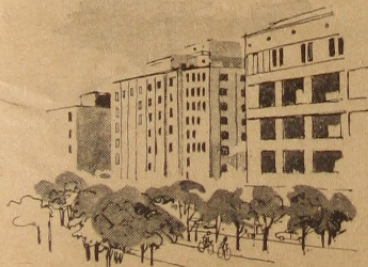




VIETNAM

IS IT TRUTH WE WANT?

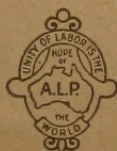
by Dr. J.F. Cairns M.H.R.



VIETNAM:

Is it truth
we want ?

By Dr. Jim Cairns, M.H.R.



VICTORIAN BRANCH OF THE AUSTRALIAN
LABOR PARTY

Foreword

By Hon. Arthur A. Calwell, M.H.R.,
Leader of the Federal Parliamentary Labor Party.

Dr. Cairns has done a great service to the cause of truth and justice in what he has written about the unwinnable war in Vietnam. He has analysed with great clarity and answered with compelling logic every argument for the continued intervention by Australia in support of the American campaign.

President Johnson has called this war "a dirty, brutal war." I think that is what it is. And if it is that it ought to be ended as soon as possible by a cease fire, a negotiated peace and an honorable withdrawal by the United States and her allies, and the forces assisting the Viet Cong.

The author reached the central fact of the tragic happenings in Vietnam when he emphasised that it is only by economic aid and the promotion of social justice that peace can come to this troubled area. This has been Labor policy since 1955. There can be no military victory.

The longer this war lasts, the greater the danger that it will escalate into a greater conflict, maybe into a nuclear war.

But short of a nuclear war, a major war fought with conventional weapons must mean wholesale destruction of life and property in all Vietnam and possibly in Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, even in China.

The longer the present war lasts, forgetting escalation, the more certain it is that the only winner in the end will be Communist China, and who wants that? Surely, only the Communists.

For the Vietnamese people engaged in this dreadful civil war, victory and defeat are now indistinguishable.

It looks as if there will be little left to make a tortured Nation either prosperous or secure.

I hope this pamphlet will be rewarded with a ready sale and a wide distribution. It is worthy of the distinguished thinker who wrote it.

Melbourne,
August 18, 1965

VIETNAM :

Is it truth we want?

AUSTRALIANS are now fighting and dying in Vietnam.

Many more others are fighting and dying there, too. Many more will die unless the war ends.

We Australians are not only involved in war in Vietnam. We are involved in history. We are taking sides in history.

Whether we are right or wrong, there are millions of Asians who oppose the involvement of Australian troops in this war in Asia.

Whether we are right or wrong, we are committing Australian generations yet unborn in the affairs of Asia.

We are justified only if we have the strongest of reasons.

Recently, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, said:

"I am sure that the great American people, if they only knew the true facts and the background to the developments in South Vietnam, will agree with me that further bloodshed is unnecessary."

If they only knew the facts . . . further bloodshed is unnecessary.

If the Secretary-General of the United Nations believes that, can we in Australia ignore it?

What are the facts?

The Australian Government, following blindly whatever the American President decides to do, states that Australia is in danger.

Why has the Menzies Government sent Australians into the jungles of Vietnam? Its answer is **BECAUSE THERE IS AGGRESSION FROM THE NORTH.**

What is the evidence of AGGRESSION FROM THE NORTH?

It is summed up in the International Control Commission Reports, and in a "White Paper" issued in February, 1965, by the U.S. State Department.

If there is Aggression from the North, men and arms will have moved from the North into South Vietnam.

How many have?

The evidence?

FIRST of all, the evidence has not been collected by impartial authorities. Most of it has been gathered by South Vietnamese officials.

But what is the evidence?

Take China first.

Not one Chinese has ever been claimed to have been found in South Vietnam.

In 1962, it is claimed, three weapons from China had been captured in South Vietnam. In 1963, the total was 16. In 1964, it was 91. A total of 110 in two-and-a-half years.

During that time, it is claimed by America, that 15,100 weapons were captured in South Vietnam from the Viet Cong. So the Chinese proportion is about .7 per cent.

Is that AGGRESSION FROM THE NORTH?

Is that all? No!

On February 16, 1965, a "cargo ship of an estimated 100 tons capacity" was captured offshore of South Vietnam. It was found to carry 1500 grenades, 1000 sub-machine guns, 17 other machine guns, more than 2500 rifles, about one million rounds of ammunition, other arms and explosives, and some medical supplies.

This "100 tons" was many times as much as had been captured in South Vietnam in the whole war up to that date. It was accorded a high place in the history of international aggression.

In a leading article on February 23, 1965, the "NEW YORK TIMES" wrote of it:

"Apparently the major new evidence of a need for escalating the war, with all the hazard that entails [and it was captured on February 16—9 days after the bombing of North Vietnam began], is a 100-ton cargo ship loaded with communist small arms and ammunition. A ship of that size is not much above the Oriental junk class. The standard Liberty or Victory ship of World War II had a capacity of 7150 to 7650 tons."

And little else has been found. On February 22, 1965, the "NEW YORK TIMES" wrote:

"About 12,000 vessels are searched each month by the South Vietnamese coastal junk patrol force, but arrests are rare and no significant amounts of incriminating goods or weapons have been found."

So it was one shipment in 12,000.

Is that AGGRESSION FROM THE NORTH?

W

HAT else about China?

American "NEWSWEEK" of March 15, 1965, reported:

"Red China is not the walled off society some people think . . . there isn't much that is hidden."

What about that which is not hidden?

"NEWSWEEK" says:

"The Chinese navy is purely a defensive unit geared to operate in shallow waters, (and) . . . one of the striking facts about China's military establishment is that it is organised almost exclusively for defence rather than attack. . . (and) after sixteen years China has 'an amphibious force capable of landing only two battalions.'"

Is this the "downward thrust of China"?

What about the other communist countries?

The first weapons from any communist country were captured in South Vietnam on May 12, 1962, nearly two years after North Vietnam is supposed to have started the war there.

Since then the following is the position:

The American "White Paper" claims that 184 weapons have been captured in South Vietnam from all communist countries to December 31, 1964.

In 1962 there were 23; in 1963 there were 161. And none in 1964.

Is this AGGRESSION FROM THE NORTH?

The International Control Commission Reports give a total of 835 weapons captured "up to this day"—February 16, 1965.

There were 580 Russian rifles, 150 Czech machine guns, 44 Chinese rifles, 49 Chinese machine guns, four Chinese bomb launchers, five East German rifles and three unspecified machine guns.

During part only of that period more than 15,100 weapons were captured from the Viet Cong, and 27,000 weapons were lost to them by South Vietnamese Government and American forces.

What about men?

It is claimed that between 1959 and 1964 there were 19,550 "confirmed" and 17,550 "estimated" infiltrations from North Vietnam into South Vietnam.

These are the claims.

WHAT is the actual evidence?

We are entitled to ask for evidence because much of what is claimed is based on information provided by South Vietnamese Government officials.

The "White Paper" gives names and details of 22. Out of 37,100—22.

How many are North Vietnamese and how many South Vietnamese? The "White Paper" gives names and details of five North Vietnamese.

That is the evidence upon which we are expected to draw conclusions about 37,100 men!

But let us accept all of them as actual infiltrations. How significant would they be?

They are claimed to be all "hard core Viet Cong." It is claimed that there are about 35,000 "hard core forces."

Even if we assume that 37,100 men did come into South Vietnam—they are not all alive or active now. Casualties are high—up to 50 per cent is claimed.

If casualties are that high it means that not 37,100 are still there, but only about 7500

But how much "hard core" would they be?

The Geneva Agreement of 1954 provided that all those who were south of the 17th parallel, which divides Vietnam, and who had fought against the French, were to move North. It is stated that between 90,000 and 140,000 left the South.

Now most of the "infiltrators" that came from the North between 1959 and 1964 are said to be South Vietnamese. Hence, most of them must have been old enough before 1954 to fight against the French. How old would they need to be . . . 18?

If they were, then today, in 1965, the youngest of them must be 29. A bit old for "hard core Viet Cong"?—particularly when all the "hard core" who are actually captured are about 20 years of age!

The "infiltrators" may be of value to the Viet Cong alright, but they are not "hard core."

The "White Paper" itself says (p. 11):

"The casualty rate has been high, and, obviously, many of those who were in fighting trim 10 years ago are no longer up to the rigors of guerrilla war."

Even if it is admitted that most of those who came from the North are South Vietnamese, what then? Returning to their own part of the country!

And if it is admitted that "many . . . are no longer up to the rigors of guerrilla war . . ." what then?

Is this AGGRESSION FROM THE NORTH?

The facts (?) about South Vietnam

RECENTLY the Liberal Party of Australia put out a pamphlet titled "THE FACTS ABOUT SOUTH VIETNAM."

The publication did not mention any of the evidence about the number or type of weapons.

It did not more than state the overall total of men who had "infiltrated," and it said there were 40,000.

It did not provide **THE FACTS** about Vietnam. It merely provided the unsupported **ASSERTIONS** about Vietnam.

Why did it not deal with the facts?



Is it because the following is correct?

Professor Hans Morgenthau, an adviser with the United States State and Defence Departments, says:

"[The U.S. White Paper] is a dismal failure. The discrepancy between its assertions and the factual evidence adduced to support them borders on the grotesque."

The U.S. Catholic journal, "COMMONWEAL":

"Washington has presented no firm evidence that North Vietnam plays more than a minor supporting role. . . . The gap between Washington's rhetoric about North Vietnam's aggression, and the amount of evidence testifying to it, is embarrassing."

Assertions, but no evidence

THE Menzies Government's case that there is **Aggression from the North** consists of **ASSERTION** alone. Evidence is **not** given.

Sir Robert Menzies said:

"The takeover in South Vietnam . . . is part of a thrust by Communist China between the Indian and Pacific oceans." (Liberal Party pamphlet, p.4.)

The U.S. White Paper (p.1) says:

"South Vietnam is [under attack] inspired, directed, supplied and controlled by the Communist regime in Hanoi."

The Communist Party in North Vietnam says:

"Our army [that of North Vietnam] is the instrument of the class struggle in liberating South Vietnam."

But these are **ASSERTIONS!**

ASSERTIONS of those who send Australians to Vietnam, and **ASSERTIONS** by the Communist Party in North Vietnam.



But what evidence is there that these **ASSERTIONS** are true. That the Communist Party in North Vietnam has done anything to carry into effect its revolutionary slogan?

The **EVIDENCE** that has been examined above.

The **EVIDENCE** that led Professor Hans Morgenthau to conclude:

"The discrepancy between (the) assertions and the factual evidence adduced to support them borders on the grotesque"

What is happening in South Vietnam?

IF what is happening in South Vietnam is not the result of **AGGRESSION FROM THE NORTH**, what, then, is it?

Is it a **NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY WAR** which is caused by conditions in South Vietnam and will not spread unless similar conditions prevail elsewhere.

For nearly 100 years Vietnam was ruled by the French.

A national movement against the French began there nearly 70 years ago. It gradually grew in strength.

During World War II, the French first adhered to the Allied cause, then switched over to pro-Nazi Vichy, and then were allowed by the Japanese to remain in control in Vietnam.

In March, 1945, the Japanese arrested most of the French and took over.

After the defeat of the Japanese, Vietnam was occupied in the North by Nationalist Chinese, and in the South by the British. They assisted the French to return.

The French returned to find the National Revolutionary Movement extensive and strong. On March 6, 1946, they signed an agreement with it. It read:

"The Government of France recognises the Republic of Vietnam as a free State having its Government and its Parliament, its army and its finances, forming part of the Indo-Chinese Federation and the French Union."

On November 23, 1946, at Haiphong, the French commanders gave orders that the port had to be evacuated within two hours or reprisals would be taken. Two hours later the French cruiser **SUFFERN** opened fire and more than 6000 men, women and children were killed.

No choice for Viet Minh

THE National Revolutionary Movement, now called the Viet Minh, dispersed to the mountains. It had no choice.

This dispersal, or guerrilla war, is always said to be something so sinister or ingenious that only communists could think of it.

Further, it is said that it has to be thought of in Peking or Hanoi and then directions have to be given to other communists to take it up. Few of them have any choice. They have to adopt dispersal or guerrilla warfare. The simple reason is that the firepower directed at them is so great they would be destroyed if they remained in one position.

So they dispersed into the mountains. Eventually, the French forces followed them. Eventually, the French were surrounded and defeated at Dien Bien Phu.

But John Foster Dulles, the then American Secretary of State, wanted to keep the war going. There were proposals to drop atom bombs at Dien Bien Phu and put in ground forces.

The Prime Minister of Great Britain, Sir Winston Churchill, said Britain was being urged "to assist in misleading Congress into approving a military operation which would in itself be ineffective, and might well bring the world to the verge of major war."

Even Sir Robert Menzies opposed the U.S. Government.

But he did not tell Australia.

The American Chief of Staff, General Matthew Ridgway, wrote:

"In Korea we had learned that air and naval power alone cannot win a war, and that inadequate ground forces cannot win one either.

"It was incredible to me that we had forgotten that bitter lesson so soon—that we were on the verge of making the same tragic error.

"That error, thank God, was not repeated.

"The idea of intervention was abandoned, and it is my belief that the analysis which the Army made, and presented to higher authority played a considerable, perhaps a decisive, part in persuading our Government not to embark on that tragic adventure."

Australians involved

BUT the "tragic adventure" has now been embarked upon. And Australians are involved.

If the ratio of "10 to 1" necessary to win a guerrilla war, or "30 to 1" has to be established, how many Americans and Australians will need to go into the interior of Vietnam to comprise "adequate ground forces"?

The Vietminh fighting the French was overwhelmed by fire power.

In 1954, Lieut. Colonel Genaste, of the French Army, wrote:

"Our planes [they have none] have absolute mastery of the skies; our navy [they have none] controls the sea; our tanks, our armament and technical skill are unchallenged."

But the French lost. Why?

Because they tried to deal with a movement that was national, political and economic by military means.

And then came the Americans.

France was to remain in control of South Vietnam until an election could be held in July, 1956. But the French withdrew completely in January, 1956, and a Government, led by NGO DINH DIEM, and maintained by America, took over.

DIEM was selected because he was a relentless, dogmatic man who would never compromise with Communism.

He did not. He compromised with no-one.

Immediately, he did what he was expected to do. He "cleaned up Saigon" and began to hunt and destroy Communists.

A FRENCH writer, Phillippe Devillers, wrote:

"A certain sequence of events by Diem became classical: denunciations, encirclement of villages, searches and raids, arrests of suspects, plundering, interrogation enlivened by torture (even of innocent people), regrouping of populations suspected of intelligence with rebels, etc."

According to Denis Warner, of the Melbourne "Herald":

"It is inevitable that of the approximately 400 Viet Cong killed each month, many should be innocent bystanders. Any estimate of the number killed in error is, at best, a fairly wild guess."

And then, according to Warner:

"Everyone in the village is dossiered, photographed and questioned. The remaining Communists left behind are liquidated . . . the formal Communists are dealt with at one's convenience . . . and the suspected Communists are arrested and sent up to the provincial security service."



The Viet Cong killed many village leaders, teachers, malaria control team members and government troops.

It was a war. And it was a filthy war. It was on both sides.

To suggest that Diem did nothing until the Viet Cong attacked him is to ignore the evidence and common sense.

His Government was there to get rid of "Communists." It lost no time in starting the campaign.

But the campaign was a military one.

Why the West failed

DIEM was uncompromising. He rejected economic and political reform.

This is why the West has failed in South Vietnam.

It is why the alternative now is a large land war or something that is not worth going into Vietnam to get.

What about political possibilities?

First of all, the election provided for under the Geneva agreement was rejected by Diem.

In 1959, an election in a small area was held at Washington's insistence.

A well-known anti-Communist, Dr. Dan, was elected against Diem's opposition. He was declared an agent of the Viet Cong, disqualified and arrested. He was imprisoned until Diem was overthrown in 1963.

In April, 1960, a Manifesto was presented to Diem by 18 leading South Vietnamese citizens. Five were former Ministers, four were Doctors of Medicine, three were Attorneys at Law.

Among other things, it said:

"Continuous arrests fill the gaols and prisons to the rafters . . . public opinion and the Press are reduced to silence . . . graft is impossible to hide. The administrative machinery is about to become paralysed . . . many people are out of work and do not have a roof over their heads . . . rice is abundant, but it does not sell . . . shop windows are well-stocked, but the goods do not move. We beseech the Government to urgently modify its policies. . . ."

Within one week most of the 18 were in gaol.

In 1961, General Maxwell Taylor was sent to investigate.

The American "NEW REPUBLIC" reported:

"(He) recommended some deep-seated changes. . . . Washington was going to tell the Ngo Dinh Diem clique to follow through with some real social changes or to retire to its abundant foreign investments. But nothing of the sort occurred. Washington purely and simply capitulated."

Why?

BECAUSE Diem's powerful friends argued that the war had to be won first, and that, because he was such a strong, uncompromising anti-Communist, he had to be backed in his unrelenting stand.

What about economics?

In his book, "THE LAST CONFUCIAN," Denis Warner writes:

"A meagre 1.4 per cent of United States aid, or \$15 million, went to agriculture between 1955 and 1960. The much vaunted rural help programme did not exist. Land reform was a flop. Industry was insignificant."

After two years of investigation in South Vietnam, Professor Frank C. Child, of Michigan State University, concluded in 1961:

"Today economic development is inhibited, not by lack of resources, but by lack of effort and inept administration.

"The rich and the Government hoard their resources rather than invest them in economic growth.

"American aid is administered in a fashion which guarantees the economic and political position of the rich and mercantile class, which is vigorously opposed to economic progress."

And so both the political and economic doors through which an answer to the "advance of Communism" might have been found were closed.

What was left?

Military action.

Of this military action, 800 American academics wrote in the "NEW YORK TIMES" on May 13, 1965:

"The manner of combat shows that we have saturated South Vietnam with every kind of military equipment the terrain allows.

"We airlift troops and supplies continually.

"We drop napalm on populations intermingled with guerrillas.

"We burn and defoliate crops and forests.

"We have resorted to incapacitating gas."

What is the essential point of all this?

It is that an answer to the spread of revolutionary war must be found.

The notable English historian of revolutions, E. H. Carr, wrote:

"To establish methods of peaceful change is . . . the fundamental problem of international relations."

He is right.

The Dominoes theory

IT is asserted that if the Communists are not stopped in South Vietnam they will immediately take over Laos, Cambodia, Thailand and Malaya, and will be in Darwin within a few months.

How can this advance be stopped?

Professor Bernard Fall, in his book, "THE TWO VIET-NAMS," indicates the answer:

" . . . the situation in South Vietnam will remain parlous and indecisive as long as officials in Washington and Saigon continue to believe that popular support in a revolutionary war is a minor factor in the eventual achievement of victory."

An American writer, George K. Tanham, in his book, "COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARY WARFARE," concluded at the end:

" . . . the Government has to have the active and continuing support of the Vietnamese masses and the troops, all the economic and military aid in the world, though it may delay it, will not halt the Communist advance."

The 10 Governments of South Vietnam have never had popular support for the reasons set out above.

It is now too late for any American supported Government in South Vietnam to get popular support.

BUT THE MISTAKE MUST NEVER BE MADE AGAIN OR THE DOMINOES WILL FALL.

Military methods cannot stop them from falling.

Political and economic progress is the only thing that can stop them from falling.

THE LESSON should have been learnt in the Philippines.

In 1945, the Americans returned to find the Hukbalahop guerrilla movement in control of much of the country.

Soon a Japanese collaborator, Manuel Roxas, was President.

The regime was corrupt.

No land reform was attempted. There was unemployment. Goods in plenty would not sell. The Huk guerrilla campaign advanced. It was met by military methods and no reform.

BRIGADIER GENERAL E. G. LANSDALE, an American adviser to the Philippines Army, wrote:

"... purely military tactics failed completely to stop the Huks [because they] had analysed the people's grievances and made the righting of these wrongs into their slogans. And the change came when Ramon Magsaysay became Defence Minister [and later President].

"He was from the people and loved and trusted them.

"He and the army set about making the constitution a living document for the people.

"As they did so, they and the people emerged on the same side of the fight.

"The Huks lost support and had to go on the defensive."

It was not that the Philippines being an island made much difference.

We have seen overwhelming evidence that arms and men from outside are only of marginal influence in South Vietnam.

The National Revolutionary War has to be met by political and economic reform before it goes too far or it will not be met at all and war will spread.

Who can meet it this way?

First of all, not the dedicated, negative, uncompromising anti-Communists like Diem.

Professor Fall says of him:

"... the Diem regime was autocratic, arrogant, dogmatic... and fiercely resisting any suggestion for real reform—only one positive alternative remained... war and escalated war."

Second, the war hawks cannot meet the National Revolutionary war.

They and the "industrial-military" complex, which President Eisenhower, on retirement, thought it necessary to warn the world about cannot do it.

The Dominoes must fall if the religious bigots and the warhawks have their way.

And what would be the cost?

Several million American and Australian men fighting in the Asian jungles.

Hundreds of thousands of deaths from fire and steel. Perhaps a nuclear war.

As America's 800 academics recently said:

"An intervention as massive as this does not furnish a choice to the people. It deprives them of one."

Reforms

WHAT is the alternative?

It is political and economic reform to meet the needs of the people.

It does not have to be revolutionary.

The poor and suppressed are satisfied with very little.

The Magsaysay reforms in the Philippines did not cost anybody anything.

They left the middle and official classes better off in the end.

But the reforms won the day.

Recently, the American historian and diplomat, George Kennon, wrote:

"To the extent that Asia manifests a revulsion against the West as a reaction to the experience of colonialism, Americans must find, within ourselves, the dignity and maturity to accept this... It may be said that, for the West, the Soviet (and Chinese) threat is primarily an internal crisis in the West's own development. In this appreciation there lies, in my conviction, the key to the understanding of the correct method of approach."

The question is not whether we should try to stop the advance by war and violence of Communism. It must be stopped.

The real question is how?

The answer lies in the West.

It is between those who know that military methods cannot win, but political and economic methods can, and those who say the war has to be won first and political and economic change, IF NECESSARY, can come later.

Recently in the American Congress, however, Senator Frank Church recognised what was the basis of military power in the Pacific when he said:

"America's real power in the Pacific will remain where it has always been—in our naval and air power right along the coasts of Asia.

"Indeed, if we can become disentangled from the inconclusive and costly jungle war in South-East Asia, we will be in a better position to use our power flexibly and wisely than we are today."

That "power" must be used "flexibly and wisely" to bring about political and economic progress and to support in Laos, Cambodia, Thailand and elsewhere men who will do it.

Soon after the election of John F. Kennedy to Presidency of the United States, Senator Church says he was touring Africa with Robert Kennedy. He writes:

"Wherever our presence became known eager crowds would gather to shout 'Kennedy,' 'Kennedy.'

"Word had spread through Africa that the newly-elected President of the United States had, as a Senator in 1957, spoken up for Algeria in her war of Independence against France."

When the revolutionary inclined people of Indoenesia, Malayasia, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Burma and South Vietnam call out like that to a Western leader we will know we are winning.

We will know then that the DOMINOES will not fall.



Summary

THERE can be no doubt whatever: China and North Vietnam want to see Communists in full control in South Vietnam.

They also want to see the whole of Vietnam under one Communist Government.

They also want to see Communist Governments in Laos, Cambodia and everywhere else in the world.

But what China and North Vietnam actually do to bring about these results has been vastly and deliberately exaggerated.

What have they done so far?

There have been resolutions, directions, plans and slogans, which in many cases were quite unnecessary because the Communists and others actually fighting in South Vietnam probably know more about what should be done than the Communists in China and North Vietnam who have not fought in a war for more than ten years.

They have supplied arms and men, which came in, or were sent in, from North Vietnam into the South.

HOW MANY?

Every item of evidence has been listed and examined.

WE have challenged the Government—the Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Hasluck, personally—to produce more evidence if they have it.

BUT NONE HAS BEEN PRODUCED.

The evidence shows that arms, men, directions and control, support and encouragement given by the North is no more than of marginal significance.

The war effort in the South is not maintained by the North.

It is maintained by people in South Vietnam.

It is not the result of AGGRESSION FROM THE NORTH.

The war in Vietnam is fundamentally a civil war which is a result of the National movement that has existed there for nearly seventy years.

Communists seek to control and lead that Movement.

They do so in a manner described by the American writer, George K. Tanham, in his book "COMMUNIST REVOLUTIONARY WARFARE":

"Political and military aims are intertwined and inseparable, with the political objective taking precedence over the military at all times."

Communists do not rely upon war, aggression or terror.

They are used. But everything depends upon political objectives (Nationalism, economic reform and political leadership).

Everything depends upon the existence of appropriate conditions in the country.

If the conditions are not there the movement will not be there.

Communist "conspiracies," resolutions, plans . . . will not do it alone . . . they can use the conditions . . . they depend upon the conditions.

The conditions have been present in South Vietnam.

From 1955 to 1963 the Diem Government, "autocratic, arrogant and fiercely resisting change," refused to alter, modify or change the conditions.

This was because Diem was an uncompromising anti-Communist.

He believed anyone who wanted change was a Communist, a fellow-traveller or stooge.

He was exactly the same as his supporters—the Santamaria Movement, and the military fringe in Australian politics.

And so he lost.

THE Diem Government in the end, backed by the military fringe in the United States and elsewhere, adopted a military policy in South Vietnam.

Each and every new method of warfare failed.

So the war was continuously escalated.

This may go on indefinitely until a total war is brought about, not by Communist aggression alone as it is asserted, but by the escalation itself.

It is now probably impossible to find enough people in South Vietnam to allow a change of policy.

But it is possible to do so in other countries.

The "advance of Communism" by force must be stopped.

It cannot be stopped on land in ASIA by a mainly military campaign.

Like the Communists, Western aims must ensure that "political objectives take precedence over the military at all times."

The essential point is that if this is to be done those who demand the military answer must have less influence in the formation of American and Australian policy.

THE RELIGIOUS FANATICS AND MILITARISTS CAN DO LITTLE MORE THAN CAUSE WARS WHICH CANNOT SUCCEED.

Australia must seek a flexible, progressive policy in respect to Asia, using, to the full, political and economic reform, and, for final security, relying in the end upon the position stated above by **Senator Frank Church**.

To repeat:

"America's real power in the Pacific will remain where it has always been—in our naval and air power right along the coasts of Asia.

"Indeed, if we can become disentangled from the inconclusive and costly jungle war in South-East Asia, we will be in a better position to use our power flexibly and wisely than we are today."

What should be Australia's attitude toward America?

To encourage her to adopt a militaristic policy that is failing?

This the Menzies Government is doing.

It should be to encourage her to adopt a progressive policy that will succeed.

Let us together face that task. Let us turn from war towards peace.