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Bertrand Russell has played a prominent part in informing the public of the truth about the war in Vietnam. For the past year he has devoted nearly all his time to the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation.

As a result of his individual opposition to the war in Vietnam Mr Stetler has refusal to fight in Vietnam. American newspapers signed by a large number of students which stated their American protest against the war, and the publishing of advertisements in despatch of medical supplies to the National Liberation Front, as a token of over fifty universities. He has organized both the collection of money for the tion about the war, and upon receiving it began a campaign which took him to opposed the war in Vietnam. He wrote to Bertrand Russell asking for informa-Pennsylvania, and the founder of the May 2nd Committee which has vigorously faced continued harassment. This has included hearings before the Philadelphia

Bureau of Investigation, seizure of his letters, and the serious possibility of a

charge of sedition which is, at the time of writing, under consideration by the School Board for the withdrawal of his scholarship, visits from the Federal

US Attorney General.

Russell Dearnley Stetler, Jr, is an undergraduate at Haverford College

Bertrand Russell Russell D Stetler Jr

atrocity in warand Vietnam

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Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation

The war in Vietnam is eighteen years old. It began as a broad movement of resistance to the French under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh, a Communist. It was fought with ferocity against an unarmed peasantry, using guerilla tactics. The French were driven out of the North of Vietnam and the conflict was halted during negotiations at Geneva, leading to the establishment of an international Commission, intended to stabilize peace and watch over any attempt at foreign intervention.

The result of the secretary and the second second

Before developing what I wish to say about this subject, I should like to make clear that the facts in this pamphlet are taken from the daily papers. Many are taken from bulletins of committees concerned with Vietnam. Some are from reports of the South Vietnam Liberation Red Cross and others from a very interesting book by Wilfred G. Burchett called *The Furtive War*. Many of the facts have passed unscathed through the crucible of American denial. Many of them have been accepted even by the American authorities. All of them, I have good reason to believe, are incontrovertible.

It is important to realize that, since the French were defeated finally at Dien Bien Phu in 1954, the war had been conducted surreptitiously under American direction. A substantial number of American forces began to be committed there after the French withdrawal and the Geneva talks. One of the most important aspects of this war has been that the United States pretended for many years that no such war was taking place and that the war which was not taking place was not being conducted by Americans. I have experienced some frustration in attempting to bring to light the fact that the war has been taking place and that Americans have been deeply involved in its conduct. At first, Western newspapers and even persons connected with the peace

wishes. It was admitted that they were used under the direction allegations and the evidence adduced to support them. I was tional chemicals and asked for international investigation of these pressive and particularized evidence concerning the use of addiclearing vegetation and foliage. I brought to public attention imof the United States, but it was said that chemicals were harmless the chemicals employed were used against American advice and States forces in Vietnam, it was first denied and then alleged that was alleged that chemicals were being employed by the United American participation was solely in an advisory capacity. When it direction of this war. The New York Times stated this several no condemnatory comment had been made by the International informed by various Western newspapers that no observers had to human beings and were intended solely for the purpose of times. Finally, in the course of controversy, it was allowed that movement in the West held that there was no evidence of American Control Commission. found harmful results through the use of these chemicals and that

sufficient here to note that the extraordinary war which has been sion to place on record its observation of American participation committed to opposition to Cold War, small wars and wars of set up at Geneva, escaped for some time the notice of the Western the Geneva agreements. It encompassed repression and exterminaraging in Vietnam managed to elude the juridical commitments of to these more contemporary aspects of the war in Vietnam. It is aircraft, military supplies and a full-scale war. I shall wish to return was in violation of its mandate and does not inspire confidence in Press and enjoyed restrained consideration by those nominally tion without any hindrance on the part of the Control Commissions vention from the outside. The failure of this International Commisfunction of the Commission was to regulate and prevent inter-It is odd that this is advanced on behalf of that Commission. The its ability to detect chemicals where it failed to detect armed forces,

a movement of rebellion began, acquired new strength and culwere expected to come. The Geneva Conferences of 1955 were groups. It was agreed that there would be a general election of Ho Chi Minh, and the South under the control of pro-Western for an interim period, with the North under the control of the forces minated in the Geneva decisions. Vietnam was to be partitioned Vietnam. At the time of the conclusion of the Second World War, throughout Vietnam, out of which unification and neutralization North, is much the same as that of the United States and South The history of French and Vietnamese relations, particularly in the

> name and professed it to be the basis of American policy in Indo-States, though not a signatory to this Convention, accepted it in designed to bring neutralization to all of Indo-China. The United

world in Southeast Asia. intrusion of the Cold War and the present threat to the peace of the ments and was a test for the International Control Commission. Its a ruling oligarchy subservient to American interests. This direct failure to instance this violation prepared the way for violence, the vene actively with arms, money and men and established in power foreign intervention destroyed the purpose of the Geneva agreedisturbed state of the country'. The United States began to interpermit a general election, in view of what it considered to be 'the In fact, the United States quickly decided that it was impossible to

munist side' of things. groups, frightened to appear to be seen supporting 'the Comabout Vietnam. Part of the fault lies with the silence of peace which, until the last two years, characterized Western reports responsibility for this default lies with the suppression of facts and for the greater part of the rural population to be uprooted and régime was one of terror and persecution. Ghastly tortures were cated, despite the fact that the Vietcong was neutralist. Diem's not subservient to that purpose. The Vietcong were to be eradivarious provinces, who administered them virtually as private owners and the Catholic hierarchy in Vietnam - a small, closelyput in camps without vigorous protest taking place. Part of the for 350,000 people to be placed in camps as political prisoners inflicted upon the peasants. It is instructive that it has been possible ing for their power. American policy aimed at keeping South The Diem and Nhu families were dependent upon American backbecause they failed to prove sufficiently loyal to the Diem régime. estates. Various religious sects and cults in Vietnam were subdued knit circle. The Diem family installed officers and relatives in family, together with the Nhu family, represented a group of landmilitary alliance of anti-communists. The United States favoured Vietnam in the anti-Communist camp and at opposing all groups Ngo Dinh Diem, a rich refugee from North Vietnam. He and his The purpose of this body was to forestall neutrality and to forge a led to the formation of the South East Asia Treaty Organization. Dien Bien Phu. His desire to encompass the area in the Cold War John Foster Dulles had urged the use of nuclear weapons at

One case is related in The Furtive War. It is that of a young girl

very badly. . . . Once I recovered consciousness and found I was stark naked for me. I was taken to the town of Faifo and for months on end I was tortured 'One day,' she says, 'I came home and there were two security agents waiting Capacity' The 'Advisory

many among the 350,000 political prisoners. was subsequently confirmed by neutral enquirers. It is typical of Finally, she was covertly conveyed to North Vietnam. This stone

surrounded by spikes, moats and barbed wire and were patrolle cruel circumstances, moved at a moment's notice. 'Strategie Americans instituted what were called 'strategic hamlets', into that 160,000 have died and as many as 700,000 have been maimed camps. The London Observer estimated that 65 per cent of the by guards with dogs. They have all the character of concentration which the inhabitants of rural areas and existing villages were, in In order to combat the support of the population, Diem and the rural population, or over seven million people, were inside thes brought into them were unable to get out. These 'hamlets' were hamlets' were, in reality, prisons. Those who had been forcib The vast majority of peasants support the Vietcong. It is estimated Vietnam should be used as an experimental area for the develop decision on the part of the United States, publicly set out by W.V ment of anti-guerrilla techniques and weapons by America Rostow, an advisor of the State Department. He suggested the 'hamlets' by mid-1963. Their establishment was the result of

The evidence

sought to set out the full nature of this war, which I designated as for their food and manpower upon them. I wrote letters to the they would be shut off from the guerrilla forces, who dependen denounced me for making such a charge. war of annihilation and atrocity. The New York Times vigorous Washington Post and the New York Times in 1963 in which The rural population was stuffed into the 'strategic hamlets' so that

governmental forces. Napalm and chemicals were used in the used, but stated that napalm was not used by Americans but only and the New York Times admitted editorially that weedkillers were by Vietnamese governmental forces. Madame Nhu stated: "I The State Department denied that chemicals were used in Vietnam 1962, which refer to the destruction of nearly 1,400 villages by they don't like our chemicals why don't they get out of our jungles? The New York Times failed to remember its own reports of June 19.

> civilian populations and the use of concentration camps. course of this devastation. My charge of atrocity was based upon the ruthless use of chemicals and jelly-gasoline, the devastation of

earlier, professed that their soldiers and airmen in Vietnam were during the Second World War. The Americans, as mentioned small rockets and ammunition in excess of that used by any aircraft In addition to uprooting the population and establishing the only there in an advisory capacity and were not responsible for hamlets, the United States sent special helicopters which could fire Diem's doings. At the same time, they took great pains to conceal York Times, in its editorial comments, illustrates this attempt. from the world the sort of things that were being done. The New

tables, cattle and domestic animals. Further evidence specified the toxic chemicals in Vietnam by American forces. I have evidence part by the Foreign Minister of North Vietnam. It has been offered use of toxic gas on densely populated areas. This evidence was ness. The evidence includes the destruction of fruit trees, vegevillages, dates, individuals and specific chemicals, and the use of to bring to the attention of people facts which I had before me in In the course of controversy in the pages of the Observer, I sought rently referring to the defoliation campaign known as "Operation to my setting out of this evidence were indicative of Western to any international agency for impartial consideration. The replies provided in part by the South Vietnam Liberation Red Cross and in by vomiting, bleeding, paralysis and loss of sight and consciousthat over 1,000 people were caused severe illness, characterized the form of photographs and documents which particularized animals or to humans. He contended that a propaganda campaign in America and had been used widely without causing harm to Ranchland" ' and said that the weedkillers were popularly known Correspondent of the Observer, blandly stated that I was appaattitudes towards this war. Dennis Bloodworth, the Far Eastern Communist propaganda campaign. cals had ill effects and suggested that I was now assisting in a was being employed in which it was falsely said that these chemi-

statements will help to indicate the nature of the war and the Let us now consider some of the statements which have appeared validity of the editorial protests which have peppered my appeals in the American and British Press over the past two years. These attack on Diem's palace, Americans were designated to accompany Vietnamese pilots pulled out of formation and launched a full New York Times of March 17, 1962. It was stated that, after two Americans served only as advisors, it is worth looking at the about the situation in Vietnam. With respect to the contention that

dicted the New York Times's statement that uniformed Americans of March 23, 1963, published a long report in which it contraevery Vietnamese pilot on a mission. The Saturday Evening Post were 'solely advisors and trainers'. The Saturday Evening Post

Virtually all the fighting is done by US troops

in combat and that United States officers and trainers are on the of the 'Washington fiction that no United States troops are involved Richard Hughes in the Sunday Times of January 13, 1963, speaks scene merely to "advise, support and assist". The Americans are period 1962 to 1963. On July 7, 1962, the New York Times stated quote the New York Times and other American papers for the co-pilots.' It is illustrative, as well, of the nature of this war to Air Force are undertaken by Americans serving as pilots and naissance and troop transport planes in the combat areas. Probably now operating more than 200 helicopters and scores of reconhalf of all bombing and strafing missions of the South Vietnam

people who are being killed by napalm and fragmentation bombs are guerrillas Tactical air support is used extensively. It is difficult to ascertain whether the

On June 16, 1962, the New York Times had stated

guerrillas, many are shot. Though the Government makes some attempt to re-educate the captured

The New York Times had stated on June 5, 1962:

Seven leprosy clinics were wiped out by mistake in bombing raids last autumn

The New York Times of July 25, 1962, stated:

ordinary peasants shot down because they fled from villages as troops entered. Many of the 'enemy' dead reported by the Government to have been shot were away because they did not want to be rounded up for military conscription of It is possible that some were Vietcong sympathizers, but others were running

The Chicago Daily News is more direct in its statement of January 18, 1963

'Weedkillers'

planes bomb and strafe it, even when Americans are along as advisors or instructors. When asked if Americans officially condone these attacks, a US military spokesman said: 'There has not been a definite policy ruling for Vietnam.' Planes of the Vietnamese Air Force are frequently piloted by attack. If Vietnamese commanders order an airstrike on a medical centre, the Vietnam.' Planes of the Vietnamese Air Force are frequently piloted The Government regards Vietcong hospitals as fair targets for ground or air

country) might have been advised to listen to the Voice of America (as when it reported the razing of 60 per cent of the villages of the The New York Times which, editorially, overlooks its news reports

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of population and then virtually obliterated. upon virtually all of the peasant population outside of the strategic on January 6, 1963. It was stated that during the year 1962 the Areas in which heavy guerrilla activity was reported were denuded Senator Mansfield referred to the action as 'America's secret war there were American troops in every fighting action in Vietnam hamlets. This report was confirmed by the United States Defence American Air Force carried out 50,000 attacks on villages and Department. Senator Michael Mansfield of Montana stated that

'A Dirty, Cruel

The New York Times managed to say on October 21, 1962:

and it is hard to get much more involved than that. Americans and Vietnamese march together, fight together and die together

The New York Herald Tribune of November 23, 1962, stated: The United States is deeply involved in the biggest secret war in its history

This war in which seven million people have been placed in volved or the amount of money and equipment being poured in. fought without official public reports or reports on the number of troops inany formal programme to inform the public about what is happening. It is a war Never have so many US military men been involved in a combat area without

imprisoned - requiring 16,000 camps - was described by The internment camps, 160,000 killed, 700,000 tortured, 350,000 Nation of January 19, 1963:

in Algeria, which so shocked the American conscience. It is a dirty, cruel war. As dirty and as cruel as the war waged by the French forces

The Nation continued:

fighting to bolster up an open and brutal dictatorship in an undeclared war that The truth is that the United States Army, some 10,000 miles from home, is has never received the constitutional sanction of the United States Congress.

A supporter of the Vietcong, Ma Thi Chu, stated:

old people. I have been on the spot. I have seen children with swollen faces and bodies covered with burns. I have met women blinded or suffering from From January to March, chemicals were used against forty-six villages. thus attacked all life, human, animal and vegetable. vegetation of the Mekong Delta devastated by chemicals. Our enemies have sanguinolent diarrhoea. Many of them died afterwards. I have seen the luxuriant I wenty thousand people were affected, many of them women, children and

worth described how in April, 1963, South Vietnamese officials of what were euphemistically called 'weedkillers'. Dennis Bloodand their effects. The Times of May 16, 1963, disclosed the death it should be drawn - and in one case drank some of it' (Observer, foreign correspondents who had selected the canisters from which The concealment to which I have referred has included the effects by pesticide of birds of fifty-eight species and described fifty rubbed defoliant on their hands and arms in the presence of February 9, 1964). It is interesting to examine these weedkillers

Britain, the United States and Scandinavia. use of these weedkillers has killed. They caused serious illness in Dr Jerome Weisner, the Chief Science Advisor to President cases of serious illness and 150 deaths (Reuter, May 16, 1963) defoliation and the killing of weeds resulted in California in 1,100 in the United States that chemicals used there for purposes of to halt their use and to begin a formal investigation. It was stated animals and human beings. President Kennedy found it necessary potentially 'more dangerous than radioactive fallout'. The actual Kennedy, designated unregulated use of these weedkillers as pesticides in widespread use as responsible for 'acute poisoning' of

Times did not see fit to publish, I said: In a paragraph of a letter I wrote to the New York Times, which the

weedkillers would destroy many crops and animals, but, in fact, chemicals must be to achieve the end for which you say they are intended, certain common the subject of South Vietnam) you also endeavour to minimize the effect of In your fifth paragraph (of an editorial attack upon a former letter from me on other than 'common weedkillers' have been used. defoliation chemicals' by calling them 'common weedkillers'. If spread, as they

Among these other chemicals are included some which were previously used as 'weedkillers' in other countries before being found too dangerous.

The United States Government has been charged by the South Vietnam

suggests, allied with those opposing the US-supported Diem régime, but its and eat into human flesh) and calcic cyanamide (which has caused leaves arsenite calcium, lead manganese arsenates, DNP and DNC (which inflame South Vietnam, with using chemicals which, in the large doses used, are constitutes and results in atrocities and points to the fact that this is a 'war o' gation of the situation. The use of these weapons, napalm bombs and chemicals published findings cannot be ignored, since it has urged international investi-Vietnam. Admittedly, the South Vietnam Liberation Red Cross is, as its name these poisonous chemicals on large and densely populated areas of South affected thousands of the inhabitants of South Vietnam); with having spream flowers and fruit to fall, killed big cattle like buffaloes and cows, and seriously harmful: with using white arsenic, various kinds of arsenite sodium and Liberation Red Cross, after a year's study by them of the chemicals spread in

> neutrality Wish for

gence Agency has spent an estimated sum monthly of 250,000 average number of 4,000 casualties monthly. The Central Intelliannihilate. This weapon has been used on over 1,400 villages. The object of this weapon is to create hysteria and panic, as well as to extinguished. The victims suppurate before terrified observers. The dollars on private armies, espionage and intrigue, according to Observer of September 8, 1963, estimates that there has been an Napalm is a chemical which burns unremittingly and cannot be The Times of September 10, 1963. United States has spent one million dollars daily on the war. The

coup which most agreed was engineered by the United States, Diem grew more and more reckless and was at last murdered in a This war was largely conducted under the nominal rule of Diem.

> June 24 and July 25, all in 1962, the following programme: January 30, March 27, March 29, April 1, April 4, April 20, May 10, various elements of revolt against American domination. By 1961, what was done under his régime. Gaullist lines, but not, noticeably, that tyranny was unpalatable to simply indefinite war. The second junta to succeed him complained popular revolt. Homer Bigart described in the New York Times of ponsibility for whatever they had formerly blamed on Diem and for brought by his death was that the Americans had open restary operations for the United States in the Mekong Delta to have to death. It is noteworthy that Diem was said by the head of miliafter a number of eminent Buddhist priests had burned themselves the 'locking' of strategic villages behind barbed wire. been, in fact, only the tool of the Americans and the sole change the population. The death of Diem brought no amelioration. He had that its predecessor was secretly negotiating with the North along American forces would be reduced and he would fall. His aim was been unwilling to win the war. Diem feared that if he won the war, their arms. Let us consider again the treatment accorded this 10,000 Diem troops had deserted and joined the Vietcong with The Vietcong was formed on December 20, 1960, unifying the

of all abandoned villages with the grain and possessions of the inhabitants and The rounding up of the entire rural population in strategic hamlets, the burning

destruction of all villages, fields and crops. In 1962 alone, accordeuphemisms used for the military operations which have belatedly Christian Science Monitor described this process on March West' and 'Morning Star' resulted, in the area attacked, in the States are instructive. 'Operation Sunrise', 'Pacification of the been acknowledged to be the full responsibility of the United be neutral. This the American Government cannot tolerate. The ing to General Paul D. Harkins, 30,000 peasants were killed. The It is clear that the majority of the inhabitants wish their country to

Since the army finds sullen villagers and does not know which are pro-Comdo its job, it shoots anyone seen running or looking dangerous. It often shoots munist and which are merely dissatisfied with Saigon, and since the army must Anyone killed is automatically a Vietcong. the wrong peasants. They are in the records of battle listed as Communists.

the following caption: On January 25, 1963, Life had photos of napalm bombings with

to flush the enemy into the open. namese napalm strike. The object of the fire bombing is to sear all foliage and Swooping low across enemy infested land, US pilot instructors watch Viet-The New York Times also reported that US advisors made a tally of guerrilla

corpses after each battle to make sure that Diem's troops were using American

equipment to maximum advantage, so that they could display a good 'bag' (*Militant*, April 15, 1963.)

In the light of all this evidence, it is strange to find the New York Times saying on April 8, 1963:

Napalm has been used by the South Vietnam Air Force and has certainly killed innocent people, as other weapons have done in all wars. American (my emphasis) advisors have opposed its employment on both moral and practical grounds against all except clearly defined military targets.

This definition appears to include 60 per cent of the villages, hospitals and clinics and all peasants who run or look dangerous. This editorial reply contradicts the *New York Times*'s own news reports about American use and insistence upon the use of napalm and other weapons on non-military areas.

a deeply dangerous game. A map in the New York Times of April 1, quoted an American official as stating that the trouble lay in the is now considered doubtful whether the Government of South South Vietnam. The London Times of February 24 has stated that it addition to those plentiful supplies captured from the forces of primitive guerrilla weapons have been used by the Vietcong, in around Saigon, and nowhere near the borders of Laos or North Vietnamese only wanted to end the war. fact that, while the United States wished to extend the war, the Vietnam has any will to win the war. The Observer of March 1, 1964, Vietnam. Both British and American reporters have stated that the (so-called) Communist guerrillas in South Vietnam are playing announced that those countries which are directing and supplying extended to an invasion of North Vietnam. President Johnson has Many people in the Pentagon are urging that the war should be 1962, shows the forces of the Liberation Front in the far south

The situation which faces those who have conducted this war is grave. Should the United States retire and allow victory to the Vietcong? Should America engage in a naked war of conquest, which will be clearly seen as such, and attempt to establish again a Government dependent entirely upon alien armed force? This 'enemy' controls nearly 70 per cent of South Vietnam. The majority of the Vietcong was described as non-Communist by former Premier Tran Van Huu in Paris, as reported in the Observer. The Vietcong official policy asks for a neutral and disengaged South Vietnam. Despite all the attempts on the part of the Western Press to describe this war as one in which a helpless democratic people is under ruthless attack from an aggressive Communist neighbour, it is evident that the Vietcong is a popular front which has fought an appalling tyranny in South Vietnam and has been opposed by the United States at an incalculable cost to the population. Why is this

To retire or conquer?

non-Communist, neutralist, popular front so ruthlessly opposed? Even the Communist North has declared, through Ho Chi Minh, that it wishes to be unified with the South on terms of neutrality in the Cold War and independence of Russia, China and the West (*The Times*, November 5, 1963).

in the West raised their voices for an end to the bloodshed. possible to hide or disguise terrible crimes and it is time that people with the possible destruction of mankind as the culmination of this extension will bring direct conflict between the Cold War powers, folly. The tragedy in Vietnam indicates the extent to which it is out of the truth about the war. The war has had no purpose. Its movement has been conspicuously silent or restrained in its setting Atrocity has characterized the conduct of the war throughout its powers of overwhelming might have fought peasant guerrillas in a facts about this war during the last two years. The Western peace history. The Western Press has hesitatingly discovered some of the War. Everything short of nuclear weapons has been employed manner reminiscent of the Japanese during the Second World Vietnam. It has lasted nearly two decades; two Western industrial would then be drawn in. There are few parallels with the war in involvement, with war with China as the result. The Soviet Union American invasion of North Vietnam will likely bring on Chinese The policy of the United States which has led to the prospect of ar

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careful criticism and needed encouragement kept me at my task. owe further thanks to my many friends and unknown comrades who have sent me enlightening clippings and notes of support. Eyer for reading my manuscripts at all stages of progress. Their by Miss Cath Lawrence, to whom I am deeply indebted. I must of the complete manuscript - was done speedily and thanklessly growth of this pamphlet. The most boring work of all - the typing article of this sort. Mr Eaton did a great amount of (boring) amount of time in doing the 'busy work' which is necessary to an research and (more boring) typing for me at various stages of the Another of my good friends, Roger Eaton, contributed a vast is his research that uncovered much of the documentation I offer were offered in plagiarism, I might win one for all the quotations couragement have been of inestimable value. If Pulitzer prizes very first sources I used in studying Vietnam. His help and enthank, too, my close friends and associates David Yaffe and Joseph Bertrand Russell; it was he who acquainted me with many of the accumulating the facts and revising the many manuscripts which have reached final form in this draft. Special thanks should go to lifted from an article by my good friend Richard M. Rhoads; it owe much to many people for the help they have offered me in

That there is a war in Vietnam is now common knowledge; that American troops are presently involved in that war has penetrated the most unreceptive minds. The American public has long suffered from lack of information and, still worse, from misinformation in regard to this war in which hundreds of Americans have lost their lives and billions of American dollars have been wasted. The Republican Party's charge that the Democratic Administration has 'managed' news about the war is appallingly true. But the policy which has provoked the current crisis in Southeast Asia is a bipartisan blunder. Independent observers and impartial historians discover a grave sequence of events behind the now raging war.

Official US observers have begun to divulge the full nature of our secret war in Vietnam. In a Press conference on April 21, 1964, Representative Charles A. Halleck (R-Ind.) and Senator Everett M. Dirksen (R-III.), minority leaders of their respective Houses, read letters written by an American Air-Force Captain, Edwin G. Shank, to his wife (from January 7 to January 20, 1964). Shank is one of the more than 210 Americans who have died in Vietnam. In the letters just made public by his wife, he states,

How our government can lie to its own people – it's something you wouldn't think a democratic government could do. (January 7, 1964.)
I don't know what the US is doing. They tell you people we're just in a training situation and they try to run us as a training base. But we're at war, we are doing the fighting. We are losing. Morale is very bad. (January 8, 1964.)
I'll bet you that anyone you talk to does not know that American pilots fight this war. . . . The Vietnamese 'students' we have on board are airmen basics (recruits) The only reason they are on board is, in case we crash, there is one American 'adviser' and one Vietnamese 'student'. . . . They are . . . sacrificial

But the sacrificial lambs Captain Shank found beside him are

lambs . . . and they are a menace to have on board. (January 20, 1964.)

otherwise portrayed by the US Defence Department. Its *Pocket Guide to Vietnam* represents the US soldier's role quite differently, informing him that he goes to Vietnam for the deeply serious business of helping a brave nation repel Communist invasion'.

Dirksen and Halleck called for a disclosure of 'the whole brutal business' about the US in Vietnam. They are not the first Congressmen to point out the lies, concealments, and contradictions in the official Administration picture of Vietnam. Their outrage does not surprise many who have followed with great care the Press disclosures of our involvement in Vietnam.

A New York Times article (October 21, 1962), which reported:

Americans and Vietnamese march together, fight together, and die together, and it is hard to get much more involved than that.

The foreign Press began to state more and more explicitly how much the war in Vietnam was exclusively an American enterprise. Richard Hughes in the London Sunday Times (January 13, 1963) discussed 'the Washington fiction that no United States troops are involved in combat and that United States officers and trainers are on the scene merely to "advise, support, and assist". The Americans are now operating more than 200 helicopters and scores of reconnaissance and troop transport planes in the combat areas. Probably half of all bombing and strafing missions of the South Vietnam Air Force are undertaken by Americans serving as pilots and co-pilots'.

The truth about Vietnam cannot be suppressed much longer. Two Pulitzer prize-winning journalists, Homer Bigart and David Halberstam, have been removed from Vietnam. But the current New York Times correspondent continues in their tradition, with articles flatly contradicting the 'facts' stated in that newspaper's editorials and the US government's policy explanations. This correspondent, Peter Grose, wrote on May 2, 1964,

The United States has established what amounts to an expeditionary force in South Vietnam with all the command links, support units and facilities associated with an army overseas.

It is unlike any other expeditionary force the United States has mounted. It is a force without fighting men. American troops pull triggers but do not engage in combat. For two years it has been a force with six major commands, which command nothing of the war to save South Vietnam from a Communist insurgency. It is a force marked by anomalies, ambiguities, and frustrations. It is the proving ground for the next generation of leaders of the American defence establishment.

Not only are Americans dying, they are killing the Vietcong. It was the hypocrisy of policy for many months never to admit in official statements that napalm was being used against Vietcong concentrations, though the fact was plain to see and was freely discussed here. Secretary of Defence McNamara admitted recently that napalm was 'occasionally' used, which is the beginning of the truth. Furthermore, it cannot be denied, though it is not emphasized, that American pilots are flying the strafing planes that account for the bulk of Vietcong casualties in an increasing number of pitched infantry battles.

our current involvement. provisions of the United Nations Charter and the 1954 Geneva the Philadelphia Inquirer the following morning), Morse said critically. In a speech in Philadelphia on April 26, 1964 (reported in full development of our policy in Southeast Asia and viewed it member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has seen the further investigation of the historical events which have led us to fications for its intervention in South Vietnam that it demands Morse's contention so blatantly contradicts the official US justiframework of international law and American treaty obligations' menace to the American nation. . . . This war is outside the legal Agreement 'make the American war in Vietnam illegal and a Vietnam originated. Senator Wayne L. Morse (D-Ore.), as a leave us wondering how such a mess as the current conditions in generally fail to mention the history of our involvement in South Vietnam. Since our reporters are not historians as well, they often But even as the current situation is revealed, the enlighteners

We are told by the Administration that our commitment in South Vietnam arises from the South East Asia Treaty Organization's declared *protection* of that zone. But we are not told that the government of South Vietnam was established by the US expressly to invite our protection. The truth of the matter was ominously admitted by C. L. Sulzberger in the *New York Times* (June 3, 1964), when he stated, 'When Foster Dulles fathered SEATO a decade ago he admitted that its principle purpose was to provide our President legal authority to intervene in Indochina....'

South Vietnam at official request is only further indictment against tions or answer these challenges. Halberstam's removal from modernized slightly by McNamara, do not refute these observawho have rarely left the south' Clichés of Dulles, even when southerners fought on southern land. No capture of North South Vietnamese forces. . . . The regular guerrillas are southerners believed that most Vietcong weapons have been seized from the Vietnamese in the south has come to light, and it is generally Policy in Vietnam' (New York Times, March 6, 1964) David demand proof for this crucial contention. In the analysis 'US what is actually a civil war in South Vietnam is an invasion by of today's trouble stems from our inability to extricate ourselves Halberstam stated quite plainly, 'The war is largely a conflict of Communist troops from the North. On-the-spot observers His phraseology remains with us today in the allegation that from the entanglements he created. He set up SEATO and then Asia from any invasion, but only from 'Communist aggression'. It surprises no one that John Foster Dulles engineered this. Much interpreted' its function: not to protect the nations of Southeast

the policy-makers who fear the truth.

corresponding American document and stated that French rule had tion of Independence, read by Ho, opened with a quote from the Republic of Vietnam was constituted and announced; its Declarasuccessfully challenged the invaders.1 Having defeated the independence of Vietnam on September 2, 1945. The Democratic Japanese, Ho proclaimed a fuller victory. He declared the complete Nam Doc Lap Dong Minh' (Vietminh) in self-defence against the sent troops to occupy Indochina, France's most lucrative colony 'Fascists'. These native forces, led by Ho Chi Minh, a Communist, Undefended by the French, the Vietnamese organized the 'Viet the French suffered at home during the Second World War, Japan forced conscription and the tax system of the foreign rulers. When began on November 23, 1940. The peasants fought then to oppose that the first major revolt against the French colonial government regions south of Saigon, has a long record of struggle; it was here the 'forties. The scene of recent fighting, the Mekong Delta on for over twenty-five years. From the dissent expressed in the The kind of struggle now waged in South Vietnam has been going thirties came the wars for independence which have raged since

At the time the US was satisfied with the independence of Vietnam. American generals admired Ho Chi Minh for his army's brilliant campaign against the Japanese. That Ho was Vietnam's heroic leader was boldly proclaimed in a *New York Times* editorial on September 21, 1946:

Ho Chi Minh . . . is Viet Nam. That strange little figure, meek in appearance yet so determined in purpose, emboldened the spirit, the aspirations and probably the future of the new state. He moulded it, he put it through the fire, and he will guide it.

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt had said about Vietnam in 1944 (as reported in Cordell Hull, *Memoirs*, NY, 1948, p. 1597),

France has had the country . . . for nearly one hundred years, and the people are worse off than at the beginning. . . . France has milked it for one hundred years. . . . The people of Indochina are entitled to something better than this.

But Roosevelt did not live to enforce his words. France reasserted her claim to Indochina without opposition from the other Allies. A new war for independence soon erupted. Again, the first fighting broke out in the Mekong Delta region of southern Vietnam in 1945; the war spread northwards the following year. The Vietnamese chose to fight a protracted war, granting the irregular army unlimited time to wear down the modern, professional French army

1 See chapter 85 of Edgar Snow's The Other Side of the River for specific discussion of the Vietminh's action against the Japanese.

to a point where they might engage them successfully in mobile combat. The same men who evaded forced conscription under the French were the volunteers who fought this war. The unity of the army and the population was evident. The people fed, sheltered, and concealed the guerrillas. When a guerrilla left with the army, he was assured that his neighbours would care for his family and tend his crops and animals in his absence.

schemes had ultimately failed, and France had lost her colony, bitter and tragic awareness to the French military experts. Their troops. The final days of the battle (May 7 and 8, 1954) brought a the Vietnamese. At the fifty-five day siege of Dienbienphu, the combat, the army was too worn down and weakened to defeat Vietminh routed the French, wiping out thousands of crack French repeatedly predicted victory. But when the time came for mobile men would not be enough to defeat the Vietnamese people. They army. The cost of the war was some seven billion dollars. French generals did not see that the exorbitant quantities of money and there were 92,000 fatalities and 114,000 wounded in the French gate to the UN (quoted in the New York Times, July 22, 1954) other modern weaponry. According to Jules Moch, French delemore than 400,000 men to Vietnam, with tanks, airplanes, and and executed this strategy to perfection. The French had sent him; when he is weak, attack him'. The guerrillas took their time People's War, People's Army, 'When the enemy is strong, avoid leading general, Vo-Nguyen Giap, who writes in his book The strategy of the guerrilla war is simply and clearly stated by its

Outside observers had achieved the awareness of imminent defeat much sooner. The US watched carefully, because it had invested heavily in this war. President Harry S. Truman had announced US aid to the French in late 1952; his policy of support was amplified under Eisenhower-Dulles agreements. (The New York Times reported on July 4, 1954, 'In the current year the United States is paying 78 per cent of the French Union costs in the Indochinese war'.) Considerable debate generated in Washington during the battle of Dienbienphu. Hanson Baldwin, military editor of the New York Times, wrote on April 1, 1954,

Washington is faced with some hard decision if Indochina is to be retained as a bastion against Communism. Aid on a far more massive scale than ever before ... may well be necessary.

Roscoe Drummond and Gaston Coblentz report in *Duel at the Brink* (pp. 116–23) that Dulles even advocated and offered to Bidault the use of nuclear weapons at Dienbienphu. Of course, many Americans hoped the US would commit itself no further in Vietnam, that it would concur with the French judgment when

defeat became undeniable. Senator John F. Kennedy, for example stated on April 6, 1954,

To pour money, material, and men into the jungles of Indochine without at least a remote prospect of victory would be dangerously futile and destructive.

... I am frankly of the belief that no amount of American assistance in Indochina can conquer an enemy which is everywhere, and at the same time nowhere, an 'enemy of the people' which has the sympathy and support of the people.

... For the United States to intervene unilaterally and to send troops into the most difficult terrain of the world... would mean that we would face a situation which would be more difficult than even that which we encountered in Korea.²

as constituting a political or territorial boundary'. Article Seven according to the Geneva agreements, July 20, 1956. The intent and all French troops and the holding of nationwide elections was, plan of the agreements are unambiguous. Its Article Six states that under common leadership. The deadline for both the withdrawal of was to be a countrywide election to reunify the partitioned nation to leave Vietnam. When all the French troops had departed, there ants; once the troops had been duly disengaged, the French were a conference had already been set up at Geneva to arrange the the military demarcation line should not in any way be interpreted partition was designed only to facilitate separation of combatdisengagement was to be achieved by keeping the Vietminh settlement .An accord was reached on July 21, 1954. According to North) and withdrawing the French troops below this line. The forces above this line (since they were already concentrated in the nated at the Ben Dai River, along the seventeenth parallel. Military into two military regrouping zones. The demarcation line was desigthe stipulations of this Geneva Conference on Indochina (see New When the French accepted defeat at Dienbienphu on May 8, 1954 York Times, July 22, 1954, for complete text), Vietnam was divided

General elections shall be held in July 1956 under the supervision of an international committee.... Consultations will be held on this subject between the competent representative authorities of the two zones from July 20, 1955, onwards.

Further provisions of the Geneva agreements imposed regulations on foreign military bases and personnel and on increased armaments in Indochina, and set up an International Controls Commission (consisting of representatives from Canada, India, and Poland) to supervise the implementation of the agreements.

2 Around the same time – April 17, 1954 – the less sane voice of then Vice-President Richard Nixon was urging the US to 'take on the problem alone' and to 'try to sell it to others' later. Unfortunately, it was this policy which was accepted.

The conference was chaired by the USSR and Great Britain; dele-

gates came from People's China, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, the Vietminh régime, France, and the United States. The US chose not to sign the agreements and instead issued a unilateral declaration. The Associated Press, July 21, 1954, carried this statement from President Eisenhower explaining why we were not signatories:

The US has not been a belligerent in this war. The primary responsibility for the settlement in Indochina rested with those nations which participated in the fighting.

The US, while financing the French and offering them atomic bombs at Dienbienphu, had not 'participated' and felt 'no responsibility'. In its own statement, the US pledged to 'refrain from the threat or the use of force to disturb' the Geneva agreements, to 'view any renewal of the aggression in violation of the aforesaid agreements with grave concern and as seriously threatening international peace and security', and to 'continue to seek to achieve unity through free elections'. (The text of the declaration and its appended 'Stand on Free Elections' can be found in the New York Times of July 22, 1956.)

Washington of Vietnam'.) To prevent Ho's election in 1956, the Church, D-Idaho, has more recently referred to Ho as the 'George population would have voted for Ho Chi Minh'. (Senator Frank been held at the time of the fighting possibly 80 per cent of the able in Indochinese affairs, who did not agree that had elections called on March 29, 1954, for internationalization of the French-President Eisenhower, in his book, Mandate for Change, admits, have never talked with a correspondent, with a person knowledg-It is no secret who would have won the election had it been held political system of Communist Russia and its Chinese ally?" Vietminh war to prevent 'the imposition on Southesat Asia of the the Vietnamese and the nationalist spirit of their group when he fanatical refusal to recognize the popularity of Communists among choose a Communist as their leader. Had not Dulles made clear his less in so far as the US would not allow the people of Vietnam to future' (quoted from the 'Stand on Free Elections') was meaningtraditional position that people are entitled to determine their own statement, it was already clear in the mind of many policy-makers that the US would stop the free elections scheduled for 1956. The against free elections, and nothing else! When Wilson made that line in Korea.' The US 'defended' the military demarcation line demarcation line in Vietnam as well as the military demarcation July 20, 1954, he stated: 'The US is prepared to defend the military regard the seventeenth parallel as a permanent national border. On issued, Secretary of Defence Charles Wilson already seemed to At precisely the same time that these official proclamations were

Sam Castan, put it more bluntly in his January 28, 1964, issue: Eisenhower OK'd him.') Mansfield endorsed him, Francis Cardinal Spellman praised him, Vice-President Richard Nixon liked him, and President Dwight D. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles picked him, Senator Mike from the Central Intelligence Agency'. The Senior Editor of Look, Diem rose to power in South Vietnam with an important assist supported the Government of Ngo Dinh Diem at the instance of the on December 18, 1954, in a dispatch from Paris, Guy La Chambre, 'Relations have seemed inextricable since 1954 when Ngo Dinh matter more explicitly; Homer Bigart wrote on August 22, 1963, United States'. (Nine years later the New York Times discussed the Minister for the Indochina States, 'told the Assembly that France the French who dictated the act. As the New York Times reported known to act according to his own will; but this time it was not Ngo Dinh Diem Premier on July 7, 1954. Bao Dai was not a man dictators. Bao Dai, titular Emperor under the French, appointed During the Geneva Conference there was a change in puppet-

last four years. He has never taken an active part in Vietnamese politics and has Ngo Dinh Diem, a bachelor, has lived in the United States and France for the Diem was described thus in the New York Times, June 15, 1954:

A rich landlord from Central Vietnam, Diem had fled the country no political organization of any particular importance behind him.

Vietamese delegate to the United Nations, quoted in the New York income from 'gambling, prostitution and narcotics' (according to a the latter did his campaigning in the Riviera at that time, living on an South Vietnamese half-nation a choice between him and Bao Dai; in fact, no plans for such a genuine election were laid in July 1955 referendum of the sort demanded by the Geneva agreements; Diem set up a referendum to legitimize his rule. This was not a (as the agreements required). Diem's referendum offered the in Washington, and sought immediately to justify the trust as Premier in the summer of 1954, having spent the past four years sonalities behind Diem. He was flown into Vietnam to be installed (July 17, 1955) as 'a dedicated democrat of scrupulous honesty, that had been placed in him. Described in the New York Times brothers, heads of both groups, were the most prominent per-Department and the Central Intelligence Agency. The Dulles following in Vietnam, Diem soon developed one in the US State New York, who became Diem's personal tutor. While he had no and then fled to the United States. He came here to attend a during the war for independence. He escaped first to Hong Kong Catholic seminary and was picked up by Cardinal Spellman of

> their decision. Officer, announced (in the New York Times, October 25, 1955), people of South Vietnam. Lincoln White, State Department Press sole measure of self-determination which the US has accorded the cent of the votes cast. Unfortunately, this election seems to be the Diem revealed nothing more than that he had received 98.2 per adjective 'rigged' to describe this referendum (November 23, 1960) The people of Vietnam have spoken and we, of course, recognize Times, December 24, 1954). Time magazine used the bland

remarks of US Special Ambassador to Saigon, General Collins would oppose Ho in a 1956 election. But it is doubtful that anyone nepotism, oligarchy, and repression. He never intended to fulfil speak. Diem was imposed on them. His clique based its rule on (reported in the New York Times, November 18, 1954): honestly believed that he would attempt it. Consider the careful important US policy-makers. Some pretended at first that Diem the Geneva agreements; and he concurred in this judgment with The people of Vietnam never spoke and never had the chance to

General Collins was cautious in speaking of the proposed elections in Vietnam, which are scheduled in 1956 under the Geneva accords. He said he hoped that total United States aid would be sufficient to win those elections, but he did not reply when asked whether he thought they would ever be held.

to consult with the North to plan the elections): stered its confusion thus on July 23, 1955 (after Diem had refused At best the US position was unclear. The New York Times regi-

The position of the United States is obscure. It did not sign the Geneva agreements and some of its officials have opposed the elections for which the agreement provided.

the Geneva agreements. The New York Times reported August 9, the US government's attitude toward Diem's refusal to abide by Nothing more vigorous than a note of 'displeasure' characterized

to organize free elections in co-operation with the Communist North. States has been displeased by his refusal to go through the motions of trying While approving the over-all position taken by Premier Diem, the United

outraged if they knew the brutality of his rule. Diem's family was country. He stood behind a façade of reform and freedom, shielded Roman Catholic; his policy was to reward those who espoused his recently the character of his régime was largely unpublicized in this many blatant violations of the Geneva agreements. Until very from the American people who would have been shocked and The denial of free elections in 1956 constitutes only one of Diem's

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of Buddhists and members of ethnic minorities was particular free elections. Thousands of men were arrested and detained severe. Political repressions went far beyond the refusal to religious beliefs and to persecute those who did not. Pen and verified numerous cases of persecution and reprisals of which reprisals. Despite Diem's unco-operativeness, the ICC investig make some attempt to investigate reported repressions to the illegal actions of the United States in setting up Diem, di the full enactment of the Geneva agreements and shamefully bin International Controls Commission, while negligent in deman political non-conformity of the most harmless character. underestimated; on April 11, 1957, Lucien Cannon, chief of the Diem was guilty. (The great difficulty of investigation must not be even if inadequate. Canadian delegation to the ICC, was murdered for his snooping. The findings of the ICC throughout the 'fifties are enlightening

among Catholics in North Vietnam declaring that God and the He passed statutes requiring all military personnel to attend Roman Diem's very laws read as though they were invented to indict him issued at Oxford in 1957, states, 'A number of English observers should follow them to the South. (Many Catholics did go South Catholicism, and spread (via leaflets printed in the US) propaganda Catholic religious services, offered rewards for conversion to whether the peasants concerned fully understood the realities of were critical of the methods used in this campaign and doubted Virgin Mary had abandoned North Vietnam and that loyal Catholics commit an act 'endangering public security'. It provides for oppression is the 10/59 (November 1959) law against dissidents. the situation or had indeed wished to move.') Another legislated travelling guillotines (old, renovated French models) to implement This law punishes by death or life imprisonment any act or intent to The British publication, 'Survey of International Affairs, 1954' sponsor such a gestapo is an insult and an outrage, even if not a in the London Times, September 10, 1963). That US dollars police force (run by his brother Ngo Dinh Nhu), which Allen the punitive measures with speedy authority. Diem set up a secret Dulles's CIA financed at a cost of \$3,000,000 per year (as reported

shock, to the American public. of the accused is never anything but brutal and atrocious. On We should note that in the police-state of South Vietnam treatment captured guerrillas, many are shot'. On July 22, 1962, it reported Though the Government makes some attempt to re-educate the June 16, 1962, the New York Times stated simply and bluntly, Kennedy that American "complicity in these inhuman practices" that Representative Robert Kastenmeier (D-Wis.) 'wrote Mr

should be halted'. Consider this report in the New York Times,

November 9, 1963:

They stripped me, tied me over a bench, choked me with water and a towel, and

beat me until I was unconscious, the young typist said with an embarrassed

It happened last Friday . . . while . . . Ngo Dinh Nhu's secret police terrorists

She was one of thousands of 'political' detainees who felt the power of the

soapy water until they bleed from it, electric probes applied to The article goes on to describe other tortures: men forced to drink women's breasts, the chopping off of fingers of 'political' detainees.3 dogs were imported, but they proved impractically expensive. As '\$1.20 worth of frozen horsemeat a day; a Vietnamese soldier gets the New York Times revealed on July 25, 1962, US canines ate Vietnam is no exception to this rule. Some one thousand American I suppose there can never be a secret police without police dogs;

subjugated easily. Tortures, repressions, and injustices will not be A people who have fought for independence once will not be by on 19 c worth of rice'. a war of independence. It is no surprise that the people rose up foreign rulers and exploiters. Mock elections and bogus reforms tolerated by a populace which has already expelled one set of will not fool a people conscious enough of their condition to wage against Diem. This story is perhaps best recounted by Phillippe good deal of his life in Indochina. He was originally sympathetic Devillers, a French historian and a Roman Catholic, who spent a tarianism, corruption, and repressions of this régime changed his to the Diem government, but his own observation of the totalimind. In an article included in P. J. Honey's book, North Vietnam

Today, Devillers writes:

man hunts. . . . A considerable number of people were arrested in this way and sent to concentration camps.... This repression was in theory aimed at the The Diem government launched out in 1957 into what amounted to a series of In 1958 the situation grew worse. Roundups of 'dissidents' became more Communists. In fact, it affected all those, and they were many - democrats, operations by government forces. Moreover, the way in which many of the they took refuge . . . with their marshes and forests, were not favourable for or of being affiliated to the sects) were difficult to apprehend. The areas where frequent and more brutal. The enemy (those suspected of Communist activities socialists, liberals, adherents of the sects - who were bold enough to express their disagreement with the line of policy adopted by the ruling oligarchy. the militia who took part, were frequently treated in the same way. The people Informers were sought out and shot in increasing numbers, and village chiefs operations were carried out very soon set the villagers against the régime. who had presided over the denunciations, village notables, and members of The Communists, finding themselves hunted down, began to fight back.

³ Ugly, damning photographs of such tortures appeared in Life magazine in early June, 1964.

private interests (such as those of American oil investment in the

ndian Ocean and beyond) indirectly, few recognize the importance

20, 1964) that US involvement in South Vietnam serves to protect the Temple University Downtown Club, in Philadelphia, on Apri

of the villages, thus intimidated, fell silent. Diem's police and army saw their sources of information drying up one after another. . . . To make good the lack they resorted to worse barbarity, hoping to inspire an even greater terror among

the course of that December and the following January armed bands sprang In December 1958 the death of some twenty Viet Cong detainees in the Phy Loi concentration camp served to fan the flames of anger of the guerrillas.... in into being almost everywhere....

that unification would be rapidly achieved, had to listen to the bitter remarks members of the Viet Minh cadre in the south, who had been promised by Hano the face of these sad circumstances? They protested in diplomatic notes. The that were made to them about the inability of the North to do anything about What did the authorities of the Democratic Republic of (North) Vietnam do in Socialist camp meant little or nothing to guerrilla fighters being hunted down in the Diem dictatorship. The over-riding needs of the world-wide strategy of the

stand by while their supporters were arrested, thrown into prison and act, whether Hanoi wanted them to or no. They could no longer continue to Communist Resistance in Indochina came to the conclusion that they had to It was in such a climate of feeling that, in 1959, responsible elements of the

The point of view of most foreign governments, especially in the West, is that the fighting going on in South Vietnam is simply a subversive campaign directed to take up arms in self-defence. Hanoi, but from the grass roots, where the people were literally driven by Diem join in. And even among the Communists, the initiative did not originate in before the Communists decided to take part, and that they were simply forced to from Hanoi... it leaves out of account the fact that the insurrection existed tortured....

went for agriculture; most of the rest went for military expendimilitary build-up. From 1954 to 1961 the US poured nearly two transfer of American assistance from the French to Diem, on ture. (Of course, when President Eisenhower announced the billion dollars into South Vietnam. Less than 1.5 per cent of this Diem was clearly a placeman, set in the midst of a blatant US The uprising which opposed Diem also opposed the United States. not improved living conditions and economic progress, but the six never projected.) To the people of South Vietnam, US aid means Military build-up - a flat violation of the Geneva agreements - was October 24, 1954, he assured the world that the US Government indistinguishable from that of the hated French and Japanese human legs. The native population observes foreign intervention ships, airplanes, and helicopters are no convenience for the big naval bases, the 106 airfields, and the network of strategic 'expects this aid will be met by . . . undertaking needed reforms' While it is often contended (as by Wayne Morse in his speech to Vietnamese people, who continue to transport their burdens on highways built for military use. Jeeps and transport trucks, war-

> New York Times summed up such interests thus: of genuine colonial interests in Vietnam. On February 12, 1950, the

to French interests. china yielded dividends estimated from \$250,000,000 to \$300,000,000 a year rubber, tea, pepper, cattle and hides. . . . Before the war, (World War II) Indotungsten, zinc, manganese, coal, lumber and rice; and in the south are rice, Indochina is a prize worth a large gamble. In the north are exportable tin,

modities; France and the US share these products. A more recent account (A. Doak Barnett in Communist China and Asia, p. 302) South Vietnam today exports rubber and other agricultural com-

flour, and it also exports sizeable quantities of sugar, tea, coffee, tobacco, world's largest exporter of rice, quinine, kapok, teak, pepper, and tapioca 60 per cent of its tin, and 80 per cent of its copra and coconut oil. It is the nevertheless supplies approximately 90 per cent of the world's crude rubber, Although these resources have been only partially exploited, Southeast Asia Yet, in terms of its economic potential, Southeast Asia is still very undersisal, fruits, spices, natural resins and gums, petroleum, iron ore and bauxite.

Conference on August 4, 1953: forget the frank remarks of President Eisenhower at a Governors' The US has long perceived the wealth of Indochina. We must not

would be scarcely defensible. The tin and tungsten that we so greatly value the riches of the Indo-Chinese territory and from Southeast Asia. something that would be of a most terrible significance to the United States of We are voting for the cheapest way that we can to prevent the occurrence of from that area would cease coming.... So when the United States votes happen right away. The peninsula, the last bit of land hanging on down there, Now let us assume that we lost Indo-China. If Indo-China goes, several things \$400,000,000 to help that war, we are not voting a giveaway programme. America, our security, our power and ability to get certain things we need from

in fact, it manages to buy the goods with US dollars. Economic aid to South Vietnam has a 'buy-US' proviso, so that the gigantic Even if the Vietnamese peasant lacks the understanding so-called 'foreign' aid programme. these goods at the expense of the American taxpayer, through the US enterprises which annually produce large surpluses, can sell Vietnam. While the nation is too poor to import from the US the US has a market for a number of its own products in South Our aid to Indochina is certainly no 'giveaway.' Additionally,

Vietnam or back to a rich man in the US, he needs no sophistication economics to tell him whether American aid goes to a rich man in to his welfare. Robert Trumbull, Saigon correspondent of the to tell himself that he is starving and that US aid is not contributing the Magazine Section, July 2, 1961: New York Times, described the world-view of such a peasant in

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With the help of a United States contribution of more than \$1,000,000,000 in exist in a grim world of poverty, disease, and ignorance. cent of South Vietnam's population of approximately 13,000,000 people. They

economic aid since 1955, the villages have acquired an outward appearance of prosperity. But this does not extend to the hamlets.

hungry waif with his nose pressed to the window of a rich restaurant. As he sees it, he is worse off today than he was two or three years ago. In relation to all this economic progress, Nguyen Thanh is in the position of a

A South Vietnamese government official was quoted thus in the The people just don't see progress resulting from American 'aid' Reporter on September 19, 1957:

our army. But what is the use. Unless they help us to develop our country, our what we need are tractors with which to modernize our agriculture. They supply The American attitude is medieval and retrograde. They give us buffaloes, when army will not tight.

official. Professor Frank C. Child, an economist from the Michigan number of the New Republic, lamented the situation with this analysis, in the December 4, 1961 Vietnam recommending various reform plans to the Diem régime, State University Advisory Group which spent two years in South The United States has failed too long to heed the advice of that

unequal distribution of income together with modest increases in national American aid is administered in a fashion which guarantees the economic and to economic progress. A 3 per cent annual population growth and a grossly output portend falling living standards and further popular discontents. political position of the rich mercantile class which is most vigorously opposed

source of his wealth and power.) today meekly demands of Khanh what Eisenhower asked of Diem the country with \$10,000,000' in an interview described in the at the time of his takeover, reported he was 'now in a position to flee to General Nguyen Khanh, who, in his declaration of true patriotism The simple fact is that reforms have not come and are not coming New York Herald Tribune, February 3, 1964. They understood the the Khanh régime. The people of Vietnam were in no way endeared ten years ago. The words are the same and conditions are the same. The US continues to talk about reform programmes. McNamara (We might project here one remark about indigenous feeling toward

are printed, but some must be revealed. Consider the following dispatch by New York Times correspondent Tillman Durdir the war. There are no alternative facts to print. Some stories never have come out of Saigon with concise statements of the cause or Newspapers whose editorials defend the US position in South Vietnam print the facts which assail it unrelentingly. Myriad reports

direct most of their criticism against the dictatorial nature of the Ngo régime, as evidenced by the strict control of the Press, a secret police system, arbitrary Discontent is evident among both intellectuals and peasantry. The intellectuals

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arrests and the denial of free political activity to non-Communist opponents of

and other minor political groups that support the Government are often attacked Because they get favoured treatment, the National Revolutionary Movement

by critics of the Government Through the rigging of the last elections Government supporters won almost

quirement that peasants give free labour to various rural construction projects. Peasant discontent with the Government has been stirred recently by a reall the seats in the National Assembly.

their grievance; Tran Van Tung, exiled leader of the (anti-Communist) Vietnamese Democratic Party, wrote to the New York March 4, 1964, speech in the Senate. The Vietnamese articulate in American history', to use the words of Wayne Morse in his flict. The grave mistake 'cannot be justified, and will not be justified in this country that it is the US policy which precipitated the conwar, it is recognized elsewhere in the world and in many circles No matter where the US officially lays the blame for the current Times, October 10, 1962,

murdered many score innocent families in the name of 'anti-Communism', and freedoms, forced the people into cruelly administered concentration camps, his jungle war – so that he can stay in power twenty years and continue amassing family wealth. Hated and feared by 80 per cent of his people, continuing purged himself of all capable anti-Communist leaders, imprisoned 50,000 anti-United States and desperately needed by the Vietnamese. Instead, he has democracy to support a cynical tyrant as the 'only alternative' to Communism? When will America learn that it is always fatal to the cause of freedom and United States support. domestic policies that would shame Hitler, Diem stays in power only because of Now Diem requests additional United States financial 'guarantees' to prolong Communist Vietnamese nationalists, stripped the populace of all rights and In eight years in office, Diem has not effected one reform requested by let the . . . Vietcong control . . . the country right up to the city limits of Saigon'

Diem and his US sponsors. reason to believe in the justice of the popular uprising against makers, allows SEATO action (not unilateral US action) is a farce. seen further that the charge which, in the mind of the US decisionsince it seeks to make the military partition permanent. We have SEATO 'commitment' is itself in opposition to the truce of Geneva and which maintained an unpopular dictator whose crimes against provisions for the independence and territorial integrity of Vietnam in South Vietnam is internal, or external only in so far as it is US There is no evidence to claim Communist invasion and every the people are the direct cause of the war. We have seen that the intervention which prevented the implementation of the Geneva Historical investigation clearly indicates that the origin of the war

not tolerate oppression. Certainly, southern Communists have cause of the war. The guerrillas are those southerners who would are they? The answer is contained in any understanding of the If the guerrillas who fight the US are not Communist invaders, what

The Vietcong movement... is thought... to be capable of developing into the same kind of broadly based popular uprising that the French were unable to defeat in him years of hittor fighting.

defeat in nine years of bitter fighting.
... the underlying factors in the conflict here boil down to a question whether

most of the people are for the Government or for those who would tear it down. The answer to this question is ominously unclear. In many distressing aspects the Vietcong rebellion appears to be really a con-

In many distressing aspects the Vietcong rebellion appears to be really a continuation of the cononial war against the French. The people fighting President Ngo are the same who fought the French, and in their own view they are in arms for essentially similar reasons.

Ngo are the same who fought the French, and in their own view they are in arms for essentially similar reasons.

Country dwellers find themselves under the authority, in many cases, of officials who in the past were known as French collaborators. The army, it has been conceded often finds it necessary to use the same unpleasant methods that the

French employed against members of the populace here and in Algeria.

And the image of the vile foreigner . . . has been transferred successfully from the french to the Americans

the French to the Americans.

The principal appeal of the Vietcong to the peasant lies in the guerrilla organization's identification with the resistance against the French. For ten years the

resistance' stood for democracy and social justice. The label has not worn off in the five years under Ngo.

Current US tactics only reinforce the natives' judgment in favour of the guerrilla movement. This simple truth is lucidly argued in the July 18, 1964, editorial 'How To Lose a War' in the *Washington*

July 18, 1964, editorial 'How To Lose a War' in the *Washington Post*:

It is now reported that 2,000 Vietnamese women conducted sit-ins at two outposts in the Mekong Delta to protest the government's nighttime bombardment of their villages by mortar and artillery fire. According to news reports, 'the marchers said that government soldiers had repeatedly shelled their villages, killing or injuring many of their relatives and causing extensive

What fantastic manner of warfare is this? The bombardments apparently were laid down, so the government says, on villages suspected of harbouring Communist insurgents. But whether the purpose of this blind fire into the dark distance is to pick off some hiding Viet Cong, or to convince the local populations by means of terror not to give the guerrillas refuge, it seems to us to epitomize all that is wrong and self-defeating in the conduct of this particular war.

The issue is quite the same as that raised by scorched-earth sweeps and by aerial bombing with napalm. It is whether the civilians in Vietnam, the vast majority of whom can only wish to be left to themselves, are to be treated as an unfortunate nuisance, as an obstacle in the military's way, or whether the civilians are to be treated as human beings for whose benefit and protection – and *only* for whose benefit and protection – the war is being waged and without whose ardent participation in the government campaign the war will be lost.

Certainly the Communists will leap to avail themselves of any opportunity to set the people of South Vietnam against the government, by, for instance, instigating sit-ins if they can. Even more certainly, there will be no need for Communists to organize such demonstrations as long as nighttime artillery fire kills simple people in their homes, as long as government forces burn off whole villages where poor peasants live, as long as American airplanes drop

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struck. The very notion of using artillery, a set-piece weapon against guerrillat wisps is incomprehensible at face. Since there can be no realistic prospect that an artillery shell, lobbed into a village from a safely bunkered solider miles away, will actually hit a Communist guerrilla, this tactic amounts to nothing more than raw, random terror. Is there a swifter or more effective way to lose the war in Vietnam?⁴

group in South Vietnam refers to itself by that abbreviated name. contest 'for a new name for the Viet Cong guerrillas', admitting renaming the liberators. As reported in the New York Times or realized its grave blunder, it sought to rectify the situation by ment and never realized until too late what favorable connotations very important. They relied on the fact that in the USA the term among the country's illiterate masses'. It offered a prize of \$47 for a intended slander, reinforced any good image Communists have The US has sought to slur the guerrilla movement by naming it the Vietnam, the only names which meet that test are 'French' and 'colloquial peasant term implying disgust or ridicule'. In South that it didn't think 'Communist is the type of name to inspire hatred June 5, 1962, the United States Information Agency sponsored a independence and social justice. It is ironic that when the US movement for national liberation, a movement of the people for had in Southeast Asia through associating Communism with a Communist' has in that part of the world. The US has, by its own Communist' is enough to alarm the public and to smear any move-Viet Cong'. 'Viet Cong' means 'Vietnamese Communists'. No Those who chose that name for the guerrillas ignored something American.

The opposition to the dictatorial cliques solidified as the Liberation National Front of South Vietnam, formed on December 20, 1960. In this common front, all those forces combined who had suffered and decided on armed self-defence. Thus, it constitutes an organization of many segments of the population. Communists and non-Communists alike were victims of Diem's régime; they united in self-defence. Former Premier Tran Van Huu (writing in the London *Observer*) describes the majority of the popular opposition as non-Communist. Much of the leadership comes from the intellectuals, who felt the lack of freedom most severely; doctors,

⁴ One might suspect these editors of exaggeration were it not for the officially reported facts. Under the headline 'Saigon Is Losing Propaganda War', the New York Times reported on August 9, 1964, how the wanton terror described above is used as propaganda to win support for the US-sponsored régimes. The article notes:

^{&#}x27;For these people,' a United States specialist said, 'we can use only one basic propaganda theme - surrender or die. We drop photographs of mangled Vietcong bodies and captured Vietcong equipment.

We tell Vietcong villages that in the last year 20 per cent of their men have been killed, and that next year 20 per cent more will die. That's about all we can do.'

lawyers, and university professors play prominent rôles in the committees of the Liberation National Front. Many religious leaders were instrumental in the organizing of the Front. They represent the majority (Buddhists) and the minorities (some Roman Catholics and many ethnic minorities whose unique ways of life were intolerable non-conformity to the bigot, Ngo Dinh Diem) of South Vietnam's worshippers. Small businessmen and even progressive landlords joined peasant farmers, fishermen, and workers to help form the Front against the common enemy and oppressor.

The policies of the Liberation National Front were decided at a national congress, held from February 16 to March 2, 1962. This congress was reported by Malcolm Browne, Saigon correspondent of the Associated Press and recipient of the latest Pulitzer Prize in Journalism for his coverage of events in Vietnam. Browne's coverage of the Front and its congress is enlightening; it describes the kind of representation which the Front has, and what was decided at the congress, and gives remarkably full details on location and personnel. This AP dispatch came over all the wires in this country. But no newspaper would carry it, except the York (Pennsylvania) *Gazette and Daily*.

germane questions. One of the experts, Stanley Millet, taught and many different political opinions. The people and policy of countryside of South Vietnam and represented all walks of life gress exceeded one hundred men. They came from all over the disturbing features of a Press which will not divulge the truth as guerrillas of South Vietnam and the omission of reported informa-Cong. The undisclosed identity of the real constituency of the imposing mottoes. For when the New York Times finally mentioned by such a reliable and courageous journalist as Browne, was not why this vital information on the Liberation National Front, reported attention given to the Vietnam war. We would do well to question Such suppression of information is unfortunately typical of the the existence of a group calling itself the Liberation Front (March 'fit to print' in the New York Times and other major papers with long as the government is perpetrating lies about our secret war. 29, 1964), it described it as simply the 'political wing' of the Viet Millet outlines the platform of the Front thus: political science at the University of Saigon in 1961–62. Professor Three experts on South Vietnam answer in this article a number of War/Peace Report in an article titled: 'Can Vietnam Be Neutralized?' the Front are discussed extensively in the April 1964 number of tion on the Front's democratic congress loom as two of the most The number of delegates at the Liberation National Front's Con-

The first point of its platform was to oust the Diem régime and to replace it with

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a democratic coalition government, composed of the representatives of every section of the population – nationalities, political parties, religious communities, and patriotic personalities. The second is to build a broad democratic régime, which would include freedom of expression, Press, association, religious belief and worship, and other democratic liberties. The third is to build an independent economy. The furthest the platform goes in this area is to urge abolition of the economic monopoly of the Diem régime. It calls for government aid to industrialists and handicraftsmen, improvement of technology, agriculture and fishing, development of trade, an equitable tax system, better labour relations, increased social assistance, prohibition of the forcible removal and burning of people's dwellings. The platform does not even demand a serious land reform.

He also comments on the politics of the Front in general and of its leaders in particular. When asked about the percentage of Communists in the Front, he answered that they are 'only a very, very, small number of the intellectuals'. He adds that these Communists are experienced men, who provide much of the direction of the Front and whose ideas are necessary to maintaining a structured movement. He states,

Communist leadership provided the organizational structure for them to enter into. Without an organizational structure, it's very difficult for a mass, particularly a peasant mass, to exercise political power.

Discussing personalities, Millet declares about the Front's Chairman, Nguyen Huu Tho,

He has never, to my knowledge, been said to be a Communist. He's said always to be a leftist intellectual, and a lawyer who was thrown into prison by Diem. By 1962, he went to Moscow and supposedly made a tentative move towards presenting the Liberation National Front as an organization to be recognized in world politics, but nothing ever came of it. The Front is said to have a directing committee of some thirty men of which only fifteen or twenty names have been published. Outside of the published literature of the Front, it's very difficult to say anything about the political beliefs of the men who make up its leadership.

When asked bluntly whether the Liberation National Front would accept as premier a neutralist like Souvanna Phouma in Laos, Millet replies,

This is their position.

The Liberation National Front has sent emissaries to many Socialist bloc and revolutionary nations, in an effort to gain recognition. It has so far received no actual diplomatic recognition, but it has set up permanent missions in Prague, Cairo, Algiers, and Havana. All releases of the Front are available from these missions, which serve as monuments to the legitimacy of the Liberation Front as a provisional government of South Vietnam. These releases emphasize the steps taken by the Front to bring it closer to actual recognition. The affiliation of the Front to the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and the World Peace Council represents such a step.

According to their releases, the Liberation National Front's Secretary General, Prof. Nguyen Van Hieu, visited North Vietnam

in October 1962. At this time North Vietnam President Ho Chi Minh is said to have stated his 'sympathy and support' for the Front. Ho couches his speeches in careful language. He always reminds us that the unity of Vietnam is not something he should have to fight for since it is guaranteed by the much violated Geneva agreements. He makes it very clear that his sending military forces to fight the war in the south would only do further pointless violence to the agreements. It is equally clear that the organizers of the Liberation National Front are independent of North Vietnam, and sometimes even cool toward the north for its lack of prior help in countering Diem's crimes. That the Front's embassies dissociate themselves quite obviously from those of North Vietnam in the outside world is evidence to this claim.

areas its forces win. (Just how much area the guerrillas now constitutes a provisional government which should be recognized day.) The Front establishes programmes which will minister to area at night even where the Government forces patrol during the admitting always that they hold a very large portion of the land south; cabinet officials give the guerrillas less credit, while control is debated: Senator Bartlett (D-Alas.) asserted in the other parts of the world a token of its legitimacy. The stamps are it to end the fighting. The Front has issued its own postage stamps come through the US recognizing the Front and negotiating with as such. The most rapid and humane settlement of the war would democracy and economic reform. The network of local units the legitimate needs of the people, giving them grass-roots now retain control of about 75 per cent of the land area of the February 19, 1964, entry in the Congressional Record that they The Liberation National Front sets up local governments in the status symbols. not because this largely illiterate population is clamouring for a Liberation Post Office, but in order to show other governments in

Manifestations of the Liberation National Front's local units and administrative structure have been revealed in many Western sources. In late 1962, for example, Jerry A. Rose discussed the primitive land reform of the guerrillas in an article in the New York Times Magazine Section. He wrote:

A man in the Mekong delta, when asked why some of his friends went over to the Viet Cong, replied: 'They seize the rice fields from the absent owners and divide the land among the working farmers.'

On April 7, 1963, the *New York Times* carried a discussion of some length of the schools and tax system set up by the guerrillas in the province of Kien Hoa. The tax system in the liberated zones of the Mekong delta was similarly reported in the October 9, 1962, issue of the *New York Times*. A recent article in the *Washington*

Post (March 30, 1964) reported the bombing of what it termed a 'Viet Cong hospital'. Taxes, schools, and hospitals stand as testimony that the Liberation National Front offers an effective provisonal government. The US Press admits this fact more and more frankly, and occasionally divulges as well the amount of control exercised by the Liberation Front. A most recent admission came in the April 27, 1964, issue of the New York Times:

In the vital Mekong delta, where most of South Vietnam's population and economic resources are concentrated, roughly 80 per cent of the peasantry now live in one form or another under a Communist shadow Government. This Government maintains its own schools and dispensaries and collects taxes, like a legitimate administration organization.

of Ngo Dinh Diem caused concern among top officials here. Once US experts for some time. The immediate successes of the training in anti-guerrilla warfare. One official, Roger Hillsman, experiment in South Vietnam. Here was a chance for on-the-spot Liberation Front in its campaign against the US sponsored regime some day have military leaders of Giap's calibre! Several experiof the need for a training ground for US generals - so that we car (leader of the Vietminh army and now commander-in-chief of the in his introduction to the Praeger edition of Vo-Nguyen Giap's Department and the armed forces who saw the opportunity to threat to Diem. Moreover, there were many in the US State the Front got going, drastic changes were demanded in the South The military effectiveness of the guerrillas has been known to the which Lyndon B. Johnson, then Vice-President, announced in a Vietnam policy of the US Government; the guerrillas were a real joint Press conference with Diem in the summer of 1961. ments in new tactics were combined in the Staley-Taylor plan North Vietnam army) book People's War, People's Army, speaks

Dr Eugene Staley and General Maxwell Taylor scrutinized the conditions of war and poverty in South Vietnam and drew up a plan for the 'pacification of South Vietnam in eighteen months' (from the summer of 1961). Its basic strategy is to separate the people from the guerrillas. Specific measures demand forcing the farm population into concentration camps – to prevent their sheltering and feeding the guerrillas – and poisoning the crops which the guerrillas might live off. To assist in these operations, US advisers were provided immediately. Five thousand Americans arrived in South Vietnam. The US Military Assistance Command was set up in South Vietnam, by early 1962, under four-star General Paul D. Harkins. The number of Americans in this command soon swelled to 15,000. (Recent was propaganda posters admitted that 18,000 Americans were serving in South Vietnam.) US expenditures were greatly increased under the Staley-Taylor

plan; they now run from \$1,000,000 to \$1,500,000 per day. But the plan is already a failure. Pacification has not come in eighteen months. As the protracted war continues, US cabinet officials and generals seem to mimic their French counterparts as they continually predict how soon the war will be won.

State Department adviser, Walt Whitman Roston.

State Department adviser, Walt Whitman Rostow, suggested the use of Vietnam as an experimental area in advanced tactics of anti-guerrilla warfare. This suggestion has been carried out, and the result is eerie. An American GI still in South Vietnam (who wishes to remain anonymous while he is in Vietnam) described it thus in a letter home:

Why is the US here? Let me give my opinions. This is a test I Our presence in South Vieinam is a realistic test of new American ideas – new concepts of air mobility, of ground forces, and conventional weapons. Look around you said to have been 'exact replicas' of conditions in the Republic of Vietnam; military ideas forecast many years ago by the author of 1984. In fact, it was in 'continuous' wars. Our presence here, perpetuating this conflict, provides an priations. Our presence here helps keep American public opinion diverted from internal issues.

Moreover, This Week magazine declared on January 5, 1964:

Some of the new army theories are being tested in combat against the ... guerrillas in South Vietnam. Air Force experts maintain that the Army is in no hurry to win the war in South Vietnam. 'Out in Saigon, our army officers secretly refer to South Vietnam as the laboratory,' one Air Force officer told me. The Army is answering in kind.

Furthermore, the *New York Times* reported on June 5, 1962, that US troops in Thailand are being trained in 'combat zones in South Vietnam'.

It was Rostow, too, who devised the plan for concentration of the population of South Vietnam into 'strategic hamlets'. It is instructive to compare the official US description of the 'strategic hamlet' with those of observers in South Vietnam. The Armed Forces Information and Education branch of the Defence Department offers the following portrait in its *Pocket Guide to Vietnam:*

The foundation for future social, economic, and civic strength is being laid in the 'strategic hamlets' set up by the Vietnamese Government. Instead of living in isolated villages where they were prey to the Viet Cong guerrillas, the people are being gathered into fortified and well-guarded hamlets. There is work for everyone and improved health and education facilities. With the help of US technicians, the people are being trained in use of farm tools, medicines, modern health practice and, most important of all, in defence.

The contrast between that picture and what is actually described by observers in South Vietnam is sharp. 'Operation Sunrise', the name given to the campaign to concentrate 9,000,000 people in

strategic hamlets, is described at its inception in Ben Cat province in late March, 1962, by *New York Times* correspondent Homer Bigart. He reported thus on March 29, 1962:

The operation is subsidized directly with United States money, military planning and technical aid.

In this region, 1,200 families are to be moved voluntarily or forcefully.... The abandoned villages will be burned to deprive the Vietcong of shelter and food. The first step in Operation Sunrise involved encirclement of a half-dozen settlements. Government forces failed to make the manoeuvre a complete surprise, a hundred men were able to flee to the forest before the ring closed. The Government was able to persuade only seventy families to volunteer for resettlement. The 135 other families in the half-dozen settlements were herded forcibly from their homes.

A young woman stood expressionless as she recounted how the troops had burned the families' two tons of rice.

Only a few old men were visible among the uprooted families. The Vietnamese officers were asked what was being done to get the husbands to emerge from the forest and rejoin their families.

They replied that planes had dropped 24,000 leaflets promising amnesty.

The physical description of the hamlets is no less cruel than the herding operation. Bigart reported in the New York Times, June 24, 1962:

The hamlets are sheltered behind rude defensive walls spiked with watchtowers and firing points. But the aim is not only to keep the enemy out but to control the population within, to isolate it from ... guerrillas and to make it obedient to the Government of President Ngo Dinh Diem.

Life inside the hamlets appalled Bigart; he wrote in the *New York Times*, April 1, 1962:

The village shows disheartening signs of over regimentation. Almost everyone who greeted Ngo Dinh Nhu was in uniform. Most of his audience consisted of blue-uniformed young troops. There was little spontaneous enthusiasm. Security measures were tight and grim soldiers with submachine guns were seen almost everywhere along the route of inspection.

Bigart gives many accounts of the brutal herding plan and the ugliness of life in the Diem concentration camps.

The war in South Vietnam is a war against the people. Giap says that in guerrilla warfare the guerrillas and the people are one, and the US sponsored forces have strengthened that premise ironically. Bigart describes in horrifying detail the war against the people. On July 25, 1962, he wrote of:

... a struggle that has shocked American military observers with senseless brutality. American advisers have seen Viet Cong prisoners summarily shot. They have encountered charred bodies of women and children in villages destroyed by napalm bombs.

Moreover, one rarely sees a uniformed Viet Cong guerrilla; generally, the Communist rebels are indistinguishable from peasants. Thus, many of the 'enemy' dead reported by the South Vietnam government were ordinary peasants shot down because they fled from villages as the troops entered. Some may have been Viet Cong sympathizers, but others were running away because they did not want to be rounded up for military conscription and forced labour.

In the same article, he describes the unity of guerrillas and peasants in the more traditional sense (i.e. of the guerrillas' reliance on the peasants as the fish on the sea):

Observers of sweeps by the Vietnamese Army through the Mekong delta provinces are often struck by the phenomenon of deserted villages. As troops approach, all flee except a few old men and children. No one offers information, no one hurries to put out flags.

Homer Bigart concluded that revealing July 25, 1962, article with the assertion, 'South Vietnam is a proving ground for other interesting theories'. He mentions 'poisonous shrubs' to be planted around the hamlets 'to keep the Viet Cong out'. This campaign to keep the Viet Cong out is perhaps more aptly termed a campaign to exterminate all those who refuse to enter Diem's concentration camps and wish to remain at their farms. The poisonous shrubs Bigart describes above are the least of the farmer's worry. Consider this announcement from the January 1, 1962, New York Times:

Numerous techniques . . . are being inaugurated or are about to be used. . . . One of these techniques is 'defoliation' from the air, a chemical means of stripping leaves from the foliage that hides Viet Cong movements in thickly wooded areas.

The US officially denied that chemicals were being used in South Vietnam when that report prompted some people around the world to request international investigation. Eventually the US admitted to the fact that 'weedkillers' were being employed in Vietnam; somewhat later, President Kennedy's chief science adviser, Dr Jerome Weisner, designated unrestricted use of these chemicals as potentially 'more dangerous than radioactive fallout'.

Chemical warfare was banned at the Hague fifty-seven years ago. The US did not want to be accused of breaking that treaty in the course of its overwhelmingly illegal war in South Vietnam. But outspoken elements of the US sponsored régime in Saigon were not concerned about blatantly violating one more international agreement. Diem's sister-in-law, Madame Ngo Dinh Nhu, stated in an interview in the *Times of Vietnam*, April 12, 1963:

Even if the chemicals were toxic, so what? If the communists do not like it, why do they stay in our jungles breathing it? Have we not the right to defoliate our own leaves whenever we like, and the more so in wartime?

Radio Saigon had announced on January 10, 1962, 'Today the Government of the Republic is announcing a new experiment for suppression in the thickly wooded regions – chemical products to be provided by the USA'. The US sought to avoid the implications of the accusation of chemical warfare as long as possible. The *New York Times* reported on January 26, 1962,

The United States has shied away from plans to starve out Communist guerrillas by spraying chemicals on rebel-controlled manioc and rice fields. The reluctance to join the crop-killing programme... is believed based on American sensitivity to the possibility that accusations would be made that Americans took part in chemical warfare.

The question might be posed quite simply: who flew the planes which sprayed the chemicals? At the time when chemical warfare was first mentioned the extent of US participation was still relatively secret. But just a few months later, Robert Trumbull was reporting in the *New York Times* 'News of the Week in Review' (July 22, 1962), 'United States Air Force units participate in tactical operations to an extent that has been the most closely kept secret of the Vietnamese war'. Who but our pilots could have sprayed the chemicals which Homer Bigart described in his dispatch of January 26, 1962? He made explicit the meaning of defoliation chemicals thus:

Communist units are told that the 'powder' (actually it is a spray) has an effect on people. It is difficult to breathe for two days. Use wet handkerchiefs to breathe through. Cover your skin – the more covering the better. Get out of the area as soon as possible, going into the wind . . .

Chemical warfare and napalm breed hatred for the Government forces among the peasant victims. These instruments of torture have no eyes; they perceive no distinction between Communist and non-Communist, between guerrilla and child. As an Associated Press dispatch stated in the New York Times, July 8, 1962:

Tactical air support is used extensively, but it is often difficult to ascertain whether the people killed by napalm or fragmentation bombs were guerrillas or merely farmers.

To bring us up to date on tactics, we should look at the January 5, 1964, article in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* by Richard Dudman. 'Serious thought,' he writes, 'is being given (by American militarists) to a plan to put a cash bounty on the heads of the enemy and basing army promotion on the number of heads that an officer can produce.' He adds the now familiar admonition, 'An obvious problem here is the difficulty of distinguishing a Viet Cong fighter from a loyal villager or by-stander.'

The US has demonstrated a willingness to try anything in order to beat the guerrillas. But no increase of brutality and terrorism will persuade the people of Vietnam that US sponsored military dictators will offer them the good life. In the article cited, Dudman reports that the guerrillas 'now command the allegiance of 70 to 80 per cent of the Vietnamese people'. Dudman goes on to describe how the US military advisers hope to 'reverse the tide of allegiance'. They advocate more crop destruction, curtailment of more freedoms (with regard to life in the strategic hamlets and

which is, in his words, to win the 'hearts and minds' of the General Paul Harkins hopes to achieve the primary aim of 1964, travel), and more tactical air support. It is by these means that Vietnamese people.

capability to prevent a Communist victory'.) alternative other than to take all necessary measures within our Committee, January 27, 1964, that he 'can conceive of no bombings in the North would end the fighting below Saigon. conclusion: they urge harassment of North Vietnam, as though public position, stated at the open sessions of the Armed Services Nixon, carry the old myth about the war to its logical military Whitman Rostow, and potential policy-makers, such as Richard McNamara never relates this admission to his policy-making. It is session of the House Armed Services Committee, Secretary of enemy with no popular support. When addressing the closed support. It still holds to the old myths about the war, continuing frightening to know that many policy-makers, including Walt that the war in South Vietnam 'is a counter-guerrilla war, it is a war Defence, Robert Strange McNamara, stated on February 18, 1964, to deny that the war is fought by Southern people against an peasant population, even while admitting that it needs their (These suggestions are more in keeping with McNamara's more that can only be won by the Vietnamese themselves'. But its present policy in Vietnam. It continues to wage war on the The US does not seem to awaken to the absurdity of maintaining

war into North Vietnam. Wayne Morse has recently called Saigon dispatch states: entitled 'South Vietnamese Raiders Extending War'. This article, a attention to an article in the April 6, 1964, issue of Aviation Week The United States is at least dangerously close to extending the

Last autumn when US officials decided that it was impossible to win the war by since last summer.... routes. Despite Defence Secretary McNamara's implication in Washington on over-the-border strikes at Communist supply centres and communication 50,000 elite South Vietnamese troops are being trained to take the offensive in China. . . . With US backing in aircraft, weapons and money, an estimated Vietnam in hit-and-run guerrilla raids and infiltration moves as far north as War against the Communists already has erupted over the borders of South known here that guerrilla strikes against the Communists have been increasing March 26 that the decision has not yet been made to extend the war, it is

Geneva Agreements, the AP carried the following dispatch: conceal the ugly truth. Two days after the tenth anniversary of the when Senator Morse disclosed them, it has since been unable to Although the daily press largely ignored these disturbing reports confining it inside South Vietnamese borders, they began an expanded pro-

gramme of training special guerrilla forces at secret bases. Courses emphasized

techniques of operating beyond national borders.

commander said today. North Vietnam and is training to extend their combat operations, the air force The South Vietnamese air force is dropping sabotage teams into Communist

conducted by the Saigon government directed against North Vietnam. The remarks were the first official statement that military operations are being Air Commodore Nguyen Cao Ky told reporters at Bien Hoa Airfield that . . . he has personally piloted a plane over North Vietnam and that the raids continue

whose range is appropriate to bombing North Vietnamese targets. . . . States an infusion of single-engine, propeller-driven A-1E fighter-bombers, extend even into Red China. His air force recently received from the United Ky called for an attack that would destroy the Communist capital of Hanoi and

Senate on April 14, Senator Morse warned of this escalation long ago; he stated in the

say before that if we drop nuclear weapons on North Vietnam, we had better warn the Senate that the plan is to use nuclear weapons. I have been heard to escalate the war into North Vietnam. If we escalate it into North Vietnam, Mr President, we cannot answer charges that will be made against us if we start looking around the world for friends.

has come to light'.5) quoted earlier, that 'no capture of North Vietnamese in the south north of it. (We may be reminded of Halberstam's declaration, southernmost point in Vietnam and the war was being waged far the Mekong Delta region; all stop at Saigon, as though it were the as the Mekong Delta I in fact, none of these maps even includes Vietnam. None of these even alleges any penetration as far south alleged penetration of North Vietnamese invaders into South conquer South Vietnam' several maps are printed, to indicate ment's document 'A Threat to the Peace: North Vietnam's Effort to both prior to and after the Second World War. In the State Departprosperous farm region were the first to rise up against the French, area in Vietnam? As has been pointed out earlier, the people of this from North Vietnam - has the longest history of struggle of any fiercely today - the Mekong Delta region, hundreds of miles away Do our policy-makers forget the area where the war rages most

men in all the State Department documents) leave out of account agreement? The few cases of 'invaders' (involving less than fifty Do our policy-makers forget that southern men who fought in the Vietminh regrouped to the North, according to the Geneva

Halberstam's challenge has been put to officials by Wayne Morse, who reported his results on May 21, 1964, as follows:

Vietnam, Red China, Cambodia, or elsewhere?' the answer is, 'Practically them, What military personnel have you found in South Vietnam from North Pentagon Building and from the State Department. When I put the question to have cross-examined witnesses for some time on South Vietnam from the

examination, they have to admit that they have not been able to discover very many of them. Vietnam and Laos, and yet, when we put our Government witnesses under ... What a paradox. The United States is talking about invasions from North

the fact that small groups of men might conceivably have slipped southwards to return to their wives and children when they suspected that they had been deceived about the Geneva accords promise of reunification.

Do our policy-makers who encourage invading the North forget that in keeping with the Geneva agreements North Vietnam has no military alliances? US action against the North will force them from military neutrality into an alliance with China which North Vietnam does not desire. In the article quoted earlier ('Can Vietnam Be Neutralized?'), Professor Stanley Millet states:

I think the relation of Peking to events in South Vietnam is distant. The most recent piece of evidence relates to the statements of the North Vietnamese about their expectations of Chinese support should the Vietnamese war escalate. Peking's response to these strong statements from Hanoi was rather hesitant.

Later in the article, Millet points out that many current observers think the Vietnamese Communists themselves can be counted on as an anti-Chinese force'. Such a position will be impossible for the Vietnamese if American policy proceeds in the direction outlined by Rostow, Nixon, et al.

quoted thus in the Washington Post: outside. None other than General Harkins himself refuted the whole contention that the guerrillas are armed largely with weapons from Secondly, official United States Government sources refute the extraneous to the general strategy. The relation of the army to the people must be (to use Giap's metaphor) as the fish to the sea. and Mao Tse Tung state time and again the crucial necessity of lie about the war in Vietnam as early as March 6, 1963, when he was relying chiefly on the people; if a guerrilla army is to be an army of from without may be used to encourage the people, but it is the people, it cannot be supplied from outside. Token support practice for guerrilla fighters not to rely on outside support. Giap North Vietnam is the chief supplier of the South Vietnam guerrillas. They disregard two important facts. First, it is an established military argument for an invasion of the North by claiming that invade South Vietnam, but who unfortunately lend support to the There are some in the USA who admit that the North did

Harkins said the guerillas obviously are not being reinforced or supplied systematically from North Vietnam, China, or any place. He said they apparently depend for weapons primarily upon whatever they capture. Many of their weapons, he said, are home-made.

Consider the statistics reported by Louis R. Rukeyser in the *Baltimore Sun*, October 14, 1963. He reports that:

An official American breakdown of a cross-section of arms taken from the Viet Cong in recent weeks shows that nearly one out of three was marked

'made in the US'. And only one in fifty came from the Communist bloc. These were mostly Chinese but included some dated Czech and Soviet models. About half the total weaponry... is what the military lumped together as 'French and old' – all were made before the French evacuated indo-China in 1954 and some tracing to the World War I era....

In the same article, commenting on the exchange of weapons, Rukeyser cites the preponderance of weapons seized by the guerrillas over those captured by the US. He adds,

But statistics are deceiving in view of the quality of the arms exchanged. The Viet Cong yields largely outmoded weapons and home-made pipe guns and obtains factory-fresh American pistols.
As one foreign observer put it, 'The weapons exchange figures would be

encouraging only if we were in the plumbing business'

everybody's manufacture has turned up at one time or another...) sources: purchase, theft, and manufacture in jungle arms-Airman, May 1963, states, 'What the Viet Cong can't buy or steal, George, writing in the official organ of the United States Air Force, sources of the guerrillas' weapons. Master Sergeant James A. American military personnel do not deceive themselves about the weapons made by the guerrillas in the jungles: barbed spikes, foot George's article also enumerates the types of so-called primitive many sources in South Vietnam that it is likely that one from in this judgment. He adds, 'There are so many weapons from so workshops. (Professor Millet, in the article quoted earlier, concurs can hurt, maim, and kill'. George makes an honest appraisal of the he makes with his own hands; and his weapons, though crude, exhibited at Hickman Air Force Base in Hawaii. heavy pipes or tubing, and other bombs. All these articles are dipped in poison or human excreta, grenades, mines, mortars of traps, single-shot bolt action weapons with barrels made of water pipes, slugs of wax and metal, cross-bows, arrows generally

and resold by them on the world's arms market) can be bought within a mile of the Pentagon on the Alexandria, Virginia, docks – and quite legally, too. The of this ordnance comes from Laos. And the fact, for example, that some and elsewhere about 'Chinese and Russian' help to the insurgents in view of the Professor Bernard Fall, writing in War/Peace Report, May 1964, stated: and paramilitary forces. Officially, the loss of over 12,000 such weapons in 1963 no national loyalties. Soviet-made guns (captured by the Israelies in Egypt excellent Madsden submachineguns - produced in Denmark, a NATO ally weapons and automatic rifles. As Arthur Dommen correctly assumes, the bulk presence in South Vietnam of some Soviet- or Chinese made anti-tank True, there has been a great deal of exaggerated propaganda in Washington to their own higher commanders or the US military advisory command, may is acknowledged. What the South Vietnamese may have lost but not reported are standard American weapons captured from the South Vietnamese military unfortunate fact is that nine-tenths of all modern weapons in Viet Cong hands backs the Communists in Vietnam; it simply means that arms merchants have run much higher. have been found among the Viet Cong does not ipso facto prove that Denmark

from South Vietnamese troops or manufactured, in crude but effective form, in By far the greatest part of their armoury is 'indigenous'; it has been captured South Vietnam itself.

Vietcong, particularly since most of their weapons are captured from the The bombing of North Vietnam could not halt the flow of supplies to the

American-supplied South Vietnamese Army.

to the New York Times, June 3, 1963: continued unrelentingly; Diem was immune to his bad publicity. crowd and killed eleven Buddhists. Persecution of Buddhists end the demonstration. Government armoured cars fired into the action, Diem's troops under General Do Cao Tri were present to prohibiting the flying of their flag. Always watchful and ready for anniversary of the fall of Dien Bien Phu); it is a religious holiday of the people of Vietnam (beyond the fact that it marks the events in South Vietnam, with which most of us are generally The US continued unequivocal endorsement of Diem. According festival, demonstrated in the streets to protest Diem's edict On that day in 1963, Buddhists assembled in Hué for the religious for all the Buddhists who comprise the bulk of Vietnam's populace, familiar. We may recall that May 8 has significance to most Before closing, we should look briefly at some of the past year's

to get along with President Ngo Dinh Diem's régime come hell or high water and forget about political reforms. The United States mission in Saigon is under instructions from Washington

dispatches out of the country wrapped in old newspaper. It is only atrocities committed by Nhu and his secret police, carried this story on November 8, 1963, as an example of the much later that worse cases, of torture, were revealed. The AP Browne is reported to have smuggled his Associated Press of Buddhists. Conditions for reporters were at their worst. Malcolm Diem's brother, Ngo Dinh Nhu, joined in the flagrant persecution

of this torture. . . . said electrodes from the generator of a field radio were attached to her breasts. One young girl, found praying with the crowd at a Saigon Buddhist pagoda, Many United States military advisers and foreign newsmen have seen variations

when Buddhist groups organized street demonstrations, they those who suffered under religious persecutions quickly realized being a 'nebulous intellectual' (New York Times, June 5, 1962). University who was removed by the secret police on charges of demanded political freedom. Like the political scientist at Saigon protested. When monks publicly burned themselves to death and But it was not just for religious freedom that the Buddhists

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oppression in Vietnam is a common front, demanding free choice population. rights which the Khanh power daily denies to every segment of the in worship, free speech and association, and the other democratic their need to play political roles. The force which will end

following official reaction the next day: Minh, November 1, 1963, the New York Times recorded the bad publicity. When Diem was deposed by General Duong Van The US seems to recognize a distinction between bad policy and

policies helped bring it about and is confident of greater progress now in the war against the Communist guerrillas. The administration welcomes the coup d'état in South Vietnam, assumes that its

execution of Ngo Dinh Can (New York Times, May 10, 1964), he Buddhists are still complaining. In Peter Grose's article on the Buddhists stood behind that remark. Consider, for example, that believe that something other than a concern for the well-being of The policies referred to are unclear. But there is good reason to

under Diem. The Ngo family is Roman Catholic. local officials, the same men they charge with having persecuted Buddhists already growing restive under General Khanh. Their complaints are against would have inflamed opinion in Central Vietnam, where Buddhist leaders are Observers believed that any hesitation in carrying out the death sentences

A letter of protest was published today from Thech Tri Quang, a Buddhist for religious activity and punishment of officials charged with oppressive acts gious freedom had still not been satisfied. These demands concern legal status agitation last year. He charged that most of the Buddhists' demands for relipriest who sought refuge in the United States Embassy during anti-Diem against Buddhists.

that extensive Government propaganda characterizing Buddhists as pro-Thech Tri Quang said that Buddhists were being arrested on false charges and Communist and pro-neutralist was being distributed.

stable government in South Vietnam until it is a government of the while Nguyen Khanh a little longer. But neither could have dictatorships and puppet governments. 'Big' Minh lasted a short oppressive policies remain. The ruling régimes are still military people, meeting their needs and granting them liberties. Instability lasted a single day without American support. There will be no has been well described in an article in the New York Heralo The names of Ngo Dinh Diem and Ngo Dinh Nhu are gone; but Tribune, April 19, 1964. In it political observers stated:

enough support to stay in.' General Khanh is concerned enough to sleep in a different house each night, to admit to foreign correspondents that his wife is worried and to house her and their children 350 miles from Saigon. The next coup will solve nothing. Anyone can seize power, but no one has

their own government, the Liberation National Front. McNamara The people of South Vietnam will fight until they have established

says we will fight forever. It is the people of the US who must demand an end to US participation in this brutal war. We cannot wait for Robert Strange McNamara and his generals to give up. We must not expect US generals to relinquish their interest in Vietnam. While Diem's old officers are nominal heads of state, US commanders enjoy regal pleasures. This type of US military interest in Vietnam is manifested in a letter written by the wife of an American serviceman in South Vietnam to Senator Young, published in the Congressional Record, March 3, 1964. It states plainly, yet eloquently, what is really the current situation in South Vietnam and asks between the lines why her husband should risk his life to preserve this status quo:

Most of the Vietnamese do not really care about the war. Most of them do not want to fight. Under the circumstances, this is understandable. There are numerous families without homes and without jobs. Even in Saigon, there are people sleeping on sidewalks and in doorways and begging for food. In combat, when the Vietnamese do have to fire on the Viet Cong, quite often they refuse. There are some people who are profiting from this war. I have never seen so many colonels and generals in one place in all my life. They are living here at government expense in beautiful villas with two or three servants per household. I have talked to so many who do not even want to go home, because they could not afford such luxuries at home.

I close with some remarks made by Senator Ernest Gruening (D-Alas.) in the Senate on March 10, 1964. It is he who must prescribe the course for American policy in South-east Asia. Let us follow him and the other Senators – Morse, Bartlett, Mansfield, Ellender, Young, and Church – who voice their demand that the United States withdrew from Vietnam. Let us express public outrage for the crimes committed in Vietnam in the name of the American government.

Let us do a little hard rethinking. Must the United States be expected to jump into every fracas all over the world, to go it all alone, at the cost of our youngsters' lives, and stay in blindly and stubbornly when a decade of bitter experience has shown us that the expenditure of blood and treasure has resulted in failure. Shall we not, if taught anything by this tragic experience, consider that of the three alternatives: first, to continue this bloody and wanton stalemate; second, to go in 'all out' for a full-scale invasion and the certain sacrifice of far more lives and a scarcely less doubtful outcome; or third, to pull out with the knowledge that the game was not worth the candle.

The following figures are conservative as they were compiled before mid-1963: Number dead in 1962 alone: 40,000. Source: General Paul D. Harkins, Chief of US military operations in Vietnam. Quoted in publication Sword of Free Vietnam.

Note: The Sword of Free Vietnam is the official organ of the Democratic Party of Vietnam. The Democratic Party of Vietnam is a virulent anti-Communist Party composed of former officials and sympathizers of Governments prior to that of Diem. The motto of this party is: "For the Defeat of Communism in the interests of Free Men EVERYWHERE" (capitals in original).

Numbers killed by late 1962:—100,000. Source: 1963 White Paper of Democratic Party of Vietnam. From here on this party will be abbreviated DPV.

Numbers held in camps designated 'concentration camps': Over 500,000 by mid-1962. Source: White Paper of DPV. Quoted in Los Angeles Times for October 19, 1962.

Numbers of 'anti-Communist nationalists' held in camps designated 'concentration camps' estimated at 100,000. Source: White Paper of DPV.

Number of students only held in 'concentration camps' by late 1962: 45,000. Source: Student Peace Union of the United States Bulletin, April 1963.

Number of Secret Police: 300,000 by mid-1963. Source: DPV White Paper.

Number of estimated held in Strategic Hamlets: Over half rural population by mid 1962. Source: DPV White Paper.

Use of aid: UK Ambassador from Vietnam spent 40,000,000 francs on house furnishings. Source: DPV White Paper.

Number of people in Strategic Hamlets by mid-1963: Over six million. Described as concentration camps with spikes, moats, machine-gun turrets, for forced labour and patrols. Source: DPV report for June 1963.

Forty per cent of 'enemy' casualties claimed estimated to be guerrillas; 60 per cent of 'enemy' casualties claimed estimated to be uninvolved peasants. Source: DPV report for September 1963.

General Wheeler quoted in New York Times of January 26, 1963: 'Dirty, nasty

little war .

Source: DPV report for September 1963. Number of people interned by 1963 on Paulo-Condore Island alone: 300 or

Review of Strategic Hamlet programme by Democratic Party of Vietnam through on the spot investigation:

numerous atrocities. Farm land and food sources destroyed. . . . ' DPV report villages with American arms and assistance. . . . 300,000 secret police comm entire French colonial period. . . . Series of barbaric attacks on unarmed period. which every means used to destroy own people ... More severe and brutal the gramme is planned for 15 million people. It is the only conflict on reco Strategic hamlets mean forced labour under 300,000 secret police. The pr

comparable to 'Commie'. No organization calls itself by this name, Note: Vietcong is a slang term which means Vietnamese Communist, It is

(Source: The Tragedy of Vietnam: Helen B. Lamb.) Source: Report of NLF. Buddhist priests, Catholic priests, Protestant clergy are represented on Vietnam are represented on it. It is headed by a non-Communist lawyer. Lear member Central Committee. Three anti-Governmental Parties existing The National Liberation Front was formed on February 16, 1962. It has a 3

Leader of Buddhists in NLF: Thich (Venerable) Thien Hao. Thich Thien Hao

chemicals between January and March 1964 affecting 20,000 people; 16,000 prisoned; 31,000 raped; 3,000 disembowelled with livers cut out while alive camps employed or under construction in accordance with Staley-Taylor Plan 4,000 burned alive, 1,000 temples destroyed; 46 villages attacked with poi 160,000 dead by mid 1963; 700,000 tortured and maimed; 460,000

cratic Party of Vietnam. Red Cross, South Vietnamese Women's Union and the reports of the Demo-The above figures conform to the report of the South Vietnamese Liberation

The Observer of September 8, 1963, estimated the monthly average of casualties in the war to be 4,000

The NLF figures are attested to by Catholic Priest, Reverend Father Petrus Vu

the United States in South Vietnam. The US is using Vietnam as a battlefield and proving ground for chemical and biological warfare. Source: I. F. Stone's the subject of chemical warfare and concludes: Chemical poisons are used by The Federation of American Scientists quotes Defence Department sources on

North Vietnamese Control of the War in South Vietnam:

New York Times, March 6, 1964, report from Vietnam by David Halberstam. (1) 'No capture of North Vietnamese in the South has come to light.' Source

primarily on whatever they can capture.' - General Paul D. Harkins, Head of US operations. Source: Washington Post, March 6, 1963. from North Vietnam, China, or any place else. They depend for weapons (2) 'The guerrillas obviously are not being reinforced or supplied systematically

December 10, 1962. in charge of operations in a sector in Vietnam as quoted in Newsweek in their shoes, I'd be pretty sore at Hanoi for letting me down.' American Captain (3) 'All the Communists (in South Vietnam) have is their dedication. If I was

Strategic Hamlets:

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'Already 8,000,000 villagers – 59 per cent of South Vietnam's population – are

ment's battle plan is to resettle almost the entire rural population in 12,000 living in the 6,000 hamlets so far completed. The basic element of the govern-"strategic hamlets" with bamboo fences, barbed wire and armed militiamen." Source: Time Magazine, May 17, 1963, as quoted in Sword of Vietnam for

Sixty-five per cent of the rural population are in strategic hamlets. Observer,

Air Attacks:

of the rural population outside of strategic hamlets. Source: Voice of America, US Air Force carried out 50,000 attacks on villages in 1962 and on virtually all January 6, 1963. US Defence Department report quoted on Voice of America

Popular Character of Guerrilla war:

dominate 90 per cent of the land.' Source: DPV report, July 1963. 'Seventy-five per cent of the people, in varying degrees, support the rebels, who

Nature of Strategic Hamlets:

are not domestic animals.' Source: Interview on CBS with Tran-Van-Tung, intensive indoctrination, to burn their villages. Poor as the Vietnamese are, they to herd them behind barbed wire walls under police control, to subject them to 'It is certainly an ironic way to protect the peasant masses from Communism leader of DPV as reported in DPV report for September 1963.

True Nature of war in Vietnam:

shot or imprisoned in the name of freedom. Offered the very finest facilities for protest. Showered with napalm bombs, they are so ungrateful as to think in forced labour, they rebel; installed in the newest of concentration camps, they The people cannot follow the strange logic which decrees that they should be terms of a new government."

Sources: Nguyen-Thai-Binh of DPV, an anti-communist opposed to the NLF. fields, the bullet-riddled corpses of Buddhist demonstrators . . . this is the South The charred bodies of innocent women, children and peasants, lying in their Vietnam of today.

Press reportage from Vietnam:

Washington, May 5, (Associated Press):

A potentially explosive document in the hands of a House subcommittee correspondents covering the warfare in South Vietnam: reported to lay down Administration guidance for restricting movement of

entirely by US troops. (1) Keep reporters from areas where fighting is being done entirely or almost

Source: As quoted in DPV report for June 1963. allegiance of South Vietnamese people. (2) Keep reporters away from any area which will show the failure to attract full

South Vietnam as 'Experimental Battlefield':

not until the recent combat experience in Vietnam that it really sat up and took notice. About 1,000 AR-15s were sent out by the hush-hush Advanced wraps. But, aware that the enemy already knows what the AR-15 does, you can Vietcong guerrillas who get hit with the AR-15 is being kept under heavy Research Projects Agency in the Defence Department. A report has been issued The army tested small-calibre ammunition as long ago as the 1920s but it was marked Secret because of the gory pictures in it. The story of what happens to find an occasional returnee who will tell you what he saw.

"When I left out there it was the rifle. The effect is fantastic. I saw one guy hit in the arm. It spun him around and blew the arm right off. One got hit in the back and it blew his heart literally out of his body.

instantly. His wound would have been superficial with other bullets." "A man hit in the buttocks lived for five minutes. All the others died "The fellow had his head blown clean off - only the stump of the neck left."

Source : True Magazine, December 1963. Look Magazine, December 23, 1963 (Photo of five year old child with arm shattered and in tatters.)"

Ulterior purposes for continuing war:

figures is Mme Tran Can, wife of a prominent general.' (DPV report, September A tremendous dope smuggling racket has seen the light of day. One of the key

of ease if he wanted to.' (NY Herald-Tribune, February 3, 1964.) General Khanh boasted he had ten million dollars and could flee to lead a life

special troops to various places. . . . the return trip [carries] a load of opium for has some 200 aircraft . . . used under charter. . . . It is airlifting South Vietnamese Air America, incorporated in Delaware, is currently the principal instrument for former US military pilots." under the command of the US Army General Paul D. Harkins and the pilots are further transport to markets in the US in big Boeing aircraft. These aircraft are the extension of the war in Laos, Cambodia and North Vietnam. This company Aviation Week let the cat out of the bag (April 6, 1964). An air cargo company

Source: Edgar P. Young, Commander RN retired in Eastern World, June 1964.

attacks on ports in North Vietnam did not occur until early August.) US Plans to Extend War to North Vietnam. (Note that the US air

of the US House of Representatives: 'The US administration is preparing plans intelligence data on North Vietnam obtained by U2 reconnaissance planes. 50 jet bombers training in the Philippines in preparation for US decision to McNamara, planned air raids and sabotage against the Democratic Republic of bomb targets in North Vietnam. The bombers were said to be furnished with for a strike into North Vietnam.' Associated Press reported a combat force of Vietnam. Vietnam. Rostow plan No. 6' providing for a naval blockade and air raids against North (1) W. W. Rostow, head of State Department planning staff, has advanced the understand that the Honolulu Conference of June 1964 under Rusk and Senator Melvin Laird stated in the Defence Appropriations Committee

strikes at Communist supply centres and communications routes. Vietnamese troops are being trained to take the offensive in over-the-border US backing in aircraft, weapons and money, an estimated 50,000 elite South South Vietnam with raids and infiltration moves as far north as China.... With (Extract from letter to Lord Russell from Foreign Minister of North Vietnam. 'War against the Communists has already erupted over the borders of

company [which] camouflages its US Governmental sponsorship. US military in a year. stable Government in Saigon will force the Communist insurgency to collapse advisors here are optimistic that extending the war beyond the borders, plus a 'Key factor in the current raids is airlift provided by Air America, a US Cargo summer.... guerrilla strikes against the Communists have been increasing since last that the decision has not yet been made to extend the war, it is known here that Despite Detence Secretary McNamara's implication in Washington (March 26

America using numerous secret airstrips in South Vietnam and Thailand. arms - are not connected with formal military organization. They rely on Air Last Fall, when US officials decided it was impossible to win the war by con-Special forces - now one tenth of the half-million South Vietnamese under

beyond national borders. Taken from Aviation Week, April 6, 1964: NB date.)

of training special forces at secret bases emphasizing techniques of operating

fining it inside South Vietnamese borders, they began an expanded programme

borders of South Vietnam. I am fearful that as the proof of that becomes clearly (3) 'We have already aided and abetted the extension of the war beyond the

> charges being levelled against us in the United Nations because I do not should be bombarded from the sea, and finally US strategic bombers should combatant.' (Senator Wayne Morse in US Senate on April 14, 1964: NB date.) believe we have any international law basis for being in South Vietnam as a Cameron in Daily Herald for March 4, 1964: PLEASE NOTE DATE. attack Hanoi itself, if necessary flying the South Vietnam flag.' Source: James the port of Hanoi. If Hanoi still refuses to call off, support, the northern ports (4) 'W. W. Rostow's Plan Six provides initially for a naval blockade of Haiphong established - as I believe it can be - we may wake up some morning to find

(5) Secretary of State Dean Rusk told SEATO Nations, 'US absolutely com-

mitted to remain in South Vietnam and reiterated that the war may be brought (6) 'US planned South Vietnamese bombing attacks on the North may com to North Vietnam soon.' (NY Times, April 10, 1964.)

mence as soon as late May or early June.' (Wall Street Journal, April 13, 1964.) Wayne Morse after secret briefing by Dean Rusk (I. F. Stone's Weekly, March (7) 'An expanded war in Asia could only be won if we used nuclear arms.

bombed, . . . Shanghai must be bombed to stop Chinese help to North Vietnam. . . . (James Cameron in Daily Herald – March 4, 1964.) (8) 'The grim thing about Plan Six is that it has no end. If Hanoi must be

to extend the war step by step.' (Office of the Charge d'Affaires of China in Republic of Vietnam on August 5 was a pre-meditated move by US imperialism cratic Republic of Vietnam. The bombing of coastal towns of the Democratic On August 1 and 2, US planes bombed a border post and village of the Demo-Democratic Republic of Vietnam and shelled Hon Me and Hon Ngu islands. (9) 'On July 30, US warships intruded into the Northern territorial waters of the _ondon - August 6, 1964.)

Further data on Experimental Warfare conducted by US:

ciated Press from Saigon, March 21, 1964, in Baltimore Sun.) (1) 'We supply a phosphorous explosive fired from artillery and from fighter Washington Star, March 22, 1964.) was revolting to both Vietnamese and Americans. . . . ' (Associated Press in (2) 'The spectacle of children half alive with napalm bombs across their bodies bombers which erupts in a white cloud, burning everything it touches." (Asso-

DPV report on Atrocities:

to the town square. Their stomachs were slashed, their livers extracted and put crops are burned. . . . In the province of Kien-Tuong, seven villagers were led gunpoint into these virtual concentration camps. Their homes, possessions and expectant mothers were invited to the square by government forces to be mothers were decapitated before the eyes of compatriots. In still another village, out. But barbed wire denies entrance and exit. Vietnamese farmers are forced at honoured. Their stomachs were ripped and their unborn babies removed. . . . on display. These victims were women and children. In another village, a dozen (1) 'Supposedly the purpose of the fortified villages is to keep the Viet-Cong (Published in Dallas Morning News, January 1, 1963.)

mission on October 18, 1962. ture. . . . From report by Democratic Party of Vietnam to International Comand children are common . . . 685,000 have been maimed by firearms or tor-'Decapitations, eviscerations and the public display of murdered women

died there.' Ma Thi Chu of National Liberation Front. (Note coincidence of reports from National Libertaion Front and Democratic Many children have been there six years now. Others were born in prison and 100,000 women and 6,000 children are at present condemned to a slow death 'In the cells of more than one thousand prisons in South Vietnam, some

the latter has offices in the US and publishes there.)

Party of Vietnam although the two organizations are politically opposed and

Programme of Liberation National Front: To carry out without delay, real and broad de

... To carry out without delay, real and broad democracy in which freedom of thought, expression, the press, organization, assembly, demonstrations, trade unions and freedom to set up parties, political, social and professional organizations, freedom of movement, trade religion, worship, corporal liberties to be guaranteed by law for the entire people without any discrimination.

To stop persecution, arrest, detention of patriots and opposition, individuals and parties, to cancel the barbarous prison regime, especially torture, pentience, brain washing and ill-treatment of prisoners. To refrain from setting up in South Vietnam any form of dictatorial régime, either nepotic and militarist or set up by a group or party, and from carrying out a mono-party or mono-religious policy, a policy of dictatorship in ideology, politics, religions and economy.

Tree general elections to elect organs and to form a national coalition Govern-

policy, a policy of dictatorship in Ideology, politics, religious and economy.

Free general elections to elect organs and to form a national coalition Government composed of representatives of all forces, parties, tendencies and strata of the South Vietnamese people. . . . a policy of neutrality, will not adhere to any military bloc, not let any foreign country station troops or establish bases in South Vietnam. Will accept aid from all countries, regardless of political regimes and establish friendly relations on an equal footing with all countries, Respect the sovereignty of all countries and form together with Cambodia and Laos a neutral zone on the Indo-Chinese peninsula. Reunification to be realized step by step on a voluntary basis with due consideration for the characteristics of each zone, with equality and without annexion of one zone by the other

Ho Chi Minh on neutrality:

... Neutrality for both North and South Vietnam and independence of Russia. China and America... (November 5, 1963, *The Times.*)

W. Bedell Smith at Conclusion of Geneva Conference, July 21, 1954: We take note of the agreements and of paragraphs 1 to 12 inclusive of the Final Declaration . . . The US will refrain from threat or use of force to disturb them . . . and would view any renewal of aggression with grave concern (in violation of agreements) and threatening international peace and security. Thus US went on record in support of the Geneva Conference Report of 1954. US troops are the only foreign troops in Vietnam.

The Guardian editorial of August 11, 1964, confirms rumours that the movement of the Seventh Fleet into the Gulf of Tonkin was calculated and directly related to naval attacks by the 'South Vietnamese' navy:

A new account is now emerging in Washington.... The North Vietnamese 'A new account is now emerging in Washington.... The North Vietnamese islands of Hon Me and Hon Ngu had indeed been attacked from the sea, as Hanoi had alleged, before the crisis blew up; this is now admitted in Washington. The attackers were South Vietnamese ships, not the Seventh Fleet; but that distinction may not seem so significant in Hanoi as in Saigon and when at that point the US destroyer Maddox sailed into the Gulf of Tonkin...'

Plan Six should be kept in mind.

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