PLAIN TRUTH

a magazine of understanding

Exclusive Interview With Ellsworth C. Bunker

SPECIAL AND WAR

What Our READERS SAY

Plain Truth — Depressing or Stimulating?

"I was spellbound and I could hardly believe that in this day and age there is such a magazine that writes such articles! I could not put the magazine down until I had read every article and I am still mulling the ideas around in my mind. I felt renewed and refreshed when I had finished reading it. Our newspapers and other magazines have such a mish-mash of news and reports that it is no wonder a person becomes confused."

Mrs. Douglas A. M., Webster, New York

"I have received only two copies of your magazine and my whole attitude towards life is changing."

Curt S., Bloomington, Minnesota

"The PLAIN TRUTH is a mind-awakening magazine but cuts very deep. It's very hard to see so much that is very wrong. I wonder if it would be possible to be a little more constructive in your approach to all these hard-core problems we face. It takes me a week to get over the depression of reading The PLAIN TRUTH. I guess what I'm saying is 'There's a lot right with the world,' and that's the truth too! Lots of people doing wonderful things and trying very hard to do constructive, helpful, productive, loving and fine things. Maybe we could hear a little about these people and efforts."

Mrs. Joseph S., Hawley, Pennsylvania

Classroom Dilemma

"I received the first copy of The PLAIN TRUTH and enjoyed it very much. Of particular interest to me was the Personal column by Mr. Herbert W. Armstrong. As a teacher since 1954, I have been in close contact with the young people of various parts of our country. In the classroom I have seen the result of the breakdown in family morals reflected in our children. There has been a loss to our children of direction, of goals outside of self. The lack of respect for themselves and others."

Ernest D., Jr., Earlimart, California

Five Ways To Save Marriage

"Your article 'Five Ways to Save Your Marriage' (Feb. 1971) is indeed inspiration of hope to many of us who are floundering waiting for that last straw to fall."

> Mrs. K. J. M., La Mesa, California

"'Five Ways to Save Your Marriage' was a very good article. Even though I know many things that I am doing wrong, I still like to be told my faults, as your articles do, because this somehow gives me new drive and purpose and determination to try and change my ways. We need more and more articles that really sock it to us!"

Mrs. Sidney F., Santa Cruz, California

"Dear God — Why did you let Tommy die?"

"I want to tell you how much I especially enjoyed 'Dear God, Why did you let Tommy die?' Believe it or not, I am 24 years old, and have asked that same question at least a million times. And could never come up with an answer until I read the plain, simple truth."

Mrs. Robert H., Cincinnati, Ohio

"I have just finished reading the article in the January issue of your magazine 'Dear God, Why did you let Tommy die?' and I couldn't resist writing to you. This had to be the best article I have ever read.

"All of my life I have always wondered how God could allow such things as war and death. But now, your article has made it clear to me." Elizabeth W.,

Beverly, Massachusetts

Double Standard

"The one article that impressed me the most was 'Drop Your Double Standard.' I enjoy any information on problems of teen-agers, especially drugs. At school we often have discussions on true incidents that happened to people on drugs. But your article was far different than anything I have ever discussed or read about. It compared teen-agers with parents. It really was the most interesting article that I have ever read in my entire life. Well I hope that you'll print this, because I really enjoyed your article." Shirley R.,

Dighton, Massachusetts

"To Kill a People"

"I was not surprised when I walked into my junior English class here at Centralia High and heard my teacher repeating, almost word for word, some things Mr. Garner Ted Armstrong wrote about in his fantastic article 'To Kill a People'!"

> Maryanne P., Centralia, Illinois

"I enjoyed the writing of Garner Ted Armstrong's 'To Kill a People.' So well written, and bitterly truthful of a wonderful country, where the people won't take time to even look at themselves, let alone admit something is wrong.'

Clarence M., Fallon, Nevada

Thinks We Make Up Letters

"Please print some of this letter in the 'What Our Readers Say' column, and print my full name and address for the benefit of my husband. He would believe then what he sees with his own eyes. He was listening to a broadcast the other day and said, 'He's right about that,' but he thinks you make up all the letters from readers that are printed." Audrey (Mrs. Billy) Lee

Route One Kite, Georgia 31049

· Here's your letter, Audrey. But will this prove to your husband that all the others aren't "made up"?

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Personal from About Manustray

I VISIT THE WAR ZONE

Saigon, South Vietnam: March 16, 1971

AT THE suggestion of Ambassador to South Vietnam Ellsworth Bunker, I decided to visit Saigon, war capital of South Vietnam. You will ask the same question I first asked him: "Is it safe to fly into Saigon?"

"You are more safe than you would be on the streets of Washington, D. C.," responded the Ambassador. Actually, many government officials in Washington, and many senators and congressmen, have visited Saigon.

This is Tuesday afternoon, March 16th. We flew over here from Manila this morning, arriving shortly before noon. En route from the airport to our hotel, I was surprised to see so little evidence of the war. I was mostly impressed by the congested traffic. Automobile congestion was heavy. But for every car there were two to four "Hondas" — Japan-made motor bikes.

"Before the war, everybody rode bicycles," said an American now resident in Saigon, who met us at the airport. "Now everybody rides motor-bikes and automobiles. They have to pay cash for them, too. No time payments."

"They must be sold at a low price," I suggested.

"No, they cost about three times as much as they would in the U.S., due to the heavy tax."

Since the partitioning of North and South Vietnam, the same thing has happened here that happened in east and west Berlin, east and west Germany, north and south Korea. Non-Communist South Vietnam has prospered economically—Communist North Vietnam has not.

"How much of this new South Vietnam prosperity has come from United States dollars?" I asked.

"About 99.98%," grinned my Saigon friend. It has come from American "aid," and from G.I. spending. Traffic moves slowly, through mid-day, and almost not at all during morning and evening rush hours. Saigon is a city listed in our aircraft atlas as having about 1,750,000 population. But locally they

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Wide World Photo

OUR COVER

Cover photo shows U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam Ellsworth C. Bunker. Recently, Mr. Herbert W. Armstrong, Editor of *The PLAIN TRUTH*, accompanied by Stanley R. Rader, general counsel of Ambassador College, flew to Saigon. In their 45-minute conference at the Embassy, Ambassador Bunker gave some illuminating information about the Vietnam war. Notes of the interview are recorded beginning page 7 of this issue.

"What Are We Fighting For?"

Over our AP news teletype comes this illuminating story: Dark-haired Jackie Navarra, age 22, from Albion, N. Y., is one of a score of Army nurses at the 18th Surgical Hospital at Quang Tri, Vietnam.

"Yesterday," she said, "we had quite a few mine accidents. It's really depressing, because of the amputations." One GI had just died from an operation amputating both legs and an arm.

"If I knew," she said, "what we are fighting for — if the enemy did something to our country—I could see it. I DON'T KNOW WHY WE'RE HERE! So many GIs ask WHY. I can't answer! I came because I knew they needed medical help here."

In the past week, I have spoken before three audiences of an aggregate of 3,500 people. I asked for a show of hands of those who had, during the past four administrations at Washington, heard or read an EXPLANATION of WHY the United States is fighting the war in Vietnam—how many had heard or read the REASON WHY 54,000 of our boys had sacrificed their lives (44,500 battle deaths) in a war that has cost the U. S. more than 125 billion dollars.

I looked carefully over each audience to estimate the number that would hold up their hands. And I looked and looked — but I could NOT see a single hand!

WHY has no Administration in Washington, during the Administrations of Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon, made the American people UNDERSTAND?

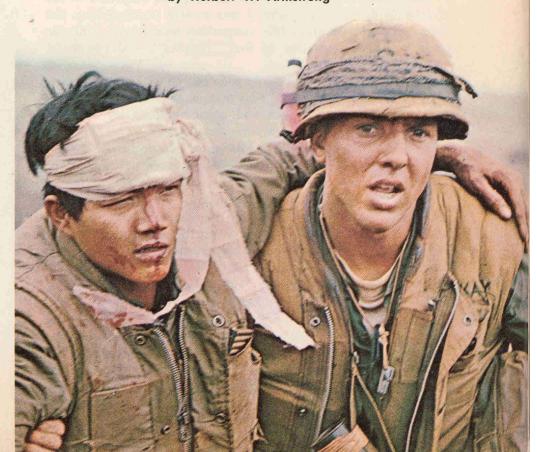
DO NOT MISUNDER-STAND! I do not mean to say there is no reason. THERE IS — and four Presidents, two Democrats and two Republicans, have believed the war was so necessary they have kept us in it. But, aside from statements that we must fulfill our commitments to our allies — leading many to believe there is NO REASON further than doing a friendly service to some far-away race of people we know little about — it seems the people know ONLY the Communist propaganda.

AT LAST - the Plain Truth About

THE VIETNAMI WAR!

WHY has no U. S. Government Administration in 11 years made the people UNDERSTAND why the United States is in the war — WHY there has been no purpose or plan to win — and WHY at last we are in process of getting out? To give millions of readers true UNDERSTANDING, I flew personally to Saigon and talked with South Vietnamese people, high government officials, American educators resident in Saigon, and U. S. Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker.

by Herbert W. Armstrong



SAIGON, March 17:

the real reasons why 55,000 American youth have sacrificed their lives—why the U.S. has suffered 350,000 casualties—why the United States has spent over 125 BILLIONS of dollars in the Vietnam war.

Never before has America been in this kind of war. It is, as Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker pointed out to me today in Saigon, the first war ever fought on TELEVISION, right in the living rooms of the American people. Most of the people of the United States DO NOT UNDERSTAND:

- 1) WHY we are in it
- 2) HOW and WHEN it started
- 3) WHAT U. S. objectives are or whether there are any
- 4) WHAT KIND of war it is, and HOW it is different.

Most Americans hear the news of today's battles — but they know only that increasing thousands are protesting, demonstrating, rioting against U.S. involvement — that this protest against involvement includes senators and congressmen and some government officials — that increasing thousands are shouting: "Get our boys out of there."

WHY Don't Government Heads EXPLAIN?

Ever since I was five years old — or younger, I have always wanted to UNDERSTAND! I have always wanted to know the "WHY" of things. Ever since I entered the profession of journalism and advertising, 60 years ago, I have been engaged in the mission of giving UNDERSTANDING — of making facts and truth PLAIN.

That's why it has been so hard for me to understand why U. S. government leaders have failed to get over the message — why they have not come out and explained clearly to the people why the United States is fighting this war.

This is much more than a military war. Among many other things, it is a psychological war — a war of reaching and changing the MINDS and the THINKING of people.

Communist propaganda is an important part of their method of warfare. Why are American leaders so woefully inept in their ability to reach the MINDS of the American people — to explain the REASONS for the war — to clearly inform and lead popular opinion?

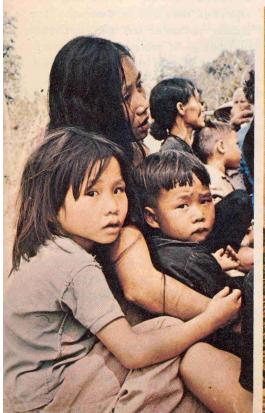
The Communists are fighting this phase of the war both in South Vietnam (where they have won over so many

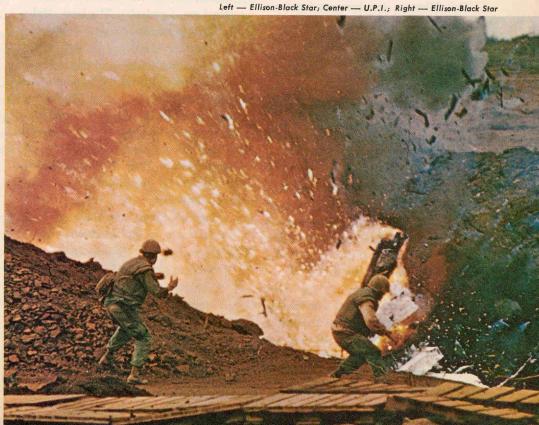
Viet-Cong) and in America (where they have stirred up protest, demonstrations, riots, violence). The Communists are past-masters in the art of misleading, confusing, deceiving the minds of enemy populations. Why cannot American leaders LEAD — to offset Communist propaganda which is misleading — make the facts CLEAR to counteract Communist propaganda which confuses — make plain the TRUTH, to fight off Communist deceptions?

When an American Secretary of State made an effort to explain WHY America is in the war, he said: "What are our world security interests involved in Vietnam? They cannot be seen clearly in terms of Southeast Asia only, or merely in terms of the events of the past few months. We must view the problem in perspective. We must recognize that what we are seeking to achieve in South Vietnam is part of a process that has continued for a long time..."

Would not that explanation make the REASON for the war about as clear as mud to the public as a whole? Of course this speech was delivered under official circumstances demanding the dignified and scholarly approach.

But what about the effect on boys coming into draft age? When they hear, or read: "What we are seeking to





achieve in South Vietnam is part of a process that has continued for a long time" — does that kind of explanation fire up with patriotism these young men and cause them to want to enlist? Does that kind of language cause hundreds of thousands of young men to want to don a uniform — and risk their lives — to achieve "part of a process?"

Preventing Communist Expansion

True, this former Secretary of State finally got around to saying that the "PROCESS" was one of "preventing the expansion and extension of Communist domination by the use of force against the weaker nations on the perimeter of Communist power." And his was not intended to be an emotional patriotism-arousing speech to drive volunteers to recruiting stations.

But my point is this: When the United States entered World War II President Franklin D. Roosevelt himself DID sway the American people with his effective "Fireside Chats." When he talked to the American public with feeling about "dastardly attacks," and the day of Pearl Harbor "living in infamy," he got over his message — he swayed the people, got them behind the war — he made them know WHAT they were fighting for and WHY they were in the war.

This Vietnam involvement has been going on during the administrations of Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon — and we were even becoming concerned during Mr. Truman's administration. If these presidents — or their Secretaries of State — could not have gotten over the message of the WHY of the Vietnam involvement, why could they not have sought out and used men who could?

Why could they not have used such slogans as: "Today Communist invaders advance on South Vietnam — Tomorrow they will invade our shores IF WE DON'T STOP THEM NOW!" Or, "Drive back the Red INVADERS."

In other words, why do we allow INVADERS — AGGRESSORS — to deceive the American public — and much of the world — into believing they are "defenders" — "liberators" — "PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC" when the TRUTH is precisely the opposite? They tell our

people that we — the FREE people — are "IMPERIALISTS" — "aggressors" — "invaders."

I have always noticed that those who ACCUSE — whether individuals or nations — are themselves GUILTY of the very thing of which they accuse others.

WHY have not United States administrations been able to MAKE PLAIN to the people that it is the Communists who are the imperialists, the aggressors, the invaders?

Actually U. S. officials speak so much in terms of "we must fulfill our COM-MITMENTS to the South Vietnamese," that Americans begin to believe we are in the war merely to do the South Vietnamese a favor — to fulfill some commitment made years ago — the nature of which most people know little or nothing about — or even whether it ought to have been made.

"The Domino Theory"

Near the end of the Eisenhower administration, and in the early 60s, there was some talk of "the domino theory." But I doubt that more than very few knew much about it, or what it was. Or that very few remember it today. The theory was: "IF South Vietnam falls, all nations in southeast Asia fall, one by one." That is, next the Communists would roll over and conquer Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia — and then Australia.

If the United States did not stop their aggressions and invasions at South Vietnam, it would be too late. They would have gained such a grip on conquering the whole world, we would be unable to stop them before they invaded the United States. And by that time they would be so powerful they probably could defeat us.

Actually, THAT was the reason the United States became involved!

THAT is the true answer to WHY the United States is in that war!

At that time, it looked like the Communists were about to take over Singapore and all Indonesia, with its 125 million people — fifth largest nation in the world. Under President Sukarno it looked like Indonesia was going Communist. But that entire southeast Asian

situation has changed since then. More about that, later.

But now let me go back to the very beginning, and hit the high-spots of events affecting Vietnam in one, two, three order — to the present. Let me explain what has happened in all southeast Asia since then — and what is the state of things today!

Communist Philosophy

Go, first, all the way back to the last days of World War II. The United States then was still allied with Russia.

Long before World War II — in 1927-28 — I learned of a Communist "Home Study Course" — a sort of correspondence course, put out by the Communist Party. I studied through that entire course. Here are the central, basic, crux points in the entire Communist philosophy, purpose, conspiracy and plan:

They admit "pure Communism" cannot be practiced, or bring its people its promised benefits, until THE WHOLE WORLD is under its sway. It is WORLD-WIDE REVOLUTION — a conspiracy to overthrow ALL governments in ALL countries. It is NOT democracy. It is NOT government of the people, by the people, from the bottom up. It is the DICTATORSHIP of the "proletariat." It is, economically and socially, the planned overthrow of the "bourgeoisie" capitalists, industrialists, those who have become successful and are EMPLOYERS of labor — it professes to be government for and by the WORKING CLASS.

However, the "working class" does not rule — but the DICTATORSHIP by a clique of men at the top in the Politbureau (in the U.S.S.R.) rules.

The Communist METHOD of waging this world struggle is, 1st) propaganda in all free countries, based on lying, deception, misrepresentation, creating confusion. 2nd) stirring up protest, dividing other nations against themselves (especially the working class against employers), organizing marches, demonstrations, causing strikes, riots and violence. 3rd) the use of sabotage in free countries — plotting to shut down the wheels of industry, transportation, communication — virtually to paralyze a nation. 4th) to fight guerrilla warfare (as in Vietnam). 5th) and,



SAIGON HARBOR largely built up by U.S. military needs, due to Vietnam

finally, the ultimate use of force. They always have conceived the final phase of their struggle will be an all-out TOTAL war between the Red Army and the United States, on United States soil.

Communists dedicate their lives to this STRUGGLE! With them, life is a constant STRUGGLE. They push, and push, and push — and never stop pushing. Efforts toward peace by free nations are looked on as a sign of weakness by Communists. They respect nothing but FORCE which is superior to theirs. They make treaties for the very purpose of breaking them, when it suits their purpose. Their word is utterly valueless.

The U.S.S.R. may be aptly described as a big bear that goes lumbering around kicking on doors. If the door opens — or if the kick breaks it open — the bear starts lumbering on in. But, if an angry, growling and snarling bull-dog comes at the bear from inside the opened door, the bear will start backing away. And if the bulldog comes running, the bear will break into a surprisingly fast-running retreat.

Once the Russian Bear plants its boot in a country, it will never remove — unless driven out by superior FORCE. But the Russians always will back down or retreat when faced with superior FORCE! It has been hard for me to understand why successive United States administrations at Washington have generally failed to recognize this fact, and act on it.

An example in point: The Cuban missile crisis. When President Kennedy finally showed the Russians the United States was ready to use FORCE, by blockading Cuba, the Russians promptly backed down and removed the missiles. But, had this nature of the Russian Bear been understood and fully acted on at the Bay of Pigs incident in April, 1961—had the U.S. applied FULL FORCE instead of cautious halfway measures—there would never have arisen a missile crisis.

But, in World War II, President Roosevelt failed to recognize that the Communists were actually our enemies. He thought that with appeasement and kindness he would finally convert Stalin. He could have known, then, what I learned back in 1927-28 from the Communist home study course about the true aims, objectives, and methods of Communism. That information was just as accessible and available to him, the FBI and the State Department, as it was to me. So the United States became Russia's ally.

This chronic weakness on the part of our American people and leaders, to recognize who are our real friends, and who are our enemies, is even predicted in Biblical prophecy. It speaks of our allies as our "lovers," and of our forsaking that God we have stamped on our dollars that we trust in, relying, instead, on these "lovers." These remarkable prophecies speak of these alliances as adulteries - playing the harlot. Yet, it says, we have been unlike other harlots, in that "thou scornest hire; But as a wife that committeth adultery, which taketh strangers instead of her husband! They [the strangers] give gifts to all whores: but thou givest thy gifts to all

thy lovers, and hirest them" (Ezekiel 16:31-33).

Yet these astonishing prophecies say also: "All thy lovers have forgotten thee" (Jeremiah 30:14) and again, "... among all her lovers she hath none to comfort her: all her friends have dealt treacherously with her, they are become her enemies" (Lamentations 1:2). And even again: "Strangers have devoured his strength, and he knoweth it not." And we are "like a silly dove, without understanding" (Hosea 7:9, 11). Our former Communist ally has been devouring our strength in more ways than we seem to realize - Vietnam, the "cold war," all the Communist stirred-up protest, revolt, riots and violence.

One day in 1945, as I was going on the air in Portland, Oregon, we were expecting momentarily a news flash over the teletypes that the Russian forces had taken an extremely vital point that would have decisive effect on ending the war. I arranged with the announcers at the station to bring me the teletype story when it came, so that I might announce it on my program. It did not come - not then, not next day, next week, or ever. WHY? The Russians did not want to end the war then. They wanted to delay until they could take over all the eastern Europe satellite countries.

When General Patton's forces were driving swiftly on toward Berlin, and it appeared they would end the war quickly, at request of "ally" Russia, Patton was ordered to stop. This was to allow Russia to get into Berlin from the east so that she could occupy East Germany as Communist territory after the war.

Yes, it does sometimes seem we are "like a silly dove, without understanding," in dealing with other nations.

Now see what all this has to do with the VIETNAM situation.

Why Communist Presence in Southeast Asia?

World War II ended with the Communists gobbling up adjoining territory in their struggle to bring the whole world under their boot.

I have been saying, since 1934, that the Communist conspiracy to conquer the world called for approaching America by way of the east and southeast—that China would go Communist. It did, September 21, 1949. But NOT under Kremlin domination. Communist leader Mao Tse-tung was the leader. He proclaimed it "The People's Republic of China." Chou En-lai was named Premier and Foreign Minister, October 1, 1949.

Before the war, three associated states of Indochina - Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam, were under French colonial rule. They were known as French Indochina. For nearly two decades prior to World War II, the Vietnamese, led by exiled Communist Ho Chi Minh, carried on an underground struggle for independence from France. Ho Chi Minh was a veteran Moscow-trained Communist. In 1941, the Japanese occupied Indochina. And between 1941 and 1945, the United States provided military aid to Ho Chi Minh. Another ally who was in reality our enemy. The very enemy we are fighting now! This is where the United States first became involved in Vietnam!

On the Communist side.

On September 2, 1945, following the Japanese defeat, Ho Chi Minh proclaimed from Hanoi the independence of all Vietnam. For eight years a colonial war against the French ensued, scarcely noticed by the people in the United States.

By 1946 the government at Washington began to wake up to the fact that the Communists were in fact our enemies—not our friends. Under the Truman administration, in 1950, the United States began the policy of sending military and economic assistance to anti-Communist forces in Indochina. In August, 1950, the first U.S. military advisers arrived in Vietnam—35 of them.

That was the beginning of United States involvement in Vietnam. Also the United States was left holding the bag after the French defeat. That cost the U. S. between 1 and 3 billion dollars in military and economic aid! Other nations sap our strength. It seems we are the prize "easy touch" people.

After China went Communist in 1949, Red China began to send aid to Communist forces in Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh's forces were called the Viet Minh.

President Eisenhower took office in 1953. He was forced into a virtually immediate decision on Indochina. The French were still fighting there. President Eisenhower decided to continue and increase U.S. aid to the French. The French collapse accelerated. The U.S. was left underwriting a high percentage of the cost of their war.

With the French military catastrophe, President Eisenhower had to decide whether America should now intervene directly. He declared he could not "conceive of a greater tragedy for America than to get heavily involved now in an all-out war in any of those regions [Indochina]."

On July 21, 1954, a 14-nation conference was held at Geneva. It did not include the United States. They supposedly ended the war by *dividing* Vietnam at the seventeenth parallel into a Communist North Vietnam, and a free South Vietnam. France, Britain, and the Soviet Union signed that agreement. All signatories were pledged to respect the neutrality and independence of Laos and Cambodia.

What these diplomats did not understand was the METHOD OF WARFARE being used over there. There is no front-line warfare. There are no fronts. It is guerrilla warfare, here, and there, and in spots. The partitioning of Vietnam into North and South could not stop Communist aggression.

The diplomats at the Paris Conference should have known that Communism will NEVER stop pushing. To assume they would remain peaceably north of that 17th parallel was ridiculous!

To further guarantee peace in the area, President Eisenhower led in setting up the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) — September 8, 1954, at a meeting in Manila.

U. S. Becomes Directly Involved

Then on October 23, 1954, President Eisenhower took a fateful step. He wrote to Premier Diem (pronounced Dzee-em) of South Vietnam that henceforth American aid would not be given through the French authorities but

directly to the government of South Vietnam.

That was, in reality the 1st step in U.S. direct involvement.

Step 2: On February 12, 1955, the U. S. Military Assistance Advisory Group took over the training of the South Vietnamese army. One great error here was the fact that the United States military people did not yet realize THE KIND of war being fought there.

Step 3: A week later, the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty came into force. Under it, the United States was pledged to go to the aid of any party requesting assistance against aggression. The United States was COMMITTED — and STILL IS.

Step 4: The Geneva Agreements had called for a national plebiscite throughout all Vietnam by July, 1956. That election was never held. Diem knew it would be a popular contest between him and Ho Chi Minh, and he would lose. His decision foreshadowed a renewal of guerrilla warfare. It became dangerously widespread and brutal in 1959-60.

It is pertinent to add here that when the Republic of Vietnam was born, in 1955, its economy was a shambles. But South Vietnam was outstripping the Communist north like West Germany has outstripped Communist East Germany, economically, and South Korea has prospered more than Communist North Korea.

Step 5: As a result of this economic prosperity in South Vietnam, the North held a meeting in Hanoi, September 23, 1960 - during the U.S. Presidential campaign — calling for full-scale guerrilla warfare to conquer and take over South Vietnam by force. Cadres of veteran guerrilla fighters were sent into South Vietnam from the regular army. In every village they organized a subversive apparatus and intelligence network with informers and sympathizers in every village. A reign of terror was launched. It was aimed at liquidating all leadership in South Vietnam, from village chiefs and school teachers up to and including the Diem government in

President Eisenhower stuck to his basic position that, if there was a solu-

tion in South Vietnam it was POLITICAL, and NOT MILITARY — so far as U. S. participation was concerned.

Step 6: As Mr. Eisenhower left office, in 1961, there were 773 U.S. military advisers in South Vietnam and NO COMBAT TROOPS. U.S. aid was costing around \$200,000,000 a year. In a dramatic televised press conference, March 23, 1961, President Kennedy warned the Soviet Union that the United States "will not tolerate the loss of Laos to the Communists."

Step 7: One month after the 1960 election, the Soviets (Russia) began supplying arms and ammunition by airlift out of Hanoi to Communist forces in Laos. Early in 1961 the Communists launched a major offensive, to gain strategic territory and open up supply routes along the Laotian border into South Vietnam.

Step 8: October 2, 1961, Diem declared the Communist guerrilla campaign had grown into a "real war." President Kennedy gave reassurances the U.S. "is determined to help Vietnam preserve its independence, protect its people against Communist assassins, and build a better life." Air Force planes began transporting large amounts of American military equipment to South Vietnam.

Step 9: Terrorism and attacks on South Vietnam grew. May 5, 1961, President Kennedy announced in a news conference that use of American forces in South Vietnam was UNDER CONSIDERATION. By February 7, 1962, total U.S. military personnel in South Vietnam had increased to 4,000. By midyear U.S. forces increased to 10,000. Forty-six Americans had been killed since 1961. March 14th, 1962, President Kennedy said none of the Americans serving in Vietnam could be called "combat troops." March 12, 1962, Mr. McNamara (Secretary of Defense) acknowledged that U.S. soldiers had exchanged fire with Communists. The foreign aid program was stepped up to \$300,000,000 a year.

Step 10: November 1, 1963: In a mutiny of South Vietnamese army officers, President Diem and his brother, Ngo Dinh Nhu, were assassinated. Saigon was a hotbed of intrigue with

(Continued on page 48)



Wide World Photo

Exclusive Interview at Saigon with

Ellsworth C. Bunker

U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam

At the suggestion of Ellsworth C. Bunker, U. S. Ambassador to South Vietnam, Herbert W. Armstrong, accompanied by Stanley R. Rader, general counsel of Ambassador College, flew to Saigon. In their 45-minute conference at the Embassy, the Ambassador gave Mr. Armstrong and Mr. Rader some illuminating information about the Vietnam war. Mr. Rader took notes of the interview. Below we give you his transcript of those notes.

by Stanley R. Rader

Saigon, South Vietnam

ON WEDNESDAY, March 17th, we were received by Ambassador Ellsworth C. Bunker at the American Embassy in Saigon.

Mr. Armstrong informed the Ambassador that the 7½ million readers of *The* PLAIN TRUTH would welcome a definitive article on the entire Vietnam situation. Ambassador Bunker commented

that he was delighted with our visit and was convinced that no one could write about or understand Vietnam without firsthand exposure to its many complex issues.

Mr. Armstrong told the Ambassador that he wanted to know from him why Americans have been involved in Vietnam, why the President is planning now to remove the

beginning of the destruction of the nation." The doctor nodded assent.

Refugees — women leaving the home and working — family life breaking down — juvenile delinquency! I have found this, it seems, EVERYWHERE in the world recently.

In September Madam Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India took twenty minutes of our half-hour interview to tell me about the tragic refugee problem in India. Every day, thousands of homeless, destitute, unemployed — and usually illiterate — refugees continue streaming over the borders of both East and West Pakistan into India for the already over-populated Indians to take care of.

In Jordan the refugee problem has been acute ever since the 6-day war in 1967. The one country which invites a refugee problem, and handles it successfully, is Israel. I have known something of this for several years, but last month, on our February trip around the world, Mrs. Golda Meir explained it to me in more detail. This most interesting interview, of February 7th, is reported in a separate article.

The drug problem is acute here in Vietnam, too. But although it is illegal to sell marijuana (or hashish) here, the bigger problem in Vietnam is opium. This is spreading among our American G.I.s even more than among South Vietnamese soldiers. There is a serious problem of education here, too.

There has not been, up to now, a system of compulsory education in the elementary grades, but compulsory education will soon begin. As it has been, many children will run away from home to avoid school. Then it becomes a problem after two or three drop-out years. They cannot start in again with others their own age. And often it is impossible for them to go back and start over.

WHY IS IT? The most wonderful thing we can know in the material creation is the human MIND. Why are so many mentally LAZY? WHY do so many resist educating their minds? WHY do so many "blow their minds" with dope or drugs — ruining their minds beyond reclaim? WHY?

Here, as elsewhere, there is a tragic shortage of teachers.

Of course more and better education is the problem in India.

The PLAIN TRUTH

Near mid-February — last month — I visited Nepal for the first time. At Katmandu, the capital, with Stanley R. Rader, our general counsel and adviser, and Osamu Gotoh, Chairman of our Department of Asian Studies, I had a very interesting visit with Crown Prince Birendra. One of his principle personal interests is in a program he has instituted for getting education to their mountain people. He explained their program. It appeared workable. After the conference with the Crown Prince, we decided to offer a limited joint participation on the part of Ambassador College in the Nepal educational program.

The following day, toward evening, we were received by King Mahendra, and I announced to him our offer of participation, which he gladly accepted. The following morning his Minister of Education had me on the telephone before 7 a.m., to follow through on our offer of participation. I told him to work out details with Mr. Gotoh.

A couple of days later, at Bangkok, I had a 1½-hour audience with King Bhumibol of Thailand. Some years ago, in Chicago, Mrs. Armstrong and I saw the stage play — called either "The King and I" or, "Anna and the King of Siam." I think the stage play was given one of those two names, and the movie version the other. In any event, the former Siam is now named Thailand. I could not help thinking, here I was, not play-acting, but in a very serious real-life meeting: "The King and I."

On this particular meeting, Mr. Rader, Mr. Gotoh and I were accompanied to the meeting with His Majesty the King by Madam Sunirat Telan, owner of the famous Rama Hotel (Hilton operated), besides two or three other Bangkok hotels, and industrial interests.

At this point I'd like to digress by telling you a little about this very unusual and distinguished little lady. For she is a tiny little lady. My daughter, Mrs. Beverly L. Gott, first met Madam "Suni" — as we called her — at a banquet in Djakarta last December. Our party had chosen to stay at the

Bali-Beach Hotel on the adjoining island of Bali, instead of a hotel in Djakarta. We hosted a banquet one evening in Djakarta, however. It was attended by some seven or eight top key men in the Indonesian government, with their wives. On these same days the King of Thailand was paying a state visit to President Suharto of Indonesia, and Madam "Suni" had accompanied the royal party to Djakarta. She was in attendance at the banquet.

I had been travelling a great deal—then on the second of three round-the-world trips within five months. On the particular evening of the banquet I was unusually fatigued. I ferried over to Djakarta with our party, but arriving at Djakarta airport, I decided it was unwise for me to push myself further, and had our crew take me back to Bali in our aircraft. These world tours are no pleasure jaunts, but strenuous, hardworking ordeals. My daughter, accompanying me as hostess at such occasions, remained with Mr. and Mrs. Rader and Mr. Gotoh.

Mr. Rader and Mr. Gotoh were busily engaged at the banquet talking to the generals and government officials there as guests. This left it for my daughter and Mrs. Rader to entertain the wives and Madam Telan. It was at this banquet that Madam Telan urged my daughter for us to make a stop at Bangkok for an audience with His Majesty the King on our forthcoming February trip. Madam "Suni" said she would like to host a banquet in my honor at the Rama Hotel. So that set up the visit to Bangkok, and the audience with His Majesty the King.

Actually, on our February visit, Madam "Suni" not only hosted the banquet in my honor, but she also hosted every luncheon and dinner during our three-day stay in Bangkok.

And, more, she presented to the King, in my honor, a contribution I understood to be in the amount of several thousand dollars (U.S. dollar equivalent), in addition to multiple shares of stock in an industrial enterprise which she owns.

So back now to "The King and I."

King Bhumibol of Thailand is a comparatively young man — about 44,

serious minded, with not only a very deep feeling of compassion for his people and many of their serious problems, but with a passionate desire to help them and to better their lives and conditions.

Ever since the dawn of history there have been many heads of state in various nations in the world who have posed as public benefactors, but whose real concern has been their own personal self-interest. Too many politicians are concerned, first of all, with their own personal welfare. But here was a king with a deep-seated passionate desire to better the lot of his people. But conditions have become such in this world that no king, ruler, president or prime minister can wave a magic wand and suddenly transform the state of his people from one of illiteracy, poverty, disease, filth and squalor into one of vigorous general good health, right knowledge and understanding, right ways, prosperity, and right moral, spiritual and intellectual well-being.

Again I say, it all started with the "forbidden fruit" incident some 6,000 years ago. Those who will not look at and *understand* that incident that set the course of human history will continue to FAIL to UNDERSTAND the world conditions of today — and to have NO SOLUTIONS!

I found His Majesty the King already somewhat familiar with our Ambassador College Extension Program of worldwide educational activities. Early in our conversation I mentioned our collaboration to help King Mahendra in Nepal in the training of teachers for the isolated mountain people in his country. And I mentioned that I understood there was a similar problem in getting education to the mountain people in Thailand.

But immediately the King explained at length the differences between the Thai and the Nepalese situations. He said considerable sums of money were being expended by his government — and even financial aid from the United States government — but all official government programs were ineffective. He emphasized quite plainly, but sadly, that the funds, manpower, and other material were, in fact, being wasted.

Let me add at this point that

although King Mahendra of Nepal governs with an absolute monarchy—his power is absolute—the King of Thailand presides over a Constitutional Monarchy. Even though His Majesty is virtually worshipped by his people, the government is elected by the people, and the King's power therefore is somewhat limited, though he may have somewhat more actual power than the British royal throne.

Then for a solid hour and a half this King poured out his heart to me about the pitiful and tragic problems of large portions of his people — especially the mountain people. He has frequently gone out among them to see conditions firsthand with his own eyes, and to talk to his people.

He wanted to impress us deeply with the principle that in his country one could not effectively superimpose a standard structure of education — academic or technological — from above. Foundations must be laid, he said, and help brought from below in a practical, relevant, AND FLEXIBLE MANNER. He explained how foolhardy it has been for professors of agriculture or animal husbandry to try to explain their techniques in academic or Latin terminology. They must, instead, demonstrate the processes by working directly with the people.

"The people being helped must have a feeling of participation," he continued. "I want to help them to help themselves."

At that point I explained that I had always believed in the principle of "pump-priming," — giving sufficient aid to put people into position to stand on their own feet from that point on.

"That's exactly what I mean," said the King.

So far as education for his mountain people is concerned, His Majesty said there was no problem of training teachers or of sending them to the mountain areas. "The problem is keeping them there!" he exclaimed. Very few are willing to make the sacrifice. The official government ministries do not apparently admit the ineffectiveness of their program.

Then the King said: "What we need to help my people is a practical, workable program, and efficient, effective personnel to administer that program. Then funds expended would help."

He then startled me by saying, quite emotionally, "The United States government cannot help me, merely by financial aid. My government cannot help me! Mr. Gotoh, you cannot help me! Mr. Rader, you cannot help me! ONLY MR. ARMSTRONG CAN HELP ME!"

He admitted that his people are handicapped not only by their illiteracy, but also by their inherited culture. Because of more than 4,000 years of cultural heritage, resulting in many rules, rituals and the like, not even understanding the reasons for them, they will be unable to change their ways of doing things, and their ways of thinking about themselves in relation to the universe.

All the time this King was telling us of these tragic problems, I had to think of the many, many areas around the world where the problems are as great. In many places, it would require three generations of not only EDUCATION but REeducation - before about two thirds of all earth's inhabitants could be ready to be helped! I thought of Cairo, Egypt, and the pitiful conditions I have seen in other areas in Egypt. I thought of King Hussein of Jordan, who also has a passion to help and better the lot of his people. I thought of the uncounted MILLIONS in India, China and Russia, whose state of living is tragic. I thought of other millions in Indonesia, in Africa, in South America!

Then I thought of AMERICA — Britain — the countries of EUROPE! The affluent nations! But are OUR people happy? I thought of the demonstrations of PROTEST — the riots — the violence. I thought of the CRIME — of how our morals have skidded all the way down to the stinking cesspool — of how family and home life is disintegrating! Civilization is DEGENERATING, not being improved!

And now I have to come back to my interview right here in Saigon with Dr. Tran-Nguon-Phieu, Minister of Social Welfare of the Republic of Vietnam.

"If the war should be over — or, looking toward mid-year 1972, when President Nixon says the American troops will be pulled out of here —

what do you envision as the social welfare problems then?" I asked.

"They will worsen," was his grave answer.

I mentioned the world condition as I have been seeing it on three round-theworld tours. I mentioned that we have DIFFERENT conditions on three Ambassador College campuses. And I mentioned that all these sickening conditions — all this mountain of evils that hold humanity in their grip — are the result of, not only illiteracy and lack of education, but of the KIND of education. I mentioned how Modern Science stepped forth approximately 170 years ago to save the world, through increased knowledge and through science. But how human woes and evils have escalated in exact proportion to the increase in knowledge.

"WHY?" he asked.

"It's all because of the MISSING DIMENSION in education," I answered.

He wanted to know what was that "Missing Dimension."

"Do you really want to know?" I asked.

The Minister, his assistant, and our two American friends all insisted.

"Well," I said, it all goes back to the incident of the "forbidden fruit." Sure you want to hear it explained?"

They insisted.

I explained it. I have explained it in these pages before. They were left quite sober — but nobody tried to disagree or refute what I said. If the reader has not read my previous explanation in these columns, he will have to procure a previous issue of this magazine. But I know from experience most people do not want to hear the REAL TRUTH! Do you?

THE VIETNAM WAR!

(Continued from page 7)

neutralists, nationalists, Communists, French and Chinese interests, religious factions, left-wing students, ambitious politicians. On November 22, 1963, President Kennedy was assassinated, 21 days after that of Diem. Lyndon B. Johnson became President. There were still fewer than 20,000 U.S. troops committed to Vietnam.

Step 11: December, 1963: President Johnson sent a New Year's message to General Minh of South Vietnam, saying, in part: "... again I pledge the energetic support of my country to your government and your people." In the 18 months that followed, ten changes of government took place in Saigon, each more disorganized than the last. Yet Secretary McNamara insisted the "bulk" of U. S. troops would be pulled out by the end of 1965.

Step 12: By July, 1964, U. S. "advisory" forces were 23,000. The South Vietnamese army was melting away. By that winter it had dwindled to slightly over 200,000 men. Many were desert-

ing, or going over to the Viet Cong. August 5th, President Johnson requested Congress to enact a joint resolution "to promote the maintenance of international peace and security in Southeast Asia." There was debate. Yet it became clear that Section 2 of the joint "Gulf of Tonkin Resolution" authorized the President to send land armies into Vietnam, and also to bomb North Vietnam. By end of 1964 there were 23,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam. By end of 1965, when all U.S. troops were to have been withdrawn, there were 181,000.

Step 13: The policy of retaliatory raids ended. The policy of raids to cut off Communist help from the north began — due to a Communist raid on Pleiku killing 8 Americans and wounding 126. "Escalation" became a new word in the Vietnam lexicon. More and more U.S. planes were involved in raids. By end of 1965, U.S. casualties were 1,365 killed, compared to 145 for all 1964.

Step 14: June 29, 1966: The air war entered a new phase. Hanoi was raided for the first time. Cries of "escalation," and dissent roared out in the U. S. and around the world. By end of 1966, fighting had reached major proportions. The U. S. had nearly 370,000 men engaged, the South Vietnamese 617,-

000. Communists 287,000. But U.S. forces still had not learned HOW to fight this kind of war. In 1966, 5,008 Americans were killed, 30,093 wounded. March 15, 1967, Henry Cabot Lodge resigned and Ellsworth Bunker succeeded as Ambassador to South Vietnam. Protest was increasing in the U.S. In 1967 there were 9,378 U.S. battle deaths!

Step 15: Paris Talks began in May, 1968. October 31, 1968: President Johnson ordered a halt to all American air, naval and artillery bombardment of North Vietnam, in the hope that the Viet Cong would be brought into broadened and intensive peace talks in Paris. By 1968, according to Ambassador Bunker, the United States had finally become prepared to fight the KIND of war they were up against — the American and South Vietnam forces were supplied with the right kind of rifles and other equipment. From this time our effort became effective. Peak involvement for U.S. troops was around 543,000 in early 1969.

Step 16: By April 3, 1969, death toll of U.S. soldiers in Vietnam reached 33,641. (8-year toll). This was 12 more than fell in the Korea war. In June 1969. Presidents Nixon and Thieu conferred at Midway and announced 25,-000 G.I.'s would be pulled out over a period of time. In September, the President announced 35,000 more U.S. troops would be pulled out by year's end. According to Ambassador Bunker the South Vietnamese were becoming stronger, more and more becoming able to stand on their own feet. By end of 1969 nearly 40,000 Americans had been killed in nearly 9 years of fighting.

Step 17: In 1970 came de-escalation, and the Cambodian invasion. During this year, U. S. troops still in Vietnam dropped below 400,000. Aircraft lost by early that year, 6,333, valued at \$6-7 billion. New North Vietnam attacks in Laos overwhelmed Laotian forces in Plain of Jars. More U. S. troop withdrawals were announced. Cambodians called for military aid. On May 1, U. S. and South Vietnamese forces pushed into Communist sanctuaries in Cambodia, setting off widespread protest and demonstrations across the U. S. The Kent State disaster was one incident. In

June the Senate repealed the Gulf of Tonkin resolution. The U.S. concentrated all its B-52 raids on Laos, hitting mainly the Ho Chi Minh trail.

Step 18: To date, parts of the Ho Chi Minh trail (North Vietnamese supply routes) have been cut. All U.S. soldiers are our of Cambodia and Laos according to Ambassador Bunker. He feels we have about reached the time when the South Vietnamese can go it alone - probably with U.S. air support. He told us that in his opinion, all U.S. troops will be out of Vietnam by mid-year 1972, according to President Nixon's aims. Asked if the protests, demonstrations and riots against the war - and the coming presidential election of 1972 had influenced a quicker withdrawal than otherwise would have occurred, he said that in his opinion they had not — that since 1968 such progress had been made that we were getting out as conditions themselves, in Vietnam, made possible.

We had a meeting with President Thieu scheduled for Thursday morning, March 18th. But on Thursday morning, newsmen and photographers were racing out of our hotel in Saigon — there was a news blackout — no newspapers arrived, President Thieu evidently had left Saigon suddenly, and we ourselves hurried to the airport and flew out of Saigon. The South Vietnamese, in Laos, had abandoned another post, and many of their men were air-lifted by helicopter after five days fighting without sleep.

Summary: The war to date has cost the U. S. over \$125 billion.

U. S. losses: 54,000 killed from all causes, (over 44,500 *battle* deaths). Total casualties around 350,000.

Over 7400 aircraft, jet planes and helicopters lost through battle, accidents or wear.

Over 720,000 Communist forces estimated killed.

Over 120,000 South Vietnamese forces killed — plus about 325,000 South Vietnamese civilians have died.

Now finally, MEANWHILE!

When the United States first became involved, it appeared that Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia (with 125 million population) were on the brink of going Communist.

At that time, it appeared that if South Vietnam fell to the Communists, those other countries would fall one by one. Australia would have been next. AND THE WAY WOULD BE PAVED WHERE COMMUNIST INVASION OF THE UNITED STATES — AND ALL-OUT NUCLEAR WAR DESTROYING OUR CITIES AND AT LEAST ONE THIRD OF ALL OUR PEOPLE — SOME SEVENTY MILLION OF UNITED STATES CITIZENS — WOULD HAVE BECOME AN IMMINENT THREAT!

And THAT was the real REASON for United States involvement!

Better to have to lose 54 thousand U. S. soldiers' lives than 70 MILLION lives of civilians, women and children as well as soldiers — and probably end up SLAVES to the Communists?

WHICH?

THAT was the real CAUSE behind the COMMITMENTS the United States made to the South Vietnamese.

Why this has not been made CLEAR AND PLAIN to the American public, I cannot understand! Why most official explanations talk of KEEPING OUR COMMITMENTS — making our word good — leading people to suppose we are merely doing the South Vietnamese some kind of a favor, I cannot understand.

Why officials of so Many administrations — both Democrat and Republican — have not made this whole thing CLEAR to the public, I am utterly unable to understand!

But Now we are able to get out, as Ambassador Bunker said, WITH HONOR — having KEPT the commitments — leaving the South Vietnamese able to keep back the Red drive to the south.

The United States is now in the process of *getting out* — but it is NOT a war we have won — it was never intended to be. It was a war to STOP Communists from taking over more countries to the south. And as of now, *that* has been accomplished.

And MEANWHILE — Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore has driven out the Communist danger of a takeover there.

And MEANWHILE — the military government of President Suharto in Indonesia has ended the imminency of any Communist takeover in that third

most populous country in the free world.

And THAT is the Vietnam story.

It's high time it should be told — to give the whole world UNDER-STANDING!

Interview With Ellsworth C. Bunker

(Continued from page 8)

will be capable of resisting ruthless and relentless enemies with every intent to acquire control of the land and its people. The Ambassador was confident that our entire effort in South Vietnam has been effective in helping the Vietnamese people to develop capabilities to manage their own affairs and to become militarily, politically and economically stable and socially just.

American Presence Removed — 1972?

At that point, I asked the Ambassador whether, in his opinion, there would be such a redeployment of American Armed Forces — scheduled in June 1972 — if there were no powerful anti-Vietnam war interests in the United States and if there were not an election forthcoming in November 1972.

The Ambassador assured us that in his opinion the redeployment of American Forces was a timely program. That is, the American presence would be removed at or about that time under any circumstances because of the success of the prior American efforts and the success of the entire Vietnamization program. He was also convinced that the President's planning was not affected by either the election in 1972 or by the rather vocal dissent against the war.

The Ambassador concluded by stating that he was confident that should we continue to pursue our policies with confidence and determination and courage, we shall achieve our objectives: a free choice for the people of South Vietnam and eventually a just peace.

Again he emphasized the importance of our demonstrating the credibility of our commitments and our willingness to accept responsibilities of power.