



# The Phyllis Schlafly Report



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## The Lessons of Vietnam

The tragedy called the Vietnam War has run its course. The United States poured into it eight years of effort, the lives of 50,000 of our finest young men, the good health of another 300,000, \$150 billion of our hard-earned tax money, and the honor and prestige of our nation.

It is easy to see why the Soviets wanted to keep the war going. While we spent \$150 billion on weapons that are now down the drain in Vietnam, the Soviets spent an equivalent amount on nuclear weapons to control the world.

The result is that the Soviets (whom President Ford so tactfully referred to as our "adversary") have an arsenal of the latest nuclear weapons and are bursting with the exhilaration of victory. The United States, on the other hand, is militarily and financially weakened, our weapons are destroyed or captured, and our morale is at an all-time low.

Sir Robert Thompson, whose strategy won a war for the British in Malaya similar to Vietnam, recently analyzed the effect of the Vietnam disaster: "You are in full retreat before Moscow at the present time. ... The retreat of the United States before Moscow, like that of Napoleon, is going to litter the world with corpses. ... In South Vietnam [the bloodbath] will be well over the million mark. ... I know hundreds of people there who *for sure* are going to have their throats cut. ... Do you have a contingency plan for getting babies out of Europe?"

Why did U.S. leaders keep the war going for eight years, and then take bankruptcy on our investment there?

Was it because we couldn't win the war? It is ridiculous even to suggest that the great United States couldn't defeat little North Vietnam in eight years -- when we totally destroyed the mighty German and Japanese war machines in only three and a half years.

There were so many ways we could have won the war in Vietnam years ago. We could have mined the harbor of Haiphong, knocked out the dredge in the harbor that was essential to its use, destroyed North Vietnam's dams and dikes, and bombed the important military targets. Our top military men said that the war could have been won in three weeks with conventional weapons, if they were only permitted to do so.

Sir Robert Thompson has confirmed the military expert view that the Vietnam War "was winnable, in any terms you like." He added, "Just because the United

States failed, doesn't mean it was unwinnable."

But our military men did not make the vital decisions about the war or even about selection of targets. For the first four years, they were made by President Johnson and Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, who once said that he would be proud to have it called "McNamara's war."

### The Ploy to Put Over Detente

Why did Nixon and Kissinger keep the war going for four more years, and then agree to a phony truce in Paris on the same disastrous terms that they could have gotten the day Nixon went into office?

The answer is that Henry Kissinger determined that our priority goal must be detente with the Soviet Union -- a fragile relationship built on the quicksand of U.S. military weakness and economic bribes to the Soviets, such as long-term low-interest loans.

Both the goal and the means of attaining it were anathema to the majority of what might be called the Nixon constituency. To keep those conservatives and Middle Americans in line behind the policy of detente, Kissinger needed the image of being anti-Communist. The Vietnam War was the perfect ploy.

Those who voted for Nixon in 1972 concluded that, if the Nixon Administration was fighting the Communists in Southeast Asia, and making speeches against the anti-war radicals at home, it surely could be relied upon to protect U.S. interests in dealing with the Soviets.

Now that the Kissinger peace in Vietnam has ended in disaster, it is time to take a good hard look at the possibility that his detente with the Soviet Union may end in a similar disaster for America.

### The Gauvin Interview on Vietnam

In the final hours of the fall of South Vietnam, the news media printed and aired extensive wrap-up coverage on the entire tragedy in Southeast Asia. Somehow, however, our gigantic news-gathering facilities failed to interview the man who is probably *the* most objective authority on what happened in Vietnam since the Paris Agreement was signed in 1973.

He is Michel Gauvin, now serving as Canada's Ambassador to Greece, but, more importantly, the first president of the International Commission of Control

and Supervision set up to supervise enforcement of the Paris Agreement.

In a recent interview which was conspicuously *not* covered by the U.S. press, Ambassador Gauvin stated bluntly that "the seeds of the defeat of South Vietnam were sown in the Paris Agreement which was imposed on the South Vietnamese against their will and better judgment."

He told it like it is when he described the violations of the Paris Agreement which began the very day it was signed in January 1973, and the refusal of the United States to do anything about those violations over a two-year period.

"The Ho Chi Minh trail was made into a two-lane highway. Roads were built for the sole purpose of moving troops and supplies rapidly. Ammunition dumps were established in South Vietnam for a final assault, while 170,000 North Vietnamese troops were introduced into South Vietnam in addition to the 150,000 which the Paris Agreement allowed to remain there.

"Economic aid was provided to North Vietnam not only from the Eastern bloc but also from the Western bloc. The U.S.S.R. and China competed during the last two years as to who would grant greater military support."

The final defeat of South Vietnam, according to Ambassador Gauvin, can be attributed to the "demoralization caused primarily by the failure of the United States to stand by its moral commitments." He predicted that this sorry tale of South Vietnamese disaster and American humiliation "cannot fail to have serious repercussions on the unity and cohesion as well as the determination of the allied nations to defend their common freedom."

Subsequent to the Gauvin interview, we learned that, prior to the Paris Agreement, President Nixon gave South Vietnam two solemn written commitments. The first, dated November 14, 1972, said that the United States would "react very strongly and rapidly to any violation of the [Paris] Agreement." The second, dated January 5, 1973, stated that we would "respond with full force should the settlement be violated by North Vietnam."

The United States (*i.e.*, Kissinger, Nixon and Ford) reneged on these written commitments when North Vietnam violated the Paris Agreement throughout 1973 and 1974. The blame cannot be placed solely on Congress. When the Senate rejected the last-minute military aid requested by President Ford in the spring of 1975, Appropriations Committee Chairman John McClellan stated: "The majority might have supported it if there was any hope, or just a possibility, that it would do any good." But by then, it was too late.

## The Fall of Cambodia

On April 1, Vietnam's Ambassador to the United States said sadly: "Probably it is safer to be an ally of the Communists, and it is fatal to be an ally of the United States." It took only 19 days to prove that statement was no April Fool's joke or politician's hyperbole, but the literal truth. For being allies of the United States, many Cambodian leaders were beheaded.

For the first five years of the Vietnam War, the Communists used eastern Cambodia as a privileged sanctuary from which to conduct hit-and-run raids against American troops and South Vietnam. This was a clear violation of international law and fully justified our hot pursuit in order to stop the raids.

In March 1970, the Cambodians deposed their pro-

Communist ruler and established an anti-Communist, pro-American regime. Nixon and Kissinger then ordered what was called the "incursion" of Cambodia for the purpose of cleaning out the Communist bases. The Communists apparently got advance word that the incursion was limited to only 30 miles, and they simply retreated behind the 30-mile limit and regrouped in safety.

This was the signal for the Red Chinese and the Soviets to send massive military aid to the Cambodian Reds, called the Khmer Rouge. The United States, however, having lured the pro-American Cambodians into helping us, did not match the military aid shipped to the other side.

In 1973 Congress forbade further U.S. military action. Abandoned by the United States, the Cambodian anti-Communists fought bravely to the bitter end, and then paid with their heads.

Prince Sihanouk, the figurehead ruler of the Cambodian Communists, now living in Peking, greeted the news of the total Communist takeover of Cambodia by publicly asking Premier Chou En-lai to continue Red China's role as "prime supporter" of the Khmer Rouge.

The message that America betrays its allies has been heard loud and clear in other Asian capitals, including Thailand and the Philippines. President Chung Hee Park of South Korea has been reported as "terrified by the recent debacle in Indochina." And no wonder. The North Korean ruler, Kim Il-sung, has already rushed over to Peking and asked Red China to help North Korea take over South Korea, and thereby deliver "the final, decisive punch" against the United States in Asia.

## Need for Investigation

Many Americans are so emotionally exhausted by the tragic news of the Southeast Asian debacle that it is easy to accept the request of President Ford not to "engage in recriminations or attempts to assess blame." However, those who do not learn the lessons of history are compelled to repeat its mistakes.

The United States has a tradition of winning our wars. When there is a military defeat, Americans demand to know why, and who was responsible. The first investigation conducted by our Congress was into General St. Clair's defeat by the Indians in 1791.

Following the Pearl Harbor disaster, there were four investigations: one by the Army, one by the Navy, and two by Congress. After the Korean War, Senator Margaret Chase Smith chaired a historic inquiry into our failure to win that war and into the ammunition shortages we suffered.

A Congressional investigation into the Vietnam War is even more necessary in order to assess the blame for our humiliating defeat. We owe this much at least to the American servicemen who fought in Southeast Asia. We must find out why an American army of half a million men, equipped with the latest in planes, helicopters and tanks, did not defeat a little nation that had no air force or navy.

There is often a big difference between what some people say in the press for public consumption, and what they say under oath. Congress should summon the high officials of the Johnson, Nixon and Ford Administrations and require them to explain their decisions to fight a costly no-win war that left Southeast Asia in far worse condition than it was before our intervention began.

# The Ugliness of a Communist Takeover

*When Phnom Penh, the capital of Cambodia, was captured by the Cambodian Communists, called the Khmer Rouge, 800 foreigners including a few reporters took refuge in the French Embassy. After two weeks under conditions of limited food, no running water, lack of sanitation, and scores of cases of diarrhea, the newsmen were finally permitted to make the journey to Thailand.*

*The only British reporter in the group was 27-year old Jon Swain, who has been reporting from Indochina for five years. His day-by-day diary of what he saw during the last days of Phnom Penh was published as a special five-page feature in the London SUNDAY TIMES of May 11. His writing reveals his genuine love for the Cambodian people, his bias against the United States, and a strange compassion for the Communist Khmer Rouge. These biases, however, make his report particularly interesting because no one can charge that Mr. Swain sees the Khmer Rouge through anti-Communist glasses. Excerpts from his objective, eye-witness diary are reprinted below:*

**Thursday, April 17. 1:00 P.M.** We emerged into the heat to find people running away from the front gate. We drove slowly towards the street, but before we could reach it there came a rushing of steps, and half a dozen Khmer Rouge soldiers, bristling with guns, dragged us out of the car and pushed us and shook their rifles at us. They were boys, hardly taller than their tightly-held AK-47 rifles, but their ignorance made them super-deadly.

Their leader was a cold, ill-tempered man with a pistol. He held it to my head, screaming and ranting. His finger was tight on the trigger. His eyes were coals of hate. Life seemed to be over. I stood there paralyzed with fear. ...

**4:00 P.M.** ... Meanwhile the tempo of looting of shops, business premises and private homes mounted. The governor of the Banque Khmer de Commerce was sitting quietly in his offices ready to hand over the keys to the safe to Phnom Penh's new rulers.

A group of soldiers burst in, booted him into the street, and, according to eyewitnesses, ransacked the entire place.

They burnt the records and millions upon millions of riels. There was to be no place for money in the Cambodian peasant revolution. ...

The Khmer Rouge training their guns on them were tough, strong-looking, in jungle green, Mao hats and the inevitable Ho Chi Minh sandals. Each one was a walking arsenal. To us, standing there, they looked like people from another planet. ...

**4:55 P.M.** ... Pandemonium gripped the hotel. People ran in all directions. What did it mean? Where would they go? The general consensus was to the French Embassy down the road. ...

**6:30 P.M.** Dusk closed in. People were jumping over the high Embassy wall, handing their children over, tossing over their belongings. It was a mob scene. ...

**Friday, April 18. 7:00 A.M.** The Khmer Rouge army is emptying the city and its hospitals -- tipping out patients like garbage into the streets. Bandaged men and women hobble by the Embassy. Wives push wounded soldier husbands on hospital beds on wheels, some

with serum drips still attached.

In five years of war this is the greatest caravan of human misery I have seen. The Khmer Rouge must know that few of the 20,000 wounded will survive. One can only conclude they have no humanitarian instincts. The entire city is being emptied of its people: the old, the sick, the infirm, the hungry, the orphans, without exception. ...

Murray Carmichael, the anesthetist in the Scottish medical team says: "Three-quarters of our work has been wasted. We spent so much time treating patients who had been badly operated on, lying in bed getting thin and wasted. We taught them to walk again, put them on traction and got some union into their bones. The Khmer Rouge told them to leave in ten minutes. These people have no compassion, no humanity." ...

**10:45 A.M.** The Khmer Rouge army has discipline. It is a discipline which says the new order is right, that anything in the way of that order must be eliminated and cast out. It is not the discipline which respects human life or people's property. ...

**11:30 A.M.** A newly-arrived French teacher says that at 8:30 this morning he was on his way to the embassy when a Khmer Rouge patrol ran out of an alley and cut a line of refugees in half, splitting a family. When the parents protested, the leader raised his rifle and shot them in the chest. The teacher also said the Khmer Rouge fired on anyone who looked out of his balcony during the night. ...

**6:00 P.M.** ... One of the most dejected members of our community on this, our first day in "captivity," is perhaps its most experienced, Fernand Scheller, chief of the UN development project in Phnom Penh. He nearly weeps as he tells us how he has seen his Cambodian family and his workers banished with everyone else into the countryside. "I have spent the whole day betraying my friends," he said.

"What the Khmer Rouge are doing is pure and simple genocide. They will kill more people this way than if there had been fighting in the city. There is no food outside. The next rice crop is not until December, and anyway without outside help they can grow only enough to feed 30 percent of the population. ... What is going on now is an example of demagoguery that makes one vomit." ...

**Saturday, April 19. 4:00 P.M.** ... The Khmer Rouge outside have no use for money, having burnt or confiscated all they can lay their hands on and reverted to the barter system. ...

**6:40 P.M.** The French staff of Calmette hospital arrive with more accounts of cruelty and madness. For two days, they say, they operated ceaselessly on Communist wounded, while looking down the barrels of guns. "The Khmer Rouge threatened to kill me if I didn't save the life of one man," said surgeon Bernard Piquart. Other witnesses corroborate this story. "A gun was placed to my head and a grenade dangled before my nose. Finally, the Khmer Rouge threw us all out after smashing in the medicine cupboards with their rifle butts."

**Sunday, April 20. 8:35 A.M.** ... The Khmer Rouge

have split up whole families -- French husbands can stay, but Cambodian wives and children must go. The feeling of helplessness and rage is overwhelming. Is nothing sacred? ...

I turn round and find the American Doug Sapper, one of the toughest, bravest men I know, a decorated ex-Green Beret who worked for the airlines in Phnom Penh. "You know, Jon, I have been a fighting man all my life," he says. "But I'm not built for this kind of stuff. I haven't cried since I was ten years old."

A Cambodian couple I know give away their seven-month-old baby, which will never survive the trip into the countryside. I am too choked to look them in the face. "He is my only baby. He is a beautiful baby," the wife says. ...

**8:20 P.M.** ... Outside the atmosphere is sinister. Headlamps ablaze, trucks of soldiers go up and down, searching for people hiding out in the city. Gunfire crashes in the suburbs. Today we are witnessing perhaps the deaths of thousands, the destruction of a way of life. ...

**Monday, April 21. 3:00 P.M.** Jean Menta, Corsican adventurer (and, it is said, one-time heroin smuggler) and the mercenary Borella, strangle and skin the Embassy cat. A few of us eat it curried. The meat is tender like chicken. A few more weeks and we will be real savages. ...

**Wednesday, April 23. 9:30 A.M.** ... The Khmer Rouge have no time for cities, which in their eyes are parasites living off the sweat of the peasants. This is why they have evacuated Phnom Penh. ...

**Thursday, April 24.** Jean Remy, head of the French Planters Association and Cambodia's most influential Frenchman, is here after a week on the roads. He says he hears the Khmer Rouge are executing army officers at the rubber nurseries in the suburbs. ...

**Tuesday, April 29. 7:20 P.M.** Tomorrow 600 of us are leaving by road for the Thai border. The Khmer Rouge announced this outrageous evacuation plan on Saturday. ...

I say outrageous because, of course, it would be so simple for us to fly out, now that the airport is open and that a French transport plane is on stand-by at Vientiane. But, of course, to try and probe the Khmer Rouge mind is fruitless. To apply Western logic to it is an irrelevance. ...

**Wednesday, April 30.** ... Five years ago, Phnom Penh was one of the loveliest cities in Southeast Asia. It was not only the old French colonial architecture, the glittering pagodas, that gave it its enchantment, it was the warmth and grace of its people.

Now the people have gone, and Phnom Penh, as we drive through the suburbs, is a sinister wasteland. Every single building in the city has been turned upside down in the soldiers' search for food and booty. ... They have wrecked the city's water plant and shut down all its factories.

The empty, dustblown streets were lined with hundreds of abandoned cars and motorbikes, cannibalized by the Khmer Rouge, their tires cut up to make Ho Chi Minh sandals. We passed whole districts gutted by fire, with hungry pigs and dogs rooting through the ruins for scraps.

The Khmer Rouge army, now the city's only occupants, has shown little pride in its prize. The main attraction to these country boys has been the multitude of watches, radios and trinkets they have been able to loot from its shops.

The road out of the city, past the airport, was lined with abandoned property, evidence of the hurried migration -- a giant boneyard of everything from trucks and cars to helmets, uniforms and TV sets. The rotting vehicles continued for miles, abandoned as the petrol ran out. Some drivers, angry at the thought of leaving what was probably their pride and joy to the Khmer Rouge, had pushed them into pools of stagnant water. Motorized transport in Cambodia is now almost non-existent. ...

The mind still gropes at the horror and enormity of the emptying of Phnom Penh. ...

My overriding impression -- reinforced as we journeyed through the countryside en route to the Thai border -- was that the Khmer Rouge military authorities had ordered this mass evacuation not to punish the people but to *revolutionize* their ways and thoughts. Many thousands will no doubt die. ...

**Thursday, May 1.** ... We have come to an even more startling realization: that outside Phnom Penh, virtually every other city, town, village and hamlet that resisted the Communists has also been emptied out into the countryside. The greater part of this nation of seven million, which has endured one of the most savage, futile wars of modern times, has been uprooted, its people hungry and bewildered.

Tonight we reached the province capital of Kompong Chhnang and found it emptied of its 500,000 people. ... A male nurse, Tong San, said that on April 20 Khmer Rouge carried away all the hospital patients in lorries and dumped them 18 miles in the forest without food or water. ...

Everyone wears black, and the women universally have Maoist haircuts. One of the marvelous things about Cambodia used to be the spontaneity and gaiety of its people, even towards strangers. Now a wave and a smile is returned by wooden stares. ...

It is ironic that throughout this exhausting ride, some of the greediest, most selfish among us were the Russian diplomats and their wives. While the rest of us nibbled on the odd Red Cross biscuit and a handful of rice, they settled down of an evening to a four-course meal of food brought along with their personal possessions, washed down with vodka and tea. Not satisfied, they had the gall to demand their portion of the communal food. ...

**Friday, May 2.** At last we reach the safety of the Thai border after our grueling 260-mile ride. ...

## Additional Information on Vietnam

Chapter 8 of the new Schlafly-Ward book, *Kissinger on the Couch*, explains many aspects of the Vietnam War, such as:

- \* What was the "fig leaf" rationale of the Paris Agreement?
- \* Why did Kissinger and Nixon drag out the Vietnam War for four additional years?
- \* Why did the Nixon Administration try so desperately hard to prevent publication of the Pentagon Papers?
- \* What was Kissinger's role in the "plumbers" squad?
- \* Who was the big beneficiary of U.S. involvement in Vietnam?

You can order your copy of this indispensable book at \$12.95 from Pere Marquette Press, Box 495, Alton, Ill. 62002.

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