



Napalm

War Solution Complicated By Varied Strategies, Objectives

By Joy Bishop

The United States' course in Vietnam becomes clearer if one compares it with U Thant's original 3-point plan for peace. At his press conference on January 28, the Secretary General noted that two of the points have been put into effect—the bombing of the North had ended and talks among all the parties involved had begun. U Thant's third point was a gradual de-escalation of the fighting. Instead of de-escalating in response to the considerable de-escalation on the other side, we have been stepping up both ground and aerial action in the South.

It is now becoming clearer that Johnson exacted a sharp price when he ended the bombing of the North. He imposed severe restrictions on enemy activity while making it possible for us to increase ours.

The Nixon Administration seems to be carrying on the strategy of Johnson's. This strategy has two elements. The first is to threaten resumption of the bombing in the North if the other side should resume substantial shellings from the DMZ or should attack the larger cities. The second is to take advantage of these military limitations on the other side to move considerable forces from the northern part of South Vietnam where they have been on guard against a possible invasion from the DMZ.

The bombing of the North ended November 1. The escalation from our side began at the same time. In the three months following the end of the bombing, more than 2,000 Americans lost their lives.

The premise of negotiations is that neither side can win a military victory. If we are negotiating, why go on killing? If we hope to achieve our aims in South Vietnam by a step-up in the killing, why negotiate? The cynical answer is that the negotiations serve as a smokescreen. Neither the U.S. military nor the Saigon regime ever wanted to negotiate. The Paris talks for them only make it easier to continue the war. There is a steady flow of optimistic stories from Saigon on how well the war is now going.

It is clear from the recent statements of President Nixon at the United Nations and Generals Thieu and Ky in Saigon that the United Nations and South Vietnamese governments are now running into a serious crisis over their divergent objectives in the war.

The main difference between them is that Nixon says he is fighting for what the South Vietnamese people want, and this cannot be ascertained without free and fair elections which Thieu and Ky oppose.

The dilemma can be reduced to a simple formula: no coalition, no elections; no genuine test of the will of the people; and no peace.

Va. Schools Undecided How To Participate

Students Seek Observance of Oct. 15

Campuses across the state of Virginia stand divided, as does the nation, on the question of how the "Vietnam Moratorium" will be observed if at all. At the University of Virginia the student council voted to participate in the observance of October 15; they ask now that classes be suspended for the day. However, Young Americans for Freedom conservatives have threatened to prosecute the University if classes do not run as scheduled.

Some members of the student body at Old Dominion University say they will observe the day on the steps of the federal courthouse in Norfolk, reading the names of those who have died in Vietnam. In contrast, officials at Virginia Commonwealth University say classes will be held as usual, no matter what students are planning.

A final course of action has not been reached yet. President Edgar F. Shannon in Charlottesville has not commented on

Vietnam Chronology — A History Of Struggle

By Dr. Errol Clauss

1863-1893 French colonial takeover of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos to form French Indochina.

1908, 1916 Abortive revolts against French. 1914-1918 90,000 Indochinese soldiers and workers participate in World War I on side of France.

1919 Ho Chi Minh refused audience with Woodrow Wilson at Paris Peace Conference. Sought greater Vietnamese political participation within the French Empire.

1920 Ho Chi Minh becomes founding member of French Communist Party.

1927 Viet Nam Nationalist Party organized.

1940 Japan forces Vichy government of Indochina to allow movement of Japanese into northern Vietnam to surround Nationalist China. U.S. protests, but does not act.

May, 1941 Ho Chi Minh's Communists create broadly based front organization to challenge both French and Japanese—the Viet Minh.

July, 1941. Japanese troops occupy southern Vietnam, thus threatening strategic areas of Southeast Asia. U.S. begins economic pressure upon Japan that will lead to attack on Pearl Harbor.

1944 Franklin Roosevelt suggests that Indochina be internationalized after World War II, rather than returned to France.

During World War II, Viet Minh guerrillas cooperate with American forces behind Japanese lines.

Spring, 1945 Japanese disarm French and declare Vietnam independent under Emperor Bao Dai.

September, 1945 As World War II ends in Asia, Ho Chi Minh proclaims the Democratic Republic of Vietnam at Hanoi. Bao Dai abdicated in favor of Ho government.

Late 1945 Nationalist China occupies northern Vietnam to receive surrender of Japanese, but does not disturb the Vietnamese government. Britain occupies southern Vietnam, but allows French military forces to recapture political power.

1946 France initially recognizes Ho's government as a "free state within the French Union." Misunderstandings lead to fighting between the French and the Viet Minh. Beginning of the first Indochina War which would last until 1954.

1948 To undermine the Ho Chi Minh government, the French create a rival State of Viet Nam headed by Bao Dai (within the French Union).

1949 Mao Tse-tung's Communist Party wins Chinese Civil War and ousts Nationalist Government. U.S. now views the French war in Indochina as an anti-communist struggle, rather than an anti-colonial struggle.

1950 U.S. recognizes State of Viet Nam and agrees to provide indirect military aid through the French.

1951 U.S. economic aid to State of Viet Nam. 1954 U.S. decides not to intervene militarily in support of the French war effort in Indochina. French suffer decisive defeat by Viet Minh at Dien Bien Phu.

Geneva Conference on Indochina—Britain, USSR, France, U.S., China (Peking), Vietnam (Hanoi), Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam (Saigon). France sought a negotiated settlement. Peking and Moscow urged acceptance of settlement upon the Viet Minh. The U.S. is quite unenthusiastic about a negotiated settlement.

Vietnam temporarily partitioned into a northern (Hanoi) and southern zone (Saigon) for the purpose of disengaging military forces. Elections to be held in 1956 for unification.

Neither side was to allow foreign troops, bases or alliances in its zone. French remained in southern Vietnam until 1956.

U.S. agrees to refrain from use of force to disturb Geneva Agreements.

1955 U.S. begins direct military aid to Saigon government and American military advisors begin training South Vietnamese Army.

North Vietnam offers to begin discussions about elections, but South Vietnam refuses.

Ngo Dinh Diem proclaims Republic of Vietnam (Saigon) and becomes President.

1956 Diem government moves militarily against political-religious sects that oppose his government.

National elections provided for in Geneva Accords not held.

French leave South Vietnam.

1957 International Control Commission reports that neither Saigon nor Hanoi has lived up to the Geneva Agreements.

Armed insurgency becoming serious in South Vietnam.

1959 Supporters of Diem government control National Assembly. Authoritarian government. Lack of land reform.

1960 Opponents of Diem regime demand political and economic reforms.

U. S. announces increase in number of military advisors from 327 to 685.

Sept. Hanoi sanctions formation of National Liberation Front in South.

Nov. Army coup against Diem put down.

Dec. National Liberation Front (Viet Cong) created in South by former Viet Minh and other dissident groups.

1961 Pres. Kennedy declares that U. S. will do all it can to save South Vietnam from communist insurgency. Pres. Diem rules by decree because of national "emergency".

1962 American military "advisors" increase to 4,000.

1963 Buddhist demonstrations against Diem government. Martial law proclaimed. University and high school demonstrations against government.

Nov. President Diem overthrown and murdered by South Vietnamese Army. Military government suspends constitution and dissolves Assembly.

1964 American advisors increase to 17,000. No organized units of North Vietnamese Army in South, although agents worked with Viet Cong guerrillas.

August U. S. destroyers Maddox and C. Turner Joy attacked by North Vietnamese torpedo boats under mysterious circumstances in Tonkin Gulf. U. S. air strikes against North Vietnam.

Pres. Johnson seeks congressional endorsement of a policy of escalation. Tonkin Gulf Resolution authorized President to "take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression." Johnson regards the resolution as a blank check for open-handed escalation of the war. Congress later regrets hastiness of resolution and unclear circumstances surrounding it.

1965 Feb. U. S. base at Pleiku attacked by Viet Cong. Johnson orders retaliatory air attacks on North Vietnam.

March Opening of sustained air attacks on North Vietnam and against Viet Cong guerrillas in South Vietnam. 27,000 American troops in South. About 400 North Vietnamese troops in South.

June. U. S. troops openly committed to combat in South Vietnam. 165,000 American troops in South Vietnam by late 1965.

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