell has willingly accepted the role of spokesman for the Communist cause in Vietnam. Last June 11 he sent two separate messages to the Vietcong and to Hanoi informing them that he was organizing a War Crimes Tribunal to bring Johnson, McNamara, and Rusk to justice. He concluded his message with these words:



"I extend my warm regards and full solidarity for President Ho Chi Minh and for the people of Vietnam. I convey my great wish that the day may not be far off when a united and liberated Vietnam will celebrate its victory in a free Saigon."

Bertrand Russell's place in the history of modern philosophy is as incontestable as the place of Richard Wagner in the history of music. Neither the anti-Semitism of the latter nor the anti-Americanism of the former can alter that fact. But they prove that when great men err they err greatly.

**O**NE FINAL QUESTION remains. Bertrand Russell may be wrong in his unmeasured indictment of the position of the United States. But this does not establish the validity of the American policy. What moral justification, if any, can be offered for American

intervention in South Vietnam? Perhaps the strongest defense of the official position of the United States was actually made a long time ago by John Stuart Mill, the godfather of Bertrand Russell. In an essay on "Non-Intervention" (*Fraser's Magazine*, 1859), which reads as if it were written only yesterday, Mill wrote:

"To go to war for an idea, if the war is aggressive not defensive, is as criminal as to go to war for territory or revenue; for it is as little justifiable to force our ideas on other people, as to compel them to submit to our will in any other respect."

None but ideological fanatics would dispute this. Mill then states what is required of a foreign policy, grounded in an intelligent morality, in situations like that of South Vietnam:

*"The doctrine of non-intervention, to be a legitimate principle of morality, must be accepted by all governments. The despots must consent to be bound by it as well as the free states. Unless they do, the profession of it by free countries comes but to this miserable issue, that the wrong side may help the wrong side but the right may not help the right. Intervention to enforce non-intervention is always right, always moral, if not always prudent. Though it may be a mistake to give freedom [or independence—S.H.] to a people who do not value the boon, it cannot but be right to insist that if they do value it, they shall not be hindered from the pursuit of it by foreign coercion."* (Italics mine—S.H.)

No one can reasonably question that South Vietnam values its independence, and that it is right for the United States to endorse its claim. But whether what was right was also prudent, whether anything which is imprudent on a large scale is also right, are questions not so readily answered. It may have been imprudent originally to become involved in South Vietnam. But it seems even more imprudent to withdraw from South Vietnam without negotiating a peace. For this would abandon the South Vietnamese to enslavement and decimation by the vengeful Vietcong and thus encourage further Communist aggression. I believe that Adlai Stevenson spoke for the reflective conscience of America when he said, on the very day of his death:

"My hope in Vietnam is that resistance there may establish that fact that changes in Asia are not to be precipitated by outside force. This was the point of the Korean War. This is the point of the conflict in Vietnam."

If this point gets across the sacrifices will not have been in vain, since they will have prevented further sacrifices. If it does not, then since the United States cannot be active everywhere, prudence may dictate greater caution in the future concerning when and where to engage the enemies of freedom and national independence.



26



26a

THE TIMES THURSDAY NOVEMBER 17 1966

## LAME START FOR RUSSELL WAR CRIME TRIBUNAL

### Questions rationed, straight answers scarce

FROM A STAFF REPORTER

If the curtain-raiser in London yesterday to Bertrand Russell's International War Crimes Tribunal was anything to judge by, its "trial" of the United States for alleged war crimes in Vietnam is a failure before it starts.

Lord Russell wants to wring the world's conscience with a fearless public examination in Paris next March of American actions in Vietnam. He has invited President Johnson to defend himself, or send a representative, and he deeply regretted resignations of sponsors of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation. They include Presidents Nyerere of Tanzania, Kaunda of Zambia, and Senghor of Senegal. Lord Russell says they have yielded to intolerable pressure from the United States. Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia is said to have resigned as a sponsor, too.

Signor Danilo Dolci, the Sicilian social reformer, was reported yesterday to have withdrawn from the tribunal, but the foundation's spokesmen were in conference in a London hotel and did not want to be disturbed. A secretary who answered the telephone could only help further by abruptly ringing off. Signor Dolci will, however, be an observer.

#### Engaged elsewhere

Seven of the 16 members of the tribunal appointed after three days of meetings in London were absent from yesterday's press conference. They included Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Lazaro Cardenas, former President of Mexico, Stokely Carmichael, American leader of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, Dave Dellinger, American pacifist, Professor Shoichi Sakata, Nobel prizewinner, and Professor Laurent Schwartz, a Paris University mathematician.

Fellow-members, however, assured reporters there was no question of their withdrawal. Their missing colleagues were kept elsewhere by other engagements.

Scrupulous examination of the facts about American actions in Vietnam has been promised in order to deliver a "serious and impartial judgment". But journalists scrupulously trying to get at facts about the establishment of the tribunal and its "impartiality" found straight answers scarce. After some two hours, reporters departed muttering about a "farce", a "one-ring circus", and wasted television film.

#### War comparison

It hardly got off to a good start. Lord Russell, the star performer who has been appointed honorary president of the tribunal, was half-an-hour late, recited his speech from a handout everybody had, and then left before anyone could ask him questions.

Why had he not stayed? Mr. Ralph Schoenman, his ever-ready private secretary, an American who has been called Lord Russell's left-hand man, stood up. Lord Russell, he said, had been meeting the press constantly over the past weeks and had answered many questions. This seemed to satisfy him, if not the questioner.

Amado Hernandez, poet laureate of the Philippines, insisted on reading the aims and objects of the tribunal, which everyone had a copy of, in spite of an appeal that

it be taken as read to allow more question time.

The tribunal chairman, Vladimir Dedijer, historian and writer, insisted that it be heard. "This is a solemn occasion for us", he said gravely.

Hernandez said American aircraft were dropping 4m.lb. of bombs in Vietnam daily. If this rate continued it would constitute more explosives than the United States Air Force unloaded in the Pacific in the Second World War.

American forces and their docile Saigon allies had herded eight million people, peasants and their families, into barbed-wire encampments under surveillance of the political police. Chemical poisons were defoliating and making barren tens of thousands of acres of farmland.

The tribunal would have to answer whether the United States Government and her allies had committed acts of aggression according to international law, among other questions. Mr. Hernandez seemed to have answered a number of them independently.

Evidence from any source or party would be examined. "No evidence relevant to our purposes will be refused attention. No witness competent to testify about the events with which our inquiry is concerned will be denied a hearing", he declared.

The tribunal hotly denied that money for the "trial" would come from any government, official or semi-official. It was being financed with a loan from the Bertrand Russell Foundation. Private donations were expected, collections would be taken, and famous painters had given works to raise funds.

#### Witnesses' fares

A brief exchange took place between Mr. Schoenman and a reporter about who would pay air fares for North Vietnamese witnesses to attend the trial. Mr. Schoenman denied that he had told the reporter a month before that the North Vietnamese Government would foot the bill.

"The press has a habit . . .", he began. The chairman hurriedly intervened. "Mr. Schoenman is speaking in his own name", he said. Mr. Schoenman went on: "The press has a habit of phrasing a question containing the answer it wishes to receive and reporting the answer built into the designed question", he said somewhat mystically.

"The witnesses made available by Ho Chi-minh will not be paid for by North Vietnam."

In the interests of democracy and fair play the chairman rationed questions to one each. He also gave the rear rows a chance. After all, he noted, the "local press—the Americans" seemed to be in front. This may have been true, but it benefited them little. One television man mumbled when it was all over it would have been more rewarding interviewing a comedian.



Sunday Telegraph  
13 November, 1966.

# Senegal President Quits 'Peace' Foundation

## *Johnson 'Trial'*

By TREVOR RUSSEL

**T**HE International War Crimes Tribunal, which the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation is assembling to "try" President Johnson for war crimes in Vietnam, has lost one of its most eminent supporters.

In a personal letter to Earl Russell, who is holding a special conference of his supporters in a Bloomsbury hotel this weekend, President Leopold Senghor, head of the West African republic of Senegal, states: "I beg you to accept my resignation."

It is known that the United States Government has applied diplomatic pressure on a number of friendly governments to persuade them not to lend their support to the "trial."

This includes the French who it is now believed, will refuse to have the "Tribunal" sit in Paris next Spring.

### Ethiopia protest

It was already known that Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia had withdrawn his patronage. A spokesman in Addis Ababa stated that the Emperor had never given permission for his name to be used as a sponsor of the "Tribunal".

He had never been consulted by the Peace Foundation in this respect and expressed his surprise that the Foundation should have taken such "completely unauthorised action".

It is now learned that the voice of dissent has also been raised in Brussels and that the Belgian Government is anxious to disassociate the late Queen Elisabeth from support for the Foundation.

It insists that she lent her name on the understanding that the Foundation would engage in educational and charitable activities only. Queen Elisabeth frequently embarrassed the Government by supporting Left-Wing causes.

Another prominent defector during the past few weeks from the Tribunal's alleged list of "sponsors" is believed to be President Nyerere of Tanzania.

### **Senghor's letter**

According to French African sources the text of President Senghor's letter, dated Oct. 10, is:

I have received your circular letter of August 25 in which you assert that you will have Mr. Lyndon Johnson, President of the United States, and his associates, tried in Europe as war criminals.

When I granted my high patronage to your Foundation it was with a view to helping to restore and maintain peace in the world.

As you know the policy of the Senegalese Government is founded on dialogue. This means that we begin by trying to understand the motives of each antagonist. Then, we work towards defining points of agreement, in order to promote negotiations leading to the restoration of peace.

In the case of the Vietnamese conflict, we refuse to make unilateral condemnations.

As regards President Johnson, with whom we have been in touch concerning the Vietnamese conflict, it should be recalled that he has inherited the conflict, and is not its instigator. Nor is it a matter of condemning President Kennedy, who was acting within the context of the cold war.

For all these reasons, I beg you to accept my resignation from the sponsoring committee of the Peace Foundation.

This crumbling of international support for both Earl Russell's Peace Foundation and his "War

Crimes Tribunal" must inevitably be a blow to the prestige of the members meeting in London this week.

Among others flying in from all parts of Europe and the world were Jean Paul Sartre, the writer; Danilo Dolci, the anti-Mafia crusader; historian Isaac Deutscher; Lelio Basso, Italian international lawyer; Vladimir Dedijer, the Yugoslav jurist, and Mehmet Ali Aybar, leader of the Marxist, neutralist and vigorously anti-American Turkish Labour party.

Maitre Mataresso, head of the juridical team which has been preparing the evidence of the American "war crimes" was another expected to arrive.

### **Statement of aims**

When I called at the hotel yesterday two Japanese who had just arrived were being greeted by one of Lord Russell's aides. One of them, Kinju Morikawa, secretary-general of the Japan Committee for the Investigation of U.S. War Crimes in Vietnam, had flown overnight from Tokyo.

They had hoped that Lord Russell himself would be there to meet them, but I was told it was possible he would arrive later.

Over the next three days the "Tribunal" members will adopt a statement of aims, agree on a time-table for future work, and

point a "chief investigator" and evolve the composition of the Commission "which is to examine the evidence."

They may also consider contingency plans for changing the venue in case all their attempts to hold the "Tribunal" in Paris collapse, as seems likely.

Principal support for holding the "Tribunal" is said to come from Swedes, French, Italians, Japanese and Americans. The "Tribunal" will hold its hearings in public with the proceedings filmed and recorded.

The whole affair, the Foundation agrees, will be costly. Two investigating teams, each of a dozen members, have already been sent to Vietnam. About 15 people have also been working in London in preparation for the "trial."

In finding the money, the Foundation says it is looking to organisations, movements and individuals throughout the world for support. The Japanese have apparently raised a "very large sum" already.

The Commission, compared to an American Grand Jury, will assess the evidence presented and then draw conclusions, the aim being to "accuse" President Johnson rather than "arraign" him. President Johnson has been invited by Lord Russell to attend in person or at least send a representative.



16 Nov 66

# **LORD RUSSELL'S 'WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL'**

**JONATHAN AITKEN**

**L**BJ beware. A self-appointed international war crimes tribunal headed by Bertrand Russell today declared in London its intention of holding an investigation into the character of the United States war in Vietnam.

It was clear that today's Press conference that the tribunal, which has no legal status is in danger of being an Alice in Wonderland-style "verdict first, trial afterwards" institution.

Bertrand Russell, the honorary president of the tribunal, arrived 35 minutes late looking every one of his 94 years and opened the proceedings with a statement which hardly increased his new role as an impartial and unbiased judge.

## **'My admiration'**

After reminding the audience, which was packed with Eastern European journalists looking pleased, and American commentators sounding angry, of the fact that he had lived through many wars and investigated many terrible crimes, Lord Russell added:

"In my own experience I cannot discover a situation quite comparable. I will not conceal from you the profundity of my admiration and passion for the people of Vietnam. I cannot recall a people so tormented, yet so devoid of the failings of their tormentors."

Lord Russell left the conference immediately after reading his carefully prepared press statement without answering questions. This provoked angry shouts of "Why have a conference at all?"

The meeting was then taken over by Mr. Ralph Schoenman, who announced the members of the international tribunal. These names were hardly calculated to give an impression of impartiality as almost everyone on the list has publicly condemned the American action in Vietnam.

For example, Stokely Carmichael, leader of the black power movement in the United States; Dave Dellinger, the well-known American pacifist "at this moment he is in Hanoi"; Jean Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, and many others of similar views.

## **Co-operation**

Asked if the tribunal would take into account the war crimes alleged to have been done by the North Vietnamese, Mr. Schoenman said: "There is a distinction between aggression and resistance to aggression."

The tribunal claims that it will start its session next spring in Paris. The Vietcong has assured the tribunal "of their willingness to co-operate, to provide the necessary information, and to help us in checking the accuracy and reliability of the information."

I wonder if the tribunal will get co-operation from anyone else:

ANNEX B

Sunday Times  
13 November, 1966

## Russell's war crimes men get together

By John Barry

THE MOST curious coalition in British politics takes the stage today. Its formal title is Lord Russell's International War Crimes Tribunal—more popularly known among the far-Left as the "Bertie Russell Show."

In London today the "judges" on this tribunal to denounce American activities in Vietnam hold their first secret meeting in the "red suite" of a Bloomsbury hotel, the New Ambassadors.

One or two have not made it. Stokely Carmichael, American advocate of "black power," is incommunicado after a spell in an Alabama jail. Dramatist Peter Weiss is "busy," on a play about Vietnam. Another playwright, Arthur Miller, was invited but declined.

But 12 will be there, including 94-year-old Lord Russell himself, fresh from his Welsh eyrie, the Italian social worker Danilo Dolci, Jean-Paul Sartre and such household names as Professor Dr. Mehmet Ali Aybar, leader of the Turkish Workers' Party (15 seats out of 450).



The actual hearings open in Paris next March and the subsequent verdict is the least doubtful part of the whole affair. As one "judge," the journalist and historian Isaac Deutscher, put it: "There are several kinds of impartiality."

What happens in the interim, though, is nominally up to the collective wisdom of the tribunal. But it will surprise nobody if the tribunal secretariat should turn out to be the staff of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation and its offshoots, and the tribunal's "chief investigator" be named as Ralph Schoenman, the 30-year-old American who is now, on the political front, Lord Russell's left-hand man.

Which underlines the oddity of the whole project. For virtually the only international support the idea has got—and that sparingly—has come from Communist or Communist-aligned organisations: stalwarts like the International Union of Students and the Chilean Association of Democratic Lawyers.

Yet the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation has the closest contact in this country with groups that British Communist factions denounce, for reasons best known to themselves, as Trotskyists.

"With the internationalism of the Trotskyist position, I have some sympathy, as I have for several features of other groupings," admits Schoenman.

But the Peace Foundation and its child, the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, are, Schoenman insists, "broad front organisations, staking out the minimum positions consonant with integrity."

The eclecticism of the Peace Foundation's politics is shown by its contact with a Socialist group in Nottingham led by Kenneth Coates, a Nottingham University lecturer expelled from the Labour Party last year. Two of Coates's associates are now working in London with Schoenman. One, Pat Jordan, is running the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign; the other, Geoff Coggan, is in charge of publicity for the War Crimes Tribunal. Coggan dismisses the Trotskyist label as meaningless.

So, somehow, Schoenman seems to have found a way of papering over, or at least containing, the bitterest feud in British politics—that between Communists and those they accuse of being Trotskyists.

## Russell Unit Seeks Evidence

Special to The New York Times.

LONDON, Nov. 16—Bertrand Russell's international war crimes tribunal, which plans to "try" the United States next spring for alleged war crimes in Vietnam, announced here today that first it hoped to find evidence "on the spot."

But the 94-year-old philosopher-mathematician, in a speech at the tribunal's first news conference, observed that what had been written already about the war by Western newsmen made it "clear that we enter our inquiry with considerable prima facie evidence of crimes reported not by the victims but by media favorable to the policies responsible."

On the basis of Lord Russell's remarks and the information contained in handouts from the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, which is organizing the tribunal, there seemed little doubt that the 16-member body had all but concluded that the United States was "guilty" even before the tribunal begins its hearings set for March in Paris.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

YORK TIMES INTERNATIONAL EDITION, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1968.



## <sup>34</sup> Russell's show trial

BERTRAND RUSSELL'S odd scheme to put the Americans 'on trial' for Vietnam war crimes is to be taken a step further this weekend. The 'International War Crimes Tribunal' is meeting in London.

One of the things it will be deciding on is the appointment of a 'Chief Investigator' to examine and collate evidence of atrocities in the Vietnam war. Pat Jordan, a representative of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, which is sponsoring the tribunal, says the investigator will be 'a man of integrity, possibly a lawyer, probably an American.'

Mark Lane seems to fit the bill neatly; an American, a lawyer and a director of the Peace Foundation. Bertrand Russell was one of Lane's first allies when he challenged the Warren Commission's findings on President Kennedy's assassination. So far, the Peace Foundation has denied that Lane is the man they have in mind.

Members of the tribunal who will be present at the meeting this weekend include Isaac Deutscher, Russell, Jean-Paul Sartre and Vladimir Dedijer.

The trial is due to take place in

Paris in March. President Johnson, Dean Rusk, Robert McNamara, Henry Cabot Lodge and General Westmoreland will be tried (*in absentia*, of course). 'The American Government has not yet replied to the Foundation's invitation to send a representative to put the American point of view,' said Jordan.

The North Vietnamese, naturally, are collaborating wholeheartedly. Films and tape recordings of the Paris trial will be made and circulated throughout the world. Any bets on the verdict?

The Observer, 13 Nov 66.

## Dolci resigns as war crimes 'judge'

DANILO DOLCI, the Sicilian social reformer, withdrew yesterday as one of the 12 "judges" on Lord Russell's International War Crimes Tribunal.

He announced his decision at a conference in London, called to arrange the tribunal which is due to meet in Paris in March to "try" the United States for alleged war crimes in Vietnam.

Last night Signor Dolci, who won the Lenin Peace Prize in 1958, would not comment on his decision.

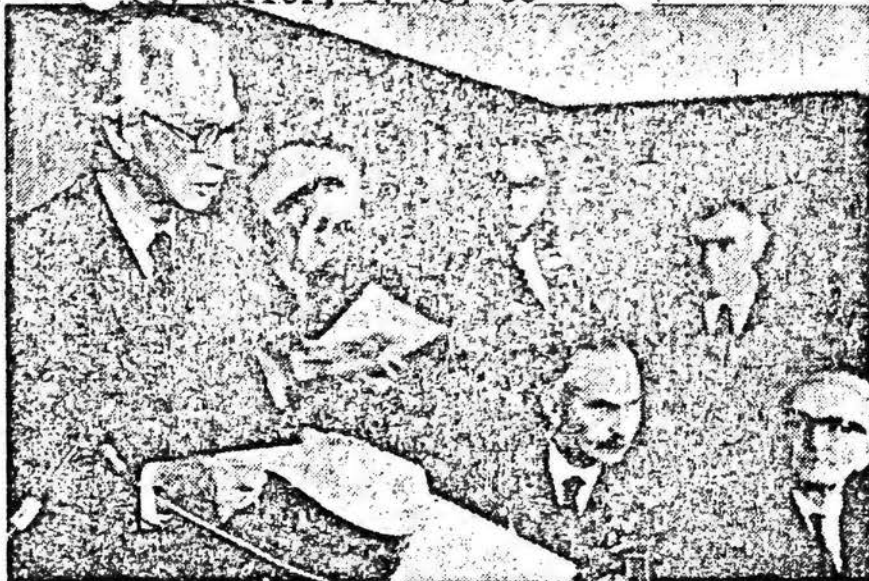
But at the Danilo Dolci Trust, in Great James Street, London, WC, the secretary said: "He is going to be too busy in Sicily with his work. He is also tied up with a legal case and just wouldn't have the time."

"We are a charity organisation. His pacifist activities have nothing to do with us."

Five other "judges" have missed the conference. They are Swedish playwright Peter Weiss, Mexican ex-President Lazaro Cardenas, French author Simone de Beauvoir, American Negro leader Stokely Carmichael and Brazilian scientist Josue de Castro.

Today, four new "judges" will be introduced at a Press conference.





RUSSELL AT HIS PRESS CONFERENCE YESTERDAY.

## LORD RUSSELL GIVES A SEVEN-MINUTE AUDIENCE

**L**ONDON was treated to a rare personal appearance yesterday.

Bertrand Russell faced a crowded Press conference in London's Caxton Hall to outline his plans to "try" President Johnson and the American Government for what he describes as "war crimes" in Vietnam.

He plans to hold this self-styled International War Crimes Tribunal in Paris in the spring.

Seventeen writers, philosophers and social reformers will spend twelve weeks sifting through evidence of America's activities in Vietnam.

They will then come to a decision and "pass judgment."

(No prizes for guessing the result.)

### Passion

Yesterday Lord Russell arrived for the conference forty-five minutes late. ("It was the traffic," an aide explained.)

Like a schoolboy sitting for an examination with the answers in front of him he talked about "my admiration and passion for the people of Vietnam. I cannot relinquish the duty to judge what has been done to them."

Then he got up and left—just seven minutes after his arrival.

"Aren't you going to answer any questions?" American reporters shouted.

"What's the point of holding a Press conference if you are not going to stay for it?"

A fair point.

### Protests

But Russell completed his majestic exit.

When the protests continued, Russell's secretary, Ralph Schoenman, explained that his 91-year-old boss had been somewhat overburdened lately.

Half a dozen of his associates were left to do the answering.

But it was like listening to an orchestra without the conductor.

## Infant Justice



**E**ARL RUSSELL should not worry too much at the defection of so many of the judges (Danilo Dolci is the latest to go) from his International War Crimes Tribunal. There are

plenty more where they came from.

One eminent public figure who has already offered to serve on the Tribunal is Bert Brecht Mao Odinga, Deirdre Dutt-Pauker's Left-wing baby, now a strapping five-month-old with an impressive array of progressive opinions and arguments.

In a letter to Mr. Ralph Schoenman, the popular works manager at Earl Russell's protest factory, Bert says he believes it is vital that the youngest generation of all shall "take part in the task of judging, in fair and open court, the criminal outrages of the sub-human American vermin in South-East Asia."

Bert, who is rather advanced even for a progressive baby, wrote the letter unaided in his big poster-crammed nursery-study, while his mother and grandmother, Hampstead thinker Mrs. Myrtle Dutt-Pauker, watched admiringly. He taught himself to read and write by the new "Look and Hate" method used in many progressive nursery schools, and could already understand short sentences like "Hang Ian Smith" at the age of three weeks.



# **VIETNAM WITNESSES WILL FLY TO LBJ's 'TRIAL'**

By WALTER PARTINGTON

**W**ITNESSES of American "war crimes" in Vietnam are being flown to Paris next spring by permission of Ho Chi-min to give evidence at the "trial" of President Johnson, it was said yesterday.

The President and associates are being "tried" at a tribunal set up by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation to inquire into Vietnam war crimes.

Eight of the 16 tribunal members attended a London news conference yesterday when 94-year-old Earl Russell read a prepared speech then left with his wife, refusing to answer questions.

Four tribunal members—writer Simone de Beauvoir, ex-Mexican President Lazaro Cardenas, Civil Rights worker Stokeley Carmichael, and American pacifist Dave Dellinger—were unable to be present, it was said.

Another member — Danilo Dolci, the anti-Mafia crusader—has resigned. Also missing: Executive President Jean-Paul Sartre.

## **The cost**

So far the proceedings have cost several thousands of pounds from a Foundation loan to the tribunal. And the project has already cost the Foundation the sponsorship of Tanzania, Zambia, and Senegal who have succumbed, according to Earl Russell, to "intolerable pressures" by America.

Only international support so far—and that sparingly—has come from Communist or Communist-aligned organisations.

But yesterday Earl Russell, looking tired and frail, claimed "substantial progress."

He said evidence of alleged atrocities by either side would be examined. But I understand that offers of evidence of Vietcong war crimes have already been rejected.

# 'War Trial' Backers 'Unmoved' at Losses

By Karl E. Meyer

Washington Post Foreign Service

LONDON, Nov. 14—Organizers of an International War Crimes Tribunal insisted today that they were undismayed by resignations and by rumors that France would not let their inquiry into alleged American "war crimes" take place in Paris.

Bertrand Russell, whose Peace Foundation is assembling the tribunal, blamed "intolerable pressure" for the defection of three presidents and a monarch, who had been Foundation sponsors.

The 94-year-old philosopher said he understood but "remained unmoved" by the diffi-

culties that caused the resignation of Senegal's Leopold Senghor, Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda, Tanzania's Julius Nyerere and Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia.

[In Tanzania, however, President Nyerere angrily denied that pressure had been put on him to quit Lord Russell's Peace Foundation, Reuters reported.

[Nyerere said he also objected to the way a serious matter like the Vietnam situation was being treated and had not been consulted on the use of his name in relation to the proposed "war crimes tribunal."]

Lord Russell has been meet-

ing here at a Bloomsbury hotel with 11 members of the tribunal, including Jean Paul Sartre, who are preparing plans for a 12-week inquiry into the Vietnam war, to begin next March in Paris.

Spokesmen shrugged off the uniformly insistent reports that the French government would not welcome a tribunal in Paris in which President Johnson, in effect, would be in the dock.

## Comparison Made

A spokesman said that the tribunal is an autonomous body that will decide its own procedures, but its hearings will not constitute a "trial." Lord Russell has likened the tribunal to the commission headed by the late American philosopher, John Dewey, which heard evidence in the 1930s about purge trials in Stalin's Russia.

A director of the Peace Foundation, Mark Lane, is being mentioned as a candidate for the role of chief legal aide to the tribunal. An American attorney, Lane is the author of "Rush to Judgment," a book attacking the Warren Commission findings on President Kennedy's assassination.

The tribunal members who have been meeting here include Sartre, who last year declined a Nobel Prize for literature; Danilo Dolci, the Italian social reformer; Gunther Anders, the German author of "Burning Conscience," a book about Claude Etherly, an airman involved in the Hiroshima bombing; and Isaac Deutscher, Polish-born biographer of Leon Trotsky.

#### Other Panel Members

Others include Vladimir Dedijer, a Yugoslav scholar and biographer of Marshal Tito; Mahmud Ali Ayber, President of the far-left Turkish Workers Party; Lelio Basso, a Socialist member of the Italian parliament; Mahmud Ali Kasuri, general secretary of the West Pakistan national Awami Party; Prof. Laurent Schwartz, a mathematician at the University of Paris; and Kinji Marakawa, described as representing the Civil Liberties Association of Japan.

The only American present is Courtland Cox, a young Negro listed simply as "an active field worker" in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, a militant civil rights group.

Tribunal spokesmen said absent members include former President Lazaro Cardenas of Mexico, French author Simone de Beauvoir, and Josue de Castro, a Brazilian best known for his work with the U.N. Food and Agricultural Organization.

Besides the four African leaders who have resigned, two other Presidents are listed as sponsors of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation — Pakistan's Mohammad Ayub Khan and India's Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan. Press spokesmen for the two countries in London were unable to confirm whether the listing was still valid.





United Press International  
BERTRAND RUSSELL  
... attacks U.S. again

## Neutralists' Leader Is Back in Laos

Special to The Washington Post  
VIENTIANE, Laos, Nov. 16 — The long-absent commander of the Neutralist army, a key element in the delicately balanced power structure that rules Laos, has returned as mysteriously as he departed some weeks ago.

Gen. Kong Le entered Laos last night by the river port of Thadeua, about 20 miles east of this capital, without informing the government. He was thoroughly searched by customs, then was allowed to enter Vientiane and spent the night at the Indonesian Embassy, apparently with the consent of the government. Army troops guarded the Embassy and visitors were screened.

The army has declared a two-week alert and all leaves

# Verdict of U.S. War Guilt Anticipated by 'Tribunal'

By Karl E. Meyer  
Washington Post Foreign Service  
LONDON—Nov. 16 — The self-styled International War Crimes Tribunal, which plans next spring to indict the United States for alleged crimes in Vietnam, anticipated its verdict at a two-hour press conference today addressed, briefly, by Bertrand Russell.

Lord Russell, has framed by his 94 years, was led to the rostrum to read a prepared statement in which he accused the United States of perpetrating war crimes without parallel in his lifetime. He said:

"I can recall many wars. Much injustice has been recorded quietly during these decades. In my own experience I cannot discover a situation quite comparable . . . I do not know any other conflict in which the disparity in physical power was so vast.

"I have no memory of any people so enduring, or of any nation with a spirit of resistance so unquenchable. I will not conceal from you the profundity of my admiration for the people of Vietnam."

### No Questions

The statement completed, there was no provision for questions as Russell was guided out of the room, leaving the field to his secretary, Ralph Schoenman, and Vladimir Dedijer, chairman of the tribunal. Six other tribunal members sat on the rostrum.

Schoenman, an American who has lived in Britain for eight years, said that when the tribunal begins hearings in Paris it will look for the "pattern of evidence" to sup-

port "the necessary conclusions" about American misconduct.

Some wondered whether, Lewis Carroll fashion, the tribunal was delivering its sentence first and verdict later.

The tribunal accepted a clear distinction, Schoenman added, "between aggression and resistance to aggression." He and other tribunal members added that of course the United States was invited to present its own case in Paris.

A questioner asked about persistent press reports that the French government would not welcome the "War Crimes" inquiry in Paris. Dedijer, a Yugoslav scholar and biographer of Tito, answered carefully that there was "no basis in fact" for reports that France had communicated this view to the tribunal or to Russell.

### Scope of 'Trial'

Schoenman, thirtyish, earnest, his chin fringed by a beard, said the inquiry would focus on five broad areas: The crime of aggression; use of gas, chemicals and napalm weapons; bombing of civilian targets; torture of prisoners; forced labor camps and scorched earth tactics.

North Vietnam and the Vietcong, he said, would cooperate in providing evidence to support these charges at open tribunal sessions lasting 12 weeks. He insisted that no contribution from any government would be accepted for the tribunal's costs.

Dedijer said that membership of the tribunal was now fixed, though only this morning Danilo Djelic, the Serbian social reformer, resigned without comment.

In the past few days, Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia and Presidents Nyerere of Tanzania, Kaunda of Zambia and Senghor of Senegal have also resigned as sponsors of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, which is assembling the tribunal.

Among the tribunal members who have been present in London at organizing meetings are the French author Jean-Paul Sartre, who is also executive president of the tribunal, and Isaac Deutscher, Polish-born scholar.

### Carmichael Listed

Among those named as members though absent were former President Lazaro Cardenas of Mexico; Stokely Carmichael, the champion of "black power" in America; and Dave Dellinger, an American pacifist and editor of Liberation, a magazine.

In addition, the German-born playwright, Peter Weiss, was listed as a "member of the investigation team." Weiss is the author of "Marat/Sade" and "The Investigation," the latter a play about Nazi atrocities.

But at the press conference today, the dominant personality was the ubiquitous Schoenman, who was deferred to on every question concerning Lord Russell and the Russell Peace Foundation.

It was noted with sadness that after a lifetime as controversialist Lord Russell was unable to answer questions for himself in what may be a final gesture that derives its weight chiefly from his famous name.