

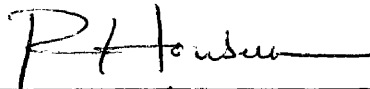
A Century of War: U. S. Military Interventions
Through the Lens of The New York Times, 1895-1992

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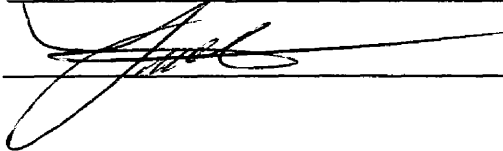
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Introduction

During one night early in 1991, I was awakened by the sound of air raid sirens going off in Baghdad while the voice of Peter Arnet of CNN described the beginning of the Persian Gulf war. When it came time to choose a research project for my thesis I remembered that night, and realized how the explosion in communications in the twentieth century had changed the way Americans learn about what is going on worldwide. To test my belief that with all the different arenas of information available, American newspapers have had to change the way they present the news as they compete for the subscribers needed to attract the advertising dollars that keep them in business, I decided to explore the way newspapers covered wars in which America took part. To this end, I have looked at four conflicts relatively small in nature if one considers the countries involved and the territory in dispute. I made use of the availability of The New York Times via the internet in order to see if the way it tells its readers of war has changed with the additions of radio, television, cable/satellite television with its 24/7 news outlets, and finally the internet. I believe that in reading across the century, as it were, changes in the American experience should also become fairly obvious.

With all of these reasons in mind I chose to look at the newspaper coverage of the Philippine American War that grew out of the Spanish American War, the Korean War, the Vietnam War, and finally the Persian Gulf war. I looked only at articles in the Times as I did not want any differences I found to have been caused by the different editorial policies of various newspapers. I

used four key words and a specific time frame for each war to provide me with a manageable number of articles to read. I then further refined my research by trying to ascertain such sub topics as why war, specific battle details, anti-war sentiment both expressed and perceived, religious reaction to these wars, political ramifications at home and worldwide, and finally, what exactly was accomplished each time we decided to fight. It should clearly show how America came to hold the position of world superpower that it does today.

Why The New York Times you might ask? After all, one hears other papers, The Washington Post and The Wall Street Journal to name two, cited as knowledgeable sources on all the media outlets available to us 24/7 in today's world in addition to The Times. It was not only the fact that The Times allowed me to work from home, but it was also the fact that this newspaper is well-known as the official record keeper of both American and World current events.

Founded on September 18, 1851, by Henry Jarvis Raymond, The New York Daily Times was considered a success almost from its first issue.

Raymond changed the way newspapers operated when he

perfected his news-gathering forces and brought into play his intimate acquaintance with men of affairs to open up the sources of information . . . set a new standard for foreign service. . . men who wrote from the news centers of Europe were persons of wide political knowledge and experience, and social consequence. . . time and ability to do their work thoroughly, carefully, and intelligently.¹

With few owners in between, the paper, in 1896, came under control of the Ochs family. The Sulzberger family of today is directly descended from Adolf S. Ochs.² The motto of The New York Times : "All the news that's fit to print" dates

from his time. It was Ochs that brought his philosophy from the Chattanooga Times to The New York Times that insured a reader of his paper could clearly tell where the news reporting ended and the editorial opinion of the paper began. Even people who did not agree with his editorial stance would read The New York Times because “they depended on *The Times* for accurate accounts of events, full texts of treaties, laws and speeches and objectivity in reporting.”³

It is under the Sulzbergers (1935-present) that The Times expanded the “use of background reporting, pictures, and feature articles, and expanded its sections” and grew into the multimedia company that it is today.⁴ Although I could not find a history of The New York Times in book form, I did see a reference to a book written by G. Berger in 1951, and reprinted in 1970, *The Story of the New York Times*. You can go to the New York Public Library and trace the history of the paper because, in 2007, The Times donated over 700,000 records from their archives to them. At the time Arthur Sulzberger, Jr., declared “Our archives are valuable to the history of The New York Times and to journalism, which is why it is so important to us that they be kept as a unified collection and be expertly preserved.”⁵

While I never did find a copy of Berger’s book, I did read James Reston’s memoir Deadline. Hired by the paper in 1939, he spent the next fifty years as a reporter, columnist, Washington correspondent, and finally as its executive editor. The book was well indexed making it easy for me to trace how Reston saw the paper’s role in the wars that I covered. He also made a good case that

the “influence of The Times rests on the fact that it is read by people who have influence—the leaders of government and diplomacy, business tycoons, and other deep thinkers in the universities. Who’s who types who make and follow the news and refer to The Times index.”⁶

I also looked at Joseph C. Goulden’s book Fit to Print. It was the story of A. M. Rosenthal’s tenure at the newspaper as its executive editor during the mid 1960's to 1986. His era was marked by the change in the newspaper business from the reporting of just the facts taken from the official record to the investigative style of journalism that is common today. It is that style which means reporters are no longer the stereotypical reporter found in the movies like *Front Page* or *Teacher’s Pet*, where they learned their craft on the job. Reporters of today are “university trained specialists who often have doctorates in the subjects about which they write.”⁷ Reporters no longer took the official word as the news, but fleshed out the facts using their abilities as researchers and making use of their sources. It is also during this time that the paper began to devote

dozens of columns daily to stories probing the mores and morals as well as the misfeasances of society. . .challenged the visual medium by offering readers a depth of information impossible in a 30-minute TV news broadcast. . .softening of the news product, and the substitute for reportorial opinion for the “just-the-facts, m’am” reporting of an earlier era.”⁸

Unlike the Reston book that dealt with events and the paper’s reaction to them, this book dealt more with Rosenthal and his reaction to events rather than the events themselves. It was not particularly helpful to me.

As I begin to write this paper, we are again involved in a limited war. As this war drags on, and more and more Americans die, the debate over why we went to war and why we are still there is boiling over on our television screens and computer terminals, over the airwaves via talk radio, on our nonfiction bookshelves in our favorite book store, and in the pages of our local newspapers. If I cannot find differences based on the communication explosion of the twentieth century, I wonder if the whys and wherefores of why we go to war has changed as America emerged from the Spanish American war as a world recognized political and military force to the world super power status enjoyed today. These are the questions that I hope to answer in this paper.

Road to War

Each of the wars that I have studied for this paper has been preceded by previous wars, diplomatic missions, acts of aggression, and finally a statement of purpose that succinctly stated why we ended up involved in a shooting war. The Philippine American War grew out of the Treaty of Paris of 1898, that had ended the Spanish American War. America and Spain had gone to war over the condition the Cuban people lived in under Spanish colonial rule. Eventually, President McKinley invoked the Monroe Doctrine as America went from looking on as a spectator since 1868, as the Cubans fought a war for independence from Spain, to finally becoming an active participant in 1898, as America intervened to insure the independence the Cubans had been fighting to obtain for so long. Once McKinley decided to go to war, he ordered Admiral Dewey to sail to Manila to neutralize the Spanish navy. That meeting between Dewey's fleet and the Spanish one, which bears the name "Battle of Manila Bay," turned out to be not much of a contest as there were very few injuries on the American side with no loss of ships, while the Spanish fleet surrendered soon after that first encounter as it was too old and ill-equipped to put up the necessary resistance.

In Korea, we found ourselves involved in a war because of treaty obligations we had assumed as a member nation in the United Nations after World War II. We had signed on to the proposition that we would guarantee the existence of South Korea until elections by the Korean people, both north and

south of the 38th parallel, were held to determine the form of government they wanted. The post World War II world was carved up to reflect the influence of the allied power that had occupied a particular region at the end of the hostilities. It turned out that this divided the world into free and communist zones depending on whether you had been occupied by the Americans and its European allies or the Soviets. Germany was divided into two zones, including the city of Berlin that was known as West Berlin—free-- and East Berlin—under Soviet influence. American foreign policy, post World War II, worked to contain Communism behind those borders it had occupied at the end of the war. In Korea, that meant the division was at the 38th parallel. Elections, held in the South, brought the government of Rhee into being, so the United States, no longer needed as an occupational government, withdrew its ground troops leaving behind only military advisors and air support that was based in Japan. North Korea, probably at the urging of the Soviets, decided to judge how serious the United States would be in living up to its various commitments, sensed a weakness and marched across the 38th parallel invading the Republic of Korea.

We found ourselves fully involved in Vietnam through a series of incremental military increases from just acting as advisors to train the South Vietnamese Army to adding air support and more advisors as insurgents from North Vietnam flooded the South in an attempt to overthrow that government. Our involvement grew out of prior commitments we had made in 1954, as the French were forced out of that region, which in turn created a power vacuum that the free world thought the Communists would fill. Ho Chi Minh, the leader of

North Vietnam, thought he would control the entire country once his army had forced the French to cede their colonies. Instead, a pact divided the country at the 17th parallel with elections to be held to determine how it would be united and what type of government would be chosen. The longer the insurgency dragged on, the more involved the United States became as we were still pursuing the policy of containment of communism. The thought was that if South Vietnam fell to the Communists, then Laos, Cambodia and eventually the whole of Southeast Asia would fall. The more the United States tried to assist the South Vietnamese, the more involved we became until it became the American Vietnamese war fought by American ground and air troops assisted by the South Vietnamese. It was no longer thought of as the Vietnam war fought by the Vietnamese assisted by the Americans.

The Persian Gulf war was in response to the aggression of Saddam Hussein of Iraq when he marched his army across the border into Kuwait, expelled the royal family, and annexed the territory. Hussein cited an obscure Iraqi claim to that country as justification for what he had done. Once again we became embroiled in an international incident as a result of American commitment to the United Nations. What differentiates this war from the others I had looked at is its short life and its seemingly clear ending. Iraq was forced out of Kuwait and back behind its own borders, seemingly a beaten country.

I have given a short version of why we found ourselves involved in these shooting wars, but the nice thing about using newspaper articles is that they tended to tell the story both from the United States perspective and the story as

reported from the other side whether it be Spain, North Korea, North Vietnam, Russia, China, or in the case of Kuwait, the rest of the Arab world. It is in the way that newspapers answer those famous questions of “who, what, when, where, and why” that I will attempt to lay out in greater detail both the things that I learned about these wars and how the American involvement catapulted the United States to become, in only one hundred years, the only recognized world super power by the 1990's.

In looking at the historical issues of The New York Times online, I first encountered an article from March 14, 1895, in which

The chief topic of discussion among naval officers yesterday was the affront to the American flag given when the unidentified Spanish man-of-war fired upon an American steamship while upon the high seas. . . Spain, however cannot afford to go to war with this country . . . make a prompt disavowal and apology for the outrage, knowing. . . . Failure to do so would inevitably lead to untoward results. The least that she could count upon in that contingency would be the loss of Cuba and Puerto Rico, and, perhaps, her dependencies in the Philippine Islands.⁹

As you can see, the thought of war with Spain was talked about in the newspapers three years before it actually occurred with the almost afterthought that the Philippines might become a spoil of war.

On September 3, 1896, The New York Times published an article on page 16 that listed precise information that detailed the location of the archipelago, the natural resources, climate, agriculture, its discovery and colonization for Spain by Magellan in 1521, its trade potential, plus a short history lesson. The government was led by a Governor-General appointed by Spain , who was endowed with supreme power to govern the Archipelago in conjunction with the

clergy of the Catholic Church. The closing paragraphs describe the Filipino population as being composed of aborigines from many different tribes, as well as a large number of the descendants of immigrants from China, Japan, and Malaysia. People of European descent were very much in the minority there. Educating Americans about an area of the world that was far away and inaccessible to most by the newspaper seemed to point to the fact that the media considered it their duty to make sure Americans knew at least something about an area of the world that might become important to the country at some future point in time. One may infer from this that information generally taught nowadays in school was not something taught back then or if it was taught, not a majority of Americans had access to it. Newspapers served as a tool to make sure that Americans had access to the information they considered vital for the people to be able to make informed decisions.

Although the newspapers continued to both discuss the plight of the Cubans under Spanish rule and to push for the government to take a stand, in January, 1897, The New York Times sent a correspondent to question Senator Hale of Maine about his opposition to the “Cameron resolutions, recognizing the independence of the Cuban Republic.”¹⁰ Instead of the modern day press conference that we are all used to seeing where the press surrounds the government official with microphones shouting questions hoping to catch a sound bite that can be used, in the nineteenth century, reporters sat down with the official and questioned him. The interview was printed in its entirety. The Times reporter operated from the viewpoint of favoring Cuban independence so

confronted the senator to prove his views by asking: "I suppose you are aware, Senator, that your statements do not tally with those of the representatives of the Cuban Junta. Can you give specific facts which sustain your views?"¹¹ The first thing Senator Hale did was to explain that his view was so different from most Americans because

The American people have been greatly misled upon this subject by listening only to one side, especially as that side has been presented by persons without any official responsibility and with everything to gain and nothing to lose by misrepresentation...remarkable fact that Cuba stands almost at the head of all communities of the world in the volume of her export trade.¹²

For the rest of the rather lengthy interview, Hale continued to support his theory that Cuba has made considerable progress over that of the other countries in the region that had earlier freed themselves from colonial ties. Citing the high Cuban balance of trade, the health of the Cuban mortgage industry which translated to their having left behind the status of being an underdeveloped country, and the number of foreign investments made in Cuba because Spain had kept the island peaceful as proof that Cuba and its people were prospering, and not at all downtrodden, taxed to death, and generally under the heel of a colonial power as portrayed by the insurgents and their supporters. Hale believed that an unhappy population would not have worked so hard to make Cuba into the developed country that these factors showed it to be. While the senator did admit that reforms in taxation and a fairer administration of the laws were needed, he believed it was up to the colonial government under the guidance of Spain to bring about these changes. As he said, "the men behind the present

insurrection. . . have either the capacity, the means, or the honesty to adopt in Cuba even so intelligent a policy of economic reforms.”¹³ For the most part, however, voices of dissension were hard to find before we went to war.

By September, 1897, General Woodford, the United States Minister to Spain, was complaining of the loss to United States “commerce and industry . . . through the prolongation of the Cuban War.”¹⁴ Once money, or rather the loss of it, becomes an issue, the United States Government through its emissary declared

it was evidently impossible for Spain to end the rebellion in a reasonable time. . . if war was continued Cuba would be devastated and of no utility to Spain or the Cubans. . . firmly upon the necessity of terminating the war, declaring if it was not terminated by the end of October the United States would feel justified in taking measures to secure the independence of Cuba.¹⁵

As you can see, when the economic well being of the country was seen to be threatened, the government issued an ultimatum of sorts telling Spain to settle the insurrection sooner rather than later.

Although it is well known that the Cuban insurrection was not over in October, 1897, the United States did not immediately engage Spain in securing that end. The catalyst for the beginning of the Spanish American War was the sinking of the United States battleship *Maine* in the Havana harbor on February 16, 1898. The immediate death toll was 251 men and 2 officers. Because this disaster occurred in our hemisphere, it was front page news in the February 17, 1898, edition of The New York Times complete with personal accounts of what had happened and the reaction of the Spanish authority. Even though both

Spain and the United States investigated the explosion, the two sides never did agree on whether it was a natural occurrence or the result of sabotage. In an editorial, The New York Times declared that the Foreign Affairs report

makes out the case for intervention with armed force. It leaves no middle ground. Henceforth it is either peace or war-unconditional peace by retiring from the Cuban question at once and altogether, leaving the Spaniards to carry on their savagery unmolested, or immediate intervention to drive them out of Cuba with shot and shell.¹⁶

While the newspapers in the States were reporting that the country was being forced into a war in order to save the Cuban people from extinction at the hands of their colonial masters, the news from Madrid as printed in The New York Times spoke to the

war fever has been raging many hours. . . peace faintly possible [as] people trusting to vague telegrams from Havana indulge a hope that the insurgent leaders, fearing American annexation, will voluntarily come to terms with the Autonomous Government . . . leading representatives of all parties there is an almost unanimous opinion that the United States will accept nothing less than the termination of the Spanish sovereignty in Cuba . . . war seem inevitable. . . exasperates all Spaniards is the growing conviction that the conduct of America is purposely designed to encourage the Cubans to resist all efforts to arrive at an understanding with Spain . . . virtually playing into the hands of American intervention and of designs long matured against Spanish rule in the West Indies and even in the Philippines.¹⁷

In the end it did not matter as the war of words escalated into a Joint Resolution for war with Spain passed by the United States Congress and signed by President McKinley on April 20, 1898. The next day Spain declared that a state of war existed between the two countries, expelled Woodford, the United States Minister, and broke off diplomatic relations. But it is interesting to note that

although the papers in the United States listed the fate of the Cubans the sole reason for war as an humanitarian exercise, the Spaniards seem to give credence to the belief that the United States was more interested in gaining possession of the islands in the Caribbean and the Philippines. Those islands were considered important for international trade both close to home and in the Far East.

To make an already long story short, McKinley sent Admiral Dewey to the Philippines to neutralize the Spanish navy stationed there. When he arrived, the navy surrendered with very little opposition, which in effect afforded the United States, under the command of Admiral Dewey, de facto possession of Cavite. This was followed shortly by the fall of Manila. It is during this time in May, 1898, that Aguinaldo the leader of the Filipino insurrection, returned to “assist the Americans” in any way that he could. Before he was brought to the Philippines aboard a United States naval ship, Aguinaldo had met with Consul General Spencer Pratt in Singapore to discuss the insurgents’ role in the Philippines once the Americans had landed. Aguinaldo left that meeting with the belief that if he helped Dewey subdue the Spaniards, then the United States would grant independence to the islands and he would be the logical choice for leader. Unfortunately, the government in Washington had given Dewey “specific instructions that he was to make no alliances with any party or faction in the Philippines that would mean liability to maintain their cause in the future” which meant there was no promise of freedom extended to Aguinaldo in Singapore according to the government, regardless of Aguinaldo’s belief to the contrary.¹⁸

The stage is set for the Philippine American war to commence as “on May 24 Aguinaldo declared himself dictator and issued a proclamation in which he assured his followers that the Great North American Nation had come to offer them protection and regarded their country as gifted with sufficient civilization and aptitude for self-government.”¹⁹ By June he named himself President, and with his army, did control some of the suburbs around Manila. Unfortunately this band of men that had caused the Spanish authority trouble in the islands prior to the Spanish American War, also got in the way of the American army, as they came ashore to bring order to the Philippines. When Manila fell in August, 1898, Aguinaldo was kept out of the city. “The surrender was of the Philippine Islands by the representative of the Spanish authority to the commander of the American forces and no reference was made to the people of the islands.”²⁰ For the next eight months things were at a standoff as the Filipinos–Aguinaldo and his followers–awaited the decision to come out of a peace conference ongoing in France.

That conference did not commence until the Autumn because as late as the middle of July, due no doubt to the slowness of communication, the government in Madrid was still saying that “latest news from the Philippines is of the most favorable character...while the blockade is becoming very strict, the enemy had lost heavily in several recent engagements, by which the morale of the American force has been weakened and the Spaniards have been greatly encouraged.”²¹ By the end of July, the Spaniards, through the Madrid correspondent in London, did not ask for an end to the fighting, but did state the

obvious by “recognizing the superiority of the Yankee forces and their military operations. . . . Asks whether the United States are disposed to make peace, but requests neither truces nor armistices.”²² Spain took a militant stance with its refusal to give up Puerto Rico but was agreeable to “ceding a coaling station in the Philippines, provided Spanish sovereignty is respected in the Islands.”²³

Newspapers reported that the United States did not seem at first to know exactly what it wanted to do with the Philippines. This indecision could have contributed to Aguinaldo’s belief that he would be able to govern the islands in the end. The Marquis de Comillas, a well known Spanish financier intent on keeping for Spain the business status quo in the islands, is quoted in the paper saying

In the Philippines Americans have no interests of considerable importance. The Monroe Doctrine does not apply there. . . . Admiral Dewey squadron to the Malayan seas . . . to divert the attention of the Madrid Government . . . desired affect has been obtained I cannot comprehend what reason the Americans have to retain that land in their power. . . a population of about 8,000,000 who have lived for centuries identified with Spain. . . not accept the decision of the mother country should she transfer her sovereignty without their consent, to a foreign nation. . . would rise without doubt as a single man in favor of independence.²⁴

In December a treaty was signed between representatives of the United States and Spain in Paris that provided for a free Cuba, Puerto Rico and Guam to become possessions of the United States, while Spain ceded all rights in the West Indies. The United States paid Spain \$20,000,000.00 for the Philippine Islands. January, 1899, saw proclamations issued by both sides in the Philippines that were in direct conflict. The American military governor issued a

proclamation that provided for the governance of the islands under American auspices. Aguinaldo responded by issuing his own proclamation that said it was his belief that the Americans had come to free them from the “bad Spanish government. . . protest in the name of God, the root and fountain of all justice, . . . against the intention of the United States Government to assume sovereignty of these islands.”²⁵ By the time the treaty was under discussion in the United States Senate in February ,1899, it became clear that the insurgents had staged an attack in the Philippines because Senator Lodge, when speaking in support of the treaty, said “the attack was made, and it was met as American soldiers and American sailors always meet such attacks. While those people are in arms against us, it is no time for us to meet them with promises and extraordinary protestations of good faith. We must meet them in the same way that they attack us.”²⁶

February 4, 1899, was the date given for the first battle in the insurrection by the Filipinos against the occupying Americans. The Filipinos “emphatically deny that the aims of the American Government have been misinterpreted. The proclamation of Gen. Otis showed those aims clearly. We also deny the legality fo the sale of sovereignty over the Philippines by Spain. And we reiterate positively that the Americans began the hostilities on Feb.4.”²⁷ So began the Philippine American war that ended in July, 1902.

1945, brought not only the end of World War II, but also the formula that changed the geographical boundaries of the world. It had been decided that whichever allied power occupied an area at the end of the hostilities, it was their

responsibility to govern that country until it was able to govern itself. In the case of Korea that meant that Russia, which occupied the land north of the 38th parallel was given North Korea to administer, while the United States occupied and governed the land south of that parallel. The object was to allow free elections so the people could decide for themselves the type of government they desired. The United States believed that the South was ready to decide their fate by 1948, and elections were held. Rhee was the winner and took on the task of governing Korea south of the 38th parallel. North Korea was governed by a puppet regime of the Soviet Union as no free elections were ever held. When the North Korean Army marched across the demilitarized zone on the morning of June 25, 1950, there were only 500 American officers and enlisted men left in country to act as advisors and trainers for the South Korean armed forces. Thus, Korea became the first hot battle of the Cold War—a war that seemed to begin almost before WW II had concluded.

The United States' first published remarks put Korea directly at the center of the Cold War as those in Washington said they would

hold Russia responsible for the Communist North Korean war against the independent South Korean Republic that this country and the United Nations brought into being and have supported. . . . no indication that the United States intends to take direct military action of its own in defense of South Korea. . . official report of the broadcast from the North Korean capital, Pyongyang, that North Korea had declared war.²⁸

It was in the United States best interest to face this aggression head on in order to maintain her position as the leader of the free world. It was a role she had undertaken at the end of the Second World War, and if the writings published on

June 27 in The New York Times are correct, it was a stand that the people of the United States fully endorsed. The editorial page contained editorials from across the nation concerning the attack of the North on South Korea. "It was the old pattern of aggression to which Hitler accustomed the world, the unabashed appeal to force. . . the United States must keep a free hand to meet whatever situation may arise there, should international intervention prove insufficient." The Post says "In a single stroke Stalin has exposed the duplicity of the peace offensive being waged by his agents throughout the Western world. . . If we look the other way now we may fatally mislead Stalin into the delusion that the world is his playground." From the Baltimore Sun: "The North Korean attack is naked Russian imperialism...The whole United Nations structure will be tested, and the whole range of American post-war policy." Milwaukee wants to know "shall they appease and retreat before the wave of Soviet-Communist imperialism which has succeeded nazism, or shall they make a determined stand." "The United Nations has but one choice...must step in to stop the Korean war. If it does not do this, if it fails to respond to this desperate situation, then the United Nations is doomed to go the way of the League of Nations."²⁹ It seems that at the beginning everyone was on board with President Truman's decision to "sending American forces into combat in Korea, he has ordered the Seventh Fleet to prevent any attack on Formosa; directed reinforcement of United States bases in the Philippines and speed-up of military aid to French Indo-China."³⁰

The first step taken after the administration learned of the invasion by the North was to go to the United Nations Security Council. The United States

asked to have a resolution adopted that would call on North Korea to return to its own borders. It also asked that the members of the United Nations “render every assistance to the United Nations in the exercise of this resolution.”³¹

The New York Times published a piece that gave a day by day accounting of the first week of the Korean War. Just as it had back in 1897, when it published a short history of the Philippine Islands, the paper gave a history lesson on why Korea was divided and the advantages to be found in each of the two halves. The

People’s Democratic Republic [North Korea] has most of Korea’s industry, its power plants, its iron and coal mines. Its Constitution is modeled after Russia’s. . . headed by Prime Minister Kim Il Sung. . . The Republic [South Korea] is the food-producing half of the country. South Korea’s Constitution is modeled on Western lines. . . its President is Dr. Syngman Rhee. . . The thirty-eighth parallel had been the scene of periodic skirmishes and border infringements involving North and South Korea troops.³²

As predicted, the South Korean Army was not up to the task of turning back a full scale invasion. By June 28, only three days after the invasion had begun, the capital of South Korea, Seoul, fell. The end of the article addressed the difficulties that would be faced by the new American commander, General Douglas MacArthur. These difficulties included the terrain that was far from flat and easy to navigate, lack of bases, lack of runways for planes, and most important of all “the principal cause of unrest in the Far East is poverty and hatred of foreign interference.”³³

Unlike the Spanish American War, the Korean conflict occurred after the formation of the United Nations. Now the world community had a voice when

one nation tried to increase its territory at the expense of another nation. Even if the case can be made that the United States had the highest number of troops and munitions committed, thirty nine other countries

lined up in support of the Security Council's decision to use armed force against the invaders, These nations represent every continent and every race and include, in particular, such Asiatic nations as India and Pakistan, Nationalist China, Thailand and the Philippines . . .welcome and impressive display of international solidarity in the face of new aggression.³⁴

In the new world order, the United States was not alone in a fight this time. Even though many nations supported the move against the aggression of North Korea, that did not necessarily mean that they agreed with the United States positions on other issues before the United Nations like Formosa and Communist China.

The United Nations, which had put together a committee to oversee the military aspects of the war named General Douglas MacArthur the director of military operations. Instead of this being a United States war, all the bylines now listed it as a United Nations operation. It seemed like “the United Nations has at last come of age and is meeting the responsibilities imposed on it.”³⁵ Although MacArthur was charged with forcing the North Koreans back behind the 38th parallel, he was instructed to make sure that his planes did not attack any other country than North Korea with its bombs. He was forbidden from entering mainland China with ground troops. The reasoning behind that order was the desire of the political leaders to make sure that Korea remained a local conflict and not give Russia or China any reason to widen the fighting. “The President of the United States has said it is - a police action against the Korean Communists,

in a limited area, on behalf of the United Nations. . . [while] the main line of Communist propaganda is that this is an imperialist American war, just another intervention by the West in Asia."³⁶

After the invasion on June 25, 1950, the United States had gone to the United Nations to seek aid from that organization to force the North Koreans back behind the 38th parallel. The Soviet Union made use of the world media to continue its

vast peace crusade. . . that the South Koreans, with prior backing from the United States, were the aggressors, part of the long-range imperialist strategy of the United States warmongers. . . appeal to the United Nations Security Council was simply a screen to shield these imperialist aims. . . conclusively demonstrates the aggressive tendencies of the capitalist countries as contrasted with the peaceful intentions of the Soviet Union.³⁷

Although the so-called educated free world knew the truth, that part of the world that the Soviet Union was most trying to influence—the underdeveloped so-called third world was easier prey to the Soviet propaganda that proclaimed it would only be through Communist revolution that the world would ever know true peace.

As you can see there was more going on than just the war to repel North Koreans from South Korea. While the soldiers slugged it out on the ground and in the air, the Russians and Chinese tried to convince the world that the Americans were the aggressors and that the United States would widen the world by invading China. Finally, in November, 1950, President Truman acquiesced to the demands of the other member nations and declared that the United States had never any intention of extending the war into

China proper. . . to stay on the Korean side of the Chinese frontier, to protect fully legitimate Korean and Chinese interests in the frontier zone, and to withdraw the United Nations forces from Korea as soon as a stable, unified, independent, and democratic government had been established throughout Korea.³⁸

However, the war continued to rage until a truce was signed on July 27, 1953. A truce is not a treaty and the United States, under the auspices of the United Nations, still maintains a military presence along the DMZ to guard against an invasion from the North over fifty years later.

Not long after a truce had been agreed upon in Korea, trouble flared in Southeast Asia. The French were forced to cede control of their Southeast Asia colonies after Ho Chi Minh and his army forced the French to surrender at Dien Bien Phu in Vietnam. America stepped into the role of advisor that had been vacated with the French withdrawal. Named the U. S. Military Assistance Advisor Group or M.A. A. G., American advisors were sent to South Vietnam to train its army. In 1957, the insurgency in the South began in earnest when the communists in North Vietnam infiltrated the Mekong Delta region setting up thirty-seven training camps to train the South Vietnamese to act as guerrillas. These trainees were believed to be responsible for 400 assassinations of South Vietnamese officials, as well as terrorist bombings in Saigon that had wounded thirteen Americans that worked for M.A. A. G.

The war was beginning to heat up in 1959, as the movement of men and munitions was noticeably stepped up along the Ho Chi Minh Trail as they moved from the North into the South. In response, President Diem ordered a crack down on the dissidents in the South while Ho Chi Minh in the North instituted

mandatory military service. President Kennedy's inaugural address asserted that Americans will "bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty." This was seen as a warning to North Vietnam to halt the intensification of insurgency that had occasioned the United States to match with a military build up of its own to the South Vietnamese government. Military advisors and air support for the South Vietnamese ground forces formed the basis of the American buildup. Hanoi responded by forming the National Liberation Front to fight for the liberation of the South. Named the "Vietcong" by President Diem, they tested the waters by attacking a village in Kienhoa Province. The South Vietnamese Army repelled the attack, but the stakes had been raised.

In the United States, President Kennedy authorized the formation of the Green Berets, a Special Forces group that would be trained in the art of counterinsurgency. It seemed as if every action in the communist world was countered by a reaction in the free world. As the insurgency in Vietnam increased, the United States began to defoliate the countryside by spraying Agent Orange in an effort to take hiding places away from the guerrillas.

It was not until 1962, that the first voice against continued American involvement in Vietnam was heard in the Senate. Mike Mansfield reported to JFK, after having taken a fact finding mission to South Vietnam, that it was his opinion that Diem had wasted the two million dollars America had sent him. On September 13, 1963, President Kennedy used his press conference to put

Saigon on notice, when he said

the United States was not in Vietnam to see a war lost. . . the South Vietnamese regime to adopt internal policies likely to bring victory over the Communist guerrillas. . . indicated that Saigon's repressive acts against Buddhists had seriously damaged unity in the anti-communist struggle, . . . we're for those things and policies that help to win the war in Vietnam and we oppose what interferes with the war...war to be won, the Communists to be contained, and the Americans to go home.³⁹

Senator Church, along with twenty-one other senators, presented a resolution to the Senate that would require "further American aid to South Vietnam be terminated and American personnel withdrawn if cruel repressions are not stopped."⁴⁰ A lofty sentiment, but not one that was carried out.

In June, an unnamed officer that had been a military advisor to a South Vietnamese military unit for three years was quoted in the paper saying, "the three vices of the Vietnamese military are politics, corruption and nepotism. . . [making] our number one problem here has been getting decisions made at the top levels-even the generals in this army rose as a result of political intrigues."⁴¹ What he seemed to be saying was that America needed to take over the actual command on the battlefield. His commander, General Hawkins, having finished his tour of duty and on his way home to the States, disagreed with his junior officer, saying that our role as advisor was the proper one for us to fill. Hawkins did agree that the "capability of the Vietcong, had improved during the two and a half years of massive American aid [but that the]...South Vietnamese Government is in a better position to counter the guerrillas."⁴² Rep. Gerald Ford of Michigan, along with a group of leading Republicans in Congress, submitted a

proposal that “the United States take over operational command of the war in that country.”⁴³ Henry Cabot Lodge, who had served as the ambassador to South Vietnam, dismissed that proposal, believing it would make us colonial masters. Just as in the discussion of the Philippines, Americans still rejected the idea that America was in the business of colonization. General Maxwell Taylor, the new ambassador, disagreed with Ford and his group on the grounds that one country would find it too difficult to take on the leadership of another country’s armed forces. The resolution went no where but was indicative of the growing concern that the war was not being handled properly by the South Vietnamese government.

The American concern over the South Vietnamese government’s ability to fight the war was based on the political upheaval that was occurring much too frequently in Saigon that left a new person on top of the heap each time a coup occurred. Meanwhile, President Johnson, in a sign that he did understand the complicated military and political climate in South Vietnam, put together civilian advisors with political experience to go to Vietnam to act as political liaisons to both the South Vietnamese and U. S. military commanders.

One of the great problems for the United States in Vietnam is that this is not the kind of war in which American technological power can be used effectively. . . when North Vietnamese patrol boats struck against United States ships in the Gulf of Tonkin on Aug. 2 and 4, the United States retaliated by launching carrier-based jets against three sites in North Vietnam,⁴⁴

but by November, when Ambassador Taylor came to Washington from Saigon to try and receive permission to widen the air strikes to include military targets in

North Vietnam and areas of Laos controlled by the Communists, an election had been held and President Johnson appeared to be carefully considering whether it was very wise to

involve American troops in a war on the mainland of Asia. . . faced 10 years of frustration and difficulty in the area and has been trying to promote an effective policy in a nation of considerable political erosion. . . There is little optimism here regarding the situation in Vietnam. The three years since General Taylor first recommended the major American build-up there have seen the enemy grow steadily stronger. . .the political situation [in Saigon] was judged by Washington as being extremely fragile.⁴⁵

The New York Times reported that the Ambassador Taylor's request was tied to the Vietnamese forming a stable government in Saigon. "We do everything we can to encourage stability by giving such advice as we can and by giving such aid as we can" Taylor said in an interview.⁴⁶ Unfortunately, that did not appear to have much effect as the papers carry articles and pictures of the "vulnerability of the Saigon regime to street mobs has been amply demonstrated."⁴⁷ While it is well-known that Ambassador Taylor had been lobbying for permission to attack the supply routes as a way to stop the flow of men and munitions into the South, it is also an expansion of the war as the attacks on Laos to quote Taylor "could be attacked by ground patrols or aircraft."⁴⁸ Having gained permission to widen the bombing mission, it is in May, 1965, that the first marine divisions are sent to Vietnam. "This was the first deployment of combat units."⁴⁹ The war of escalation sped up and by 1966, "Communist China said ...that United States bombing at Hanoi and Haiphong was a serious escalation of the Vietnam war and warned it would lead the United States one step nearer the grave...[this was] the first

official Chinese reaction to the United States air raids around the North Vietnamese capital”⁵⁰

The Vietnam War came to us not through an attack like Korea, or as the result of a Peace Treaty like the Philippine American War, but rather through years of incremental increases in response to the enemy’s growth in strength and determination to succeed in achieving a political victory in South Vietnam in order to unite the country at last into one Vietnam.

Twenty-four years later, the world is a much different place as the Cold War had been won and its two super powers—the United States and the Soviet Union--have been reduced to just one --the United States. The end of the Cold War was seen as proof that world peace was not only possible but probable. Sure, there were hot spots around the globe, but they seemed to be localized disputes that did not possess the capacity to draw the world to the brink of disaster that the Cold War had been deemed capable of doing. Communication across the world had become almost instantaneous so that almost from the moment that Saddam Hussein first amassed his army on the Kuwaiti border in 1990, the world knew about it and began to discuss what it might mean.

The New York Times published an almost minute by minute account of the build up to the First Iraq War. In July, 1990, the world witnessed the first volley of the coming war when “Iraq accused Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates of exceeding production quotas established by the OPEC ministers and driving down oil prices. On July 17 President Saddam Hussein of Iraq threatened to use force against Arab oil producers if they did not curb their

express output.”⁵¹ In response, “The United States has dispatched two aerial refueling planes to the United Arab Emirates and sent combat ships to sea in a rare exercise with the Persian gulf nation. . . first notable activity by the United States military in the region in nearly two years. . . signal to Iraq that Washington was prepared to use military force to defend the flow of oil through the Strait of Hormuz.”⁵² The U.A.E. had asked for a show of force and the United States sent ships to the area in response. These observations clearly point to both the production of oil—Hussein’s charge that the OPEC countries were “express” producing it--and the fear that the shipment of that oil--from the producers to the consumers--was somehow threatened. It seems obvious to me that American need for oil was the determining factor in our response to Hussein’s threat.

On August 2, Iraqi troops invaded Kuwait, forcing the Kuwaiti royal family to flee, and the “ports, airfields, and the three land crossings into Kuwait were closed. . . most telephone lines to the little desert nation at the head of the Persian Gulf were severed, and a loyalist radio station was knocked off the air.”⁵³ The world, led by the United States and the Soviet Union, denounced Saddam’s invasion, comparing it to the land grab that Hitler made in the 1930’s--“a dictatorial aggressor, determined to gobble up neighboring countries, moving boldly while the rest of the world wondered what to do about it.”⁵⁴

President Bush and his advisors met to devise a plan that would force Iraq from Kuwait while making sure that Saudi Arabia would not be Saddam’s fall back plan. “If President Saddam Hussein of Iraq is able to annex Kuwait or install a puppet regime there in place of the Sabah ruling family, it would mean

that Iraq would effectively control 20 percent of the world's crude oil."⁵⁵ It was necessary to tread carefully to build consensus in the rest of the world in order to force Iraq out of Kuwait and back inside its borders. One day it seemed that "Military force appears to be an unlikely option-it was essential to establish a united economic boycott of Iraqi and Kuwaiti oil to deprive President Hussein of the economic benefits he anticipated from the invasion. . . to bolster the Arab states in their willingness to stand up to Baghdad."⁵⁶ while the next day the paper reported that "Mr. Bush all but committed himself to use military force against Iraq if diplomatic and economic sanctions fail to produce an Iraqi withdrawal."⁵⁷ President Bush seemed to take on the persona of a sheriff in the Wild West as he responded to a reporter to "Just wait, watch and learn" when asked how he would "prevent the installation of an Iraqi-sponsored government in Kuwait."⁵⁸

Even if the world appears to have become very small, the West and the Arab countries still don't understand each other. Defense Secretary Cheney was sent to Saudi Arabia to show them all the intelligence information that the United States had amassed against Hussein in an effort to gain their cooperation in shutting down the oil pipeline that ran through their countries from Iraq. Instead, the movers and shakers in the Administration became "increasingly concerned about the unwillingness of Saudi Arabia and the other leading Arab countries to stand up to Mr. Hussein...strong tendency in the Arab world to try to appease Baghdad by letting it swallow Kuwait in hope that this will spare Iraq's neighbors a similar fate."⁵⁹ Along with the United Nations and the other Western powers, the plan became "to isolate Iraq diplomatically and to prevent the Iraqi-installed

government in Kuwait from being accorded any legitimacy within the Arab world or beyond. . . induce a cash-starved Iraqi leader to withdraw.”⁶⁰ Hussein’s answer to all this was to go from occupying Kuwait to annexation of Kuwait as a “direct challenge to the United States. We will fight your criminal force...the blood of our martyrs will burn you.”⁶¹

United States troops were sent to Saudi Arabia “to deter an Iraqi invasion and committed the United States to a long stay in the Middle East Kingdom.”⁶² The article described the fundamental change that had occurred in the world since the end of the Cold War. It should be much easier to enforce a blockade since the world is not divided into two completely separate entities of Communist and non Communist sides competing for the unaligned countries. In fact, the two countries that stood diametrically opposed to each other for all those years, the United States and the Soviet Union, were united in this alliance. Iraq had not yet recovered from the devastating financial ramifications of the Iran - Iraq war, so theoretically, Iraq could not abide another shock to its economic well being. The last reason that makes the embargo look better than military action was the fact that the Arab alliance was still showing resistance to any United States military action in the area. The United States was still not trusted by the world not to be on a mission of acquisition instead of the avowed defense of a weaker nation against a stronger one.

Over the next few months, The New York Times tracked the developing crisis where for every action by the United States and her allies, Saddam Hussein countered with a move of his own such as detaining citizens from the

United States and her allies. These “detainees” were placed to act as human shields at places that the Iraqis expected the United States to bomb.

On August 26, 1990, the United Nations Security Council “approves the use of force to support the military and economic blockade of Iraq.”⁶³ Kuwait’s royal family offers to pay \$5,000,000.00 to support the effort to free Kuwait from the clutches of Saddam Hussein in order to stem some of the concern about the cost of the embargo. In September the United Nations Security Council agreed to a “broad outline of a new proposal to tighten the trade embargo against Iraq . . . extend the embargo to air traffic, block Iraqi shipping of goods between third countries and call upon all nations to limit the activities of Iraq’s embassies.”⁶⁴

Iraq counters with charges that the United States is

starting a new era of “Western Imperialism” in the Persian Gulf. It offered no indication that it would withdraw from Kuwait . . . Arabs at the United Nations started a new campaign to forge a link between the gulf crisis and its Palestinian question by convening a Security Council meeting to discuss Palestinians in the occupied territory. . . the Palestinian issue as “the root problem underlying the chronic instability of the Middle East.”⁶⁵

The mention of oil has pretty much disappeared from the articles to be replaced with the concern about the best way to neutralize Saddam Hussein once the crisis was over since “the bottom line is that if Saddam survives this, even if he leaves Kuwait, he’s still the superman of the gulf.”⁶⁶ A.M. Rosenthal opined that the aim of the President should be to explain to the American public “that the reason to confront the power of Saddam Hussein is to end the power of Saddam Hussein.”⁶⁷ By the end of November, the United States approached the United Nations seeking a resolution that would put a deadline to how much time

Saddam Hussein had to vacate Kuwait before military action would be taken. That resolution was passed on November 29, giving Iraq until January 15 to leave Kuwait or face whatever force necessary to eject them from Kuwait.

That United Nations resolution was at the bottom of a Congressional debate over what role Congress was to play if it came to a military solution. On January 8, 1991, President Bush “called on Congress today to adopt a resolution supporting the use of force against Iraq if it did not withdraw from Kuwait by Jan. 15. . . first Presidential request for Congressional backing for offensive military action since President Johnson asked for the Gulf of Tonkin resolution on the Vietnam War on Aug. 1, 1964.”⁶⁸ The phrase “supports the use of all necessary means” was used this time at the United Nations just as it had been used in 1950 against the North Koreans when they had invaded the South. It was understood to mean military force but was never spelled out as such.

As the deadline neared any hope of a diplomatic settlement was crushed when the Iraqi Parliament

voted unanimously today to follow President Saddam Hussein into combat with the United States and its allies in a showdown over this country’s Aug. 2 invasion of Kuwait. . . . came at the end of an emotional session interrupted by chants for Mr. Hussein and cries for a holy war against the United States and Western leaders who have joined the military coalition pledged to eject Iraqi forces from Kuwait. . . historic showdown between the forces of good, justice, and truth led by Iraq against the forces led by the United States and this history of tyranny, oppression and arrogance.⁶⁹

After six months of diplomacy, threats, and counter-threats it came down to the simple fact that Saddam Hussein did not vacate Kuwait, so the allied bombing of Baghdad began on January 17, 1991, under the auspices of the United Nations.

Battle Strategy

In the beginning days of the Spanish American War, news from the Philippines was scarce. The New York Times had reported from their London Bureau on April 28, 1898, that

The American fleet, headed by the flagship Olympia, sailed at 2 o'clock this afternoon direct for Manila. . . thirty insurgent leaders here wanted to accompany it, but Chief Aguinaldo goes as their representative. He will take charge of the insurgent forces at Manila . . . The primary object is the capture of the Spanish fleet. . . Every preparation has been made. The ships are cleaned and painted for battle.⁷⁰

We now know that Aguinaldo was not with the fleet as he did not reach Manila until May 19. The rest of the statement seems accurate as he did return to the Philippines at the invitation of the Americans to take charge of the insurgents in the islands to aid the United States in its squeeze play against the Spanish forces on land. Although Americans awoke on the morning of May 1, 1898, to the news of Admiral Dewey's victory over the Spanish fleet under the command of Admiral Montojo in Manila Bay, it was almost a week later that they learned the details of the battle. Communication was very slow except for the bare bones telegrams that could be sent.

Admiral Dewey sent his report by ship to Hong Kong that detailed the battle. The Associated Press then printed the story that was picked up by The New York Times.

Commodore Dewey's orders were to capture or destroy the Spanish fleet, and never were instructions executed in so complete a fashion. At the end of seven hours there was absolutely nothing left of the

Spanish fleet but a few relics. . . Dewey anchored his fleet in the bay before Manila, and sent a message to the Governor-General, Gen. Augusti, announcing the inauguration of the blockade. . . victory of the American Commodore is one of the most complete and wonderful achievements. . . not a man on board the American fleet was killed, not a ship was damaged to any extent, and only six men were injured slightly⁷¹

The article does concede that the Spanish fleet was hopelessly outclassed.

“Every American shot seemed to tell, while almost every Spanish shot missed the mark.”⁷² The estimate was that two hundred and fifty Spaniards died and over one thousand men were wounded.

War was much more civil at the end of the nineteenth century than it is today or at least the newspaper portrayed it as such. For example, a Spanish captain was allowed to send for ammunition in order to continue the fight after being penned in by the American patrol boat, *Petrel*, upriver from the Bay.

There is a report of a ship, the *Esmeralda*, showing up “during the adjournment for breakfast. . . found the new arrival was a British vessel she was warned to keep away.”⁷³ The story does not have a conclusion because, at the time the ship left for Hong Kong, the Spaniards were still cabling Madrid for directions on whether they should continue to fight or be allowed to surrender.

Aguinaldo landed outside of Manila on May 19, seeing the power vacuum that existed, he declared himself dictator of the new government. Dewey more or less allowed Aguinaldo to join together with his insurgent forces in the northern suburbs of Manila to concentrate his efforts to subdue the loyalists forces in the northwest. Back in Washington D.C., President McKinley decided that the Philippines would need ground troops in order to be subdued; he

appointed General Merritt to assemble and train the Eighth Expeditionary Forces for use in the Philippines. The President and General agreed that “As a military problem the conquest of Manila is by no means simple. . .the Spaniard is a much better fighter by land than by sea, and that though without alertness or enterprise in taking the offensive, he is stubborn in resistance. . . while our occupation of the islands is provisional, it is altogether uncertain when or how it may end.”⁷⁴

By the middle of the Summer, 1898, Spain realized she could no longer continue to fight in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. Diplomats from Spain and the United States decided on Paris as the city where they would hammer out the exact details of peace, but the Spanish forces would remain in the Philippines until a treaty was signed. No longer considered combatants, once the peace protocol was signed on August 12, the Spanish leaders in the city of Manila surrendered to United States forces.

Up to this moment, there has not been much mention of an insurgent force in the Philippines. Concern is expressed regarding the presence of a German fleet that appeared to be “waiting orders from the Kaiser as to the Philippines or as much of the archipelago as the iron fist can grasp.”⁷⁵ Of any insurgency, the government back in Washington believed that General Otis had sufficient diplomatic and military ability to “compel the insurgents to an observance of the suspension of hostilities agreed upon between the United States and Spain.”⁷⁶ Even in 1898, the intelligence community did not seem able to separate reality from its preconceptions of reality. The number and tenacity of the insurgents in the Philippines seemed to be dramatically misunderstood.

With the completion of the Treaty of Paris on December 10, President McKinley, on the twenty-first, issued the Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation that made the Philippines a possession of the United States. He ordered the Occupying Army to use force, if necessary, to exert American sovereignty over the islands. In a deliberate rebuff to the proclamation, the Filipino insurgents accepted "the surrender of the City of Iloilo in the Philippines by the Spaniards . . . the hoisting of Aguinaldo's flag, [thereby pointing out]. . . the serious complications that are apt to be thus precipitated."⁷⁷ In the new year, Aguinaldo declared himself to be the president of the new Philippine Republic.

On February 4, 1899, after many months of half-hearted negotiations between Aguinaldo and General Otis to reconcile the United States position of no deal for freedom for the Philippines with Aguinaldo's belief that he had been promised independence for the Philippines, Aguinaldo declared war on the United States. The General reported that

the American soldiers were openly insulted and how the insurgents had continually labored to strengthen their lines, threatening to drive the Americans out of the island and how finally, on the night of February 4 the demonstration was made, as told by Gen. MacArthur which resulted in the killing of a Filipino by an American sentry and the firing on the Americans by the insurgent troops⁷⁸

This marked the beginning of a guerrilla type of warfare where the rebels would attack and run as described in the passage below.

Started at daylight with the Tenth Pennsylvania and the Second Oregon Regiments and two guns, to drive the rebels from the American right flank between the railroad and the foothills. . . slight resistance near Santa Maria, . . . the enemy bolted when shelled by the artillery and burned and abandoned, the town of Santa Maria, where 1,000 rebels were reported to have been concentrated.⁷⁹

Meanwhile General Lawton reports that “scouring the vicinity of Santa Cruz. He finds the rebels have decamped.”⁸⁰ And in another article, “The story of the Twentieth Kansas and how that regiment charged an entrenchment filled with Filipinos, got across the Quingua River, and drove the insurgents back to the next stronghold. . .The Filipinos fled before those Kansas boys from trenches which a civilized army never would have left, and would have held against a mighty force. But Filipinos do not fight that way” is further proof that this insurgency was going to be difficult to put down.⁸¹ By the time the Philippine American War ended 4,200 American soldiers, 20,000 Filipino soldiers, and 200,000 Filipino civilians had died.⁸²

Forty-eight years and two world wars later, the North Korean People’s Army streamed across the 38th parallel invading South Korea. The Seoul government turned to the United Nations for assistance in repelling this incursion. Condemning the action, the U.N. called on their members to give any aid possible to repel the North Koreans. The United States, who had left behind only 500 personnel when they had ceased occupation after the election of the Rhee government, was able to send air support from its bases in Japan as a source of immediate relief. President Truman authorized the reassignment of ground troops to be used as soon as they could get there from Okinawa, Guam, and the Philippines. By July 6, the United States Army was involved in a battle where the “United States troops fighting their first major engagement in the Korean war, successfully stood off the initial attacks of massive tank-led North Korean forces plugging south along the road from captured Suwon.”⁸³ This

article freely admitted that, although the lines were stretched, the United States troops still managed to keep the enemy from breaking through to continue on their southward trek. "A heavy overcast, however, is hampering close support by the United States planes for the hard-pressed infantry, which is receiving little assistance from the shattered South Korean Republican Army."⁸⁴

Technology has changed the tactics of warfare from the time of the Philippine American war. Now plans were conceived on the premise that air support would be available to the troops on the ground to deliver bombs, do strafing runs, and provide the reconnaissance necessary to assist the soldiers to either advance or hold their position. Air support can be compromised by weather that either obstructs the pilots' view or keeps them grounded. Another bit of technology is found in this article as it refers to "The Communist North Korean radio, in a broadcast heard in Tokyo and reported by the United Press, said 150 United States troops had been killed and fifty captured. . . The Red claim was not borne out by General MacArthur's reports."⁸⁵ No longer was news sent by cable, but was broadcast across national borders for public consumption.

The situation in Korea was very serious and it did not take long for the lack of military hardware to become a problem. On July 9, 1950, it was reported that

The Americans who retreated Saturday from Chonan, sixty miles south of Seoul, appeared weary, glum, nervous, and mad. They cursed the absence of heavier artillery, tanks, and aircraft. They would like the tide to turn quickly. . . encouraging signs also. Greatest is the presence of United States military equipment not yet thrown against the Reds.⁸⁶

Even though the men are described as being all those things above, the article went on to praise them. This article is the first time I noticed the byline “with the United States Troops on the Korean Front.” I am sure that byline was used in the previous World War, but it did not appear in the earlier conflict that I addressed. According to this nameless embedded journalist, this particular military action, coined “Operation Snafu,” showed U. S. forces to be

Young G. I.’s who never had fired a shot in anger before gave all they had. Many gave their lives. The commanding officer was killed when his face was shot off. Two officers who tried to push north were shot to pieces. Wounds and injuries were numerous.⁸⁷

The reporter is painting a picture for the readers at home that is graphic in its detail to underscore the reality that war is not a pretty thing. World War II and its inhumanity is still very much in the memory of Americans, so I assume these words were expected.

I notice that by the middle of July, the newspaper began publishing an article that became a regular feature entitled “Communiques on the Fighting in Korea.” The article featured a collection of the almost daily statements that emanated from the office of the U.N. Commander-General Douglas MacArthur, plus the transcripts from North Korean radio broadcasts that gave their take on the fighting. Examples of the early battles were given as

B-29’s of the Far East Air Force Bomber Command (Provisional) launched their first full-scale assault on targets at Wonsan on Korea’s northeastern coast. Heavy clouds made bombing by radar necessary and prevented evaluation of effects of the raid. . . Loss of another B-29 on July 12 has been confirmed. . . Crew members bailed out and while efforts to find them have not yet been successful the search is continuing. . . American and South Korean forces continued to withdraw below numerically superior forces to take up

defenses behind prepared positions and Natural barriers. . . Losses sustained by American forces in Korea have been greatly exaggerated in press reports from the front...total American losses to the present time are less than 500, amounting to 42 killed, 190 wounded, and 256 missing.

While from the North Korean side comes this report:

On all fronts units of the People's Army are fiercely attacking the fleeing ground forces of the United States and the Syngman Rhee (South Korean) Army and are continuing their southern advance. The United States Air Force is carrying out indiscriminate bombing not only of cities and farming villages in North Korea but also in the liberated parts of South Korea. . .As a result, homes, hospitals, schools, and cultural facilities in the peaceful city and surrounding farming villages were destroyed in great numbers and many people were killed.⁸⁸

Articles that outline battles have maps included so the reader can trace where the battle occurred and in which direction the war was moving—either pushing the enemy back or retreating in its face. Also appearing were copies of photos taken over bombing targets to show the results.⁸⁹ The description of a major battle, written by Lindesay Parrott, put the reader in the middle of the action with paragraphs that zeroed in on each section of the long battle front explaining that

The United States onslaught was on a fifteen mile front between the shore of Chinhae Bay, on the south coast of Korea, and the Nam River to the north. At the deepest penetration this morning, reports said, it staged gains of four to five miles. . . United States marines and infantrymen led by General Sherman tanks crushed or brushed aside Communist rear-guards. . . United Nation forces were pushing along three highways. . .To the south they were swinging in a flanking movement on the roads and trails... threatening an end run around the Communist right.^{90 91}

At the end of the article was inserted another one of those small tidbits from someone “With United States Forces in South Korea” that detailed an attack by

the North carried out “with sawed-off machine guns and mortars on a mountain ridge only five miles west of Masan, a small force of North Korean Communists today cut the only supply road to United States troops moving westward to Chinju.”⁹² In another article on the same attack, W. H. Lawrence writes from his unique position as an embedded reporter that

The first day’s offensive action Monday was thrown off schedule by the alert North Korean enemy, but by late afternoon the situation was straightened out and the United States troops moved slowly forward. [further down in the article he explained that statement] In the first hours of the scheduled United States attack, the alert enemy grabbed the initiative by taking from the United States a dominating hill position. . . kept the main United States forces pinned down for hours with a heavy volume of artillery and mortar fire accurately placed.⁹³

The rest of his article unfolded just as the battle had from the pre-battle air strikes that the United States jets stationed in Japan flew, to the opening salvo of the American artillery, to the “United States tanks moving forward had chewed up the telephone lines linking us to forward and rear elements...for other contact we had to rely on the radio.” to explain the loss of instant communication to the enemy’s returning of artillery and mortar fire.⁹⁴ Stationed at the command post Lawrence wrote “We ourselves hit the dirt as a mortar shell came sailing into our area. The radio calling for the Air Force to rocket, bomb, and strafe was observed to go out of action.”⁹⁵ Each paragraph upped the sense of urgency as he spoke of enemy small arms fire that he could hear which meant the enemy was coming ever closer. At the end of the battle

Mortars were falling closer and closer to the command post area. With each new air burst we hit the ground, stretched out flat, protected to some degree by a steep cliff. . . A burst almost in

the very center of the area knocked down two more men, one with a bad wound in the back, while digging a foxhole near by. They were still raining in as we left down the road to Masan to file dispatches describing the enemy's block in our first real attack effort.⁹⁶

The weekly article featuring the communiques issued by the office of General Douglas MacArthur no longer bore the caption United States but beginning with the September 15, 1950, edition read the United Nations. Although it continued to list ground attacks, the focus became the "sortie" which is the name given to the flight of a bomber or fighter on a mission. In a move that seems to be particularly American, in the September 13, 1950, edition much was made of the "new sortie record was established in Korea Monday when United States Air Force aircraft flew a total of 634 individual flights. . . Royal Australian Air Force flew thirty-eight sorties and the Marines eleven, . . .making the total for day 683."⁹⁷ Even in the midst of war, we are proud of being number one in something. These featured communiques took on the character similar to the play by play man at a sporting event as the week's action was described in words like these:

By late yesterday, all types of United States Air Force airplanes were flying, with targets including airfields, bridges, military buildings, gun positions, supply dumps. . . Units of the R.O.K. Second Corps patrolled to maintain contact while other elements continued their advance. . .Elements of the United States Twenty- fifth Division repulsed a small enemy attack after a brief fire fight. . . .Enemy groups which had infiltrated our lines in the United States Second Division sector were being engaged and destroyed. . .carriers of this task force...launched a record of 217 sorties.⁹⁸

Robert Miller sets the stage loading his articles with words that draw a

picture for the reader from “This is the one we have been waiting for. Within a few hours ships of this blacked-out task force will begin a shore bombardment to pave the way for landing craft that will carry Marines in for what we hope to be the final battle of the Korean war.”⁹⁹ Further down in the article he compares the Marines on board to “a highly trained boxer during those dreadful last hours before the bell” on a ship “crammed with men who have been stacked into every corner of this assault ship. In the holds are the deadliest weapons we possess” to “every marine aboard is a combat veteran who came to a South Korean port directly from the front lines” and the “last few hours have been spent in various ways. The mail sacks are bulging with the “before the battle” letters” and the final words “This is it.”¹⁰⁰ There can be no doubt to the newspaper’s reader that something important is about to happen half way around the world in Korea that will impact him back home in his tiny piece of America. Of course that was not the final battle of the war as this November 9 entry proves when again we are keeping track of firsts as we report “For the first time in aerial history, in combat near Sinujju when a flight of four F-80's engaged four enemy jets.”¹⁰¹ There is nothing Americans like better than to keep track of firsts. Fast forward to the February 11, 1951, edition of the weekly reports and you find that the action had moved north but was still pretty much the same with reports of the United States and Turkish troops “secured Inchon and Kimpo Airfield” while “the enemy in the area northeast of Pyongchang was reported withdrawing to the north” and “at the beginning of this period the enemy was on the offensive all along the battlefield. Today finds his poorly supplied troops being forced back by the United Nations

ground forces” cited as proof that the air war is doing its job in cutting the supply lines of the enemy.¹⁰²

Articles filed from reporters traveling as part of a military group are the most interesting because of their description and the feeling they engender in the reader that you are actually there. “Infantrymen of this crack United States division, veterans first of the Pacific and now of this Korean war, plunged through rice paddies and into snow-covered hills today in one of their most savage onslaughts. . . with machine guns, carbines and hand grenades, men of the division flushed the Chinese out of valleys and foxholes.”¹⁰³

War is still ongoing in July, 1952, even though peace talks at Panmunjom have been ongoing for many months, the discussions have not been productive. The air war is pummeling the countryside as

United States Superforts from Japan and Okinawa last night and early today blasted a big aluminum plant of the Communists at Yangsi in North Korea on the Yalu river estuary. The B-29's flew within a few miles of the Manchurian border in the greatest air strike of the Korean war against a single military target...the Yangsi area had been plastered with leaflets warning civilians the United Nations could not be responsible for their safety in the military zone.¹⁰⁴

We are showing our humanitarian side in making sure that the civilians have a chance to get out of the way of the bombs, but true to our quest to be the best and the biggest, this raid is listed as the “biggest night attack of the war.”¹⁰⁵ In the next month, the Marines

beat off a new Chinese attack on “Bunker Hill” a ridge position near the armistice conference site at Panmunjom, which for the last three days has been the scene of some of the sharpest local encounters of the Korean war. . . Peiping radio charged today that

the United Nations planes killed or wounded more than 1,000 civilians in a raid Sunday on Pyongyang, capital of Communist North Korea. . . civilians had been warned in advance to evacuate areas near enemy military installations.¹⁰⁶

Even though the Communists accused the United States of trying to bomb North Korea back to the table for talks, it was not until April of 1953, that full peace talks did resume at Panmunjom. It is quite possible they came back to the table because the

United Nations troops fought in patrol actions and minor probing attacks and Allied planes pounded enemy communications. . . The R. O. K. Troops now man about two-thirds of the battle line in Korea. . . In the old Iron Triangle zone of central Korea, Allied tanks and artillery continued the pounding of dug-in Communist positions that had begun a fortnight ago. Fifty eight enemy bunkers were reported as knocked out, then caves and tunnels sealed and eighteen gun positions silenced.¹⁰⁷

The cease fire was signed on July 27, 1953, but the United States recognizes January 31, 1955, as the official end to the conflict for the purpose of benefits for the military personnel that served in Korea from June, 1950, to six months after the cease fire was signed. The peace that had been achieved was an “uneasy one” at best. The final accounting at the time of the cease fire was 54,200 Americans died (33,700 battle deaths) and 4,418 of the estimated 7,140 POW’s did return.¹⁰⁸

“A high United States military official said today that the momentum gained by Communist guerrillas in South Vietnam in recent months had been checked. We are getting up from rock-bottom. . . emphasis placed on training the South Vietnamese forces in night combat . . . Communists launch most of their attacks at night.”¹⁰⁹ And so begins the longest United States war of the twentieth

century. Because it was a war of gradual escalation, this is an arbitrary place to start in describing how the newspapers covered the battles fought during the next eleven years.

In January, 1964, the United States Military Assistance Command hung out the suggestion box asking for ideas on the best way to win the war. The government of President Ngo Dinh Diem had been overturned in late 1963, and both he and his brother, Ngo Dinh Nhu, had been assassinated in response to the repressive dictators they had been. General Nguyen Khanh eventually seized control in 1964. "Most of the suggestions reflect the frustration of United States officers and enlisted men with a hazy and unfamiliar type of war."¹¹⁰ Since we had sent "advisors" to help the South Vietnamese train a military force in 1956, to take the place of the French who had left in defeat, it is chilling to realize that after eight years in country, the military still had no idea how to win the war that had begun with the Communist insurgency in 1957. One does not get a confident feeling about what we have committed our troops to do from articles like this.

Newspapers were reporting skirmishes similar to this report of Communist guerrillas attacking "a United States Marine patrol in a valley outside DaNang today and set off the marines' first extended ground action of the Vietnam war."¹¹¹ This war is different from the other wars fought as there was no line of battle or enemy dressed in a specific uniform fighting under a banner that was easily recognized as being the enemy. At this point in the war, the guerrillas are mostly locals living in the villages. Warfare is of the sniper variety where a group

of Marines would come under fire from guerrillas concealing themselves in the countryside. When the Marines try to return fire, they cannot because the marksmen have returned to their village and blended back into village life. In desperation and out of a very real fear, some Marine platoons that came under fire would then turn on the nearest village suspected of harboring the enemy; they opened fire indiscriminately killing men, women, and children. They would set fire to the huts to force the people out into the open. Whatever good will you might have enjoyed initially is gone because destroying their homes and killing their husbands, wives, children, family members, or close friends just breeds more hate and fear. Remember, it is the condition under which the Vietnamese villagers lived that made the Communist promises so attractive. The people in the countryside were only trying to live in peace with shelter, enough food to eat, and the ability to provide basic necessities for their family. Vietnam had been a battlefield since World War II. A Colonel Clement opined that as soon as you have finished with your destruction of the village, you need to begin to undo the damage you inflicted. To this end, he led his battalion to be

one of the leading advocates of “civic action programs” . . .The colonel’s troops appear to have had great success in pacifying the 20,000 people who live within the battalion’s tactical area of responsibility. . .dispenses medical treatment, food and good natured friendship to the people...has not been any sniping in Lemy for 30 days and the four platoons of guerrillas that fought for Lemy for two weeks last May have apparently left the area.¹¹²

So we have the villagers just trying to survive and we have soldiers to whom tact and diplomacy are foreign terms. “Many marines indicated that they were eager to learn all they could about guerrilla warfare and were willing to accept the

restraints necessary for political success.”¹¹³ As an enlisted man is quoted as saying “There are always two ways to do something--the right way and the John Wayne way. We might as well do it the right way.”¹¹⁴

As early as 1965, in part because of the quick escalation of troops and military involvement, The New York Times printed a story about the belief that “a South Vietnamese war aided by Americans was being turned into an American war aided by the South Vietnamese. . . repudiated by President Johnson yesterday when he said, “. . . we are there [in Vietnam] to help the people and their Government to help themselves.”¹¹⁵ I cannot help but notice that none of the sub headings in the articles about Vietnam carry the designation “United Nations” as was prevalent almost from the first article describing the Korean War. That is not to say that the United States did not have some assistance from other countries in that area, but for most of the world, it just seemed that Vietnam was too far away to be considered a threat. The United States policy of containment had developed a rather large hole.

In further proof that the United States was running this war, in December, 1965, “the United States declared itself free today to undertake military actions in Cambodia that it considered essential for the American troops’ self-defense in the Vietnam war. . . justification offered by the State Department was the inherent right of self-defense since, it said, North Vietnamese troops and South Vietnamese guerrillas are using Cambodia to stage attacks.”¹¹⁶ Unlike Korea, where the politicians tried to keep the war localized or contained, the perimeter for fighting in Vietnam had been widened.

Just a month later the United States kept the South Vietnamese government and Army out of the loop as they planned an assault on the so called Hobo Forest, a known Communist stronghold.

About 8,000 American troops, aided by Australians and New Zealanders, converged to the Vietcong's Iron Triangle yesterday morning in the wake of a strike by B-52 strategic bombers and an artillery barrage unprecedented in this war. . . five United States Army helicopters were riddled with machine gun fire as elements of the First Infantry Division and the 173rd Airborne Brigade were lifted into landing zones both north and south of the forest. . . never in the history of the Vietnamese war had so much artillery been used to soften up suspected Vietcong positions.¹¹⁷

The South Vietnamese were not apprised of the imminent battle because it was a fact that knowledge of the battle would not be kept in confidence. Because of the real possibility that any "leaks" would give the Vietcong enough advance notice to be lying in wait for the troops, it seemed justified to keep the South Vietnamese out of the loop. First, you have the problem where you don't feel able to include the army you are fighting for in your plans because of the fear the Vietcong has infiltrated all levels of the military and government. A perfect illustration of why this war is so difficult to fight was provided near the end of the article when it made reference to the "1000 Vietnamese villagers herded about 500 head of livestock out of the general area of the attack. Peasants stoically squatted in newly harvested rice paddies around Trunglap while artillery rounds whistled overhead and fighter bombers pounded the forest."¹¹⁸ Clearly the villagers knew what was about to happen and got out of the way.

A new war brings a new title to the feature article that discussed the weekly events of the war. In the Vietnam war that subtitle is now called "news

analysis.” For the correspondents in Saigon, they attended the daily so-called “five o’clock follies” to be fed the governmental version of the war. Saigon tried to manage the news in an effort to explain the contradiction between the fact that although the Allied forces are winning the battles and the mini engagements by killing many more of the enemy, the enemy appears to be getting stronger, not weaker. If this is a war of attrition, that does not bode well for whichever side has a finite number of people to throw onto the field of battle. For the war correspondent, who is traveling with the troops, they illustrate their “analysis” of the situation by describing

Two operations that were under way today suggest , in different ways the frustrations of prosecuting this war. In Quangduc Province on the Cambodian border, units of the 101st Airborne Division have been searching for 10 days for several battalions of enemy troops. According to the latest reports they have killed eight Vietcong guerrillas. No one doubts that there were once thousands of enemy troops in Quangduc or that there will be thousands again as soon as the 101st leaves. . . [pursue an enemy thought to be in a place only to find no one there] In Binhdin Province...the Third Brigade of the United States First Cavalry Division and Government units killed more than 200 members of a mixed battalion of North Vietnamese and Vietcong.. . . Only a few months ago, ...an enormous joint operation by American infantrymen and marines and South Vietnamese paratroops had been staged in precisely the same area and had resulted in a claim of 2,000 enemy dead.¹¹⁹[return to an area thought cleared only to find the enemy coming back in force]

What these examples describe is the major frustration facing the strategists of this war. The solution offered by Mr. Apple is to correct the problem of “ a lack of paramilitary units to hold land gained in conventional operations.”¹²⁰ If you subdue an area, but do not leave a force behind, the area again becomes home to the insurgency. Even the increase of troops during the year, 1966, from

185,000 servicemen to 385,000 by the end of the year did not change the outcome of the above mentioned examples.

By the end of 1966, it was set in stone the way the war in Vietnam would be fought. It was characterized by a series of planned operations designed to last a certain number of days to accomplish a specific goal that would involve United States troops and air support, occasionally help from allied troops, and some assistance from the South Vietnamese armed forces. Ongoing was the bombing of the North and the supply routes along the Ho Chi Minh trail that meandered from the North through Laos and finally into the South. "Operation Attleboro", billed as the largest plan of attack of this war, was launched in October, 1966

more than 20,000 American troops were engaged...killed 1,101 enemy soldiers and captured 44 in the 42 days of the operation... captured 2,384 tons of rice—more than ever before seized in a single operation. . .enemy facing the Americans in the operation were members of the elite Ninth Vietcong Division and the 101st North Vietnam regiment. . .first significant action in the operations in several days. . .only a few hours before the campaign closed... three companies engaged the enemy about 70 miles northwest of Saigon. . . South Vietnamese irregulars. . .fought fiercely for three hours before being joined by second company. The enemy was reported to have fled when a company of Americans arrived.¹²¹

By the spring of 1967, General Westmoreland, the American commander of the war since 1964, said that although "there are many trends favorable to the United States and its allies, it is impossible to say how long the Vietnam war will last. I can't see any end in sight."¹²² Since the commitment from the United States had grown from 16,000 "advisors" in the year he took over, to the more than 400,000 fighting men present in 1967, these words seem prophetic: "victory

will be a very fragile thing unless the political war matches the military pace.”¹²³

The military pace was upped with the elevation of the bombing runs over Hanoi and Haiphong in North Vietnam.

United States planes bombed North Vietnam’s war industry today and shot down three MIG Interceptors near Hanoi. .North Vietnamese had put up heavy air defenses. F-105 Thunderchiefs flew into the heart of North Vietnam’s industrial triangle and bombed railroad bridges around the Thainguuyen manufacturing complex. . . enemy losses brought to 77 the total number of MIG’s shot down by American aircraft over Vietnam. . .Two United States planes were lost: an F-105 Thunderchief, which was shot down by ground fire, and a twin-jet B-57 Canberra bomber, which was lost for unknown reasons during a strike at night. The losses raised the total to 571 American planes downed in North Vietnam.¹²⁴

At the same time the escalation of the bombing occurred, the war became institutionalized both in Washington D. C. and Saigon.

The United States Military Command, like the South Vietnamese , seems to be settling comfortably in for the long haul—a strategy of attrition [has been adopted] Of the 464,000 Americans in Vietnam, fewer than 80,000 are in the Army and Marine rifle battalions which bear the chief burden of the anti-guerrilla war. . .the one-year rotation policy fo all hands has special drawbacks in an anti-guerrilla war. . .has not noticeably increased American military efficiency . . .experience in dealing with the complexities of Vietnam and the Vietnamese is not acquired overnight.¹²⁵

In what has turned out to be the turning point for support of this war at home came these words “More than 5,000 United States marines have been concentrated at Khesanh amid indications that one of the major battles of the Vietnam war may be in the offing.”¹²⁶ This was the first indication of the infamous Tet Offensive in January, 1968. The Tet Offensive was a large scale battle that started almost simultaneously in many of the major cities of South Vietnam including Khesanh and Saigon as a daring gamble by the North. I will

outline the Khesanh battle with the understanding that most of the elements were common to the different sites. In Khesanh, the imminent threat is taken seriously as

transport planes and transport helicopters landed at short intervals to bring in tons of ammunition, food and other supplies, to bring Khesanh's stocks to withstand a prolonged siege, without reinforcement of resupply. It's very important," one officer said, "that we deny them any kind of victory, even a psychological one . . .at 5:15 A.M., what I first believed to be two companies of North Vietnamese assaulted our position around the district headquarters building. . .small force of marines and South Vietnamese were primarily responsible for holding off the attack with rifles and automatic weapons for more than two hours. . .after first light, the North Vietnamese broke off their all-out assault, but aircraft reported that they were swarming all over Khesanh village . . .by nightfall Sunday, it was apparent that at least two battalions of North Vietnamese and probably more were in the village.¹²⁷

Even though the Americans had been caught flat footed at many of the sites under attack, they pushed the enemy back, crushing their offensive. You only have to look at articles published in the paper over the next year to see that the Tet Offensive had taken a lot out of the North Vietnamese and Vietcong as they report: "Fighting in the Vietnam war remained at a low level...the enemy has been unwilling or unable to face the allies in a major battle and is being forced to fight in small and inconclusive hit and run clashes, and must rely on increased terrorism."¹²⁸ However it was a psychological victory in that what should have been seen as a triumph by the United States military was viewed at home as a loss. People only remembered the scenes on the television set in their living room that showed the enemy encircling the American Embassy compound in Saigon. Public opinion began to turn against the war as Americans began to pay

attention to the pictures being shown on the nightly news shows.

In March, 1968, "Senate critics of the United States Vietnam policy opened a new offensive against the Administration today by demanding that Congress be consulted before additional troops were committed to the war."¹²⁹ The rubber stamp that Congress had been giving the administration and military on requests for the war, since the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, was no longer automatic. As Mike Mansfield, a long-time critic of United States involvement in Vietnam said, "we should not get in any deeper because escalation only begets escalation. . . we are in the wrong place and we are fighting the wrong kind of war."¹³⁰

With a new president, Richard M. Nixon, came a new Vietnam policy called Vietnamization. Having campaigned on the platform of an honorable peace and withdrawal from Vietnam, Nixon's new policy of Vietnamization was designed with the understanding that "It had been four years since the Vietnam war was Americanized by the influx of large numbers of United States soldiers. To de-Americanize the war may take as long or longer. . . Their basic assumption is that whenever the last American unit finally leaves, the South Vietnamese armed forces must be strong enough to stand alone."¹³¹

When the war entered its second decade in 1971, there was a twist seeming to show that the new policy of Vietnamization was working as the news proclaimed that "the heaviest fighting during the New Year's truce ... was reported to have occurred early today between the South Vietnamese and Vietcong troops. . . the largest ground engagement involving American troops yesterday

was said to have occurred at an enemy bunker complex. . .in the Cambodian border area.”¹³² Vietnamization was turning the ground fighting over to the South Vietnamese as more and more American ground troops were sent home.

The air war continued as Nixon and his National Security Advisor, Henry Kissinger, believed that bombing North Vietnam and Cambodia would drive the North Vietnamese to the peace table. A cease fire signed in Paris to go into effect on January 28, 1973, meant that most of the United States combat troops were withdrawn leaving behind navy and air force personnel. By the time that South Vietnam fell to the North Vietnamese on April 30, 1975, most American troops from all services had gone home. The last Americans left on chopper flights from the embassy out to aircraft carriers. The last two Americans to die in this war lost their lives as their helicopter crashed. When it was over, 58,148 Americans had been killed, 304,000 were wounded, and there were 2,338 MIA's and 766 POW's.

Trying to find articles about battles in the Persian Gulf war is almost impossible both because of its short duration and the

24/7 coverage broadcast by the satellite news channels, and covered extensively by the networks ABC, NBC, and CBS. Newspaper articles took their cue trying to build suspense before the ground war started from the military and pentagon spokes-persons who said “after nearly three weeks of heavy bombing the United States and allied military forces in the Persian Gulf have not substantially weakened the combat effectiveness of Iraq's elite ground forces.”¹³³

That was proven false as the war was over almost before it began. Once the ground offensive began on February 24, 1991, the

aim of the ground offensive that the United States and its allies launched today is to rapidly encircle the Iraq Army in southern Iraq and in Kuwait, while continuing to subject Iraqi forces to a withering bombardment from the air. . . Our military philosophy is to keep up the pressure. . . To keep hitting them with new things and surprises, to keep them reeling and off balance.¹³⁴

They were extremely successful as the Iraqis' exited Kuwait by February 26, and a cease fire took effect on February 28. Casualty reports from the combined Desert Shield and Desert Storm actions were 382 dead, 378 wounded, and no POW's.

Anti- Expansion Rhetoric to Anti-War Sentiment

We had barely defeated the Spanish fleet in Manila when newspapers in May, 1898, began to both report and speculate on what America should do with the Philippines. Possible solutions discussed were allowing the islands to revert to Spain, placing them under the protection of another European power—Great Britain was mentioned most frequently—or to take them under the United States flag either as a protectorate or to be placed on the track for statehood in the future. This is typical of the articles being published that point to the problem caused by the

Conspicuous result of Commodore Dewey's victory is that it annihilates the Spanish naval power throughout the one whole hemisphere of this globe. . . It would be a crime against humanity to allow any territory whatever that had once been rescued from Spanish possession to relapse into it. And we could not in any event take the islands for ourselves, even if our political system provided any means for governing and administering them, which it notoriously does not.¹³⁵

Mr. Carl Schurz¹³⁶, a well-known German American, also argued against the annexation of any territory as the result of the United States victory over Spain. It was his belief that it was in the best interest of the country to "obtain, by means of agreement, the greatest attainable facilities for commerce and civilizing influences with the least political responsibilities and entanglements...should not annex, but secure the opening to our activities of the territories concerned."¹³⁷ However this article, like others, begs the reader to understand that if we leave the Philippines to their own devices, did we not "abandon them to the chaos which is almost certain to follow if we leave them entirely free at once."¹³⁸

William L. Garrison,¹³⁹ in a speech at the 32nd annual convention of the

Universal Peace Union, was also against the United States annexing the Philippines.¹⁴⁰ One facet of his argument was the obvious contradiction between a country that “jealously warns off foreign nations from the American continent, now claiming the right to hold dominion in the Philippines because Admiral Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet in the harbor of Manila . . . a democracy, perplexed at its own miscarriage of self-government, undertaking with jaunty confidence to govern hordes of people in the tropics, alien in manners, traditions and habits to all that Americans hold dear.”¹⁴¹ Another side to this argument was based on the belief that if we were not going to extend to the Filipinos equal status of citizens as those enjoyed by citizens in the continental United States, then “no nation can have adjustable ethics, applicable alike to freedom and to the government of subjugated races. If it is right to deny suffrage to the governed people in the Sandwich Islands¹⁴², it will not be long before, under the plea of necessity, suffrage in the United States will be curtailed and the right of the governed to choose their representatives denied.”¹⁴³ Eventually, we would corrupt our own form of government to the point that

the old chart and compass which have served so well to keep the country clear of the rocks and shoals of international greed will be of little use on this new voyage of Imperialism. . . Every politician henceforth, must keep two sets of principles, one for home, the other for colonial consumption, and speak with double tongue.¹⁴⁴

Even the Senate was drawn into the debate on whether it was in the United States’ best interest to take possession of the Philippine Islands. The senator from Illinois, Mr. Mason, had much the same argument heard from Mr. Garrison the summer before in “a speech in support of his resolutions declaring that the

United States will never attempt to govern the people of any country without their consent.”¹⁴⁵ He took the argument further saying that “they will never learn to govern themselves while we govern them. There is no such thing as teaching the art of self-government. . . Nothing that satisfies the human mind in an enlightened age unless man is governed by his own country and the institutions of his own government.”¹⁴⁶ In a humorous vein, Mr. Mason even wanted to know if Lincoln’s famous quote from the Gettysburg speech should be changed to “a Government of all of the people by a part of the people for a few of the people.”¹⁴⁷ He even went so far as to blame the media of the day for the acquisition of the Philippines since it was

The people have been lashed into fury by the press, the glorious achievements of our army and navy have set the National pulse beating high, but the land-grabbing fever is gradually receding and the unnaturally un-American desire to govern another without his consent, thank God, is not so strong to-day as it was but a few days since.¹⁴⁸

And in a move that we still see today, those opposed to the annexation of Puerto Rico and the Philippines not only sent a signed petition to the Senate, but also released a copy to the national news—in this case newspapers—to garner more support in the hope that the Senate would not ratify the Treaty of Paris. In an effort to counteract the argument that the United States had been built by acquiring land from other nations in order to reach its coast to coast configuration, people were reminded that dissent was voiced by anti-expansionists over the Louisiana Purchase and the annexation of Texas.

The difference this time was that

if the exigencies under which the Louisiana and Texas annexations were made caused the question of their constitutionality to be ignored, it was because those territories were immediately contiguous to the United States, were situated in the same latitude, were practically uninhabited, and contained a vast area of virgin territory which inevitably had to be settled by Americans who had already explored it and had begun to overflow its boundaries. . .nor until now has it been thought possible under our form of government that a permanent extra-territorial and extra-Constitutional sovereignty should be established by the United States over dependencies not intended hereafter to be made States, or to be governed by laws in common with the United States or as a part thereof.¹⁴⁹

And just think, all of this opposition was voiced before Americans knew that their soldiers had been attacked in the Philippines by Aguinaldo and his followers.

Ordinary Americans used the editorial pages of The New York Times to voice opposition to possession of the Philippines. “The war proved that one man can no longer own another man; he can possess over him no legal title, and it looks now as though this Spanish war would prove to the civilized world that one nation can no longer own another nation.”¹⁵⁰ From Edward Wade Benjamin came a letter that in part said “That which in the Winter was denounced as “criminal aggression” was proclaimed in the Summer as an act of God and manifest destiny. . .if the Filipinos could have been assured in the same manner as the people of Cuba were that they were to be free and independent the discreditable war now being waged would never have occurred.”¹⁵¹ This is a good example of something that is still true today—political expediency decrees that as circumstances change the words to describe the very same action but by the other side is now either acceptable or unacceptable.

It is one year later and the Philippine American war is still being fought.

A mass meeting ...under the auspices of the Anti Imperialist League of New York . . . Mr. Boutwell read a long speech. . . accused President McKinley of resorting to pretexts in order to lead the country into a war, and said that he alone was responsible for the condition of affairs in the Philippines.¹⁵²

After the other speakers finished, the moderator talked about the resolutions that would demand an end to the war in the Philippines and that the same treatment should be extended to the Filipinos that were being granted to the Cubans. He reminded the audience that the Spanish American war had been fought to free the Cuban people. That war had now been co-opted into a war of expansion by the United States to force the Filipinos to accept the cession of the Philippine Islands to the power of the United States that

amounted to a declaration of war against the Filipinos striving for independence; that when the Filipinos refused to submit, we killed many thousands of them and devastated their homes in order to subjugate them by force, and that this betrayal of our allies constitutes one of the basest acts of perfidy and cruel inhumanity ever perpetrated by any tyrant in the history of the world.¹⁵³

As 1900, an election year, played out the political pundits were quick to point out the fact that the Anti-Imperialists and candidates like Bryan, who ran on an anti-expansionist platform, were prolonging the war in the Philippines because they believed that the

campaign speeches are taken literally by the Filipinos and are keeping alive the struggle in the Philippines. . .Filipinos believe that the islands will be evacuated by the Americans should Bryan be elected. . .this war would have ended long ago were it not for Bryan. . .every American soldier that is killed during these months can be laid directly at his door.¹⁵⁴

While those who disagreed with the Philippine American war did so on the

basis that the United States should not be in the business of governing peoples that were located so far from us, were so different from us, and had believed they would be free, the Korean War brought out a different kind of anti-war sentiment. For one thing, the Second World War was in the recent past with all of its atrocities and suffering still uppermost in the mind of the public.

Communism was the new evil that the free world had sworn to stop. In the one month after the North Koreans stormed across the 38th parallel invading the south “a petition by a group of college student war veterans here calling for a cease-fire order by the United States in the Korean war was branded today as just one more step in the Communist campaign to undermine and destroy America.”¹⁵⁵ The article states that only “174 of the possible 1,440 veterans” actually signed the petition that also called for “support of a ten-point peace program sponsored by Trygve Lie, Secretary of the United Nations, and a campaign to ban atomic weapons as urged by the International Red Cross.”¹⁵⁶

Atomic bombs, or rather the fear that they would be used again, were another of the hot buttons that defined the post war years.

The five years since the end of WW II had seen the emotional climate of the free world go from the high of victory to the stress and worry brought on by the Cold War. Congress convened the House Un-American Activities Committee that was going to gain much notoriety in the coming years as they searched out “commies behind every tree.” Anyone who questioned the government or its actions was automatically branded as being a “red sympathizer.” This was true across the free world as it was reported from London that “There are those in

Great Britain, as in the United States—a minority made up of Communists, pacifists, and left wing Socialists—who oppose the war outright.”¹⁵⁷ Senator Leverett Saltonstall, Massachusetts, used an address at the convention of the National Paper Trade Association to state his belief that the United States must end the war unilaterally if necessary, since it was apparent to him that the United Nations had gone to war without a “plan to end the Korean conflict conclusively.”¹⁵⁸

Another objection came from two men who brought suit in Federal District Court maintaining that they did not have to honor their selective service obligation because they believed the war to be illegal. In their court papers they stipulated that it was their belief that President Truman had

acted unconstitutionally by putting United States soldiers into action there without a declaration of war by Congress. . . Two , who are charged with draft evasion, also declared that the Selective Services Act was unconstitutional. . . not to defend the United States but to support a foreign policy of shipping troops to fight in foreign lands anywhere.¹⁵⁹

While not an anti-war protest as such, there were soldiers that had been taken prisoner during the war that refused to return with the signing of the armistice in 1953. It was their right, according to the agreement, to refuse and not be subject to prosecution. Before 1955 came to a close, however, some of them decided that they wanted to be repatriated. The newspaper wrote about the dilemma that this caused. It depended on what branch of the armed forces one belonged to at the time of capture that determined what kind of homecoming the returning soldier would receive. Having not returned during the prisoner

exchange, most had been declared deserters and were given dishonorable discharges. Since they were no longer part of the Army, it was felt that nothing could be done to them unless it could be proven that they had committed high crimes during the time spent behind the bamboo curtain that either damaged the war effort for the United Nation forces or had perpetrated crimes against fellow Americans.

This seeming inability to do anything to the returnees led to the formation of a commission to look at the standards applied to prisoners taken during war. Prior to this war, the Geneva Convention guidelines of name, rank, and serial number had been the accepted information that a prisoner could be forced to give the enemy. Because the treatment of prisoners at the hands of the Communist forces was seen to be so brutal to have the effect of brainwashing, those that had given more than the standard answer of name, rank, and serial number, were expected to be given a pass by the commission that would promote “a policy that will honor American traditions and standards and provide humaneness and justice equally for all American service men.”¹⁶⁰ The New York Times called these returnees “American turncoats” which gives the mood of their fellow Americans toward those who had chosen to remain behind when they could have returned home. Richard Tenneson, one of these turncoats, “maintained that he would rather face a firing squad than remain in Communist China,” but still maintained that life under communism was not that bad. The newspaper did not explore the question of why he would rather have died than remain behind the bamboo curtain if life was not so bad. It simply re-enforced

the belief held by the free world and, most especially by Americans, that life under communism was so bad that it was the duty of the free world to make sure it did not spread. Since the war had begun with the invasion by Communist forces into the Republic of South Korea, the lack of much anti-war sentiment is due to the belief that, in fact, communism did need to be contained.

First as a teenager, and then as the young wife of a serviceman during the Vietnam war, the vision I have of the protesters to that war is forever etched in my memory. Because I had grown up in the 1950's, and had been taught that I was to believe in America whether right or wrong, I did not take part in the anti-war movement back then. I accepted the proposition spread by the mainstream media and my government that the protestors were unpatriotic, and had somehow burned out and dropped out of American society. I accepted the government's words that my husband needed to be sent half way around the world to keep America safe. However, having experienced that war, I have been firmly part of the mostly silent group of Americans that did not support the Persian Gulf war or the present Iraq war that is now dragging on.

As I recall the scenes at the 1968 Democratic Convention as the protestors tried to halt the democratic process in the streets of Chicago; the coverage of the marches on college campuses by anti-war protestors that replaced the civil rights marches of the late fifties and sixties on the daily news; the pictures of our nation's capital under armed guard with snipers stationed on the roof tops that seemed eerily reminiscent of a sci-fi movie rather than an actual moment in history as the government responded to the pressure of the

anti-war movement in a military way, it is difficult to remember the war protests did not start out that way at all.

In 1963, a very real concern was expressed that the “struggle for Vietnamese independence was fast becoming an ‘American war.’ . . . thorough reassessment of our over-all security requirements on the Southeast Asian mainland with a view to the orderly curtailment of the United States aid programs.”¹⁶¹ Senator Mike Mansfield, who at President Kennedy’s request, had headed the fact finding mission to Southeast Asia, reported that he did not believe that it was in America’s interest to continue to support Vietnam annually to the tune of “\$400,000,000 and about 12, 000 Americans on dangerous assignment” when “it must rest with the Vietnamese Government and people” to make the social changes necessary to aid in the defeat of the Viet Cong.¹⁶² So, as you can see, among the first protestors were members of a fact finding committee headed by the Senate Majority Leader.

By 1965, letters were appearing on the editorial pages of The New York Times that began

the painful protest of a citizen of the United States of America who can hardly believe what he hears and reads about his country. . . angry protest over our ‘illegal’ involvement as advisers in South Vietnam. . . Vietcong could have no success were it not for the tremendous national support that they have. . . accomplices in thwarting the aspirations of the people of this country. . . undeclared war the part of the United States-certainly not just ‘advising.’¹⁶³

This argument is much like the one used by the anti-imperialists during the American Philippine War in that the objection is based on the belief that the Vietnamese people have a right, just as the Americans had in 1776, to choose

their own form of government. By April of that year, a small group of protestors was arrested “in the driveway of the east entrance to the Executive mansion [when they] demanded the right to present a petition to President Johnson . . . [for] the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of the United States from Vietnam.”¹⁶⁴ According to the article the Secret Service offered to deliver the petition to the President, but the youths wanted to do it themselves. I have not yet come across any of the images that we most associate with the Anti-war movement of the late 1960's and 1970's.

By the middle of that year, the involvement in Vietnam had escalated again. James C. Davis, an assistant history professor at the University of Pennsylvania, added his name to the growing list of mainstream Americans that began to call for the United States to withdraw from the war in Vietnam. He based his belief that it was time for

the majority of us who have apathetically supported the official position to reconsider . . . our bombing is not intimidating the North Vietnamese nor seriously impeding their war effort. . . the South Vietnamese cannot by themselves win. . . only a total and terribly bloody effort by perhaps hundreds of thousands of United States soldiers could pacify South Vietnam. . . even if the war could be won the cost would be more than any of us should want to pay and certainly more than the results would justify.¹⁶⁵

In the Autumn a more determined protest movement began to take shape at universities across the country. Organizational names began appearing in the newspaper for Students for Democratic Action, the Committee for Nonviolent Action, Youth Against War and Fascism, the War Registers League, and Students for a Democratic Society. The weekend of October 15-17, 1965, had

demonstrations from coast to coast planned and executed. In many of the locations counter rallies were held by people who supported the war. Although a few arrests were made, for the most part, the rallies went off without violence. The arrests in Michigan were for conducting a demonstration at the Selective Service office in Ann Arbor; in Ohio four were arrested after the demonstrators got into a pushing match with a group of counter-picketers; while in New York City a draft card was burned, but the man was not arrested even though a new statute had been passed that made the burning of a draft card a federal offense. Out In California, the peace march was turned away before they completed their journey to the Oakland Army base. The protesters returned to the campus of the University of California at Berkeley where they held "a teach-in on a public square."¹⁶⁶ In New York City, "David Miller...after burning his draft card ...told reporters he hoped his action will be 'a significant political act'."¹⁶⁷ In many of the protest marches, the placards encouraged people to re-direct their energy from war in South Vietnam to the war on poverty in the United States. Students at Iowa State University gathered signatures on a petition to send to the President in support of his Vietnam policy, so not all young people were anti-war advocates.

The governmental response to the demonstrations held across the country was given by the State Department's spokesman, Robert J. McCloskey. He issued a statement that said: "we are naturally aware of various noisy demonstrations that have taken place and are scheduled to take place. . . groups constitute an infinitesimal fraction of the American people, the vast majority of

whom have indicated their strong support of President Johnson's policies in Vietnam."¹⁶⁸ However,

Things began to deteriorate as the Students for a Democratic Society drafted a new master plan to enlist high school students in its anti-draft movement opposed to United States participation in the Vietnam war. . .go directly to draft board examination centers with anti-war leaflets urging potential draftees to be conscientious objectors. . .picket recruiters for the armed forces and Reserve Officer Training Corps as 'war criminals' and to attack local draft boards as 'undemocratic'. . [it was felt that] the best response to the anti-draft movement [would be] in urban areas, especially in lower-middle and lower-class neighborhoods."¹⁶⁹

Colleges and professors were encouraged to cease cooperation with draft boards and ROTC programs as college students with lower class rankings were being drafted in greater numbers. In the new master plan, the group was beginning to throw around words like "undemocratic" and "war criminals" to describe those associated with the drafting of young men for war.

The movement spread outside the continental United States as the Independence Movement in Puerto Rico began to turn their attention to the Vietnam War, staging protest pickets against an army base. Marrying the fight for independence for Puerto Rico with the anti-war movement seemed a natural to their leader, Norman Pietri, as he explained "drafting of Puerto Ricans was a form of expressing United States colonialism in Puerto Rico."¹⁷⁰

"Eggs flew through the air, a 'cherry bomb' exploded and several fist fights broke out yesterday during a 90 minute picket demonstration in Times Square protesting United States involvement in the Vietnam war. No arrests or injuries were reported."¹⁷¹ As you can see the demonstrations are not just peaceful

marches anymore but still have not degenerated into the pictures of peace marches that I remember. At this point the egg throwing and punches occurred when opposing groups quickly formed to show support of the country's policy in Vietnam. They resorted to these methods to make their point that they disagreed with those marching against the war. In most instances the victims of the egg tosses and thrown punches were the policemen that formed a barricade between the two groups. The students that planned this demonstration against the war said they had decided to demonstrate because "If we have to die-we don't have to go 10,000 miles away. . . let's fight for the black people here, for equality, for better housing."¹⁷² These young people were pointing out that there was plenty of injustice in this country that needed rectifying and we, as Americans, should take care of our own house before we go elsewhere to tell them how to govern and live.

When President Johnson decided to resume the bombing over North Vietnam, cities across the country were again the sites of major anti-war demonstrations, but still the mood of the rallies remained peaceful. The newspaper article covered both the anti-war demonstrators and the counter-pickers juxta-positioning the things yelled at the demonstrators "red traitors and yellow Red rats...[and from the demonstrators'] signs with such slogans as 'End the Arms Race or Perish', 'The Great Society - Napalm, Torture, Bombing' and 'All The Vietnamese Are Our Brothers-Give Them Peace.'¹⁷³ Sometimes the counter rallies that supported the action in Vietnam were held at a different time so a clash between factions was avoided. In the case above, an afternoon

sponsored rally had the pro war demonstrators carry signs that said “Peace Yes, Appeasement, No’ ‘Don’t Be Left, Be Right in Our Foreign Policy’ and ‘Bomb Hanoi.”¹⁷⁴

The recurring theme of the pro war advocates was that the anti-war movement was both communist inspired and damaging to the troops doing the fighting. In the spring of 1966, a group was formed that called itself the “Veterans and Reservists to End the War in Vietnam.” It goes against reason to believe that former soldiers would bring harm to soldiers now in the field. During one rally the veterans used the platform to burn their honorable discharge papers saying “as any boy scout knows, an American flag must be burned whenever it becomes dirty or unserviceable. Our actions in Vietnam have made my honorable discharge paper dirty and unserviceable. It must be burned.”¹⁷⁵ This group dedicated their march against the war to the DuBois Clubs since the government had recently listed them as a front for the Communists in America. The veterans group believed that this action by the United States attorney general was to be regarded as “a move by the Johnson Administration to discredit criticism of the Vietnam war and related policies, weaken and hopefully silence the peace movement.”¹⁷⁶

The Cold War was going strong, and the shadow of the Cuban Missile Crisis could still be felt in the country. It was not long before “groups protesting American involvement in the war in Vietnam charged today that the House Committee on Un-American Activities was attempting to kill the peace movement in the United States. . . representatives. . . planned to hold street corner rallies

and mass meetings in Washington to protest a committee hearing.”¹⁷⁷

The first mention that I have found of an escalation to violence between the pro war and anti war groups was the explosions that occurred in the San Francisco Bay area. The headquarters of the Vietnam Day Committee was blown up that resulted in injuries to the people gathered there to “announce a street demonstration next Tuesday in sympathy with riots in South Vietnam opposing that country’s military government.”¹⁷⁸ This was the same group that had been written up in the national media in 1965, when the march to the Oakland Army base that they had organized had been turned away.

It was not just in the United States that the anti-war movement was gaining momentum. Bertrand Russell, a British philosopher, tried to organize a trial in Paris accusing President Johnson and other officials of war crimes . The trial did not come off as planned, but did give credence to the fact that not all the anti war activists were young people. On December 9, 1966, a rally attended by 18,000 people was held at Madison Square Garden. The focus of the rally was the role played by the United States in the Vietnamese war. “Gunnar Myrdal, Swedish social scientist and author, discussing opposition in Europe to the war, said, ‘there’s not a single government in Europe which would dare to send a squadron of soldiers to Vietnam as a symbolic gesture of support for the United States, not even Britain.’”

1967, and the war was raging in Vietnam. With every escalation in the war, the number of participants in the anti-war rallies increased as well. April 16, 1967, was the date on which 100,000 - 125,000 people gathered in front of the

United Nations. As the parade of marchers left Central Park for the United Nations building, they were led by national leaders: Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Dr. Benjamin Spock, Harry Belafonte and many others who participated in civil rights movements and religious institutions according to the paper. People had bussed in from as far away as Chicago and included “housewives from Westchester, students and poets from the Lower East Side, priests and nuns, doctors, businessmen and teachers. . . some of the younger demonstrators chanted: ‘Hell no, we won’t go. Hey , Hey, L.B.J. , How Many Kids Did You Kill Today.’”¹⁷⁹ Organized by “the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, a loose confederation of left-wing, pacifist and moderate antiwar groups,” the participants for the most part were quiet and orderly as they proceeded down Fifth Avenue.¹⁸⁰ The common denominator to the group was the opposition to the war. They did not come from the same ethnic or socio-economic background, and they did not all burn draft cards, raise the Vietcong flag, or set fire to the American flag. Dr. King and the others presented a note to the Undersecretary for Special Political Affairs at the United Nations that said

We rally at the United Nations in order to affirm support of the principals of peace, universality, equal rights and self-determination of peoples embodied in the Charter and acclaimed by mankind, but violated by the United States.¹⁸¹

At the end of the march, Dr. King called it “just the beginning of a massive outpouring of concern and protest activity against this illegal and unjust war.”¹⁸²

Dr. Arthur Schlesinger was moved to pen an article to The New York Times in reaction to a lecture tour undertaken by General Westmoreland in

which he takes to task the General's belief that the anti-war protestors were prolonging the war and costing young American lives. His point was that "this is a nation in which the freedom of dissent is absolutely fundamental. . . evidence suggests our adversaries are fighting not because they expect us to collapse but because they believe fanatically in their own cause."¹⁸³ He calls this blame the protestors nonsense and just an alibi for why the war is going wrong. He likens it to the alibi the Germans used when they lost in 1918, saying that "trying to blame the failure of their policy on their critics. . . a well-known reflex of military disaster."¹⁸⁴ Schlesinger opines a much more reasonable thesis for the war going badly. "For surely it is precisely those who insist on widening the conflict beyond political or strategic necessity who are prolonging the war and costing American lives. The most effective way to save lives would plainly be to slow down the war, not to escalate it."¹⁸⁵

Another respected establishment figure, Professor John Kenneth Galbraith, proposed a plan in which the United States would stop bombing the North to take up defensive positions. His hope was that the elections of 1968, would bring cooler heads to leadership positions that would pursue negotiations over escalation. He went on to say "we must see that the political conventions next summer, those of both parties, are a worldwide manifestation of our return to good sense. . . the Vietcong reflects national aspiration, . . . while the United States is a new colonial force."¹⁸⁶

As the war dragged on, the protest movement spread throughout the free world. "Thousands of people in Europe and Asia joined with United States

protestors today in linked demonstrations against the war in Vietnam. . . common theme of marchers... was condemnation of the United States, which was represented as making war on the people of Vietnam.” At home, General David M. Shoup, a Medal of Honor winner, called President Johnson’s continued assertion that Vietnam was vital to United States interests “pure, unadulterated poppycock...it was really a civil war among the Vietnamese.”¹⁸⁷ In response, General Earle G. Wheeler said “the United States stood ready to negotiate a Vietnam peace with the Communists ‘but we are not ready to negotiate our defeat or a face-saving withdrawal’.”¹⁸⁸ In Germany, “[a] crowd of more than 150,000 West Berliners rallied today on the John F. Kennedy Square in front of the City Hall in a show of solidarity with the United States at a time of turmoil over the Vietnam war.”¹⁸⁹ This rally was in response to the anti-American rally that had been held the week before. After all, according to the Mayor, “We are linked with the American people in gratitude and friendship. . . [while] the crowd waved banners that read ‘Without America no freedom for Berlin’ and ‘We are grateful to the United States.’”¹⁹⁰ the mayor did acknowledge that it was “time for the suffering of the Vietnamese people to end, not through a military victory but through political solutions.”¹⁹¹

As the time for the political conventions approached, a heightened awareness of the civil turmoil spreading across the country took hold in the planning by the party regulars to make sure the conventions would not be interrupted by any untoward demonstrations. Protestors were now referred to as radicals. The Republicans in Miami nominated Richard Nixon, and for the most

part, everything went according to plan. Of course, the Republicans were not the party in power so for the moment, could not be blamed for all the injustices that were being heaped at the door of the Democratic President. "Since the Democrats are the party in power, the anti-Vietnam war demonstrators, the civil rights demonstrators, the poverty demonstrators and all the others will choose to demonstrate before the Democrats."¹⁹² In fact, the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam promised that whether Mayor Daley of Chicago "granted a parade permit" or not, they were planning on holding a march composed of all the anti war factions that could get there.¹⁹³

"Violence in a social system is the sure sign of its incapacity to express formally certain irrepressible needs."¹⁹⁴ According to this article the problem with the convention in 1968, was not the presence of demonstrators outside the hall, but rather the number and demeanor of the police and the good old boys of the Chicago Democratic Party. Determined to allow only the record and programs of the current president, Lyndon Johnson, to be heard and applauded, the Daley machine was guilty of manhandling delegates and newsmen that they considered to be the enemy--in other words, anyone who did not agree with them was kept from speaking. Since Johnson did not seek the nomination for re-election, one must wonder if he knew his policies to be divisive, why didn't Mayor Daley and the other power brokers?

The late sixties are remembered as a time of deep division in the United States. People began to believe that the America they had grown up in could not survive the student demonstrations whether they were anti-war or pro civil rights

or anti-poverty. The demonstrators were painted as having dropped out of society and against everything that most Americans held sacrosanct. “One TV correspondent said to me as we stood watching the line of troops facing the hippies across the boulevard...it lasted 200 years. What law says it may not be over?”¹⁹⁵ If as the author suggested

the social compact had fallen apart. . . Those kids are not Bohemians. Most of them aren't what you'd call hippies, even. There are a lot of graduate students in that crowd. . .they haven't dropped out at all. Somebody upstairs had better start asking himself what they're trying to tell the country, it appeared as though neither group—the establishment or the protestors—were taking the time to try and understand what the other was saying.¹⁹⁶

To be fair, when a demonstrator was asked what he would put in place of the government that he was protesting against so vigorously, his response was “Well, I don't know. But not this.”¹⁹⁷ Protesting without a plan of how the problem can be addressed in a more equitable fashion seemed to be a major problem. It is all well and good to say one must get out of Vietnam, or integrate cities, or make sure everyone earns a living wage, but if you have no plan to accomplish it, why should anyone listen?

From the other side of the picket lines came the likes of Abbie Hoffman, one of the founders of the Youth International Party, and Tom Hayden, a founder of the group known as Students for a Democratic Society, who are credited with having “stage-managed the series of increasingly violent street encounters that rocked Chicago all convention week.”¹⁹⁸ Mr. Buckley's point is that if the goal was to prove to America's youth that the political system was “tired, old and unresponsive” to their needs, it was a success.¹⁹⁹ If on the other

hand, the goal was to affect a change in policy toward Vietnam and the naming of Hubert Humphrey as the Democratic candidate for president, the demonstrations were a failure. To many people the scenes they remember of the convention on their television sets were of hundreds of ill mannered, ill-dressed, long haired drop outs defying authority. What this article points out is that only about 2500 of the expected 50,000 protesters even showed up.

“Steady bickering and infighting among the peace coalition, the militant confrontationalists and the black-power activists” kept the numbers way down.²⁰⁰

The only conclusion that the author came to was that the leaders “who had come to Chicago not to get Senator Eugene McCarthy, or anybody else, nominated, but only to see how much damage they could do, laughing all the way” had accomplished their goal and all but killed the protest movement.²⁰¹ According to Buckley, the convention in Chicago was a simile for the Vietnam war as it was just “like being back in Vietnam. . . Chicago authorities had worked out a strategy for dealing with the demonstrators that was rigid and unimaginative, relied on defective intelligence, demonstrated an ignorance and even an unconcern with political and social issues, was needlessly brutal and was, in the end, flatly unsuccessful.”²⁰²

The war continued but the protests abated for awhile. President Nixon promised to end the war but when he escalated the war by invading Cambodia the protest demonstrations reappeared in earnest. As reported May 5, 1970, in the *News Summary and Index* section of The New York Times

President Nixon has been urged by the presidents of many colleges and universities to demonstrate unequivocally your determination to end promptly the United States military involvement in Southeast Asia. Strikes of indefinite duration at many of the nation's colleges are scheduled to begin today to protest the war and to mobilize public opinion for a withdrawal of United States forces from Indochina.²⁰³

Four students died and eight others were injured by gunfire during a demonstration at Kent State when the National Guard opened fire. Shots also rang out at Jackson State College in Mississippi when police fired on a women's dormitory. Two died and twelve others were wounded. In both instances, the shots were reported to have been fired in response to what the law enforcement officers considered to be provocation. Protests spread around the world as demonstrators took to the streets to voice their disapproval of the escalation into Cambodia and the shooting of college students in the United States. From universities in France, West Berlin, and Australia, students and professors raised their voices to show they disapproved of the United States actions. Students demonstrated in front of the United States embassies in Taipei and Manila, while "Cuban radio heard in Miami reported that thousands of university students paraded through downtown Havana on Thursday in homage to the four North American students murdered during the demonstrations in Kent, Ohio, and in protest of the U.S. invasion of Cambodia."²⁰⁴

Shortly after the mass demonstrations on college campuses around the globe, articles appeared that seemed to be laying the groundwork for the United States to leave Vietnam. Members of the establishment like the chairman of the Republican National Committee, Rogers C. B. Morton were quoted as saying the

“United States involvement in the Vietnam war no longer served the national interest, and he predicted that the Cambodian foray would help make it possible to ‘get the hell out of there.’”²⁰⁵ Other articles appeared citing research done by psychologists on college campuses that showed college students were suffering because of the war. Their attitudes toward family, country, and future careers had been changed by the United States involvement in Vietnam. Although it had been completed before both the United States invaded Cambodia and the shootings on the college campuses, Kenneth and Mary Gergen discovered that “between 60 and 70 per cent of students had experienced increased anger, worry and depression because of war, and that about one student in three had altered his career plans to seek draft-exempt status.”²⁰⁶ While students were questioning their faith, their attitude toward their parents, and to some the allure of residing somewhere other than in the United States, most still expressed belief in the traditional American ideals expressed in our founding documents. Finally in 1970, “The state of Massachusetts urged the Supreme Court today to rule that the participation of the United States in the Vietnam war is unconstitutional.”²⁰⁷ Having brought suit against the executive branch, they had based their claim that the war was illegal on the fact that troops had been sent to fight on foreign soil without a declaration of war by Congress.

Now it was not just radicals demonstrating, but mainstream America deciding that the war was no longer something they could support. A poll showed that after ten years, when asked if United States military involvement in Vietnam was a mistake, sixty one per cent declared that it was. This is almost a

complete reversal of the poll taken in 1965, four years into our active involvement, when only twenty four per cent thought our involvement in Vietnam was a mistake.²⁰⁸

As 1971 passed, airmen stationed in Great Britain staged a peaceful walk to the United States embassy to deliver a petition citing “Vietnamization is increasing the Air Force and Navy role in the war, it is more important than ever before that we voice our opposition. . . part of a growing antiwar and underground movement among Air Force enlisted men here, spurred by American students at Oxford, Cambridge, and the London School of Economics.”²⁰⁹ By 1972, protests and demonstrations were no longer violent clashes between the demonstrators and the police or National Guard, but had become “speeches under sunny skies yesterday as peaceful marches and rallies were held in a dozen cities across the country.”²¹⁰ Included at the very end of the article were a few words in support of the official government position instead of the almost equal representation shown in articles before 1968. “There were a few rallies to show support for President Nixon’s Indochina policy. One was in Salt Lake City,. . . another was in Jacksonville, Fla., where an organization called America’s Victory Force held an hour long vigil.”²¹¹ By the time “the accord to end the Vietnam war goes into effect, and the United States withdraws its troops...most American citizens heave a sigh of relief.”²¹²

1973 had begun and The New York Times ran an extraordinary article on a Women’s group that had staged a one day protest in 1961 to draw attention to their goal of halting the international arms race that had grown to 4,215 days of

protest to bring an end to the Vietnam war. Even with the accords in place, the group, Women Strike for Peace or WSP, was still focused on mostly Vietnam goals, among these are “implementation of the peace and ceasefire in Indochina, working for unconditional amnesty, freedom for the 200,000 political prisoners reportedly being held in South Vietnamese jails, and reduction of the military budget.”²¹³ Planned by Dagmar Wilson to be a one day protest to draw attention to “achievement of a nuclear test ban treaty, strengthening the United Nations as a peace-keeping instrument, and universal military disarmament” it grew to this long protest by mostly “educated, white middle class women. . . housewives taking an unpopular stand-questioning their Government’s foreign and military policies.”²¹⁴

I could find only one article that concerned any kind of organized protest over the Persian Gulf war. This is not surprising since the war was of such short duration. As we saw with Vietnam, the longer the war, the more the protests mount. According to The New York Times , in October, 1990, thousands marched “in New York and 15 other American cities yesterday to protest the United States military buildup in the Persian Gulf. . .similar rallies were held in other nations including Australia, Canada, England, Italy and Panama. . . “Hell no, we won’t go; we won’t fight for Texaco”²¹⁵ The protesters believed that the government was intervening in the region to protect the supply of oil and not merely to force Hussein out of Kuwait. Participants included “students’ groups, Vietnam veterans, senior citizens, PLO supporters, labor groups and homeless people. . . Ramsey Clark, who formed the coalition was joined at the head of the

march by Michael Moore, a documentary film maker.”²¹⁶ Since the war was of short duration, the antiwar movement didn’t last either.

Religion Politics and Money

Among friends, acquaintances, or enemies, there is no faster way to cause an argument than to try and have a rational discussion about any of the above topics. When you mix any two, it becomes a certainty that an eruption of emotions will almost certainly occur. I discovered during my reading that religion, which is now a very private matter, had once held a very prominent public position that underpinned every discussion of American life from the local level to the national level to the international front whether it be wars, trade, or the imposition of ownership. What ministers and religious groups had to say about any issue was widely reported in the late nineteenth century--it was even seen at times on the front page of The New York Times. Beginning with the mid twentieth century, religion became a more private issue to the point that, except for major declarations by world religious leaders, the coverage given to religion and its view of world issues are now found in the religious section of the weekend editions of newspapers across the country. It is very rare indeed to find any article like these of the late nineteenth century on the front pages of the late twentieth-early twenty-first century daily papers.

As proof of my belief that religion always brings out dissension this report was filed in The New York Times of April 25, 1898, concerning an outburst that occurred after a patriotic sermon given by

Rev. Dr. David H. Gregg, [pastor of the Lafayette Avenue Presbyterian Church of Brooklyn] preached on the subject 'The National Crisis: or, God's Purposes as Wrought Out Through International Relations. . . declared that the war with Spain was for humanity and liberty . . .[at the conclusion of the service] Presiding Justice William W. Goodrich

of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court . . . added his own belief that the war was one of the most righteous in which a nation had ever been engaged. At this utterance an old gentleman, whose name was not learned, sprang to his feet and in an excited manner shouted out that the war was unrighteous and unholy.²¹⁷

War brings out such strong feelings in people that even though this was the center of a church, people felt free to boo and hiss at the old gentleman but he persevered to the end stating his belief that the United States was backing the wrong side (the rebels that had been fighting for independence from Spain) and were “attacking an innocent third party.”²¹⁸

Later in the same article, I came across the discussion of a sermon that had been delivered by the Reverend Dr. Robert McNamara of the Washington Avenue Baptist Church. In his sermon he had set forth the requirements he believed made the present war justifiable. The paper quoted large parts of the sermon verbatim including the biblical passages and references that he said proved his point. For him, as long as the object of the war was to free the Cuban people, he considered it to be justified. However, he did set forth parameters by which the war would no longer be considered justified. McNamara pointed to the practice of “seizing Spanish merchantmen defenseless, having nothing to do with Cuba, but carrying cargoes to European ports . . .privateering is not legal. . . seizing the Philippine Islands and the blockading of Puerto Rico. . .[saying that] we are exercising a legal right which is not a Christian right.”²¹⁹

Churches were considered to be a part of the public domain where it was appropriate for men and women to come together to hear not only the religious but also the public policy of the times. As a public meeting house, pastors

considered it their duty to comment on the events taking place in both the country and the world—especially if they felt it would impact their congregation’s morality. By May, the United States had come into possession of the Philippine Islands and in an effort to signal the new world order, the sermons turned to America’s new role in the world. “We never can crawl back into the shell of our selfish isolation. . . we have yet to learn that we can interest ourselves in the world’s affairs without embarking in the great scramble for the world’s territory. We can champion the oppressed without robbing the oppressor...stand up for the weak and insist on fair play among nations.”²²⁰ Dr. MacArthur of the Calvary Baptist Church believed that “every nation has some great mission to perform . . .Anglo-Saxon stands for liberty in its broad sense—political and religious. The Anglo-Saxon is also the great colonizing race. All inferior races must be assimilated to the stronger races or they will be annihilated. . .introduce the highest forms of Christianity in all parts of the world.”²²¹ He is speaking from the point of view that the only civilization in the world was Western Civilization-- that of Europe and America. The Rev. S. Parke Cadman

preached that...result of the civil war and the whole history of the country showed the Divine Law leading up to the present conflict with Spain. . . discovery of America there had been two civilizations fighting for control of the country,. . . Anglo-Saxon race and the Spanish and French. . . foresaw an Anglo- Saxon alliance, an alliance of the English-speaking peoples, to rule the world for the enlightenment of all nations.²²²

After all, people still said that the sun never set on the British Empire to show its mammoth influence.

As a result of the Spanish American war, it seemed that America was

about to take her place as a partner with Great Britain in civilizing the world. One of the chief ways that civilization spread was through the missionary activity of the various religious denominations. With the acquisition of this new territory in the Philippines, some of the denominations were salivating at the idea of a new place in which to spread the word of God. The Rev. Dr. C. C. Creegan, a representative of one of the many religious boards in America, termed this point of time as “One of the most momentous periods in the history of foreign missions conducted by American societies . . . as in forming new American States in our own West, let errors in old fields be avoided. . .the Methodists and Presbyterians, and to hear the other boards are of like mind. . .new era in forward work of missions.”²²³

The American Roman Catholic Church was not a part of these discussions about missionary work because as it is a part of the world Catholic Church, Catholicism had already been present in the Philippines through the aegis of the Spanish colonization. Unfortunately, for most Filipinos, the Catholic Church was just another facet of Spanish rule. Friars had not only conspired with the Spanish gentry, but also had acted as a law unto themselves usurping property, monies, and ruling the villagers with an iron fist. Filipinos had decided that they needed to free themselves not only from colonial rule but also from the Catholic Church.

Once the Americans took possession of the islands, a discussion developed over the fact that in America, churches are neither instruments of the government nor supported by the government as had been the case in the

Philippines with the Catholic Church under Spanish rule. Even though a small faction of Catholics had long lobbied for state aid for the education they provided in their schools, it had never been granted. An article spoke to the concerns of the Spanish clergy in both the Philippines and Latin America concerning both the property the Church owned in these countries and the monies they had received from the Spanish government either directly or as a result of advantageous laws.

To most Americans it seems that there are no such questions. The Church will retain its property and administer its affairs in Cuba and Puerto Rico and the Philippines just as private persons will retain theirs and go on with their business. . .[but] the absolute and complete separation of Church and State is to us a fundamental proposition. . .if the Catholic church cannot flourish without state aid in any country under control of the United States it will have to languish and die.”²²⁴

This was not the Catholic Church’s finest hour as the Archbishop Dozal of the Philippine Islands was reported to have said that

the only hope was that a strong Western power would intervene now. Delay was dangerous because the people were intoxicated, vainglorious, and restless. . . [while] the rival orders quarrel among themselves, intrigue, act unworthily, and slander their opponents, thus increasing their general disfavor. . .utterly beyond the control of the Archbishop. . .hopes for the expulsion of the friarly orders.”²²⁵

In other words since the Archbishop could not control the priests, he wanted the United States to do the job for him.

As it became apparent that the Philippines would become an American possession, the sermons changed. Now it became crucial to include the idea that the United States was at a crossroads “suddenly and without preparation face to face with the momentous and perilous problem of our National history. Are the United States to continue as a peaceful republic, or are they to become a

conquering empire?"²²⁶ Sermons included the belief that as long as America did not continue to acquire territory by the sword, as it were, she was uniquely suited to the task of bringing freedom to the downtrodden and inferior found in this world. Dr. Wylie believed that since the beginning of time "Providence has been preparing America's great destiny."²²⁷ The ministers believed that America would continue to acquire territory "either by cession, direct purchase, or voluntary annexation. . . to protect the weak and aid all peoples of the earth in obtaining the same liberties we ourselves possess."²²⁸ If you think this sounds familiar, it does bring to my mind the Bush administration's discussion of one of the reasons to invade Iraq, to give the Iraqi people the same democracy we enjoy. Is it possible to trace that belief all the way back to 1898? Having been victorious in the Spanish American war, it became, at least in the eyes of these ministers, "that we have a duty to Cuba and the Philippines, and it is to establish a proper government for them. . .we possess an unparalleled capacity to promote self government. . .that they establish public schools, separate the religion from the politics, and to say to them ...care for them so that no nation will molest you."²²⁹ We can see that religion was firmly behind the idea of expansion even if they did lay down the restriction that it should not be done by force.

By the 1960's, religion was not so much a part of public life as it had been at the turn of the century. Churches were no longer the only meeting places for people to gather to hear about the events going on in the world and what their reaction to those events should be. Along with newspapers, there was now radio and television to bring the news of the world into the American home. God had

been removed from the public schools in the late 1950's as the separation of church and state was made a matter of law—at least when it came to reciting the twenty third psalm each morning along with the pledge of allegiance in the nations' classrooms. With that, religion became a private matter, except of course, if you were Catholic and running for president, then religion assumed a national face for a short time.

As the Vietnam war dragged on, religious leaders, through the auspices of the Vatican and the World Council of Churches, began to offer their services as arbitrators or peacemakers. World religious leaders began to take the political leaders to task for events they considered to be not in the interest of mankind. Unlike the sermons and speeches by religious leaders reported during the Spanish American and the Philippine American wars that took up the mantle of political decisions such as expansionism and imperialism, these articles were always very careful to make clear that the statements of the church leaders were “religiously inspired and based on spiritual, not merely political considerations. [and when] a hundred distinguished world churchmen unanimously endorsed today a call for immediate peace in Vietnam. . . criticized both the United States policy of containing Communism and the Communist policy of supporting wars of liberation.” you knew that it was not intended as a statement from the members of their various denominations but a statement of the leaders' beliefs only.²³⁰ In essence, religious leaders could no longer deliver their congregations as supportive of one political decision or another. They could only try to sway them with rhetoric to speak out on their own.

I am assuming I found so many articles citing the papal view of the war because the pope was not only the leader of the world's Catholics, but also as the leader of the Vatican, he found himself in the unique position of being not only the head of a church but also a head of state. In 1966, Pope Paul VI

endorsed today the United States peace offensive for Vietnam and suggested neutral arbitration under United Nations sponsorship to end the war. . . was careful to note that, on one hand, judgment of political questions and temporal interests was outside his competence and, on the other, that his long record of appeals for peace was not pacifism, which ignores relative rights and duties in the conflict in question. . . implicitly rejected the Communists effort to identify the Vatican's peace efforts with its own propaganda for American surrender. . . quiet peace soundings by Vatican diplomats thought the world and papal appeals ...chiefs of state of the Soviet Union, Communist China, and North and South Vietnam.²³¹

His appeal was echoed later when "a hundred distinguished world churchmen unanimously endorsed today a call for immediate peace in Vietnam...criticized both the United States policy of containing Communism and the Communist policy of supporting wars of liberation."²³² The Reverend Eugene Carson Blake was responsible for the inclusion of text that made it perfectly clear that this declaration was "religiously inspired and based on spiritual, not merely political, considerations."²³³ Mr. Cogley opined that the statement was most likely to be "widely challenged because of its political observations and because it singles out for criticism certain political judgements by high governmental sources", so that even if the leaders of the various churches tried to maintain the separation of the religious from the temporal, others did not view their statements in that light.²³⁴

When the war escalated later that year, Lawrence Cardinal Shehan of the

Baltimore archdiocese issued a pastoral letter that “expresses extreme concern over the intensification of the war and those harsh voices that argue against restraint. . .[that] pressure leaders into decisions which the Christian conscience could not endorse.”²³⁵ It was his belief that as Catholics were the largest single denomination in the United States, it was their duty to make sure that America used its military might “in morally acceptable ways.”²³⁶ I did not find one religiously titled article that supported the American bombing of North Vietnam. The crux of each appeal for peace was that the Americans should stop the bombing and then the North would seek peace. The government’s position was always that the bombing would halt once the North reciprocated by halting the incursion into the South as a beginning step or a symbol of good faith. For the rest of President Johnson’s term in office, he kept the pope informed of the steps America was taking in regards to the war in Vietnam, while the Church continued to try and find a negotiated solution to what had been called the “greatest and most immediate social evil of our day.”²³⁷

The administration of Richard Nixon did not fare much better. Not only did the bombing not stop, the war was expanded into Cambodia. George Dugan authored an article detailing a conference held by the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church in which the delegates petitioned the President to come and explain to them personally why Cambodia had been invaded. The president promised to send George Romney to answer the questions that had grown out of a committee report that called the “invasion of Cambodia an unjustified and dangerous extension of an already illegal, inhumane and

unpopular war.”²³⁸ Before that could take place, a Rev. Dr. Bilheimer, who headed the committee on international affairs for the National Council of Churches, proposed that since the Paris Peace talks had not been fruitful, it was time for the United Nations to take the lead in negotiating a settlement of the war. He no longer considered this to be a war between Communism and the free world but rather a fight for nationalism where the Vietnamese had the right to choose their own government. “Vietnamization was a fraud, designed only to get American soldiers out of the country but not to guarantee that economic aid would be solely for economic improvement of the country. It would be almost certainly to continue military aid and the destruction would go on without giving the Vietnamese people freedom to choose their own destiny.”²³⁹ For religious leaders who proclaimed they spoke only of the spiritual effects of war, they all found themselves speaking to the effects of the political decisions being made.

If religious leaders had a lot to say about war, politicians had more to say. When the wars were new, it seemed as though everyone supported the effort. If you think back to the beginning of the ongoing American presence in Iraq today, you would be hard pressed to find anyone willing to go on record opposed to that military action. However, once war begins to drag on in the opinion of the people, politicians begin to speak out as if they had always been opposed.

One of the hottest political issues to come out of the Spanish American war was the disposition of the Philippine Islands once Admiral Dewey had defeated the Spanish fleet at Manila. When it came time to talk peace with Spain, President McKinley needed to appoint members to serve on a Peace

Commission that was to meet with their Spanish counterparts in Paris to draw up the conditions of peace between Spain and the United States. Almost immediately, the newspaper carried articles detailing whom should be appointed to the task. "It would not only be unnecessary but unwise of the President to appoint a Democrat to the Peace Commission. . .[the Philippines are] an administration policy. . .to consider a great political question, the future government and control of the Philippines."²⁴⁰ Since we had entered that war for humanitarian reasons, it required a shift in our foreign policy aims once we acquired territory that needed to be ruled. This policy of expansionism became a political hot potato, and as such, became an issue that separated people down party lines. Republicans identified with the policy of expansionism as not only the Philippines and Puerto Rico were now under our political rule, but we had also taken possession of Hawaii. Probably because the Republicans supported the expansion of American power far from our shores, the " Democrats, apparently without any guidance from their leaders, have drifted into the position of opposing the acquisition of distant territory." and as the 1898 midterm elections drew near the Democrats made their position on the issue abundantly clear.²⁴¹ One outcome of the Missouri Democratic State Convention was the issuance of a platform that in part maintained

We assert that the declaration of war against Spain was justified by the causes which called it forth. . . we are opposed to waging a war for conquest, we favor carrying out in good faith the resolution of Congress under which we will favor its peaceful annexation whenever it can be done with the consent of the people of the island. . .strict maintenance of the Monroe doctrine, and hold that any departure from it would be both unwise and hazardous. . . no American people should be held by

force in unwilling subjection to European authority and we oppose any alliance with any European power. We are opposed to the acquisition of the Philippines or other territory in the Eastern hemisphere. . . opposes a large standing army.²⁴²

The New York Republican Convention issued the following platform planks that not only congratulated the armed forces and President for the victory over Spain but went on to assert that

We have abiding confidence that the President will conclude this peace upon terms that will satisfy the conscience, the judgment, and the high purpose of the American people. We realize that when the necessities of war compelled our Nation to destroy Spanish authority in the Antilles and in the Philippines, we assumed solemn duties and obligations alike to the people of the islands we conquered and to the civilized world. We cannot turn these islands back to Spain. We cannot leave them, unarmed for defense and untried in statecraft, to the horrors of domestic strife or to partition among European powers.²⁴³

In the midst of these views, not surprisingly, the President's Cabinet also had problems coming to a consensus of what should be done with the Philippines now that Spain had been defeated. They had no problem agreeing about Cuba, Puerto Rico, possession of an island in the Ladrões for a coaling station, and the immediate withdrawal of all Spanish military forces from the West Indies. Governing Manila, the Bay, and the surrounding area was also agreed as being in the best interest of the United States. Conflict among the cabinet secretaries arose about how much protection should be offered to Aguinaldo and his troops, and exactly how much, if any, influence he should be allowed to have in the peace process. It was Aguinaldo himself, who brought this disagreement to an end once "the receipt of a cablegram from Admiral Dewey stating that the insurgent chief has assumed a defiant attitude, and

Admiral Dewey expressed the opinion that the United States would be obliged to make war upon the insurgents, necessitating the requirement of 150,000 troops to subdue the islands."²⁴⁴ After the contents of the cablegram had been discussed, the Cabinet came to the conclusion that the best way to proceed was to let the disposition of the Philippines and the insurgents be ironed out at the peace conference between the American and Spanish agents. No one should have been surprised by the war that broke out between the Filipinos under Aguinaldo and the American troops once the peace accords were reached, but that was still in the future.

Over the summer and early fall of 1898, the articles in the paper seemed to undergo a change. From the above belief that the United States really did not want control of the whole archipelago, articles began to appear to the effect that

the United States is under obligations to the insurgents to establish a stable and enlightened form of government throughout the entire archipelago. . . Philippine insurrectionists became in a certain sense the allies of the Americans, and it therefore is our moral duty to see to it that in the future they will be assured safe and civilized rule, and until the United States determines in just what manner the Philippines ultimately shall be governed, we necessarily will have to consider the Philippines our wards. . . a subject for Congress to decide.²⁴⁵

These views were taken from an interview granted by one of the President's known allies in Congress, Senator Hanna. As is the case now, everyone knew that a statement by a known ally of the President, was believed to be the beliefs held by the President himself. Even if it seems the view is that Congress should decide, once the commission went to Paris and the peace talks commenced, the only decision Congress would make was whether or not to ratify the terms

decided there.

More importantly, as egocentric as people are about their place in the universe and since Americans believed that the United States was taking her rightful place in the structure of world power, it naturally followed that since “We know in the first place that a war of races would result, and in the second place, that the islands, if left to their inhabitants, would rapidly revert to savagery.” it was our duty to govern the inhabitants until they could govern themselves.²⁴⁶ Not only did I find articles that reported on the American responsibility to protect Filipinos from themselves, but also the gist of many of the articles seemed to be that “the Philippines must be opened to commercial progress, to human advancement, to freedom and knowledge.”²⁴⁷ If we were going to govern, we needed to make sure that we civilized them in our image. Once the Peace Treaty was posted publically for all the Filipinos to see, some of our worst fears were realized as the insurgents attacked, forcing the United States once again into a war.

By February of 1899, the New York Times was reporting on remarks that were being delivered in Congress to the effect that since the Army had gotten us into the mess in the Philippines, it was obvious that the Army was in dire need of reorganization. A Senator Sewell of New Jersey, recalling his pre-war visit to the Philippines, declared that the United States should not persist in this policy of trying to turn the Philippines into a country formed in our likeness. He said he had told President McKinley back when it was learned that Admiral Dewey had captured Manila, that Dewey should be immediately ordered away from the

islands. "From personal observation that they and their inhabitants were not desirable acquisitions to this country. He declared that it would take an army of from 25,000 to 50,000 to maintain our control in the Philippines."²⁴⁸ Senator Sewall began the drum beat that would eventually force Secretary of War Alger to resign amidst the criticism that

having shut his ears for more than a year to the storm of public criticism that has been directed against him from the beginning of the war with Spain, refusing to accept either hints or open advice to surrender a position held by him with dissatisfaction on the part of the people and annoyance to the Administration, he has, at last, apparently with a sudden change of mind, asked to be relieved from further occupation of his office. . .by resigning, prove that it was the fault of the system and not the man that put the army in such a light.²⁴⁹

Much like Donald Rumsfeld, who resigned under fire because the current Iraq war has gone wrong, Secretary Alger was the fall guy leaving the administration still enjoying the confidence of most of the people.

The Presidential election of 1900 saw the Democratic Party again take aim at what they called the imperialistic tendency of the Republican administration as they came down on the side of the Filipinos and their fight for independence against what they termed the Republican imperialism as evidenced by the ongoing war in the Philippines. The Republicans were forced to defend the war record of President McKinley against that charge of imperialism. Edward M. Shepard, in a speech before the National Civic Club in Brooklyn called on all believers in democracy to "take up as its dominating campaign issue a persistent hostility to imperialism and militarism."²⁵⁰ Although he disagreed with the general opinion of the European leaders that the United

States had fought Spain in order to gain more power in the world, he did believe that the Peace Conference changed the complexion of the American involvement from one of liberation for those oppressed by Spain to one

where we are in the midst of another war vastly more bloody and costly, a war which, whether it be right or wrong, everybody knows to be waged for subjugation and not for liberty—a war of which everybody knows that it does not command the unanimous or substantially unanimous support of the American people, but is a war, of, for, and by the Republican Party and of, for, and by the President.²⁵¹

A few days later, at the opening of the state of Ohio's Republican Convention, Governor Roosevelt stated that our national honor was at stake in the Philippine Islands. Since America had beaten the Spaniards and so unwittingly unleashed the bloodbath, we were honor bound to restore order in the Philippine Islands. Believing that the only way to restore order was through victory over the insurgents, the Governor took the view that America was not waging a Republican war but rather doing what needed to be done.

I came to speak to you because we recognize throughout the Nation that the contest this year in Ohio is not and cannot be anything but a National contest. It is idle to say it is local—yes, and worse than idle—it is dishonest to make such an assertion where the Democratic platform lays its especial stress upon National questions. Make no mistake, in the Philippines we are at open war with an enemy who must be put down. . . no man can hesitate in this struggle and ever afterward call himself a true American and true patriot. . . the only way in which he can stand by one (flag) and uphold the other (honor) is to overwhelm the party that assails it. They can qualify, refine, differentiate, and differ all they wish, but fundamentally their attitude is the attitude of hostility to the flag, of hostility to our sailors and soldiers, of hostility to the greatness of the Nation—the greatness of the race.²⁵²

In other words, according to the Governor, if you did not support the war, you were a traitor to your country.

That same theme underlined remarks made by President McKinley as he hit the campaign trail aboard the Presidential train to whistle stop across the country. He appealed to the citizens' sense of patriotism to shoulder the burdens this new war had created when he spoke as he did in South Dakota. McKinley talked of it being "the strong to bear the burdens of the weak, and your prayer should be, not that the burdens should be rolled away, but that God should give us strength to bear them...the Philippines Archipelago would become a part of the United States, came not to us of our seeking, but as one of the inevitable and unescapable results of that war...could not escape with honor to ourselves or from obligations to the nations of the world...we will send enough of them to carry that flag to ultimate victory."²⁵³

The official position of the administration was that the United States would only remain in the Philippines until a stable government could both govern and provide the basic services needed for the people. Senator Platt, invited to speak before the Urban League Club in Brooklyn on the subject of why the United States was not guilty of imperialistic tendencies in the Philippines, pointed to the fact that the United States was at present defending herself in the Philippine islands because "By legal and moral right the Philippines belonged to the United States, there was a revolt against our authority there, and the question was, should that authority be maintained?"²⁵⁴ Taken at face value then, we engaged in this second war in the Philippines because Aguinaldo and his men were flouting our right to bring order to the islands before the world. As a

young world power, that was something that could not be tolerated if the United States was to be taken seriously in the court of world opinion. By January, 1900, a joint resolution sponsored by Mr. Wellington, passed Congress

declaring that it is not the purpose of the United States to deprive the Filipinos of their right of self government, and the war now being waged is not for the permanent possession of the islands, but for the establishment of peace and order, and further declaring that the Filipinos shall have the privilege under the protection of the United States, of establishing a republic.. it is the duty of the Congress to provide such legislation as will proclaim to the world in a manner emphatic and free from equivocation the design and purpose of our Government with reference to the Philippine Islands.²⁵⁵

As you can see, this resolution took the burdens of the war off the shoulder of the executive branch by declaring that it was the duty of Congress to bring order to the Philippines. However, by March, 1900, another resolution, this one sponsored by Senator Hoar, required President McKinley to forward to Congress all the relevant materials associated with any and all Executive actions that had been brought to bear in the question of the Philippine Islands. When wars go bad, Congress then begins to look for reasons and scapegoats to blame.

Imperialism versus expansionism appeared to be the central issue of the election of 1900, at least viewed in respect to the articles I have read.²⁵⁶ The Philippine American war defined the platforms and the rhetoric of 1900. It was a red flag to the Populist Party as they gathered to ratify their platform under their candidate, Wharton Barker. The platform strongly stated the Populist belief that the present war was one purely of conquest and the subjugation of the Filipinos. Both of the parties in opposition, the Populists and Democrats, did not accept the argument posed by President McKinley that the present war was being

fought both to save the Filipinos from the tyranny imposed either from within or from outside in the case of a European nation again conquering them, along with the firm belief that the Filipinos needed to be civilized before they could possibly govern themselves. The Republicans, who used the Vice-Presidential candidate Teddy Roosevelt, as the chief campaigner talked of Aguinaldo and his followers as savages thumbing their nose at America and her power to rule them. The Philippines had become our responsibility according to them because we had vanquished Spain. As part of the Treaty of Paris America had assumed the mantle of bringing peace to the islands, our protection and governing until we deemed the Filipinos able to govern themselves in a civilized manner. On the other hand, the Populists believed that the only way to maintain order in the Philippines was through the establishment of a large standing army that would be a drain on both the economy and the people of the United States, while the Republicans viewed it as a sacred honor that we remain there until they were able to govern themselves in our image. If that took an army of occupation, then that was not too high a price to pay.

The Democrats nominated Bryan as their presidential candidate even though four years earlier he had carried the mantle of the Populist party in his bid for President. It was the Democratic position that expansion of the United States was perfectly acceptable as long as the territory assumed by purchase or war was contiguous with the rest of the United States. After all, that is the way the country had grown from the original thirteen colonies on the East Coast to stretch across the continent to the Pacific Ocean. The Democratic point was that

the previous assumption of both land and peoples had been for the express purpose of making them United States citizens as the territories became states in the Union. Since the Philippines and its people were not intended to become states or citizens of the United States, the Democrats saw this as the United States ignoring the very foundation of our country as found in our Constitution by acting as a European colonial power much like Great Britain had done in the eighteenth century when they ruled the American colonies without giving them any say in their own destiny. Other than acting as a source of political rhetoric during the election, the Philippine American war only claimed one political victim when Secretary Alger had been forced to resign as the fall guy for the way the government had handled the insurgency in the Philippines by Aguinaldo and his followers.

A half century later, after two world wars have been waged and won by the United States and her allies, we find the nation once again involved in a relatively small scale conflict in Korea. Although most refer to it as a war, most of the official rhetoric called it a police action thereby negating the provision of having to have Congressional approval to fight. Because it had begun with a surprising move by the North Koreans as they marched across the demilitarized zone into South Korea, the political rhetoric was loud and strong against the perceived weaknesses of the incumbent President and his party—Mr. Truman and the Democrats. Republican Senator Wiley attacked the way the administration had handled Korea from the end of the Second World War right up to the North Korean invasion of the South saying that the crisis had been

brought about by "a series of atrocious failures and a monument or a tombstone of ineptness and bungling. . . didn't have the trained men, the right equipment or the right planes to handle the Korean situation. . .so-called intelligence service was once more caught flat-footed. . . State Department so intent on appeasing the Russians that it made us withdraw from Korea and now we are going to have to fight our way back into Korea."²⁵⁷ Since the mid term elections were just around the corner, the world, or at least those involved at the United Nations, paid close attention to what was happening in those elections as "it was generally believed here that a Republican victory, or even any important Republican gains, would result in the departure of Secretary of State Dean Acheson. . .Republicans have waged their campaign mainly on the charge that the Truman administration, and Mr. Acheson in particular, had generally made a mess of United States Far Eastern policy by failing to give adequate support to Nationalist China. Pressure in Congress for Mr. Acheson's resignation probably would be intensified, it is felt here, by a Republican victory."²⁵⁸ As early as the fall of 1950, people were mounting a campaign against the Secretary of State and his diplomacy.

The person entrusted with the responsibility to lead the multi-national forces in securing South Korea by forcing the North Koreans back behind the thirty-eighth parallel was General MacArthur, a hero of the Second World War in the Pacific theater. While it is true that the United States had the majority of men and munitions in Korea, it must be remembered that this was a United Nations sanctioned action. Just as the United States had first emerged on the world

stage as a power after the Spanish American War, the Second World War had catapulted the United States into the position of one of the two acknowledged super powers—the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The dream of President Wilson and his League of Nations at the end of World War I finally bore fruit as the United Nations was formed for the purpose of bringing an end to armed conflict by providing a place for nations to talk out their differences. However, the United Nations charter did provide for the possibility of armed action as it did allow for member nations to ask for help in pushing an aggressor out. This was the tenet cited when the United Nations asked its member nations to aid in the removal of the North Koreans from the South. The caveat was that the war remain a localized affair and only force the North back behind its original boundaries. General MacArthur was given implied approval to cross that parallel to crush the government of the North, but he was forbidden from attacking Communist China. MacArthur believed that the United States would have to fight Communist China sooner or later, so took it upon himself to try and force the issue by broadening the conflict through bombing runs into Communist China. President Truman promptly removed MacArthur from his command position and ordered him home, but his dismissal only raised the decibel level on the arguments at home over the role of the State Department and Secretary of State Acheson in the conflict in Korea vis a vis his overall diplomacy in that part of the world.

Dean Acheson took the brunt of the criticism after the removal of MacArthur. Republicans, under the leadership of Senator Taft, “called on

Congress to go on record against any effort by the Administration to negotiate an appeasement peace in Korea. . . [believed] the United States was going to fight a more aggressive war against the Chinese Communists in Korea or it was going to be led into some form of capitulation to them.. . can be no unity in this country until Mr. Acheson had been removed by President Truman and an atmosphere of sympathy for communism has been ended in the State Department.”²⁵⁹ The President did not remove Secretary Acheson.

As the election of 1952 got into high gear, charges and counter-charges over where to place blame for the mess in Korea began to fly. Although they had begun the election pledging to keep Korea out of the campaign rhetoric, it was not long before Dewey was out on the stump for Eisenhower to be countered by President Truman out on the stump for the Democratic candidate—Adlai Stevenson. Korea had become a stalemate as it was now a war of defense—not offense--as the two sides faced each other across the demilitarized zone. The former Democratic challenger from the 1948 campaign, Dewey, went out on the campaign circuit for the Republican candidate, Dwight David Eisenhower. Just as had happened back in the American Philippine war, Eisenhower blamed the incumbent for the nation’s lack of preparedness for war. “The supreme folly was nevertheless committed of pulling our troops out of Korea because they (the administration) let our Army run down, and then of announcing from the public platform that it was outside of our defense perimeter.”²⁶⁰ It is an American tradition that once a war is over, the military stands down except for what is essential to the immediate defense of our borders. The amount of money spent

on defense was also decreased. Dewey did not stop the blame game there. Because the Democrats had been in power since 1933, he went on to lay the fault of World War II at the Democrat's door saying "we could not afford to pay that kind of a price for survival by a continuation of the fumbling that brought us unprepared into World War II and bungled us into the Korean war."²⁶¹

In answer to the accusation that the United States had not been prepared for war, the President went on the offensive and released secret documents that showed Eisenhower had "in 1947 approved withdrawal of our troops from Korea, he and the military must take primary responsibility for the calamity that followed."²⁶² Eisenhower disputed the charge saying not all the facts were seeing the light of day, and went on to lay out his plan to end American involvement in Korea when he proposed that South Koreans be trained and armed to take the place of the American troops now facing the North Koreans. John Foster Dulles, the Republican foreign policy expert, took up the plan explaining in his speeches that if South Koreans were manning the defensive lines, Russia would no longer have any reason to continue the war. By now, the Korean war had become a hot battle in the Cold War that was raging between the two super powers. Dulles listed as his

first reason was that the war enabled the Soviet Union to tie up American military strength in a remote peninsula, and the second was that the presence of our troops afforded the Kremlin a colossal propaganda success in calling the Korean conflict a race war. . .our primary objective is, not to fight wars, but to prevent war. The best way to prevent armed aggression is to possess the power to strike at the heart of aggression.²⁶³

The arms race was born as the national policy shifted to the belief that the best

way to avoid another world war was to possess more powerful armament than the enemy. It was believed Russia would never start a war they were not confident of winning.

By 1953, Eisenhower had been elected President as the country turned away from the Democratic party, but the troops were still in the midst of a stalemate in Korea. A senate committee called General MacArthur as a witness to explain the charges that munition shortages in Korea were a direct result of the confidence that MacArthur had displayed at the beginning of the conflict of its short duration. While the general gave credence to the basic fact that shortages of both men and armament had occurred at the beginning, he was not going to shoulder the blame that some had tried to place on him. Even though he admitted he had believed that if the course of the war that he wanted to fight had been followed the war would have been over, than an all-out switch to war production would not have been necessary. Since his plan of expansion of the war into China had not occurred, the United States once again needed time to gain the men and munitions necessary to face down an enemy. Instead of being able to fight full out as he had planned, MacArthur insisted that the war still dragged on because of

the inertia of our diplomacy [that] was responsible for failing swiftly to restore peace and unity to Korea. . .his recommendations to bomb military installations north of the Yalu, to blockade the coast of China and to employ Chinese Nationalist troops from Formosa, [which had cost him his job as commander of the United Nations forces in Korea] overriding deficiency incident to our conduct of the war in Korea was not the shortage of ammunition or other matériel but in the lack of the will for victory, which has profoundly influenced both our strategic concepts in the field and our supporting

action at home.”²⁶⁴

MacArthur still did not accept that the military takes its authority from the civilian Commander-in-Chief. The President is the one with the final authority to decide where, when, and by what means the United States engaged the enemy in armed conflict. Because of his failure to obey a direct order, MacArthur became a political victim of the war. He lost his command and was called home. Ironically, it is also because of the way we are, that once home, MacArthur was able to continue his speaking out and lobbying for his plan of action. MacArthur had many admirers because of his previous military exploits who believed that he was correct in his assessment of the situation. This attitude further aided the fall from grace that President Truman experienced in the eyes of the American people when asked if they thought he was doing a good job. If you couple the falling approval ratings of the Democratic administration with the Republican choice for President—General Eisenhower, the Supreme Allied Commander from World War II—the Democrats could not have had much hope of hanging on to an office they had occupied for twenty years.

While Korea was not the sole reason the Democrats lost the White House in 1952, it is certainly able to be argued that the Vietnam war did cost a president his job. As the man who incrementally eased us into a war to stop communism in its tracks in Southeast Asia, President Johnson saw his popularity fall. Eventually the President came to the realization that the failure of the United States military to deal a quick decisive defeat to the North Vietnamese had tainted the office of the presidency with that same brush of defeat. Two

members of his own party, Robert Kennedy and Eugene McCarthy, were actively seeking the Democratic nomination for president even though, as a sitting president, the nomination of Lyndon Johnson for a second term should have been a mere formality. It was both the unrest in the country and the deep division this had fostered between those either supporting or agitating against the war, that prompted President Johnson, in March, 1968, when he spoke to the nation to declare that he would not seek another term as their president. Johnson felt that the country could not continue with this deep chasm dividing its citizens. No longer did Johnson have the energy or even feel that he could be the force for unification that had served him when he had taken over for a slain president. Speaking in Chicago, President Johnson listed his rationale for not seeking another term with words that spoke to his belief that in order “to save the integrity of his office. . .He warned against allowing the Presidency to be involved in division and deep partisanship. . .he had sacrificed public popularity to his better judgment on the issues.”²⁶⁵ Even with the deep division in the country, Hubert Humphrey, the standard bearer of the Democratic Party, almost pulled off a victory that most had thought to be well beyond a Democrat’s reach. I think it is safe to say that, when we as a country are at war, voters tend to re-elect the man as President that has led the charge.

By the time President Nixon stood for re-election in 1972, we were in the midst of the policy of Vietnamization and troops were being brought home as we slowly disengaged ourselves from the fight. However, it could be argued that the continuing public unrest fueled President Nixon’s feelings of insecurity and

paranoia which led him to try and conceal the elements of the Watergate burglary that eventually cost him the presidency as he was forced to resign in August, 1974.

One thing that is certain is that during the Nixon Presidency, the publication of the Pentagon papers caused a furor that threatened the Constitution. In other wars, censorship had been put in place from the battlefield regarding what could or could not be reported. During the Korean conflict the American Civil Liberties Union had issued a study that portrayed “the Korean War and threats of a general war against communism have damaged academic and political freedom in the United States.”²⁶⁶ They cited the way newspapers characterized communism and leftists as being hostile to the interests of the United States and the marked increase in loyalty oaths being required of people wishing to work for local and state governments.

The Pentagon papers were different as they were a series of forty-seven volumes that had been commissioned by Defense Secretary Mc Namara in 1967-68, to trace the American involvement in the Vietnam conflict by studying the documents explaining the decision making process that had led to the present level of conflict from the end of World War II. Classified as top secret and time sensitive with restricted access, the government maintained that the distribution of the contents of that report would do irreparable damage to the defense interests. When The New York Times published the first in a series of articles, the government asked them to stop. The paper refused saying it was a matter for the courts to decide since they believed the public’s right to know

superceded the government's right to maintain secrecy. The administration maintained that "a debate of the past would not serve the interests of the country and would not help us disengage from Vietnam."²⁶⁷ In the end, the court, after many injunctions, ruled in favor of publication. That ruling was anti-climatic as excerpts from the Pentagon Papers had appeared in many newspapers across the nation by the time the courts finally spoke.

Economically, war seems to be a shot in the arm, but if it continues too long, it becomes a drag on the economy it had earlier bolstered. For example, the occupation of the Philippines was a boon to American trade as it gave her a pre-eminent position geographically to control the trade in the Far East.

We held the crossroads of the Pacific at Hawaii, and we had our foothold in the Island of Luzon. The master of Manila can make terms with every power in the East, and those vast markets must be held open in the interests of our industry and our commerce, of our farmers and our workingmen, to the free competition of mankind—a contest in which their genius of American enterprise need fear no rival.²⁶⁸

The cotton manufacturers of South Carolina took it upon themselves to lobby Congress to support

the administration in maintaining a policy in the East to secure to the producers and manufacturers of the United States the fullest opportunity for development of trade that can be possibly enjoyed by insistence upon our treaty privileges, especially in China . . .to exercise adequate influence and control in the East over the Chinese trade . . . Philippine archipelago should be controlled by us as the only safeguard for our trade interests in the East²⁶⁹

No one disputed the fact that control of the Philippines gave the United States a leg up in world trade. The only discussion involved whether we needed to physically annex the Philippines for this to be true or just send men and money

to protect our interests there. Senator Tillman maintained that it was during talks in the Senate discussing the Treaty of Paris that “the motive which led to the purchase of the Philippines from Spain was clearly outlined to embrace the preservation of the Chinese market to American manufacturers, and it was thought there was advantage in holding those islands with that view.”²⁷⁰ It was to the American advantage then to control the whole Archipelago than to just follow the original plan of claiming a few coaling stations along with favorable trade conditions.

The war in Korea occurred so soon after World War II that the nation’s economy was beset by a different set of woes. On February 11, 1951, The New York Times ran a “think piece” detailing the progress or lack of same that had occurred in the seven months since the government had “set up the law of economic mobilization; two months since President Truman installed the mobilization’s high command; two weeks since the high command placed the economy under price and wage controls.”²⁷¹ It was believed that controls needed to be put in place so that inflation would not spiral out of control thereby hurting the producer, the seller, and the buyer of needed goods and services. This was a very fine line as the government sets the ceiling on the price that can be charged but needs to allow for some increases so that the middle man is not squeezed between the cost of an item to him and the ceiling the government has set as the selling price. If you couple this with the rationing of materials for defense needs and the lay off of hundreds of workers as companies retool for defense contracts, you have an economic nightmare. Most of the people put in

charge by President Truman to formulate this economic plan came from the owners' side of the equation, which caused the labor side to become very dissatisfied as they felt their voice was not being heard and their rights were not being protected. It finally came to a head when the railroad switchmen staged "sick outs" in different parts of the country causing stoppages in the transportation system. President Truman, in his news conference, "read a statement calling the work stoppage intolerable and saying he had ordered the Army to move. The Army promptly ordered all the "sick" switchmen to return to work with-in forty-eight hours on penalty of losing their jobs. The switchmen swarmed back to work. The stoppage was over."²⁷²

A more telling part of this was the governmental position that in trying to force a wage increase, the switchmen had played into the communists' hand. The fifties were all about the Red Menace, and Mr. Wilson, the Director of Defense Mobilization, had publically called on these switchmen to return to work because "The Communists could not hope to be this effective if they started a full-scale sabotage campaign."²⁷³ However as early as December, 1950, the paper reported that "Despite the intervention of Communist China in the Korean war United States imports from that country are continuing at the same high level of the last year...ports of Taku Bar and Tsingtao...principal items of cargo include vegetable oils, . . .peanuts and other nuts; woolen rugs; skins, wool"²⁷⁴ Even the placement of controls on the export to China of strategic materials did not bring any noticeable changes in the import of these goods to the United States. By 1953, Senator McCarthy and his investigative committee were charging that

since the outbreak of the Korean war, Western Allies of the United States had permitted an increasing and flourishing trade of more than \$2,000,000,000.00 with Red China and other Communist countries at the cost of lives of United Nations troops. . . traditional concept of war that a country did not carry on commercial intercourse with an enemy nation during a period of armed conflict. In the present Korean war, this concept has not been followed. . . fighting the enemy on the one hand and trading with him on the other cannot be condoned.²⁷⁵

By September, after the armistice had stopped the fighting, the Senator demanded that the United States punish our “so-called allies” for their trading policies by refusing to send them any more financial aid until they stopped trading with the Chinese Communists. He failed in this attempt to stop the payments to our allies in Europe and Scandanavia, but kept the furor over the Red Menace at the forefront of public interest.

Since the Korean war we, as Americans, have not again been subjected to the wage and price controls that most older Americans equate with war time sacrifice. Secretary of Defense McNamara was quoted as saying that “build-up for the war in Vietnam and other new military expenses will not necessitate nationwide belt tightening, wage and price controls or cutbacks in President Johnson’s Great Society domestic program.”²⁷⁶ To offset these expenses, military bases were closed along with other cutbacks as part of a “renewed cost-efficiency drive. . . President Johnson recently circulated a memorandum that again calls for frugality in all government departments and agencies.”²⁷⁷ At first, as the war intensified, the Department of Labor reported that it had been good for the economy. The build-up of troops had accounted for more than one million jobs of the four million that had been created in the years 1964-1965.

The rest of the jobs had been created across the board from manufacturing to warehousing to transportation to the clothing and food industries.

However, the longer we fought the war, the more discouraging the news became on the economic front. By 1967, "the United States ran up a total balance of trade deficit of \$3.6 billion. . .war production has taken a priority among some manufacturers over production of goods designed for overseas markets. After the war is over, exporters may find it difficult to recapture lost foreign markets and domestic users of imports may continue to buy abroad."²⁷⁸ Inflation was becoming a very real problem as corporations were searching for ways to borrow the money needed to continue to manufacture the goods necessitated by the continuing war. Credit was becoming very expensive and those costs were being passed on to all Americans. In 1970, The New York Times ran a small article quoting Louis B. Lundborg, the head of the world's largest private bank reporting that he

said today that the Vietnam war was a tragic mistake that had distorted the United States economy...end to the war would be good, not bad for the American business and added that the top 10 United States business concerns—all of which have at least some military contracts—fared better during the period 1962 -1965 than during the escalating period of 1965-1967. . . war has seriously distorted the American economy, has inflamed inflationary pressures, has drained resources that are desperately needed...and has dampened the rate of growth in profits on both a before and after tax basis.²⁷⁹

As I stated earlier, the impetus for our involvement in the Persian Gulf war was the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait which gave Saddam Hussein control of the flow of oil from that area of the world. Since the United States ran on fossil fuel, it was to our advantage to make sure that we could control the producers of that

same oil thereby protecting our national interests. However, that war was of such short duration that even the anticipated rise in the price of gasoline was held to a minimum. At first, the cost of a barrel of oil rose from \$18.00 to almost \$40.00 /barrel, but that was short-lived. Eventually, the price of a barrel of oil stabilized at \$21.00. Even though the country had been entering a time of recession, the rise in the cost of a barrel did not trigger the same crisis we had endured in the mid seventies when OPEC manipulated the production of oil making it scarce and more expensive.

“Half a year since the United States and its coalition of partners defeated Iraq in a land war that lasted 100 hours. . .a unique war in American history in terms of its effect on the budget and the economy, both because it was fought out of inventories and because America’s allies paid for the war, at least in the short run.”²⁸⁰ That is not to say that the war did not affect the American economy in ways that were not favorable as it is given credit for either starting or deepening a recession and world wide slide in the investment markets. However, it is also said that although “the gulf crisis hurt consumer confidence and snagged business spending on new plant and equipment. . .as the gulf crisis tipped the economy into recession, its end helped stop the recession and start the recovery.”²⁸¹

In Conclusion

“A new foreign policy undreamed of by the founders of our Government may be forced upon us. Our policy of isolation may have to be abandoned, and we may be obliged by the very trend of circumstances, irrespective of our wishes and of the advice of our fathers, to take a hand in the shaping of the world's destinies.”²⁸² With these words, America emerged from the shadow of the new world to become an active participant with the other European powers when it came to world affairs. Although, the Philippines were eventually given their independence, they remained tied to the United States via mutual protection treaties and trade agreements.

Korea has remained divided into two nations staring across a United Nations patrolled frontier that periodically calls attention to its status through speeches and threats delivered most often by the North Korean leader—Kim Jong-il. President George W. Bush has branded him and North Korea to be a part of the axis of evil along with Iraq and Iran. Even today, November 25, 2007, in the magazine supplement to my Sunday paper there is an article entitled “Should We Be Afraid of North Korea”. In the article, David Wallechinsky concludes that even though he has listed Kim Jong-il as one of the worst dictators in the world the last five years, Korea is much too oppressed to pose a threat to the rest of the world. “To retain a strong hold, Kim Jong-il has sequestered his citizens from the world. . .regular people cannot access the Internet, and newspapers consist of state propaganda. Radios and TVs receive

only government channels."²⁸³ North Koreans know only what the government tells them. This isolation from the world stage is what has kept Korea from becoming a threat, at least in the opinion of Wallechinsky.

Containment, the United States policy to keep Communism within the borders occupied at the end of World War II, had shifted from Korea to Vietnam during the 1960s. The Vietnam war, that had sucked the United States in slowly, ended with a whimper in 1975. Television sets showed the last days of Saigon as helicopters lifted off the roof of the United States Embassy with the remaining Americans and Vietnamese we were obliged to save, while the North Vietnamese marched south uniting the country under the Communist banner. Newspapers also had that picture on their front pages of the last Americans being air lifted out. Unlike Korea, which had ended in a stalemate, Vietnam ended with the unification of the north and south under one regime. It just was not the government that the United States had wanted.

The Persian Gulf war ended after 100 days. Saddam Hussein had been forced out of Kuwait, supposedly under sanctions that would keep him from any more incursions against his neighbors or his own people. Unfortunately, it merely set the stage for the present day Iraq conflict. The Iraqi War may have toppled the regime of Saddam Hussein, but it has left the United States bogged down in a civil war in Iraq that bears some similarity to the mess we had tried to fight our way out of in Vietnam, and the even earlier debacle in Korea. It remains to be seen, if this time, someone did learn from history, and finds a solution that not only gets us out of Iraq, but also leads to peace in the region so

we don't need to go back.

These were the end results of the wars I covered, but that is not all that I have learned through reading about one hundred years of war. I will explain more fully in the rest of this paper the following points that I have discovered:

- Newspapers may have changed their appearance, but have not changed the basic way they report the news. Bias is still found in the paper but now opinions have a section in which to reside.
- As a people we have become more private both in our religious dealings and our family life.
- Women have become citizens with all the rights and responsibilities that entails and are no longer just to be found in the private sphere of home or church.
- Newspapers no longer publish the complete texts of treaties, important speeches, or religious sermons.
- We go to war to benefit us as a nation in some way, if only in the guise of doing good.

During my undergraduate years, I took a history seminar class that said it was a mistake to believe that history keeps repeating itself or that it was a cliché to say that everything old becomes new again. After reading across one hundred years of articles dealing with small wars, I beg to differ. I did not prove that newspapers had to change the way they covered wars because of the communication explosion of the last half of the twentieth century, because they really did not change in the way they dealt with the subject. The appearance of the newspaper changed, the vocabulary seemed to become more elementary as the twentieth century passed, while at the same time newspapers no longer went to the same extreme to educate its readers about the location and people around

the globe. This leads one to suspect that on one hand, education is more readily available as people are expected to know where countries are, but on the other hand, the paper is now for everyone and not just the “educated elite” so a more common language is used. As technology improved the speed of communication, information was published more quickly with more graphics and pictures to show what was occurring. As society has changed and matured, newspapers have rid themselves of much of the language of racism and superiority that I detected in the coverage of the first three wars. The fundamental reporting, however, remained the same. When The New York Times had been founded, it was very common for a newspaper to assume the role of a political party paper, but Raymond made it his business to “be an organ of non-partisan, independent thought, and still be regarded by the great body of its readers as steadily guided by principles of sincere public policy.”²⁸⁴ Today, while all newspapers can be accused of an editorial policy, and/or slant to the right or the left, there are sections of the paper devoted to opinion and others devoted to news. Much like the appearance of the paper changed and I detected probable changes in the American education system, it is by reading between the lines that changes in the life of Americans can be discerned.

I have alluded to one of the major changes over that one hundred years in the section that dealt with religion, so I will not go over that territory again. A clue to the position of women during the early twentieth century can be found in an article that talked about a farewell dinner being given in honor of a Colonel Heistand right before he left the United States to become the Adjutant General of

the military forces in the Philippines in 1909. Mrs. McLean alludes to the fact that she prefers being a woman in the private sphere, but notice that she is saying it in a very public place. Her remark of preferring “beaus to ballots” alludes to the fact that women who believed in equality were considered to be not only unfeminine but incapable of being courted, married, or having a family. This attitude points to the divisiveness that has always characterized the women’s movement no matter what century one is discussing. Everything old is indeed new again. In her own words then:

Mrs. Mc Lean, the only woman present, was the first speaker, because as she put it, the epitome of gallantry [meaning Mr. Littlejohn] thought if I was not I might get too many ideas. Mr. Taft, in presenting her, referred to her as one of the great women of America come to honor a typical American soldier. Mrs. McLean said that she believed she was the only woman in New York not talking suffrage. That was because, she explained, she was one of the old-fashioned kind of women who would rather have beaus than ballots.²⁸⁵

Contrast this article with one written by a woman, Elaine Sciolino in 1991, that details the Senate’s quest for truth “in continuing investigations by the intelligence committees of both houses of Congress into whether there was a failure of American intelligence from the months before the invasion through the Persian Gulf war.”²⁸⁶ In this article, senators contrasted the testimony given by the former Iraqi ambassador, April C. Glaspie, with the cables that had been turned over to the committees from the State Department to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Ambassador Glaspie had portrayed her demeanor during her meeting with Saddam Hussein as being very forceful in explaining the United States position should he invade Kuwait. The cables in which she had briefed

the State Department about that meeting do not seem to show the same tough stance she had said she used when talking about it to the Senate committee. The paper published the contents of both the cables and the Ambassador's testimony so that the American people could draw their own conclusion. My only reason for mentioning it is to show how far women have invaded public life in the almost ninety years since the previous citation. It is now commonplace for women to occupy positions of trust and authority. No longer are they confined to the private sphere of home and church of the early twentieth century, but they are held accountable for their actions in the same way that a male ambassador would have been.

Another difference that jumped out at me was that in the readings from one hundred years ago, people's everyday lives were items of interest in the paper. If someone had a visitor, it was listed. If someone received a letter from someone in a place of interest, they were interviewed and the contents made public. One such instance were the excerpts of letters written to "Miss Stonie Tucker from her two sisters who have lived in Manila for a number of years: . . .it seems almost like a dream to be living in so much war excitement. The Americans sank every Spanish gunboat and killed and wounded 490 men...natives are all delighted at the turn of affairs and their faces are beaming with satisfaction but the poor Spaniards look sick."²⁸⁷ Nowadays, you would be hard pressed to find such "newsy" items in a daily paper.

Without the mass communication of today, the newspapers in the first half of the twentieth century printed the complete transcript of Presidential and other

political speeches, treaties, religious sermons, and the minutes of congressional sessions. Interviews were published in full so that the reader could gauge it in its entirety instead of the sound bites we all live on today. They provided the means by which Americans had access to political news, world events, and local doings. Battle casualties were listed by name and state once they became known in The New York Times. In the Philippine American War that took considerable time, but by the Persian Gulf war, names were made public within a few days. With the exception of television, the names of the dead are now confined to their local papers for the most part.

I began with the premise that with the instant news we now enjoy via satellite and cable television networks not to mention the internet, newspapers would have had to change their modus operandi in order to compete. The only change that I can point to with any certainty is they now tend to write things in a much more concise and bare bones need to know kind of way instead of the comprehensive word for word way of the past. The complete transcript is no longer necessary because one can watch it live or pull it up on the computer and read it for themselves. I believe it is more the inability of Americans to make time to read those types of articles, than the fact one can access it on the internet for this difference. I have found no data that would support Americans using technology to become better informed by reading the material that is out there. After all, Americans are well-known for being industrious, and have taken the art of being busy to the point that instead of having more free time with the advent of technology, we have just found more ways to fill our time and to always be on

the move.

With the possible exception of the Persian Gulf war which was fought to make sure America would have access to the oil that makes our world go around, we found ourselves embroiled in civil wars in each of the other actions I have studied. We said we were trying to bring foreigners peace, democracy, and a better way of life, but never did we take into account the culture or people of that country. In fact, in almost every case, the indigenous people were viewed as the “other” needing to be civilized and trained to follow in our footsteps. Much was written of the Filipino as being too uncivilized to rule, or the Vietnamese inability to rule for the benefit of all—not just the ruling class, or the Arab propensity for not getting along. We were always holding out for free elections like we enjoy in this country so they could choose their government, but it had to be free elections that coincided with our definition of what type of government should be formed. When we, as Americans, opposed a war action, traitors were the name that was applied freely. One would think that in a society that prides itself on free speech, that would not happen, but it occurred frequently. However, this name-calling does not seem to bring any lasting harm either to the name-caller or the person so defamed. However, if a war went on too long, people in general began to stop supporting it. When the voter stopped supporting an action, Congress would begin to look around for a way out and someone to blame for the action in the first place. Whether we fought for territory, or better trade, or oil, we were almost always looking for a way to better our position in the world. During the Vietnam debacle, much was made of the

fact that if the United States cut and run, her prestige on the world stage would suffer a blow from which she might not recover. We not only recovered, with the break-up of the Soviet Union, the United States is now the world's only superpower. Since the same argument is being made now during our involvement with the Iraqi civil war, it does seem to me that history repeats itself because we never seem to learn the lessons it tries to teach.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

As I come to the end of this paper, it is a fact that I never could have done any of this if not for the support of my husband, Ed. He pushed and prodded me to complete the requirements of the degree once the classes—which I enjoyed attending—stopped, and the drudgery of writing the thesis began. I thank him for understanding my need to do this even though it meant no more cruises, or long vacations, and quite possibly, many more years of working before we will be able to retire. He did not ask what I planned to do with the degree, just allowed me the space, time, and money to pursue my dream.

I would like to thank Dr. Rubenstein for a chance remark made during a session of the History of U. S. Sports class that sportswriters, who at the beginning of sports coverage had painted a word picture to describe the game to their readers, but had now become just recorders of facts since the audience could now see with their own eyes the action. No longer was the written word needed to place them in the center of the action. As a student of the Vietnam conflict, this started me thinking about war and how the coverage in newspapers might have changed with the advent of mass communication like radio, television, cable television, and finally the internet. It seems that today we are all only a click away from any event anywhere in the world.

As a member of that first generation of television babies, I would also like to acknowledge Dr. Kassel and his class on popular culture. While it did encompass other subjects, it gave meaning to the memories I have of the fifties and sixties as television became an integral part of American life. As I look at television now, and compare it with the sanitized version presented back then, it re-enforces my belief that as a country we have wandered far away from that Christian foundation brought here in the 1600's.

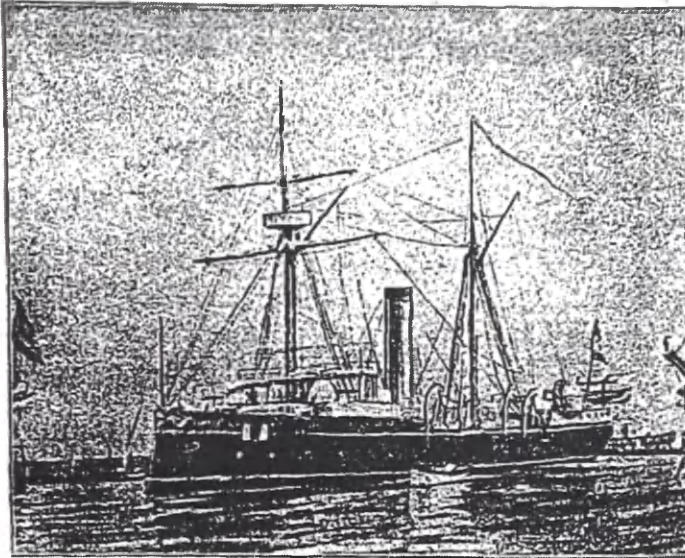
I give my heartfelt thanks to Dr. Houbeck and Dr. Svoboda. Not only did they take on the

task as readers for this thesis with the patience and guidance needed to help me finish the task I had set for myself, they also taught classes that forced me to think, read, write, and try to crystallize my view of America. A special thank you to Dr. Houbeck for his suggestion on how to refine the title of this paper.

When I had my first meeting with Dr. Svoboda at the start of this program, I was amazed that there was a time limit of two years in which to write a thesis. I thought to myself—why would it take so long? Well, it has taken me two years, and while I cannot claim to have worked constantly on it, there was never a week that went by that I did not devote at least part of my down time that week to this paper. Trying to digest all the information I read, then give it focus, and finally try to find a written voice for where my conclusions were leading me was indeed a time consuming venture. I must admit now that it is over, I did enjoy the journey.

Appendix

Spanish-American War/Philippine -American War Excerpts



SPANISH CRUISER ISLA DE LUZON,
Reported Destroyed by the American Squadron.

Illustration of the ship...not a picture!

AMERICA STARTLES EUROPE

William T. Stead Writes of the New
World's Advancement.

ALL NATIONS NOW FEAR US

Not Alone in the Arts of War Have
Americans Scattered Consternation,
but Likewise in Competitive Trade.

Copyright, 1898, by The Associated Press.
BRUSSELS, Sept. 20.—William T. Stead,
the English newspaper man, writing on
American expansion, among other things
says:

"What does the Old World think of the latest new departure of the New World, that world which ever since it was discovered by Columbus has been an increasing source of astonishment to Europe? It is a new New World that confronts the Old World to-day, a world so new that its latest developments in the Philippines would have filled with incredulous amazement, I do not say the fathers of the Republic, but even the party leaders of the last Presidential election.

WITH THE TWENTIETH KANSAS.

How That Regiment Under Funston
Charged Intrenched Filipinos and
Drove the Insurgents Back.

From The Chicago Record.

In the Field Before Calumpit, via Manila, April 25.—This is the story of the Twentieth Kansas and how that regiment charged an intrenchment filled with Filipinos, got across the Quingua River, and drove the insurgents back to the next stronghold. It is not the first nor the second time the Kansas boys have got what they went for, and they went in like veterans. We lay in the dry bed of a creek that made the firing line from 6 o'clock on, but no big advance was made until 10 o'clock, when the armored train came down the track with its one six-pound gun—a gun that had done duty on the transport Sheridan, firing salutes at the sun as the flag came down at retreat—two Hotchkiss guns and a Gatling. The Utah battery was over on the right with Gen. Hale, who was given time to make a flank movement. The Kansas boys were peeping through the trees where there was an opening, and grimly they sat there, too, keeping ears open for an order. Col. Funston, the son of the "former Congressman" from Allen County, Kan., stood near his horse cracking his riding boot with his whip.

Then the six-inch gun opened the fight on the American side. The Filipinos had been firing toward us for fifteen minutes, and Lieut. Bridges, in command of that train, sent the first shot. Incidentally the dust flew from the trench down the track, and a cheer went up before the report of the piece had died from the ears of the men in the ravine. Again and again that long, black piece rang up the echoes. Then the rapid-fire came into range and began its belching. But when the Gatling began to purr the Kansas boys were ready for their charge across the open. Gen. Hale got his Utah battery in position on the extreme right and began throwing shells into the enemy's camp. Now, there should not have been trouble for those Filipinos, even then, because their intrenchments were very strong, but the shells evidently brought fear to the hearts of the dark-skinned fighters.

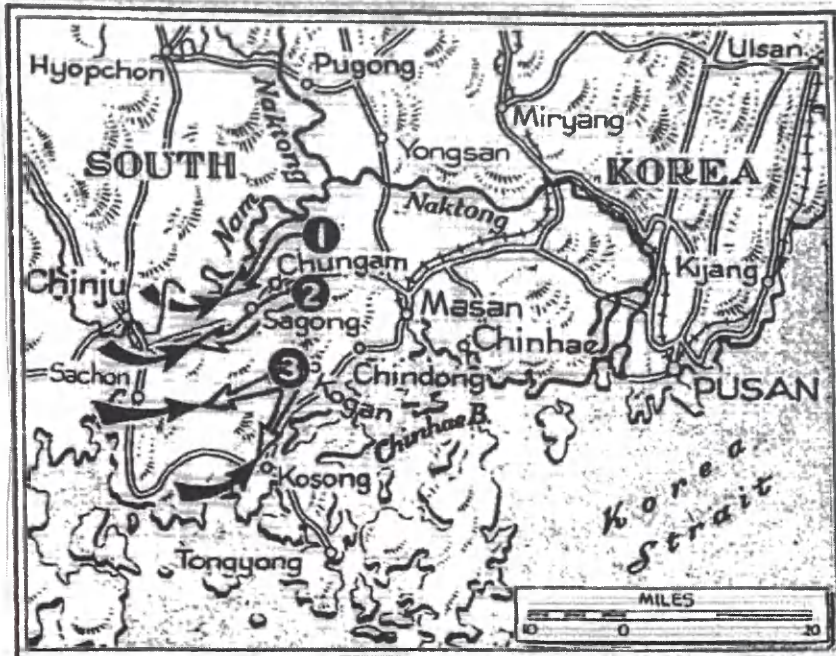
Then it was that Col. Funston said: "Come on, boys," and they wanted no second invitation. Out into the open they went, with the Gatling throwing bullets over their heads and the six-pounder and the Hotchkiss hurling heavy pieces far into the trenches. It is a long way across that cornfield, and the corn was not past the second plowing. The tracks left there are evidence that there was no hesitancy in the attack. Col. Funston led them on fully half a mile, when they came right in the face of a fire directed point-blank at them from the trenches. One man dropped out and came back. He had a wounded hand, and it was useless for the time being. On the brown regiment went, past a clump of bamboos, where the Mausers were biting and whistling, until at last it reached the ditches along the railroad track and dropped into them.

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Story is told through words...
almost like a story.

Korean War Excerpts

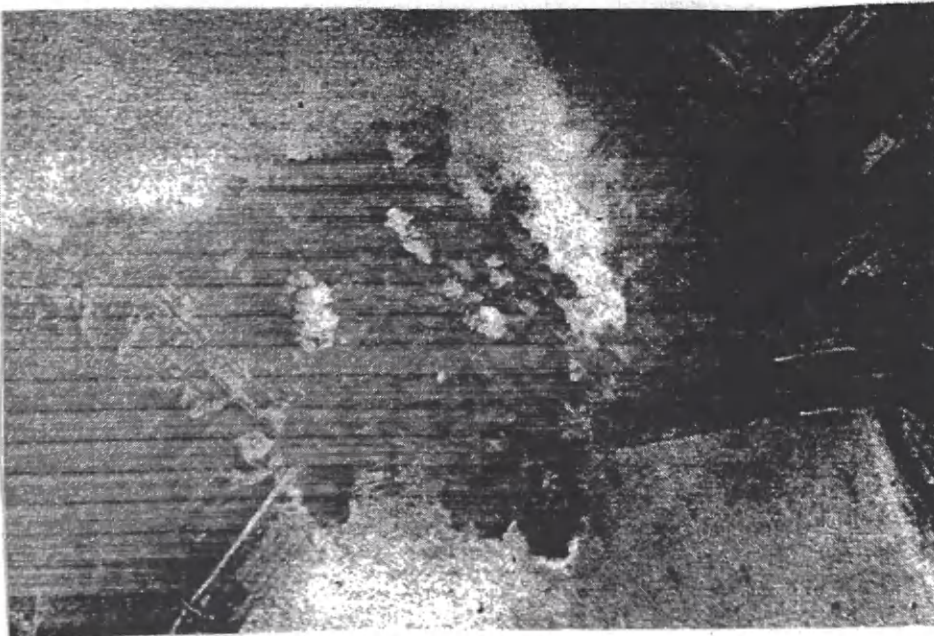
AMERICANS ADVANCING TOWARD CHINJU



The New York Times

Aug. 8, 1950

Three United States forces advanced westward on the southern front. One moved along the Nam River valley (1). Another drove forward along the Chungam-Chinju highway (2). The third pushed toward Kosong and Sachon (3). A map on Page 2 depicts the fighting on the entire front in Korea.



Fire and smoke from bombs dropped by one of first formations over the target. Some 480 tons of high explosives were used in the strike.

U. S. Air Force

In 'The Nation

Recent History of Our Korean Commitment

By ARTHUR KROCK

WASHINGTON, July 10—Soviet Russia was not represented at the Cairo Conference in November-December, 1943, where, in association with Great Britain and Nationalist China, the United States took the step—momentous, as it proved—of specifically guaranteeing the post-war independence of Korea “in due course.”

But dispatches to this newspaper from Cairo at the time prophesied that “the U. S. S. R. will be as pleased as China to see the restoration of Korean independence, which completes the elimination of the Japanese threat to the Soviet’s maritime province of Vladivostok.” And at the Potsdam Conference in July, 1945, the Soviet Union joined in the guarantee.

This resulted in the two zones—Russian north of the Thirty-eighth Parallel and American south of that line—in which members of the United Nations are using armed forces to repel the invasion from the north. Since the United States was one of the three original guarantors of Korean independence, and since the United Nations set up the South Korean Government which is the object of the aggression, the course of the United Nations and the United States is seen to be a logical succession.

The story has a map so the reader can put the action in its proper place.

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Marines Aid Comrade in Vietnam

5,000 MEN MASSED AT KHESANH BY U.S.

Marines Rushed In as Foe
Builds Up Force in Area—
Supply Planes Fired On

By CHARLES MOHR
Special to The New York Times

KHESANH, South Vietnam, Jan. 23 — More than 5,000 United States marines have been concentrated at Khesanh amid indications that one of the major battles of the Vietnam war may be in the offing.

The marines were rushed in because of an increasingly obvious concentration of North Vietnamese troops in the area.

[Sixty-one enemy soldiers were reported killed by air strikes and artillery fire on Tuesday near Khesanh. In a battle on the Bongson plain, 128 Vietcong troops were reported killed by United States infantrymen.]

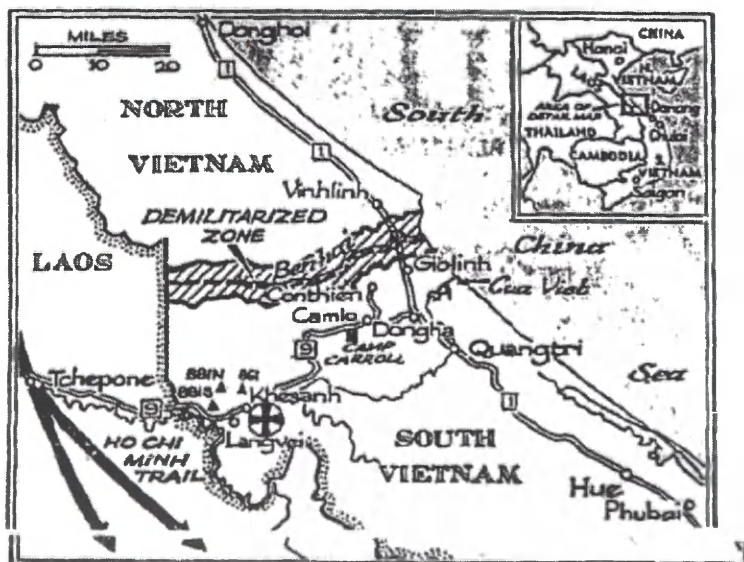
The nearness of the enemy forces made itself evident when the unmistakable sound of a bullet striking a fuselage rang out as a transport plane glided in to land at the Marine base here. The fat-bellied C-123 Loadmaster landed, safe despite the bullet hole.

The crew pushed pallets of 155-mm. artillery ammunition off the plane and then turned to four large wooden crates addressed to "Fifth Graves."

Continued on Page 3, Column 1



Associated Press Radiophoto
United States marines attend one of their number wounded in head by guerrilla sniper at Binhthai, South Vietnam.



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The New York Times
BUILD-UP: U.S. marines massed at Khesanh (cross)
Jan. 24, 1968

Besides the inclusion of the map, candid photos are included to put a human face to the fighting.

Persian Gulf War Excerpts

the Persian Gulf could influence weaponry for years.

By RICHARD W. STEVENSON

FOR the past several decades, the Pentagon and the military contracting industry have spent billions of dollars developing sophisticated electronics capabilities, betting that advanced technology would give the United States a decisive advantage in any war. In the skies over Iraq and Kuwait last week, their strategy was put to its first real test, and the preliminary results seem to be good news for the military and its weapons suppliers. Although claims of military successes were difficult to verify, Pentagon officials

scored a series of precise hits. Air Force F-4G Wild Weasel aircraft packed with "black box" technology like radar-sensing and jamming gear sped in to destroy radar installations at surface-to-air missile sites. F-15E strike-fighters, equipped with a new system called Lantirn that allows pilots to identify and track targets at night, kept the skies clear of those Iraqi combat aircraft that ventured forth. Officials described how a "smart" bomb dropped from a radar-evading F-117A Stealth fighter-bomber was guided literally through the front door of a missile warehouse. When threatened by an incoming Iraqi Scud missile, American forces in Saudi Arabia shot it out of the night sky with the new and stunningly sophisticated Patriot antimissile system.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 12 — To critics who ask why the United States should not wait a year or more to see if economic sanctions force Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait, Administration officials say they have valid reasons for threatening a war this winter.

**News
Analysis**

President Bush's decision last week to nearly double the American military force in the Persian Gulf and to cancel troop-rotation plans, they say, was based on the assumption that only the threat of early war can persuade President Saddam Hussein of Iraq to withdraw his forces from Kuwait.

In addition, said a senior Administration official who would not be further identified, the White House is worried that keeping a large number of American soldiers in the Persian Gulf region for a prolonged period may provide a political target for Arab nationalists and contribute to the destabilization of Saudi society.

American soldiers might also lose their fighting edge if the crisis went on too long, and some specialists note that the coming winter are better fighting weather than the broiling summer.

No War Decision at This Time

In the end, the President can turn away from a military confrontation and look for other ways to end the crisis. His aides say Mr. Bush has not decided whether to go to war. But they acknowledge that it will be difficult to sustain the large deployment of American forces in the Persian Gulf for a long period and would be politically embarrassing to withdraw them without having achieved the Administration's objectives.

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See full page image or
microfilm.

Lockheed Aeronautical Systems

Lockheed and General
Dynamics' next-generation
hope: the YF-22.

Articles are now labeled as analysis if they are not just the recitation of facts.

Pictures are protected by copyright still, although the caption is allowed to be reproduced, so at least one knows what the contents of the picture are.

Newspapers to Internet

(www.mediahistory.umn.edu/soffeehouse.html)

1605-1939

- **1605** First weekly paper in Antwerp
- **1639** Printing Press to New World
- **1850** New York Times founded as Daily Times
- **1854** telegraph brings news of the Crimean War
- **1873** Illustrations added to newspapers
- **1898** Hearst and Pulitzer papers credited with forcing U. S. into Spanish American War
- **1900** 562 U. S. cities more than one newspaper
- **1910** U. S. newspapers peak at 2200. 24 % population 5 years education, 13.5 % have high school education, 2.7 % college education
- **1920** Broadcast radio begins
- **1922** 100,000 radios-one year later 500,000 radios
- **1927** NBC radio network
- **1930** Golden age Radio begins
- **1936** 33 million radios
- **1938** 50 million radios-modern newscast begins
- **1939** Television demonstrated at the World's Fair.
- **1940** 24 % Americans graduate high school.

1941-1968

- **1941** Americans hear attack on Pearl Harbor
- **1947** Television service available New York to Boston
- **1948** Network news debuts on NBC and CBS 15 minutes nightly
- **1949** Network television 98 television stations New York to Chicago
- **1950** Hit radio program moves to television becoming *I Love Lucy* FCC fairness doctrine
- **1953** IBM builds commercial computers
- **1954** 54 % American homes have a television
- **1956** IBM invents the hard disk drive
- **1959** Microchip invented
- **1960** 90 % American homes have television. 500 television stations
- **1961** Pay television debuts
- **1962** Cable TV
- **1963** JFK Assassination becomes first media event
- **1965** Vietnam war comes to small screen via evening news
- **1967** IBM invents the floppy disk newspapers digitize production
- **1968** Intelsat completes global communication satellite loop

1970-2004

- **1971** Email, Cell-phones, New York Times prints excerpts of Pentagon Papers
- **1972** Satellite utilized for live TV HBO, Xerox- computer and mouse
- **1974** Newsrooms replace typewriter with computers
- **1975** Home computer sales
- **1976** Ted Turner-nat'l programming via satellite
- **1980** NY Times database online CNN debuts-24 hour news
- **1982** USA Today- National newspaper debuts, 5.5 personal computers sold
- **1983** Time names computer "Man of the Year"
- **1988** 98 % homes have television
- **1992** 65 million PC's, 150 newspapers online
- **1994** Direct TV satellite service, 1/3 U.S. homes have computers
- **1995** Oklahoma City bombing considered an internet event, major US daily papers create online newspaper network
- **1997** 50 Million Americans use Internet
- **1998** 3250 newspapers, 1280 TV stations, 75M U.S. internet users
- **2004** 20% those under 30 get news from the internet.

Important Events Spanish American, Philippine American, and Korean Wars

(www.loc.gov/rr/hispanic/1898/chronology.html and www.landscaper.net/kortime.htm)

1896 - 1902

- **1896**-Spain renews interest in Cuba which forces United States Congress to pass the Morgan-Cameron Resolution promising aid to the Cuban insurgency.
- **1897**- Pulitzer and Hearst newspapers editorialize to strengthen U. S. Anti-Spanish sentiment.
- **1898**-USS Maine explodes in Havana Harbor and U.S. finds that a mine caused the explosion
- **4/4/1898**- **US Journal** calls immediate war with Spain followed on the nineteenth by a joint Congressional Resolution declaring war formally declared on 4/25/1898.
- **5/1/1898**-Dewey defeats Spanish fleet in Manila Bay
- **5/4/1898**-US annexes Hawaii
- **5/18/1898**-General Merritt sent to Philippines to provide security and order
- **6/12/1898**-Aquinaldo proclaims independence for the Philippines
- **6/15/1898**-The Anti-war Anti-American League opposes annexation
- **7/15/1898**-Spain sues for peace
- **8/13/1898**-U.S. troops take Manila
- **12/10/1898**-Treaty of Paris agreed to by the principals
- **12/13/1898**-President McKinley gives his Benevolent Proclamation speech to soothe Filipinos
- **1899**-Aquinaldo names himself president of a free Philippines
- **2/4/1899**-insurrection begins in the Philippines in what is now called the Philippine American War
- **4/11/1899**-Treaty of Paris is ratified both in US and Spain
- **1902**-Insurrection finally over--US governs the Philippines until the Filipinos are deemed able to take over...4,000 US soldiers , 20,000 Filipino soldiers and 200,000 civilians have lost their lives

1945-1955

- **1945**-End of WWII Korea divided 38th parallel with USSR control the North and US control the South
- **1948**-US turns over control of the south to government of Republic of South Korea--USSR maintains position of overseer in North
- **6/27/1950**-North Korean troops invade the South Koreans seek assistance from the US and the UN--Truman orders ground troops back to Korea while Air Force bombs the North.
- **Sept.-Oct, 1950**-UN forces under General MacArthur retake Seoul, cross the 38th parallel in pursuit of the North Koreans--Chinese forces cross the Yalu River into Korea
- **Jan -Mar 1951**-Seoul falls to Chinese forces but in March UN forces go on the offensive retaking Seoul
- **April, 1951**-General MacArthur fired for disobeying a direct order to not pursue the Chinese across their border.
- **June, 1951**-UN forces dig in at the 38th parallel
- **July, 1951**-truce talks begin at Kaesong
- **Nov, 1951**-truce talks resume at Panmunjom as war settles into a stalemate with occasional outbreaks of fighting
- **March-April, 1953**- North Korea and Chinese agree to a POW exchange. UN victorious at battle of Pork Chop Hill forcing the parties back to the peace table at Panmunjom
- **June, 1953**-last gasp after the South accepts terms for armistice, Chinese launch massive attack against the South Korean divisions, but forced to negotiate July 10, 1953.
- **July 27, 1953**-Cease fire agreement signed. In September processing of POWs for repatriation begins
- **1/31/1955**-War declared over for benefit eligibility, 6.8 M Americans men and women served, 54,200 dead Americans, 7,140 POWs--2,701 died, 21 refused repatriation while 4,418 returned.

Important Events Vietnam War

www.pbs.org/webb/amex/vietnam/timeline/t12.html

- **1956-1968**
 - **1956-French leave Vietnam and US takes over the training** of the South Vietnamese Army while North remains under Ho Chi Minh and communists.
 - **1957-Communist insurgency begins in the South**
 - **1959-Ho Chi Minh trail activated and first US servicemen die in guerrilla attack at Bien Hoa.**
 - **1960-North Vietnam imposes Draft--form the National Liberation Front (Viet cong) for South Vietnam**
 - **1961-North attack against Kienhoa Province repelled by the South Vietnamese Army.** Green Berets formed in U.S. for purpose of counter-insurgency. Senator Mansfield visits South Vietnam--reports to JFK that the South has wasted all the aid sent. He is first to voice his belief we should not be in Vietnam. Viet Cong take ApBac from South Vietnamese
 - **1963-Buddhist monks protest Diem government**
 - **1964-South Vietnamese government coups begin--Gulf of Tonkin incident leads to Congress passing resolution of same name giving LBJ unfettered power to wage war against the Communists in SE Asia.** The escalation begins in earnest.
 - **1965-Operation Rolling Thunder begins--bombing of North Vietnam by the US.** First combat troops from the US arrive--Marines stationed at Da Nang. First conventional battle of the war fought at the Ia Drang Valley--B52's make first appearance in the war
 - **1968-Tet Offensive in which American troops push the North back after their massive offensive against South Vietnamese cities is seen as turning point for public opinion back home--they turn against the war.** Battle of Hue is fought
 - **3/16/1968-Battle of My Lai--later revealed to have been a massacre where US troops crossed the line**
- **3/31/1968-LBJ announces he will not seek the democratic nomination for a second term as president**
 - **Peace talks begin**
 - **1969-Nixon secretly begins 14 month bombing of Cambodia while publically starting the process of Vietnamization to shift burden of war from the United States to the South Vietnamese Army.** My Lai massacre revealed and Lt. Calley charged with murder.
- **1970-1975**
 - **1970-Kissinger and LeDuc begin secret talks aimed at ending war**
 - **1971 Lt. Calley convicted.** New York Times publishes excerpts of Pentagon Papers igniting public debate over "public right to know"
 - **1972-Secret peace talks revealed--in order to force North Vietnamese to take peace talks seriously, B-52's bomb Hanoi and Haiphong.** Kissinger proclaims "Peace is at hand"
 - **1/28/1973-Cease fire signed.** Draft is ended as the last large contingent of American troops leaves
 - **1974-war resumes between the North and South Vietnamese armies.** Communists capture Mekong Delta Territory
 - **1975-North Vietnamese beat the South Vietnamese Army at the battle for Phuoc Long.** United States did not react so North took it as tacit permission to move South. Hue falls to the Communists. They begin "Ho Chi Minh campaign" to liberate Saigon and unite Vietnam under communist rule. In the US President Ford proclaims that Vietnam is "finished."
 - **4/30/1975-President Duong Van Minh of South Vietnam surrenders unconditionally to the Communists to spare the city of Saigon.** Last two American servicemen die in a helicopter crash as the last of the Americans are evacuated from South Vietnam.

Persian Gulf War - 100 Day War

www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/gulf/cron

- **1990 - 1991**
- **August 2, 1990--** Iraq invades Kuwait claiming it is historically a part of their country.
- **August 5, 1990--**President George H. Bush vows that the invasion "will not stand."
- **August 6, 1990--**King Fahd asks for United States military help in protecting their borders in meet with Dick Cheney
- **August 8, 1990--**United States Air Force arrives in Saudi Arabia.
- **August, 1990--**Schwarzkopf meets to plan air campaign while Israelis hold secret meetings with American diplomats to make sure America understands their vulnerability to Iraqi aggression should war begin.
- **September, 1990--**General Schwarzkopf, the allied commander asks the Army to begin planning a ground invasion
- **October 31, 1990--**President Bush doubles number of American armed forces in Saudi Arabia, but does not tell American public for two weeks.
- **November, 1990--**The UN passes resolution giving permission for any action necessary to remove Iraq from Kuwait.
- **January, 1991--** Diplomatic solution fails to settle the dispute.
- **January 12, 1991--**The US Congress authorizes the use of force in Kuwait to force Iraq back behind its own borders.
- **January 17, 1991--**After the UN deadline passes the air war begins.
- **January 18, 1991--**Iraq retaliates by deploying Scud missiles to Israel in effort to force Israel to retaliate thereby giving truth to Iraqi claim that this war is about Israeli aggression and not their invasion of Kuwait.
- **January 20, 1991--**Two airmen are shot down.
- **February 2, 1991--**Schwarzkopf decides against amphibious landing in Kuwait.
- **February 3-15, 1991--**Televison provides almost minute by minute accounting of the gradual build-up to the ground offensive from reporting on the meetings held in Saudi Arabia among Cheney, Powell, and Schwarzkopf to the first battleship gunfire aimed at Kuwaiti targets to first "tank-plinking" mission to strike on a civilian bunker that leads to bombing missions being restricted to military targets only. The same information is found in the pages of the newspaper as the country is poised to go to war.
- **February 22, 1991--**Marines begin infiltrating Kuwait--Army Special Forces into Iraq,
- **February 24, 1991--**The ground war begins and although the news seems good, the Iraqis were able to send a Scud missile into Saudi Arabia that hit a barracks killing 28 and wounding 98 American service personnel.
- **February 26, 1991--**Iraqis flee Kuwait City before the Allied forces enter the city.
- **February 28, 1991--**Cease fire announced.
- **March 3, 1991--**General Schwarzkopf meets with Iraqi generals at Safwan to accept their concessions.
- **March 5, 1991--**POWs released.