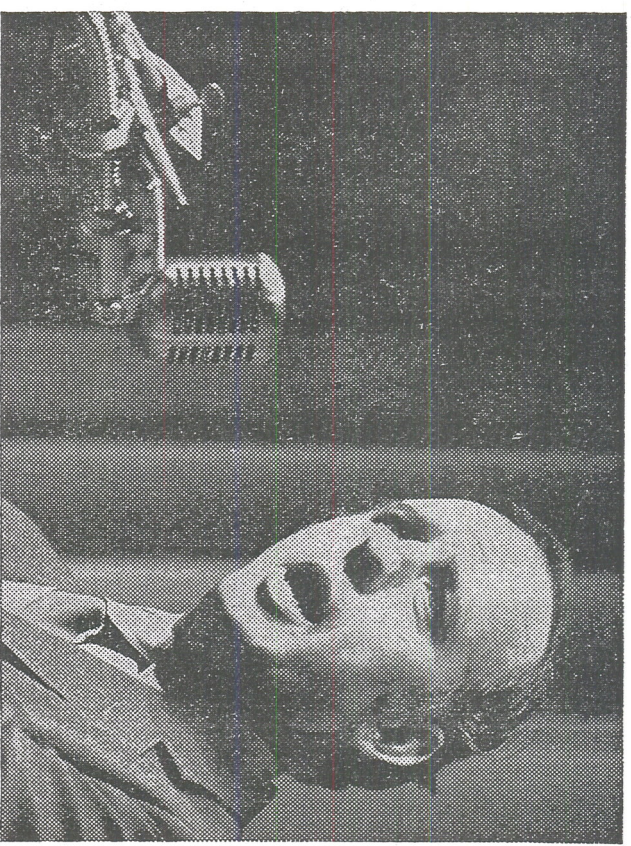


# Parting Shot on Vietnam

5 JAN 71



New York Times/Michael Evans

By CHARLES E. GOODELL

Mr. President, my term of office in the Senate is drawing to a close. During my two years as a member of this body, I have devoted much of my energies to seeking a definitive end to the Indochina war.

Fifteen months ago, I stood here and proposed the first legislation requiring the complete, safe and orderly withdrawal of all American forces from Vietnam by a fixed date. At that time, I stood alone. Less than a year later, forty Senators went on record in support of the essentially same legislation—the Amendment to End the War.

Despite our efforts, the war continues without foreseeable end, and the President's words and actions suggest that he is prepared to sacrifice all prospects for peace in order to preserve the existing order in South Vietnam; and that he even contemplates a new course of escalation,

conflict, ignoring the tragic lessons of the Sixties. It means the Administration intends primarily to rely upon the direct use of American air power to maintain the military status quo in Vietnam.

President Nixon has decided to use the threat of escalation in the air over North Vietnam in order to prevent the enemy from building its capacity to launch offensives in South Vietnam.

The enemy has already stated that it will not be deterred by this threat, and will continue firing upon American reconnaissance planes.

It is a matter of history that the bombing of the North was tried for three years by the Johnson Administration. It failed. While inflicting enormous loss of life, the bombing did not effectively prevent the infiltration of men and supplies from the North. It did not stop the Communists from mounting the devastating Tet Offensive of 1968. It did not weaken Hanoi's willingness to fight nor strengthen its desire to make concessions.

Thus the new plan for air escalation would be almost certain not to work, were it to entail nothing more than a return to the old Johnson bombing strategy.

There is a fundamental flaw in the Administration's policy: the permanent reliance upon U.S. military power in Indochina. One obvious sign of the permanence of our military commitment is the Administration's plan for maintaining a residual force in Vietnam.

A still more disturbing sign is that the Administration evidently intends to apply direct U.S. military force, whenever necessary, to try to make sure that Vietnamization is never seriously tested by the enemy. South Vietnamese forces apparently are expected to take over from our troops only the more routine combat duties, such as pacification. The major burden of deterring large-scale enemy attacks will continue to rest on our military power.

Ten, twenty or thirty American boys now die in Indochina every week. This may not seem much compared to the hundreds that were dying weekly a few years ago. But this will be a continuing drain of lives, going on for years to come. It will mount up to thousands more deaths in a war in which fifty-three thousand have already died.

More devastating still, will be the carnage of the Vietnamese people.

Mr. President, we are destroying Indochina in the name of preserving it. We are destroying it in order to maintain the role of a corrupt and dictatorial regime, committed to endless war, over an unwilling populace that above all other things, wants peace. This is a moral disgrace—and a mockery of the principles of freedom, justice and humanity upon which our own great nation was founded.

Sooner or later, the brutal realities of the war will obtrude through the layer of cosmetics that the Administration has so carefully applied to Vietnam.

Mr. President, the Amendment to End the War developed credibility last summer because it was backed by a solid, bipartisan coalition in the Senate that transcended the political aspirations of particular Senators.

That credibility would be lost if legislation to end the war were "polititized" at this time—particularly, if it were to become embroiled in 1972 Presidential politics. That could result in a return to the confusing situation of late 1969, where several Senators were fruitlessly competing for public recognition of their own varying legislative proposals on the war.

I believe the Senate should enact the Amendment to End the War in the coming session.

These excerpts are from Senator Charles E. Goodell's last major speech in Congress on Vietnam. He titled it "Return to Escalation in Indochina."

## Senator Goodell Asks Colleagues to Enact His Anti-War Amendment

perhaps more devastating than ever before.

Many say the war is all but over, save for the parting shots. Yet I fear a new phase of the war is just beginning.

Many say the war is no longer a national issue. Yet I fear it infects our country like a disease whose outward manifestations may temporarily fade, only to break out again with renewed virulence.

The scenario has now been set by the Administration for the resumption of an extended air war over North Vietnam. This means that the United States is prepared to re-escalate the