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THE NATURE OF THE WAR
IN VIETNAM

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SLIDE IDENTIFICATIONS

- ✓ 1. Village in South Vietnam
- ✓ 2. Two Vietnamese girls
3. Fishing village, South Vietnam
4. Entrance to Palace of Khai Dinh, Southwest of Hue
5. Ho Chi Minh
- ✓ 6. Map from Vol. I, Gravel Pentagon Papers, showing territory held by Vietminh at time of Geneva Conference. The white areas are actually the least populated areas of Vietnam: the Central Highlands (mountainous) and the Plain of Reeds southwest of Saigon.
7. Dulles and Diem in front of portrait of George Washington
- ✓ 8. Clouds over the Central Highlands during the rainy season, 4 p.m. before the rain
9. Goatherder in the mountains of South Vietnam
10. Rice fields in the Mekong Delta
- ✓ 11. Bombed dike in North Vietnam. The dike begins in the background (the raised green earth) and then circles around to the foreground where it has been broken by a bomb. Taken by Jane Fonda on her trip to N.V.N. in Aug. 1972).
12. Water buffalo pulling cart in Laos
13. Water buffalo with telephone wire in South Vietnam
14. Village on stilts in South Vietnam
15. Weeding the rice shoots, S.V.N.
16. Carrying oxen yoke, S.V.N. (Footpath connects hamlets)
17. Canal through rice fields, S.V.N.
18. Woman in traditional Vietnamese dress called a Ao Dai
19. Working the rice fields, S.V.N.
20. Plowing a field with ancestral tomb or shrine in background, S.V.N.
21. Working in the rice fields, N.V.N. Taken by Jane Fonda, while in N.V.N. in Aug. 1972.
22. Fishing village, S.V.N.
- ✓ 23. B 52s flying in their box pattern
- ✓ 24. Napalm bomb burning village in S.V.N.
- ✓ 25. Destroyed village of Song My, S.V.N.
- ✓ 26. Bombed buildings, S.V.N.
- ✓ 27. Bombed village, S.V.N.
28. Bomb craters, S.V.N.
29. Bomb craters just below the Demilitarized Zone, S.V.N.
30. Close-up of bomb crater, S.V.N.
31. Bomb craters, S.V.N.
32. Mangroves from ground after spraying of herbicides, S.V.N.
33. U.S. planes spraying, S.V.N.
34. Unsprayed mangrove forest, Gia Dinh Forest, S.V.N.
35. Same area after spraying

36. Damaged plant (from spraying). Partially damaged plants are actually more dangerous than completely ruined ones because people eat the partially damaged plants and therefore their bodies become poisoned and their genes damaged.
37. Wounded girl, S.V.N.
38. Man with his dead son wrapped in the traditional way for burial (in a bamboo mat)
39. Pineapple bomblet (yellow) and guava bomblet
40. Wounded child in hospital, S.V.N.
41. Napalm victim, S.V.N.
42. Napalmed baby, S.V.N.
43. White phosphorous victim, S.V.N.
44. Napalmed woman, S.V.N.
45. People before being killed at My Lai
46. My Lai massacre
47. My Lai massacre
48. King Cobra military ad
49. Phantom Jet military ad
50. A-7 military ad
51. GI in a "body bag"
52. The Electronic Battlefield ad
53. U.S. aircraft carrier
54. U.S. pilot
55. Sensor disguised as animal droppings
56. ADSID sensor. Rocket part burries itself in ground, top is disguised as a plant.
57. Sensor disguised as a plant or grass.
58. Diagram of how electronic battlefield works. Drone airplane flying overhead.
59. Outside of computer center, Thailand
60. Inside of computer center, Thailand
61. Avionics (division of ITT) ad showing the battlefield on the radar screen.
62. ITT ad
63. Ten year old ARVN "soldier". Feted for killing 2 "Vietcong women cadre" the day before (his teacher and his mother, it was rumored).
64. Model of the "tiger cages" in S.V.N. Taken by Jane Fonda on her trip to N.V.N., Aug. 1972. The model was in a war museum. People are kept below the grates and guards patrol on the walkways above. The buckets are filled with lye and are dumped over on the prisoners if there is any sort of disturbance.
65. ARVN soldier retreating from Quang Tri in his underwear
66. Refugees, S.V.N.
67. Laotian refugees waiting to be moved to a camp
68. One of the camps in S.V.N.

69. Soldiers rounding up people and moving them to camps in S.V.N.
70. ARVN soldier with megaphone rounding up people
71. People being moved to a camp. Picture is blurred because the photographer who was taking it was shoved by the soldiers. All the people have bags on their heads to keep them more comfortable.
72. Waiting to be processed into a camp in S.V.N. These people have been standing for 3 days in water. There were no sanitary facilities available.
73. One of the camps (aerial view) in S.V.N.
74. Tin roofs of shacks in one of the camps, S.V.N. seen through barbed wire.
75. Drawing by a refugee from the Plain of Jars in Laos.
76. Same
77. Saigon from the air
78. Saigon from the air. Notice how closely the shacks are squeezed together with no room even for streets. People walk through each others shacks to get to their own.
79. Back alley in Saigon
80. "Squatter" on a city street in S.V.N. with military vehicles in the background
81. Garbage in Saigon
82. Same
83. American Embassy in Saigon
84. Investment company in Laos
85. Picture from Fortune magazine showing American AID man teaching Vietnamese how to grow rice
86. Street scene in Saigon with t.v. sets at a "store"
87. Saigon street scene with Yamaha advertisement
88. Street scene in Saigon with Esso gas station
89. Oil storage depot outside of Saigon
90. On the outskirts of Saigon. Water buffalo with gas pumps.
91. Saigon street scene
92. Saigon street scene with "Miami Pool"
93. Saigon street scene showing bars
94. Scene with Vietnamese man earning a few pennies by watching a jeep for an American. Saigon
95. Vietnamese women going in to clean a brothel. They are not prostitutes but probably older women who earn a bit of money by cleaning. This is not a "hotel". Saigon
96. Prostitute with an American. S.V.N.
97. Orphanage in Saigon. Just down the block from the President's palace. As many as 6 children sleep in one bed.
98. Prostitute in Saigon. Supposedly on acid.
99. Prostitute in Saigon
100. Sign in hotel lobby in Saigon

- 1 For me the world consisted of several dozen houses built
in the center of green mountains

My childhood was in harmony with nature among the gardens,
the fields, and the mountains

I was part of my village which I would never leave

Night and day, in the light of the moon, in the fields,
in the forest,

With the natural music of the birds,

My friends would wander in the most perfect calm,

- 2 The happiest in the world.

We were convinced that in the evil world

There were too few people who were content with so few things
like we were,

And could call it happiness.

When the seasons of planting and sowing came, together with
my friends, in high spirits,

- 3 We fought against every caprice of nature

And thus kept the traditional rhythm of our ancestors.

...21 year old woman refugee from
the Plain of Jars in Laos

Even after 22 years of U.S. involvement in Vietnam, very few Americans
know or understand much about the Vietnamese people and culture.

- 4 For thousands of years the Vietnamese people have built up a nation in
the face of constant attack and subversion by supposedly greater powers.
Two thousand years ago it was the Chinese feudalists, then the Mongols
in the 13th century, then the Chinese once more. In modern times, the
Vietnamese have been invaded by the French, then the Japanese, and after
World War II, the French for another nine years of war, and finally the
Americans.

Modern Vietnamese independence is thus built on a history of struggle
stretching back to the foundation of their nation.

- 5 In our lifetimes, the focal points of their independence struggle are
1945 and 1954. In the first case, a nationalist movement organized by
communist militants and led by Ho Chi Minh, came to power throughout
Vietnam in the wake of World War II. The Pentagon Papers describe Ho's
government of that time as the only effective and popular nationalist
movement in Vietnam, and acknowledge that its scope extended from the north
to the south, throughout the whole country. The French, with increasing
6 American military aid, attempted to reconquer their former colony in a war
that lasted from 1946 to 1954 when Ho's forces, called the Vietminh, tri-
umphed at Dienbienphu in the first major victory against Western colonialism.
The Geneva Conference which followed acknowledged that Vietnam was one country,
and provided for a temporary partition to regroup the opposing military
forces and prepare for reunification by elections within two years. Those
7 elections never took place, the Pentagon Papers show, because the U.S.
refused to accept the coming to power of Ho's party and movement. Ever
since, the U.S. has attempted to make the partition permanent: through
direct military aid to the unpopular Catholic mandarin Ngo Dinh Diem
(1955-1963), through U.S. special forces advisers (1961-1964), through

conventional limited war (1964-1968) and finally, in the wake of successive failures, through so-called Vietnamization from 1969 to the present.

The American people have been poorly informed by our government of this diplomatic and political history. But we know even less of the culture and history of Vietnam which creates the strength for sacrifice and struggle.

8 Vietnam is one country, one culture, one people, with a history stretching back over 4,000 years. A recent issue of Scientific American talks about new discoveries in Indochina. There is evidence that plants and animals were domesticated 5,000 years earlier than the date commonly accepted for this occurrence in the Middle East. The oldest pottery shards have been discovered in this area of the world. A Vietnamese culture many times older than that of the United States evolved from these distant beginnings.

9 The history of the Vietnamese people is a history of struggle for survival. The culture and the people have been shaped by the struggle to defeat foreign domination and work out an accommodation with the natural world around them.

The original tribes and clans in Vietnam lived on the sides of the mountains and below them lay the bed of the Red River which created a vast marshland. The civilization and cultivation of the Red River delta depended on the ability of the people to overcome monsoon weather and accompanying floods. Before any food could be grown, the water from the monsoon season had to be controlled and the marshlands made suitable for cultivation. From the
10 earliest times the Vietnamese have built dams, dikes, canals, and levees to control the water and to reclaim land from the sea. Such water management requires skill, patience, and, most importantly, collective effort because of the magnitude of the projects involved. It was the need for their collective work which was the unifying force among the early Vietnamese. Without the vast system of dikes which they have built up over hundreds of years, the Vietnamese society would not exist today.

It is important to understand this history now because of the current debate over the Nixon Administration's bombing of the dikes. We Americans may think in terms of dams like Hoover dam, but when talking about Vietnam and the dams there, we are talking about the land itself, the very basis of existence of the Vietnamese people. Without the dikes and dams there would be no land upon which to grow rice, the traditional food which sustains
11 the people of Vietnam. The skills and knowledge it has taken to build the irrigation system have been passed down from generation to generation, just as the dikes themselves have been passed down and added to by each new generation. If we understand this, then we understand how ridiculous it is for Secretary Laird to claim that the Vietnamese have a termite problem, or that faulty engineering or lack of attention are the reasons the dikes are weak, not American bombing. Any claim that the Vietnamese could neglect their dikes is based upon complete ignorance of their way of life or is meant to deceive the American people.

12 The long history of struggle to survive the difficult conditions of their natural surroundings had provided the Vietnamese with a different attitude than most Americans toward the relationship between people, animals, plants

and nature. These elements make up an integrated whole in their view of life. For instance, it is customary to treat the water buffalo with the same sacred significance as the bison of the Great Plains were treated by the Sioux Indians.

The village is the traditional center of society in Vietnam. Communal sharing of labor, possessions, and responsibility have been a necessary way of life for farmers struggling against weather, tropical diseases, food shortages, and hostile neighbors. The concepts of private property and individualism are literally "foreign" to the overwhelming majority of Vietnamese. The traditional village structure is like an extended or multiple family system. It is customary for people to farm rice in paddies adjacent to their homes, which are passed down from one generation and family to the next. It is not uncommon to find that the names of villages today can be traced back to those of the original tribes or clans which first settled the area. Most people seldom left their village. Fewer left their province. Most villages, although simple, gave one a sense of peace and beauty. Many were accessible only by path or canal. At his village, a peasant farmer was born, got married, raised his family, grew his rice crops and died. This universe gave the peasant dignity.

As long as 4,000 years ago the Vietnamese peasants cooperated to dam up rivers and to grow rice. Rice is central not only to their diet but to the entire spiritual relationship between the Vietnamese people and the natural world. It is customary for the Vietnamese people to bury their ancestors in the rice paddies which they farm. The bones of these ancestors literally fertilize the fields.

So when the next generation plants, harvests, and eats the rice, they believe they are being nourished by the past in a continuous chain of natural development in which the spirit of their ancestors is never lost.

During the day, Vietnamese often greet each other with words which translate "Eat cooked rice yet?". If a Vietnamese has not eaten rice, though he may have eaten other foods that day, he considers himself not to have eaten at all. The family, the most sacred social institution, lives in almost complete and perfect harmony of past, present and future: people, animals, sky, earth, water--one seamless web.

So when the North Vietnamese Commission on War Crimes announces that 1/3 of the villages of South Vietnam have been completely obliterated by search and destroy missions, bombings and burnings--that is, over 3,000 villages--we have to understand that it's not the same as if our own homes were destroyed. We would not feel the cultural breakdown or loss of identity which the Vietnamese feel because of the loss of their homes and lands which have been passed down from age to age. Our homes come and go like cars and other commodities. But the bulldozers that destroy and chemicals that poison the rice fields, the bombs that rip to pieces the traditional homes are not only tearing apart bamboo and rice plants -- they are tearing apart a cultural foundation that can never be replaced.

By November, Nixon will have dropped over 4 million tons of bombs in Indochina. This is more than Johnson ever dropped. It is double the tonnage the U.S. dropped in all of WWII. Since the spring of this year, the

B-52's have set daily record for tons dropped. Since Dan Ellsberg released the Pentagon Papers a little over a year ago, an average tonnage of one
 29 Hiroshima bomb a week have been dropped on Vietnam.

According to the Congressional Record, there are over 23 million bomb craters in Indochina, most of them in South Vietnam. In addition to destroying the land, making it impossible to till in some places, the craters
 30 have become breeding grounds for malarial-carrying mosquitoes.

The bombing and the cultural destruction of Vietnam has been necessary because it has become clear that the Vietnamese liberation movement cannot be defeated militarily. The targets for U.S. bombs are not military targets,
 31 but rather the nearly manicured rice fields that have taken centuries to create, the towns and the villages, the homes and now the dikes in N. Vietnam.

A new word has come into being in the last few years which describes
 32 one of the policies of the U.S. in Vietnam. This word is ecocide, which means the complete destruction of the natural environment in which people live.

The two principle agents of this destruction have been a saturation
 33 bombing unprecedented in warfare and the massive spraying of herbicides. The U.S. airforce has defoliated an area of South Vietnam the size of Massachusetts. Over 35% of South Vietnam's hardwood forests have been
 34 sprayed and 50% of the coastal mangrove forests have been destroyed. In 1967 Saigon newspapers began reporting that "monsters" were being born to
 35 women, that birth defects had shot up. The papers questioned whether there was any connection between the birth defects and the poisonous spraying the
 36 U.S. was doing. The newspapers were immediately shut down and since 1969 the Saigon Ministry of Health has classified the files of birth defects, so we cannot obtain specific figures on this matter. Besides the destruction of the land and villages of Indochina, thousands and thousands of
 37 civilians have been made casualties. The chief lie of the Nixon Administration is that the war has been winding down. The chief argument in favor of this lie has been the declining number of American G.I.'s killed. But the truth is that the number of Vietnamese civilians being killed by American bombs has increased under Nixon.

According to a paper presented to the American Association for the Advancement of Science, at least 50% of all bombs dropped on Indochina are anti-personnel bombs. Our military policies are so de-humanized that even the names of the bombs we drop obscure our understanding of their effects in human terms. For instance there is the "cheeseburger"-bomb whose power is
 39 surpassed only by that of an atomic bomb. "Mother" bombs carry "Pineapple" and "Guava" bombs. The Pineapple bomblet sends 250 steel pellets spewing in a horizontal fashion across the land. The Guava bomblet explodes on the ground, in mid-air, or with a time-delayed fuse sending 400 to 500 pellets in a 360 degree pattern. Because of the spraying pattern, the pellets might find people hiding in caves and bunkers. One thousand Pineapple or Guava bomb-lets can be dropped by one aircraft making one flight. This means that up to 500,000 pellets can explode to cover an area the size of two football fields.

Since technology is always improving, scientists supported by government funds have developed bombs which spew forth ragged edged projectiles
 40 called fleshets which rip the flesh and tissues as they pass into the body.

The most recent development is a plastic casing, the fragments of which cannot be detected by X-ray, and therefore make it difficult for surgical removal. Other anti-personnel weapons include incendiary bombs, such as napalm, designed to burn their victims. Napalm has also been improved. Formerly, a victim might wash napalm off if he got to water soon enough. But now a polystyrene substance has been added which causes the napalm to stick to the body. White phosphorus has also been added to napalm. Its "advantage" is that it often burns slowly, up to 15 days, and eats down to the bone, causing death by poisoning the body.

These anti-personnel weapons are not designed for military targets but are meant to demoralize the population. Rather than killing people outright, many of them severely wound the victims. Thus they are meant to tie up 9 or 10 people caring for each wounded victim rather than just killing one person.

Some villagers were neither killed by American bombing nor made into refugees but were killed by other American actions. According to the Winter Soldier Investigations, investigations of American war crimes in Vietnam, massacres such as the one at My Lai were not isolated incidents. When these pictures of the My Lai massacre appeared in the Cleveland Plain Dealer, there were many letters to the editor complaining about about the pictures. One stating they were obscene because some of the children did not have clothes on.

It is difficult for any of us to comprehend and communicate all this death and destruction. Our culture uses advertising as a means of communication. If we look at these military ads, found in engineering and business magazines, we might be able to understand what the point of it all is. From the pitch made by the ads we realize that the U.S. is trying to find a technological solution to a guerilla war in Vietnam.

Massive American intervention in Vietnam reached its height in 1968 with half a million Americans there and casualties running at 15,000 dead Americans shipped back in "body bags". The American ground strategy and air war had failed. The ensuing crisis forced Johnson to quit the presidency and generated a new doctrine which Nixon called "Vietnamization".

Ellsworth Bunker, the American Ambassador in Saigon, has said this new doctrine is simply a matter of "changing the color of the corpses". The color of the corpses has changed. The number of Americans killed this year has been reduced by 90% since Nixon took office. However, the Pentagon's body count for Vietnamese just in the U.S.-supported Saigon army has been 20 to 30,000 per year. (A figure which would be completely unacceptable if it were American bodies.) This year, in the first six months it is already over 20,000 deaths. This means that just on the side which we pay for and support there have been over 80,000 deaths since 1969 in what Nixon claims is the winding down of the war. This figure is 25% higher than under Johnson. Furthermore, we have killed our supposed "enemy" at the rate of 100,000 per year, according to the Pentagon, just in South Vietnam. What this means is that during Nixon's term in office, almost 500,000 people have died in a war which, if you agree with Daniel Ellsberg and the evidence in the Pentagon Papers, only goes on because the U.S. pays and props up one side and forces the other side to resist.

In this view, the U.S. is responsible for all deaths, on all sides. None of the figures so far cited include North Vietnam, Cambodia or Laos.

The problem that faced the United States in 1969 was how to fight a war when:

- 1) You can't commit ground troops because of American public opinion;
- 2) You can't depend on your allies;
- 52 3) You can't allow the public to know the true nature of the war;
- 4) You can't take increasing American casualties.

Part of the solution was to automate the war as much as possible. What has replaced American ground troops has been the stepped up air war and the "electric battlefield".

53 American troops have been removed to privileged sanctuaries on aircraft carriers in the South China Sea and bases from which B-52's take off in Guam, the Philippines and Thailand, each one carrying 30 tons of bombs to
54 drop on this tiny country--Vietnam.

The chief scientific advance which started with Robert McNamara but which was expanded into the center piece of the air war under Nixon is the "electronic battlefield". It rests on the communication abilities of these
55 little devices called sensors which are disguised to look like animal droppings or plants. They are supposedly capable of detecting
56 the presence of enemy ground troops or tanks. They are supposed to detect a wide range of noises, smells, vibrations, etc. and then flash this
57 information to an airplane passing overhead, called a drone airplane. Drone airplanes have no pilots, so if they are shot down, there is no
58 P.O.W. problem. The drones relay the messages to a huge computer center in Thailand. The computers flash the information to electronically guided
59 fighter bombers which fly over the area and are programmed to automatically
60 drop their bombs.

Eric Herter, a Vietnam veteran and son of Christian Herter, former Secretary of State, has suggested that in this battlefield even racism
61 becomes technological: "Gooks become blips" on the radar screen.

Many of the electronics firms, such as Itt with its Avionics Division here in the San Fernando Valley, have found the electronic battlefield a
62 real boon. The new electronic weaponry is much more expensive than the old conventional stuff. For instance, a t.v. guided "smart" bomb costs over \$12,000 while a conventional bomb costs only \$250 to 2,000.

It should be pointed out that all of this sophisticated equipment is not working. The electric battlefield was meant to stop the flow of men and material and prevent an offensive such as the one the Vietnamese launched in the spring of this year and which is still going on. The Vietnamese have been able to bring tanks and supplies down the trails and despite sensors and "smart" bombs. But the electronic battlefield certainly has made murder less visible, and launched a profitable new round of defense contracts.

63 The American air war is meant to "support" the Saigon army, the ARVN. This army is the fourth largest in the "Free World", 4 million men having been forced into it. The ARVA army which includes local defense units, is made up of conscripts, some of them as young as this boy. Most young

men in South Vietnam have no choice about going into the army. If they
 64 refuse to go into the ARVN, they face jailing. There are hundreds of
 thousands of people in prison in South Vietnam put there by Thieu because
 they have refused to go into the army and fight their countrymen or because
 they disagree with Thieu's policies. Many men with families are forced to
 join the army because there is no other way to make even a marginal living
 in South Vietnam. The ARVN army has the lowest morale and the highest
 65 desertion rate in the world--running at 90,000 or more per month. And it
 virtually never fights. Actually, the ARVN soldiers are used as "live bait",
 according to Life magazine, forced out into battles to make contact with the
 enemy so that U.S. air power can be used.

You might wonder what this is all about. It's not just slaughter for
 66 slaughter's sake. It's not mindless or mad. It's all part of Nixon's plan
 of Vietnamization. Besides automating the war and creating a mercenary army,
 Vietnamization means "forced urbanization", which is essentially a plan for
 "generating refugees." This is what the professors and Ph.D.'s who have
 67 devised the plan call it. The main spokesman of this plan is Samuel P.
 Huntington, former head of the Government Department at Harvard and a
 colleague of Henry Kissinger.

The plan calls for forcing people from their ancestral lands and
 68 villages into resettlement camps which violate the traditional Vietnamese
 culture. Such camps are variously called strategic hamlets, new life hamlets,
 or regroupment centers. The removal process is accomplished either under
 the pressure of massive U.S. bombing and military operations which include
 "free fire zones" and "search and destroy" actions or by "pacification"
 69 teams which go into the countryside and round up the people.

Forced urbanization has two parts. The first part is aimed at destroy-
 ing rural revolutionary warfare. The people are removed from the country-
 side to isolate the guerillas from their base of support.

70 The second part of forced urbanization is supposedly the positive
 aspect--urbanization. Urbanization is an improvement over peasant life,
 according to the American planners, because peasant life is backwards, and
 communism feeds on cultural backwardness, they say. As one policy planner
 has said, "Once they see the big city, they'll never want to go back to
 dullsville".

People have been gathered up and moved into the camps by the millions.
 71 One third of the population of Indochina has been moved since 1962. Some
 people have been moved 5 to 10 times. Out of the 27 million people who live
 in Laos, Cambodia and South Vietnam, 9 million have been made refugees.

Contrary to what we are told through the news media, it is questionable
 whether most people are made refugees because of Viet Cong terror or a fear
 72 of communism. According to the Kennedy Subcommittee Hearings on refugees,
 "In 1971 more civilians were killed and wounded in the three countries of
 Indochina, and more made refugees, than at any time in history. Most of the
 casualties were caused, and people made refugees, by American and allied
 military activity."

73 Often refugee camps are placed in the baking sun on bulldozed lots
 surrounded by barbed wire. Small houses with tin roofs that cause them to

heat up like ovens under the tropical sun are lined up like cars in a parking lot. U.S. surplus commodities, dietary foods, and foods banned
74 in the U.S. because of cyclamates are brought in to replace the native rice.

An American who had worked in Laos visited Laotian refugees and
75 asked them to draw pictures of what they remembered life like when they had lived on the Plain of Jars under a rain of American bombs. The Plain of Jars was once a thriving plain of 50,000 people with a continuous history of over 500 years. Today the Plain is completely empty. All the people
76 were forced to leave because of a secret bombing campaign carried on by the Executive since 1964 which was not acknowledged publically until 1969.

In one of the largest removal processes in the history of the world,
77 where people finally wind up more than any place else is Saigon. South Vietnam, when John Kennedy came to office, was 90% rural. Today, according to a Rand Corporation analyst, it is 65% "urban". Now, what does urban mean? Saigon, which you see here from the air, is the most crowded city
78 in the world. It has twice the population density of Tokyo, and this has been created since 1965. It was designed by the French to be a colonial
79 capital of maybe 350,000. Today it has between 4 and 5 million people. It's bulging at the seams. There is no room even for slums. People live, many of them, in the streets, and are constantly moved by the police to
80 make room for the military vehicles and other traffic.

Garbage piles high in the streets. For the first time in Vietnamese
81 history, there is a garbage problem. Before American intervention, the Vietnamese did not have large quantities of waste materials, and there still is no effectively organized system of garbage collection in Saigon. Diseases are caused by the garbage. Bubonic plague has broken out in
82 in epidemic proportions, carried by the rats which feed on the garbage. The World Health Organization estimates that 60% of the people in Saigon are infected with tuberculosis bacillus.

83 This is the American Embassy, the final image of American values and power that the refugees, the amputees, the slum dwellers, and the squatters are supposed to respect and admire.

A reading of the public, private and semi-secret documents prepared for the government by the people such as David Lilienthal (former head of the Atomic Energy Commission), Harvard economist Arthur Smithies, and Columbia University's Emile Benoit makes it clear that the purpose is not simply urbanization, but it is economic development within the Western economic framework and this has several aspects. One aspect is the physical
84 infrastructure which you see represented here for investors on the front of this building in Laos. A future South Vietnam free of communism will be one of the richest places in Southeast Asia, potentially, because we will have left behind (after winning the war), so say the planners, 3,000 miles of roads, several hundred airfields, including four or five large enough to handle passenger jets, several ports for ocean-going ships and countless bridges. This physical infrastructure is the necessary requirement for developing the Vietnamese into the whole Pacific Rim strategy of the United States, and our friend, Japan.

The social infrastructure consists first of the farmers, when and if they are returned to their rice fields in the American controlled zones, after the U.S. wins the war. This photograph from Fortune magazine depicts an American planner knee deep in a rice paddy, teaching the Vietnamese farmers how to grow rice. He thinks he has something new to offer called the "green revolution". It consists of giving the Vietnamese miracle grain rice and chemical fertilizers, and Japanese or American produced motor pumps and other flood control equipment, which they can purchase if they can get credit from the American and Japanese-controlled banks in Saigon. Then they can produce a bumper rice crop which will help feed the Japanese.

What is important to realize about this whole scheme is that the Vietnamese are already slated to be economically in bondage through credit to Japanese and American banks and to be dependent as a culture on Western technology in the future.

What is bizarre about this is that the Vietnamese have a rice-growing culture, and, if anything, they know and have their own techniques about how to grow rice. In the American-controlled zones, they have lost the capacity to grow rice because of the war. When the U.S. intervened in the 1950's, Nixon, Dulles, and Eisenhower said one of the reasons we had to go into Vietnam was because they are the rice bowl of Southeast Asia and with the rice they grow, which we can control, we can feed Japan, an over-crowded island, which will sooner or later trade with communist China, if they can't count on trade with the Philippines, with South Korea, with South Vietnam. The purpose was to control the rice, but the result has been the elimination of the rice in the American-controlled zones. Because of the saturation bombing and massive spraying of herbicides, South Vietnam has changed from a rice exporting country to an importing one. In 1964 South Vietnam exported over 48,000 metric tons of rice. Today it has to import over 1 million tons of rice. From guess where? Louisiana, primarily.

Then there is the technical and manufacturing class of the future. At the present time there are virtually no Vietnamese who work for Vietnamese. Three percent of all manufacturing in Vietnam is owned by Vietnamese. The rest is controlled by Japanese and Americans. In the future imagined by U.S. planners the Vietnamese will assemble component parts for Toyotas, Sony transistors, t.v. sets, etc. and these component parts, which are made in other parts of the Pacific by S. Koreans, Philippines, Japanese, will be put together for large multi-national corporations which are owned in the U.S. or jointly owned in Tokyo. These finished products will then be sold to Western markets, to us here in the U.S. and also to the upper class in Saigon which will be able to afford them because of foreign aid provided by us. That is the whole integrated nature of the Pacific Rim economic strategy. In a war which we are supposed to be fighting for their independence, the Vietnamese are already becoming an economic sub-unit of a vast economic structure dominated by American and Japanese banks. As Fortune magazine puts it, "In the end perhaps the most important legacy of U.S. investment in South Vietnam will be the introduction of

modern industrial organization. Exposure to Western ideas and technology has profoundly changed traditional Vietnamese attitudes."

Oil is another aspect of the economic plans for Indochina. Many oil investors believe that possibly the richest oil fields in the world exist in the continental shelf which connects Japan, Indochina, Indonesia and Australia.

In December of 1970, the Thieu-Ky government gave the go-ahead to off-shore leasing arrangements for petroleum companies. Right now, there are 18 off-shore South Vietnamese concessions, to American oil companies.

Early in 1971, Chase Manhattan Bank's chairman, David Rockefeller, predicted to an Asian financial forum that oil companies would invest \$35 billion in the next 12 years in this area of the world. We must ask if we really think the U.S. will ever be willing to get out of Vietnam if the oil companies become big investors in the area.

When talking about urbanization, what we are ultimately and finally talking about is a cultural transformation of the people of Vietnam. This transformation will come about through American intervention.

The cultural effects are best summarized by an American planner who says that a Honda riding generation will be easier to work with (in terms of economic development) than a buffalo riding one. Honda culture is the name that Americans have given to the culture in Saigon. Millions of Hondas are imported into Saigon from Japan. The American military says that the war could be ended if you could get every Vietnamese male on the back of a Honda. Another planner says that we should be able to "WHAM them" with our Hondas and our motor pumps. WHAM stands for Win Hearts and Minds.

All this means is what is awaiting the migrant to the city is a Miami-style culture, a Las Vegas culture, in which the ancient values will be replaced with "modern" ones. Farmers will become tenant farmers or workers on large corporation-owned farms or they will become city dwellers. Communal values will be replaced by competitive values. The entire value and character structure of the Vietnamese will be changed because, ultimately, the reason they resist is because of their way of life, cultural foundation.

Samuel P. Huntington, whom we talked about earlier, has said, "If the East can not be hustled, it must be replaced. If the Vietnamese will not reform their own society, we must reform it for them."

This is easy too for Americans to justify because of Americans' belief in their own culture and in its "progressive" aspects.

One of the least "progressive" aspects is the culture of prostitution in Saigon which describes better than anything else what is happening to the people under U.S. control. There are 500,000 prostitutes in Saigon. One, the Vietnamese cinically say, for every American at the height of the intervention and 250,000 war orphans. These women are forced into prostitution through the same lack of choices that the men have, who have to go into the Saigon army. Once they are prostitutes, their life span is not much longer than that of the men who go into the army.

That is because after two or three years as a prostitute, they either

die of heroin, they O.D., because of the alienation they feel from their culture. Or, because on a larger scale, they commit suicide. Prostitutes in Saigon commit suicide on a massive scale. Thousands every year. One reason they kill themselves is because of what they go through to become prostitutes. That is, "beautification" operations.

A woman in the Mekong Delta, described in the L.A. Times February 29, 1972 as the Jackie Kennedy of the Mekong Delta, has a parlor, one of the many in South Vietnam, especially in Saigon, where each year thousands of operations are given to change the women's bodies to conform to what this woman calls the introduction of the Western Playboy sexual standard. For \$120 you can have your eyes fixed. For \$480 and up you can have your breasts enlarged. And only about 40% of these operations are done on the prostitutes. Most of the operations are done on women in "high society", the wives of Ky and Thieu, those we are supposedly preserving as a "nationalist" alternative to communism in Vietnam are literally having their faces and bodies changed as well as their minds, culture and institutions.

So, it is not unusual to see signs like these as the Vietnamese become worried about the overall effect of American intervention on their culture. This is a sign in a hotel in Saigon which caters to Americans. America is carrying out more than a bombing campaign, more than a forced urbanization of a rural people, more than a transformation of the Vietnamese to a work force to fit into the Western economic scheme, but a literal transformation of the character structure, values and even the physical appearance of the Vietnamese people. The National Liberation Front calls these people yellow-skinned Americans. So complete has become this threat to the survival of the Vietnamese as an independent culture that even businessmen who profit from the American intervention are starting to express a tremendous fear that brings them to oppose U.S. intervention, to align themselves with the National Liberation Front. Whenever through the ages foreigners threatened their right to exist as a people, the Vietnamese always began to unite.