

Leeds Student paper
UNION.

VIETNAM: No. 1 in the Read-In Series. Eyre and Spottiswode. Background by Carol Hill

SIXTEEN students crammed into Robin Murray's flat, sprawled around in attitudes of exhaustion and watching each other warily for signs of cracking or breakdown. The air has been taken over by cigarette smoke and a poisonous atmosphere of supercharged tension. These people have forgotten what sleep means.

This is not a description of yet another Freshers' sordid tea party, but a description of what happened behind the scenes before the publication of "Vietnam. No. 1 in the Read-In Series." This is more than just another book giving one man's view of the situation in Vietnam: as the title implies, it has been modelled on the recent university Teach-Ins. Although similar in aim to a Teach-In, it is more factually comprehensive than they could hope to be. Robin Murray, tall and charming, with unruly dark hair, a post-graduate student at L.S.E., is the editor and, together with a team of university graduates, he picked the brains of the best-informed people in Britain today concerned with the Vietnam problem. With

their aid a vast range of sources was exploited, to give readers an exciting book, unique in this field (something similar has been done on The Pill).

Facts and comment

Robin Murray described to me how he was impressed by the recent Teach-Ins, having taken an active part in their organisation, and felt the importance of a more permanent method of giving students the facts. Not in order to prove his own views, but to enable us all to study the facts for ourselves and make up our own minds about what we must do about Vietnam.

This then is the reason for the feverish hammering on 17 typewriters in Robin's flat. Sixteen students, working against a deadline, four full-time translators and two publishers, living in with them for the last week. Robin made a plea for indulgence for the typographical errors. "You can't present your work so well, when you haven't slept for a week," he

said. And they couldn't take time off for sleeping, with a red-hot baby like this book screaming to receive attention.

The facts and comment on both sides come largely from Western sources. Although in practice this has not disturbed the factual balance, it does make it harder for the reader to get an understanding of how Communists view the problem of Vietnam. The worst aspect of this fault, for a book aimed at British readers, is the omission of comment from the *Daily Worker*. It has the effect of weakening the sense of how Britain is responsible for and involved in Vietnam and it is a pity that the compilers were afraid to face up to this point.

One particular quotation which caught my eye was one by President Eisenhower.

"Now let us assume that we lost Indo-China. If Indo-China goes, several things happen right away. The peninsula, the last bit of land hanging on down there, would be scarcely defensible. The tin and tungsten that we so greatly value from that area would cease coming. . . . So when the United States vote \$400,000,000 to help that war we are

not voting a give-away programme. We are voting for the cheapest way that we can to prevent the occurrence of something that would be of a most terrible significance to the United States of America, our security, our power and ability to get certain things we need from the riches of Indo-Chinese territory, and from south-east Asia."

Self-contained

Robin doesn't talk of himself and of how much he put into this work, his concern is to let the facts stand out strong and clear for all to see—to see, to understand and to take a decision. Each piece is self-contained and self-explanatory and information can be extracted without fear of missing a build-up providing the key to a passage.

For the modest sum of 5s. and only the time you can afford—you can pick out the facts on particular points which have troubled you—you can make up your own mind. This book is a valuable work of reference and every student needs to have it.

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NEW STATESMAN

SPECIAL OFFER to new student readers: 20 weeks for 10s. Write sending 10s. to Arthur Soutter, NEW STATESMAN, Great Turnstile, London WC1.

Now, Read-In

THIS week has seen something new in British publishing with the issue of Eyre and Spottiswoode's swiftly assembled and printed "read-in" on Vietnam.

Labelled "No. 1 in the Read-in Series" it must be seen as a pathfinder. In appearance it resembles a large soft-covered magazine.

Robin Murray, now working at the London School of Economics, with two dozen or more young editorial assistants, has marshalled objectively and from a wide range of facts on Vietnam, the material for debate.

This is one counter-attack by the printed word on television's long advance. In one respect, at least, it wins 'op marks. It carries, as so many more leisurely production do not, an ample index.

Golf—Royal Variety

golf course

Vietnam Dossier

ROBIN MURRAY, the young Oxford history graduate who has edited the first of Eyre and Spottiswoode's new "Read-In" series, "Vietnam," coming out on Oct. 7, attended the Oxford "teach-in" and was excited by the medium but not much impressed by the lucidity of the arguments.

Even Mr. Stewart's speech, although as a speech superb, seemed to him less good on paper.

So, because Vietnam struck him as the biggest political issue he has ever had to face in his young life, he thought he ought to try to do better and got up at four o'clock on the morning after to think out his ideas.

The result is a dossier that simply presents the evidence by quotations from both sides. The reader is left to draw his own conclusions.

Adamant Politician

My picture shows Mr. Murray with six of his editorial team of 10 young graduates, which began work in his Holland Park flat on July 10.

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Now a 'read-in'

Only students, even if they are postgraduates, would do it—work almost non-stop for 6-7 weeks, sometimes through the night—bringing out a book from which they will gain nothing. But then the group of eleven who yesterday proudly announced "Vietnam," a source book of all material they could gather from West and East, are moved by a word as potent as "Spain" was among students forty years ago Robin Murray, the editor and grandson of Gilbert Murray, announced "Vietnam" (it is called a "read-in," printed from typescript and at 5s) at what may be called a "talk-in" in his North Kensington flat. All the team was there: academically representative, most of them from Oxford, though with one lone Manchester man on the staff at Chatham House, and two from the Transport House—these two were at the time of the East Asian studies of Harvard and Cambridge, respectively.

Both sides shown

All admitted that they are mostly on the Left but said this had only made them lean over backwards to be fair. "We've not tried to draw conclusions," said Mr Murray, "but to present both sides. It's arranged like a court case, with every possible argument for the defence and prosecution." Eyre and Spottiswoode are pushing the book through for publication on October 5, in time for the universities' return. Only a marginal profit, they say, but I think they will be surprised if they do not have to step up the first tentative print of 35,000. They hope "Vietnam" will be only the first of a "read-in" series: I hope that before No. 2 they can discover a less ugly word.

The Guardian

3 Sept 1965.

Writing at speed

A TEAM of young university graduates delivered a manuscript to the printers yesterday on the burning topic of Viet Nam. The manuscript, 90,000 words long, has been written at breakneck speed over the past two months so that it will remain fresh on publication date Oct. 7.

"It is a sort of written 'teach-in,'" said Mr. Robin Murray, the editor. "I was at the Oxford teach-in earlier this summer and found it very dissatisfying. There was too much heckling and not enough knowledge of the facts and issues at stake, and neither side was able to present a concise, balanced case. Our 'read-in' as we have submitted the book, is an attempt to present all sides of the Viet Nam question in an impartial way."

Casting no blame

The team of 10 graduates had their headquarters in Mr. Murray's flat in West London. They worked round the clock, each taking turns to sleep in the three beds available. Three weeks ago a contract was signed with the publishers, Eyre and Spottiswoode, and a further

three men were drafted to help with the production.

The book's format will be a cross between a big-format magazine and a type-written dossier. The text is being reproduced photographically from the typewritten original.

Mr. Murray and his colleagues stress their impartiality.

"We draw no conclusions and cast no blame," said Mr. Murray.

"The reader, we hope, will make his own judgments."

Yorkshire Post

3 Sept - 1965

...go slow, the N.O.R.'s recalcitrance over liner trains, and nearly 2,200,000 working days lost through strikes so far this

men long accustomed to a free-booting atmosphere must necessarily have time to adjust.

For a start, the Labour party's

...only conclusion to be drawn for the future is that the failure of voluntary methods under the most favourable political conditions clearly means that they should never be tried again.

LONDON DAY BY DAY

Speaker's Last Words : Doing It Yourself

THE sad similarity in the deaths of Adlai Stevenson and Sir Harry Hylton-Foster is the more remarkable in that both men were notable for the grace and elegance, particularly of phrase, which they brought to politics.

Sir Harry's last intervention in the Commons less than a month ago was typical of his quality as Speaker. My colleague Mr. William Deedes protested on behalf of back-benchers about the erosion of time, allotted to adjournment debates, by Government statements.

The Speaker added:

"I was about to conclude this matter and to make some observations on those lines myself. Without further comment I leave the matter to the Rt. Hon. Gentlemen. Perhaps I might say that I shall have to ask my fellow Members, to whom I have thought fit to allot time for adjournment debates, to impact their speeches as much as they can so that we do not squeeze out others."

There was much emphasis on the offbeat word, in this case "impact," a means which Sir Harry consistently used to persuade the House to take even his serious reprimands with good humour and temper.

Dr. King's Rise

Unless purely party interests supervene, which is unlikely, Dr. Horace King will succeed Sir Harry. He will be the first member of the Labour party chosen for that office.

Dr. King's rise in the esteem of the Commons as Chairman of Ways and Means and so Deputy Speaker has been swift and merited. He is a conscientious Chairman who loves the work and admits to it.

The year has given him a stiff apprenticeship. He bore the brunt of work on the Finance Bill and took the House through the difficult morning sittings on the Hanging Bill with sense and good humour.

To have such an obviously good choice at hand is in every respect fortunate for the Commons. If the field were more open Labour's tiny majority could well lead to a wrangle and a compromise appointment.

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Among them was the law of copyright. One British politician—Mr. Murray was unwilling to name him or his party—adamantly refused to allow his speech on Vietnam to be reprinted but foreigners were uniformly helpful.

Unarguable Logic

ABSENTEEISM is having "a crippling effect" on the coal industry. Lord Robens, chairman of the National Coal Board, told his London Press conference yesterday.

Curious to find out why absenteeism was rising and the five-day week ignored he recently asked a miner why he worked only a four-day week. "Because I can't manage on the money I get for three days," came the reply.

Gardener's Friend

LIVE demonstrations are much in evidence at the 13th International Handicrafts and Do It Yourself Exhibition which opens today at Olympia.

Steam pours from a steam iron, girls in smart blue denims show how to put up tiles and there are demonstrations of an automatic sewing machine, "wrought iron toolkits" and "the amazing pocket saw, the gardener's friend."

Among all the hand and power tools, extractor fans, Venetian blinds, "mini gardeners" and "heavenly Scandinavian furniture at earthy prices," closed circuit TV stars a man "giving the finishing touch that hides the ugly angle between walls and ceiling."

On one stand a sign says proudly "Make real wine in your own home from Continental grape juice at a cost of 2s 6d per bottle." Smaller letters add "after the purchase of the beginner's kit."

Investment in Art

SALES were described as "buoyant" by an exhibitor after the opening of Kensington Antiques Fair yesterday. Another looked at the visitors, including Japanese, Dutch, Germans and Americans, and declared: "I've done better than ever before."

One of the first sales was of the Elizabeth I ship's figurehead illustrated in *The Daily Telegraph* yesterday. This was bought for the Isle of Wight Museum.

Miss Hermione Gingold, opening the exhibition, announced that she

intended to spend a lot of money at it.

"But I hope the price tickets will stay as they are. In New York, when the antique dealers see me going round, they add on another nought," she added.

Engineering Women

A MILDLY intimidating conference opens today at Nutford House, Brown Street.

The Women's Engineering Society—incorporated as long ago as 1920—meets for three days of talk, including addresses on such subjects as fuel cells and the importance of the direct generation of electricity.

This evening Lady Davidson, president of the British Federation of Business and Professional Women, will be one of the speakers at annual dinner at Guildhall.

Winnie's Return

WITH a Disney film and backs in the offing, Milne's Winnie-the-Pooh is again becoming as fashionable as any time in her 40 years as the most popular characters in children's literature.

My picture indicates that the popularity extends even to the Communist world. It shows a Warsaw street sign in which Pooh and Piglet are seen above the legend, "The Street of the Cuddly Bear."

Methuen are publishing four Pooh 2s 6d paperbacks for the first time



Poolh in Warsaw

later this month and have just decided to increase the initial printing order from 100,000 to 175,000 for each book.

Something in That

"SERIOUS financial embarrassment, however it arises, is regarded as something which renders a public servant less valuable than he would otherwise be. . . ."

From "A Handbook for the New Civil Servant," issued to new recruits in the Civil Service.

PETERBOROUGH

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Facts on America's war in Vietnam

MR. WILSON and Mr. Stewart may think and hope that having bamboozled the Labour Party conference into accepting the policy on Vietnam dictated on the hot-line from Washington, this matter can now be considered over.

But the war is continuing and the Americans are intensifying it with a savagery which gets worse every day and which, despite the soothing syrup ladled out by the Prime Minister, may eventually involve each and every one of us.

On the same day as the U.S. delegate to the United Nations, Ambassador Goldberg, was declaring: "We seek only to ensure the independence of South Vietnam and opportunity for its people to determine their own future," three people were publicly executed at Da Nang by a South Vietnamese firing squad.

According to the Chicago Daily News, "The three were among five persons arrested on Monday during a demonstration by about 200 persons in downtown Da Nang. They were protesting against crop damage from artillery fire and air strikes by U.S. forces."

'Proof'

Yet these people are called "terrorists" by the Americans, while Mr. Wilson parrots the American claims that the action of such people, defying the Americans, despite overwhelming odds and all the panoply of modern war arrayed against them, is somehow "proof" that North Vietnam is waging a war of aggression against the South.

In such a situation it is vitally necessary that people in Britain should have access to the facts of the case and any attempt to provide them should be applauded.

Vietnam, a Read-In edited by Robin Murray (Eyre and Spottiswoode, 5s), is presented by the publishers, in an interesting new venture, as a kind of written reach-in presenting the important issues of the war in Vietnam "through the words of people on both sides."

One-sided

The aim is commendable and the result by and large is useful even though the quotations tend to come too much from the American side, with very insufficient use made of material put out by North Vietnam, the South Vietnam National Liberation Front and in Britain by the British-Vietnam Committee.

And so the character of American intervention in Vietnam from the start tends to be muted. Nor does one get the full feeling of the world-wide protests against this intervention, above all in America itself and in Britain. There is no mention of the Daily Worker's exposure of America's role in Vietnam.

A typical example of the way the authors lean over backwards to be "objective" about the

by **SAM RUSSELL**

(Daily Worker Foreign Editor)



SAM RUSSELL

notorious Ngo Dinh Diem regime, produces this masterpiece of understatement: "Quite apart from disallowing civil liberties, it is further claimed, Diem took energetic steps to crush all opponents."

As to the role of the Americans, all the read-in has to say is that "after Diem, American approval became a necessary, if not a sufficient, condition for the tenure of power."

Such circumlocutions, ignoring as they do the fact that Diem was put in from the start by the Americans as their puppet, and was only "rubbed out" when he ceased to serve their purpose, can only muffle the fact that this war was from the beginning an American war of aggression against the people of Vietnam.

The "read-in" reprints almost in full the notorious U.S. White Paper issued earlier this year, and while it also carries the equally celebrated reply by the American writer, I. F. Stone, it gives no idea of the way in which the South Vietnam Liberation movement came into being apart from some truncated quotations from

Wilfred Burchett's book already reviewed in these columns.

Nevertheless the read-in does give the text of North Vietnam's famous four-point proposals for negotiations and makes the valid point that "the final paragraph makes it clear that U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam need only be accepted in principle, not actually carried out, before negotiations."

Limited though its scope is, nobody can read this read-in without appreciating that it is the U.S. which is clearly the aggressor, that the National Liberation Front owes its strength primarily to indigenous support and not to outside intervention, and that given a return to the Geneva Agreement violated by the U.S. and its South Vietnam puppets, peace could come to this unhappy country.

This case is put forcefully and eloquently, as one would expect, in Vietnam: The Truth, by William Warbey, M.P. (Merlin Press, 15s).

Origins

Mr. Warbey brings out quite clearly the origins of the war, how the French were defeated, how the Americans took over, how they sabotaged the Geneva Agreement, and what has happened since.

Above all he shows how the Labour Government's so-called "peace initiatives" were, and are, only a cover for President Johnson's policy of bombing North Vietnam and the South Vietnam National Liberation Front forces into submission and unconditional surrender.

Mr. Wilson's conduct in this matter is given in great detail, and we are told for the first time how after Mr. Warbey's visit to North Vietnam at the end of last year he brought back important

details of the attitude of North Vietnam's leaders.

All that Mr. Wilson could say to Mr. Warbey when he bumped into him in the Library corridor of the House of Commons in mid-February was that President Johnson was having difficulty in keeping Congress quiet and "the fuss which some of you are making here is not helping either."

Mr. Warbey then said that what was wanted was an outspoken dissociation of Britain from what the Americans were doing in Vietnam.

"In reply," Mr. Warbey records, "Harold Wilson quoted a phrase of Aneurin Bevan's to the effect that emotional declarations were a form of 'public masturbation' in which responsible statesmen and diplomats could not afford to indulge."

Other view

In *The Making of a Quagmire* by David Halberstam (Bodley Head, 30s), we get another fascinating American view of the war in Vietnam by the New York Times correspondent in South Vietnam for 15 months.

The corruption under Ngo Dinh Diem, the lying by American propagandists about the true situation there, the plotting of the C.I.A. and the hostility of the people all emerge starkly and clearly.

But although Mr. Halberstam was very unpopular with the State Department for this sort of reporting at the time, he apparently doesn't want to be that unpopular. And so when it comes to conclusions, he limits himself to saying that few Americans who have served in Vietnam can stomach the idea of withdrawal.

But withdrawal is the only way out, and the sooner men like Mr. Halberstam and others who know the facts, find the courage to say so and stand up and be counted, the better it will be for all of us.

DAY BY DAY

Speaker's Last Words :
Doing It Yourself



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