

# AMERICANIZE THE WAR, AND FIGHT TO WIN!

The survival of free, independent, non-communist South Vietnam is necessary to protect U.S. strategic interests in the Western Pacific and in East Asia. For the last ten years, this small U.S. ally has been the victim of aggression by armed minorities within South Vietnam who are directed and supplied by communist North Vietnam. More recently, communist North Vietnam has sent into South Vietnam trained military units that have launched unprovoked armed attacks against the government of South Vietnam. The United States must take whatever steps are necessary to defend South Vietnam against this communist aggression and to demonstrate that the communists cannot succeed in using these so-called "wars of national liberation" to enslave more people. If South Vietnam were to fall to the communists, its immediate neighbors — Laos, Cambodia, and Thailand — would become subject to increased communist subversion and aggression. Just as a row of dominos will topple one by one if the first domino goes down, so the free nations of Southeast Asia could fall under communist control. Even our allies in the Philippines and Malaysia would find it difficult to resist this pressure. Ultimately, all of our country's strategic, political and economic interests in this vital area of the world would be endangered. Our avowed enemies, China and Soviet Russia, would expand their influence and increase their strength. We have no choice: we must stop the advancing wave of communist aggression in Southeast Asia now!

We learned from the events leading up to World War II, specifically from the appeasement of Adolf Hitler at Munich in 1938, that if aggression is not checked immediately, the aggressors are encouraged. Similar challenges have been met by the American people in the recent past.

The Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, and NATO stopped Soviet communism from expanding into Western Europe after World War II. Communist guerrilla forces were defeated with U.S. aid in Greece (1946-7), Malaysia (1948-52), and the Philippines (1946-54). In addition, overt communist armed aggression was repulsed by the United States and its free world allies in South Korea in 1950-53.

The situation today in South Vietnam is critical. The United States must take over the war. Our troop commitment should be immediately increased from the present level of 70,000 to 400,000, if necessary, by the end of this year. U.S. military operations in the south should shift away from the passive defense of static positions and adopt aggressive search-and-destroy tactics against communist forces. In addition, sustained, massive bombing of military targets in North Vietnam will slow the infiltration of troops and supplies and punish the aggressor. We must not repeat the mistake of Korea, where the U.S. military was denied the political backing to achieve victory. U.S. forces in Vietnam should not be asked to fight a war with one hand tied behind their backs. There is no substitute for military victory. We must fight to win.



Warren King in *Time*, 1966.

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## FROM THE RECORD

*Speech by President Harry Truman, March 12, 1947 (known as the "Truman Doctrine"):*

"At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one. One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression. The second way of life is

based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.

"I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures."

*Speech by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, March 29, 1954:*

"If the Communist forces won uncontested control over Indochina or any substantial part thereof, they would surely resume the same pattern of aggression against other free peoples in the area. The propagandists of Red China and Russia make it apparent that the purpose is to dominate all of Southeast Asia. Southeast Asia is the so-called 'rice bowl' which helps to feed the densely populated region that extends from India to Japan. It is rich in many raw materials, such as tin, oil, rubber, and iron ore. It offers industrial Japan potentially

important markets and sources of raw materials.

"The area has great strategic value. Southeast Asia is astride the most direct and best developed sea and air routes between the Pacific and South Asia. It has major naval and air bases. Communist control of Southeast Asia would carry a grave threat to the Philippines, Australia and New Zealand, with whom we have treaties of mutual assistance. The entire Western Pacific area, including the so-called 'offshore island chain' would be strategically endangered."

*Speeches by President Dwight Eisenhower, April 1954 and April 1959:*

"Strategically, South Vietnam's capture by the Communists would bring their power several hundred miles into a hitherto free region. The remaining countries in Southeast Asia would be menaced by a great flanking movement. The freedom of 12 million people would be lost immediately and

that of 150 million others in adjacent lands would be seriously endangered. The loss of South Vietnam would have grave consequences for us and for freedom....You have a row of dominos set up, you knock over the first one, and what will happen to the last is the certainty that it will go over very quickly."

*Speech by Senator John Kennedy, June 1956:*

"[Vietnam is] the cornerstone of the free world in Southeast Asia, the keystone to the arch, the finger in the dike. Burma, Thailand, India, Japan, the Philip-

pines and obviously Laos and Cambodia are among those whose security would be threatened if the red tide of Communism overflowed into Vietnam."

*National Security Action Memorandum, March 17, 1964:*

"We seek an independent, non-communist South Vietnam...unless we can achieve this objective in South

Vietnam, almost all of Southeast Asia will probably fall under Communist dominance."

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*Memorandum written by Walt Rostow, chairman of the State Department Policy Planning Council, November 1964:*

"[T]he critical moves are, I believe, these: the introduction of some ground forces in South Viet Nam and, possibly, in the Laos corridor; a minimal installation of the principle that from the present forward North Viet Nam will be vulnerable to retaliatory attacks for continued violation of the 1954-1962 Accords. Perhaps most important of all, the introduction into the Pacific Theater of massive forces to deal with any escalatory response, including forces evidently aimed at China as well as North Viet Nam, should the Chinese Communists enter the game.... Their judgment [the North Vietnamese] will depend not merely on our use of force and force dispositions but also on the posture of the President, including commitments he makes to our own people and before the world, and on our follow-through.... They will not actually accept a setback until they are absolutely sure that we really mean it. They will be as searching in this manner as Khrushchev [the Premier of the Soviet Union] was before he abandoned

the effort to break our hold on Berlin and as Khrushchev was in searching us out on the Turkish missiles before he finally dismantled and removed his missiles [from Cuba in 1962]. Initial rhetoric and military moves will not be enough to convince them.... Compliance [from North Vietnam] should include the following: the removal of Viet Minh troops from Laos; the cessation of infiltration of South Viet Nam from the north...and the overt statement on Hanoi radio that the Viet Cong should cease their operations and pursue their objective in South Viet Nam by political means.... The odds are pretty good, in my view, that, if we do these things in this way, the war will either promptly stop or we will see the same kind of fragmentation [gradual loss of effectiveness] of the Communist movement in South Viet Nam that we saw in Greece after the Yugoslav frontier was closed.... At this stage of history we are the greatest power in the world — if we behave like it."

*Speech by President Lyndon Johnson, April 26, 1965:*

"Let no one think for a moment that retreat from Vietnam would bring an end to conflict. The battle would be renewed in one country and then another. The central lesson of our time is that the appetite of aggression is never satisfied. To withdraw from one battlefield means only to prepare for the next. We must say in Southeast Asia, as we did in Europe, in the words of

the Bible: 'Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further!' ...Over this war, and all Asia, is another reality: the deepening shadow of Communist China. The rulers in Hanoi are urged on by Peking [Beijing].... [China] is a nation which is helping the forces of violence in almost every continent. The contest in Vietnam is part of a wider pattern of aggressive purpose."

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## **THE UNITED STATES SHOULD TAKE THE FOLLOWING STEPS:**

1. Turn over primary responsibility for directing and prosecuting the war to the U.S. military.
2. Rapidly increase the U.S. troop commitment to 400,000, if necessary, and pursue an aggressive search-and-destroy campaign against the communist forces in the south.
3. Increase the bombing of North Vietnam to include all targets involved in the war effort.
4. Mobilize the reserves and shift U.S. economic resources toward the war effort.
5. Explain to the American people the gravity of the situation in Vietnam, the values that are at risk, and the anticipated costs and duration of the effort required.

## **LESSONS FROM HISTORY**

- The failure of the Western democracies at Munich in 1938 to check the aggression of Hitler led to further Nazi aggression and World War II.
- Communist-led insurgencies in Greece, Malaysia, and the Philippines were defeated with the assistance of the United States and its free world allies.
- The expansion of communist power into Western Europe in the late 1940s was thwarted with a determined combination of U.S. political, economic, and military efforts.
- The Soviet Union abandoned its attempt to force the United States out of Berlin during the early 1960s when convinced of American determination and military superiority.

## **ARGUMENTS FOR OPTION 1**

- Only immediate, massive U.S. intervention can prevent the collapse of the ARVN and the fall of the pro-American Saigon government.
- Preserving a strong, free South Vietnam will stop the further expansion of communism into Southeast Asia and protect U.S. strategic interests.
- Defeating the communist-led insurgency in South Vietnam will deter the communists from launching similar "wars of national liberation" in other parts of the world.
- A major military effort by the United States now will prevent the need for a more costly effort later on.
- North Vietnam, a third-rate military power, will inevitably cease its aggression in the face of determined U.S. military action.