

# America's Secret for 'Containing' Red

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The multi-million-dollar raids of American B-52 intercontinental bombers on South Vietnamese Communist strongholds constitute one of the first steps in a still-secret program designed to contain Red China for the rest of the 20th century.

Tactically, as many quarters outside the military have emphasized, the "D-Zone" raids above Saigon have done little more than keep the nearby peasants from sleeping well at night.

Few Viet Cong bodies have been found when Vietnam and U.S. troops "swept through" the target areas.

Strategically, however, the Guam-based, eight-jet giants are providing a repeated reminder to Peking that the United States has the capability of smashing every major population center of Red China, either with conventional or nuclear bombs.

This is a major purpose of this massive effort.

## Millions Vulnerable

An arc subtended from Guam, sweeping north from the South Vietnam target areas to date, clearly shows a vast percentage of Mao Tze-tung's hundreds of millions of people are in jeopardy.

The B-52's also can fly much farther than the 4,400-mile round trip from Guam to South Vietnam, with its by-passing dogleg course above the Philippines.

That means even Peking's atomic research and weapons center in western China is vulnerable, either to conventional bombing now, or nuclear later, if ne-

cessary.

This is the first lesson being driven home to the Chinese by the almost weekly examples now.

It is hoped this will help keep them out of the war in Southeast Asia while the United States and its growing coterie of fighting allies pushes for victory — and "buys time" for future generations.

Because the unique factor of American strategy for decades ahead is to give China time enough to get rich enough so that it will not risk what it then has in nuclear war, under pressure from its own people.

This gleaned by The Times from people in top level "know" in Washing-

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ton, is the "40-year" program:

1. The public information sections of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps and Air Force are gearing up at this moment for a massive effort to pre-educate the American people to the sacrifices ahead.

2. These include the possible involvement of up to a million troops in combat, administrative and logistic service.

## Support Forces

This might mean only a maximum of perhaps 300,000 ultimately in combat in South Vietnam. But that is

# Strategy China

less than half the story. Whenever a division of 15,000 goes into battle, it requires 15,000 to 20,000 more troops to support it in rear areas and in the States, feeding them the millions of tons of supplies needed to keep the fighting machine rolling.

President Johnson himself predicted at his press conference Friday that more troops will be sent to Vietnam.

3. This will definitely mean the call-up to active duty of Reserve and National Guard organizations, probably yet this year.

4. The duration of the war, as it is seen now, will run from two to five years before victory. Beyond that will be unforeseen years of policing "occupation." It must be remembered that

the U.S. still has two divisions in Korea, with no end in sight, more than a decade after three years of combat ended in an "armistice."

Indirect Chinese involvement, by support only, could extend the period but not win for the Communists, because it is a fixed fact here that the United States will not accept military defeat at any price.

Everything is geared to that premise.

#### Confrontation Doubtful

Direct Chinese or Russian participation, of course, would shorten the war—but only because it almost certainly would bring the ultimate nuclear confrontation.

That is not expected, for reasons—held by the top level planners here—to be explained shortly below, and slowly through the government processes of public relations.

First, however, one must understand what The Times has learned is the basic "buying time" reasoning of the "40-year" strategy.

It is accepted in high quarters at the moment, and obviously endorsed by President Johnson, that Red China is the real enemy, and the long-range potential threat to freedom in the world.

China's most priceless possession now is its newborn atomic capability; still crawling, not yet ready to fly across oceans and be a real menace.

The B-52 raids, it is hoped, will log Peking's senses enough that she will stay out of South Vietnam in any major direct way, to safeguard her "possessions." It is also hoped that this "dirty war" can be ended before Communist China can achieve any significant delivery capability.

That supposedly will also provide the necessary time for China to develop industrially, for its people to begin to own washing machines and refrigerators, for instance.

And in turn, when that time comes, the people of China will be reluctant—according to Pentagon theory—to precipitate any war that might sacrifice their personal possessions, their new-found worldly goods.

#### Public Isn't Enthused

Pursuit of the Vietnam engagement, risking all-out war as it does inherently, has met with lukewarm response from the American people. It is this fact that lies behind the public relations buildup now imminent.

The kick-off of the campaign, and the first edging into the total problem for which President Johnson seems planning for decades beyond his own tenure, perhaps came in Navy Secretary Paul H. Nitze's little noted and not long remembered words at the Naval Academy's graduation June 9.

Nitze said then to the new ensigns: a

"The key political issue of your 40 years will be the evolution of Communist China.

"As the U.S. and her allies maneuver to constrain her excesses, as her industrial base improves and the need for the resources of others lessens, as her revolution passes its thermidor and the second generation of Communists grows up, as her several leadership struggles produce dynamic changes, will it be possible to nurse her gradually and grudgingly into some degree of support for world order and responsible behavior...?"

"Whether Communist China can be brought into the fold without war is unpredictable.

"Certainly, President Johnson is laying the basis for the enlightened pursuit of this objective over the decades to come..."

#### Pattern of Future

That, then, is the shape of things to come as now seen by those who have some chance of shaping them.

If the pattern alters, it would be only the result of unforeseen action on the part of the U.S. or China, for Russia is considered in the planning to be wise enough—and rich enough now—not to tip the scales too badly.

But the road ahead remains long and grim, and that is the picture the government will be stressing ever more emphatically. END