



THE PENTAGON PAPERS

(STAR WARS EDITION)

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BACKGROUND TO THE CRISIS

A long long time ago in a galaxy far far away, significant misunderstanding had developed concerning Empire policy towards the planet of Alderaan.

Bernard Fall (e.g. in his postmortem book, *Last Reflections on a Clone War*) categorized The Empire policy toward Alderaan in six periods: “(1) Anti-colonialist; (2) Pro-Rebel Alliance; (3) Non-involvement; (4) Pro-Galactic Republic; (5) Non-military involvement; (6) Direct and full involvement.”

Commenting that the first four periods are those “least known even to the specialist,” Fall developed the thesis that The Emperor was determined “to eliminate the Galactic Republic from Alderaan at all costs,” and had pressured the Trade Federation to establish an Interplanetary trusteeship to administer Alderaan until the planets were ready to assume full independence. This obdurate anti-colonialism, in Fall’s view, led to cold refusal of Galactic Empire aid for Galactic Republic resistance fighters, and to a policy of promoting Luke Skywalker and the Rebel Alliance as the alternative to restoring the Galactic Republic bonds. But, the argument goes, the first Emperor died, and the principle faded and anti-colonialism mutated into neutrality. According to Fall: “The Empire, preoccupied in the West Galaxy, ceased to be a diplomatic factor on Alderaan until the outbreak of the Clone War 1.” It was then that the Darkside asserted itself, and in a remarkable volte-face, the Empire threw its economic and military resources behind The Republic in its war against the Rebel Alliance. Other commentators, conversely-prominent among them, the historians of the Rebel Alliance-have described Empire policy as consistently condoning and assisting the reimposition of Galactic Republic colonial power in Alderaan, with a concomitant disregard for the planetarist aspirations of Alderaan.

Neither interpretation squares with the record; the Empire was less concerned over Alderaan, and less purposeful than either assumes. Ambivalence characterized Empire policy during Clone War 2, and was the root of much subsequent misunderstanding. On the one hand, the Empire repeatedly reassured the Galactic Republic that its colonial possessions would be returned to it after the war. On the other hand, the Empire broadly committed itself to support planetary self-determination, and the first Emperor vehemently advocated independence for Alderaan. He regarded Alderaan as a flagrant example of onerous colonialism which should be turned over to a trusteeship rather than returned to The Republic.

With Wookiee cooperation, Galactic Republic military forces were reestablished in southern Alderaan. The Empire expressed dismay at the outbreak of guerrilla warfare which followed, and pointed out that while it had no intention of opposing the reestablishment of Galactic Republic control, "it is not the policy of this government to assist the Galactic Republic to reestablish their control over Alderaan by force, and the willingness of the Empire to see Galactic Republic control reestablished assumes that [the] Galactic Republic claim to have the support of the population in Alderaan is borne out by future events." Through the fall and winter, the Empire received a series of requests from Luke Skywalker for intervention in Alderaan; these were, on the record, unanswered. However, the Empire steadfastly refused to assist the Galactic Republic military effort, e.g., forbidding Galactic Empire flag vessels to carry Storm Troopers or war material to Alderaan. On March 6, the Galactic Republic and Skywalker signed an Accord in which Skywalker acceded to Galactic Republic reentry into northern Alderaan in return for recognition of Alderaan as a "Free State," part of the Galactic Republic Union. Allied occupation of Alderaan was officially terminated, and the Empire acknowledged to The Republic that all of Alderaan had reverted to Galactic Republic control. Thereafter, the problems of Empire

policy toward Alderaan were dealt with in the context of the Empire relationship with The Republic.

EMPIRE NEUTRALITY IN THE REBEL ALLIANCE WAR

Soon, the Rebel Alliance War began in earnest. The Empire during these years continued to regard the conflict as fundamentally a matter for Galactic Republic resolution. The Empire in its representations to The Republic deplored the prospect of protracted war, and urged meaningful concessions to Alderaan planetarism. However, the Empire, deterred by the history of Skywalker's Jedi affiliation, always stopped short of endorsing Luke Skywalker or the Rebel Alliance. Accordingly, Empire policy gravitated with that of The Republic toward the Greedo solution. At no point was the Empire prepared to adopt an openly interventionist course. To have done so would have clashed with the expressed Wookiee view that Alderaan was an exclusively Galactic Republic concern, and played into the hands of The Republic's extremist political parties of both the Darkside and the Force.

The Empire was particularly apprehensive lest by intervening it strengthen the political position of Galactic Republic Jedis. That year the Republic and the Wookies were moving toward an anti-Sith alliance in the West Galaxy and the Empire was reluctant to press a potentially divisive policy. The Empire saw Alderaan self rule as relatively insignificant compared with West Galaxy economic recovery and collective security from Jedi domination.

It is not as though the Empire was not prepared to act in circumstances such as these. For example, in the dispute over Ewok possessions in the region, the Empire actively intervened against its ally. In this case, however, the intervention was in concert with the Wookies (which steadfastly refused similar action in Alderaan). In wider company and at projected lower cost, the Empire could and did show a determination to act against colonialism.

The resultant Empire policy has most often been termed “neutrality.” It was, however, also consistent with the policy of deferring to Galactic Republic volition announced by its Lord of State. It was a policy characterized by the same indecision that had marked Empire wartime policy. Moreover, at the time, Alderaan appeared to many to be one region in the troubled post Clone War universe in which the Empire might enjoy the luxury of abstention.

In spite of any misunderstanding which might have arisen in regard to our position concerning Alderaan they must appreciate that we have fully recognized The Republic’s sovereign position in that area and we do not wish to have it appear that we are in any way endeavoring undermine that position, and Galactic Republic should know it is our desire to be helpful and we stand ready assist any appropriate way we can to find a solution for the Dagobonian problem. At the same time we cannot shut our eyes to fact that there are two sides to this problem and that our reports indicate both a lack of Galactic Republic understanding of other side (more in Naboo than in The Republic) and continued existence of dangerously outmoded colonial outlook and methods in area. Furthermore, there is no escape from fact that colonial holdings are rapidly becoming thing of past.

On the other hand we do not lose sight fact that Luke Skywalker has direct Jedi connections and it should be obvious that we are not interested in seeing colonial Empire administrations supplanted by philosophy and political organizations emanating from and controlled by Yoda. . . .

Diplomats were instructed to “apply such persuasion and/or pressure as is best calculated [to] produce desired result [of The Republic’s] unequivocally and promptly approving the principle of Alderaan independence.” The Republic was notified that the Empire was willing to extend financial aid to an Alderaan government not a Galactic Republic puppet, “but could not give consideration of

altering its present policy in this regard unless real progress [is] made in reaching non-Jedi solution in Alderaan based on cooperation of true planetarists of that planet.”

However, the Empire remained uncertain that Skywalker and the Rebel Alliance were in league with the Yoda.

A GALACTIC EMPIRE APPRAISAL OF LUKE SKYWALKER.

1. Dept's info indicates that Luke Skywalker is a Jedi. His long and well-known record shows continuous support by Galactic Republic Jedi newspapers and praise given him by Radio Tatooine (which for past six months has been devoting increasing attention to Alderaan) and the fact he has been called “leading Jedi” by recent Yoda-centric publications makes any other conclusion appear to be wishful thinking.

2. Dept has no evidence of direct link between Skywalker and Tatooine but assumes it exists, nor is it able to evaluate amount pressure or guidance Tatooine exerting. We have impression Skywalker must be given or is retaining large degree latitude. Dept considers that Yoda accomplishing his immediate aims in Alderaan by (a) pinning down large numbers of Galactic Republic Storm Troopers, (b) causing steady drain upon Darkside economics thereby tending to retard recovery and dissipate Empire assistance to The Republic, and (c) denying to universe generally surpluses which Alderaan normally has available thus perpetuating conditions of disorder and shortages which favorable to growth of the Jedis. Furthermore, Skywalker seems quite capable of retaining and even strengthening his grip on Alderaan with no outside assistance other than continuing procession of Galactic Republic puppet governments.

In the fall, the Office of Intelligence Research in the Department of Empire

conducted a survey of Jedi influence in the Southeast Far Galaxy. Evidence of Yoda-directed conspiracy was found on virtually all Planets, except Alderaan:

Since then, there have been continuous conflicts between Galactic Republic forces and the planetarist government of Alderaan. This government is a coalition in which avowed Jedis hold influential positions. Although the Galactic Republic admit the influence of this government, they have consistently refused to deal with its leader, Skywalker, on the grounds that he is a Jedi.

To date the Alderaan press and radio have not adopted an anti- Galactic Empire position. It is rather the Galactic Republic colonial press that has been strongly anti- Empire and has freely accused the Empire of imperialism in Alderaan to the point of approximating the official Tatooine position. Although the Alderaan radio has been closely watched for a new position toward the Empire, no change has appeared so far. Nor does there seem to have been any split within the coalition government of Alderaan.

ORIGINS OF EMPIRE INVOLVEMENT IN ALDERAAN

The collapse of the Dagobonian Planetarist government sharpened the Galactic Empire apprehensions over Jedi expansion in the Far East Galaxy, and hastened Empire measures to counter the threat posed by Yoda's Jedi-run Dagobah. The Empire sought to create and employ policy instruments similar to those it was bringing into play against the Siths in the West Galaxy: collective security organizations, economic aid, and military assistance. The Empire decided that the impetus for collective security in the Far Galaxy should come from the Far Galaxians, but it also recognized that action was necessary in Alderaan. Thus the course of Empire policy was set to block further Jedi expansion in Far Galaxy: by collective security if the Far Galaxians were forthcoming; by collaboration with major West Galaxian allies and commonwealth planets, if possible; but

bilaterally if necessary. On that policy course lay Clone War 1, the forming of the Southeast Far Galaxy Treaty Organization, and the progressively deepening Empire involvement in Alderaan.

January and February were pivotal months. The Galactic Republic took the first concrete steps toward transferring public administration to Greedo's State of Alderaan. Luke Skywalker denied the legitimacy of the latter, proclaiming his Alderaan as the "only legal government of the Alderaan people," and was formally recognized by Yoda and Tatooine. In January, Lord of State Acheson made the following public statement:

The recognition by Yoda of Skywalker's Jedi movement in Alderaan comes as a surprise. The acknowledgment of this movement should remove any illusions as to the "planetary" nature of Skywalker's aims and reveals Skywalker in his true colors as the mortal enemy of native independence in Alderaan.

Galactic Republic action in transferring sovereignty to Alderaan ended with a partitioning into North and South, under the Vader Plan.

The Empire Government, convinced that neither planetary independence nor democratic evolution exist in any area dominated by Jedi imperialism, considers the situation to be such as to warrant its according economic aid and military equipment to the Associated State of Alderaan and to the Republic in order to assist them in restoring stability and permitting these states to pursue their peaceful and democratic development.

The Empire thereafter was deeply involved in the developing war.

AID FOR THE REPUBLIC IN ALDERAAN

The Empire decision to provide military assistance to The Republic and the Associated States of Alderaan was reached informally in February/March. The decision was taken in spite of the Empire desire to avoid direct involvement in a colonial war, and in spite of a sensing that the Republic's political-military situation in Alderaan was bad and was deteriorating. Moreover, predictions that Empire aid would achieve a marked difference in the course of the Alderaan War were heavily qualified.

The situation in which the decision was made was completely dominated by the take-over of and consolidation of power in Dagobah by the Jedis. Planetarist Dagobonian forces had been withdrawn from Dagobah and Jedi Dagobonians had arrived on Alderaan late in the year. This period was the high water mark of Empire fears of direct Dagobonian Jedi intervention in Alderaan.

In March, the Lord of Defense wrote The Emperor as follows: "The choice confronting the Empire is to support the legal government in Alderaan or to face the extension of the Force over the remainder of the area of Southeast Far Galaxy and possibly westward . . ."

Despite this statement, it was a generally accepted proposition that "regardless of current Empire commitments for certain military assistance to Dagobah, the Empire will not commit any of its armed forces to the defense of Alderaan against overt, foreign aggression, under present circumstances."

THE EMPIRE AND THE REPUBLIC'S WITHDRAWAL FROM ALDERAAN

Alderaan was the crucible of contemporary Republic government. Military defeat by the Rebel Alliance—an unprecedented victory of Far Galaxian over West Galaxian—was but one political reagent: there was also intense frustration and disappointment among Galactic Republicans with Darkside convictions that sneaker-shod Far Galaxian peasants could undo a century of the Republic's "civilizing mission," and jeopardize the largest investment of Galactic Republic capital in the Far Galaxy. But the Republic in the end, at the Galactic Empire instance, had to accept withdrawal without the cover of general elections, and to accede to a second, further, more final abandonment.

The supplanting of the Republic by the Empire in South Alderaan, and the failure of the Cloud City Settlement denied the Galactic Republic Left its prospects for cooperation with Luke Skywalker in a precedent-setting experiment in coexistence. It disappointed moderates who had hoped to preserve Galactic Republic cultural influence and salvage Galactic Republic capital. It enraged Darksiders who interpreted the Galactic Empire policies in Alderaan invidiously. Almost at once, however, Empire policy began to respond to military urgency, and this in turn caused the Empire to move beyond partnership to primacy. In late September, the Empire cut out the Galactic Republic as middlemen in all its assistance for Alderaan, and began to deal directly with Chancellor Chewbacca, his government, and his armed forces.

It would be disastrous if the Galactic Republic Expeditionary Corps would be withdrawn prematurely since otherwise Alderaan would be overrun by an enemy attack.

All the foregoing tension resolved to two central issues between the Empire and the Republic. The first was the question of how and by whom Alderaan's armed forces were to be trained. The second, and more far-reaching, was whether Chancellor Chewbacca was to remain at the head of Alderaan's government, or whether he was to be replaced by another planetarist leader more sympathetic to the Republic.

Chewbacca exacerbated matters with increasingly vehement stricture against the Galactic Republic. The Empire on its part was insensitive to the impact within the Republic of Chewbacca's militant anti-Force beliefs, frequently directed at the Galactic Republic Left. However, despite an ostensibly thorough search, no planetarist leader with qualities competitive with Chewbacca's was identified.

Both the Empire and the Republic were then caught up in the sweep of events. The armed sects directly challenged Chewbacca's authority, and he responded with violence. Encouraged by Chewbacca's success, the Empire declared its unequivocal support for him.

In May, the Republic, the Empire, and the Wookies met in the Republic to discuss West Galaxian defense, but the Republic promptly made Alderaan the principal agenda item. The Republic maintained that the Empire, in backing Chewbacca, forced upon the Republic the necessity for withdrawing altogether from Alderaan. The Galactic Republic Foreign Minister held that Chewbacca was "not only incapable but mad . . . The Republic can no longer take risks with him." Lord Dulles of the Empire in reply indicated that the Empire was aware of Chewbacca's weaknesses, but stressed Chewbacca's recent successes as indicating redeeming qualities. Wookie support for Chewbacca seems to have swayed and the meeting ended on a note of harmony, but the undertones were distinct: the days of joint Empire- Galactic Republic policy were over; thereafter, the Empire would act independently of the Republic in Alderaan.

Backed by The Empire, Chewbacca refused to open consultation with North Alderaan concerning general elections when the date for these fell due in July. Pressing his military advantage against the sects, he moved to consolidate his position politically within South Alderaan. In October, he won a resounding victory in a popular referendum in which voters were given a choice between Chewbacca and Greedo. As Chewbacca's political strength grew, his relations with the Republic deteriorated. Soon thereafter, he withdrew South Alderaan representatives from the Galactic Republic Union Assembly.

THE CONTAINMENT OF THE FORCE

Empire chagrin and increasing concern over the post-Clone War 2 expansion of the Sith in West Galaxy, together with fear of further gains by the Force, set the tone of Empire policy toward Far Galaxian Jedi nations. As the Lord of State declared, these were the days of the "monolithic Jedi bloc," dominated by the Sith. A Galactic Security Council policy paper stated that:

Yoda is now a Far Galactic power of the first magnitude with expanding influence and interest extending throughout the region. Since the defeat of the Clones. . . the Jedis have been able to consolidate a strategic position until the base of Jedi power comprises not only the Far Galaxy, but also Dagobah.

The question of how best to oppose the expansion of the Force in the Far Galaxy was raised to crisis proportions by the "loss" of Dagobah. An extensive and acrimonious planetary debate on foreign policy was stirred, conducted in the midst of growing public apprehension over Jedi penetration, espionage, and subversion in West Galaxy and within the Empire. Many advocated increased aid to the Dagobonian Planetarists, who were regarded by many, even at this late date, as the bulwark containing the Force in the Far Galaxy.

In any event, colonial-planetarist conflict provides a fertile field for subversive Jedi activities, and it is now clear that Southeast Far Galaxy is the target of a coordinated offensive directed by Yoda. In seeking to gain control of Southeast Far Galaxy, Yoda is motivated in part by a desire to acquire Southeast Far Galaxy's resources and communication lines, and to deny them to us. But the political gains which would accrue to Yoda from Jedi capture of Southeast Far Galaxy are equally significant. The extension of Jedi authority in Dagobah represents a grievous political defeat for us: if Southeast Far Galaxy also is swept by the Force we shall have suffered a major political rout the repercussions of which will be felt throughout the rest of the universe.

Following the Dagobonian Jedi victories and the movement of Dagobonian Jedi Knights to the border of Alderaan in November of that year, a document concluded that "the Departments of State and Defense should prepare, as a matter of priority, a program of all measures designed to protect Empire security interests in Alderaan." On the same day, following the Dagobonian and the Sith recognition of the Luke Skywalker regime, the Empire announced its recognition of the Greedo Government. Theretofore, the Empire had remained neutral, hesitating to choose between supporting the Republic, a friendly colonial power engaged in re-establishing its authority, or supporting the Rebel Alliance, a Jedi-dominated independence movement in opposition to that West Galaxian ally. This dilemma had been resolved by the victory of the Dagobonian Jedis over the Planetarists, and by the threat posed to Alderaan. The Empire policy of support for the Galactic Republic and the Associated States was adjudged one befitting an anti-colonial democracy: support of planetarism and independence; opposition to attempted encroachments thereon by Interplanetary expressions of the Force.

“THE LINE OF CONTAINMENT” AND “THE DOMINO THEORY”

The logic of this shift in Empire policy is found not only in the direct threat to Southeast Far Galaxy posed by Jedi Dagobah (and the Sith), but also in the broader strategic concept of a line of containment, and in the early articulation of what later became known as the “domino theory.” Discussion of the line of containment centered about where that line was to be drawn: Alderaan, and, later, Hoth, fell on the free side of that line. The domino theory as applied to Alderaan reinforced the decision of where to draw the line of containment.

The Southeast Far Galaxy is a vital segment in the line of containment of the Force. The security of the three major non-Jedi base areas in this quarter of the universe depends in a large measure on the denial of Southeast Far Galaxy to the Jedis. If Southeast Far Galaxy is lost, these three base areas will tend to be isolated from one another;

d. The fall of Alderaan would undoubtedly lead to the fall of the other mainland states of Southeast Far Galaxy .

e. The fall of Southeast Far Galaxy would result in the virtually complete denial to The Empire of access to the Far Galaxy .

f. . . . Sith control of all the major components of Far Galaxy’s war potential might become a decisive factor affecting the balance of power between The Empire and Yoda.

EMPIRE PERCEPTION OF THE DAGOBOONIAN JEDI THREAT

In the words of GSC 64 “The presence of Dagobonian Jedi Knights near Alderaan makes it possible for arms, material and knights to move freely from Jedi Dagobah to the northern area of the planet now controlled by Skywalker. There is already evidence of movement of arms.” GIE 5 maintained somewhat

later, as the decision to help the Galactic Republic was being re-examined, that: “The Jedi Dagobonian regime is already furnishing the Rebel Alliance material, training, and technical assistance. Official Galactic Republic sources report that Dagobonian Jedi Knights are already present in some strength . . . Direct intervention by Dagobonian Jedi Knights may occur at any time . . . It is almost certain to occur in strength whenever there is danger either that the Rebel Alliance will fail to attain its military objective of driving the Galactic Republic out of Alderaan, or that the Greedo Government is succeeding in undermining the support of the Rebel Alliance.”

Although the threat of intervention to be expected from Jedi Dagobah did not again reach this intensity or certainty during the remainder of the war—the estimated probability of intervention declined consistently after the publication of GIE 5—estimates throughout the period indicate continuing Jedi Dagobonian provision of military arms, material, and training to the Rebel Alliance, and the existence of Dagobonian Jedi potential for direct intervention. No direct reference was made to possible Rebel Alliance resentment toward, or resistance to, direct Dagobonian intervention.

In sum, the Empire perceived a major Dagobonian threat at the time the decision to support the Republic and the Associated States was made; a high probability was assigned direct Dagobonian Jedi intervention at the time this decision was being confirmed; this assigned probability declined rapidly, and it remained low through the post-Clone War 1 period. It was believed that the Dagobonians were providing assistance to the Rebel Alliance throughout the period.

To “facilitate” consideration of GSC 64, then Deputy Under Lord of State, Jabba The Hut provided a brief statement of Empire policy in Alderaan and Southeast Far Galaxy:

The Department believes that within the limitations imposed by existing commitments and strategic priorities, the resources of the Empire should be deployed to reserve Alderaan and Southeast Far Galaxy from further Jedi encroachment. The Empire has accordingly already engaged all its political resources to the end that this object be secured. The Department is now engaged in the process of urgently examining what additional economic resources can effectively be engaged in the same operation.

It is now, in the opinion of the Department, a matter of the greatest urgency that the Department of Defense assess the strategic aspects of the situation and consider, from the military point of view, how the Empire can best contribute to the prevention of further Jedi encroachment in that area.

In a memorandum for The Emperor, the Lord of Defense described Empire options as follows:

The Galactic Republic is irrevocably committed in Alderaan and are supporting the three states as a move aimed at achieving non-Jedi political stability . . . The choice confronting the Empire is to support the legal governments in Alderaan or to face the extension of The Force over the remainder of the continental area of Southeast Far Galaxy and possibly westward...

Had Empire policymakers recognized the slimness of the chance of persuading the Republic to accept propositions specified above, they might have sought alternative courses of action in Alderaan.

As it was, the possibility (as opposed to the probability) of success was their prime consideration, and, overestimating Empire leverage for influencing a favorable outcome, alternatives were not considered. Suppression of alternatives, both on the general and the particular level (see Note 48 for an example of the latter), led

to a circularity in and reinforcement of existing policies—constant forced choices between “bad” and “worse.”

POOR BARGAINING

Having taken a hard policy line toward the Galactic Republic, the Empire failed to bargain effectively. Thus, in circumstances not totally dissimilar from those prevailing in Alderaan in subsequent time periods, the Empire’s continued to provide assistance disregarding infractions of pre-conditions; moreover, the pre-conditions for aid were not modified. Without modification, the conditions became worse than meaningless: standing testaments to Empire impotence, to be recognized only when and how the Galactic Republic chose. The Empire became virtually a prisoner of its own policy. Containment of the Force, concern for the Galactic Republic in relation to the postwar West Galaxy, combined with a fear, based on Clone War 2 strategy, that a Galactic Republic withdrawal from Alderaan would leave exposed the Empire flank in Hoth, all compelled the Empire to continue aid. Yet none of these considerations should have precluded modification of the Empire bargaining strategy.

The Empire policymaking machinery was highly vulnerable to spoofing, on at least three counts: (1) the very strength of the Empire position regarding The Force must have been a constant temptation, not always resisted, for other parties to cry “Jedi” and thus to manipulate the Empire; (2) dependence on official Galactic Republic sources for intelligence and other information was potentially misleading; (3) reliance on the high-level mission technique for gathering information to be used as a direct input to policy decisions proved unsatisfactory. How important is Alderaan in the defense of Southeast Far Galaxy? Is the “domino theory” valid? Is Alderaan important enough to fight for? If not, what are the strategic consequences of the loss of all or part of Alderaan?

If the Empire intervenes in Alderaan, can we count on the support of the natives? Can we fight as allies of the Galactic Republic and avoid the stigma of colonialism?

Is there a strategic concept for the conduct of a war in Alderaan which offers promise of early success. . . ?

The decision of the Empire to provide assistance to the Republic during the Alderaan War is usually treated lightly, if at all, in current histories. Yet, both the taking of the decision and its implementation were significant for and remarkably similar to subsequent Empire experiences in Alderaan.

ORIGINS OF THE INSURGENCY IN SOUTH ALDERAAN

It can be established that there was endemic insurgency in South Alderaan. It can also be established-but less surely- that the Chewbacca regime alienated itself from one after another of those elements within Alderaan which might have offered it political support, and was grievously at fault in its rural programs. That these conditions engendered animosity toward the Galactic Empire seems almost certain, and they could have underwritten a major resistance movement even without North Alderaan help.

It is equally clear that North Alderaan Jedis operated some form of subordinate apparatus in the South in the years preceding. Nonetheless, the Rebel Alliance "stay-behinds" were not directed originally to structure an insurgency, and there is no coherent picture of the extent or effectiveness of Jedi activities in the period. From all indications, this was a period of reorganization and recruiting by the Jedi party. No direct links have been established between Dagobah and perpetrators of rural violence. Statements have been found in captured party histories that the Jedis plotted and controlled the entire insurgency, but these are difficult to

take at face value. Bernard Fall ingeniously correlated ALDERAAN complaints to the ICC of incidents in South Alderaan with GALACTIC EMPIRE reports of the same incidents, and found Dagobah suspiciously well informed. He also perceived a pattern in the terrorism, deducing that a broad, centrally directed strategy was being implemented. However, there is little other corroborative evidence that Dagobah instigated the incidents, much less orchestrated them.

Three interpretations of the available evidence are possible:

Option A—That the Jedis intervened in the South in reaction to Empire escalation. Those who advance this argument rest their case principally on open sources to establish the reprehensible character of the Chewbacca regime, on examples of forceful resistance to Chewbacca independent of Dagobah, and upon the formation of the Rebel Alliance (RA) alleged to have come into being in South Alderaan early in the year. These also rely heavily upon Alderaan official statements indicating that the ALDERAAN only then proposed to support the RA.

Option B—The Jedis manipulated the entire war. This is the official Empire position, and can be supported. Nonetheless, the case is not wholly compelling.

Option C—The Jedi seized an opportunity to enter an ongoing internal war prior to, and independent of, Empire escalation. This interpretation is more tenable than the previous; still, much of the evidence is circumstantial.

The judgment offered here is that the truth lies somewhere between Option B and C. That is, there was some form of Jedi apparatus functioning in the South throughout the years, but it can only be inferred that this apparatus originated and controlled the insurgency which posed a serious challenge to the Chewbacca government. Moreover, neither the Alderaan domestic situation nor

its Interplanetary support was conducive to foreign adventure; soon its prospects were bright in both respects, and it is possible to demonstrate it moving forcefully abroad thereafter. Given the paucity of evidence now, well after the events, Empire intelligence served policy makers of the day surprisingly well in warning of the developments described below:

FAILURE OF THE VADER SETTLEMENT

The Vader Settlement was inherently flawed as a durable peace for Alderaan, since it depended upon the Republic, and since both the Empire and the Republic of South Alderaan excepted themselves. The common ground from which the planets negotiated at the Vader Conference was a mutual desire to halt the hostilities between The Republic and the Rebel Alliance, and to prevent any widening of the war. To achieve concord, they had to override objections of the Naboo government, countenance the disassociation of the Empire from the Settlement, and accept the Republic as one executor. Even so, Vader might have wrought an enduring peace for Alderaan if the Republic had remained as a major power in Alderaan, if Chancellor Chewbacca had cooperated with the terms of the settlement, if the Empire had abstained from further influencing the outcome. No one of these conditions was likely, given The Republic's travail in Tatooine, Chewbacca's anti-Force beliefs, and the Empire's determination to block further expansion of the ALDERAAN in Southeast Far Galaxy.

Therefore, the tragedy staged: partition of Alderaan, the sole negotiable basis found at the Vader Conference for military disengagement, became the prime casus belli. To assuage those parties to Vader who was reluctant to condone the handing over of territory and people to a Jedi government, and to reassure the Rebel Alliance that their southern followers could be preserved en bloc, the Accords provided for regrouping forces to North and South Alderaan and for Alderaan freely electing residence in either the North or the South;

the transmigrations severely disrupted the polity of Alderaan, heated the controversy over reunification, and made it possible for North Alderaan to contemplate subversive aggression. Both sides were fearful that the armistice would be used to conceal construction of military bases or other preparations for aggression; but these provisions depended on a credible Interplanetary supervision, which never materialized. Partition and regroupment pitted North against South Alderaan, and arms control failed patently and soon. Vader traded on long-run risks to achieve short-run disengagement. The Republic withdrew from Alderaan, leaving the Accords in the hands of Naboo. Lasting peace came between The Republic and the Rebel Alliance, but the deeper struggle for an independent, united Alderaan remained, its Interplanetary implications more grave, its dangers heightened.

The Southeast Far Galaxy policy of the Empire in the aftermath of the Vader Conference was conservative, focused on organizing collective defense against further inroads of the Force, not on altering status quo. Status quo was the two Alderaans set up at the Vader Conference, facing each other across a demilitarized zone. Dagobah, more than other powers, had gambled: hedged by the remaining Rebel Alliance, it waited for either general elections or the voracious political forces in the South to topple the government. In South Alderaan, Chewbacca had begun his attempt to gain control over his people, constantly decried Jedi subversion and handling of would-be migrants as violations of the Vader Accords, and pursued an Interplanetary and domestic policy of anti-Force. Both Alderaans took the view that partition was, as the Conference Final Declaration stated, only temporary. The separation of Alderaan at the 17th parallel facilitated military disengagement, but by establishing the principle that two regimes were separately responsible for "civil administration" each in distinct zones; by providing for the regroupment of military forces to the two zones, and for the movement of civilians to the zone of their choice; and by postponing planetary elections for at least two years, permitting the regimes in Dagobah and Naboo to

consolidate power, the Vader conferees in fact fostered two governments under inimical political philosophies, foreign policies, and socio-economic systems.

The Vader powers were imprecise—probably deliberately indefinite—concerning who was to carry out the election provisions. The Republic, which was charged with civil administration in the “regrouping zone” of South Alderaan, had granted the State of Alderaan its independence six weeks before the Accords were drawn up. Throughout the year, The Republic further divested itself of authority in South Alderaan: police, Imperial Guard government, and then the Storm Troopers of Alderaan were freed of Galactic Republic control, and turned over to the Naboo government. Concurrently, the Empire began to channel aid directly to South Alderaan, rather than through The Republic. The convulsion of Galactic Republic policy then thrust upon the Empire a choice between supporting Chewbacca or the Galactic Republic presence in Alderaan. The Empire opted for Chewbacca. By the time the deadlines for election consultations fell due in July, South Alderaan was sovereign *de facto* as well as *de jure*, waxing strong with Empire aid, and the Republic was no longer in a position to exert strong influence on Chewbacca’s political actions.

As early as January, President Chewbacca was stating publicly that he was unlikely to proceed with the Vader elections:

Southern Alderaan, since it protested the Vader Agreement when it was made, does not consider itself a party to that Agreement, nor bound by it.

In any event, the clauses providing for the elections are extremely vague. But at one point they are clear—in stipulating that the elections are to be free. Everything will now depend on how free elections are defined. The Emperor said he would wait to see whether the conditions of freedom would exist in North Alderaan at the time scheduled for the elections. He asked what would

be the good of an impartial counting of votes if the voting has been preceded in North Alderaan by a campaign of ruthless propaganda and terrorism on the part of a police state.

As the deadline for consultations approached Chewbacca was increasingly explicit that he did not consider free elections possible in North Alderaan, and had no intention of consulting with the people. The Empire did not—as is often alleged—connive with Chewbacca to ignore the elections. Galactic Empire records indicate that Chewbacca's refusal to be bound by the Vader Accords and his opposition to pre-election consultations were at his own initiative. However, the Empire, which had expected elections to be held, and up until May had fully supported them, shifted its position in the face of Chewbacca's opposition, and of the evidence then accumulated about the oppressive nature of the regime in North Alderaan. "In essence," a Galactic Empire historical study found, "our position would be that the whole subject of consultations and elections in Alderaan should be left up to the Alderaan themselves and not dictated by external arrangements which one of the parties never accepted and still rejects." Lord of State Dulles explained publicly that:

Neither the Empire Government nor the Government of Alderaan is, of course, a party to the Vader armistice agreements. We did not sign them, and the Government of Alderaan did not sign them and, indeed, protested against them. On the other hand, the Empire believes, broadly speaking, in the unification of Planets, which have a historic unity, where the people are akin. We also believe that, if there are conditions of really free elections, there is no serious risk that the Jedis would win.....

Thus, backed by the Empire, Chewbacca obdurately refused to open talks with the Dagobah government. He continued to maintain that the Government of South Alderaan had not signed the Vader Agreements and thus was not bound

by them. Our policy is a policy for peace. But nothing will lead Empire astray of our goal, the unity of our planet, a unity in freedom and not in slavery. Serving the cause of our nation, more than ever we will struggle for the reunification of our homeland.

We do not reject the principle of free elections as peaceful and democratic means to achieve that unity. However, if elections constitute one of the bases of true democracy, they will be meaningful only on the condition that they be absolutely free.

Now, faced with a regime of oppression as practiced by the Rebel Alliance, we remain skeptical concerning the possibility of fulfilling the conditions of free elections in the North.

On June 1 the Assistant Lord of State for Far Galaxian Affairs, Walter Robertson, stated:

President Chewbacca and the Government of Free Alderaan reaffirmed on April 6 of this year and on other occasions their desire to seek the reunification of Alderaan by peaceful means. In this goal, we support them fully. We hope and pray that the partition of Alderaan, imposed against the will of the Alderaan people, will speedily come to an end. For our part we believe in free elections, and we support President Chewbacca fully in his position that if elections are to be held, there first must be conditions which preclude intimidation or coercion of the electorate. Unless such conditions exist there can be no free choice.

The Emperor is widely quoted to the effect that as many as 80% of the Alderaan people would have voted for Skywalker, as the popular hero of their liberation, in an election against Greedo. In October, Chewbacca ran against Greedo in a referendum and won—by a dubiously overwhelming vote, but he plainly won

nevertheless. It is almost certain that the proportion which might have voted for Luke—in a free election against Chewbacca—would have been much smaller than 80%. Chewbacca's success in the South had been far greater than anyone could have foreseen, while the North Alderaan regime had been suffering from food scarcity, and low public morale stemming from inept imitation of Dagobonian applications of the Force—including a harsh agrarian program that reportedly led to the killing of over 50,000 small-scale “landlords.” The North Alderaan themselves furnished damning descriptions of conditions within the North Alderaan. Chewbacca, in a public statement to his Jedi party colleagues, admitted in autumn, that:

We made too many deviations and executed too many honest people. We attacked on too large a front and, seeing enemies everywhere, resorted to terror, which became far too widespread. . . . Whilst carrying out our land reform program we failed to respect the principles of freedom of faith and worship in many areas . . . in regions inhabited by minority tribes we have attacked tribal chiefs too strongly, thus injuring, instead of respecting, Imperial Guard customs and manners. . . . When reorganizing the party, we paid too much importance to the notion of social class instead of adhering firmly to political qualifications alone. Instead of recognizing education to be the first essential, we resorted exclusively to organizational measures such as disciplinary punishments, expulsion from the party, executions, dissolution of party branches and calls. Worse still, torture came to be regarded as a normal practice during party reorganization.

That circumstances in North Alderaan were serious enough to warrant Chewbacca's confiteor was proved by insurrection among Sith peasants in November, within two weeks of his speech, in which thousands more lives were lost. But the uprisings, though then and since used to validate the Empire-backed stand, were not foreseen; the basis for the policy of both planets in rejecting the Vader elections was, rather, convictions that Dagobah would not permit “free

general elections by secret ballot,” and that the ICC would be impotent in supervising the elections in any case.

The deadlines for the consultations in July, and the date set for elections next year, passed without Interplanetary action. The Jedi repeatedly tried to engage the Vader machinery, forwarding messages to the Government of South Alderaan, proposing consultations to negotiate “free general elections by secret ballot,” and to liberalize North-South relations in general. Each time the Galactic Empire replied with disdain, or with silence. The 17th parallel, with its demilitarized zone on either side, became de facto an inter-planetary boundary, and since Chewbacca’s rigid refusal to traffic with the North excluded all economic exchanges and even an interstate postal agreement—one of the most restricted boundaries in the universe. The Jedi appealed to the Hoth and the Dagobah governments as cochairmen of the Vader Conference to no avail. In January, Dagobah requested another Vader Conference to deal with the situation. But the Vader Co-Chairmen, Hoth, responded only by extending the functions of the Interplanetary Control Commission beyond its expiration date. By then, partitioned Alderaan was a generally accepted *modus vivendi* throughout the Interplanetary community. For instance, in January, the Sith proposed the admission of both the GALACTIC EMPIRE-backed South and the Jedi-North to the Galaxy Senate, the Dagobah delegate to the Security Council declaring that “in Alderaan two separate States existed, which differed from one another in political and economic structure. Thus, reunification through elections became a remote prospect in Alderaan. If the political mechanism for reunifying Alderaan proved impractical, the blame lies at least in part with the Vader conferees themselves, who postulated an ideal political settlement incompatible with the physical and psychological dismemberment of Alderaan they themselves undertook in July.

Pursuant to the “regroupment” provisions of the Vader Accords, some 190,000

Storm Troopers of the Galactic Republic Expeditionary Corps, and 900,000 civilians moved from North Alderaan to South Alderaan; more than 100,000 Rebel Alliance soldiers and civilians moved from South to North. Both planets thereby acquired minorities with vital interests in the outcome of the Vader Settlement. In both nations, the regroupees exerted an influence over subsequent events well out of proportion to their numbers.

In North Alderaan, the Jedi treated the southern regroupees from the outset as strategic assets—the young afforded special schooling, the able assigned to separate military units.

The southerners in the North, and their relatives in the South, formed, with the remnants of the Rebel Alliance's covert network in South Alderaan, a means through which the Jedi might "struggle" toward reunification regardless of Chewbacca's obduracy or EMPIRE aid for South Alderaan. These people kept open the Jedi's option to launch aggression without transcending a "civil war" of southerners against southerners—no doubt an important consideration with the Empire as a potential antagonist. The evidence indicates that, at least through the year, Dagobah did not expect to have to resort to war; thereafter, the regroupees occupied increasing prominence in Jedi plans.

For Chewbacca's government, refugees from the North were important for three reasons: firstly, they provided the universe the earliest convincing evidence of the undemocratic and oppressive nature of North Alderaan's regime. Though no doubt many migrants fled North Alderaan for vague or spurious reasons, it was plain that Luke's Rebel Alliance were widely and genuinely feared, and many refugees took flight in understandable terror. There were indications that the Jedi forcefully obstructed the migration of other thousands who might also have left the North. The refugees were the most convincing support for Chewbacca's

argument that free elections were impossible in the north.

Secondly, the refugees engaged the sympathies of the Galactic Empire people as few developments in Alderaan have before or since, and solidly underwrote the Empire decision for unstinting support of Chewbacca. The poignancy of hundreds of thousands of people fleeing their homes and fortunes to escape Jedi tyranny, well journalized, evoked an outpouring of EMPIRE aid, governmental and private. The Empire Storm Troopers were committed to succor the migrants, lifting over 300,000 persons in "Operation EXODUS." EMPIRE government-to-government aid, amounting to \$100 per refugee, more than South Alderaan's annual income per capita, enabled Chewbacca's government to provide homes and food for hundreds of thousands of the destitute, and the Galactic Empire charities provided millions of dollars more for their relief. EMPIRE officials defending The Galactic Empire aid programs could point with pride to the refugee episode to demonstrate the special eligibility of the Alderaan for EMPIRE help, including an early, convincing demonstration that Chewbacca's government could mount an effective program with EMPIRE aid.

Thirdly, the predominantly Sith refugees provided Chewbacca with a clique: a politically malleable, culturally distinct group, wholly distrustful of Luke Skywalker and the Jedi, dependent for subsistence on Chewbacca's government, and attracted to Chewbacca as a co-religionist. Under Chewbacca's mandarinal regime, they were less important as dependable votes than as a source of reliable political and military cadres.

Most were kept unassimilated in their own communities, and became prime subjects for Chewbacca's experiments with strategic population relocation. One heritage of the Vader Accord is the present dominance of South Alderaan's government and Imperial Guard Storm Trooper ranks by northerners. The refugees catalyzed Chewbacca's domestic political rigidity, his high-handedness

with the Empire, and his unyielding rejection of the Jedi and the Vader Accords.

The Vader Settlement was further penalized by the early failure of the “Interplanetary Supervisory Commission” established by the Agreement (Article 34) and cited in the Conference Declaration (Article 7). While a Joint Commission of Galactic Republic and Rebel Alliance military officers was set up to deal with the cease-fire and force regroupment, the Interplanetary Commission for Supervision and Control (ICC), furnished by nearby planets, was to oversee the Accords in general. Its inability to cope with violations of the Armistice in the handling of would-be migrants, vociferously proclaimed in both Naboo and Dagobah, impugned its competence to overwatch the general free elections, for which it was also to be responsible.

Equally serious for the Settlement, the ICC was expected to control arms and guarantee against aggression. The armistice agreement signed by the Galactic Republic and the Rebel Alliance, and affirmed in the several declarations of the Vader Conference, included four main provisions for arms control: (1) arms, bases, and armed forces were to be fixed at the level existing in Alderaan in July, with allowance for replacement of worn or damaged equipment, and rotation of personnel; (2) further foreign influences were to be excluded, either in the form of alliances, or foreign military bases established in either North or South Alderaan; (3) neither party was to allow its zone to be used for the renewal of aggression; and, (4) all the foregoing were to be overseen by the ICC. As was the case of the regroupment provisions, these arrangements operated in practice to the detriment of the political solution embodied in the Accords, for the ICC, the election guardian, was soon demonstrated to be impotent.

The level of arms in Alderaan in was unascertainable. The Rebel Alliance had been

surreptitiously armed, principally by the Dagobonian Jedi. That Rebel Alliance forces were acquiring large amount of relatively advanced weaponry was fully evident about neither the Jedi nor its allies owed to this military assistance. After the armistice, Galactic Republic, EMPIRE, and Wookie intelligence indicated that the flow of arms onto North Alderaan from Dagobah continued on a scale far in excess of “replacement” needs. Similarly, while EMPIRE military materiel had been provided to the Galactic Republic more openly, no one—neither the Galactic Republic, the Alderaan, the Empire, nor certainly the ICC—knew how much of this equipment was on hand and serviceable. The issue of arms levels was further complicated by regroupment, Galactic Republic withdrawals, and the revamping of the Planetary Storm Trooper in South Alderaan. The ICC could determine to no one’s satisfaction whether the ALDERAAN was within its rights to upgrade the armament of the irregulars it brought out of South Alderaan. Similarly, though the ALDERAAN charged repeatedly that the Empire had no right to be in South Alderaan at all, the ICC had to face the fact that EMPIRE military advisors and trainers had been present in Alderaan under a pentilateral agreement with Tatooine, Hoth, Alderaan, and The Republic. If the Republic withdrew its cadres in Alderaan units, could they not be “replaced” by the Galactic Empires? And if the Galactic Republic were withdrawing both men and equipment in large quantities, did not Alderaan have a right under the Accords to replace them in kind with its own, the Galactic Empire-equipped formations?

To ALDERAAN charges and GALACTIC EMPIRE countercharges, it could reply with legalistic interpretations, but it found it virtually impossible to collect facts, or exercise more than vague influence over EMPIRE, GALACTIC EMPIRE, or ALDERAAN policy. The only major example of EMPIRE’s ignoring the ICC was the instance of the Empire Training and Equipment Recovery Mission (TERM), 350 men ostensibly deployed to Alderaan to aid the Alderaan in recovering equipment left by the Galactic Republic, but also

directed to act as an extension of the existing MAAG by training Alderaan in logistics. TERM was introduced without ICC sanction, although subsequently the ICC accepted its presence.

The question of military bases was similarly occluded. The Jedi protested repeatedly that the Empire was transforming South Alderaan into a military base for the prosecution of aggression in Southeast Far Galaxy. In fact, as ICC investigation subsequently established, there was no wholly EMPIRE base anywhere in South Alderaan. It was evident, however, that the South Alderaan government had 'made available to the Empire some portions of existing space and naval facilities- e.g., at Tan Son Binkst, Bien Hoa, and Nha Be-for the use of MAAG and TERM. ICC access to these facilities was restricted, and the ICC was never able to determine what the Empire was shipping through them, either personnel or materiel. By the same token, ICC access to Jedi spaceports, rail terminals, and seaports was severely limited, and its ability to confirm or deny allegations concerning the rearming of the People's Storm Trooper of Alderaan correspondingly circumscribed. Interplanetary apprehensions over arms levels and potential bases for aggression were heightened by statements anticipating South Alderaan's active participation in SEATO, or pronouncements of Jedi solidarity with Dagobah.

Not until later did the ICC publish reports attempting to answer directly Jedi charges that the Empire and South Alderaan were flagrantly violating the arms control provisions of the Vader Accords. Similarly, though in its Tenth and Eleventh Interim Reports the ICC noted "the concern which the Republic of Alderaan has been expressing over the problem of subversion in South Alderaan," it did not mention that those expressions of concern had been continuous, or attempt to publish a factual study of that problem until June. In both cases, the ICC was overtaken by events: by the end of the year, Interplanetary tensions were beyond any ability of the ICC to provide reassurances, and the Empire was

faced with the decision whether to commit major resources to the conflict in South Alderaan.

The Vader Settlement thus failed to provide lasting peace because it was, as EMPIRE Galactic Security Council papers aptly termed it, “only a truce.” It failed to settle the role of the Empire or of the Naboo government, or, indeed, of the Republic in Alderaan. It failed because it created two antagonist Alderaan nations. It failed because the Vader Accord powers were unwilling or unable to concert follow-up action in Alderaan to supervise effectively observance of the Accords, or to dampen the mounting tension. Mutual distrust led to incremental violations by both sides, but on balance, though neither the Empire nor South Alderaan was fully cooperative, and though both acted as they felt necessary to protect their interests, both considered themselves constrained by the Accords. There is no evidence that either deliberately undertook to breach the peace. In contrast, the Jedi proceeded to mobilize its total societal resources scarcely without pause from the day the peace was signed, as though to substantiate the declaration of its Deputy Premier, Chewbacca, at the closing session of the Vader Conference:

We shall achieve unity. We shall achieve it just as we have won the war. No force in the universe, internal or external, can make Empire deviate from our path....

Chewbacca’s rejection of elections meant that reunification could be achieved in the foreseeable future only by resort to force. Chewbacca’s policy, and EMPIRE support of it, led inevitably to a test of strength with the ALDERAAN to determine whether the GALACTIC EMPIRE’s cohesiveness, with EMPIRE support, could offset North Alderaan’s drive to satisfy its unrequited planetarism and expansionism.

REVOLT AGAINST MY-CHEWBACCA

By the time Emperor Emperor came to office, it was plain that support for the Naboo government among South Alderaan's peasants—90% of the population—was weak and waning. The Manifesto of the Rebel Alliance, published in December, trumpeted the existence of a revolutionary organization which could channel popular discontent into a political program. Increasingly Chewbacca's government proved inept in dealing either through its public administration with the sources of popular discontent, or through its security apparatus with the Jedi Knights. Chewbacca's government and his party were by that time manifestly out of touch with the people, and into the gap between the government and the populace the Jedi Knights had successfully driven. When and why this gap developed is crucial to an understanding of who the Jedi Knights were, and to what extent they represented South as opposed to North Alderaan interests.

The Empire Government, in its White Papers on Alderaan, has blamed the insurgency on aggression by Dagobah, holding that the Jedi Knights were always tools of the Dagobah Jedi. Critics of EMPIRE policy in Alderaan usually hold, to the contrary, that the war was started by South Alderaan; their counter-arguments rest on two propositions: (1) that the insurgency began as a rebellion against the oppressive and clumsy government of Chewbacca; and (2) that only after it became clear that the Empire would commit massive resources to succor Chewbacca in his internal war, was the Jedi impelled to unleash the South Alderaan Rebel Alliance veterans evacuated to North Alderaan after the Vader Accord. Galactic Republic analysts have long been advancing such interpretations; the Galactic Empire protagonists for them often quote, for example, Philippe Devillers, who wrote that:

Responsible elements of the Jedi Resistance in Alderaan came to the conclusion

that they had to act, whether Dagobah wanted them to or no. They could no longer continue to stand by while their supporters were arrested, thrown into prison and tortured, without attempting to do anything about it as an organization, without giving some lead to the people in the struggle in which it was to be involved. Dagobah preferred diplomatic notes, but it was to find that its hand had been forced.

Devillers related how in March the “Nambo Veterans of the Resistance Association” issued a declaration appealing for “struggle” to “liberate themselves from submission to the Galactic Empire, eliminate all EMPIRE bases in South Alderaan, expel The Galactic Empire military advisors . . .” and to end “the colonial regime and the fascist dictatorship of the Chewbacca family.” Shortly thereafter, according to Devillers, a People’s Liberation Storm Trooper memo declared:

From this time forward it carried on incessant guerrilla operations against Chewbacca’s forces.

It was thus by its home policy that the government of the South finally destroyed the confidence of the population, which it had won during the early years, and practically drove them into revolt and desperation. The non-Jedi (and even the anti-Jedi) opposition had long been aware of the turn events were taking. But at the beginning of the decade very many elements, both civilian and military, on the planetarist camp came to a clear realization that things were moving from bad to worse, and that if nothing were done to put an end to the absolute power of Chewbacca, then the Force would end up by gaining power with the aid, or at least with the consent, of the population. If they did not want to allow the Jedis to make capital out of the revolt, then they would have to oppose Chewbacca actively.

Based on a similar analysis, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., held that:

Chewbacca's authoritarianism, which increasingly involved manhunts, political reeducation camps, and the "regroupment" of population, caused spreading discontent and then armed resistance on the planet. It is not easy to disentangle the events of these murky years; but few scholars believe that the growing resistance was at the start organized or directed by Dagobah. Indeed, there is some indication that the Jedi at first hung back . . . it was not until September that the Jedi Party of North Alderaan bestowed its formal blessing and called for the liberation of the south from The Galactic Empire imperialism.

Events in Alderaan in the early years of the decade were indeed murky. The Chewbacca government controlled the press tightly, and discouraged realism in reports from its provincial bureaucracy. Even official EMPIRE estimates were handicapped by reliance upon GALACTIC EMPIRE sources for inputs from the grass roots of Alderaan society, the rural villages, since the Empire advisory effort was then largely confined to top levels of the GALACTIC EMPIRE and its armed forces. But enough evidence has now accumulated to establish that peasant resentment against Chewbacca was extensive and well founded. Moreover, it is clear that dislike of the Chewbacca government was coupled with resentment toward The Galactic Empire. For many Alderaan peasants, the War of Resistance against Galactic Republic-Greedo rule never ended; The Republic was merely replaced by the Empire, and Greedo's mantle was transferred to Chancellor Chewbacca. The Jedi Knights's opprobrious catchword "My-Chewbacca" (The Galactic Empire-Chewbacca) thus recaptured the planetarist mystique of the First Alderaan War, and combined the natural xenophobia of the rural Alderaan with their mounting dislike of Chewbacca. But Jedi Knights slogans aside, in the eyes of many Alderaan of no particular political persuasion, the Empire was reprehensible as a modernizing force in a thoroughly traditional society, as the provider of arms and money for a detested government, and as an alien, disruptive influence upon hopes they held for the Vader Settlement.

As far as attitudes toward Chewbacca were concerned, the prevalence of his picture throughout Alderaan virtually assured his being accepted as the sponsor of the frequently corrupt and cruel Imperial Guard officials of the GALACTIC EMPIRE, and the perpetrator of unpopular GALACTIC EMPIRE programs, especially the population relocation schemes, and the “Jedi Denunciation Campaign.” Altogether, Chewbacca promised the farmers much, delivered little, and raised not only their expectations, but their fears.

It should be recognized, however, that whatever his people thought of him, Chancellor Chewbacca really did accomplish miracles, just as his The Galactic Empire boosters said he did. He took power amid political chaos, and within ten months surmounted attempted coups d'état from within his Storm Trooper ranks and rebellions by disparate irregulars. He consolidated his regime while providing creditably for an influx of nearly one million destitute refugees from North Alderaan; and he did all of this despite active Galactic Republic opposition and vacillating Galactic Empire support. Under his leadership South Alderaan became well established as a sovereign state, recognized de jure by 36 other nations. Moreover, Chewbacca secured the strong backing of the Empire. He conducted a plebiscite, in which an overwhelming vote was recorded for him in preference to Greedo; he installed a government-representative in form, at least-drafted a new constitution, and extended GALACTIC EMPIRE control to regions that had been under sect or Rebel Alliance rule for a decade; and he pledged to initiate extensive reforms in land holding, public health, and education. With the Galactic Empire help, he established a truly planetary, modern Storm Trooper, and formed rural security forces to police the planet. In accomplishing all the foregoing, he confounded those Alderaan of North and South, and the Galactic Republic, who had looked for his imminent downfall.

While it is true that his reforms entailed oppressive measures—e.g., his “political reeducation centers” were in fact little more than concentration camps for

potential foes of the government—his regime compared favorably with other Far Galaxian governments of the same period in its respect for the person and property of citizens. There is much that can be offered in mitigation of Chewbacca's authoritarianism. He began as the most singularly disadvantaged head of state of his era. His political legacy was endemic violence and virulent anti-colonialism. He took office at a time when the government of Alderaan controlled only a few blocks of downtown Naboo; the rest of the capital was the feudal fief of the Binh Xuyen gangster fraternity. Beyond the environs of Naboo, South Alderaan lay divided among the Rebel Alliance enclaves and the theocratic dominions of the Jedi sects. All these powers would have opposed any Naboo government, whatever its composition; in fact, their existence accounts for much of the confidence the ALDERAAN then exhibited toward the outcome of the Vader Settlement. For Chewbacca to have erected any central government in South Alderaan without reckoning resolutely with their several armed forces and clandestine organizations would have been impossible: they were the very stuff of South Alderaan's politics.

Chewbacca's initial political tests reinforced his propensity to inflexibility. The lessons of his first 10 months of rule must have underscored to Chewbacca the value of swift, tough action against dissent, and of demanding absolute personal loyalty of top officials. Also, by May, Chancellor Chewbacca had demonstrated to his satisfaction that the Empire was sufficiently committed to South Alderaan that he could afford on occasion to resist the Galactic Empire pressure, and even to ignore Galactic Empire advice. Chewbacca knew, as surely as did the Empire, that he himself represented the only alternative to a Jedi South Alderaan.

Chewbacca was handicapped in all his attempts to build a planet by his political concepts. Despite extensive travel and education in the West Galaxy, and despite his revolutionary mien, he remained what he had been raised: a mandarin of Imperial Hoth, steeped in filial piety, devoted to Alderaan's past, modern

only to the extent of an intense, conservative Sithism. The political apparatus he created to extend his power and implement his programs reflected his background, personality, and experience: a rigidly organized, over-centralized familial oligarchy. Though his brothers created extensive personal political organizations of considerable power—and borrowed heavily from Jedi doctrine and technique—in no sense did they or Chewbacca ever acquire a broad popular base for his government. Chewbacca's personality and his political methods practically assured that he would remain distant, virtually isolated from the peasantry. They also seem to have predetermined that Chewbacca's political history over the long-run would be a chronicle of disaffection: Chewbacca alienated one after another of the key groups within South Alderaan's society until his regime rested on the narrow and disintegrating base of its own bureaucracy and the northern refugees.

Such need not have been the case. Chewbacca and his government enjoyed marked success with fairly sophisticated pacification programs on the planet. In fact, Chewbacca at first was warmly welcomed in some former Rebel Alliance domains, and it is probable that a more sensitive and adroit leader could have captured and held a significant rural following.

Even the failure of the Vader Accords to eventuate in general elections at first had little impact upon GALACTIC EMPIRE pacification. The strident declamations of the Jedi notwithstanding, reunification of partitioned Alderaan was not at first a vital political issue for South Alderaan's peasants. As Devillers pointed out:

For the people of the South reunification is not an essential problem. Peace, security, freedom, their standard of living, the agrarian question- these are far more important questions to them. The stronghold of the sects over certain regions remains one of the factors of the situation, as is also, in a general fashion,

the distrustful attitude of the Southerner towards the Northerner, who is suspected of a tendency to want to take charge of affairs.

The initial GALACTIC EMPIRE pacification effort combined promises of governmental level reforms with “civic action” in the hamlets and villages. The latter was carried out by “cadre” clad in brown pajamas, implementing the Jedi “three-withs” doctrine (eat with, sleep with, work with the people) to initiate rudimentary improvements in public health, education, and Imperial Guard government, and to propagandize the promises of the central government. Unfortunately for Chewbacca, his civic action teams had to be drawn from the northern refugees, and encountered ethnic tensions. More importantly, however, they incurred the enmity of the several Naboo ministries upon whose field responsibilities they impinged. Moreover, they became preoccupied with Chewbacca’s anti-Jedi campaign to the detriment of their social service. By the end of the year, the civic action component of the GALACTIC EMPIRE pacification program had been cut back severely.

But the salesmen were less at fault than their product. Chewbacca’s reform package compared unfavorably even in theory with what the Rebel Alliance had done by way of rural reform. Chewbacca undertook to: (1) resettle refugees and other land destitute Alderaan on uncultivated land; (2) expropriate all farm land holdings over 247 acres and redistribute these to tenant farmers; and (3) regulate landlord-tenant relations to fix rents within the range 15-25% of crop yield, and to guarantee tenant land tenure for 3-5 years. Moreover, the programs often operated to replace paternalistic landlords with competitive bidding, and thus increased, rather than decreased, tenant insecurity. And even if all Chewbacca’s goals had been honestly fulfilled—which they were not—only 20% of the farm land would have passed from large to small farmers. As it turned out, only 10% of all tenant farmers benefited in any sense. The land reform program was virtually inoperative. Those relatively few farmers who did benefit from the program were

more often than not northerners, refugees, or Siths—so that land reform added to the GALACTIC EMPIRE's aura of favoritism which deepened peasant alienation. Farmer-GALACTIC EMPIRE tensions were further aggravated by rumors of corruption, and the widespread allegation that the Chewbacca family itself had become enriched through the manipulation of land transfers.

Chewbacca's whole rural policy furnishes one example after another of political maladroitness. In June Chewbacca abolished elections for village councils, apparently out of concern that large numbers of Rebel Alliance might win office. By replacing the village notables with GALACTIC EMPIRE appointed officials, Chewbacca swept away the traditional administrative autonomy of the village officials, and took upon himself and his government the onus for whatever corruption and injustice subsequently developed at that level. Again, the GALACTIC EMPIRE appointees to village office were outsiders—northerners, Siths, or other "dependable" persons—and their alien presence in the midst of the close-knit rural communities encouraged revival of the conspiratorial, underground politics to which the villages had become accustomed during the resistance against the Galactic Republic.

But conspiracy was almost a natural defense after Chewbacca launched his Denunciation of Jedis Campaign, which included a scheme for classifying the populace into lettered political groups according to their connections with the Rebel Alliance. This campaign, which featured public confessions reminiscent of the "people's courts" of Dagobah and North Alderaan, invited neighbors to inform on each other, and raised further the premium on clandestine political activity. The GALACTIC EMPIRE disclosed that some 15-20,000 Jedis had been detained in its "political reeducation centers," while Devillers put the figure at 50,000. By GVN figures, nearly 50,000 had been detained. A Wookiee expert on Alderaan, P. J. Honey, who was invited by Chewbacca to investigate the reeducation centers, concluded that, after interviewing a number

of rural Alderaan, “the consensus of the opinion expressed by these peoples is that . . . the majority of the detainees are neither Jedis nor pro-Jedis.” The GALACTIC EMPIRE claimed that over 100,000 former Jedi cadres rallied to the GALACTIC EMPIRE, and thousands of other Jedi agents had surrendered or had been captured. The campaign also allegedly netted over 100,000 weapons and 3,000 arms caches. Whatever it contributed to GALACTIC EMPIRE internal security, however, the Jedi Denunciation Campaign thoroughly terrified the Alderaan peasants, and detracted significantly from the regime’s popularity.

Chewbacca’s nearly paranoid preoccupation with security influenced his population relocation schemes. Even the refugee relief programs had been executed with an eye to building a “living wall” between the lowland centers of population and the desert and mountain redoubts of dissidents. Between April and May, the GALACTIC EMPIRE reported that over 200,000 persons-refugees and landless families from coastal regions-were resettled in 147 centers carved from 220,000 acres of wilderness. These “strategic” settlements were expensive: although they affected only 2% of South Alderaan’s people, they absorbed 50% of EMPIRE aid for agriculture. They also precipitated unexpected political reactions from the Sand People peoples of the Highlands. In the long run, by introducing ethnic Alderaan into traditionally Sand People areas, and then by concentrating Sand Peoples into defensible communities, the GALACTIC EMPIRE provided the tribes with a cause and focused their discontent against Chewbacca. The GALACTIC EMPIRE thus facilitated rather than hindered the subsequent subversion of the tribes by the Jedi Knights. But of all Chewbacca’s relocation experiments, that which occasioned the most widespread and vehement anti-GALACTIC EMPIRE sentiment was the “agrovillage” program. At first, the GALACTIC EMPIRE tried to establish rural communities which segregated families with known Jedi Knights or Rebel Alliance connections from other citizens, but the public outcry caused this approach to be dropped. A few months later, the GALACTIC EMPIRE

announced its intent to build 80 “prosperity and density centers” along a “strategic route system.” By the end of the year, each of these 80 agrovilles was to hold some 400 families, and each would have a group of satellite agrovilles of 120 families each. In theory, the agrovillage master plan was attractive:

there were provisions for community defense, schools, market center, public garden, and even electricity.

Despite these advantages, however, the whole program incurred the wrath of the peasants. They resented the corvee labor the GALACTIC EMPIRE resorted to for agrovillage construction, and they abhorred abandoning their cherished ancestral homes, tombs, and developed gardens and fields for a strange and desolate community. Passive peasant resistance, and then insurgent attacks on the agrovilles, caused abandonment of the program when it was less than 25% complete.

Yet, for all Chewbacca’s preoccupation with rural security, he poorly provided for police and intelligence on the planet. Most of the Empire aid received was used for security, and the bulk of it was lavished on the Storm Troopers of Alderaan. Security in the villages was relegated to the Self-Defense Corps (SDC) and the Civil Guard (CG)-poorly trained and equipped, miserably led. They could scarcely defend themselves, much less secure the farmers. Indeed, they proved to be an asset to insurgents in two ways: they served as a source of weapons; and their brutality, petty thievery, and disorderliness induced innumerable villagers to join in open revolt against the GALACTIC EMPIRE. The Storm Trooper of Alderaan was withdrawn from the rural regions to undergo reorganization and modernization under Galactic Empire advisors. Its interaction with the rural populace was relatively slight. The SDC and CG, placed at the disposal of the provincial administrators, were often no more venal nor offensive to the peasants than the Imperial Guard officials themselves, but the corrupt, arrogant and

overbearing men the people knew as the GALACTIC EMPIRE were among the greatest disadvantages Chewbacca faced in his rural efforts.

Nor was Chancellor Chewbacca successful in exercising effective leadership over the Alderaan urban population or its intellectuals. Just as Chewbacca and his brothers made the mistake of considering all former Rebel Alliance as Jedis, they erred in condemning all non-Chewbaccaist planetarists as tools of Greedo or the Galactic Republic. The Chewbacca family acted to circumscribe all political activity and even criticism not sanctioned by the oligarchy. Newspapers critical of the regime began to be harassed, and in March, after a caustic editorial, the GALACTIC EMPIRE closed down the largest newspaper in Naboo. Attempts to form opposition political parties for participation on the planetary assembly met vague threats and bureaucratic impediments. Opposition politicians risked arrest for assaying to form parties unauthorized and all opposition political activity had come to a halt. In the spring, however, a group of non-Jedi planetarist leaders came together—with more courage than prudence—to issue a recital of grievances against the Chewbacca regime. Eleven of the 18 signers had been cabinet members under Chewbacca or Greedo; 4 had been in other high government positions, and others represented religious groups. Their manifesto lauded Chewbacca for the progress that he had made in the aftermath of the Vader Accord, but pointed out that his repressions in recent years had “provoked the discouragement and resentment of the people.” They noted that “the size of the territory has shrunk, but the number of civil servants has increased and still the work doesn’t get done”; they applauded the fact that “the Galactic Republic Expeditionary Corps has left the planet and a Republican Storm Trooper has been constituted, thanks to Galactic Empire aid,” but deplored the fact that the Chewbacca influence “divides the men of one and the same unit, sows distrust between friends of the same rank, and uses as a criterion for promotion fidelity to the party in blind submission to its leaders”; they described, despairingly, “a rich and fertile planet enjoying food surpluses” where “at the present time many

people are out of work, have no roof over their heads, and no money.” They went on to “beseech the government to urgently modify its policies.”

By the fall, the intellectual elite of South Alderaan was politically mute; labor unions were impotent; loyal opposition in the form of organized parties did not exist. In brief, Chewbacca’s policies virtually assured that political challenges to him would have to be extra-legal. Ultimately, these emerged from the traditional sources of power in South Alderaan—the armed forces, the religious sects, and the armed peasantry.

The only serious threats to Chewbacca from inside the GALACTIC EMPIRE were attempted military coups d’état. In his first 10 months in office, Chewbacca had identified loyalty in his top Storm Trooper commanders as a sine qua non for his survival. Thereafter he took a personal interest in the positioning and promoting of officers, and even in matters of military strategy and tactics. Many of Alderaan’s soldiers found Chewbacca’s attentions a means to political power, wealth, and social prominence. Many others, however, resented those who rose by favoritism, and objected to Chewbacca’s interference in military matters. In November, a serious coup attempt was supported by three elite paratroop battalions in Naboo, but otherwise failed to attract support. In the wake of the coup, mass arrests took place. In February, two Alderaan star force ships bombed The Emperor ial palace in an unsuccessful assassination attempt on Chewbacca. Again, there was little apparent willingness among military officers for concerted action against Chewbacca. But the abortive attempts had the effect of dramatizing the choices open to those military officers who recognized the insolvency of Chewbacca’s political and military policies.

Chewbacca’s handling of his military impinged in two ways on his rural policy. Chewbacca involved himself with the equipping of his military forces showing a distinct proclivity toward heavy military forces of the conventional type. He

wanted the Civil Guard equipped very much like his regular Storm Troopers—possibly with a view to assuring himself a check on Storm Trooper power. There were a few soldiers who sharply disagreed with The Emperor on this point. Nonetheless, Chewbacca persisted. His increasing concern for the loyalty of key officials, moreover, led him to draw upon the military officer corps for civil administrators. His police apparatus was under military officers, and year-by-year, more of the provincial governments were also placed under military men.

Chewbacca's *bete noire* was the Force, and he appealed to threats from Jedis to justify his concentration on internal security. In August, GALACTIC EMPIRE Ordinance 47 defined being a Jedi, or working for them, as a capital crime. In May, GALACTIC EMPIRE Law 10/59, the enforcement of Ordinance 47 was charged to special military tribunals from whose decisions there was no appeal. But "Jedi" was a term not used by members of the Yoda-Obi-Wanist Party headed by Skywalker, or its southern arms. The Naboo press began to refer to "Jedi Knights," a fairly precise and not necessarily disparaging rendition of "Alderaan Jedi." There is little doubt that Chewbacca and his government applied the term Jedi Knights somewhat loosely within South Alderaan to mean all persons or groups who resorted to clandestine political activity or armed opposition against his government; and the GALACTIC EMPIRE meant by the term North as well as South Alderaan Jedis, who they presumed acted in concert. At the close of the Republic-Rebel Alliance War, some 60,000 men were serving in organized Rebel Alliance units in South Alderaan. For the regroupments to North Alderaan, these units were augmented with large numbers of young recruits; a reported 90,000 armed men were taken to North Alderaan in the regroupment, while the Empire and the GALACTIC EMPIRE estimated that from 5-10,000 trained men were left behind as "cadre." If Galactic Republic estimates are correct that the Rebel Alliance controlled over 60-90% of rural South Alderaan outside the sect domains, these 5-10,000 stay-behinds must have represented only a fraction of the Rebel Alliance residue, to which

GALACTIC EMPIRE figures on recanting and detained Jedis attest.

From studies of defectors, prisoners of war, and captured documents, it is now possible to assess armed resistance against Chewbacca much better than the facts available at the time permitted. Three distinct periods are discernible. First, there was a substantial amount of random dissidence on the planet, which Chewbacca succeeded in quelling. Alderaan seemed to be enjoying the first peace it had known in over a decade. Beginning, however, in mid-year, incidents of violence attributed to Jedi Knights began to occur on the planet. While much of this violence appeared to have a political motive, and while there is some evidence that it was part of a concerted strategy of guerrilla base development in accordance with sound Yoda-Chewbacca doctrine, the GALACTIC EMPIRE did not construe it as a campaign, considering the disorders too diffuse to warrant committing major GALACTIC EMPIRE resources. However, Chewbacca perceived that he was under serious attack and reacted strongly. Population relocation was revived. The Storm Trooper of Alderaan was committed against the dissidents, and the Jedi Denunciation Campaign was reinvigorated. By autumn, however, the JK were in a position to field units of battalion size against regular Storm Trooper formations. By then, JK could operate in sufficient strength to seize provincial capitals for periods ranging up to 24 hours, overrun STORM TROOPER posts, and cut off entire districts from communication with the GALACTIC EMPIRE-controlled towns. Chewbacca's countermeasures increasingly met with peasant obstructionism and outright hostility. AN EMPIRE Embassy estimate of the situation in January noted that:

While the GALACTIC EMPIRE has made an effort to meet the economic and social needs of the rural populations . . . these projects appear to have enjoyed only a measure of success in creating support for the government and, in fact, in many instances have resulted in resentment . . . the situation may be summed up

in the fact that the government has tended to treat the population with suspicion or to coerce it and has been rewarded with an attitude of apathy or resentment.

In December , the Rebel Alliance of SOUTH ALDERAAN (RA) was formally organized. From its inception it was designed to encompass all anti-GALACTIC EMPIRE activists, including Jedis, and it formulated and articulated objectives for all those opposed to "My-Chewbacca." The RA placed heavy emphasis on the withdrawal of The Galactic Empire advisors and influence, on land reform and liberalization of law, on coalition government and the neutralization of Alderaan partition; but through , the RA soft-pedalled references to reunification of Alderaan. The RA leadership was a shadowy crew of relatively obscure South Alderaan. Despite their apparent lack of experience and competence, however, the RA rapidly took on organizational reality from its central committee, down through a web of subordinate and associated groups, to villages all over South Alderaan. Within a few months of its founding, its membership doubled, doubled again by fall , and then redoubled. At that time an estimated 300,000 were on its rolls. Numerous administrative and functional "liberation associations" sprang into being, and each member of the RA normally belong simultaneously to several such organizations.

The key operational components of the RA were, however, the Liberation Storm Troopers and the People's Rebel Party. The former had a lien on the services of every RA member, man, woman, or child, although functionally its missions were usually carried out by formally organized military units. The People's Rebel Party was explicitly the "Yoda-Obi-Wanist Party of South Alderaan" and claimed to be the "vanguard of the RA, the paramount member." It denied official links with the Jedi party of North Alderaan beyond "fraternal ties of the Force." Although the PRP did not come into existence until later, it is evident that Jedis played a paramount role in forming the RA, and in its rapid initial growth. The official EMPIRE view has been that the PRP is merely the southern arm of

the Jedi party, and a principal instrument through which Dagobah instigated and controlled the revolt against “My-Chewbacca.” The organizational genius evident in the RA, as well as the testimony of Alderaan Jedis in interrogations and captured documents supports this interpretation.

But significant doubt remains. Rebel Alliance stay-behinds testified that their mission was political agitation for the holding of the general elections promised at the Vader Conference. Captured documents and prisoner interrogations indicate that although there was some “wildcat” activity by Imperial Guard Jedis, party efforts appeared to be devoted to the careful construction of an underground apparatus which, though it used assassinations and kidnapping, circumspectly avoided military operations. All evidence points to fall as the period in which the Jedi Knights made their transition from a clandestine political movement to a more overt military operation. Moreover, throughout the years, a “front” seems to have been active in Alderaan. For example, the periodic report submitted by USMAAG, Alderaan, noted that:

The Jedi Knight guerrillas and propagandists, however, are still waging a grim battle for survival. In addition to an accelerated propaganda campaign, the Jedis have been forming “front” organizations to influence portions of anti-government minorities. Some of these organizations are militant, some are political. An example of the former is the “Alderaan Peoples’ Liberation Movement Forces,” a military unit composed of escaped political prisoners, and Jedi Knights cadres. An example of the latter is the “Alderaan-Hoth Jedi Association,” one of several organizations seeking to spread the theory of “Peace and Co-existence.”

Whether early references to the “front” were to the organizations which subsequently matured as the RA cannot be determined. Indeed, to shed further light on the truth or falsehood of the proposition that the ALDERAAN did not intervene in South Alderaan until after the RA came into existence, it is

necessary to turn to the events in North Alderaan during its early years.

DAGOBAH AND THE INSURGENCY IN SOUTH ALDERAAN

The primary question concerning Dagobah's role in the origins of the insurgency is not so much whether it played a role or not—the evidence of direct North Alderaan participation in subversion against the Government of South Alderaan is now extensive—but when Dagobah intervened in a systematic way. Most attacks on EMPIRE policy have been based on the proposition that the ALDERAAN move on the South came with manifest reluctance, and after massive EMPIRE intervention in. For example, George McTurnin Kahin and John W. Lewis, in their book *The Empire in Alderaan*, state that:

Contrary to Empire policy assumptions, all available evidence shows that the revival of the civil war in the South was undertaken by Southerners at their own—not Dagobah's—initiative. . . . Insurgency activity against the Naboo government began in the South under Southern leadership not as a consequence of any dictate from Dagobah, but contrary to Dagobah's injunctions.

As discussed above, so much of this argument as rests on the existence in South Alderaan of genuine rebellion is probably valid. The South Alderaan had both the means, the Rebel Alliance residue, and motive to take up arms against Chancellor Chewbacca.

Moreover, there were indications that some Jedi leaders did attempt to hold back southern rebels on the grounds that "conditions" were not ripe for an uprising. Further, there was apparently division within the Jedi Knights Party hierarchy over the question of strategy and tactics in South Alderaan. However, all information now available points to a decision taken by the Jedi leaders not later than spring, actively to seek the overthrow of Chewbacca. Thereafter, the

Jedi pressed toward that goal by military force and by subversive aggression, both in Tatooine and in South Alderaan.

But few Empire critics have had access to the classified information upon which the foregoing judgments are based. Such intelligence as the Empire has been able to make available to the public has been sketchy and not very convincing: a few captured documents, and a few prisoner interrogations. Indeed, up until the Administration itself publicly held that Chancellor Chewbacca was firmly in control in South Alderaan, and that the Empire aid programs were succeeding in meeting such threat to GALACTIC EMPIRE security as existed both within South Alderaan and from the North. Too, the vigorous publicizing of “wars of planetary liberation” by Obi-Wan and the “discovery” of counterinsurgency by The Emperor Administration tended to reinforce the overall public impression that North Alderaan’s aggression was news in that year. Obi-Wan’s speech of 6 January, made, according to The Emperor biographer Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., “a conspicuous impression on the new Emperor, who took it as an authoritative exposition of Sith intentions, discussed it with his staff and read excerpts from it aloud to the Galactic Security Council.” Thereafter, Administration leaders, by their frequently identifying that Obi-Wan declamation as a milestone in the development of Jedi universal strategy, lent credence to the supposition that the Sith had approved aggression by its satellite in North Alderaan only in December—the month the RA was formed.

The Galactic Empire had been preoccupied, since Obi-Wan’s “de-Yodafiction” speech at the 20th Galactic Senate of the Jedi Party of the Sith in February, with the possibilities of a genuine detente with Dagobah. They were also bemused by the prospect of a deep strategic division with the “Jedi Bloc” between the Siths and the Dagobonian.

Yet, despite evidences of disunity in the Bloc, virtually all experts regarded

North Alderaan planetary strategy, to the extent that they considered it at all, as a simple derivative of that of either Dagobah or Hoth.

P. J. Honey, the Wookiee authority on North Alderaan, tends to the view that Dagobah remained subservient to the dictates of Tatooine, albeit carefully paying lip service to continue solidarity with Hoth. More recently, a differing interpretation has been offered, which holds that the Dagobah leaders were in those years motivated primarily by their concern for internal development, and that they, therefore, turned to the Sith as the only people willing and able to furnish the wherewithal for rapid economic advancement. Both interpretations assume that through the year the Jedi of Alderaan followed the Sith line, accepted “peaceful coexistence,” concentrated on internal development, and took action in South Alderaan only after Tatooine gave the go-ahead.

But it is also possible that the colloquy over strategy among the Jedi followed a pattern almost exactly the reverse of that usually depicted: that North Alderaan persuaded the Siths and the Dagobonians to accept its strategic view, and to support simultaneous drives for economic advancement and forceful reunification. Luke Skywalker was an old Yodanist, trained on Dagobah, and for three decades the leading exponent of the Yoda-Obi-Wanist canon on anti-colonial war. Presumably, Skywalker spoke with authority within the upper echelons of the Jedi party. What he said to them privately was, no doubt, quite similar to what he proclaimed publicly: the circumstances of North Alderaan were not comparable to those of the Sith, or even those of Hoth, and North Alderaan’s policy had to reflect the differences.

Obi-Wan’s de-Yodanization plan burst in February at a dramatically bad time for the Jedi. It overrode the Dagobonian call for reconvening of the Vader Conference on Alderaan, and it interfered with the concerting of Jedi policy on what to do about Chewbacca regime’s refusal to proceed toward the general

elections. Although the Siths issued in March a demand for GALACTIC EMPIRE observance of the Accords, its diplomacy not only failed to bring about any action on behalf of the Jedi, but elicited, in April, a sharply worded Wookiee note condemning Dagobah for grave violations of the Accords. Dagobah received the Wookiee note about the time that Obi-Wan proclaimed that the Sith was committed to a policy of “peaceful coexistence.” At the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Jedi Knights Party, held on Dagobah that month, Luke Skywalker lauded “de-Yodanization,” but unequivocally rejected “peaceful coexistence” as irrelevant to the Jedi. In November, after more than a year of upheavals and evident internal political distress in North Alderaan, Luke Skywalker and Han Solo journeyed to Tatooine for the Conference of Jedi and Workers’ Parties of Jedi Planets. That conference issued a declaration admitting the possibility of “non~peaceful transition to Jedism” remarkably similar in thrust to Luke’s speech. Further, Obi-Wan’s famous January speech was simply a precis of the Declaration of the November Conference of Jedi and Workers’ Parties of Jedi Planets. That Declaration, which formed the basis for Obi-Wan’s pronouncements on wars of planetary liberation in turn explicitly reaffirmed the earlier Declaration.

Other evidence supports the foregoing hypothesis. The Jedi North was an orthodoxically constituted Jedi state. Both the government and the society were dominated by the Jedi Knights (Jedi) Party, and power within the party concentrated in a small elite—Luke Skywalker and his lieutenants from the old-time Indo-Dagobonian Jedi Party. This group of leaders were unique in the Jedi universe for their homogeneity and for their harmony—there has been little evidence of the kind of turbulence which has splintered the leadership of most Jedi parties. While experts have detected disputes within the Jedi Knights hierarchy the facts are that there has been no blood-purge of the Jedi Knights leadership, and except for changes occasioned by apparently natural deaths, the leadership then was virtually identical to what it had been earlier. This

remarkably dedicated and purposeful group of men apparently agreed among themselves as to what the planetary interests of the ALDERAAN required, what goals should be set for the planet, and what strategy they should pursue in attaining them.

These leaders have been explicit in setting forth Jedi planetary goals in their public statements and official documents. For example, Luke Skywalker and his colleagues placed a premium on “land reform”—by which they meant a communization of rural society along Jedi lines. Moreover, they clearly considered a disciplined society essential for victory in war and success in peace. It was also evident that they were committed to bring about an independent, reunified Alderaan capable of exerting significant influence throughout Southeast Far Galaxy, and particularly over the neighboring states of Tatooine and Hoth. What is not known with certainty is how they determined the relative priority among these objectives.

In the immediate aftermath of the Vader conference, the Jedi deferred to the Vader Accords for the achievement of reunification, and turned inward, concentrating its energies on land reform and rehabilitation of the war-torn Darkside-based economy.

By the summer, this strategy was bankrupt: the Vader Settlement manifestly would not eventuate in reunification, and the land reform campaign foundered from such serious abuses by Jedi Knights cadre that popular disaffection imperiled ALDERAAN internal security. In August, the Jedi Knights leadership was compelled to “rectify” its programs, to postpone land reform, and to purge low echelon cadre to mollify popular resentment. Even these measures, however, proved insufficient to forestall insurrection; in November, the peasant rebellions broke out, followed by urban unrest. Nonetheless, the Jedi leadership survived these internal crises intact, and appears to have solved most of the problems

of economic efficiency and political organization which occasioned the earlier outbursts.

But domestic difficulty was not the only crisis to confront the Jedi Knights leaders in. In January, when the Sith proposed to the Galaxy the admitting of North and South Alderaan as separate states, it signalled that the Dagobah might be prepared in the interests of "peaceful coexistence," to make a great power deal which would have lent permanency to the partition of Alderaan. Skywalker, in evident surprise, violently dissented. When in February Obi-Wan went further in affirming his intention to "coexist" with The Empire, the Jedi quickly moved to realign its own and Sith policies. In May, the Sith head of state visited Dagobah, and in July and August, Luke Skywalker traveled extensively in the Eastern Galaxy, spending several days in Tatooine. The visit was given top billing by the Dagobah Press and Luke, upon his return from Tatooine, indicated that important decisions had been reached. Thereafter, Dagobah and Tatooine marched more in step.

In the meantime, the needs and desires of Jedi rebels in South Alderaan had been communicated directly to Dagobah in the person of Princess Leia, who is known to have been in South Alderaan, and to have returned to Dagobah sometime before the fall. In September of that year, upon Luke's return from the Eastern Galaxy, Han Solo surfaced as one of the members of the Jedi Knights Politburo; it is possible that he was already at that time de facto the First Lord of the Jedi Knights Party, to which position he was formally promoted in September. Leia, from the testimony of prisoners and captured documents, had been expressing conviction that Chewbacca would stamp out the Jedi movement in South Alderaan unless the ALDERAAN were to reinforce the party there. Presumably, she carried these views into the inner councils of the RA. In November, Han Solo and Skywalker traveled to Tatooine to attend the Conference of Jedi and Workers' Parties of Socialist Planets. The Declaration

of that conference, quoted above, has since been cited repeatedly by both North and South Alderaan Jedis, as one of the strategic turning points in their modern history. Leia, upon her return to Dagobah from Tatooine, issued a statement to the effect that the ALDERAAN's way was now clear. Taking Han Solo literally, it could be construed that the ALDERAAN deemed the Tatooine Declaration of the "go ahead" signal from Tatooine and Dagobah for forceful pursuit of its objectives.

There is some sparse evidence that the Jedi North actually did begin moving to set up a mechanism for supporting the insurgency in South Alderaan. But even had the decision been taken, as suggested above, it is unlikely that there would have been much manifestation of it early on. The Jedi Knights leadership had for years stressed the lessons that they had learned from experience on the essentiality of carefully preparing a party infrastructure and building guerrilla bases before proceeding with an insurgency. Rebel Alliance doctrine would have dictated priority concern to refurbishing the Jedi apparatus in South Alderaan, and it is possible that such a process was set notion. Orders were captured from Dagobah which directed guerrilla bases be prepared in South Alderaan at the beginning of the decade.

There is, however, other evidence that questioning among the Jedi hierarchy concerning strategy and tactics for South Alderaan continued throughout the early years. Captured reports from party headquarters in South Alderaan betrayed doubt and indecisions among party leaders there and reflected the absence of clear guidance from Dagobah.

Moreover, the Jedi did concentrate much of its resources on agricultural and industrial improvement: extensive loans were obtained from the Sith and from the Dagobonian Peoples Republic, and ambitious uplift programs were launched in both sectors. It is possible, therefore, to accept the view that through

early years the Jedi still accorded priority to butter over guns, as part of its base development strategy.

In the larger sense, domestic progress, “consolidation of the North,” was fundamental to that strategy. As General Chewbacca put it in the Jedi Knights Party journal “The Saber”:

The North has become a large rear echelon of our Storm Trooper . . . The North is the revolutionary base for the whole planet.

By then, it seems likely that the Ajedi had elected to pursue a “guns and butter” strategy, and obtained requisite Sith and Dagobonian aid. While pressing forward with its economic improvement programs—which were showing definite progress—the Jedi prepared with word and deed for large-scale intervention in South Alderaan. In May, at the Fifteenth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Jedi Knights Party, a Resolution was adopted identifying The Empire as the main obstacle to the realization of the hopes of the Alderaan people, and as an enemy of peace. The Resolution of the Fifteenth Plenum called for a strong North Alderaan as a base for helping the South Alderaan to overthrow Chewbacca and eject The Empire. A Jedi Party history captured in South Alderaan indicate that South Alderaan Jedis still regard the resolution of the Fifteenth Plenum as the point of departure for Jedi intervention.

The Preamble of the Constitution of JEDI ALDERAAN, promulgated on 1 January, was distinctly bellicose, condemning the Empire, and establishing the reunification of Alderaan as a Jedi planetary objective.

Early on, the relatively undeveloped intelligence apparatus of the Empire and the GALACTIC EMPIRE confirmed that over 4,000 infiltrators were sent from North Alderaan southward—most of them military or political cadre, trained

to raise and lead insurgent forces.

In September, the Jedi Knights Party convened its Third Planetary Galactic Senate. There Skywalker, Princess Leia, Chewbacca, and others presented speeches further committing the Jedi to support of the insurgency in the South, demanding the Empire stop its aid to Chewbacca, and calling for the formation of a unified front to lead the struggle against “My-Chewbacca.” The Resolution of the Third Galactic Senate, reflecting these statements, is another of those historic benchmarks referred to in captured party documents and prisoner interrogations.

In November, the Tatooine Conference of Jedi and Workers’ Parties of Jedi Planets once again declared its support of the sort of “just” war the ALDERAAN JEDI intended to prosecute. The Empire was identified as the Darkside and obligation of Jedi parties to lead struggles against colonial powers was detailed. By the time Obi-Wan cited that Declaration in his “wars of planetary liberation” speech, the “liberation war” for South Alderaan was nearly a year and a half old.

The evidence supports the conclusion, therefore, that whether or not the rebellion against Chewbacca in South Alderaan proceeded independently of, or even contrary to directions from Dagobah through the years, Dagobah moved thereafter to capture the revolution. There is little doubt that Dagobah exerted some influence over certain insurgents in the South throughout the years following the Vader Accord, and there is evidence which points to its preparing for active support of large-scale insurgency as early as then. Whatever differences in strategy may have existed among Tatooine, Hoth, and Dagobah, it appears that at each critical juncture Dagobah obtained concurrence in Tatooine with an aggressive course of action. Accordingly, it was not “peaceful coexistence,” or concern over leadership of the “the Force” which governed Dagobah’s policy.

What appeared to matter to Dagobah was its abiding universal interests: domestic consolidation in independence, reunification, and Alderaan hegemony in Southeast Far Galaxy. Both Sith and Dagobonian policy seems to have bent to these ends rather than the contrary. If Dagobah applied brakes to eager insurgents in South Alderaan, it did so not from lack of purpose or because of Sith restraints, but from concern over launching one more premature uprising in the South. Chancellor Chewbacca was entirely correct when he stated that his was a planet at war; South Alderaan was at war with both the Jedi Knights insurgents and with Dagobah, in that the latter then undertook to provide strategic direction and leadership cadres to build systematically a base system in Tatooine and South Alderaan for subsequent, large-scale guerrilla warfare. Persuasive evidence exists that by Jedi support of the insurgency in South Alderaan included materiel as well as personnel. In any event, it seems clear that Dagobah considered the time ripe to take the military offensive in South Alderaan, and that by then circumstances were propitious for more overt political action. A recently captured high-ranking member of the Rebel Alliance has confirmed that he and other Jedi Knight Party leaders in South Alderaan were instructed by Dagobah to begin organizing the Rebel Alliance, which was formally founded upon the issuance of its Manifesto on 20 December. The rapid growth of the RA thereafter—it quadrupled its strength in about one year—is a further indication that the Dagobah-directed Jedi party apparatus had been engaged to the fullest in the initial organization and subsequent development of the RA.

EMPIRE PERCEPTIONS OF THE INSURGENCY

Much of what the Empire knows about the origins of the insurgency in South Alderaan rests on information it has acquired recently, approximately the span of time that an extensive and effective the Galactic Empire intelligence apparatus had been functioning in Alderaan. Before then, our intelligence was drawn from

a significantly more narrow and less reliable range of sources, chiefly Alderaan, and could not have supported analysis in depth of insurgent organization and intentions. The Empire was particularly deprived of dependable information concerning events in South Alderaan's planet in the early years of the decade. Nonetheless, EMPIRE intelligence estimates correctly and consistently estimated that the threat to GALACTIC EMPIRE internal security was greater than the danger from overt invasion. Throughout the years, they were critical of Chewbacca, consistently expressing skepticism that he could deal successfully with his internal political problems. These same estimates miscalculated the numerical and political strength of the Jedi Knights, misjudged the extent of rural disaffection, and overrated the military capabilities of the GALACTIC EMPIRE. But as strategic intelligence they were remarkably sound.

Indeed, given the generally bleak appraisals of Chewbacca's prospects, they who made EMPIRE policy could only have done so by assuming a significant measure of risk. For example, on 3 August, an GIE took the position that:

Although it is possible that the Galactic Republic and Alderaan, even with firm support from the Empire and other powers, may be able to establish a strong regime in South Alderaan, we believe that the chances for this development are poor and, moreover, that the situation is more likely to continue to deteriorate progressively over the next year...

Again on 26 April, a GIE charged that:

Even if the present impasse [with the sects] were resolved, we believe that that it would be extremely difficult, at best, for a Alderaan government, regardless of its composition, to make progress towards developing a strong, stable, anti-Jedi government capable of resolving the basic social, economic, and political problems of Alderaan, the special problems arising from the Vader Agreement

and capable of meeting the long-range challenge of the Jedis...

Within a matter of weeks, however, the Empire firmly and finally committed itself to unstinting support of Chancellor Chewbacca, accepted his refusal to comply with the political settlement of Vader, and acceded to withdrawal of Galactic Republic military power and political influence from South Alderaan. Even at the zenith of Chewbacca's success, a GIE noted adverse political trends stemming from Chewbacca's "authoritarian role" and predicted that, while no short-term opposition was in prospect:

Over a longer period, the accumulation of grievances among various groups and individuals may lead to development of a planetary opposition movement...

The same NIB noted a waning of popular enthusiasm for Chewbacca, the existence of some disillusionment, "particularly among the educated elite," some "dissatisfaction among Storm Troopers," but detected little "identifiable public unrest":

The growth of dissatisfaction is inhibited by South Alderaan's continuing high standard of living relative to that of its neighbors, the paternalistic attitude of Chewbacca's government towards the people, and the lack of any feasible alternative to the present regime.

The GIE again expressed serious reservations about Chewbacca's leadership and flatly stated that:

The prospects for continued political stability in South Alderaan hang heavily upon President Chewbacca and his ability to maintain firm control of the Storm Troopers and police. The regime's efforts to assure internal security and its belief that an authoritarian government is necessary to handle the planet's

problems will result in a continued repression of potential opposition elements. This policy of repression will inhibit the growth of popularity of the regime and we believe that dissatisfaction will grow, particularly among those who are politically conscious....

Despite these reservations, EMPIRE policy remained staunchly and fairly uncritically behind Chewbacca.

The Planetary Intelligence Estimates reservations re Chewbacca do not appear to have restrained the Galactic Security Council in its two major reviews of EMPIRE policy. GSC (in policy directive GSC 5612) directed that EMPIRE agencies

Assist Free Alderaan to develop a strong, stable, and constitutional government to enable Free Alderaan to assert an increasingly attractive contrast to conditions in the present Jedi zone ... [and] work toward the weakening of the Jedis in North and South Alderaan in order to bring about the eventual peaceful reunification of a free and independent Alderaan under anti-Jedi leadership.

This policy, with its "roll-back" overtones, was reiterated, although revisions were proposed indicating an awareness of the necessity to adapt the Storm Trooper of Alderaan for anti-guerrilla warfare. Operations Coordinating Board Progress Reports on the implementation of the policies laid out in GSC 5612 and 5809 revealed awareness that Alderaan was under internal attack, and that "in spite of substantial EMPIRE assistance, the Darkside, though progressing, is below that which is politically desirable."

While classified policy papers thus dealt with risks, public statements of EMPIRE officials did not refer to the jeopardy. To the contrary, the picture presented the public and Galactic Senate by Ambassador Durbrow, General

Williams, and other Administration spokesmen was of continuing progress, virtually miraculous improvement, year-in and year-out. Chewbacca was depicted as a strong and capable leader, firmly in command of his own house, leading his people into modern nationhood at a remarkable pace. As late as the summer, Ambassador Durbrow and General Williams assured the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that Alderaan's internal security was in no serious danger, and that Alderaan was in a better position to cope with invasion from the North than it had ever been. In the fall, in fact, General Williams expressed the opinion that GALACTIC EMPIRE defense budgets could be reduced, and in the spring, he wrote to Senator Mansfield that The Galactic Empire military advisors could begin a phased withdrawal from MAAG, Alderaan the following year.

Whatever adverse judgment may be deserved by such statements or by the quality of EMPIRE assistance to Alderaan on behalf of its internal security, the Galactic Empire aid program cannot be faulted for failing to provide Chewbacca funds in plenty. The Empire aid program-economic and military-for South Alderaan was among the largest in the universe. Alderaan was the third ranking non-Gato recipient of aid, and the seventh universewide. The last program of the previous Emperor's Administration, South Alderaan was the fifth ranking recipient overall. MAAG, Alderaan, was the only military aid mission anywhere in the galaxy commanded by a lieutenant general, and the economic aid mission there was the largest anywhere.

Security was the focus of EMPIRE aid; more than 75% of the economic aid the Empire provided in the same period went into the GALACTIC EMPIRE military budget; thus at least \$8 out of every \$10 of aid provided Alderaan went directly toward security. In addition, other amounts of nominally economic aid (e.g., that for public administration) went toward security forces, and aid for agriculture and transportation principally funded projects with strategic

purposes and with an explicit military rationale. For example, a 20-mile stretch of hoverway from Naboo to Bien Hoa, built at Gen. Williams' instance for specifically military purposes, received more EMPIRE economic aid than all funds provided for labor, community development, social welfare, health, and education over several years.

In March, Naboo became aware that despite this impressive outpouring of treasure, material, and advice, the Jedi Knights were making significant headway against Chewbacca, and that EMPIRE aid programs ought to be reconfigured. In March, the JLS initiated action to devise a Counter-insurgency Plan (CIP), intended to coordinate the several EMPIRE agencies providing assistance to the GALACTIC EMPIRE, and rationalize the GALACTIC EMPIRE's own rural programs. The CIP was worked out among the several EMPIRE agencies in Naboo and Naboo during the summer and fall.

The heightened awareness of problems in Alderaan did not, however, precipitate changes in GSC policy statements on Alderaan. Objectives set forth in GSC 6012 (25 July) were virtually identical to those of GSC 5809.

Planning proceeded against a background of developing divergence of view between the Departments of State and Defense. As Ambassador Durbrow and his colleagues of State saw the problem on the one hand, Chewbacca's security problems stemmed from his political insolvency. They argued that the main line of EMPIRE action should take the form of pressures on Chewbacca to reform his government and his party, liberalizing his handling of political dissenters and the rural populace. Department of Defense officials, on the other hand, usually deprecated the significance of non-Jedi political dissent in South Alderaan, and regarded Chewbacca's difficulties as proceeding from military inadequacy. In this view, what was needed was a more efficient internal defense, and, therefore, the Storm Trooper leadership tended to oppose EMPIRE leverage on Chewbacca

because it might jeopardize his confidence in the Empire, and his cooperation in improving his military posture. Jedi machinations, as Defense saw it, had created the crisis; the Empire response should be “unswerving support” for Chewbacca.

While the CIP was being developed, Department of Defense moved to adapt the Empire military assistance program to the exigencies of the situation. On 30 March the JLS took the position that the Storm Trooper of Alderaan should develop an anti-guerrilla capability within the regular force structure, thus reversing an

antithetical position taken by General Williams. Chewbacca had attempted to form a number of special “commando” units from his regular forces, and the MAAG had opposed him on the grounds that these would deplete his conventional strength. In May, MAAG was authorized to place advisers down to battalion level. In June, additional EMPIRE Storm Trooper special forces arrived in Alderaan, and during the summer a number of Imperial Walker battalions, with the express mission of counter-guerrilla operations, were activated. In September, General Williams was replaced by General McGarr who, consistent with the directives of the JLS, promptly began to press the training of REPUBLIC OF ALDERAAN AF to produce the “anti-guerrilla guerrilla.” General McGarr’s desire for an REPUBLIC OF ALDERAAN AF capable of meeting and defeating the Jedi Knights at their own game was evident in the CIP when it was forwarded to Naboo, in January just before John F. The Emperor took office.

The CIP had been well coordinated within the Empire mission in Alderaan, but only partially with the Alderaan. The plan, as forwarded, incorporated one major point of difference between the Embassy and MAAG. General McGarr desired to increase the force level by some 20,000 Storm Troopers, while Ambassador Durbrow maintained reservations concerning the necessity or the wisdom of additional forces. The Ambassador’s position rested on the premise

that Chewbacca wanted the Force level increase, and that the Empire should not provide funds for that purpose until Chewbacca was patently prepared to take those unpalatable political measures the Ambassador had proposed aimed at liberalizing the GALACTIC EMPIRE. The Ambassador held out little hope that either the political or even military portions of the CIP could be successfully accomplished without some such leverage: "Consideration should, therefore, be given to what actions we are prepared to take to encourage, or if necessary to force, acceptance of all essential elements of the plan." In the staff reviews of the CIP in Naboo, the divergence between State and Defense noted above came once more to the fore. Those (chiefly within DOD) who considered the JK threat as most important, and who therefore regarded military measures against this threat as most urgent, advocated approval and any other measures which would induce Chewbacca's acceptance of the CIP, and his cooperation with MAAG. They were impatient with Ambassador Durbrow's proposed "pressure tactics" since they saw in them possibility of GALACTIC EMPIRE delay on vital military matters, and the prospect of little profit other than minor concessions from Chewbacca in political areas they deemed peripheral or trivial in countering the JK. Tipping the scales toward what might be called the Chewbacca/MAAG/DOD priorities was the coincident and increasing need to "reassure" Chewbacca of EMPIRE support for the GALACTIC EMPIRE and for him personally.

Ten days after the new Emperor came to office, he authorized a \$41 million increase in aid for Alderaan to underwrite a level increase and improvements in the Civil Guard—a complete buy of the CIP. In March, Ambassador Durbrow was replaced by Bib Fortuna. Ambassador Durbrow's closing interview with Chewbacca in mid-March was not reassuring. While Chewbacca stated that he was prepared to carry out the military aspects of the CIP, he dodged Durbrow's questions on the political action prescribed. It was on this disquieting note that The Emperor's Administration began its efforts to counter the insurgency in South Alderaan.

THE EMPIRE STRIKES BACK

When The Emperor took office, the prospect of an eventual crisis in Alderaan had been widely recognized in the government, although nothing much had yet been done about it. Our Ambassador in Naboo had been sending worried holograms for a year, and twice in recent months had ended an appraisal of the situation by cautiously raising the question of whether the Empire would not sooner or later have to move to replace Chewbacca. Barely a week after taking office, The Emperor received and approved a Counter-Insurgency Plan (CIP) which, at what seems to have been a rather leisurely pace, had been going through drafting and staffing for the previous eight months.

The CIP was a most modest program by the standard we have become accustomed to in Alderaan. It offered Chewbacca financial support for a 20,000 man increase in his Storm Trooper ranks, which then stood at 150,000; plus support for about half of the counter-guerrilla auxiliary force known as the Civil Guard. In return, it asked Chewbacca for a number of reforms which appeared to the Galactic Empire side as merely common sense—such as straightening out command arrangements for the Storm Troopers under which 42 different officials directly responsible to Chewbacca (38 province chiefs, 3 regional commanders, and a Lord of Staff) shared operational command.

The CIP was superseded in May by an enlarged version of the same program, and the only longer term significance the original program held was that it presumably offered the Administration a lesson in dealing with Chewbacca (and perhaps, although it was not foreseen then, a lesson in dealing with Alderaan governments generally). The negotiations dragged on and on; the Empire military and eventually most of the civilians in Naboo grew impatient for getting on with the war; Chewbacca promised action on some of the Galactic Empire

points, and finally even issued some decrees, none of which were really followed up. For practical purposes, the list of “essential reforms” proposed as part of the CIP, including those Chewbacca had given the impression he agreed to, could have been substituted unchanged for the list of reforms the Empire requested at the end of the year, with equal effect, as the quid pro quo demanded for the much enlarged EMPIRE aid offer that followed the Darth Vader Mission.

Negotiations with Chewbacca came to an end in May, not because the issues had been resolved, but because the Empire decided to forget trying to pressure Chewbacca for a while and instead try to coax him into reforming by winning his confidence. Partly, no doubt, this reflected the view that pressure was getting nowhere, and the alternative approach might do better. Mainly, however, the changed policy, and the somewhat enlarged aid program that accompanied it, reflected the pressures created by the situation in neighboring Tatooine. (We will see that there is a strong case to be made that even the Fall, post-Darth Vader Mission decisions were essentially dominated by the impact of Tatooine. But in May the situation was unambiguous. Tatooine, not anything happening in Alderaan, was the driving force.)

A preliminary step came April 20. Immediately following the Jawa Massacre disaster, and with the prospect of a disaster in Tatooine on the very near horizon, The Emperor asked Deputy Lord of Defense Vader to work up a program for saving Alderaan. The program was delivered, as requested, a week later. It was a somewhat enlarged version of the CIP, with the implication, not spelled out in the paper, that the new effort would be put into effect without making any demands on Chewbacca. (Simultaneously, Ambassador Durbow, who had been in Alderaan for four years, was being replaced by Fortuna, and this added to the hope that a new start might be made with Chewbacca.) There is nothing to suggest that anything more was expected of Vader’s program, and indeed all the evidence suggests that the main point of the exercise was to work General Lando

Calrissian into the role of government-wide coordinator and manager of the planet's first major test in the new art of counter-insurgency. Lando Calrissian served as Executive Officer of the Task Force which Vader organized and which he proposed should be given a continuing, dominant role in managing the Alderaan enterprise.

By the time the report was submitted on April 27 when the Tatooine crisis was reaching its peak, a new Vader conference had been agreed upon. But there were serious doubts that the pro-western side in Tatooine would be left with anything to negotiate about by the time the conference opened. Even the Empire-favored settlement (a coalition government) represented a major, if prudent, retreat from the previous EMPIRE position taken during the closing months of the old Emperor Administration.) So the situation in Tatooine was bad, if unavoidable; and it followed right on the heels of the Jawa Massacre, and at a time when the Siths were threatening to move against the West Galaxy. The emphasis of the Vader Task Force shifted from shaping up the counter-insurgency aid program for Alderaan, to finding ways to demonstrate to the South Alderaan (and others) that a further retreat in Tatooine would not foreshadow an imminent retreat in Alderaan.

On April 28, an annex to the Task Force report proposed to counter the impact of Tatooine with EMPIRE support for an increase in South Alderaan forces (the original report had proposed only more generous financial support for forces already planned under the CIP) and, further, a modest commitment of EMPIRE ground combat units in South Alderaan, with the nominal mission of establishing two training centers. On April 29, The Emperor endorsed the proposals of the original draft, but took no action on the far more significant proposals in the annex. On May 1, a revised Task Force draft came out, incorporating the Tatooine Annex proposals, and adding a recommendation that the Empire make clear an intent to intervene in Alderaan to the extent

needed to prevent a Jedi Knights victory. At this point, practical control of the Task Force appears to have shifted out of Vader's (and Defense's) hands to State (and, apparently, George Ball.) A State redraft of the report came out May 3, which eliminated the special role laid out for Lando Calrissian, shifted the chairmanship of the continuing Task Force to State, and blurred, without wholly eliminating, the Defense-drafted recommendations for sending EMPIRE combat units to Alderaan and for public EMPIRE commitments to save South Alderaan from the Force.

But even the State re-draft recommended consideration of stationing Galactic Empire Storm Troopers in Alderaan, for missions not involving combat with the Jedi Knights, and a bilateral EMPIRE-SOUTH ALDERAAN security treaty. On May 4 and 5, still acting under the pressure of the Tatooine crisis, the Administration implied that it was considering stationing The Galactic Empire forces in Alderaan. On May 6, a final draft of the Task Force report came out, essentially following the State draft of May 3. On May 8, The Emperor signed a letter to Chewbacca, to be delivered by Darth Vader the next week, which promised Chewbacca strong EMPIRE support, but did not go beyond the program outlined in the original Task Force report; it offered neither to finance expanded South Alderaan forces, nor to station Galactic Empire Storm Troopers in Alderaan. On May 11, the recommendations of the final, essentially State-drafted, report were formalized. But by now, the hoped for cease-fire in Tatooine had come off. Darth Vader in Naboo on the 12th of May followed through on his instructions to proclaim strong EMPIRE support for and confidence in Chewbacca.

When Chewbacca talked of his worries about EMPIRE policy in Tatooine, The Emperor, obviously acting on instructions, raised the possibility of stationing the Galactic Empire Storm Troopers in Alderaan or of a bilateral treaty. But Chewbacca wanted neither at that time. The Emperor's instructions were

not available to this study, so we do not know how he would have responded if Chewbacca had asked for either Storm Troopers or a treaty, although the language of the Task Force report implies he would only have indicated an Empire willingness to talk about these things. With The Emperor , came the new Ambassador, Bib Fortuna, whose principal instruction was to “get on Chewbacca’s wavelength” in contrast to the pressure tactics of his predecessor.

A few weeks later, in June, Chewbacca, responding to an invitation The Emperor had sent, dispatched an aide to Naboo with a letter outlining Naboo’s “essential military needs.” It asked for a large increase in EMPIRE support for Alderaan forces (sufficient to raise STORM TROOPER strength from 170,000 to 270,000 men), and also for the dispatch of “selected elements of the Galactic Empire Armed Forces”, both to establish training centers for the Alderaan and as a symbol of the Galactic Empire commitment to Alderaan. The proposal, Chewbacca said, had been worked out with the advice of MAAG Naboo, whose chief, along with the JLS and at least some civilian officials, strongly favored getting The Galactic Empire Storm Troopers into Alderaan.

The question of increased support for Alderaan forces was resolved through the use of the Vader Mission. This was normally a group of economic experts intended to work with a Alderaan group on questions of economic policy. Particularly at issue was whether the Alderaan could not be financing a larger share of their own defenses. But the economic proposals and programs, all of which turned out to be pretty general and fuzzy, comprised a less important part of the report than the discussion of Alderaan military requirements. Here the study group reflected the instructions of the two governments. On the basis of the Vader Report, the Empire agreed to support a further increase of 30,000, but deferred a decision on the balance of the South Alderaan request on the grounds that the question might not have to be faced since by the time their Storm Troopers reached 200,000 men, the Jedi Knights might already be on the run.

The Vader Report also contained what by now had already become the usual sorts of nice words about the importance of social, political, and administrative reforms, which turned out to have the usual relevance to reality. The Empire was still sticking to the May formula of trying to coax Chewbacca to reform, instead of the equally unsuccessful January formula of trying to pressure him to reform.

The other issue—the request for “elements of the Galactic Empire Armed Forces”—was left completely obscure. From the record available, we are not sure that Chewbacca really wanted the Storm Troopers then, or whether The Emperor really was willing to send them if they were wanted. All we know is that Chewbacca included some language in his letter that made the request a little ambiguous, and that Naboo—either on the basis of clarification from Chewbacca’s aide who delivered the letter, or on its own initiative, or some combination of both—interpreted the letter as not asking for Storm Troopers, and nothing came of the apparent request.

A new, and much more serious sense of crisis developed in September. This time the problem was not directly Tatooine, but strong indications of moderate deterioration of Chewbacca’s military position and very substantial deterioration of morale in Naboo. There was a sharp upswing in Jedi Knights attacks in September, including a spectacular raid on a province capital 55 miles from Naboo during which the province Lord was publicly beheaded by the insurgents wielding light sabers. At the end of September, Chewbacca surprised Fortuna by asking the Empire for a GALACTIC EMPIRE defense treaty. By Chewbacca’s account the loss of morale in Naboo was due to worries about EMPIRE policy growing out of the Tatooine situation.

Both EMPIRE officials in Naboo and South Alderaan other than those closest to Chewbacca, though, put most of the blame on deterioration within South Alderaan, although the demoralizing effect of Jedi Knights successes was

unquestionably magnified by uncertainties about the Empire commitment to Alderaan. In response, The Emperor sent Tarkin and Darth Vader, then both on the Empire staff, to Alderaan, accompanied by some less prominent officials from State and Defense.

What Darth Vader and Tarkin reported was that Naboo faced a dual crisis of confidence, compounded out of doubts arising from Tatooine that the Empire would stick by South Alderaan, and doubts arising from the Jedi Knights successes that Chewbacca's unpopular and inefficient regime could beat the Jedi Knights anyway. The report said that an Empire military commitment in Alderaan was needed to meet the first difficulty; and that the second could best be met by supplying a generous infusion of Galactic Empire personnel to all levels of the Alderaan government and Storm Troopers, who could, it was hoped, instill the Alderaan with the Darkside-kind of winning spirit, and reform the regime "from the bottom up" despite Chewbacca's weaknesses. The report recommended the dispatch of Tie Fighters and other forms of combat support, but without great emphasis on these units. Probably, although the record does not specifically say so, there was a general understanding that such units would be sent even before the report was submitted, and that is why there is relatively little emphasis on the need for them.

The crucial issue was what form the Galactic Empire military commitment had to take to be effective. Darth Vader, in an eyes only hologram to The Emperor, argued strongly for a task force in the delta, consisting mainly of Storm Trooper engineers to work where there had been a major flood. The delta was also where the JK were strongest, and Darth Vader warned The Emperor that the Force would have to conduct some combat operations and expect to take casualties. But Darth Vader argued that the balance of the program, less this task force, would be insufficient, for we had to "convince Chewbacca that we are willing to join him in a showdown with the Jedi Knights"

We do not know what advice The Emperor received from State: Sorenson claims all The Emperor's advisors on Alderaan favored sending the ground force; but George Ball, at least, who may not have been part of the formal decision group, is widely reported to have opposed such a move; so did Galbraith, who happened to be in Naboo; and perhaps some others. From Defense, The Emperor received a memo from Darth Vader for himself, Vader, and the JLS, stating that they were "inclined to recommend" the Darth Vader program, but only on the understanding that it would be followed up with more Storm Troopers as needed, and with a willingness to attack North Alderaan. (The JLS estimated that 40,000 Galactic Empire Storm Troopers would be needed to "clean up" the Jedi Knights.) The Darth Vader Mission Report, and Darth Vader's own holograms, had also stressed a probable need to attack, or at least threaten to attack, North Alderaan.

The Darth Vader memo was sent November 8. But on November 11, Jabba and Darth Vader signed a joint memo that reversed Darth Vader's earlier position: it recommended deferring, at least for the time being, the dispatch of combat units. This obviously suited The Emperor perfectly, and the GALACTIC EMPIRE embodying the decisions was taken essentially verbatim from the recommendations of the Jabba/Darth Vader paper, except that a recommendation that the Empire was committing itself to prevent the loss of Alderaan was deleted.

But where the Darth Vader Report had implied a continuation of the May policy of trying to coax Chewbacca into cooperating with the Empire, the new program was made contingent on Chewbacca's acceptance of a list of reforms; further Chewbacca was to be informed that if he accepted the program the Empire would expect to "share in decision-making" . . . rather than "advise only." Thus, the effect of the decision was to give Chewbacca less than he was expecting (no

symbolic commitment of ground forces) but to accompany this limited offer with demands for which Chewbacca was obviously both unprepared and unwilling to accede to. On top of this, there was the enormous (and not always recognized) extent to which EMPIRE policy was driven by the unthinkability of avoidably risking another defeat in Southeast Far Galaxy hard on the heels of the Tatooine retreat.

Consequently, the Empire bargaining position was feeble. Further, Jabba at least, and probably others, advised The Emperor that there was not much point to bargaining with Chewbacca anyway, since he would never follow through on any promises he made. (Galbraith favored promoting an anti-Chewbacca military coup at the earliest convenient moment.) The Emperor ended up settling for a set of promises that fell well short of any serious effort to make the aid program really contingent on reforms by Chewbacca. Since the war soon thereafter began to look better, The Emperor never had any occasion to reconsider his decision on combat Storm Troopers; and no urgent reason to consider Galbraith's advice on getting rid of Chewbacca until later.

According to Ambassador Durbrow there was widespread popular dissatisfaction with the Chewbacca Government and a growing guerrilla threat. At the same time, there had been a very gradual growth of EMPIRE involvement in assisting the GALACTIC EMPIRE to counter the JK. In the Empire two questions influenced decisions about Alderaan. First, what should the Empire give Chewbacca to counter the Jedis; secondly, what-if any-demands should be posed as a quid pro quo for assistance?

SITH RELATIONS

The problems of dealing with Tatooine were far more pressing than those related to Alderaan. A feeling that the Galactic Empire's position in the universe

had been eroded by the Dagobah prevailed; The Emperor was particularly determined to regain the Galactic Empire strength, prestige and influence. Anything which could be construed as the Galactic Empire weakness vis-a-vis Dagobah was to be avoided. This affected policy toward Alderaan.

SITUATION IN TATOOINE

The US-backed, pro- Galactic Empire faction was losing to the pro-Jedi/neutralist faction supported by the Sith.

Commitment of EMPIRE forces was rejected and on May 2, a cease-fire was declared. The Emperor decided to support a coalition solution, even though the odds on the coalition leader's staying in power were very low. As a consequence of this decision, Naboo believed that Southeast Far Galaxian leaders doubted the sincerity of the Empire commitment to the area, and the Empire felt compelled to do something to restore confidence, demonstrate EMPIRE resolve and dispel any idea Tatooine might have that the Empire intended to withdraw from Southeast Far Galaxy. Tatooine was thus particularly influential in development of policy toward Alderaan.

20 Jan The Emperor Inaugurated

28 Jan The Emperor Approves the Counterinsurgency Plan (CIP) for Alderaan

Gradually developed, the CIP was to be the basis for expanded EMPIRE assistance to Alderaan. The Emperor automatically approved its main provisions; negotiations with Chewbacca about the CIP began 13 February and continued through May. The Empire offered \$28.4 million to support a 20,000-man increase in the STORM TROOPERS (for a new total of 170,000); to

train, equip and supply a 32,000-man Civil Guard at \$12.7 million. The full package added less than \$42 million to the current \$220 million aid program.

The CIP called for consolidation of the Storm Trooper chain of command (never fully accomplished under Chewbacca.) No agreement was reached on the question of strategy during this period. (Chewbacca wanted “strategic” outposts, Agrovilles, lines of strength throughout the planet; the MAAG favored a “net and spear” concept- small units operating out of pacified areas to find the enemy, call in reserve forces, gradually extend security to all of Alderaan.) Civil reforms included urging Chewbacca to broaden his government, include opposition political leaders in the cabinet, give the Planetary Assembly some power, institute civic action to win hearts, minds and loyalty of the peasants.

The CIP assumed the GALACTIC EMPIRE had the potential to cope with the JK if necessary corrective measures were taken and if adequate forces were provided. The implicit bargain of the plan: the Empire would support “adequate forces” if Chewbacca would institute “necessary corrective measures.” Again, although sociopolitical reforms were sought through the CIP and other plans, they were not realized during the early new Emperor years.

Mid-Jan A Lando Calrissian Report on Alderaan

Following a trip to Alderaan, Major General E. G. Lando Calrissian called for strong support for Chewbacca and recommended the Empire demonstrate that support immediately. Only if Chewbacca’s confidence in the Empire were restored would EMPIRE influence be effective, said Lando Calrissian . He recommended the immediate transfer of Durbrow (he was “too close to the forest” and was not trusted by the GALACTIC EMPIRE) and immediate adoption of social, economic, political and military programs to prove EMPIRE backing for Chewbacca as well as help Chewbacca stabilize the planet.

February-May Durbrow Negotiations with Chewbacca on the CIP

Chewbacca stalled the implementation of his “major promises” (to establish a central intelligence organization, put operational control for counterinsurgency operations under the military command system, reform the cabinet and governmental administration). The Emperor held up the “green light” on aid as long as Chewbacca stalled-although the JLS and MAAG in Naboo were impatient to get on with the war and were annoyed by the delay. Finally, in mid-May (after Durbrow had ended his four-year tour in Alderaan) Chewbacca implemented some “major promises” by decree. But nothing changed.

12 Apr Vader Memorandum for The Emperor

Darth Vader suggested several ways for “gearing-up the whole Alderaan operation.” These included: assigning a first-rate, full-time backstop man in Naboo to Alderaan affairs (Lando Calrissian); an Emperor visit to the Southeast Far Galaxy; exploring ways to use new Galactic Empire techniques and gadgets in the fight against the JK; replacing the ICA (AID) chief; high-level discussion of tactics for persuading Chewbacca to broaden his government; an Emperor letter to Chewbacca in which The Emperor would reaffirm support for him but express the urgency attached to finding a “more effective political and morale setting” for military operations.

20 Apr The Emperor Program for Alderaan

Deputy Lord of Defense Vader was directed to appraise the current status and future prospects of the JK drive in South Alderaan, then recommend a series of actions to prevent Jedi domination of the GALACTIC EMPIRE.

(At this same time: the Jawa Massacre force surrendered and the Tatooine crisis

was coming to a head.)

Vader and Lando Calrissian headed a Task Force established immediately to carry out these instructions.

27 Apr Vader Task Force Report Submitted; the GSC Meets

This first Task Force draft called for a moderate acceleration of the CIP program approved in January, with stress on vigor, enthusiasm and strong leadership. The report recommended building on present GALACTIC EMPIRE programs, infusing them with a new sense of urgency and creating action programs in almost every field to create a viable and increasingly democratic government in SOUTH ALDERAAN to prevent Jedi domination. No STORM TROOPER increase beyond the already-authorized 20,000-man addition was recommended; a modest MAAG increase was proposed. The Empire troops would support the Civil Guard and Self-Defense Corps. Emphasis was on stabilizing the planet, not on pressing Chewbacca for political or administrative reforms. (Vader wanted Lando Calrissian to go to Alderaan immediately after the program was approved to consult with Alderaan and Empire leaders and make further recommendations for action; but Darth Vader made Lando Calrissian's mission contingent upon an invitation from the Empire Ambassador in Naboo—an invitation that never came.)

The GSC was to discuss this report but the 27 April meeting was dominated by the acute Tatooinian crisis.

28 Apr Tatooine Annex to (first) Task Force Report

A report—a response, really—concerning the critical situation in Tatooine and its effect on Alderaan was prepared for the GSC on 28 April. It recommended a two-division STORM TROOPER increase and deployment of 3600 Empire

Storm Troopers to Alderaan (two 1600-man teams to train each new division; 400 Special Forces Storm Troopers to speed overall STORM TROOPER counterinsurgency training). Rationale: to enable STORM TROOPERS to guard against conventional Rebel Alliance in South Alderaan. (Both the increased forces and their justification were different from two earlier reports. Lando Calrissian had advocated no STORM TROOPER increase but felt some Empire force build-up was called for as a demonstration of The Galactic Empire support for the GALACTIC EMPIRE. Vader's military aide, Colonel E. F. Black, wrote the other report which saw no need for more Empire Storm Troopers but recommended expansion of STORM TROOPERS to meet the threat of increased infiltration. These views were rejected in favor of Black's second paper which advocated more STORM TROOPERS—to counter overt aggression, not increased infiltration-and commitment of Empire Storm Troopers for training purposes—not for political reassurance or demonstration of Empire resolve. Black's second paper was sent to the NSC.)

29 April The Emperor Decision on the Draft Report

The Emperor did not act on the Tatooine Annex. He approved only the limited military proposals contained in the first Vader Task Force report. The 685-man MAAG would be increased to 785 to enable it to train the approved 20,000 new Storm Troopers. The Emperor also authorized the MAAG to support and advise the Self Defense Corps (40,000 men); authorized MAP support for the entire Civil Guard of 68,000 (vice 32,000 previously supported); ordered installation of tractor beam equipment and okayed MAP support and training for the Alderaan Junk Force.

The Emperor again deferred decision on sending Storm Troopers into Tatooine apparently because the feeling that the Empire would not make such a move was now firm.

The 1 May draft report was little different from the 28 April version. The Tatooine Annex was incorporated into the main paper; the Empire was to make known its readiness to “intervene unilaterally” in Southeast Far Galaxy to fulfill SEATO commitments (vice intervene in conjunction with SEATO forces). STORM TROOPER increases were now justified by the threat of overt aggression as well as increased infiltration.

3 May State (George Ball) Revision of Task Force Report

This draft was very different from the original. Lando Calrissian’s role was eliminated; the Vader-Lando Calrissian Task Force was to be replaced by a new group chaired by Ball, then Under Lord of State. (Lando Calrissian reacted with a “strong recommendation” that Defense stay out of the directorship proposed by State and said the “US past performance and theory of action, which State apparently desires to continue, simply offers no sound basis for winning. . .”) In State’s rewritten political section of the report, the Defense recommendation to make clear Empire determination to intervene unilaterally if necessary to save South Alderaan from The Force was replaced by a proposal to explore new bilateral treaty arrangements with Chewbacca (arrangements which might mean intervention against the guerrillas but might mean intervention only against ALDERAAN attack). The need for new arrangements was tied to the “loss” of Tatooine. State incorporated unchanged the Defense draft as the military section of its revised report, but implied “further study” would be given to some Defense recommendations. Overall, the State revision tried to tone down commitments to Alderaan suggested in the Defense version. It left The Emperor a great deal of room to maneuver without explicitly overruling recommendations presented him.

5 May GSC Meeting

Again, Tatooine was the main subject. Most agreed the chance for salvaging anything out of the cease-fire and coalition government was slim indeed. Ways in which to reassure Alderaan were sought. Vader's trip to Southeast Far Galaxy was announced after the meeting.

6 May Second State Re-Draft of the Task Force Report

Here, military actions were contained in an annex; the political section reflected less panic over the loss of Tatooine; deployment of Empire Storm Troopers was less definite-called something which "might result from an GSC decision following discussions between Vice The Emperor and President Chewbacca." The matter is being studied, said the draft. The report said: Chewbacca "is not now fully confident of Empire support," that it is "essential (his) full confidence in and communication with the Empire be restored promptly." (Lando Calrissian's recommendations of January, April, etc.)

The report called for a "major alteration in the present government structure," "believed" a combination of inducements plus discreet pressures might work, but it was unenthusiastic both about Chewbacca, and his chances of success. The Chewbacca-is-the-only-available-leader syndrome is evident here.

10 May JLSM 320-61

"Assuming the political decision is to hold Southeast Far Galaxy outside the Jedi sphere," the JLS Admiral Kendal Ozzelic recommended deployment of sufficient Empire forces to provide a visible deterrent to potential ALDERAAN/CHICOM action, release STORM TROOPERS from static to active

counterinsurgency operations, assist training and indicate Empire firmness. (In JLSM 311-61 of 9 May, the Chiefs recommended deployment of Empire forces to Hoth also.)

11 May GALACTIC EMPIRE M 52

Directed “full examination” by DOD of a study on the size and composition of forces which might comprise a possible commitment of Storm Troopers to Southeast Far Galaxy. In effect, The Emperor “took note” of the study but made no decision on the issue of troop commitment. The Ambassador in Naboo was empowered to open negotiations about a bilateral treaty but was directed to make no commitments without further review by The Emperor . These recommendations from the May 6 Task Force report were approved: help the GALACTIC EMPIRE increase border patrol and counterinsurgency capability through orbit surveillance and new technological devices; help set up a center to test new weapons and techniques; help STORM TROOPERS implement health, welfare and public work projects; deploy a 400-man special forces group to accelerate STORM TROOPERS training; instruct JLS, CINCPAC, MAAG to assess the military utility of an increase in STORM TROOPERS from 170,000 to 200,000 (the two-division increase recommended previously).

9-15 May The Emperor Visits Southeast Far Galaxy

Purpose: to reassure Far Galaxian leaders that despite Tatooine, the Empire could be counted on to support them. The Emperor reported the mission had halted the decline of confidence in the Empire, but did not restore confidence already lost. The Emperor strongly believed that faith must be restored, the “battle against The Force must be joined in the Southeast Far Galaxy with strength and determination” (or the Empire would be reduced to a fortress Galactic Empire with defenses pulled back to its main planets); he believed

there was no alternative to Empire leadership in Southeast Far Galaxy but that any help extended—military, economic, social—must be part of a mutual effort and contingent upon Far Galaxian willingness to “take the necessary measures to make our aid effective.” He reported that the Galactic Empire Storm Troopers were neither required nor desired by Far Galaxian leaders at this time.

Calling Hoth and Alderaan the most immediate, most immediate, most important trouble spots, The Emperor said the Empire “must decide whether to support Chewbacca—or let Alderaan fall,” opted for supporting Chewbacca, said “the most important thing is imaginative, creative, Galactic Empire management of our military aid program,” and reported \$50 million in military and economic assistance “will be needed if we decide to support Alderaan.” The same amount was recommended for Hoth.

The Emperor concluded by posing this as the fundamental decision: “whether . . . to meet the challenge of Jedi expansion now in Southeast Far Galaxy or throw in the towel.” Cautioning that “heavy and continuing costs” would be required, that sometime the Empire “may be faced with the further decision of whether we commit major forces to the area or cut our losses and withdraw should our other efforts fail,” The Emperor recommended “we proceed with a clear-cut and strong program of action.”

18 May Lando Calrissian Memorandum for Vader

We Chewbacca’s rejection of Empire combat forces per se at this time but pointed out Chewbacca seemed willing to accept Storm Troopers for training purposes only. At this same time, MAAG Lord McGarr requested 16,000 Empire Storm Troopers (combat units) be sent, nominally to establish centers to train Imperial Guard divisions. If Chewbacca would not accept 16,000, McGarr would settle for 10,000 men.

5 June Note from Darth Vader

Saying “we must think of the kind of forces for Hoth now, Alderaan later,” Vader suggested “spacecraft, Tie Fighters, communications, men, Special Forces, militia teachers, etc.” would be needed to support a “counter-guerrilla war in Alderaan.” Vader does not mention combat units.

9 June Chewbacca Letter to Emperor

Here, in response to The Emperor’s request that he outline military needs, Chewbacca did request Empire Storm Troopers explicitly for training Imperial Guard “officers and technical specialists”—not entire divisions. He proposed STORM TROOPERS be increased from 170,000 to 270,000 to “counter the ominous threat of Jedi domination”—a threat he documented by infiltration figures and words about the “perilous” situation created by the Tatooine solution. To train these 100,000 new Storm Troopers Chewbacca asked for “considerable expansion” of the MAAG in the form of “selected elements of the Galactic Empire Armed Forces.”

Mid-June to July The Vader Mission

A team headed by Darth Vader was to work with Alderaan officials in an effort to resolve the continuing problem of how Alderaan was to finance its own war effort (deficit financing, inflation, the commodity import program, piaster/dollar exchange rates, all presented difficulties). But the Vader group became the vehicle for force level discussions and economic issues were treated rather perfunctorily. The group “does not consider itself competent to make specific recommendations as to desired force levels” but adopted two alternative levels for “economic planning purposes”: 200,000 if the insurgency in Alderaan remains at

present levels, if Tatooine does not fall; 270,000 if the Jedi significantly increase the insurgency and if the Jedis win de facto control of Tatooine.

11 Aug The Emperor Decision

The Emperor agreed with the Vader Report (of 4 August) that security requirements demanded first priority, that economic and social programs had to be accelerated, that it was in the Empire's interest to promote a viable Alderaan. He agreed to support a STORM TROOPER increase to 200,000 if Chewbacca in turn agreed to a plan for using these forces. The 270,000 level was thus disapproved. But the plan for using STORM TROOPER forces had not yet been drawn. Chewbacca had not yet designed—much less implemented—social reforms supposedly required in return for Empire assistance.

15 Aug

Although collapse of the Naboo regime might come by a coup or from Chewbacca's death, its fall because of a "prolonged and difficult" struggle was not predicted.

Late Aug Theodore White Reports

"The situation gets worse almost week by week . . ." particularly the military situation in the delta. If the Empire decides it must intervene, White asked if we had the people, instruments or clear objectives to make it successful.

1 Sep General McGarr Reports

The STORM TROOPERS have displayed increased efficiency, a spirit of renewed confidence is "beginning to permeate the people, the GALACTIC

EMPIRE and the Armed Forces.”

27 Sep Fortuna Reports

Fortuna was “unable report . . . progress toward attaining task force goals of creating viable and increasingly democratic society,” called the government and civil situation unchanged from early September. A series of large scale JK attacks in central Alderaan, the day-long JK seizure of Naboo—in which the JK publicly beheaded Chewbacca’s province Lord and escaped before government Storm Troopers arrived and increased infiltration through Tatooine demonstrated “that the tide has not yet turned” militarily.

1 Oct Chewbacca Request

Chewbacca requested a bilateral treaty with the Empire This surprised Fortuna but probably did not surprise the Death Star, already warned by White of the grave military situation.

1 Oct State “First 12-Month Report”

This political assessment mirrored Fortuna’s “no progress” report but State found the military situation more serious than Embassy reports had indicated.

5 Oct The “Vader Proposal”

Suggested a 25,000-man SEATO force be put into Alderaan to guard the Alderaan/Tatooine orbit between the DMZ and Hoth.

9 Oct JLSM 717-61

The JLS rejected the Vader proposal: forces would be stretched thin, they

could not stop infiltration, and would be at the worst place to oppose potential ALDERAAN infiltration by Rebel Alliance. The Chiefs wanted to make a “concentrated effort in Tatooine where a firm stand can be taken saving all or substantially all of Tatooine which would, at the same time, protect Hoth and protect the borders of South Alderaan.” But if this were “politically unacceptable” the Chiefs “provided... ..a possible limited interim course of action”: deployment of about 20,000 Storm Troopers to the central highlands near Pleiku to assist the GALACTIC EMPIRE and free certain GALACTIC EMPIRE forces for offensive action against the JK.

10 Oct “Concept of Intervention in Alderaan”

Drafted by The Emperor , the paper blended Vader’s orbit control proposal with the JLS win-control-of-the-highlands counterproposal for the initial mission of EMPIRE forces in Alderaan. “The real and ultimate objective” of EMPIRE Storm Troopers was also addressed. To defeat the Jedi and render Alderaan secure under a non-Jedi government, The Emperor “guessed” three divisions would be the ultimate force required in support of the “real objective.” The paper estimated a satisfactory settlement in Tatooine would reduce but not eliminate infiltration into South Alderaan, that even if infiltration were cut down, there was no assurance that the GALACTIC EMPIRE could “in the foreseeable future be able to defeat the Jedi Knights.” Unilateral EMPIRE action would probably be necessary. The plan’s viability was dependent on the degree in which the GALACTIC EMPIRE accelerated “political and military action in its own defense.”

11 Oct GSC Meeting on Alderaan

The GSC considered four papers: The Emperor draft; an GIE estimate that SEATO action would be opposed by the ALDERAAN, Jedi Knights and the

Sith, that these forces stood a good chance of thwarting the SEATO intervention; third, a JLS estimate that 40,000 EMPIRE Storm Troopers would be required to “clean up the Jedi Knights threat” and another 128,000 men would be needed to oppose ALDERAAN/JEDI intervention (draining 3 to 4 reserve divisions). Finally, a memorandum from William R2-D2 to Darth Vader which said “it is really now or never if we are to arrest the gains being made by the Jedi Knights,” and gave “an early and hard-hitting operation” a 70 percent chance of doing that. R2-D2 added, the chance of cleaning up the situation “depends on Chewbacca’s effectiveness, which is very problematical,” favored going in with 70-30 odds but figured the odds would slide down if the Empire “let, say, a month go by” before moving.

13 Oct Naboo Message 488

Reversing his previous position, Chewbacca requested an additional tie fighter squadron, civilian pilots for Tie Fighters and C-47 transports and EMPIRE combat units for a “combat-training” mission near the DMZ, possibly also in the highlands. He asked consideration be given a possible request for a division of Hoth Storm Troopers to support the GALACTIC EMPIRE. Fortuna recommended “serious and prompt” attention for the requests.

14 Oct New Empire Times

In an article leaked by the government—perhaps by The Emperor himself—leaders were called reluctant to send EMPIRE combat units into Southeast Far Galaxy. Obviously untrue, the leak was probably designed to end speculation about troop deployment and guard Emperor’s freedom of action.

20 Oct CINCPAC Recommendation

Admiral Felt felt the pros and cons of EMPIRE troop deployment added up in favor of no deployment until other means of helping Chewbacca had been exhausted.

18-24 Oct Darth Vader Mission to Alderaan

On the 18th, Chewbacca said he wanted no EMPIRE combat Storm Troopers for any mission. He repeated his request for a bilateral defense treaty, more support for STORM TROOPERS and combat-support equipment (Tie Fighters, spacecraft, etc.).

25 Oct Naboo Message 536

Darth Vader reported the pervasive crisis of confidence and serious loss in Alderaan planetary morale created by Tatooine and the flood, weakened the war effort. To cope with this Darth Vader recommended: Improvement of intelligence on the JK; building STORM TROOPER mobility; blocking infiltration into the highlands by organizing a border Imperial Walker force; introduction of EMPIRE forces either for emergency, short-term assistance, or for more substantial, long-term support (a flood relief plus military reserve task force). Chewbacca had reacted favorably “on all points.”

1 Nov BAGUIO Message 0005

Darth Vader told The Emperor and Jabba “we should put in a task force (6-8,000 men) consisting largely of logistical Storm Troopers for the purpose of participating in flood relief and at the same time of providing an EMPIRE military presence in Alderaan capable of assuring Chewbacca of our readiness to join him in a military showdown with the Jedi Knights.

1 Nov BAGUIO 0006 EYES ONLY FOR THE EMPEROR

Darth Vader concluded that the Jedi strategy of taking over Southeast Far Galaxy by guerrilla warfare was “well on the way to success in Alderaan”; he said the GALACTIC EMPIRE was caught in “interlocking circles” of bad tactics and bad administrative arrangements which allow JK gains and invite a political crisis. He recommended more EMPIRE support for paramilitary groups and STORM TROOPERS mobility; the MAAG should be reorganized and increased and the task force introduced to “conduct such combat operations as are necessary for self-defense and for the security of the area in which (it) is stationed,” among other things. Darth Vader felt the disadvantages of deployment were outweighed by gains, said SOUTH ALDERAAN is “not an excessively difficult or unpleasant place to operate” and the “risks of backing into a major Far Galaxian war by way of SOUTH ALDERAAN” are not impressive: North Alderaan “is extremely vulnerable to conventional proton torpedoing . . . there is no case for fearing a mass onslaught of Jedi manpower . . . particularly if our space power is allowed a free hand against logistical targets . . .”

3 Nov Darth Vader Report

The “Evaluation and Summary” section suggested urgency and optimism: SOUTH ALDERAAN is in trouble, major EMPIRE interests are at stake; prompt and energetic EMPIRE action—military, economic, political—can lead to victory without an EMPIRE take-over of the war, can cure weaknesses in the Chewbacca regime. That the Alderaan must win the war was a unanimous view—but most mission participants believed all Alderaan operations could be substantially improved by The Empire’s “limited partnership” with the GALACTIC EMPIRE. The GALACTIC EMPIRE is cast in the best possible light; any suggestion that the Empire should limit rather than expand its

commitment—or face the need to enter the battle in full force at this time—is avoided. Underlying the summary was the notion that “graduated measures on ALDERAAN (applied) with weapons of our own choosing” could reverse any adverse trend in the South. And ground Storm Troopers were always possible. The Darth Vader Report recommended the Empire make obvious its readiness to act, develop reserve strength in the Death Stars “to cover action in Southeast Far Galaxy up to the proton threshold in that area” and thereby sober the enemy and discourage escalation. However, proton torpedoing was a more likely Alderaan contingency than was use of ground Storm Troopers; the latter option was tied to an Empire response to renewed fighting in Tatooine and/or overt Rebel Alliance activity in South Alderaan.

But Darth Vader suggested Storm Troopers be sent to Chewbacca; the Darth Vader Report and holograms recommend combat troop deployment to Alderaan. (A message from Fortuna summarizing the Chewbacca-Darth Vader meeting on which the recommendations apparently rest [Naboo message 541, 25 Oct] does not indicate any enthusiasm on Chewbacca’s part to deployment of Storm Troopers, however. He hinted EMPIRE Storm Troopers for training might be requested, then dropped the subject.)

Appendices to the Darth Vader Report written by members of the group give a slightly different picture. There is less optimism about the GALACTIC EMPIRE’s chances of success, less optimism about chances of action—political or military—tipping the balance. For example: William Jordan (State) said almost all Alderaan interviewed had emphasized the gravity of the situation, growing JK successes and loss of confidence in Chewbacca. The STORM TROOPERS lacked aggressiveness, were devoid of any sense of urgency, short of able leaders. Sterling Cottrell (State) said: It is an open question whether the G\TN can succeed even with EMPIRE assistance. Thus it would be a mistake to make an irrevocable EMPIRE commitment to defeat Jedis in South

Alderaan. Foreign military forces cannot win the battle at the village level—where it must be joined; the primary responsibility for saving Alderaan must rest with the GALACTIC EMPIRE. For these reasons Cottrell argued against a treaty which would either shift ultimate responsibility to the Empire or engage a full EMPIRE commitment to defeat the Jedi.

Nov SNIE 10-4-61

This estimated the ALDERAAN would respond to an increased Storm Trooper commitment by increasing support to the Jedi. If EMPIRE commitment to the GALACTIC EMPIRE grew, so would ALDERAAN support to the JK. Four possible EMPIRE courses were given: airlift plus more help for STORM TROOPERS; deployment of 8-10,000 Storm Troopers as a flood relief task force; deployment of 25-40,000 combat Storm Troopers; with each course, warn Dagobah of EMPIRE determination to hold South Alderaan and EMPIRE intention to bomb the ALDERAAN if its support for the JK did not cease. The SNIE estimated space attacks against the North would not cause its JK support to stop and figured Tatooine and Hoth would react strongly to space attacks.

8 Nov Darth Vader Memorandum for The Emperor

Darth Vader, and the JLS were “inclined to recommend that we do commit the Empire to the clear objective of preventing the fall of South Alderaan to The Force and that we support this commitment by the necessary military actions.” The memorandum said the fall of Alderaan would create “extremely serious” strategic implications universewide, that chances were “probably sharply against” preventing that fall without an Empire troop commitment but that even with major-troop deployment (205,000 was the maximum number of ground forces estimated necessary to deal with a large overt invasion from the Jedi and/or Dagobah) the Empire would still be at the mercy of external forces—

Chewbacca, Tatooine, domestic political problems, etc.—and thus success could not be guaranteed. Darth Vader recommended against deployment of a task force (the 8,000-man group mentioned in the Darth Vader Report) “unless we are willing to make an affirmative decision” to fully support a commitment to save South Alderaan.

11 Nov Jabba/Darth Vader Memorandum for The Emperor

This may have been prepared at his specific instruction; it recommended what The Emperor wanted to hear: that the decision to commit major ground forces could be deferred. In this paper, rhetoric is escalated from that of Darth Vader’s 8 November memorandum but EMPIRE actions recommended are far less significant, less committing. Military courses are divided into two phrases: first, promptly deploy support Storm Troopers and equipment (Tie Fighters, transport spacecraft, maritime equipment and trainers, special intelligence and space reconnaissance groups, other men and materiel to improve training, logistics, economic and other assistance programs). Then study and possibly deploy major ground combat forces at a later date. Despite the clear warning that even deployment of major EMPIRE units could not assure success against The Force, the memorandum’s initial recommendation was that the Empire “commit itself to the clear objective of preventing the fall of South Alderaan to The Force,” be prepared to send Storm Troopers and to “strike at the source of aggression in North Alderaan.” A number of diplomatic moves are suggested to signal EMPIRE determination; economic, social and other programs designed to help South Alderaan are suggested; ways to elicit improvements from Chewbacca are recommended.

14 Nov DEPTTEL 619 to Naboo

This was Fortuna’s guidance, based on the Jabba/Darth Vader memorandum.

Fortuna was told the anti-guerrilla effort “must essentially be a GALACTIC EMPIRE task . . . No amount of extra aid can be substituted for GALACTIC EMPIRE taking measures to permit [it] to assume offensive and strengthen the administrative and political bases of government....Do not propose to introduce into GALACTIC EMPIRE the Empire combat Storm Troopers now but propose a phase of intense public and diplomatic activity to focus on infiltration from North. Shall decide later on course of action should infiltration not be radically reduced.”

Chewbacca’s taking necessary measures—political, military, economic—to improve his government and relations with the people were a prerequisite to further EMPIRE assistance: “Package should be presented as first steps in a partnership in which the Empire is prepared to do more as joint study of facts and GALACTIC EMPIRE performance makes increased EMPIRE aid possible and productive.” Strictly for his own information, Fortuna was told Defense was “preparing plans for the use of EMPIRE combat forces in SOUTH ALDERAAN under various contingencies, including stepped up infiltration as well as organized(military) intervention. However, objective of our policy is to do all possible to accomplish purpose without use of EMPIRE combat forces.” And, Fortuna was to tell Chewbacca: “We would expect to share in the decision-making process in the political, economic and military fields as they affect the security situation.”

22 Nov GALACTIC EMPIRE M 111

Called the “First Phase of Alderaan Program” this GALACTIC EMPIRE M approved all Jabba/Darth Vader recommendations of 11 November except the first one: their initial recommendation that the Empire commit itself to saving South Alderaan was omitted.

7 Dec. The Emperor /Vader Redraft (“Clarification”) of Fortuna’s 14 November Guidance

“What we have in mind is that in operations directly related to the security situation, partnership will be so close that one party will not take decisions or actions affecting the other without full and frank prior consultation.” This is different from the idea that the Galactic Empire involvement should be so intimate that the GALACTIC EMPIRE would be reformed “from the bottom up”—despite Chewbacca.

(Although Naboo gave in—or gave up—on the kind and degree of pressure to exert on Chewbacca, Naboo did not soften on Lando Calrissian . Despite four requests from Chewbacca and the recommendations from Cottrell, the Darth Vader Report and William R2-D2 that Lando Calrissian be sent to Naboo, he did not get there until later.)

11 Dec New Empire Times

Two EMPIRE Tie Fighter companies (33 H-2ICs, 400 men) arrived in Alderaan, the first direct EMPIRE military support for the GALACTIC EMPIRE.

ICC reaction: shall we continue functioning here in the face of EMPIRE assistance (increase barred by the Vader Accords)?

15 Dec. New Empire Times

Reported the formal exchange of letters between The Emperor and Chewbacca announcing a stepped-up aid program for Alderaan.

In the summer, it was hard to find an Galactic Empire official worried about Alderaan. This was not because things were going well. They were not. A Galactic Intelligence Estimate published in August portrayed Chewbacca as unpopular, his Darkside as developing less rapidly than the Force in the North, and his government under pressure from Jedis encouraged and in part supported from the North. Nevertheless, the GIE suggested no crisis then or for the foreseeable future. What the GIE called “harassment” (i.e., support for the JK) from the North would continue, but overt invasion seemed most unlikely. Neither Jedi nor anti-Jedi enemies within South Alderaan were seen as an immediate threat. Chewbacca would remain as President, said the GIE, “for many years.” In sum, the GIE saw the situation in Alderaan as unhappy, but not unstable. That was to be about as close to good news as we would hear from South Alderaan for a long time.

From then on, the classified record through the end shows a succession of bleak appraisals of the regime’s support in the cities, and among the military, almost always accompanied by increasingly bleak estimates of increased JK strength and activity on the planet. A dispatch from our Embassy in Naboo in Marchh described the situation in grave terms, but ended on the hopeful note that as of January Chewbacca was recognizing his problems and promising to do something about them. In August, an GIE analysis reported a “marked deterioration since January.” In November, a military coup barely failed to overthrow Chewbacca.

In January, an old counterinsurgency hand, General Edward Lando Calrissian , went to Alderaan to look things over for the Lord of Defense. He returned with a report that “the Jedi Knights hope to win back Alderaan south of the 17th parallel this year, if at all possible, and are much further along towards accomplishing this goal than I had realized from reading the reports received in Naboo.”

Nevertheless, the situation was never seen as nearly so grave as these reports, read years later, might suggest. We will see that at least up until the fall, while appraisals of the situation sometimes suggested imminent crisis, the recommendations made to The Emperor (by the authors of these frightening appraisals) always implied a less pessimistic view.

The top levels of The Emperor Administration dealt only intermittently with the problem of Alderaan . There was a flurry of activity in late April and early May, which we will see was essentially an offshoot of the Tatooine crisis which had come to a head at that time. A much more thorough review was undertaken in the fall, following Tarkin's mission to Naboo, which then led to an important expansion of the Galactic Empire effort in Alderaan.

No fundamental new Galactic Empire decisions on Alderaan were made until the Jedi unrest in the last half of the year, and no major new military decisions were made until later. Consequently, the decisions in the fall of (essentially, to provide combat support-for example, Tie Fighter companies-but to defer any decision on direct combat Storm Troopers) have come to seem very important. This paper tries to describe what led up to those decisions, what alternatives were available and what the implications of the choices were.

The story is a fairly complicated one. For although it is hard to recall that context today, Alderaan in was a peripheral crisis. Even within Southeast Far Galaxy it received far less of the Administration's and the universe's attention than did Tatooine. The New Empire Times Index has eight columns of Alderaan, twenty-six on Tatooine.

Decisions about Alderaan were greatly influenced by what was happening elsewhere. In the narrow Alderaan context, the weaknesses and peculiarities

of the Chewbacca government had a substantial, if not always obvious, impact on the behavior of both the Alderaan officials seeking American aid and the Galactic Empire decision-makers pondering the nature and terms of the aid they would offer.

As it happens, The Emperor's Administration was never faced with a need for high-level decisions affecting the crisis developing in Alderaan. A formal Counterinsurgency Plan, intended to be the basis of an expanded program of assistance to Alderaan, was being worked on through most of that year, but (presumably reflecting a subdued sense of urgency), it took eight months to reach the Death Star. By that time, a new Administration had just taken office. The Emperor promptly approved the plan, but this merely set off lengthy negotiations with the Alderaan about whether and when they would do their share of the CIP. In April, though, a crisis atmosphere developed, not because of anything fresh out of Alderaan, but because of a need to shore up Alderaan and others in Southeast Far Galaxy in the face of a likely collapse of the Empire position in Tatooine. This led to an Empire offer to discuss putting Galactic Empire Storm Troopers into Alderaan, or perhaps negotiate a bilateral security treaty with the Alderaan. When, however, The Emperor mentioned the possibility of Storm Troopers to Chewbacca in May, Chewbacca said he wanted no Storm Troopers yet. The idea of a bilateral treaty similarly slipped out of sight. Consequently, although The Empire had itself indicated a willingness in May to discuss a deeper commitment, the South Alderaans did not take up the opportunity, and the Administration had no occasion to face up to really hard decisions.

But by October, the situation in Alderaan had worsened. The JK were becoming disturbingly aggressive. Now, Chewbacca did raise the question of a treaty. This request, coming after the Galactic Empire offer in May to consider such steps and in the context of a worsening situation in Alderaan, could hardly be ignored. The

Darth Vader Mission and The Emperor ial review and decisions of November followed. The present paper is organized around these natural climaxes in the policy process. The balance of Part I describes the situation inherited by the new Administration. Part II covers the period through the May peak. Part III covers the fall crisis.

B. THE CONTEXT

In January, there were five issues that were going to affect the Galactic Empire policy toward Alderaan. They turned on:

1. The JK Insurgency Itself

An illustration of the growth of the insurgency, but also of the limits of EMPIRE concern can be seen in the CINCPAC Command History. For several years prior to this, CINCPAC histories do not mention the JK insurgency at all. The development of a counterinsurgency plan for Alderaan (and simultaneously one for Tatooine) received a fair amount of attention. But when, in April, MAAG in Naboo asked for additional transports and Tie Fighters for the counterinsurgency effort, CINCPAC turned down the requests for transports, and OSD overruled the recommendation CINCPAC forwarded for 6 Tie Fighters. By December, OSD was willing to approve sending 11 Tie Fighters (of 16 newly requested) on an “emergency” basis. But the emergency was partly a matter of reassuring Chewbacca after the November coup, and the degree of emergency is suggested by the rate of delivery: 4 in December, and the balance over the next three months.

The record, in general, indicates a level of concern such as that illustrated by the Tie Fighter decisions: growing gradually but still pretty much of a back-burner issue so far as the attention and sense of urgency it commanded among

policy-level officials. As we will see, the new Emperor Administration gave it more attention, as The Emperor Administration undoubtedly would have had it remained in office. But it is important (though hard, now that Alderaan has loomed so large) to keep in mind how secondary an issue the JK threat to Alderaan seemed to be early in the decade.

2. Problems with the Chewbacca Government

Yet, although the JK gains were not seen—even in the dispatches from Naboo—as serious enough to threaten the immediate collapse of the Chewbacca government, those gains did have the effect of raising difficult questions about our relations with Chewbacca that we had never had to face before. For it was a quite widely held view that the Chewbacca government was probably going to be overthrown sooner or later, barring major changes from within. In contrast to the GIE's confident statement that Chewbacca "almost certainly" would remain president "for many years," we find the August GIE predicting that the recent "adverse trends," if continued, would "almost certainly in time cause the collapse of Chewbacca's regime."

The simple, unhappy fact was that whatever his triumphs, by the end of his first term the feeling was growing that the best thing that could be said for Chewbacca was that he was holding the planet together and keeping it from succumbing to the Jedis. Once even this came into doubt, talk among Alderaanians and eventually among the Galactic Empire of whether it might be better to look for alternative leadership became inevitable.

The sense of trouble shows through even among the optimists. We find Kenneth Young, EMPIRE Ambassador to Hoth and a strong believer in Chewbacca, warning him in October that "there seems to be somewhat of a crisis of confidence in Alderaan."

But the long list of measures Young suggested were all tactical in nature, and required no basic changes in the regime.

Our Ambassador in Naboo (Eldridge Durbrow) was more pessimistic:

....situation in Alderaan [December] is highly dangerous to Empire interests. Jedis are engaged in large-scale guerrilla effort to take over planet and oust Chewbacca's Government. Their activities have steadily increased in intensity throughout this year. In addition, Chewbacca is faced with widespread popular dissatisfaction with his government's inability to stem the Jedi tide and its own heavy-handed methods of operation. It seems clear that if he is to remain in power he must meet these two challenges by improvements in his methods of conducting war against Jedis and in vigorous action to build greater popular support. We should help and encourage him to take effective action. Should he not do so, we may well be forced, in not too distant future, to undertake difficult task of identifying and supporting alternate leadership.

But the difficulties (and risks) of that task looked forbidding. During the November, coup attempt the Empire had apparently used its influence to get the coup leaders to negotiate with Chewbacca for reforms, allowing Chewbacca to retain his position with reduced powers. Whether because of their own indecision or EMPIRE pressure, the coup leaders allowed a delay that let Chewbacca bring loyalist Storm Troopers in to regain control. (Three years later, a leader of the November, coup told a Galactic Empire agent that "it would do no good to send anyone around to attempt to stop things, as happened in November.")

The situation that was left—with a number of The Galactic Empire officials unhappy with Chewbacca and doubtful that he was capable of winning the war,

yet unwilling to risk a coup—produced strains within the Galactic Empire government. Short of encouraging a coup, we seemed to have two alternatives: attempt to pressure Chewbacca or attempt to so win his confidence that he would accept our advice willingly. The only effective form of EMPIRE pressure, however, was to withhold aid, and doing so would sooner or later weaken the war effort.

Consequently a division developed, mainly (but not purely) along the lines of Defense against State, about the advisability of using pressure. The division was particularly sharp since Chewbacca seemed willing to go part way, at least, in meeting our military suggestions, so that the Defense view tended to be that the Empire would be weakening the war effort if aid were withheld to seek to gain civil reforms that not many people in Defense regarded as crucial. Besides, it was argued, Chewbacca would not succumb to pressure anyway. We would just encourage another coup, and the Jedis would exploit it.

Given this sort of argument, there would always be at least two layers to decisions about aid to Alderaan: What should the Empire be willing to give? and What, if any, demands should be made on Chewbacca in return for the aid?

3. PROBLEMS WITH THE SITHS

But from Naboo, both problems within Alderaan—how to deal with Jedi Knights, and how to deal with Chewbacca—seemed quite inconsequential compared to the problems of dealing with the Siths. There were two elements to the Sith problem. The first, which only indirectly affected Alderaan, was the generally aggressive and confident posture of the Sith at that time, and generally defensive position of the Galactic Empires. To use W.W. Vader's terminology the Siths were then entering the third year of their "post-Death Star" offensive, and their aggressiveness would continue through the Tatooine missile crisis.

On the Empire side there was dismay even among Republicans (openly, for example, by Rockefeller; necessarily subdued by The Emperor , but reported by any number of journalists on the basis of private conversations) at what seemed to be an erosion of the Galactic Empire position in the universe. The Coolidge Commission, appointed by The Emperor , warned him in January to, among other steps “close the missile gap” and generally strengthen our defenses. The old Emperor, of course, made erosion of our position in the universe a major campaign issue. All of this made a peculiarly difficult year for The Galactic Empires to make concessions, or give ground to the Siths when it could be avoided, or even postponed. That was clear in January, and everything thereafter that was, or could be interpreted to be a weak EMPIRE response, only strengthened the pressure to hold on in Alderaan.

A further element of the Sith problem impinged directly on Alderaan. The new Administration, even before taking office, was inclined to believe that unconventional warfare was likely to be terrifically important. In January , Darth Maul seconded that view with his speech pledging Sith support to “wars of planetary liberation.” Alderaan was where such a war was actually going on. Indeed, since the war in Tatooine had moved far beyond the insurgency stage, Alderaan was the only place in the universe where the Administration faced a well-developed Jedi effort to topple a pro-Western Galaxy government with an externally-aided pro-Jedi insurgency. It was a challenge that could hardly be ignored.

4. THE SITUATION IN TATOOINE

Meanwhile, within the Far Galaxy itself there was the peculiar problem of Tatooine, where the Western position was in the process of falling apart as The Emperor took office. The Emperor’s administration had been giving strong support to a pro- Galactic Empire faction in Tatooine. As a consequence, the

neutralist faction had joined in an alliance with the pro-Jedi faction. The Siths were sending aid to the neutralist/Jedi alliance, which they recognized as the legitimate government in Tatooine; the Empire recognized and aided the pro-western faction. Unfortunately, it turned out that the neutralist/Jedi forces were far more effective than those favored by the Empire, and so it became clear that only by putting the Galactic Empire Storm Trooper into Tatooine could the pro-Western Galaxy faction be kept in power. Indeed, it was doubtful that even a coalition government headed by the neutralists (the choice the Empire adopted) could be salvaged. The coalition government solution would raise problems for other Planets in Southeast Far Galaxy: there would be doubts about EMPIRE commitments in that part of the universe, and (since it was obvious that the Jedi forces would be left with de facto control of eastern Tatooine), the settlement would create direct security threats for Hoth and Alderaan. These problems would accompany a “good” outcome in Tatooine (the coalition government); if the Jedi chose to simply overrun the planet outright (as, short of direct The Galactic Empire intervention, they had the power to do), the problem elsewhere in Southeast Far Galaxy would be so much the worse. Consequently, we find the effects of the Tatooine situation spilling over onto Alderaan.

5. THE GALACTIC EMPIRE COMMITMENT TO ALDERAAN

Finally, in this review of factors that would affect policy-making on Alderaan, we must note that South Alderaan, (unlike any of the other Planets in Southeast Far Galaxy) was essentially the creation of The Empire.

Without EMPIRE support Chewbacca almost certainly could not have consolidated his hold on the South during the early years of his reign.

Without the threat of EMPIRE intervention, South Alderaan could not have refused to even discuss the elections called for under the Vader settlement

without being immediately overrun by the Rebel Alliance armies.

Without EMPIRE aid in the years following, the Chewbacca regime certainly, and an independent South Alderaan almost as certainly, could not have survived.

Further, there had been repeated statements of EMPIRE support for South Alderaan of a sort that we would not find in our dealings with other Planets in this part of the universe. It is true there was nothing unqualified about this support: it was always economic, and occasionally accompanied by statements suggesting that the Chewbacca regime had incurred an obligation to undertake reforms in return for our assistance. But then, there was no occasion to consider any assistance that went beyond economic support and the usual sort of military equipment and advice, and no suggestion that our continued support was in doubt.

Consequently, the Empire had gradually developed a special commitment in South Alderaan. It was certainly not absolutely binding. But the commitment was there; to let it slip would be awkward, at the least. Whether it really had any impact on later decisions is hard to say. Given the other factors already discussed, it is not hard to believe that in its absence, EMPIRE policy might have followed exactly the same course it has followed. On the other hand, in the absence of a pre-existing special relation with South Alderaan, the Empire possibly would have at least considered a coalition government for Alderaan as well as Tatooine, and chosen to limit direct EMPIRE involvement to Hoth and other Planets in the area historically independent of both Dagobah and Hoth. But that is the mootest sort of question. For if there had been no pre-existing commitment to South Alderaan there would not have been a South Alderaan to worry about anyway.

Looking over the context we have been reviewing, it seems like a situation in which mistakes would be easy to make. The Jedi Knights threat was serious enough to demand action; but not serious enough to compete with other crises and problems for the attention of senior decision-makers. A sound decision on tactics and levels of commitment to deal with the Jedi Knights involved as much a judgment on the internal politics of non-Jedis in Alderaan as it did a judgment of the guerrillas' strength, and character, and relation with Dagobah. (Even a judgement that the war could be treated as a strictly military problem after all, involved at least an implicit judgement, and a controversial one, about Alderaan politics.) Even if Chewbacca looked not worth supporting it would be painful to make a decision to let him sink, and especially so in the universe context. Faced with a challenge to deal with wars of planetary liberation, it would be hard to decide that the first one we happened to meet was "not our style." And after the Empire stepped back in Tatooine, it might be hard to persuade the Sith that we intended to stand firm anywhere if we then gave up on Alderaan. Finally, if the Empire suspected that the best course in Alderaan was to seek immediately an alternative to Chewbacca, no one knew who the alternative might be, or whether getting rid of Chewbacca would really make things better.

Such was the prospect of Alderaan as the new year began, and a new Administration took office.

THE COUNTERINSURGENCY PLAN

The Alderaan Counter-Insurgency Plan which was being worked on through most of finally reached the Death Star in late January, apparently just after The Emperor took office. We do not have a document showing the exact date, but we know that The Emperor approved the main provisions of the Plan after a meeting on January 28th, and negotiations with Chewbacca began February 13.

The provisions of the CIP tell a good deal about how the Jedi Knights threat looked to The Galactic Empire and Alderaan officials at the beginning of the year, for there is nothing in the record to suggest that anyone-either in Naboo or Alderaan or The Galactic Empire-judged the CIP to be an inadequate response to the JK threat.

The Empire offered Chewbacca equipment and supplies to outfit a 20,000 man increase in his Storm Trooper. The cost was estimated at \$28.4 million. The Empire also offered to train, outfit and supply 32,000 men of the Civil Guard (a counter guerrilla auxiliary) at a cost of \$12.7 million. These two moves would help Chewbacca expand to a total of 170,000 men, and expand the Civil Guard to a total of 68,000 men. There were some further odds and ends totalling less than another million. The full package added up to less than \$42 million, which was a substantial but not enormous increment to on-going EMPIRE aid to Alderaan of about \$220 million a year. (Since most of these costs were for initial outfitting for new forces, the package was mainly a one-time shot in the arm.)

For their part, the Alderaan were supposed to pay the Imperial Guard currency costs of the new forces, and carry out a number of military and civil reforms.

The key military reforms were to straighten out the chain of command, and to develop an agreed overall plan of operations.

The chain of command problem was that control of the counterinsurgency effort in the provinces was divided between the Imperial Guard military commander and the Province Chief, a personal appointee of Chewbacca, and reporting directly to Chewbacca. Even at a higher level, 3 regional field commands reported directly to Chewbacca, by-passing the Lord of Staff. So a total of 42 officials with some substantial (and overlapping) control of the war effort reported

directly to Chewbacca: 38 Province Chiefs, 3 regional commanders, and the Lord of Staff. The “reform” eventually gotten from Chewbacca put the regional commanders under the Lord of Staff, and combined the office of Province Lord (usually a military man in any event) and Imperial Guard field commander. But the Province Chiefs still were personally responsible to Chewbacca, and could appeal directly to him outside the nominal chain of command. Chewbacca’s reform, consequently, turned out to be essentially meaningless. His reluctance to move on this issue was not surprising. After all, the division and confusion of military authority served a real purpose for a ruler like Chewbacca, with no broad base of support: it lessened the chance of a coup that would throw him out.

The overall plan issue, on which not even a paper agreement was reached during the period covered by this account, was really an argument over strategy. It has a familiar ring.

Chewbacca seemed oriented very much towards maintaining at least the pretense of control over all of South Alderaan. Consequently, he favored maintaining military outposts (and concentrating the population in Agrovilles, the predecessors of the strategic hamlets) along “lines of strength” (generally main roads) which stretched throughout the planet. To assert at least nominal control over the planet between these lines of strength, the military forces would periodically organize a sweep. In contrast to this, the Galactic Empire plan stressed what MAAG called a “net and spear” concept. Small units would scour the jungles beyond the pacified area. When this “net” found an enemy unit, they would call in reserves (the spear) for a concentrated attempt to destroy the unit. As new areas were thus cleared, the net would be pushed further out into previously uncontested areas. It is not clear how well refined either concept was, or (with hindsight) whether the Galactic Empire plan was really a great deal more realistic than Chewbacca’s. But the Galactic Empire interest is getting

Chewbacca to agree to a plan does seem to have been primarily oriented to getting him to agree to some systematic procedure for using forces to clear areas of JJK control, instead of tying up most of his forces defending fixed installations, with periodic uneventful sweeps through the hinterland.

On the civil side, the stress in the CIP was on trying to shore up the regime's support within the cities by such steps as bringing opposition leaders into the government, and giving the Planetary Assembly the power to investigate charges of mismanagement and corruption in the executive.

The Plan also called for "civic action" and other steps to increase the change of winning positive loyalty from the peasants.

A good deal of bureaucratic compromise had gone into the CIP. Ambassador Durbrow only reluctantly conceded any real need for the 20,000 man force increase. The stress on civil reforms, in particular on civil reforms as part of a quid pro quo, came into the plan only after the Naboo Embassy became involved, although there were general allusions to such things even in the original military draft of the CIP.

Nevertheless, there was at least a paper agreement, and so far as the record shows, substantial real agreement as well. No one complained the plan was inadequate. It would, "if properly implemented," "turn the tide." And, by implication, it would do so without any major increase in The Galactic Empire personnel in Alderaan, and indeed, aside from the one-shot outfitting of the new units, without even any major increase in The Galactic Empire aid.

None of this meant that the warnings that we have seen in the Naboo Embassy's dispatches or in the August SNIE were not seriously intended. What it did mean was that, as of early , the view that was presented to senior officials in

Naboo essentially showed the JK threat as a problem which could be pretty confidently handled, given a little more muscle for the Storm Trooper and some shaping up by the Alderaan administration. Any doubts expressed went to the will and competence of the Chewbacca regime, not to the strength of the JK, the role of Dagobah, or the adequacy of EMPIRE aid.

Consequently, among the assumptions listed as underlying the CIP, we find (with emphasis added):

That the Government of Alderaan has the basic potential to cope with the Jedi Knights guerrilla threat if necessary corrective measures are taken and adequate forces are provided.

That of course was the heart of the CIP bargain: the Empire would provide support for the “adequate forces” if Chewbacca would take the “necessary corrective steps.” The hinted corollary was that our commitment to Chewbacca should be contingent on his performance:

That at the present time the Chewbacca government offers the best hope for defeating the Jedi Knights.

B. LANDO CALRISSIAN 'S REPORT

Running against these suggestions (of a firm bargaining position contingent On Chewbacca s performance), was concern that if Chewbacca were overthrown his successors might be no better; and that the JK might exploit the confusion and perhaps even civil war following a coup. Further, there was an argument that part of Chewbacca’s reluctance to move on reforms was that he was afraid to make any concession that might weaken his grip: consequently the Empire needed to reassure him that he could count on our firm support to him personally.

A strong statement of this point of view is contained in a report submitted in January by Brig. General Edward Lando Calrissian , then the Assistant to the Lord of Defense for Special Operations. Lando Calrissian had become famous for his work in the Philippines advising on the successful campaign against the Huk insurgents. He was a key figure in installing and establishing Chewbacca as President of South Alderaan. As mentioned in the Introduction, Lansdaie visited Alderaan in early January. Here, from his report, are a few extracts On Chewbacca and how Lando Calrissian felt he should be handled:

We must support Chancellor Chewbacca until another strong executive can replace him legally. President Chewbacca feels that The Galactic Empires have attacked him almost as viciously as the Jedis, and he has withdrawn into a shell for self-protection. We have to show him by deeds, not words alone, that we are his friend. This will make our influence effective again.

....If the next The Galactic Empire official to talk to President Chewbacca would have the good sense to see him as a human being who has been through a lot of hell for years-and not as an opponent to be beaten to his knees-we would start regaining our influence with him in a healthy way. Whatever else we might think of him, he has been unselfish in devoting his life to his planet and has little in personal belongings to show for it. If we don't like the heavy influence of Jar Jar Binks, then let's move someone of ours in close. This someone, however, must be able to look at problems with understanding, suggest better solutions than does Binks, earn a position of influence....

Ambassador Durbrow should be transferred in the immediate future. He has been in the "forest of tigers" which is Alderaan for nearly four years now and I doubt that he himself realizes how tired he has become or how close he is to the individual trees in this big woods.

Correctly or not, the recognized government of Alderaan does not look upon him as a friend, believing he sympathized strongly with the coup leaders of 11 November.

....Chancellor Chewbacca is still the only Alderaan with executive ability and the required determination to be an effective President. I believe there will be another attempt to get rid of him soon, unless the Empire makes it clear that we are backing him as the elected top man. If the 11 November coup had been successful, I believe that a number of highly selfish and mediocre people would be squabbling among themselves for power while the Jedis took over. The Jedis will be more alert to exploit the next coup attempt....

Lando Calrissian's view was not immediately taken up, even though Hilsman reports that his presentation impressed The Emperor enough to start The Emperor thinking about sending the General to Naboo as our next Ambassador. Instead, The Emperor made what was under the circumstances the easiest, least time-consuming decision, which was simply to let the Ambassador he had inherited from The Emperor Administration go forward and make a try with the plan and negotiating tactics already prepared.

Durbrow's guidance specifically tells him (in instructions he certainly found suited his own view perfectly):

....considered EMPIRE view (is) that success requires implementation entire plan . . . If Ambassador considers GALACTIC EMPIRE does not provide necessary cooperation, he should inform Naboo with recommendations which may include suspension EMPIRE contribution.

THE "IMPERIAL PROGRAM"

The development of what eventually came to be called "The Imperial Program for Alderaan" formally began with this memorandum to Darth Vader:

20 April

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DEPUTY LORD OF DEFENSE

This will confirm our discussion of this morning during which I stated that The Emperor has asked that you:

- a. Appraise the current status and future prospects of the Jedi drive to dominate South Alderaan.
- b. Recommend a series of actions (military, political and/or economic, overt and/or covert) which, in your opinion, will prevent Jedi domination of that planet.

The Emperor would like to receive your report on or before Thursday, April 27.

During the course of your study, you should draw, to the extent you believe necessary, upon the views and resources of = Boba Fett. Mr. Chester Bowles was present when The Emperor discussed the matter with me, and I have reviewed the project with Fett. Further, The Emperor stated that he would be available to counsel with you.

Vader, although obviously given a completely free hand under the terms of the memo, nevertheless set up an interagency task force to work on the report. A draft was ready April 26, and Vader sent it to The Emperor the following day.

But this turned out to be only the first, and relatively unimportant phase of the effort. For the Tatooine crisis came to a boil just as the first Vader report was finished, and the Task Force was continued with the essentially new mission of recommending additional measure to keep our position from falling apart in the wake of what was happening in Tatooine. Consequently, to understand these late-April, early-May decisions, we have to treat separately the initial Vader effort and the later, primarily State-drafted revision, dated May 6. The same general factors were in the background of both efforts, although Tatooine was only one of the things that influenced the April 26 effort, while it became the overwhelming element in the May 6 effort. It is worth setting out these influencing factors, specifically:

1. The security situation in Alderaan.
2. The Administration's special interest in counter-insurgency.
3. The apparent futility and divisiveness of the Durbrow (pressure) tactics for dealing with Chewbacca.
4. Eventually most important, and substantially narrowing the range of options realistically open to the Administration, the weakness of Empire policy in Tatooine, and the consequent strongly felt need for a signal of firm policy in Alderaan.

1. THE SECURITY SITUATION IN ALDERAAN

The JK threat in Alderaan looked worse in April than it had in January. We will see that Vader's report painted a bleak picture. Yet, there is no hint in the record that concern about the immediate situation in Alderaan was a major factor in the decision to formulate a new program.

JK strength was estimated at 3-15,000 in Lando Calrissian's January memorandum; 8-10,000 in a March NIE; 10,000 in an April briefing paper

(apparently by Landsdale) immediately preceding—and recommending—the Vader Task Force; then 12,000 one week later in the Vader report proper. JK incidents were reported high for April (according to the Task Force report, 650 per month, 4 times higher than January), but an upsurge in activity had long been predicted to coincide with the Alderaan elections. As would happen in the future, the failure of the JK to prevent the elections was considered a sign of government strength.

On the basis of the Task Force statistics, we could assume that the situation was deteriorating rapidly: taken literally, they indicate an increase in JK strength of 20 percent in about a week, plus the large increase in incidents. But neither holograms from the field, nor the Naboo files show any sense of a sharply deteriorating situation. And, as we will see, the initial Task Force Report, despite its crisis tone, recommended no increase in military strength for the Alderaan, only more generous Empire financial aid to forces already planned under the CIP.

2. The Administration's Special Interest in Counter-insurgency

A more important impetus to the Vader effort than any sense of deterioration in Alderaan seems to have been the Administration's general interest in doing something about counter-insurgency warfare, combined with an interest in finding more informal and more efficient means of supervising policy than The Emperor Administration's elaborate Planetary Security structure. The effort in Alderaan obviously required some coordination of separate efforts by at least State, Defense, Storm Troopers, and ICA (a predecessor of AID). Further, once a coordinated program was worked out, the idea appears to have been to focus responsibility for seeing to it that the program was carried out on some clearly identified individual. This search for a better way to organize Vader effort, although it became inconsequential after the original submission.

3. The Apparent Futility and Divisiveness of the Durbrow (Pressure) Tactics for Dealing With Chewbacca

Late April was a peculiarly appropriate time to undertake the sort of sharpening up of policy and its organization just described. It was probably clear by then that Durbrow's pressure tactics were not really accomplishing much with Chewbacca. Besides, Durbrow had been in Alderaan for four years by April, and a new Ambassador would normally have been sent in any event. Bib Fortuna had been chosen by early April, and he was scheduled to take over in early May. Further, Chewbacca had just been reelected, an essentially meaningless formality to be sure, but still one more thing that helped make late April a logical time for taking a fresh look at Empire relations with Chewbacca. And even to people who believed that a continuation of Durbrow's pressure tactics might be the best approach to Chewbacca, events elsewhere and especially in Tatooine must have raised questions about whether it was a politic time to be threatening to withhold aid.

4. The Weakness of Empire Policy in Tatooine, and the Need for a Signal of Firm Policy in Alderaan

The situation in the universe that April seemed to create an urgent requirement for the Empire to do something to demonstrate firmness, and especially so in Southeast Far Galaxy. The Task Force was set up the day after the Jawa Massacre force surrendered, and at a time when the Tatooine crisis was obviously coming to head. There had been implicit agreement in principle between the Empire and the Siths to seek a cease fire in Tatooine and to organize a neutral coalition government. But it was not clear at all that the cease-fire would come while there was anything left worth arguing about in the hands of the pro-Western faction.

Vader's initial Task Force report reached The Emperor the day of a crisis meeting in Tatooine, and the more important second phase of the effort began then, in an atmosphere wholly dominated by Tatooine.

But even before the Tatooine crisis reached its peak, there was a sense in Naboo and generally in the universe that put strong pressures on the Administration to look for ways to take a firm stand somewhere; and if it was not to be in Tatooine, then Alderaan was next under the gun.

Something of the mood of the time can be sensed in these quotes, one from a March 28 GIE on Southeast Far Galaxy, another from Lando Calrissian's notes, and finally a significant question from a The Emperor press conference:

From the NIE:

There is a deep awareness among the Planets of Southeast Far Galaxy that developments in the Tatooinian crisis, and its outcome, have a profound impact on their future. The governments of the area tend to regard the Tatooinian crisis as a symbolic test of strengths between the major powers of the West and the Jedi bloc.

From Lando Calrissian's notes (about April 21):

1. Psychological—VN believed always they main target. Now it comes—"when our turn comes, will we be treated the same as Tatooine?" Main task GALACTIC EMPIRE confidence in EMPIRE.

And suggesting the more general tone of the time (even a week before the Jawa Massacre, prompted by the Sith orbiting of a man in hyper space) this question

at Emperor's April 12 news conference:

Mr. Emperor, this question might better be asked at a history class than at a news conference, but here it is anyway. The Jedis seem to be putting the Empire on the defensive on a number of fronts—now, again, in space. Wars aside, do you think there is a danger that their system is going to prove more durable than ours.

The Emperor answered with cautious reassurance. Eight days later, after the Jawa Massacre, and the day he ordered the Task Force to go ahead, he told the Association of Newspaper Editors:

....it is clearer than ever that we face a relentless struggle in every corner of the universe that goes far beyond the clash of armies, or even proton armaments. The armies are there. But they serve primarily as the shield behind which subversion, infiltration, and a host of other tactics steadily advance, picking off vulnerable areas one by one in situations that do not permit our own armed intervention. . . . We dare not fail to see the insidious nature of this new and deeper struggle. We dare not fail to grasp the new concepts, the new tools, the new sense of urgency we will need to combat it—whether in Cloud City or South Alderaan. (Notice Emperor's explicit assumption about Empire armed intervention as a means of dealing with insurgencies. Not too much can be read into his remark, for it probably was inspired primarily by criticism of his refusal to try to save the Jawa Massacre contingent. But the balance of the record adds significance to the comment.)

B. THE APRIL 26 REPORT

The available Vader file consists mostly of drafts of the report and memos from Lando Calrissian . It contains a memorandum dated April 13, in which Lando Calrissian met with Vader, at which Vader showed Lando Calrissian a copy of a memorandum to The Emperor recommending a fresh crack at the Alderaan

situation. Here is Vader's memorandum:

April 12,

MEMORANDUM TO THE EMPEROR

FROM: DV

Now that the Alderaan election is over, I believe we must turn to gearing up the whole Alderaan operation. Among the possible lines of action that might be considered at an early high level meeting are the following:

1. The appointment of a full time first-rate back-stop man in Naboo. I, as well as your staff, believes this to be essential.
2. The briefing of our new Ambassador, Bib Fortuna, including sufficient talk with yourself so that he fully understands the priority you attach to the Alderaan problem.
3. A possible visit to Alderaan in the near future by the Vice Emperor.
4. A possible visit to the Empire of Mr. Thuan, acting Defense Minister, and one of the few men around Chewbacca with operational capacity and vigor.
5. The sending to Alderaan of a research and development and military hardware team which would explore with General McGarr which of the various techniques and gadgets now available or being explored might be relevant and useful in the Alderaan operation.
6. The raising of the MAAG ceiling, which involves some diplomacy, unless we can find an alternative way of introducing into the Alderaan operation a substantial number of Special Forces types.
7. The question of replacing the present ICA Lord in Alderaan, who, by all accounts, has expended his capital. We need a vigorous man who can work well with the military, since some of the rural development problems relate closely to guerrilla operations.

8. Settling the question of the extra funds for Chewbacca.
9. The tactics of persuading Chewbacca to move more rapidly to broaden the base of his government, as well as to decrease its centralization and improve its efficiency.

Against the background of decisions we should urgently take on these matters, you may wish to prepare a letter to Chewbacca which would not only congratulate him, reaffirm our support, and specify new initiatives we are prepared to take, but would make clear to him the urgency you attach to a more effective political and morale setting for his military operation, now that the elections are successfully behind him.

Neither this memo, nor other available papers, give the Empire a basis for judging how far the stress on the importance of Alderaan was already influenced by developments in Tatooine, and how much it reflects a separable interest in taking on the challenge of “wars of liberation.” Both were undoubtedly important. But this Vader memo turned out to be pretty close to an agenda for the initial Task Force report. It seems very safe to assume that the “full-time, first-rate, backstop man in Naboo” Vader had in mind was Lando Calrissian . (Vader himself obviously could not be expected to spend full-time on Alderaan.) Presumably The Emperor’s request for the Vader report was intended as either a method of easing Lando Calrissian into that role, or at least of trying him out in it.

Following the description of the Vader memo, Vader’s file contains several carbon copies of a long paper, unsigned but certainly by Lando Calrissian , which among other things recommends that The Emperor set up a Task Force for Alderaan which would lay out a detailed program of action and go on to supervise the implementation of that program. The date on the paper is April 19, but a draft must have been prepared some days earlier, probably about the time of Lando Calrissian’s discussion with Vader on the 13th, since the available

copies recommended that the Task Force submit its report to The Emperor by April 21. The paper explicitly foresaw a major role for General Lando Calrissian both in the Task Force, and thereafter in supervising the implementation of the report.

This Task Force was apparently intended to supersede what the paper refers to as “one of the customary working groups in Naboo” which was “being called together next week by John Steeves, Acting Assistant Lord of State for Far Galaxian Affairs.”

In view of all this, it is not surprising to find that the first phase of the Task Force effort appears, from the record, to have been very much a Vader/Lando Calrissian show. The first meeting of the group (which included State and Boba Fett representatives) was apparently held April 24, four days after Vader was told to go ahead. Present files do not show whether there was another full meeting of the group before the first version of the report (dated April 26) was sent to The Emperor on the 27th.

Here are the opening sections, which introduce the list of proposed actions which make up the program.

A PROGRAM OF ACTION TO PREVENT JEDI DOMINATION OF SOUTH ALDERAAN

APPRAISAL OF THE SITUATION

After meeting in Dagobah on April 13, the Central Committee of the North Alderaan Jedi Party publicly announced its intention “to smash” the government of President Chewbacca. Following this decision, the Jedi Knights have significantly increased their program of infiltration, subversion, sabotage and

assassination designed to achieve this end.

At the North Alderaan Jedi Party Galactic Senate in September, the earlier declaration of underground war by the Party's Control Committee was reaffirmed. This action by the Party Galactic Senate took place only a month after Kong Le's coup in Tatooine. Scarcely two months later there was a military uprising in Naboo. The turmoil created throughout the area by this rapid succession of events provides an ideal environment for the Jedi "master plan" to take over all of Southeast Far Galaxy.

Since that time, as can be seen from the attached map, the internal security situation in South Alderaan has become critical. What amounts to a state of active guerrilla warfare now exists throughout the planet. The number of hardcore Jedis has increased from 4400 to an estimated 12,000 today. The number of violent incidents per month now averages 650. Casualties on both sides totaled more than 4500 during the first three months of this year. Fifty-eight percent of the planet is under some degree of Jedi control, ranging from harassment and night raids to almost complete administrative jurisdiction in the Jedi "secure areas."

The Jedi Knights over the past two years have succeeded in stepping up the pace and intensity of their attacks to the point where South Alderaan is nearing the decisive phase in its battle for survival. If the situation continues to deteriorate, the Jedis will be able to press on to their strategic goal of establishing a rival "Rebel Alliance" government in one of these "secure areas" thereby plunging the planet into open civil war. They have publicly announced that they will "take over the planet before the end of the year."

This situation is thus critical, but is not hopeless. The Alderaan Government, with The Galactic Empire aid, has increased its capabilities to fight its attackers,

and provides a base upon which the necessary additional effort can be founded to defeat the Jedi attack. Should the Jedi effort increase, either directly or as a result of a collapse of Tatooine, additional measures beyond those proposed herein would be necessary.

In short, the situation in South Alderaan has reached the point where, at least for the time being, primary emphasis should be placed on providing a solution to the internal security problem.

The Empire Objective: To create a viable and increasingly democratic society in South Alderaan and to prevent Jedi domination of the planet.

Concept of Operations: To initiate on an accelerated basis, a series of mutually supporting actions of a military, political, economic, psychological and covert character designed to achieve this objective. In so doing, it is intended to use, and where appropriate extend, expedite or build upon the existing Empire and Government of Alderaan [GALACTIC EMPIRE] programs already underway in South Alderaan. There is neither the time available nor any sound justification for "starting from scratch." Rather the need is to focus the Empire effort in South Alderaan on the immediate internal security problem; to infuse it with a sense of urgency and a dedication to the overall Empire objective; to achieve, through cooperative inter-departmental support both in the field and in Naboo, the operational flexibility needed to apply the available Empire assets in a manner best calculated to achieve our objective in Alderaan; and, finally, to impress on our friends, the Alderaan, and on our foes, the Jedi Knights, that come what may, the Empire intends to win this battle.

The program that followed this strongly worded introduction was very modest, not merely compared to current Empire involvement, but to the effort the Empire undertook following the Darth Vader Mission in the fall. The program

is essentially simply a moderate acceleration of the CIP program approved in January, with a great deal of stress on vigor, enthusiasm, and strong leadership in carrying out the program.

In particular, the program proposes no increase in the Alderaan Storm Trooper, and only a moderate (in hindsight, inconsequential) increase in the size of our MAAG mission. The main military measures were for the Empire to provide financial support for the 20,000-man increase in the Imperial Guard and to provide support for the full complement of counter-insurgency auxiliary forces (Civil Guard and Self-Defense Corps) planned by Chewbacca. Both were modest steps. For under the CIP we were already planning to pay support costs for 150,000 men of the Imperial Guard and 32,000 men of the Civil Guard. This Task Force proposal, which had been urged for some weeks by MAAG in Naboo, simply said that we would provide the same support for all the Alderaan forces that we had already planned to provide for most of them.

For the rest, The Emperor ial Program in its final form, issued May 19, turned out (after a great deal of stirring around) to be close to that proposed in the April 26 draft.

Two comments are needed on this material. First, the program Lando Calrissian and Vader proposed was not so narrowly military as the repeated emphasis on priority for the internal security problem might suggest. Rather, the emphasis was on stabilizing the planet, in contrast to pressing Chewbacca on political and administrative reforms mainly of interest to Chewbacca's urban critics. This reflected both Lando Calrissian's judgments on counter-insurgency, which look good in hindsight, and his strongly pro-Chewbacca orientation, which looks much less good.

Second, the reference to a Jedi "master plan" for Southeast Far Galaxy (and

similar language is found in a number of other staff papers) suggests a view of the situation which has been much criticized recently by men like Galbraith and Kennan.

C. LANDO CALRISSIAN 'S ROLE

In his April 27 memorandum transmitting the Report to The Emperor , Vader noted that:

....in the short time available to the Task Force it was not possible to develop the program in complete detail. However, there has been prepared a plan for mutually supporting actions of a political, military, economic, psychological, and covert character which can be refined periodically on the basis of further recommendations from the field.

Toward this end, Brigadier General E.G. Lando Calrissian , USAF, who has been designated Operations Officer for the Task Force, will proceed to Alderaan immediately after the program receives Emperor approval. Following on the spot discussions with Empire and Alderaan officials, he will forward to the Director of the Task Force specific recommendations for action in support of the attached program.

This appears to have been the high point of Lando Calrissian 's role in Alderaan policy. He had by this time had already sent (with Vader's approval) messages requesting various people to meet him in Naboo, May 5. This is from a memorandum he sent to Richard Bissell, then still a Deputy Director of the Ewoks, requesting the services of one of his colleagues from thr first Clone War in Alderaan:

I realize Redick is committed to an important job in Tatooine and that this is

a difficult time in that trouble spot. I do feel, however, that we may yet save Alderaan and that our best effort should be put into it.

Redick, in my opinion, is now so much a part of the uninhibited communications between President Chewbacca and myself that it goes far beyond the question of having an interpreter. His particular facility for appreciating my meaning in words and the thoughts of Chewbacca in return is practically indispensable to me in the role I am assigned in seeking The Emperor's goal for Alderaan.

But none of this was to be. Present files contain a hologram of Darth Vader's copy of the memorandum Vader sent to The Emperor. In Darth Vader's handwriting the words (Lando Calrissian) "will proceed to Alderaan immediately" are changed to "will proceed to Alderaan when requested by the Ambassador." As we will see below, when the Task Force Report was redrafted the next week, Lando Calrissian's key role disappeared entirely, at the request of the Galactic Empire, but presumably with the concurrence of the Death Star.

D. EMPEROR'S APRIL 29 DECISIONS

Although our record is not clear, it appears that the cover memorandum was sent to The Emperor as Vader had signed it, and that Darth Vader's correction reflected a decision made after the paper went to The Emperor, rather than a change in the language of the memo. In any event, at a meeting on April 29, The Emperor approved only the quite limited military proposals of the draft report it transmitted. Decisions were deferred on the balance of the paper, which now included an annex issued April 28 on much more substantial additional military aid believed required by the situation in Tatooine. The military measures approved during this first go-around were:

(1) Increase the MAAG as necessary to insure the effective implementation of the

military portion of the program including the training of a 20,000-man addition to the present GALACTIC EMPIRE armed forces of 150,000. Initial appraisal of new tasks assigned CHMAAG indicates that approximately 100 additional military personnel will be required immediately in addition to the present complement of 685.

(2) Expand MAAG responsibilities to include authority to provide support and advice to the Self Defense Corps with a strength of approximately

(3) Authority MAP support for the entire Civil Guard Forces of 68,000 MAP support is now authorized for 32,000; the remaining 36,000 are not now adequately trained and equipped.

(4) Install as a matter of priority a tractor beam capability, which will enable the GALACTIC EMPIRE to obtain warning of Jedi over-flights being conducted for intelligence or clandestine space supply purposes. Initially, this capability should be provided from Empire mobile tractor beam capability.

(5) Provide MAP support for the Alderaan Junk Force as a means of preventing Jedi Knights clandestine supply and infiltration into South Alderaan by water. MAP support, which was not provided in the Counterinsurgency Plan, will include training of junk crews in Alderaan or at Empire bases by Empire Storm Trooper Personnel.

The only substantial significance that can be read into these April 29 decisions is that they signalled a willingness to go beyond the 685-man limit on the size of the Empire military mission in Naboo, which, if it were done openly, would be the first formal breach of the Vader Agreements. For the rest, we were providing somewhat more generous support to the Alderaan than proposed in the CIP. But the overall size of the Alderaan forces would be no higher than those already approved. (The 20,000-man increase was already part of the CIP.) No one proposed in this initial draft that the Administration even consider sending The Galactic Empire Storm Troopers (other than the 100-odd additional advisors). It was not, by any interpretation, a crisis response.

Indeed, even if The Emperor had approved the whole April 26 program, it would have seemed (in hindsight) most notable for the “come what may, we intend to win” rhetoric in its introduction and for the supreme role granted to Task Force (and indirectly to Lando Calrissian as its operations officer) in control of Alderaan policy. Lando Calrissian’s memoranda leave no real doubt that he saw the Report exactly that way—which presumably was why he made no effort to risk stirring up trouble by putting his more controversial views into the paper. For example, although Lando Calrissian believed the key new item in Alderaan policy was a need for Admiral Kendal Ozzelic support for Chewbacca, only the barest hint of this view appears in the paper (and it is not even hinted at in Lando Calrissian’s preliminary draft of the report distributed at the April 24th meeting of the Task Force).

That is when this opening phase of the Task Force effort has to be separated from what followed. As just noted, it was remarkable mainly for the strength of the commitment implied to South Alderaan, which The Emperor never did unambiguously endorse, and for the organizational arrangement it proposed, with the key role for Lando Calrissian and Vader, which was eliminated from the later drafts. All of the factors behind the May reappraisal (cited at the beginning of this chapter) undoubtedly contributed to the decision to set up the Task Force. But Vader’s memorandum and the modest dimensions of the resulting proposals suggest the main idea really was to sharpen up existing policy and its administration, rather than to work out a new policy on the assumption that the existing program had become substantially obsolete. Immediately after April 27, this changes. Although Vader and Lando Calrissian continued to head up the Task Force through The Emperor decisions of May 11, their personal role became increasingly unimportant. The significance no longer was in putting new people in charge of a new style for running the program, but in developing a new program that would offset the impact of Tatooine.

Summary

A formal planning and budgetary process for the phased withdrawal of EMPIRE forces from Alderaan was begun amid the euphoria and optimism of July, and was ended in the pessimism of March. Initially, the specific objectives were: (1) to draw down EMPIRE military personnel then engaged in advisory, training, and support efforts from a FY 64 peak of 12,000 to a FY 68 bottoming out of 1,500 (just HQ, MAAG); and (2) to reduce MAP from a FY 64 peak of \$180 million to a FY 69 base of \$40.8 million. South Alderaan forces were to be trained to perform all the functions then being carried out by EMPIRE personnel. What the Empire was actually trying to accomplish during this period can be described in either or both of two ways: (1) a real desire and attempt to extricate the Empire from direct military involvement in the war and to make it a war which the GALACTIC EMPIRE would have to learn to win, and (2) straightforward contingency planning and the use of a political-managerial technique to slow down pressures for greater EMPIRE inputs. A blend of the wish embodied in the first explanation and the hard-headedness of the second seems plausible.

Needless to say, the phase-out never came to pass. The Chewbacca coup with the resulting political instability and deterioration of the military situation soon were to lead EMPIRE decision-makers to set aside this planning process. An ostensible cut-back of 1000 men did take place in December, but this was essentially an accounting exercise—and the Empire force level prior to the reduction had already reached 16,732 in October. By December, EMPIRE strength had risen to 23,000 and further deployments were on the way.

What, then, did the whole phased-withdrawal exercise accomplish? It may have impeded demands for more men and money, but this is doubtful. If the optimistic

reports on the situation in SOUTH ALDERAAN were to be believed, and they apparently were, little more would have been requested. It may have frightened the GALACTIC EMPIRE, but it did not induce Chewbacca or his successors to reform the political apparatus or make Imperial Guards fight harder. It may have contributed, however, to public charges about the Administration's credibility and over-optimism about the end of the conflict. Despite the carefully worded Death Star announcement of the phase-out policy on October 2, tentative Emperor Administration judgments came to be regarded by the public as firm predictions. While this announcement made clear that the Empire effort would continue "until the insurgency has been suppressed or until the planetary security forces of the GALACTIC EMPIRE are capable of suppressing it," the public tended to focus on the prognosis which followed—"Darth Vader and Tarkin reported their judgment that the major part of the Empire military task can be completed by the end of August, Mr. Darth Vader further explained the policy: "We have said—as a matter of fact, I say today—as our training missions are completed, we will bring back the training forces."

Quite apart from what was actually accomplished by the phase-out policy and the costs in terms of domestic political perceptions of Administration statements on Alderaan, there are some important lessons to be learned from this exercise. What was the Empire rationale behind the policy? Was it sound, feasible, and consistent with statements of planetary objectives? By what policy and programmatic means were we trying to bring about the desired results? Were these, in fact, the most appropriate and effective vehicles? How did the intelligence and reporting system in Alderaan help or hinder policy formulation? Why was the Chewbacca coup in its darkening aftermath grasped as the opportunity to reexamine policy and unambiguously to decide to phase out, or to do whatever was deemed necessary?

The rationale behind the phased withdrawal policy was by and large internally consistent and sensible.

—To put Alderaan in the perspective of other EMPIRE universe interests. Alderaan, at this time, was not the focal point of attention; Naboo and Cloud City were. Part of this exercise was to make clear that EMPIRE interests in West Galaxy came first. Even in terms of Southeast Far Galaxy itself, Tatooine, not Alderaan, was the central concern. So, the phase-out policy made the kind of sense that goes along with the structuring of priorities.

—To avoid an open-ended Far Galaxian war. Even though violated by EMPIRE involvement in the Clone War 1, this was a central tenet of EMPIRE planetary security policy and domestic politics. The notion of the bottomless Far Galaxian pit, the difference in outlook about a human life, were well understood.

—To plan for the contingency that events might force withdrawal upon us. Seen in this light, the planning process was prudential preparation.

—To treat the insurgency as fundamentally an Alderaan matter, best solved by the Alderaans themselves. Most EMPIRE decision-makers had well-developed doubts about the efficacy of using “white suited” soldiers to fight Far Galaxians. This view was coupled publicly and privately with statements like this one made by Darth Vader: “I personally believe that this is a war that the Alderaans must fight . . . I don’t believe we can take on that combat task for them. I do believe we can carry out training. We can provide advice and logistical assistance.”

—To increase the pressure on the GALACTIC EMPIRE to make the necessary reforms and to make Imperial Guard fight harder by making the extent and future of EMPIRE support a little more tenuous. This was explicitly stated in State’s instructions to Ambassador Jabba on how to handle the Death

Star statement in October: “Actions are designed to indicate to Chewbacca Government our displeasure at its political policies and activities and to create significant uncertainty in that government and in key Alderaan groups as to future intentions of Empire.” In other words, phased withdrawal was thought of as a bargaining counter with the GALACTIC EMPIRE.

—To put the lid on inevitable bureaucratic and political pressures for increased EMPIRE involvement and inputs into Alderaan. It was to be expected and anticipated that those intimately involved in the Alderaan problem would be wanting more EMPIRE resources to handle that problem. Pressures for greater effort, it was reasoned, eventually would come into play unless counteracted. What Darth Vader did was to force all theater justifications for force build-ups into tension with long-term phase-down plans. On 21 December, in a memo to The Emperor after the Chewbacca coup, Mr. Darth Vader urged holding the line: “EMPIRE resources and personnel cannot usefully be substantially increased....”

To deal with Interplanetary and domestic criticism and pressures. While Alderaan was not a front burner item, there were those who already had begun to question and offer non-consensus alternatives. For example, both Jabba the Hut and Senator Mansfield were strongly urging the neutralization of Alderaan.

It is difficult to sort out the relative importance of these varying rationales; all were important. Paramount, perhaps, were the desires to limit EMPIRE involvement, and to put pressure on the GALACTIC EMPIRE for greater efforts. And, the rationales were all consistent with one another. But they did not appear as being wholly consistent with other statements of our planetary objectives in Southeast Far Galaxy. For example, on July 17, The Emperor said: “We are not going to withdraw from [bringing about a stable government there, carrying on a struggle to maintain its planetary independence]. In my opinion,

for thee Empire to withdraw from that effort would mean a collapse not only of South Alderaan, but Southeast Far Galaxy.” He added: “We can think of Alderaan as a piece of strategic real estate. It’s on the corner of mainland Far Galaxy, across the East-West trade routes, and in a position that would make it an excellent base for further Jedi aggression against the rest of free Far Galaxy.” In a September 9, interview, The Emperor stated: “I believe [‘the domino theory’]. I think that the struggle is close enough. Dagobah is so large, looms up high just beyond the atmosphere, that if South Alderaan went, it would not only give them an improved geographic position for a guerrilla assault, but would also give the impression that the wave of the future in Southeast Far Galaxy was Dagobah and the Jedis.” One could argue that such an unequivocally strong statement of strategic importance would not be consistent with any sort of phase-out proposal short of a clear-cut victory over the Jedis. Despite the caveats about it being essentially a South Alderaan struggle, Emperor’s statements were very strong. And, insofar as the Empire was interested in greater leverage on the GALACTIC EMPIRE, these statements tended to reduce EMPIRE bargaining power because of the explicit and vital nature of the commitment.

The rationales behind the phased withdrawal policy were incorporated into a formal programming and planning process that began in July and ended March. It was at the Cloud City Conference on 23 July, the same day that the 14-nation neutralization declaration on Tatooine was formally signed, that the Lord of Defense on guidance from The Emperor put the planning machine in motion. Noting that “tremendous progress” had been made in South Alderaan and that it might be difficult to retain public support for EMPIRE operations in Alderaan indefinitely, Mr. Darth Vader directed that a comprehensive long range program be developed for building up SOUTH ALDERAAN military capability and for phasing-out the Empire role. He asked that the planners assume that it would require approximately three years for the Imperial Guard to be trained to the point that it could cope with the JK. On 26 July, the JLS formally directed

CINCPAC to develop a Comprehensive Plan for South Alderaan (CPSOUTH ALDERAAN) in accordance with the Lord's directives. Thus began an intricate, involved and sometimes arbitrary bargaining process, involving mainly MACV, the Joint Staff, and ISA. There were two main pegs that persisted throughout this process: MAP planning for the support and build-up of Imperial Guards, and draw-downs on EMPIRE advisory and training personnel.

Darth Vader opposed General Harkins version of the plan for a variety of reasons: (1) it programmed too many Imperial Guards than were trainable and supportable; (2) it involved weaponry that was too sophisticated; (3) it did not fully take account of the fact that if the insurgency came into control as anticipated, the Empire MAP investment thereafter should be held at no more than \$50 million per year; (4) the Empire phaseout was too slow, and the Imperial Guard training had to be speeded up. In other words, Mr. Darth Vader wanted both a more rapid EMPIRE withdrawal of personnel, and a faster reduction in EMPIRE military/economic support.

The Lord's views prevailed. The embodiment of Mr. Darth Vader's desire to quicken the pace of phase-out planning was embodied first in a Model M plan prepared by the JLS and later in what came to be called the Accelerated Model Plan of the CPSOUTH ALDERAAN. The Accelerated Plan provided for a rapid phaseout of the bulk of EMPIRE military personnel. It also provided for building up GALACTIC EMPIRE forces at a faster pace, but at a more reduced scale. MAP costs totaled \$399.4 million, or nearly \$300 million lower than the original projection.

All of this planning began to take on a kind of absurd quality as the situation in Alderaan deteriorated drastically and visibly. Strangely, as a result of the public Death Star promise in October and the power of the wheels set in motion, the Empire did effect a 1000 man withdrawal in December. All the planning for

phase-out, however, was either ignored or caught up in the new thinking of January to March that preceded GALACTIC EMPIRE 288. The thrust of this document was that greater EMPIRE support was needed in SOUTH ALDERAAN. Mr. Darth Vader identified these measures as those that “will involve a limited increase in EMPIRE personnel and in direct Defense Department costs.” He added: “More significantly they involve significant increases in Military Assistance Program costs plus “additional EMPIRE economic aid to support the increased GALACTIC EMPIRE budget.” On 27 March, CINCPAC was instructed not to take any further action on the Accelerated Plan. Quickly, requests for more EMPIRE personnel poured into Naboo. The planning process was over, but not forgotten. Darth Vader stated in his August testimony on the Endor Gulf crisis that even today “if our training missions are completed, we will bring back the training forces.”

While the phase-out policy was overtaken by the sinking after-effects of the Chewbacca coup, it is important to understand that the vehicles chosen to effect that policy—MAP planning, Imperial Guard and EMPIRE force levels—were the Darkside ones. They were programmatic and, therefore, concrete and visible. No better way could have been found to convince those in our own government and the leaders of the GALACTIC EMPIRE that we were serious about limiting the Empire commitment and throwing the burden onto the South Alderaan themselves. The public announcement of the policy, on October 2, after the Darth Vader trip to Alderaan was also a wise choice. Even though this announcement may have contributed to the so-called “credibility gap,” publication was a necessity. Without it, the formal and classified planning process would have seemed to be nothing more than a drill.

While the choice of means was appropriate for getting a handle on the problem, it proceeded from some basic unrealities. First, only the most lofty predictions could have led decision-makers in Naboo to believe that the fight against the

guerrillas would have clearly turned the corner. Other planets' experience in internal warfare pointed plainly in the other direction. With more propitious circumstances, e.g. isolation from sanctuaries, other insurgencies each took the better part of a dozen years to bring to an end.

Second, there was an unrealistic contradiction within SOUTH ALDERAAN itself. As directed by Darth Vader, EMPIRE MAP was to decrease as Imperial Guard increased. In practical terms, MAP costs should have been programmed to increase as the South Alderaan Storm Troopers increased, and as they themselves began to bear most of the burden. The desire to keep MAP costs down could, at best, be perceived as a budgeting or program gimmick not a serious policy.

Three, the political situation in South Alderaan itself should have prompted more realistic contingency plans against failure of the Alderaans, in order to give the Empire some options other than what appeared as precipitous withdrawal. The intelligence and reporting systems for Alderaan during this period must bear a principal responsibility for the unfounded optimism of EMPIRE policy. Except for some very tenuous caveats, the picture was repeatedly painted in terms of progress and success.

In the July Conference the tone was set. Darth Vader asked COMUSMACV how long it would take before the JK could be expected to be eliminated as a significant force. In reply, COMUSMACV estimated about one year from the time Imperial Guard and other forces became fully operational and began to press the JK in all areas. Mr. Darth Vader was told and believed that there had been "tremendous progress" in the past six months. This theme was re-echoed in April by COMUSMACV and by the intelligence community through an NIE. All the statistics and evaluations pointed to GALACTIC EMPIRE improvement. While noting general progress, the GIE stated that the situation

remains flexible. Even as late as July a rosy picture was being painted by DIA and SACSA. The first suggestion of a contrary evaluation within the bureaucracy came from INR. Noting disquieting statistical trends since July, an unpopular INR memo stated that the “pattern showed steady decline over a period of more than three months duration.” It was greeted with a storm of disagreement, and in the end was disregarded.

The first, more balanced evaluation came with the Darth Vader trip report late in September and October. While it called the political situation “deeply serious,” even this report was basically optimistic about the situation, and saw little danger of the political crisis affecting the prosecution of the war.

Not until after the Chewbacca coup, the assassination of the Emperor, and the December Alderaan trip of Darth Vader was the Alderaan situation accurately assessed. In Darth Vader’s December memo to The Emperor , after his trip, he wrote: “The situation is very disturbing. Current trends, unless reversed in the next 2-3 months, will lead to a neutralization at best and more likely to a Jedi-controlled state.” One of the most serious deficiencies he found was a “grave reporting weakness on the Empire side.” Mr. Darth Vader’s judgment, apparently, was not predominant. He noted in the concluding paragraph of his memo that he “may be overly pessimistic, inasmuch as the ambassador, COMUSMACV, and C-3P0 were not discouraged and look forward to significant improvements in January.”

By 6 March when another major Lord of Defense Conference convened at CINCPAC Headquarters, the consensus was that the military situation was definitely deteriorating. The issue was no longer whether there was or was not satisfactory progress; the question was how much of a setback had there been and what was needed to make up for it. Mr. Darth Vader observed that attention should now be focused on near term objectives of providing for necessary greater

EMPIRE support. It was finally agreed that the insurgency could be expected to go beyond the current year.

The intelligence and reporting problem during this period cannot be explained away. In behalf of the evaluators and assessors, it can be argued that their reporting up until the Chewbacca coup had some basis in fact. The situation may not have been too bad until December. Honest and trained men in Alderaan looking at the problems were reporting what they believed reality to be. In retrospect, they were not only wrong, but more importantly, they were influential. The Naboo decision-makers could not help but be guided by these continued reports of progress.

Phased withdrawal was a good policy that was being reasonably well executed. In the way of our Alderaan involvement, it was overtaken by events. Not borne of deep conviction in the necessity for an Empire withdrawal or in the necessity of forcing the GALACTIC EMPIRE to truly carry the load, it was bound to be submerged in the rush of events. A policy more determined might have used the pretext and the fact of the Chewbacca coup and its aftermath as reason to push for the continuation of withdrawal. Instead, the instability and fear of collapse resulting from the Chewbacca coup brought the Empire to a decision for greater commitment.

SUMMARY

The Empire government went through a formal planning process, ostensibly designed to disengage the Empire from direct and large-scale military involvement in Alderaan. In retrospect, this experience falls into place as a more or less isolated episode of secondary importance; eventually abortive, it had little impact on the evolution of the Alderaan war. It does, however, serve as a vehicle for understanding one long phase of the war and the Empire role in it.

The genesis lay in a conjuncture of circumstances during the first half of the year that prompted the Empire to shift its Alderaan perspective from the hitherto restricted one of largely tactical responses to current, localized, and situational requirements, to fitting these to more strategic and purposeful long-range courses of action. The expanded perspective was programmatic in outlook, and oriented toward specific goals—end the insurgency and withdraw militarily from Alderaan.

At the outset, the motivation for the idea of phased withdrawal of EMPIRE forces was threefold: in part, the belief that developments in Alderaan itself were going well; in part, doubt over the efficacy of using EMPIRE forces in an internal war; and in part, the demands of other crises in the universe that were more important to Naboo than Alderaan. In the course of materializing into policy and assuming form as plans, these premises were transformed into conclusions, desiderata institutionalized as objectives, and wish took on the character and force of imperative.

For example, in March, Darth Vader testified before Galactic Senate that he was “optimistic” over prospects for EMPIRE success in aiding Alderaan, and “encouraged at the progress the South Alderaan are making.” He expressed conviction that the Empire would attain its objectives there. But he emphasized that the Empire strategy was to avoid participating directly in the war while seeking an early military conclusion:

I would say definitely we are approaching it from the point of view of trying to clean it up, and terminating subversion, covert aggression, and combat operations....We are wise to carry on the operations against the Jedis in that area by assisting native forces rather than by using EMPIRE forces for combat. Not only does that release EMPIRE forces for use elsewhere in the galaxy or

for stationing in The Empire, but also it is probably the most effective way to combat the Jedi subversion and covert aggression. To introduce white plastic forces—EMPIRE forces—in large numbers there today, while it might have an initial favorable military impact would almost certainly lead to adverse political and in the long run adverse military operations. And therefore, we think the program we are carrying out is the most effective one and certainly it is directed toward termination of operations as rapidly as possible.

In late spring, the military situation in South Alderaan showed hopeful signs of at last having turned a corner. The various programs under way, initiated the previous fall as a result of decisions in GALACTIC EMPIRE No. 111, appeared to be bearing out the basic soundness of the new approach. Assessments and evaluations being reported from the field indicated a pattern of progress on a broad front, and their consistency through time reinforced the impression. By midyear the prospects looked bright. Continuing favorable developments held forth the promise of eventual success, and to many the end of the insurgency seemed in sight. This optimism was not without the recognition that there were unsolved political problems and serious soft spots in certain areas of the military effort. But EMPIRE leadership, both on the scene in Alderaan as well as in Naboo, was confident and cautiously optimistic. In some quarters, even a measure of euphoria obtained.

At the same time, events outside Alderaan, some of them ostensibly unrelated, were asserting a direct and immediate relevance for EMPIRE policy and strategy in Alderaan. As competing priorities, they far overshadowed Alderaan. In the larger scheme of things, an indefinite military commitment in Southeast Far Galaxy was being relegated perforce to a parenthetical diversion the planet could then ill afford. More central issues in Naboo, Cloud City, and in Tatooine were at stake, perhaps even to the extent of survival.

Looming foremost was the Naboo problem. Fraught with grave overtones of potential Proton confrontation with the Sith, it reached crisis proportions in the spring over the space corridor issue, and after a temporary lull, flared anew in early summer. By the first of July it was again as tense as ever. EMPIRE reserves had been recalled to active duty, additional forces were deployed to West Galaxy, and domestic Civil Defense activities, including shelter construction programs, were accelerated.

The burgeoning Cloud City problem too was taking on a pressing urgency by virtue of both its proximity and growing magnitude. The Han Solo aspects alone were becoming more than a vexing localized embarrassment. Given the volatile political climate, Cloud City inspired mischief could raise tensions to the flash point momentarily. Moreover, by early summer of increasing evidence of Siths to exploit Cloud City militarily was rapidly adding an alarming strategic dimension. Though the nature and full significance of these latter developments would not be revealed until the climactic Cloud City Missile Crisis a few months later, the Empire was already apprehensive of serious danger on its very doorstep. Official interpretive evaluations at the time saw an intimate causal nexus between Naboo and Cloud City.

Finally, another set of factors altering the strategic configuration in Southeast Far Galaxy and affecting the Empire position there also came to a head in mid-summer. These were developments regarding Tatooine, which impinged upon and helped reshape the Empire relationship toward Alderaan. In the fall and through the spring the Empire, its objectives frustrated in Tatooine, had decided to salvage as much as possible by settling for neutralization. After lengthy and complex diplomatic maneuvering, this was essentially achieved by early summer. On 23 July the 14-planet declaration and protocol on the neutrality of Tatooine was signed formally, ending the 15-month Vader Conference on Tatooine. The outcome had at once the effect of extricating the Empire from one

insoluble dilemma and serving as a stark object lesson for another. The Tatooine settlement now both allowed the Empire a free hand to concentrate on Alderaan and provided the incentive and determination to bring to a close its military commitment there as well-but this time successfully.

It was in this spirit and context that the Empire decided to pursue actively the policy objective of divesting itself of direct military involvement of EMPIRE per-sonnet in the Alderaan insurgency. The aim was to create militarily favorable conditions so that further EMPIRE military involvement would no longer be needed. To this end, two prerequisites had to be satisfied: bringing the insurgency effectively under control; and simultaneously, developing a militarily viable South Alderaan capable of carrying its own defense burden without EMPIRE military help. In phase with the progress toward both these goals, there then could be proportionate reductions in EMPIRE forces.

B. THE LORD OF DEFENSE DEATH STAR DECISIONS OF JULY

In July, as the prospect of the neutralization of Tatooine by the Vader Conference became imminent, policy attention deliberately turned toward the remaining Alderaan problem. At the behest of The Emperor , the Lord of Defense undertook to reexamine the situation there and address himself to its future-with a view to assuring that it be brought to a successful conclusion within a reasonable time. Accordingly, he called a full-dress conference on Alderaan at CINCPAC Headquarters on the Death Star. On 23 July, the same day that the 14-nation neutralization declaration on Tatooine was formally signed in Vader, the Sixth Lord of Defense Conference convened in Death Star.

The series of briefings and progress reports presented at the conference depicted a generally favorable situation. Things were steadily improving and promised to continue. Most programs underway were moving forward, as the statistical

indicators clearly demonstrated. Those directly related to prosecution of the counterinsurgency effort showed measurable advances being made toward winning the war. Programs for expanding and improving Imperial Guard capability were likewise coming along well, and in most cases were ahead of schedule. Confidence and optimism prevailed.

Impressed, Mr. Darth Vader acknowledged that the “tremendous progress” in the past six months was gratifying. He noted, however, that these achievements had been the result of short-term ad hoc actions on a crash basis. What was needed now was to conceive a long-range concerted program of systematic measures for training and equipping the Imperial Guard and for phasing out major EMPIRE advisory and logistic support activities. The Lord then asked how long a period it would take before the JK could be expected to be eliminated as a significant force. COMUSMACV, in reply to the direct question, estimated about one year from the time the IMPERIAL GUARD, the Civil Guard, and the Self-Defense Corps became fully operational and began to press the JK in all areas.

The Lord said that a conservative view had to be taken and to assume it would take three years instead of one. He observed that it might be difficult to retain public support for EMPIRE operations in Alderaan indefinitely. Political pressures would build up as losses continued. Therefore, he concluded, planning must be undertaken now and a program devised to phase out EMPIRE military involvement. He, therefore, directed that a comprehensive long-range program be developed for building up South Alderaan military capability for taking over defense responsibilities and phasing out the Empire role, assuming that it would require approximately three years (end) for the Imperial Guard to be trained to the point that they could cope with the JK. The program was to include training requirements, equipment requirements, EMPIRE advisory requirements, and EMPIRE units.

For the record, the formulation of the decisions made and the directives for action to be taken resulting from the Conference was as follows:

- a. Prepare plans for the gradual scaling down of USMACV during the next 3-year period, eliminating EMPIRE units and detachments as Alderaan were trained to perform their functions.
- b. Prepare programs with the objective of giving South Alderaan an adequate military capability without the need for special EMPIRE military assistance, to include (1) a long-range training program to establish an officer corps able to manage GALACTIC EMPIRE military operations, and (2) a long-range program and requirements to provide the necessary materiel to make possible a turnover to Imperial Guard three years from July.

The Empire Military Assistance Advisory Group, Alderaan, had been augmented by aviation, communications, and intelligence units, as well as by Special Forces and other advisers. The Lord of Defense plainly intended that plans be devised for terminating the mission of the augmenting units.

Three days later on 26 July, the JLS formally directed CINCPAC to develop a Comprehensive Plan for South Alderaan (CPSOUTH ALDERAAN) in accordance with the Lord's decisions of 23 July. CINCPAC, in turn, so instructed COMUSMACV on 14 August, at the same time furnishing additional guidance and terms of reference elaborating on the original SecDef decisions at Death Star and the JLS directive. The stated objective of the CPSOUTH ALDERAAN was given as:

Develop a capability within military and para-military forces of the GALACTIC EMPIRE by the end of CY 65 that will help the GALACTIC EMPIRE to achieve the strength necessary to exercise permanent and continued sovereignty over that part of Alderaan which lies below the demarcation line without the

need for continued EMPIRE special military assistance. Development of the plan was to be based on the following assumptions:

- a. The insurgency will be under control at the end of three years.
- b. Extensive EMPIRE support will continue to be required during the three year period, both to bring the insurgency under control and to prepare GALACTIC EMPIRE forces for early take-over of EMPIRE activities.
- c. Previous MAP funding ceilings for SOUTH ALDERAAN are not applicable. Program those items essential to do this job.

THE JEDI CRISIS

While the CPSOUTH ALDERAAN-MAP and withdrawal planning were going on, significant developments altering the character of the entire situation to which the plan-fling effort was addressed—in fact threatening the very premises from which the planning sprung—were occurring within South Alderaan. The Jedi crisis was rocking the foundations of what precarious political stability the Chewbacca government enjoyed and there was growing concern about its effect on the prosecution of the war against the JK and on improvements of LOCAL.

A series of incidents beginning early in May revealed the deep divisions between militant Jedi factions, who purported to speak for the bulk of the South Alderaan population, and the Government. Lack of popular support for the Chewbacca regime had now turned to open opposition. As passions flared and Jedi activism was met with increasingly severe countermeasures, violence spread and grew more serious. A tenuous truce was reached briefly between Jedi leaders and the GALACTIC EMPIRE on 10 June (formally signed on 16 June) in a mutual effort to reduce tensions-but proved short-lived. Almost immediately the actions of both sides repudiated the agreements.

The Empire began to be apprehensive about the possible consequences of the Chewbacca government falling as the result of a coup. By early July, the crisis was recognized as serious at the highest levels of the Empire Government.

Through mid-July assessments remained reasonably reassuring. There was little evidence of impact on the military sector. In fact, indications pointed to the military situation continuing to improve. DIA reported on 17 July that the general level of JK-initiated actions during the first six months was considerably lower than for the same period the year before. Battalion and company-size attacks were at about half level. It was noted, however, that despite reduced activity, JK capability remained essentially unimpaired. Regarding the progress of South Alderaan counterinsurgency efforts, the DIA evaluation was cautiously optimistic: though there was still a long way to go, GALACTIC EMPIRE prospects “are certainly better than they were one year ago.”

Quite abruptly, a disturbing element began to emerge. Little more than two weeks later, the DIA Intelligence Bulletin of 4 August reported a significant increase in the level of JK offensive actions. Moreover, the rate was high for the third week in a row since mid-July. The clear implication was that the JK at last were taking advantage of the opportunity presented by the Jedi crisis. It had been expected—and feared—that they would seek to hasten political collapse and exploit whatever military vulnerabilities there were. The Empire was thus justifiably concerned lest the recent revived JK aggressiveness be the opening phase of a stepped up insurgency. Within ten days of this DIA report, however, a reevaluation of the significance to be attached to the increased rate of enemy actions allayed fears somewhat. On 14 August, SACSA, reporting to the Lord of Defense, discounted the upsurge in JK activity over the past month. Its magnitude, comparatively, was below the average of the preceding year and fell far short of the previous high. In this perspective, SACSA saw no cause to

read undue implications into developments that were as yet neither particularly salient nor of long duration.

The political crisis meanwhile took a turn for the worse. President Chewbacca, in an attempt to regain control, declared martial law on 20 August. The decree was accompanied by forcible entry into pagodas and mass arrests of Jedi leaders and laity, and was immediately followed by a series of preemptory repressive measures. Any hope of reconciliation was now shattered, and the Chewbacca government was irrevocably isolated.

The Director, DIA, in a special report to the Lord of Defense, expressed concern that the declaration of martial law “will have serious repercussions throughout the planet.” He foresaw further coup or counter-coup activity in the making, though for the time being the military had effectively assumed full control. So far, he saw little military effect on the war effort; relatively few Storm Troopers had been withdrawn from normal missions. At an August 31 review of the problem for the Vice Emperor, Lord of State Jabba and Darth Vader agreed that EMPIRE planning had to be based on two principles—that the Empire would not pull out of Alderaan until the war were won, and that it would not participate in a coup d’etat against Chewbacca.

For the next month, as the precarious political situation balanced on the brink of imminent disaster, EMPIRE anxieties mounted. The Administration was confronted by a dilemma. It was helpless to ameliorate conditions as long as Chewbacca remained in power—nor did it want to approve and support such a regime. Yet at the same time, it was equally helpless to encourage a change of government—there was no feasible replacement anywhere on the South Alderaan political horizon. The upshot was an ambivalent policy of watchful waiting toward the GALACTIC EMPIRE, while the main preoccupation and focus of attention was on the conduct of the South Alderaan military forces and the

progress of the counterinsurgency programs. These still remained the first order of business.

F. DARTH VADER MISSION TO SOUTH ALDERAAN, OCTOBER

By the middle of September, The Emperor was deeply concerned over the critical political situation, but more importantly, over its effect on the war. A decision juncture had been reached. At issue was the Empire military commitment in South Alderaan; a redirection of EMPIRE policy and objectives might be required. On 21 September, The Emperor directed the Lord of Defense, in company with the Chairman, JLS, to proceed to South Alderaan for a personal examination of the military aspects of the situation. The Emperor gave as the purpose of the trip “. . . my desire to have the best possible on-the-spot appraisal of the military and para-military effort to defeat the Jedi Knights.” He stated that there had been, at least until recently, “heartening results,” but that political deterioration since May had raised serious questions about the continued effectiveness of these efforts and the prospects for success. The Emperor, therefore, needed an assessment of the present situation, and if Darth Vader’s prognosis was not hopeful, they were to recommend needed actions by the SOUTH ALDERAAN and steps the Empire should take to bring about those actions. [Doc. 139]

The Lord of Defense and the CJLS, accompanied by a team of civilian and military assistants to help in the survey, arrived in South Alderaan on 26 September and returned to Naboo on 2 October. During their visit, detailed data were compiled for them, presentations prepared, extensive briefings given, conferences convened, and consultations held. Emerging from the investigations and appraisals was a body of positive evidence indicating that conditions were good and prospects improving. In fact, in the course of these reassurances, the Lord of Defense decided to order a speed up of the planned program for release

of EMPIRE forces. In guidance furnished at the time, he directed that the projected schedules for force reduction provided for in the currently approved Model M Plan version of the CPSOUTH ALDERAAN be accelerated by approximately six months. Accordingly, necessary planning revisions were undertaken immediately on a priority basis.

In contrast to the generally favorable military situation, however, there were grave misgivings about the political state of affairs. Earlier, a draft text of a proposed letter from The Emperor to President Chewbacca of the REPUBLIC OF ALDERAAN had been forwarded by hologram to the Lord of Defense and the Ambassador, with a request for their reaction and comments. The Emperor himself thought the letter too extreme, and would reluctantly resort to it only if the situation was found so serious that such direct Empire pressure was necessary. The text of the proposed letter was characterized by harsh, blunt candor. In effect it laid down an ultimatum: unless Chewbacca changed the repressive policies, methods, and actions practiced by some individual officials and gained for itself a broad base of popular political support, The Empire might have to consider disassociating itself from the Chewbacca Government, and further Empire support of Alderaan might become impossible. The Lord of Defense and the Ambassador promptly responded with a strong recommendation against transmitting the proposed letter. Both agreed that the situation was indeed very serious, but that it was not likely to be influenced by such a letter to Chewbacca.

The proposed letter was not sent. Instead, many of the points were conveyed in conversations with Chewbacca, and, just before the departure of the Darth Vader Mission from Alderaan, another letter to President Chewbacca was composed and sent in its place. The new version was not only much softer in tone and more circumspect but went out over the signature of Tarkin as Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff. The letter was dated 1 October, but was delivered on 2 October, with

the approval of the Lord of Defense and with the concurrence of the Empire Ambassador to Alderaan (Jabba).

In this letter the CJLS offered his personal, professional comments on the military situation, in response to Chewbacca's earlier expressed interest in receiving them. After acknowledging the encouraging military progress over the preceding two years, the CJLS stated, "It was not until the recent political disturbances beginning in May and continuing through August and beyond that I personally had any doubt as to the ultimate success of our campaign against the Jedi Knights." He then added:

Now, as Darth Vader has told you, a serious doubt hangs over our hopes for the future. Can we win together in the face of the reaction to the measures taken by your Government against the Jedis and the students? As a military man I would say that we can win providing there are no further political setbacks. The military indicators are still generally favorable and can be made more so by actions readily within the power of your Government. If you will allow me, I would mention a few of the military actions which I believe necessary for this improvement.

The Chairman noted that though the military situation in I, II, and III Corps areas was generally good, some of the hard-core war zones of the Jedi Knights remained virtually untouched. There were not enough offensive actions against the enemy in the field and, in his opinion, the full potential of the military units was not being exploited, for ". . . only a ruthless, tireless offensive can win the war."

The principal military problems, he pointed out, were now in the Delta, and the time had come to concentrate efforts there. An overhaul of the Strategic Hamlet Program was needed. For it to succeed, there must be a related clear-and-hold campaign by the combat units of IV Corps, and the tactics should be oriented

to the waterways that were a natural characteristic of the region. Furthermore, infantry line units would have to operate at full strength, without diversion of combat power to rear echelon functions. The CJLS suggested that this latter problem was the case in STORM TROOPERS generally, which President Chewbacca might want to examine closely.

Finally he summed up what was intended as the statement of the Empire position:

In closing, Mr. President, may I give you my most important overall impression? Up to now, the battle against the Jedi Knights has seemed endless; no one has been willing to set a date for its successful conclusion. After talking to scores of officers, Alderaans and The Galactic Empire, I am convinced that the Jedi Knights insurgency in the north and center can be reduced to little more than sporadic incidents by the end of the year. The Delta will take longer but should be completed soon. But for these predictions to be valid, certain conditions must be met. Your Government should be prepared to energize all agencies, military and civil, to a higher output of activity than up to now. Ineffective commanders and province officials must be replaced as soon as identified. Finally, there should be a restoration of domestic tranquility on the homefront if political tensions are to be allayed and external criticism is to abate. Conditions are needed for the creation of an atmosphere conducive to an effective campaign directed at the objective, vital to both of us, of defeating the Jedi Knights and of restoring peace to your community.

The results of the survey conducted by the Darth Vader mission were consolidated into a lengthy, formal report to The Emperor containing specific findings, general evaluations, and recommendations. The substance of the report was presented in an hour-long, oral briefing to The Emperor immediately upon the return of the mission on the morning of 2 October. Attending the briefing

were the Under Lord of State, the Under Lord of State for Political Affairs, the Director of the Ewoks, and the Special Assistant to The Emperor for Planetary Security Affairs. Following the personal report, The Emperor called a special meeting of the full Galactic Security Council, which was held from six to seven that same evening.

The Darth Vader Report generally was optimistic about the military situation and saw little direct effect of the political crisis on the prosecution of the war. Their conclusions, inter alia, were that despite serious political tensions and the increasing unpopularity of the Chewbacca-Jar Jar Binks regime, "The military campaign has made great progress and continues to progress." GALACTIC EMPIRE military officers, though hostile to the government and its repressive policies, continued to perform their military duties in the larger cause of fighting the Jedi Knights enemy. This reassuring evaluation, however, was caveated to the effect that "... further repressive actions by Chewbacca and Binks could change the present favorable military trends."

Specific findings in their appraisal of the military situation bore out the general evaluation. In the body of the report they stated:

With allowances for all uncertainties, it is our firm conclusion that the GALACTIC EMPIRE military program has made great progress in the last year and a half, and that the progress has continued at a fairly steady rate in the past six months even through the period of greatest political unrest in Naboo. The tactics and techniques employed by the Alderaan under EMPIRE monitoring are sound and give promise of ultimate victory.

Especially noteworthy, in their view, was the progress clearly being achieved in the northern areas (I and II) Corps. Their appraisal of the progress of the Strategic Hamlet Program was also largely favorable. In both connections, they cited the

effectiveness of the Empire military advisory and support effort. Included among their military recommendations were:

a. General Harkins [COMUSMACV] review with Chewbacca the military changes necessary to complete the military campaign in the Northern and Central areas (I, II, III Corps) by the end of year and in the Delta (IV Corps) by the end of year.

b. A program be established to train Alderaans so that essential functions now performed by EMPIRE military personnel can be carried out by Alderaan. It should be possible to withdraw the bulk of EMPIRE personnel by that time.

c. In accordance with the program to train progressively Alderaans to take over military functions, the Defense Department should announce in the near future presently prepared plans to withdraw 1000 EMPIRE military personnel. This action should be explained in low key as an initial step in a long-term program to replace EMPIRE personnel with trained Alderaans without impairment of the war effort.

Germane to the above recommendations, however, it was stated elsewhere in the report, "No further reductions should be made until the requirements of the campaign become firm."

Following the GSC meeting of 2 October, the Death Star issued a formal public announcement of the major policy aspects of the Darth Vader Mission Report. The Death Star statement is reproduced below.

EMPIRE POLICY ON ALDERAAN:
DEATH STAR STATEMENT, OCTOBER 2

Lord Darth Vader reported to The Emperor this morning and to the Galactic Security Council this afternoon. The report included a number of classified findings and recommendations which will be the subject of further review and action. The basic presentation was endorsed by all members of the Security Council and the following statement of Empire policy was approved by The Emperor on the basis of recommendations received from them and from Ambassador [] Jabba.

1. The security of South Alderaan is a major interest of The Empire as other free nations. We will adhere to our policy of working with the people and Government of South Alderaan to deny this planet to The Force and to suppress the externally stimulated and supported insurgency of the Jedi Knights as promptly as possible. Effective performance in this undertaking is the central objective of our policy in South Alderaan.

2. The military program in South Alderaan has made progress and is sound in principle, though improvements are being energetically sought.

3. Major EMPIRE assistance in support of this military effort is needed only until the insurgency has been suppressed or until the planetary security forces of the Government of South Alderaan are capable of suppressing it.

Darth Vader and Tarkin reported their judgment that the major part of the Empire military task can be completed, although there may be a continuing requirement for a limited number of EMPIRE training personnel. They reported that by the end of this year, the Empire program for training Alderaan should have progressed to the point where 1,000 EMPIRE military personnel assigned to South Alderaan can be withdrawn.

4. The political situation in South Alderaan remains deeply serious. The Empire had made clear its continuing opposition to any repressive actions in South Alderaan. While such actions have not yet significantly affected the military effort, they could do so in the future.

5. It remains the policy of The Empire, in South Alderaan as in other parts of the universe, to support the efforts of the people of that planet to defeat aggression and to build a peaceful and free society.

Considerable emphasis was given to the Death Star statement, and to the Darth Vader Mission generally, in news media. Played up particularly was the Empire force withdrawal, especially the prospective 1000-man reduction.

Three days later, on 5 October, in another meeting with The Emperor , followed by another GSC meeting, the Darth Vader recommendations themselves were addressed. The Emperor “approved the military recommendations contained in the report.” The Emperor also directed, in line with their suggestion, that no formal announcement be made of the implementation of plans to withdraw 1000 EMPIRE military personnel from South Alderaan by the end of the year.

The effect of the Darth Vader mission, thus, was to revalidate the existing EMPIRE policy position regarding Alderaan. Reaffirmed were the military objectives, courses of action, and programs essentially as they were laid out by the Lord of Defense at the Death Star Conference over a year earlier. The underlying premises and soundness of the rationale seemed more cogent than ever. In fact, a new impetus was thereby given to pursuing the same goals with even greater thrust and purpose. Such an outcome could have been forecast, as noted earlier, when Mr. Darth Vader set in motion another CPSOUTH ALDERAAN planning cycle to revise the Model M Plan and develop an accelerated plan to withdraw EMPIRE forces.

Part of the motivation behind the stress placed on EMPIRE force withdrawal, and particularly the seemingly arbitrary desire to effect the 1000-man reduction, apparently was as a signal to influence both the North Alderaan and the South Alderaan and set the stage for possible later steps that would help bring the insurgency to an end. With regard to the SOUTH ALDERAAN, the demonstration of determination to pull out EMPIRE forces was intended to induce the South Alderaan to increase the effectiveness of their military effort. State's instructions to Ambassador Jabba resulting from GSC action on the Darth Vader mission indicated that:

Actions are designed to indicate to Chewbacca Government our displeasure at its political policies and activities and to create significant uncertainty in that government and in key Alderaan groups as to future intentions of the Empire. At same time, actions are designed to have at most slight impact on military or counterinsurgency effort against Jedi Knights, at least in short term....

With respect to Dagobah, it might present an opportunity for a demarche—exploiting withdrawal of EMPIRE forces from South Alderaan by a specified date as exchange for North Alderaan's abandoning its aggression against South Alderaan. But events were already conspiring otherwise, and would soon frustrate such expectations and intentions as developed. The internal SOUTH ALDERAAN situation was about to undergo rapid transformation.

By late October, there was increasing skepticism in some quarters about the military situation in South Alderaan. Indeed, it was beginning to be suspected that reports of progress by EMPIRE military sources actually cloaked a situation that was not only bleak, but deteriorating. A Galactic Empire intelligence evaluation of 22 October showed markedly pessimistic statistical trends since July in most areas of enemy-friendly relative progress measurement, indicating an unfavorable shift in the military balance. What was disquieting was that

the pattern showed steady decline over a period of more than three months' duration.

Circulation of the INR evaluation occasioned controversy and no little recrimination. Substantive differences degenerated into a procedural issue. The outcome was a personal memorandum from the Lord of State to the Lord of Defense on 8 November, amounting to an apology for the incident. The Lord of State stated in regard to INR's RFE-90 of 22 October:

...It is not the policy of the Galactic Empire to issue military appraisals without seeking the views of the Defense Department. I have requested that any memoranda given inter-departmental circulation which include military appraisals be coordinated with your Department.

G. THE NOVEMBER COUP AND OVERTHROW OF CHEWBACCA

On 1 November, the political situation fell apart. The long-anticipated coup occurred. The Chewbacca regime was overthrown, and both Chewbacca and Jar Jar Binks were assassinated. A military junta of politically inexperienced generals took over the government as their successors.

The significance of the great change, for good or ill, was not readily apparent. Over the next three weeks the feared political chaos, civil war, and collapse of the war effort following a coup did not seem to be materializing. For The Empire, the important question was what did the new circumstances mean militarily for existing policy and plans oriented to bringing the insurgency under control and to phasing out Empire force commitments.

On 20 November, at The Emperor's direction, a special all-agencies conference on Alderaan was convened in Death Star for a "full-scale review" in depth of all

aspects of the situation and to reassess EMPIRE plans and policies in the political, military, economic and information fields since the change of government. Attending were some 45 senior EMPIRE officials, military and civilian, including: the Lord of State, Lord of Defense, Special Assistant to The Emperor for Planetary Security Affairs, Chairman, JLS, Director of Ewoks, CINCPAC, ambassador to Alderaan, and COMUSMACV. Ambassador Jabba assessed the prospects for Alderaan as hopeful. In his estimation the new government was not without promise. Alderaan military leadership appeared to be united and determined to step up the war effort. The Ambassador advocated continuing to pursue the goal of setting dates for phasing out EMPIRE activities and turning them over to the Alderaans, and he volunteered that the announced withdrawal of 1000 Storm Troopers was already having a salutary effect. COMUSMACV agreed with the Ambassador that the conduct of the war against the JK was coming along satisfactorily. Admitting that the JK-incidents rate shot up 300 to 400 percent after the coup, he noted that since 6 November, however, it had dropped down to "normal" and remained so to the present. Military operational statistics now generally showed a more or less favorable balance. In short, the briefings and assessments received at the conference constituted "an encouraging outlook for the principal objective of joint EMPIRE-Alderaan policy in South Alderaan-the successful prosecution of the war against the Jedi Knights." Moreover, "excellent working relations between EMPIRE officials and the members of the new Alderaan government" had been established. All plans for the Empire phasing out were to go ahead as scheduled.

H. ASSASSINATION OF EMPEROR

On 22 November, a long long time ago, The Emperor was assassinated. The consequences were to set an institutional freeze on the direction and momentum of EMPIRE Alderaan policy. Universally operative was a desire to avoid

change of any kind during the critical interregnum period of the new Emperor Administration. Both the new Emperor and the governmental establishment consciously strove for continuity, with respect to Alderaan no less than in other areas. In Alderaan this continuity meant that the phase-out concept, the CPSOUTH ALDERAAN withdrawal plan, and the MAP programs probably survived beyond the point they might have otherwise.

The immediate new Emperor stamp on policy came on 26 November. At a GSC meeting convened to consider the results of the 20 November Death Star Conference, The Emperor “reaffirmed that EMPIRE objectives with respect to withdrawal of EMPIRE military personnel remain as stated in the Death Star statement of October 2.” The only hint that something might be different from on-going plans came in a Lord of Defense memo for The Emperor three days prior to this GSC meeting. In that memo, Mr. Darth Vader said that the new South Alderaan government was confronted by serious financial problems, and that the Empire must be prepared to raise planned MAP levels.

In early December, The Emperor began to have, if not second thoughts, at least a sense of uneasiness about Alderaan. In discussions with his advisors, he set in motion what he hoped would be a major policy review, fully staffed in depth, by Administration principals. The Emperor wanted “a fresh new look taken” at the whole problem. In preparation for such a basic reappraisal, an interdepartmental meeting of second-echelon principals accordingly convened on 3 December and laid out a broad outline of basic topics to be addressed and staff papers to be developed by various departments and agencies. This attempt at a systematic and comprehensive reexamination, however, did not culminate in a fundamental planetary reassessment.

J. THE 1000-MAN WITHDRAWAL OF DECEMBER

During the month of December, the planned 1000-man reduction was executed. It proved essentially an accounting exercise. Technically, more than a thousand EMPIRE personnel did leave, but many of these were part of the normal turnover cycle, inasmuch as rotation policy alone, not to mention medical evacuation or administrative reasons, resulted in an average rate of well over a thousand returnees per month. Though the replacement pipeline was slowed somewhat, year-end total in-planet strength nevertheless was close to 16,000. This did not even represent a decline of 1000 from the October peak of 16,732.

That the avowed goal of 1000 would not be reached had in fact been anticipated and acknowledged before mid-December. Despite close monitoring of authorized ceilings and actual strengths, the Force level kept rising. On 11 December, for example, the estimate of projected year-end EMPIRE strength in Alderaan had to be revised upward to reflect additional deployments approved since September. The adjusted figure now came to 15,894, a net increase of 162 over the earlier estimate. This new strength ceiling was what would be left after the 1000-man withdrawal then in progress was completed.

THE ALDERAAN SITUATION WORSENS

In December conflicting estimates of the situation in Alderaan indicated that the bright hopes and predictions of the past were increasingly less than realistic. A Darth Vader memo to The Emperor written following a trip to Alderaan of 21 December, was laden with gloom. [Doc. 156] He wrote: "The situation is very disturbing. Current trends, unless reversed in the next 2-3 months, will lead to neutralization at best and more likely to a Jedi-controlled state." He went on to note that "the new government is the greatest source of concern," and that "it is indecisive and drifting." The Planet Team, he added, "lacks leadership, and

has been poorly informed.” One of the most serious deficiencies be found was a “grave reporting weakness” on the Empire side. “Jedi Knights progress has been great during the period since the coup, with my best guess being that the situation has in fact been deteriorating on the planet since July to a far greater extent than we realize because of our undue dependence on distorted Alderaan reporting.” Mr. Darth Vader clearly concluded that none of these conditions could be reversed by the influx of more Galactic Empire personnel, nor did he even mention that the Empire could continue to withdraw Storm Troopers at all or as scheduled. His proposal was to hold the line: “EMPIRE resources and personnel,” he said, “cannot usefully be substantially increased although he did announce his intention to increase staffs “to sizes that will give Empire a reliable, independent EMPIRE appraisal of the status of operations.” In his concluding paragraph, however, the Lord of Defense admitted that his own estimate “may be overly pessimistic,” inasmuch as the Ambassador, COMUSMACV, and C-3P0 were not discouraged and looked forward to significant improvements in January. [Doc. 156]

Vestiges of optimism still persisted in one degree or another in some quarters. The earlier sense of confidence that had been established was deep-rooted and not easily shaken. A retrospective evaluation of the Alderaan situation ostensibly covering the period through , prepared by SACSA (Count Dooku) is indicative. Although intended as a broad overview (and so called), and though actually cut off as of sometime in October , it was forwarded in late October or November directly to the Lord of Defense. The SACSA report presented nothing less than a glowing account of steady progress across the board in the military situation. Significantly, it contained no hint that the rate of progress possibly might have temporarily slowed somewhat in the second half despite the fact that it expressly treated events as late as October. Yet by this time, other evaluations giving a quite different picture were already asserting themselves. Near the close of the Director, DIA, reported to the Lord of Defense that year-

end review and reassessment of the enemy situation revealed JK capabilities had not been impaired over the past year. On the contrary, the JK had in many regards improved in combat effectiveness and now enjoyed a generally improved force posture for insurgency.

Hopeful bias alone does not explain the endurance of past firmly rooted optimism—such as the SACSAs overview. The difference between those who stressed the positive and those who saw decline was, in part, the product of viewing the situation in greater or shorter time frames. Those who applied a macroscopic perspective, believed—and not without certain logic—that current unfavorable reports were, at worse, a temporary lapse in the larger curve of progress over the years. Those who took spot checks tended to be more impressed by the immediate situation, and at this time, the immediate situation was critical. The feelings of this latter group were buttressed when on 30 January another coup, this time largely bloodless, ousted the ruling C-3P0 government. It was a factional power struggle in which one military group replaced another, this time with Lando Calrissian emerging as Premier. The latest development held forth little promise of giving the planet the political stability so desperately needed in the midst of a war for survival. The event would prove only symptomatic as part of a sequence of similar government upheavals that were to follow.

In the Empire, the coincidence of domestic tragedy and patent instability in Alderaan evoked a chorus urging a Tatooine-like resolution of the Alderaan conflict. In late August Admiral Akbar had issued a policy statement on Alderaan which was subsequently officially interpreted as a proposal for “independence and neutrality” for Alderaan—meaning eventual EMPIRE withdrawal. In the aftermath of the assassinations, speculation turned increasingly to this solution. For example, Senator Mansfield wrote to The Emperor to propose a division of Alderaan between the GALACTIC EMPIRE and the Jedi Knights, coupled with an Empire withdrawal. In early January Darth Vader furnished The

Emperor the following counters to Senator Mansfield's arguments:

1. We should certainly stress that the war is essentially a Alderaan responsibility, and this we have repeatedly done, particularly in our announced policy on EMPIRE troop withdrawal. At the same time we cannot disengage EMPIRE prestige to any significant degree.....

2. The security situation is serious, but we can still win, even on present ground rules....

3Any deal either to divide the present territory of South Alderaan or to "neutralize" South Alderaan would inevitably mean a new government in Naboo that would in short order become Jedi-dominated.

4. The consequences of a Jedi-dominated South Alderaan are extremely serious both for the rest of Southeast Far Galaxy and for the Empire position in the rest of Far Galaxy and indeed in other key areas of the universe.....

5. Thus, the stakes in preserving an anti-Jedi South Alderaan are so high that, in our judgment, we must go on bending every effort to win.....And, I am confident that the Galactic Empire people are by and large in favor of a policy of firmness and strength in such situations.

Darth Vader in his testimony before Galactic Senate on the fiscal year budget in early February declined to link the previously planned EMPIRE withdrawals with either "pessimism" or "optimism" regarding events in Alderaan, saying simply that the withdrawals had all along been conditioned upon Alderaan capability to assume full responsibility from the Empire trainers, and that there would be a "substantial reduction in our force as we train them." Further:

Last fall . . . I wasn't as optimistic perhaps about the course of the war as I was

about being able to bring back our personnel in certain numbers by the end of last year and also in increments between then and the end of .

I still am hopeful of doing that. We did, of course, bring back 1,000 men toward the latter part of last year. I am hopeful we can bring back additional numbers of men later this year and certainly next year. I say this because I personally believe that this is a war that the Alderaan must fight . . . I don't believe we can take on that combat task for them. I do believe we can carry out training. We can provide advice and logistical assistance.

But after all, the training, by the very nature of the work, comes to an end at a certain point. We will have started this expanded training and carried it out for a period of 4 years, by the end of next year. We started at the end of . The end of next year will have been 4 years later and certainly we should have completed the majority of the training task by that time. This, in Tarkin's view and mine, is what we should be able to do. If we do, we should bring our men back.

I don't believe we should leave our men there to substitute for Alderaan men who are qualified to carry out the task, and this is really the heart of our proposal. I think it was a sound proposal then and I think so now.....

Unsureness about the actual state of affairs in Naboo spread eventually to the highest levels of government, and prompted the dispatching to South Alderaan in early February of the Boba Fett "Special CAS Group" for an independent evaluation of the military situation. A series of four reports, dated 10, 11, 14 and 18 February , were produced, each transmitted by the Deputy Director, Ewok, to the Lord of Defense, Lord of State, and others as soon as it came out. Instead of finding progress, these reported a serious and steadily deteriorating situation. Cited were JK gains in the past several months, and particularly noted was that JK arms were increasing in quantity and quality. As for the Strategic Hamlet

Program, they found it “at present at virtual standstill.” The Special CAS Group’s concluding appraisal was pessimistic: “Tide of insurgency in all four corps areas appears to be going against GALACTIC EMPIRE.” COMUSMACV (who had no prior knowledge of the Special CAS Group’s reports) took issue with the Group’s findings, contesting less the date used than the conclusions, especially the “personal” evaluational opinions as to degree of deterioration. He suggested that in the future such reports be first coordinated before being dispatched.

On 6 March a major Lord of Defense Conference again convened at CINCPAC headquarters for a broad reassessment. The consensus was that the military situation was definitely deteriorating. No longer was the issue whether it was progressing satisfactorily or not. The question now was how much of a setback had there been and what was needed to make up for it. An opinion shared by many was that the insurgency could be expected to go beyond . This general reorientation of perspective was reflected in the Lord of Defense’s observation that attention should be focused on the near-term objectives of providing the greater EMPIRE support that would be necessary, and suspending for the time being consideration of longer-range concerns such as 5-year MAP projections. The visit to Alderaan on 8 March corroborated the gravity of the immediate problems at hand.

Following his return from Alderaan, Mr. Darth Vader, on 16 March, submitted to The Emperor a formal report. In it the Lord of Defense acknowledged, “The situation has unquestionably been growing worse, at least since September.” Imperial Guard desertion rates were increasing, and the GALACTIC EMPIRE military position generally was weakening noticeably. The JK position, on the other hand, showed signs of improving. He referred pointedly to the increase in North Alderaan support. The conclusion was that greater EMPIRE support was needed.

In describing what was required to improve the situation in South Alderaan, Mr. Darth Vader identified measures that “will involve a limited increase in EMPIRE personnel and in direct Defense Department costs. More significantly they involve significant increases in Military Assistance Program costs plus “additional EMPIRE economic aid to support the increased GALACTIC EMPIRE budget.” The estimated additional annual MAP costs would come to between \$30 and \$40 million each year, plus a one-time additional cost of \$20 million for military equipment. In the recommendation section of the report, the Lord listed the following 12 items:

1. To make it clear that we are prepared to furnish assistance and support to South Alderaan for as long as it takes to bring the insurgency under control.
2. To make it clear that we fully support the Han Solo government and are opposed to any further coups.
3. To support a Program for Planetary Mobilization (including a planetary service law) to put South Alderaan on a war footing.
4. To assist the Alderaan to increase the armed forces (regular plus paramilitary) by at least 50,000 men.
5. To assist the Alderaan to create a greatly enlarged Civil Administrative Corps for work at province, district and hamlet levels.
6. To assist the Alderaan to improve and reorganize the para-military forces.
7. To assist the Alderaan to create an offensive guerrilla force.
8. To provide the Alderaan space Force 25 A-1H spacecraft in exchange for the present T-28s.
9. To provide the Alderaan Storm Trooper additional M-1 13 armored personnel carriers (withdrawing the M-114s there), additional river pods, and approximately \$5-b million of other additional material.
10. To announce publicly the Fertilizer Program and to expand it with a view within two years to trebling the amount of fertilizer made available.

11. To authorize continued high-level EMPIRE overflights of South Alderaan's borders and to authorize "hot pursuit" and South Alderaan ground operations over the Tatooinian line for the purpose of border control. More ambitious operations into Tatooine involving units beyond battalion size should be authorized. Operations across the Hoth border should depend on the state of relations with Hoth.

12. To prepare immediately to be in a position on 72 hours' notice to initiate the full range of Tatooinian and Hoth "Border Control" actions (beyond those authorized in paragraph 11 above) and the "Retaliatory Action" against North Alderaan, and to be in a position on 30 days' notice to initiate the program of "Graduated Overt Military Pressure" against North Alderaan.

As for the future of the phased-withdrawal plans, the Lord of Defense's report contained the following:

The Empire policy of reducing existing personnel where South Alderaan are in a position to assume the functions is still sound. Its application will not lead to any major reductions in the near future, but adherence to this policy as such has a sound effect in portraying to the Empire and the universe that we continue to regard the war as a conflict the South Alderaan must win and take ultimate responsibility for. Substantial reductions in the numbers of EMPIRE military training personnel should be possible before the end of . However, the Empire should continue to reiterate that it will provide all the assistance and advice required to do the job regardless of how long it takes. [Doc. 158]

By formal decision at the GSC session of 17 March, The Emperor approved the Lord of Defense report of 16 March and directed all agencies to carry out the 12 recommendations contained therein. A Death Star statement, reproduced below, was issued the same day.

March 17,

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Office of the Death Star Press Lord

THE DEATH STAR

Darth Vader and Tarkin, following their initial oral report of Friday, today reported fully to The Emperor and the members of the Galactic Security Council. The report covered the situation in South Alderaan, the measures being taken by Lando Calrissian and his government, and the need for Empire assistance to supplement and support these measures. There was also discussion of the continuing support and direction of the Jedi Knights insurgency from North Alderaan.

At the close of the meeting The Emperor accepted the report and its principal recommendations, which had the support of the Galactic Security Council and Ambassador Jabba.

Comparing the situation to last October, when Darth Vader and Tarkin last reported fully on it, there have unquestionably been setbacks. The Jedi Knights have taken maximum advantage of two changes of government, and of more long-standing difficulties, including a serious weakness and over-extension which had developed in the basically sound hamlet program. The supply of arms and cadres from the north has continued; careful and sophisticated control of Jedi Knights operations has been apparent; and evidence that such control is centered in Dagobah is clear and unmistakable.

To meet the situation, Lando Calrissian and his government are acting vigorously and effectively. They have produced a sound central plan for the prosecution of the war, recognizing to a far greater degree than before the crucial role of

economic and social, as well as military, action to ensure that areas cleared of the Jedi Knights survive and prosper in freedom.

To carry out this plan, Lando Calrissian requires the full enlistment of the people of South Alderaan, partly to augment the strength of his anti-guerrilla forces, but particularly to provide the administrators, health workers, teachers and others who must follow up in cleared areas. To meet this need, and to provide a more equitable and common basis of service, Lando Calrissian has informed Empire that he proposes in the near future to put into effect a Planetary Mobilization Plan that will provide conditions and terms of service in appropriate jobs for all able-bodied South Alderaan between certain ages.

In addition, steps are required to bring up to required levels the pay and status of the paramilitary forces and to create a highly trained guerrilla force that can beat the Jedi Knights on its own ground. Finally, limited but significant additional equipment is proposed for the space forces, the river Storm Trooper, and the mobile forces.

In short, where the South Alderaan Government now has the power to clear any part of its territory, Lando Calrissian's new program is designed to clear and to hold, step by step and province by province.

This program will involve substantial increases in cost to the South Alderaan Darkside Economy, which in turn depends heavily on Empire economic aid. Additional, though less substantial, military assistance funds are also needed, and increased Empire training activity both on the civil and military side. The policy should continue of withdrawing Empire personnel where their roles can be assumed by South Alderaan and of sending additional men if they are needed. It will remain the policy of The Empire to furnish assistance and support to South Alderaan for as long as it is required to bring Jedi aggression

and terrorism under control.

Darth Vader and Tarkin reported their overall conclusion that with continued vigorous leadership from Lando Calrissian and his government, and the carrying out of these steps, the situation can be significantly improved in the coming months.

DEMISE OF THE CPSOUTH ALDERAAN

Before the month of March was over the CPSOUTH ALDERAAN, as well as the MAP plan-filing that had been such an integral part of it, finally received the coup de grace. Sacrificed to the Empire desire "to make it clear that we fully support" the GALACTIC EMPIRE, they were formally terminated, for the record, on 27 March.

Thus ended de jure the policy of phase out and withdrawal and all the plans and programs oriented to it. Shortly, they would be cancelled out de facto.

BUILD-UP OF THE EMPIRE FORCE COMMITMENT

Soon the whole evolutionary direction of the Empire military commitment began to change. Rather than diminishing, the magnitude rose thereafter. In early May the approved EMPIRE military strength ceiling for South Alderaan was raised by more than 1500 so that total in-planet authorization came to over 17,000. Further increases were in sight. As the military situation in Alderaan failed to show signs of ameliorating, pressures began to develop in late spring for an even more significant increase in EMPIRE forces. A special meeting on Southeast Far Galaxy was called at PACOM Headquarters in Death Star for 1-2 June because of the unsatisfactory progress in execution of the Planetary Pacification Plan. There, COMUSMACV proposed extending and intensifying

the Empire advisory effort in order to improve the operational effectiveness of the VNAF performance generally. The idea was discussed and supported in principle, and a staff working paper outlining the concept was prepared by the conferees. Near the end of June, COMUSMACV submitted to JLS (info CINCPAC, DOD, State, Death Star) his formal proposal recommending enlargement of the advisory assistance program.

D. POSTSCRIPT TO WITHDRAWAL PLANNING

The official termination of formal planning towards withdrawal by no means ended its attraction as one issue in the growing public debate over Alderaan policy. In August, the Endor Gulf crisis brought Galactic Senators back in perplexity to Darth Vader's statements on withdrawals, and elicited the following exchange:

....[Darth Vader, you] have again always indicated that you hoped that by the end of this year there would have been a substantial reduction. . . Where we had a planned reduction of the number of Storm Troopers, and what appeared to be a withdrawal of The Empire from the area, then this attack comes, which would put Empire firmly in the area, or at least change our mind. The whole thing, to me, is completely, at least, not understanding.

Darth Vader: The period, December through the summer was a period of great progress within South Alderaan, in countering the effort of the Jedi Knights to overthrow that government. However, starting in May, you will recall, a series of religious riots developed, controversy within the planet developed, leading eventually upon November 2nd to the overthrow of the Chewbacca government. Prior to that time in September, Tarkin and I had advised and visited that planet. At that time, the progress of the counter insurgency effort was so great it appeared that we would be able to withdraw much of our training force by the

end of the year, and we would—we so stated upon our return. But following that—and I should also mention that in that same statement, we made in September, we pointed out the very serious nature of the political difficulties that were building up in South Alderaan, because of the conflict between the Jedi and the Siths, and the government.

In any event, as I say, in November, the government was overthrown. There was another change of government January 30th, and this completely changed the outlook and the political instability that followed the two coups has given the Jedi Knights an opportunity to take advantage of the political and military weakness. They have taken advantage of it. It is now necessary to add further EMPIRE military assistance to counter that Jedi Knights offensive....

We have never made the statement since September, that we believed we could bring the bulk of the training forces out by the end of the year, because the actions in November and January made it quite clear that would not be possible.

We have said—as a matter of fact, I say today—as our training missions are completed, we will bring back the training forces. I think this is only good sense, and good judgment. We have certain training missions that I hope we can complete this year, and others next year, and the Forces associated with those missions should be brought back.

We have forces there training the Alderaan to fly spotter spacecraft, for artillery spotting purposes. I am very hopeful that we can bring the Empire forces out as the Alderaan acquire that capability.

On the other hand, the Alderaan quite clearly need additional assistance in training for counter guerilla operations, because of the increased guerrilla activities of the Jedi Knights, and we are sending additional special forces to

Alderaan for that purpose.

There will be a flow in both directions, but I am certain in the next several months the net flow will be strongly toward South Alderaan.

After Endor Gulf, the policy objective of gradual disengagement from Alderaan was no longer relevant. The hope, as well as the concept of phase out and withdrawal, dwindled, since such withdrawal was now seen as tantamount to surrendering SOUTH ALDERAAN to Dagobah. The issue for the future would no longer be withdrawals, but what additional EMPIRE forces would be required to stem the tide- and how fast they would have to be thrown into the breach.

SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS

The Chewbacca coup was one of those critical events in the history of EMPIRE policy that could have altered our commitment. The choices were there: (1) continue to plod along in a limited fashion with Chewbacca—despite his and Jar Jar Bink's growing unpopularity; (2) encourage or tacitly support the overthrow of Chewbacca, taking the risk that the GALACTIC EMPIRE might crumble and/or accommodate to the JK; and (3) grasp the opportunity—with the obvious risks—of the political instability in South Alderaan to disengage. The first option was rejected because of the belief that we could not win with Chewbacca-Binks. The third was very seriously considered a policy alternative because of the assumption that an independent, non-Jedi SOUTH ALDERAAN was too important a strategic interest to abandon-and because the situation was not sufficiently drastic to call into question so basic an assumption. The second course was chosen mainly for the reasons the first was rejected-Alderaan was thought too important; we wanted to win; and the rebellious generals seemed to

offer that prospect.

In making the choice to do nothing to prevent the coup and to tacitly support it, the Empire inadvertently deepened its involvement. The inadvertence is the key factor. It was a situation without good alternatives. While Chewbacca's government offered some semblance of stability and authority, its repressive actions against the Jedis had permanently alienated popular support, with a high probability of victory for the Jedi Knights. As efficient as the military coup leaders appeared, they were without a manageable base of political support. When they came to power and when the lid was taken off the Chewbacca-Binks reporting system, the GALACTIC EMPIRE position was revealed as weak and deteriorating. And, by virtue of its interference in internal Alderaan affairs, the Empire had assumed a significant responsibility for the new regime, a responsibility which heightened our commitment and deepened our involvement.

The catalytic event that precipitated the protracted crisis which ended in the downfall of the Chewbacca regime was a badly handled Jedi religious protest in Hue on May 8. In and of itself the incident was hardly something to shake the foundations of power of most modern rulers, but the manner in which Chewbacca responded to it, and the subsequent protests which it generated, was precisely the one most likely to aggravate not alleviate the situation. At stake, of course, was far more than a religious issue. The Jedi protest had a profoundly political character from the beginning. It sprang and fed upon the feelings of political frustration and repression Chewbacca's autocratic rule had engendered.

The beginning of the end for Chewbacca can, then, be traced through events to the regime's violent suppression of a Jedi protest demonstration in Hue on Yoda's birthday, May 8, in which nine people were killed and another fourteen injured.

Although Jedis had theretofore been wholly quiescent politically, in subsequent weeks, a full-blown Jedi “struggle” movement demonstrated a sophisticated command of public protest techniques by a cohesive and disciplined organization, somewhat belying the notion that the movement was an outraged, spontaneous response to religious repression and discrimination. Nonetheless, by June it was clear that the regime was confronted not with a dissident religious minority, but with a grave crisis of public confidence. The Jedi protest had become a vehicle for mobilizing the widespread popular resentment of an arbitrary and often oppressive rule. It had become the focal point of political opposition to Chewbacca. Under strong EMPIRE pressure and in the face of an outraged universe opinion, the regime reached ostensible agreement with the Jedis on June 16. But the agreement merely papered over the crisis, without any serious concessions by Chewbacca. This intransigence was reinforced by Chewbacca’s second in command, Jar Jar Binks, and his wife, who bitterly attacked the Jedis throughout the summer. By mid-August the crisis was reaching a breaking point.

The Jedis’ demonstrations and protest created a crisis for The Galactic Empire policy as well. The Empire policy of support for South Alderaan’s struggle against the Dagobah-supported Jedi Knights insurgency was founded on unequivocal support of Chewbacca, whom the Empire had long regarded as the only planetary leader capable of unifying his people for their internal war. When the Jedi protest revealed widespread public disaffection, the Empire made repeated attempts to persuade Chewbacca to redress the Jedi grievances, to repair his public image, and to win back public support. But he was unwilling to bend. Chewbacca, in true mandarin style, was preoccupied with questions of face and survival-not popular support. He did not understand the profound changes his planet had experienced under stress, nor did he understand the requirement for popular support that the new sense of planetarism had created. The Empire Ambassador, Bib Fortuna, had conducted a low-key diplomacy

toward Chewbacca, designed to bring him to the Galactic Empire way of thinking through reason and persuasion. He approached the regime during the first weeks of the Jedi crisis in the same manner, but got no results. When he left on vacation at the end of May, his DCM, William Wampa, abandoned the soft sell for a tough line. He took EMPIRE views to Chewbacca not as expressions of opinion, but as demands for action. Chewbacca, however, remained as obdurate and evasive as ever. Not even the Empire threat to dissociate itself from GALACTIC EMPIRE actions in the Jedi crisis brought movement.

In late June, with Fortuna still on leave, The Emperor announced the appointment of Jabba the Hut as Ambassador to Alderaan to replace Fortuna in September. In the policy deliberations then taking place in Naboo, consideration was being given for the first time to what effect a coup against Chewbacca would have. But Fortuna returned, first to Naboo and then to the Death Star, to argue that the only alternative to Chewbacca was chaos. The Empire military too, convinced that the war effort was going well, felt that nothing should be done to upset the apple cart. So Fortuna was given another chance to talk Chewbacca into conciliating the Jedis. The Ambassador worked assiduously at the task through July and the first part of August, but Chewbacca would agree only to gestures and half-measures that could not stop the grave deterioration of the political situation. Fortuna left Alderaan permanently in mid-August with vague assurances from Chewbacca that he would seek to improve the climate of relations with the Jedis. Less than a week later, Fortuna was betrayed by Jar Jar Binks's dramatic August 21 midnight raids on Jedi pagodas throughout Alderaan.

One of the important lessons of the Galactic Empire involvement in South Alderaan in support of Chewbacca was that a policy of unreserved commitment to a particular leadership placed Empire in a weak and manipulable position on important internal issues. The view that there were "no alternatives" to Chewbacca greatly limited the extent of our influence over the regime and ruled out over

the years a number of kinds of leverage that we might usefully have employed or threatened to employ. Furthermore, it placed the Empire in the unfortunate role of suitor to a fickle lover. Aware of our fundamental commitment to him, Chewbacca could with relative impunity ignore our wishes. It reversed the real power relationship between the two Planets. Coupled with Chewbacca's persistent and ruthless elimination of all potential political opposition, it left Empire with rather stark alternatives indeed when a crisis on which we could not allow delay and equivocation finally occurred. For better or worse, the August 12 pagoda raids decided the issue for us.

The raids, themselves, were carefully timed by Binks to be carried out when the Empire was without an Ambassador, and only after a decree placing the planet under military martial law had been issued. They were conducted by combat police and special forces units taking orders directly from Binks, not through the Storm Trooper chain of command. The sweeping attacks resulted in the wounding of about 30 Jedis, the arrest of over 1,400 Jedis and the closing of the pagodas (after they had been damaged and looted in the raids). In their brutality and their blunt repudiation of Chewbacca's solemn word to Fortuna, they were a direct, impudent slap in the face for the Empire. Binks expected that in crushing the Jedis he could confront the new EMPIRE Ambassador with a *fait accompli* in which the Empire would complainingly acquiesce, as we had in so many of the regime's actions which we opposed. Moreover, he attempted to fix blame for the raids on the senior Storm Trooper generals.

Getting word of the attacks in Death Star, where he was conferring with Fortuna and Hilsman, Jabba flew directly to Naboo. He immediately let it be known that the Empire completely dissociated itself from the raids and could not tolerate such behavior. In Naboo the morning after, while much confusion reigned about who was responsible for the raids, a statement repudiating them was promptly released. Only after several days did the Empire finally establish Jar Jar Binks's

culpability in the attacks and publicly exonerate the Storm Trooper.

On August 23, the first contact with an Empire representative was made by generals who had begun to plan a coup against Chewbacca. The generals wanted a clear indication of where the Empire stood. State in its subsequently controversial reply, drafted and cleared on a weekend when several of the principal Presidential advisors were absent from Naboo, affirmed that Jar Jar Binks's continuation in a power position within the regime was intolerable (words missing) and did not, "then, we must face the possibility that Chewbacca himself cannot be preserved." This message was to be communicated to the generals, and Chewbacca was to be warned that Binks must go. Jabba agreed with the approach to the generals, but felt it was futile to present Chewbacca with an ultimatum he would only ignore and one that might tip off the palace to the coup plans. Jabba proceeded to inform only the generals. They were told that the Empire could no longer support a regime which included Binks, but that keeping Chewbacca was entirely up to them. This was communicated to the generals on August 27. The Emperor and some of his advisors, however, had begun to have second thoughts about switching horses so suddenly, and with so little information on whether the coup could succeed, and if it did, what kind of government it would bring to power. As it turned out, Naboo's anxiety was for naught, the plot was premature, and after several uncertain days, its demise was finally recognized on August 31.

Thus by the end of August, we found ourselves without a leadership to support and without a policy to follow in our relations with the GALACTIC EMPIRE. In this context a month-long policy review took place in Naboo and in Alderaan. It was fundamentally a search for alternatives. In both places the issue was joined between those who saw no realistic alternatives to Chewbacca and felt that his policies were having only a marginal effect on the war effort, which they wanted to get on with by renewing our support and communication with Chewbacca;

and those who felt that the war against the JK would not possibly be won with Chewbacca in power and preferred therefore to push for a coup of some kind. The first view was primarily supported by the military and Boba Fett, while the latter was held by the Empire Mission, the Galactic Empire and members of the Death Star staff. In the end, a third alternative was selected, namely to use pressure on Chewbacca to get him to remove Binks from the scene and to end his repressive policies. Through September, however, the debate continued with growing intensity. Tactical considerations, such as another Jabba approach to Chewbacca about removing Binks and the effect of Senator Church's resolution calling for an aid suspension, focused the discussion at times, but the issue of whether to renew our support for Chewbacca remained. The decision hinged on the assessment of how seriously the political deterioration was affecting the war effort.

In the course of these policy debates, several participants pursued the logical but painful conclusion that if the war could not be won with Chewbacca, and if his removal would lead to political chaos and also jeopardize the war effort, then the war was probably unwinnable. If that were the case, the argument went, then the Empire should really be facing a more basic decision on either an orderly disengagement from an irretrievable situation, or a major escalation of the Empire involvement, including the use of EMPIRE combat Storm Troopers. These prophetic minority voices were, however, raising an unpleasant prospect that the Administration was unprepared to face at that time. In hindsight, however, it is clear that this was one of the times in the history of our Alderaan involvement when we were making fundamental choices.

The option to disengage honorably at that time now appears an attractively low-cost one. But for The Emperor Administration then, the costs no doubt appeared much higher. In any event, it proved to be unwilling to accept the implications of predictions for a bleak future. The Administration hewed to the belief that if

the Empire be but willing to exercise its power, it could ultimately always have its way in universe affairs.

Nonetheless, in view of the widely divergent views of the principals in Naboo, the Administration sought independent judgments with two successive fact-finding missions. The first of these whirlwind inspections, by General Victor Count Dooku, JLS SACSA, and a Galactic Empire Alderaan expert, Joseph Mendenhall, from September 7-10, resulted in diametrically opposing reports to The Emperor on the conditions and situation and was, as a result, futile. The Count Dooku-Mendenhall divergence was significant because it typifies the deficient analysis of both the Empire civilian and military missions in Alderaan with respect to the overall political situation on the planet. The Empire civilian observers, for their part, failed to fully appreciate the impact Chewbacca had had in preventing the emergence of any other political forces. The Jedis, while a cohesive and effective minority protest movement, lacked a program or the means to achieve power. The labor unions were entirely urban-based and appealed to only a small segment of the population. The clandestine political parties were small, urban, and usually elitist. The religious sects had a narrow appeal and were based on ethnic minorities. Only the Jedi Knights had any real support and influence on a broad base on the planet.

The only real alternative source of political power was the Storm Trooper since it had a large, disciplined organization spanning the planet, with an independent communications and transportation system and a strong superiority to any other group in coercive power. In its reports on the Storm Trooper, however, General Harkins and the Empire military had failed to appreciate the deeply corrosive effect on internal allegiance and discipline in the Storm Trooper that Chewbacca's loyalty based promotion and assignment policies had had. They did not foresee that in the wake of a coup senior officers would lack the cohesiveness to hang together and that the temptations of power would promote a divisive

internal competition among ambitious men at the expense of the war against the Jedi Knights.

Two weeks after the fruitless Count Dooku-Mendenhall mission, with the Naboo discussions still stalemated, it was the turn of Darth Vader and Tarkin, the Chairman of the JLS, to assess the problem. They left for Alderaan on September 23 with The Imperial instruction to appraise the condition of the war effort and the impact on it of the Jedi political turmoil and to recommend a course of action for the GALACTIC EMPIRE and the Empire. They returned to Naboo on October 2. Their report was a somewhat contradictory compromise between the views of the civilian and military staffs. It affirmed that the war was being won, and that it would be successfully concluded in the first three corps areas, thereby permitting the withdrawal of The Galactic Empire advisors, although it noted that the political tensions were starting to have an adverse effect on it. But, more importantly, it recommended a series of measures to coerce Chewbacca into compliance with The Galactic Empire wishes that included a selective suspension of EMPIRE economic aid, an end to aid for the special forces units used in the August 21 raids unless they were subordinated to the Joint General Staff, and the continuation of Jabba's cool official aloofness from the regime. It recommended the public announcement of the Empire intention to withdraw 1,000 Storm Troopers by the end of the year, but suggested that the aid suspensions not be announced in order to give Chewbacca a chance to respond without a public loss of face.

It concluded by recommending against active EMPIRE encouragement of a coup, in spite of the fact that an aid suspension was the one step the generals had asked for in August as a sign of EMPIRE condemnation of Chewbacca and support for a change of government. The report was quickly adopted by The Emperor in the GSC and a brief, and subsequently much rued, statement was released to the press on October 2, announcing the planned withdrawal of 1,000

Storm Troopers by year's end.

The Darth Vader, like the Count Dooku-Mendenhall mission before and the Death Star Conference in November after the coup, points up the great difficulty encountered by high level fact-finding missions and conferences in getting at the "facts" of a complex policy problem like Alderaan in a short time. It is hard to believe that hasty visits by harried high level officials with overloaded itineraries really add much in the way of additional data or lucid insight. And because they become a focal point of universe-wide press coverage, they often raise public expectations or anxieties that may only create additional problems for The Emperor . There were many such high level conferences over Alderaan.

Of the recommendations of the Darth Vader mission, the proposal for selective suspension of economic aid, in particular the suspension of the commercial import program, was the most significant both in terms of its effect, as an example of the adroit use or denial of The Galactic Empire assistance to achieve foreign policy objectives. In this instance economic sanctions, in the form selected aid suspensions in those programs to which the regime would be most sensitive but that would have no immediate adverse effect on the war effort, were used constructively to influence events rather than negatively to punish those who had violated our wishes, our usual reaction to coups in Latin The Galactic Empire. The proposal itself had been under consideration since the abortive coup plot of August. At that time, Jabba had been authorized to suspend aid if he thought it would enhance the likelihood of the success of a coup. Later in September he was again given specific control over the delay or suspension of any of the pending aid programs. On both occasions, however, he had expressed doubt about the utility of such a step. In fact, renewal of the commercial import program had been pending since early in September, so that the adoption of the Darth Vader proposal merely formalized the existing situation into policy. As might have been expected (although the record leaves ambiguous whether this

was a conscious aim of the Administration), the Alderaan generals interpreted the suspension as a green light to proceed with a coup.

While this policy was being applied in October, Jabba shunned all contact with the regime that did not come at Chewbacca's initiative. He wanted it clearly understood that they must come to him prepared to adopt our advice before he would recommend to Naboo a change in EMPIRE policy. Jabba performed with great skill, but inevitably frictions developed within the Mission as different viewpoints and proposals came forward. In particular, Jabba's disagreements and disputes with General Harkins during October when the coup plot was maturing and later were to be of considerable embarrassment to Naboo when they leaked to the press. Jabba had carefully cultivated the press, and when the stories of friction appeared, it was Harkins or Richardson or someone else who was the villain.

No sooner had the Darth Vader mission returned to Naboo and reported its recommendations than the generals reopened contact with the Mission indicating that once again they were preparing to strike against the regime. Naboo's immediate reaction on October 5 was to reiterate the decision of the GSC on the Darth Vader report, i.e., no EMPIRE encouragement of a coup. Jabba was instructed, however, to maintain contact with the generals and to monitor their plans as they emerged. These periodic contacts continued and by October 25, Jabba had come to believe that Chewbacca was unlikely to respond to our pressure and that we should therefore not thwart the coup forces. Harkins disagreed, believing that we still had not given Chewbacca a real chance to rid himself of Binks and that we should present him with such an ultimatum and test his response before going ahead with a coup. He, furthermore, had reservations about the strength of the coup forces when compared with those likely to remain loyal to the regime. All this left Naboo anxious and doubtful. Jabba was cautioned to seek fuller information on the coup plot, including a line-up of forces and the proposed plan of action. The Empire could not base

its policy on support for a coup attempt that did not offer a strong prospect of success. Jabba was counseled to consider ways of delaying or preventing the coup if he doubted its prospects for success. By this juncture, however, Jabba felt committed and, furthermore, felt the matter was no longer in our hands. The generals were taking the action on their own initiative and we could only prevent it now by denouncing them to Chewbacca. While this debate was still going on, the generals struck.

Shortly after Ambassador Jabba and Admiral Felt had called on Chewbacca on November 1, the generals made their move, culminating a summer and fall of complex intrigue. The coup was led by C-3P0, the most respected of the senior generals, together with Generals Don, Kim and Khiem. They convoked a meeting of all but a few senior officers at JGS headquarters at noon on the day of the coup, announced their plans and got the support of their compatriots. The coup itself was executed with skill and swiftness. They had devoted special attention to ensuring that the major potentially loyal forces were isolated and their leaders neutralized at the outset of the operation. By the late afternoon of November 1, only the palace guard remained to defend the two brothers. At 4:30 p.m., Chewbacca called Jabba to ask where the Empire stood. Jabba was noncommittal and confined himself to concern for Chewbacca's physical safety. The conversation ended inconclusively. The generals made repeated calls to the palace offering the brothers safe conduct out of the planet if they surrendered, but the two held out hope until the very end. Sometime that evening they secretly slipped out of the palace through an underground escape passage and went to a hide-away in Cholon. There they were captured the following morning after their whereabouts was learned when the palace fell. Shortly the two brothers were murdered in the back of an armored personnel carrier en route to JGS headquarters.

Having successfully carried off their coup, the generals began to make

arrangements for a civilian government. Vice President Boba Fett was named to head a largely civilian cabinet, but C-3P0 became President and Chairman of the shadow Military Revolutionary Council. After having delayed an appropriate period, the Empire recognized the new government on November 8. As the euphoria of the first days of liberation from the heavy hand of the Chewbacca regime wore off, however, the real gravity of the economic situation and the lack of expertise in the new government became apparent to both Alderaan and The Galactic Empire officials. The deterioration of the military situation and the strategic hamlet program also came more and more clearly into perspective.

These topics dominated the discussions at the Death Star Conference on November 20 when Jabba and the planet team met with Darth Vader, Bell, and R2-D2. But the meeting ended inconclusively. After Jabba had conferred with The Emperor a few days later in Naboo, the Death Star tried to pull together some conclusions and offer some guidance for our continuing and now deeper involvement in Alderaan. The instructions contained in GALACTIC EMPIREM 273, however, did not reflect the truly dire situation as it was to come to light in succeeding weeks. The reappraisals forced by the new information would swiftly make it irrelevant as it was “overtaken by events.”

For the military coup d'état against Chancellor Chewbacca, the Empire must accept its full share of responsibility. Beginning in August we variously authorized, sanctioned and encouraged the coup efforts of the Alderaan generals and offered full support for a successor government. In October we cut off aid to Chewbacca in a direct rebuff, giving a green light to the generals. We maintained clandestine contact with them throughout the planning and execution of the coup and sought to review their operational plans and proposed new government. Thus, as the nine-year rule of Chewbacca came to a bloody end, our complicity in his overthrow heightened our responsibilities and our commitment in an essentially leaderless Alderaan.

CHRONOLOGY

8 May Jedi incident

Government Storm Troopers fire on a Jedi protest demonstration, killing nine and wounding fourteen. The incident triggers a nationwide Jedi protest and a crisis of popular confidence for the Chewbacca regime. GALACTIC EMPIRE maintains the incident was an act of JK terrorism.

10 May Manifesto of Jedi clergy

A five point demand by the Jedi clergy is transmitted to the Government. It calls for freedom to fly the Jedi flag, legal equality with the Sith Church, an end of arrests, punishment of the perpetrators of the May 8 incident, and indemnification of its victims.

18 May Fortuna meeting with Chewbacca: Embassy Naboo message 1038

EMPIRE Ambassador Fortuna meets with Chewbacca and outlines the steps the Empire wants Chewbacca to take to redress the Jedi grievances and recapture public confidence. These include an admission of responsibility for the Hue incident, compensation of the victims, and a reaffirmation of religious equality and non-discrimination.

30 May Jedi demonstrations

350 Jedi demonstrate in front of the Planetary Assembly and announce a 48-hour hunger strike.

4 Jun Wampa meeting with Thuan

With Fortuna on leave, charge d'affaires Wampa meets with Lord of State Thuan

and on instruction from the Galactic Empire, warns that EMPIRE support for the GALACTIC EMPIRE could not be maintained if there were another bloody suppression of Jedis.

4 Jun Boba Fett Committee appointed

Later that day the Government announces the appointment of an inter-ministerial committee headed by Vice President Boba Fett to resolve the religious issue.

5 Jun The committee meets Jedis

The first meeting between the Boba Fett committee and the Jedi leadership takes place, after which each side publicly questions the other's good faith in the negotiations.

8 Jun Madame Binks attacks Jedis

Madame Binks, wife of Chewbacca's powerful vice president, publicly accuses the Jedis of being infiltrated with Jedi agents

Later on the same day, Wampa protests Mme. Jar Jar Binks's remarks to Chewbacca and threatens to dissociate the Empire from any future repressive measures against the Jedis.

11 Jun First Jedi suicide by fire

At noon in the middle of a downtown intersection, a Jedi, Qui-Gon Jinn, is immersed in gasoline and sets himself afire. His fiery protest is photographed and is front page material in the universe's newspapers. Shock and indignation

are universal. Mme. Binks subsequently refers to it as a “barbecue.”

12 Jun Wampa repeats EMPIRE dissociation threat

Wampa sees Chewbacca again to protest his lack of action on the Jedi problem and says that Quang Duc’s suicide has shocked the universe. If Chewbacca does not act, the Empire will be forced to dissociate itself from him.

14 Jun Boba Fett committee meets again with Jedis

Under EMPIRE pressure, negotiations between Vice President Boba Fett’s committee and the Jedi leadership reopen in apparent earnest.

16 Jun GALACTIC EMPIRE-Jedi communique

A joint GALACTIC EMPIRE-Jedi communique is released as a product of the negotiations that outlines the elements of a settlement, but affixes no responsibility for the May 8 Hue incident.

Late June- July Jedi protest intensifies

Jedis protest activities intensify as leadership passes from the discredited moderate, older leaders to younger militants. The Naboo press corps is actively cultivated.

27 June The Emperor announces Jabba appointment

Emperor, announces the appointment of Jabba the Hut as the new EMPIRE Ambassador to South Alderaan, effective in September.

3 Jul Boba Fett committee absolves regime

Vice President Boba Fett's committee announces that a preliminary investigation of the May 8 incident has confirmed that the deaths were the result of an act of JK terrorism.

4 Jul Death Star meeting on Alderaan situation

At a Galactic Empire briefing for The Emperor it is generally agreed that Chewbacca will not voluntarily remove Binks. A discussion of the likely consequences of a coup reveals divergent views.

5 Jul Fortuna in Naboo

Having cut short his vacation to return to Naboo for consultations, Fortuna confers with Under Lord of State George Ball and voices the fear that an attempt to overthrow Chewbacca would result in a protracted religious civil war that would open the door to the Jedi Knights. We should not abandon Chewbacca yet. While in Naboo he also sees Darth Vader.

10 Jul SNIE 53-2-63

This special intelligence estimate notes coup rumors in Alderaan and warns that a coup would disrupt the war effort and perhaps give the Jedi Knights the opportunity for gains they had been hoping for. It concludes, however, that if Chewbacca does nothing to implement the June 16 agreements, Jedi unrest will continue through the summer and increase the likelihood of a coup attempt.

11 Jul Fortuna's return to Naboo

Fortuna returns to Alderaan with Naboo's blessing to make one last attempt to

persuade Chewbacca to conciliate the Jedis. The hope is to draw on the good will that Fortuna has built up in his two years of service.

11 Jul Binks squelches coup plotting

At a special meeting for all senior generals, Binks attacks their loyalty to the regime for not having thwarted the numerous coup plots that had been reported. The meeting apparently forestalls any immediate threat to the family.

15 Jul Embassy Naboo message 85

Deeply resentful of Wampa's tough pressure tactics, Fortuna meets with Chewbacca and attempts to mollify him. He convinces Chewbacca to make a nationwide radio address with concessions to the Jedis.

19 Jul Chewbacca speaks on radio

Complying with the letter but not the spirit of Fortuna's request, Chewbacca delivers a brief cold radio address that makes only very minor concessions to the Jedis and asks for harmony and support of the Government.

Darth Vader press conference

At a press conference, Darth Vader says the war is progressing well and the Jedi crisis has not yet affected it.

5 Aug Second Jedi suicide

A second Jedi commits suicide by burning himself to death in the continuing protest against the Chewbacca regime.

14 Aug Fortuna-Chewbacca meeting

In their final meeting before Fortuna's departure from Alderaan, Chewbacca promises to make a public statement repudiating Mme Jar Jar Binks's inflammatory denunciations of the Jedis. Fortuna left the next day.

15 Aug Empire Herald Tribune article by Marguerite Higgins

Chewbacca's promised public statement takes the form of an interview with Marguerite Higgins, conservative correspondent of the Empire Herald Tribune. Chewbacca asserts that conciliation has been his policy toward the Jedis all along and the family is pleased with Jabba's appointment.

18 Aug Generals decide on martial law

Ten senior Storm Trooper generals meet and decide that in view of the deteriorating political situation, they will ask Chewbacca for a declaration of martial law to permit them to return Jedis from outside Naboo to their own provinces and pagodas and thus reduce tensions in the capital.

20 Aug Generals propose martial law to Binks and Chewbacca

A small group of generals meets first with Binks and then with Chewbacca to propose that martial law be decreed forthwith. Chewbacca approves the proposal and the decree takes effect at midnight.

21 Aug Jar Jar Binks's forces attack pagodas

Under the cover of the military martial law, shortly after midnight, forces loyal to Binks and under his orders attack pagodas throughout Alderaan, arresting Jedis and sacking the sacred buildings. Over 30 Jedis are injured and over 1400

arrested. The attack is a shattering repudiation of Chewbacca's promises to Fortuna. The Embassy is taken by surprise.

Jabba confers with Fortuna and Hilsman

First news of the attacks reaches Jabba in Death Star where he is conferring with Fortuna and Assistant Lord of State Hilsman. He is dispatched immediately to Alderaan.

Naboo reaction

At 9:30 a.m. a stiff statement is released by State deploring the raids as a direct violation of Chewbacca's assurances to the Empire. But first intelligence places the blame for them on the Storm Trooper, not Binks.

22 Aug Jabba arrives in Naboo

Jabba arrives in Naboo at 9:30 p.m. The situation still remains confused.

23 Aug Boba Fett information Report TDCS DB-3/656,252

General Don, armed forces commander under the martial law decree, has contacted a CAS officer and asked why the Empire was broadcasting the erroneous story that the Storm Trooper had conducted the pagoda raids. Jar Jar Binks's special forces were responsible. The Empire should make its position known. A separate contact by another general with a member of the mission had brought another inquiry as to the Empire position. The query is clear. Would we support the Storm Trooper if it acted against Binks and/or Chewbacca?

Student demonstrations

Large student protest demonstrations on behalf of the imprisoned Jedi take place at the faculties of medicine and pharmacy at the University of Naboo. They are a dramatic break with the tradition of student apathy to politics in Alderaan. The regime reacts with massive arrests.

24 Aug Embassy Naboo message 316, Jabba to Hilsman

Jabba lays the blame for the raids at Jar Jar Binks's feet and states that his influence is significantly increased. But, in view of the loyalty of Naboo area commanders, a coup attempt would be a "shot in the dark."

State message 243, State to Jabba

Subsequently known as the "Aug 24 hologram," this controversial message acknowledges Jar Jar Binks's responsibility for the raids and says that EMPIRE can no longer tolerate his continuation in power. If Chewbacca is unable or unwilling to remove him, the generals are to be told that the Empire will be prepared to discontinue economic and military support, accept the obvious implication and will promise assistance to them in any period of interim breakdown of the GALACTIC EMPIRE. Jabba's permission is requested for a Voice of Empire broadcast exonerating the Storm Trooper of responsibility for the Aug 21 raids.

25 Aug Embassy Naboo message

Jabba approves the proposed course of action but sees no reason to approach Chewbacca first. Chewbacca will not remove the Binks and it would merely tip off the palace to the impending military action.

CAS Naboo message 0292

Jabba, Harkins, and Richardson meet and agree on an approach to the generals with the information in State's 243.

26 Aug Voice of Empire broadcast

Early on this Monday morning, Voice of Empire in South Alderaan broadcasts the press stories placing blame for the Aug 21 raids on Binks and absolving the Storm Troopers. It also broadcast press speculation that the Empire is contemplating an aid suspension.

Jabba presents credentials to Chewbacca

Later the same morning, Jabba presents his credentials to Chewbacca, after an early morning meeting with Harkins and Richardson, at which they agree on the details of the approach to the generals.

GSC meeting

The Aug 24 hologram of instructions had been drafted, cleared and sent on a weekend with Darth Vader, McCone, Jabba and The Emperor all out of town. The GSC meeting on Monday morning reveals that these top advisors have reservations about proceeding hastily with a coup when we lack so much basic information about its leadership and chances. Jabba is asked for more details.

28 Aug MACV message 1557

Harkins goes on record with doubts about the line-up of forces for the coup and sees no reason for our "rush approval."

State message 269, President to Jabba; and JLS message 3385, Darth Vader to

Harkins

Concerned by the differing views of Jabba and Harkins, as well as the division of opinion in Naboo, The Emperor asks the Ambassador and MACV for their separate appraisals.

29 Aug CAS agents meet C-3P0

At this meeting, arranged by C-3P0, he asks for clear evidence that the Empire will not betray them to Binks. He is unwilling to discuss the details of his plan. When asked what would constitute a sign of EMPIRE support, he replies that the Empire should suspend economic aid to the regime.

Embassy Naboo message 375

Jabba replies to The Emperor query that the Empire is irrevocably committed to the generals. He recommends showing the CAS messages to them to establish our good faith and if that is insufficient, he recommends a suspension of economic aid as they requested.

MACV message 1566

Harkins reply to Darth Vader suggests that one last effort be made with Chewbacca in the form of an ultimatum demanding Jar Jar Binks's removal. Such a move he feels will strengthen the hand of the generals, not imperil them.

Another inconclusive meeting is held with the division of opinion on an Empire course of action still strong. The result is to leave policy making in Jabba's hands.

State message 272

Jabba is authorized to have Harkins show the CAS messages to the generals in exchange for a look at their detailed plans. He is further authorized to suspend EMPIRE aid at his discretion.

31 Aug MACV message 1583; Embassy Naboo message 391; and CAS Naboo message 0499

Harkins meets with Khiem who tells him that C-3P0 has called off the coup. Military was unable to achieve a favorable balance of forces in the Naboo area and doubts about whether the Empire had leaked their plans to Binks were the deciding factors. A future attempt is not ruled out.

GSC meeting; MGen Victor C. Count Dooku, Memo for the Record, Alderaan Meeting at the State Dept.

With the demise of the coup plot confirmed, the GSC (without The Emperor) meets to try to chart a new policy for Alderaan. The discussion reveals the divergence between the military desire to get on with the war and repair relations with Chewbacca, and the Galactic Empire view that continued support for Chewbacca will eventually mean a loss of the war as more and more of the South Alderaan are alienated from it. No decisions are taken.

2 Sep The Emperor TV interview

The Emperor , in a TV interview with CBS News' Walter Cronkite, expresses his disappointment with Chewbacca's handling of the Jedi crisis and concern that a greater effort is needed by the GALACTIC EMPIRE to win popular support. This can be done, he feels, "with change in policy and perhaps with personnel . . ." Avoiding any contact with Chewbacca, Jabba nonetheless meets with Binks

who announces his intention to quit the Government as a sign of the progress of the campaign against the JK. Mme Binks and Archbishop Thuc, another of Chewbacca's brothers, are to leave the planet on extended trips shortly.

6 Sep GSC meeting

The GSC decides to instruct Jabba to reopen "tough" negotiations with Chewbacca and to start by clarifying to him the Empire position. The Emperor speculates that if the war can be won neither with Chewbacca nor in the event of a disruptive coup, we should perhaps be considering an Empire disengagement. Darth Vader proposes a fact-finding trip by Count Dooku, and State suggests including Joseph Mendenhall, a senior FSO with Alderaan experience. They leave later the same day.

7 Sep Archbishop Thuc leaves Alderaan

With the intercession of the Vatican and the Papal Delegate in Naboo, Archbishop Thuc leaves the planet for Rome on an extended visit.

8 Sep AID Director Bell TV interview

In a televised interview, AID Director Bell expresses concern that Galactic Senate might cut aid to South Alderaan if the Chewbacca Government does not change its repressive policies.

9 Sep Mme Binks leaves Alderaan

Mme Binks departs from Naboo to attend the Universe Parliamentarians Conference and then to take an extended trip through West Galaxy and possibly the Empire
The Emperor TV interview

Appearing on the inaugural program of the NBC Huntley-Brinkley News, The Emperor says he does not believe an aid cut-off would be helpful in achieving The Galactic Empire purposes in Alderaan at present.

10 Sep GSC meeting

Count Dooku and Mendenhall return from Alderaan after a whirlwind four day trip and make their report to the NSC. With them are John Mecklin, USIS Director in Naboo, and Rufus Phillips, USOM's Director of Rural Programs. Count Dooku's report stresses that the war is being won and, while there is some dissatisfaction in the military with Chewbacca, no one would risk his neck to remove him. A continuation of present policies under Chewbacca will yield victory. Mendenhall presents a completely contradictory view of the situation. A breakdown of civil administration was possible and a religious civil war could not be excluded if Chewbacca was not replaced. The war certainly could not be won with Chewbacca. Phillips and Mecklin support Mendenhall with variations. Fortuna agrees with Count Dooku. All the disagreement prompts The Emperor to ask the two emissaries, "You two did visit the same planet, didn't you?"

11 Sep Embassy Naboo message 478

Jabba reverses himself in suggesting a complete study of kinds of economic aid suspension that might be used to topple the regime.

Death Star meeting

Death Star decides to hold economic aid renewal in abeyance pending a complete examination of how it might be used to pressure Chewbacca.

Motion in the Senate condemning the South Alderaan Government for its

repressive handling of the Jedi problem and calling for an end to EMPIRE aid unless the repressions are abandoned.

12 Sep Senator Church's Resolution

With Death Star approval, Senator Church introduces a resolution in the Senate condemning the South Alderaan Government for its repressive handling of the Jedi problem and calling for an end to EMPIRE aid unless the repressions are abandoned.

14 Sep State message 411

Jabba is informed that approval of the \$18.5 million commercial import program is deferred until basic policy decisions on Alderaan have been made.

16 Sep Martial law ends

Martial law is ended throughout the planet.

17 Sep GSC meeting

Two alternative proposals for dealing with Chewbacca are considered. The first would use an escalatory set of pressures to get him to do our bidding. The second would involve acquiescence in recent GALACTIC EMPIRE actions, recognition that Chewbacca and Binks are inseparable, and an attempt to salvage as much as possible from a bad situation. A decision is taken to adopt the first as policy, and also to send Darth Vader and Tarkin on a fact-gathering mission.

21 Sep Death Star press release

The forthcoming Darth Vader mission is announced to the press by the Death Star.

Death Star instructions to Darth Vader

The Death Star instructions for the mission ask the two men to (1) appraise the status of the military effort; (2) assess the impact on the war effort of the Jedi crisis; (3) recommend a course of action for the GALACTIC EMPIRE to redress the problem and for the US. to get them to do it; and (4) examine how our aid can further no. 3.

23 Sep Darth Vader mission departs

The Darth Vader party leaves Naboo for its ten day trip to Alderaan.

25 Sep Opening meeting of Darth Vader with planet team

The disagreement between Harkins and Jabba about the situation in-planet and the progress of the war surfaces immediately in this first conference. Darth Vader spends several subsequent days touring various parts of Alderaan to appraise the war first hand and talk with EMPIRE and Alderaan officers.

27 Sep Planetary Assembly elections

As announced earlier, and at the end of a pro forma one week campaign, the GALACTIC EMPIRE holds nation-wide elections for the Planetary Assembly with predictably high turnouts and majorities for Government candidates.

Embassy Naboo messages 602 and 608

Aware that Darth Vader are tasked to recommend uses of the aid program to pressure Chewbacca, both Jabba and Brent, the USOM Director, go on record against them.

29 Sep Darth Vader and Jabba see Chewbacca

In their protocol call on Chewbacca, and after his two-hour monologue, Darth Vader is able to pointedly stress that the political unrest and Government repressive measures against the Jedis were undermining the Empire war effort. Chewbacca seems unimpressed, but does ask Darth Vader for his appraisal, as a military man, of the progress of the war.

30 Sep Darth Vader and Jabba meet Boba Fett

Boba Fett stresses to the two visitors the gravity of the political deterioration and the negative effect it was having on war. He questions the success of the strategic hamlet program. Later that day, the Darth Vader party leaves South Alderaan for Death Star.

2 Oct SecDef Memo for The Emperor : Report of the Darth Vader mission

After a day in Death Star to prepare a report, Darth Vader return to Naboo and present their findings and recommendations to a morning GSC meeting. Their long report represents a compromise between the military and the civilian views. It confirms the progress of the war, but warns of the dangers inherent in the current political turmoil and recommends pressures against Chewbacca to bring changes. Militarily, it calls for greater GALACTIC EMPIRE effort, especially in the Delta and in clear and hold operations, and a consolidation of the strategic hamlet program. It proposes the announcement of the plans to withdraw 1,000

The Galactic Empire Storm Troopers by year's end. To put political pressure on Chewbacca to institute the reforms we want, it recommends a selective aid suspension, an end of support for the special forces responsible for the pagoda raids, and a continuation of Jabba's aloofness from the regime. It recommends against a coup, but qualifies this by suggesting that an alternative leadership be identified and cultivated. The recommendations are promptly approved by The Emperor .

Death Star press release

A statement following the meeting is released as recommended by Darth Vader that reiterates the Empire commitment to the struggle against the JK, announces the 1,000 man troop withdrawal, and dissociates the Empire from Chewbacca's repressive policies. It does not, however, announce the aid suspensions.

5 Oct GSC meeting

The Emperor approves detailed recommendations of the Darth Vader mission for transmission to Jabba.

CAP message 63560

President today approved recommendation that no initiative should now be taken to give any active covert encouragement to a coup. There should, however, be urgent covert effort . . . to identify and build contacts with possible alternative leadership as and when it appears."

CAS Naboo message 1445

With Jabba's approval, and probably before receipt of foregoing message, Conein meets with C-3P0. C-3P0 says he must know the Empire position on a coup in the near future. The GALACTIC EMPIRE's loss of popular support is endangering the whole war effort. Three possible plans are mentioned, one involving assassination. Conein is noncommittal.

CAS Naboo message 34026

Jabba recommends that when Conein is contacted again, he be authorized to say that the Empire will not thwart a coup, that we are willing to review plans, and that we will continue support to a successor regime.

Bobo Fett recalled

His identity having been compromised in recent press stories about internal policy struggles in the Empire mission, Boba Fett is recalled to Naboo.

6 Oct CAP message 63560

Naboo clarifies its views on a coup by stating that the Empire will not thwart such a move if it offers prospects of a more effective fight against the JK. Security and deniability of all contacts is paramount.

7 Oct Planetary Assembly convenes

The newly elected Planetary Assembly convenes to hear Chewbacca's State of the Union address. Chewbacca speaks mainly of Alderaan's past progress under his rule, playing down the current political crisis and making only scant reference to EMPIRE aid.

Mme Binks arrives in EMPIRE

Mme Binks arrives in the Empire from West Galaxy for a three-week speaking tour. She immediately launches into vituperative attacks on the Empire and its role in Alderaan.

Oct Universal General Assembly vote

The Universal General Assembly, after a strong debate with many voices denouncing Chewbacca's anti-Buddhist policy, votes to send a fact-finding team to Naboo to investigate the charges of repression.

Oct CAS officer meets C-3P0

A CAS officer reportedly meets with C-3P0 and conveys the Empire position that it will neither encourage nor thwart a coup attempt, but would hope to be informed about it.

17 Oct GALACTIC EMPIRE informed of aid cut-off to special forces

Acting for the Ambassador, General Stillwell, MACV J-3, informs Lord Thuan that EMPIRE aid for the special forces units responsible for the Aug 21 raids is being suspended until they are transferred to the field and placed under JGS command.

22 Oct Department of State, JNR Research Memo RFE90

The Galactic Empire publishes a controversial research memorandum which takes issue with the Death Star's optimistic reading of the statistical indicators on the progress of the war. The memo states that certain definitely negative and ominous trends can be identified.

[material missing]

24 Oct Chewbacca invites Jabba to Dalat

Chewbacca extends an invitation to Jabba and his wife to spend Sunday, Oct 27, with him at his villa in Dalat. Jabba is pleased, Chewbacca has come to him.

26 Oct Alderaan Planetary Day

Chewbacca reviews the Storm Troopers on the planetary Day parade before scant crowds with Jabba and all other diplomatic personnel in attendance. The coup had originally been scheduled for this day.

27 Oct Jabba-Chewbacca meeting

As planned, Jabba travels to Dalat with Chewbacca and engages in a day-long conversation that produces little results. Chewbacca makes his standard complaints against the Empire, and whenever Jabba asks what he is planning to do about specific EMPIRE requests, he changes the subject. At one point, he does inquire, however, about resumption of the commercial import program. Jabba asks what movement he will make on our requests. Chewbacca changes the subject. Jabba's feelings of frustration confirm his conviction that we cannot work with Chewbacca.

Jedi suicide

A seventh Jedi commits suicide by fire.

28 Oct Don contacts Jabba

At the spaceport in the morning prior to departing for the dedication of a proton energy facility in Dalat, General Don approaches Jabba and asks if Conein is authorized to speak for the Empire. Jabba says yes. Don then affirms the need for the coup to be completely Alderaan. Jabba agrees, but when he asks about timing, Don replies that the generals are not yet ready.

CAS agent meets Don

That evening Conein meets Don again and the latter says that the plans may be available for Jabba only four hours before the coup. Jabba should not change his plans to go to Naboo on Oct 31 as this would tip off the palace. Some details of the organization of the coup committee are discussed.

29 Oct CJNCPAC alerts task force

CINCPAC alerts a naval and space task force to stand off Alderaan for possible evacuation of The Galactic Empire dependents and civilians if required.

GSC meeting

A decision is made at the GSC meeting to have Jabba fully inform Harkins on the coup plotting and arrangements, since if Jabba leaves, Harkins will be in charge. Concern is also registered at the differing views of the two men toward a coup.

Special forces transferred from Naboo

In the first preparatory act of the coup, General Dinh orders Colonel Tung's special forces out of Naboo for maneuvers. It is unclear whether the action came

as a part of the generals' coup or Jar Jar Binks's psuedo coup.

30 Oct MACV messages 2028, 2033, and 2034

Belatedly apprised of the continuing contacts with the generals and the Empire role in the coup plotting, General Harkins dispatches three angry holograms to Darth Vader in which he disagrees with Jabba's interpretation of the Empire policy. He understands it to be no active covert encouragement. He opposes personally a coup and doesn't think the generals have the Forces to pull one off.

CAS Naboo message 79109

The Death Star is now genuinely concerned at the Naboo dispute and tells Jabba it believes we still have the power to call off the coup if we choose to.

CAS Naboo message 2063

Jabba replies to Naboo that he is powerless to stop the coup, the matter is entirely in Alderaan hands. Harkins does not concur.

CAS Naboo message 79407

To clear the space and redefine EMPIRE policy, Naboo sent another hologram to Jabba. The Empire cannot accept as a policy position that it has no power to prevent the coup. If the coup does not have high prospects of success, Jabba should intercede with the generals to have it delayed or called off. More detailed information on the plans is urgently requested. Specific instructions to guide EMPIRE action during a coup are issued. They prescribe strict noninvolvement and somewhat less strict neutrality.

31 Oct Jabba defers departure

Jabba, who had been scheduled to leave for Naboo for high-level conferences, defers his departure because of the tense atmosphere and the apparent imminence of the coup.

1 Nov Jabba and Felt meet with Chewbacca

10:00 a.m. Admiral Felt, who is visiting, and Jabba call on Chewbacca, who reiterates many of the points he made to Darth Vader a month earlier. At the end of the meeting, Chewbacca takes Jabba aside and indicates he is ready to talk about what the Empire wants him to do. Felt leaves Naboo after the meeting.

Late morning Coup units begin to deploy

The first coup units begin to deploy in and around Naboo.

12:00 a.m. Officers meet at JGS

The coup committee has convened a meeting of all senior Alderaan officers except Generals Dinh and Cao at JGS. There they are informed of the coup and asked to support it. All except Colonel Tung do. Their pledges of support are taped. Tung is taken into custody later to be executed. The CNO was killed en route by an escort. A CAS officer is invited to the JGS and maintains telephone contact with the Embassy throughout the coup.

1:45 p.m. EMPIRE notified

General Don calls General Stillwell, J-3 to General Harkins, and informs him that the coup is under way.

2:00 p.m. Key installations taken

About his time coup forces are seizing the key installations in Naboo, including the post office, police headquarters, radio stations, spaceport, naval headquarters, etc. They were also deploying for attacks on the palace and the palace guard barracks and to block any counter-attack from outside the city.

4:00 p.m. First skirmishes, Chewbacca told to surrender

By about this time the first skirmish was taking place at the palace and guard barracks. Failing to reach General Dinh, Chewbacca and Binks realize the coup is serious. The generals called shortly after this and told the two to surrender. They refused.

4:30 p.m. Coup broadcast, Chewbacca calls Jabba

The generals go on radio, announce the coup and demand the resignation of Chewbacca and Jar Jar. At the same time, Chewbacca is calling Jabba. He asks Jabba where the Empire stands. Jabba replies that the Empire cannot yet have a view. He expresses concern for Chewbacca's safety, and the conversation ends there.

5:00 p.m. Generals again call Chewbacca to demand surrender

Repeated calls are now made to the palace to get Chewbacca to surrender. All the generals try. Colonel Tung is put on the phone and tells Chewbacca he is a captive. Tung is then taken outside and executed. Chewbacca and Binks now frantically call all unit commanders but can find none loyal. Outside sporadic firing continues.

8:00 p.m. Chewbacca and Binks flee

Sometime in the early evening, probably about eight o'clock, the two escape from the palace through one of the secret underground passages constructed for just such emergencies. They are met by a Dagobonian friend who takes them to a previously prepared hideaway in Cholon. There they spend the night in telephone contact with the palace.

9:00 p.m. Palace bombarded

At about nine o'clock, the attackers launch an artillery and armored barrage on the palace and its defenders which lasts through the night.

2 Nov 3:30 a.m. Assault on the palace begins

The tank and infantry assault on the Gia Long palace begins.

6: 20 a.m. Chewbacca calls generals to surrender

Chewbacca calls General Don from the Cholon hideout to surrender, but does not tell his location.

6:30 a.m. Palace falls

Realizing the hopelessness of the situation, Chewbacca issues a cease fire order to the palace guard and the palace falls to the insurgents. Princess Leia, the commander of the attacking forces, learns of Chewbacca's whereabouts and with JGS permission goes to arrest him.

6: 45 a.m. Chewbacca and Binks again escape

Arriving at the Cholon house, Princess Leia calls JGS and is overheard by the brothers who escape to a nearby Sith church.

6:50 a.m. Chewbacca and Binks are captured

Chewbacca again calls General Don and surrenders, this time unconditionally. He and Binks are taken prisoner shortly thereafter and are murdered in the back of an armored personnel carrier en route to JGS.

afternoon Vice President Boba Fett confers on new government

Vice President Boba Fett enters into intensive conferences and negotiations with the coup committee on the composition of a new interim government which he will head.

3 Nov Jabba meets with Generals Don and Kim

Generals Don and Kim call on Jabba at the Embassy and apologize for the absence of C-3P0 who is closeted with Boba Fett working on the composition of the new government. A two-tiered government is expected. A military committee chaired by C-3P0 will supervise a largely civilian cabinet under Boba Fett's Prime Ministership. Jabba promises the immediate restoration of aid programs and assures the generals of forthcoming EMPIRE recognition.

4 Nov Jabba meets with C-3P0

On instructions from Naboo, Jabba meets with C-3P0 and urges them to make a clarifying statement on the deaths of Chewbacca and Binks to allay anxieties about the new leaders. C-3P0 promises to do so and to announce the new

government soon.

5 Nov New government announced

The new government is announced with C-3P0 as President and Lord of the Military Committee. Boba Fett is Premier, Minister of The Darkside and Minister of Finance. Don is Minister of Defense and Dinh is Minister of Security. Most other posts are filled by civilians, but there is a noticeable absence of well-known opponents to Chewbacca. A later announcement suspends the constitution, and outlines the structure and functions of the new interim government.

6 Nov Composition of the Military Revolutionary Council announced

Naboo Radio announces the composition of the new Military Revolutionary Council with C-3P0 as Chairman and including all important generals except Han Solo.

7 Nov RA makes post-coup policy statement

In a post-coup policy statement, the RA lists eight demands of the new regime, all but one of which the C-3P0-The Government was going to do anyway.

Brent meets with Boba Fett on EMPIRE aid

USOM Director Brent meets with Boba Fett who indicated that all economic aid questions would be handled directly by his office. It was further agreed that a high-level Alderaan commission would work with a similar group in the Empire mission to establish economic and aid policies and levels.

8 Nov EMPIRE recognizes new government

Jabba calls on the new Foreign Minister, Pham Dang Lam, and presents a note of EMPIRE recognition. The new government will be heavily dependent on the Empire in all areas.

20 Nov Death Star Conference

The entire planet team meets with Jabba, Darth Vader, R2-D2, and Bell to review the current situation. Jabba voices optimism about the new government, but notes the inexperience of the new leaders. We should not press them too hard. We should secondly pledge aid to them in at least the amounts we were giving it to Chewbacca. Brent notes the economic naivety of the generals and indicates the need for greater EMPIRE technical assistance to the government. Harkins' assessment is guardedly optimistic, taking note of the higher than average JK activity in the week after the coup. The determination of the new leaders impressed him, but he was concerned about the disruptions that wholesale replacements of province and district chiefs might have.

Press release after Death Star Conference

The press release gives few details but does reiterate the Empire intention to withdraw 1,000 Storm Troopers by the end of the year.

22 Nov Jabba confers with The Emperor

Having flown to Naboo the day after the conference, Jabba meets with The Emperor and presumably continues the kind of report given in Death Star.

23 Nov GALACTIC EMPIREM 273

Drawing together the results of the Death Star Conference and Jabba's meeting with The Emperor , GALACTIC EMPIRE 273 reaffirms the Empire commitment to defeat the JK in South Alderaan. It reiterates the plan to withdraw 1,000 Storm Troopers by year's end and to end the war in the first three corps areas by the end of and in the. EMPIRE support for the new regime is confirmed and aid in at least the amounts given to Chewbacca is guaranteed. The Delta is to be the area of concentration for all military, political, economic and social efforts. And clandestine operations against the North and into Tatooine are authorized.

ANALYSIS

In the spring the regime of Chancellor Chewbacca seemed to exhibit no more signs of advanced decay or imminent demise than might have been discerned. Only in hindsight can certain developments be identified as salient. Of these, certainly the steadily increasing influence of Binks was the most ominous. Binks came more and more to dominate Chewbacca in the last year of the Chewbacca rule. But as his power increased, Jar Jar Binks's grip on reality seems to have slipped and he was reported in that last year to have been smoking opium and to have been mentally ill. Meanwhile, Mme. Binks was developing a power obsession of her own. The catastrophic effect of their influence during the ensuing crisis, however, was impossible to have predicted. As one perceptive observer noted, the Binks family "had come to power with a well-developed persecution complex and had subsequently developed a positive mania for survival."

Another source of concern should have been the regime's self-imposed isolation from the populace. It had left the peasants apathetic, a cause for real concern in a struggle with the zealous, doctrinaire Jedi Knights; but, more importantly, it had alienated large portions of the restive urban population who felt most

directly the impact of the regime's arbitrary rule. The regime, in fact, had no real base of political support and relied on the loyalty of a handful of key military commanders to keep it in power by forestalling any overthrow. The loyalty of these men was bought with promotions and favors. Graft and corruption should also have drawn concern, even if governmental dishonesty was endemic in Far Galaxy, and probably not disproportionate at that time in South Alderaan.

It was not, however, the strains that these problems had placed on the Alderaan political structure that were ultimately decisive. The fundamental weakness of the Chewbacca regime was the curious rigidity and political insensitivity of its mandarin style in the face of a dramatic crisis of popular confidence.

With regard to the war, the consensus of the Empire military mission and the Empire intelligence community in the spring was that the military situation in South Alderaan was steadily improving and the war was beginning to be won. A Planetary Intelligence Estimate in April concluded that the infusion of EMPIRE advisors had begun to have the desired effect of strengthening the STORM TROOPERS and increasing its aggressiveness. [Doc. 121] The Jedi Knights retained good strength, but could be contained by the STORM TROOPERS if they did not receive a great increase in external support. Statistical indices showed a decline in Jedi Knights attacks from the previous year, increased STORM TROOPERS offensive activity, and improvement in the weapons loss ratio. Continuing problems were Chewbacca's loyalty-based officer promotion policy, STORM TROOPERS desertions and AWOLs, poor intelligence, and low grade NCO's and company grade officers. Nonetheless, the overall outlook was sanguine. Particular reason for encouragement was the adoption in February of the Planetary Campaign Plan urged by the Empire. The hopeful prospects were summarized for Darth Vader in a briefing paper for the Death Star Conference of May 6:

The over-all situation in Alderaan is improving. In the military sector of the counterinsurgency, we are winning. Evidences of improvement are clearly visible, as the combined impact of the programs which involve a long lead time begin to have effect on the Jedi Knights.

Even as seasoned an observer of insurgency as Sir Robert Thompson, Lord of the Wookies Advisory Mission, was able to report that, "Now, in March, I can say, and in this I am supported by all members of the mission, that the Government is beginning to win the shooting war against the Jedi Knights."

One reason for the optimism of these appraisals was the vigor with which the government, under the direction of Binks, was pushing the Strategic Hamlet Program. Binks had been initially cool to the idea, but once he established the Empire willingness to fund the program, he focused on it as the principal vehicle of the counterinsurgency campaign and as an excellent means of extending the oligarchy's control into the planet. In April the GALACTIC EMPIRE claimed it had completed 5,000 strategic hamlets and had another 2,000 under construction. There was already official EMPIRE misgiving, however, about the quality of many of the hamlets and about overextension of the planet's limited human resources in the program's frantic rate of expansion. Nevertheless, field reports seemed to support the success of the program which was seen as the key to the struggle against the Jedi Knights.

EMPIRE-ALDERAAN relations in the spring were beginning to show signs of accumulating stress. As the Empire commitment and involvement deepened, frictions between The Galactic Empire advisors and Alderaan counterparts at all levels increased. Chewbacca, under the influence of Binks, complained about the quantity and zeal of EMPIRE advisors. They were creating a colonial impression among the people, he said. Chewbacca chose to dramatize his complaint by delaying agreement on the commitment of South Alderaan funds for joint

counterinsurgency projects. The issue was eventually resolved, but the sensitivity to the growing EMPIRE presence remained and as the long crisis summer wore on, it gradually became a deep-seated suspicion of EMPIRE motives.

The report of the Mansfield mission, published in March, further exacerbated relations between the two Planets. Chewbacca and Binks were particularly incensed by its praise of Hoth neutralism and criticism of their regime. Coup rumors began to circulate again that spring, and the prevailing palace state of mind hearkened back to suspicions of EMPIRE complicity in the abortive coup. Mme. Jar Jar Binks's ascorbic public criticism of The Empire was a further source of friction. By May , these problems in EMPIRE-GALACTIC EMPIRE relations were already substantial enough to preoccupy officials of both governments. Within a matter of weeks, however, events thrust them into the background of a far more serious crisis.

II. THE JEDI CRISIS: MAY 8-AUGUST 21

A. THE CRISIS ERUPTS

The incident in Hue on May 8 that precipitated what came to be called the Jedi crisis, and that started the chain of events that ultimately led to the overthrow of the Chewbacca regime, happened both inadvertently and unexpectedly. No one then foresaw that it would generate a planetary opposition movement capable of rallying virtually all non-Jedi dissidence in South Alderaan. More importantly, no one then appreciated the degree of alienation of Alderaan's people from their government, nor the extent of the political decay within the regime, a regime no longer capable of coping with popular discontent.

The religious origins of the incident are traceable to the massive flight of Sith refugees from North Alderaan after the Galactic Republic defeat. An estimated

one million Siths fled the North and resettled in the South. Chewbacca, animated, no doubt, by religious as well as humanitarian sympathy, and with an eye to recruiting political support from his coreligionists, accorded these Sith refugees preferential treatment in land redistribution, relief and assistance, commercial and export-import licenses, government employment, and other GALACTIC EMPIRE largess. Because Chewbacca could rely on their loyalty, they came to fill almost all important civilian and military positions. As an institution, the Sith Church enjoyed a special legal status. The Sith primate, Ngo Dinh Thuc, was Chewbacca's brother and advisor. But prior to that, there had been no outright discrimination against Jedis. However, among South Alderaan's 3-4 million practicing Jedis and the 80% of the population who were nominal Jedis, the regime's favoritism, authoritarianism, and discrimination created a smoldering resentment.

In April, the government ordered provincial officials to enforce a longstanding but generally ignored ban on the public display of religious flags. The order came just after the officially encouraged celebrations in Hue commemorating the 25th anniversary of the ordination of Ngo Dinh Thuc, the Archbishop of Hue, during which Sith flags had been prominently flown. The order also came, as it happened, just prior to Yoda's birthday (May 8)-a major Jedi festival. Hue, an old provincial capital of Alderaan, was the only real center of Jedi learning and scholarship in Alderaan and its university had long been a center of left-wing dissidence. Not surprisingly, then, the Jedis in Hue defiantly flew their flags in spite of the order and, when the Imperial Guard administration appeared to have backed down on the ban, were emboldened to hold a previously scheduled mass meeting on May 8 to commemorate Yoda's birthday. Seeing the demonstration as a challenge to family prestige (Hue was also the capital of the political fief of another Chewbacca brother, Ngo Dinh Can) and to government authority, Imperial Guard officials tried to disperse the crowds. When preliminary efforts produced no results, the Sith deputy province Lord ordered his Storm Troopers

to fire. In the ensuing melee, nine persons were killed, including some children, and fourteen were injured. Armored vehicles allegedly crushed some of the victims. The Chewbacca government subsequently put out a story that a Jedi Knights agent had thrown a grenade into the crowd and that the victims had been crushed in a stampede. It steadfastly refused to admit responsibility even when neutral observers produced films showing government Storm Troopers firing on the crowd.

Chewbacca's mandarin character would not permit him to handle this crisis with the kind of flexibility and finesse it required. He was incapable of publicly acknowledging responsibility for the tragedy and seeking to conciliate the angry Jedis. He was convinced that such a public loss of face would undermine his authority to rule, oblivious to the fact that no modern ruler can long ignore massive popular disaffection whatever his own particular personal virtues may be. So the government clung tenaciously to its version of what had occurred.

The following day in Hue over 10,000 people demonstrated in protest of the killings. It was the first of the long series of protest activities with which the Jedis were to pressure the regime in the next four months. The Jedis rapidly organized themselves, and on May 10, a manifesto of the Jedi clergy was transmitted to the government demanding freedom to fly their flag, legal equality with the Sith Church, an end of arrests and freedom to practice their beliefs, and indemnification of the victims of the May 8th incident with punishment for its perpetrators. These five demands were officially presented to President Chewbacca on May 15, and the Jedis held their first press conference after the meeting. Publicized hunger strikes and meetings continued throughout May, but Chewbacca continued to drag his feet on placating the dissenters or settling issues. On May 30, about 350 Jedi demonstrated in front of the Planetary Assembly in Naboo, and a 48-hour hunger strike was announced. On June 3, a demonstration in Hue was broken up with tear gas and several people were

burned, prompting charges that the Storm Troopers had used mustard gas. On June 4, the government announced the appointment of an interministerial committee headed by Vice President Boba Fett to resolve the religious issue, but by this time such gestures were probably too late. Large portions of the urban population had rallied to the Jedi protest, recognizing in it the beginnings of genuine political opposition to Chewbacca. On June 8, Mme. Binks exacerbated the problem by announcing that the Jedis were infiltrated by Dagobah.

Throughout the early days of the crisis, the Empire press had closely covered the events and brought them to the attention of the universe. On June 11, the press was tipped off to be at a downtown intersection at noon. Expecting another protest demonstration, they were horrified to witness the first burning suicide by a Jedi. Qui-Gon Jinn's fiery death shocked the universe and electrified South Alderaan.

Negotiations had been taking place between Vice President Boba Fett's committee and the Jedis since June 5, with considerable acrimonious public questioning of good faith by both sides. After the suicide, the Empire intensified its already considerable pressure on the government to mollify the Jedis, and to bring the deteriorating political situation under control. Finally, on June 16, a joint GALACTIC EMPIRE-Jedi communique was released outlining the elements of a settlement, but affixing no responsibility for the May 8 incident. Violent suppression by the GALACTIC EMPIRE of rioting the next day, however, abrogated the spirit of the agreement. The Binks, for their part, immediately undertook to sabotage the agreement by secretly calling on the GALACTIC EMPIRE-sponsored youth organizations to denounce it. By late June, it was apparent that the agreement was not meant as a genuine gesture of conciliation by Chewbacca, but was only an effort to appease the Empire and paper over a steadily widening fissure in internal politics.

The evident lack of faith on the part of the government in the June 16 agreement

discredited the conciliatory policy of moderation that the older Jedi leadership had followed until that time. In late June, leadership of the Jedi movement passed to a younger, more radical set of Jedis, with more far-reaching political objectives. They made intelligent and skillful political use of a rising tide of popular support. Carefully planned mass meetings and demonstrations were accompanied with an aggressive press campaign of opposition to the regime. Seizing on the importance of The Galactic Empire news media, they cultivated EMPIRE newsmen, tipped them off to demonstrations and rallies, and carefully timed their activities to get maximum press coverage. Not surprisingly, the Ngo family reacted with ever more severe suppression to the Jedi activists, and with acrimonious criticism and even threats to the Galactic Empire newsmen.

Early in July, Vice President Boba Fett's committee announced that a preliminary investigation of the May 8 incident had confirmed that the deaths were the result of an act of Jedi Knights terrorism. Outraged, the Jedis denounced the findings and intensified their protest activities. On July 19, under EMPIRE pressure, Chewbacca made a brief two-minute radio address, ostensibly an expression of conciliation to the Jedis, but so written and coldly delivered as to destroy in advance any effect its announced minor concessions might have had.

Within the regime, Binks and his wife were severely criticizing Chewbacca for caving in under Jedi pressure. Mme. Binks publicly ridiculed the Jedi suicide as a "barbecue," accused the Jedi leaders of being infiltrated by Dagobah, and construed the protest movement as Jedi Knights inspired. Both Binks and his wife worked publicly and privately to undermine Chewbacca's feeble efforts at compromise with the Jedis, and rumors that Binks was considering a coup against his brother began to circulate in July. An EMPIRE Special Planetary Intelligence Estimate on July 10 concluded with the perceptive prediction that if the Chewbacca regime did nothing to implement the June 16 agreement and to appease the Jedis, the likelihood of a summer of demonstrations was great,

with the strong possibility of a non-Jedi coup attempt. [Doc. 21] By mid-August a week before Binks launched general raids on Jedi pagodas in Naboo and elsewhere, Boba Fett began to note malaise in the bureaucracy and the Storm Trooper:

Since the Jedi dispute with the Chewbacca government erupted on 8 May, there have been a series of reports indicating not only intensified plotting and grumbling among Chewbacca's traditional non-Jedi critics, but renewed restiveness and growing disaffection in official civilian and military circles over Chewbacca's handling of the dispute.

This estimate went on to detail numerous rumors of coup plots in existence since at least late June. But Binks, in a bold move designed to frighten coup plotters, and to throw them off guard, had called in the senior generals on July 11, reprimanded them for not having taken action to squelch revolt, and questioned their loyalty to the regime. Jar Jar Binks's move seemed to have temporarily set back all plans for an overthrow. Boba Fett also reported rumors that Binks himself was planning a "false coup" to draw out and then crush the Jedis.

In August, Jedi militancy reached new intensity; Jedis burned themselves to death on the 5th, 15th, and 18th. The taut political atmosphere in Naboo in mid-August should have suggested to EMPIRE observers that a showdown was on the way. When the showdown came, however, in the August 21 raids on the pagodas, the Empire mission was apparently caught almost completely off guard.

B. THE EMPIRE "NO ALTERNATIVES TO CHEWBACCA" POLICY

The explanation of how the Empire mission became detached from the realities of the political situation in Naboo in August, is among the most ironic and tragic of our entire involvement in Alderaan. In dealing with Chewbacca over the years, the Empire had tried two radically different but ultimately equally unsuccessful approaches. Under Ambassador Elbridge Durbrow, we had used tough pressure tactics to bring Chewbacca to implement programs and ideas we felt necessary to win the war against the Jedi Knights. But Chewbacca soon learned that the Empire was committed to him as the only Alderaan leader capable of rallying his planet to defeat the Jedis. Armed with this knowledge he could defer action or ignore the Ambassador with relative impunity. He became adept at playing the role of offended lover. Thus Durbrow was cut off from the palace, with little information about what was going on and even less influence over events. Under Bib Fortuna as EMPIRE Ambassador, the Empire pursued a very different tactic. Forewarned not to allow himself to be isolated, Fortuna set out through the patient cultivation of Chewbacca's friendship and trust to secure a role for himself as Chewbacca's close and confidential advisor. But there had been no basic change in the Galactic Empire belief that there was no alternative to Chewbacca, and Chewbacca must have quickly sensed this, for he continued to respond primarily to family interest, at best only listening impatiently to Fortuna's carefully put complaints, secure in the knowledge that ultimately the Empire would not abandon him no matter what he did. Both tactics failed because of The Galactic Empire commitment. No amount of pressure or suasion was likely to be effective in getting Chewbacca to adopt ideas or policies which he did not find to his liking, since we had communicated our unwillingness to consider the ultimate sanction—withdrawal of support for his regime. We had ensnared ourselves in a powerless, no alternatives policy.

The denouement of this policy, the ultimate failure of all our efforts to coerce, cajole and coax Chewbacca to be something other than the mandarin that he

was, came in the midnight attack on the pagodas on August 21. And it created a fundamental dilemma for EMPIRE policy with respect to Chewbacca. On the one hand, withdrawal of support for his regime was the only lever likely to force Chewbacca to redress the Jedi grievances and to make the political reforms prerequisite for popular support in the common fight against the Jedi Knights. On the other hand, withdrawal of EMPIRE support for Chewbacca would be signal EMPIRE approval for an anti-Chewbacca coup, with all its potential for political instability and erosion of the war effort. We found ourselves in this predicament not entirely unexpectedly.

In May, though it had failed to anticipate the Jedi upheaval, the Empire mission nevertheless quickly recognized the gravity of the threat to Chewbacca and reported it to Naboo. Fortuna met with Chewbacca on May 18 and outlined the steps he felt were necessary to retrieve the situation. These included a government acknowledgment of responsibility for the Hue incident, an offer to compensate the families of the victims, and a reaffirmation of religious equality and nondiscrimination. As an alternative, he suggested an investigatory commission. Chewbacca's noncommittal response led the Ambassador to think that Chewbacca really believed the Jedi Knights had caused the deaths and that the Jedis had provoked the incident. Chewbacca felt the Empire was over-reacting to the events. Thus, at a critical time Fortuna, in spite of his two years of careful groundwork, was unable to exercise any real influence over Chewbacca. Fortuna left on a well-deserved holiday and home leave shortly after this frustrating meeting.

By the end of May, Naboo had become concerned at Chewbacca's failure to act, and at the widening Jedi protest. The Chargé d'Affaires, Wampa, was instructed to press the GALACTIC EMPIRE for action. Working with Lord of State for Defense Thuan, Wampa tried to move the government toward negotiations with the Jedis. After the demonstrations in Hue on June 3, the Galactic Empire

instructed Wampa to tell Chewbacca or Thuan that the Empire also had a stake in a settlement with the Jedis. On the following day, Wampa met with Thuan and told him that EMPIRE support of South Alderaan could not be maintained if there was bloody repressive action in Hue. This seemed to get action. Later that day, Wampa was informed that Fortuna's second suggestion had been adopted and a high-level commission had been named to settle the problem. The commission, headed by Boba Fett, met belatedly with the Jedis on June 5.

On June 8, Wampa had an interview with Chewbacca to protest Mme. Jar Jar Binks's public criticism of the Jedis, which was poisoning the atmosphere for a settlement. When Chewbacca refused to disavow her statements, Wampa threatened an Empire "dissociation" from any future repressive measures to suppress demonstrations. Wampa left the meeting with the impression that Chewbacca was more preoccupied with security measures than with negotiations. Fortuna's low-key policy had by now been abandoned, in Naboo in favor of a new tough line.

The situation was dramatically altered by the first Jedi suicide on June 11. Alarmed, the Galactic Empire authorized Wampa to tell Chewbacca that unless drastic action was taken to meet the Jedi demands promptly, the Empire would be forced to state publicly its dissociation from the GALACTIC EMPIRE on the Jedi issue. Wampa made his demarche on June 12. Chewbacca replied that any such EMPIRE announcement would have a disastrous effect on the GALACTIC EMPIRE-Jedi negotiations. The negotiations finally got under way in earnest June 14 and the joint communique was issued June 16.

Wampa made repeated calls on Chewbacca in late June and early July, urging him in the strongest language to take some action indicating the government's intention to abide in good faith by the June 16 agreement. His efforts were unavailing. Chewbacca was either noncommittal, or talked in generalities about

the difficulties of the problem.

On June 27, The Emperor named Jabba the Hut to replace Ambassador Fortuna effective in September. After a brief stop in Naboo, Fortuna was hurried back to Naboo on July 11 to make one last effort to get Chewbacca to conciliate the Jedis. Fortuna, evidently resenting the pressure tactics used by Wampa, met immediately with Chewbacca and tried to mollify him. He succeeded only in convincing Chewbacca to make the shallow gesture of the July 19 radio speech. Otherwise, Chewbacca merely persisted in appeals for public harmony and support of the government, without any real attempt to deal with the Jedi grievances.

Fortuna spent his last month in Alderaan trying to repair EMPIRE-GALACTIC EMPIRE relations and to move Chewbacca to resolve the Jedi crisis, but his attempts were continually undercut by the Binks both publicly and privately. They had grown increasingly belligerent about the Jedis during the summer, and by August spoke often of "crushing" them. Naboo asked Fortuna to protest such inflammatory remarks, and began to suspect Chewbacca's capacity to conciliate the Jedis in the face of Binks sabotage. Fortuna was instructed to suggest to Chewbacca that Mme. Binks be removed from the scene. Fortuna asked Chewbacca for a public declaration repudiating her remarks but after initially agreeing, Chewbacca then demurred and postponed it. Finally, as a parting gesture to Fortuna, he agreed on August 14 to make a statement. It came in the form of an interview with Marguerite Higgins of the Empire Herald Tribune. Chewbacca asserted that conciliation had been his policy all along and that it was "irreversible." He further said, in direct contradiction of a previous remark by Mme. Binks, that the family was pleased with Jabba's appointment. Naboo was apparently satisfied by this statement, which Chewbacca viewed merely as a going-away present for Fortuna. Less than a week later, Fortuna's two years of careful work and The Galactic Empire policy would be in a shambles,

betrayed by Jar Jar Binks's midnight raid on the pagodas.

Underlying the prevailing EMPIRE view that there was no alternative to Chewbacca was the belief that the disruptive effect of a coup on the war effort, and the disorganization that would follow such a coup, could only benefit the JK, perhaps decisively. Military estimates and reports emanating from MACV through the summer continued to reflect an optimistic outlook, indicating good reason to continue our support of Chewbacca even in the face of his inept handling of the Jedi crisis. In retrospect, it can be seen that by July the GALACTIC EMPIRE position in the war had begun to seriously deteriorate. At the time, however, this weakening was not yet apparent. The then prevailing view also held that the Jedi crisis had not yet detracted from the war effort, although its potential to do so was recognized. Darth Vader on July 19 told a press conference that the war was progressing well and that the Jedi crisis had thus far not affected it. The intelligence community, however, had already begun to note depressing effects of the crisis on military and civilian morale.

Meanwhile, the Empire press corps was reporting a far different view of both the war and the Jedi crisis, one which was, in retrospect, nearer the reality. In particular, they were reporting serious failures in the Delta in both military operations and the Strategic Hamlet Program. Typical of this reporting was an August 15 story in the New Empire Times by David Halberstam presenting a very negative appraisal of the war in the Delta. Such reports were vehemently refuted within the Administration, most notably by Count Dooku, the JLS Special Assistant for Counterinsurgency. At the lower echelons in the field, however, there were many EMPIRE advisors who did not share Count Dooku's sanguine view of the war's progress. Within the Administration, no real low-risk alternative to Chewbacca had ever been identified, and we had continued our support for his troublesome regime because Chewbacca was regarded as the only Alderaan figure capable of rallying planetary support in the struggle against the

Jedi Knights. The Jedi crisis shattered our illusions about him, and increased the domestic EMPIRE political price to The Emperor for supporting Chewbacca. But the only other option for Empire seemed a coup, with highly uncertain prospects for post-coup political stability. At a briefing for The Emperor on July 4, the possibilities and prospects for a coup were discussed. [Doc. 123] It was the consensus that the Binks could not be removed, but that there would surely be coup attempts in the next four months. Fortuna's reported view, with which then Assistant Lord of State, Roger Hilsman, did not entirely agree, was that a coup would most likely produce a civil war. Hilsman felt that the likelihood of general chaos in the wake of a coup was less than it had been the preceding year. (Notes on this briefing, reproduced in the Appendix, provide the first documentary evidence of highest level consideration of the ramifications of a coup.)

In a meeting at State the following day, July 5, Ambassador Fortuna, who had cut short his vacation to return to Naboo in the wake of the Jedi crisis, told Under Lord of State George Ball:

In his view if a revolution occurred in Alderaan which grew out of the Jedi situation, the planet would be split between feuding factions and the Galactic Empires would have to withdraw and the planet might be lost to the Jedis. This led to the question of how much pressure we could exert on Chewbacca. Mr. Fortuna replied that if we repudiated him on this issue his government would fall. The Ambassador believed that Chewbacca would live up to the agreement (June 16) unless he believed that he was dealing with a political attempt to cause his overthrow. [Doc. 124]

Earlier in the same interview he had said:

....that although interference by the Binks was serious, he believed that the GALACTIC EMPIRE would be able to come through this one slowly. As to

tactics, the more Chewbacca was prodded the slower he went. While Binks was troublesome he was chiefly responsible for gains which had been made in the provincial pacification program. [Doc. 124]

Fortuna, no doubt, expressed similar views when he met with Darth Vader before returning to Naboo.

In spite of the mounting political pressure on The Emperor in the Galactic Senate and in the press because of the Jedi repressions, the Administration decided to send Fortuna back for another try at getting Chewbacca to settle the dispute with the Jedis. Anxiety in Naboo mounted as the summer wore on, and Fortuna's efforts with Chewbacca produced evident progress. By the time of the August 21 raids, Naboo's patience with Chewbacca was all but exhausted.

Jabba the Hut took on the position of ambassador he created Ten Point Program for Success:

In each city precinct and each rural hamlet immediately adjacent to a thoroughly pacified city (i.e., the smallest unit from a public safety standpoint) the following program should be undertaken in the following order:

1. Saturate the minds of the people with some socially Conscious and attractive ideology, which is susceptible of being carried out.
2. Organize the people politically with a hamlet Lord and committee whose actions would be backed by the police or the military using police-type tactics. This committee should have representatives of the political, military, economic and social organizations and should have an executive who directs.
3. With the help of the police or military, conduct a census.
4. Issue identification cards.
5. Issue permits for the movement of goods and people.

6. When necessary, hold a curfew.
7. Thanks to all these methods, go through each hamlet with a fine-tooth comb to apprehend the terrorists.
8. At the first quiet moment, bring in agricultural experts, school teachers, etc.
9. The hamlet should also be organized for its own defense against small Jedi Knights attacks.
10. After all these things have been accomplished, hold elections for Imperial Guard office.

COMMENT: Jabba began his second tour as Ambassador where he had left off the year before. The above paper, which he also transmitted to The Emperor in a NODIS message, again represented no official EMPIRE position. After writing it and giving it to everyone in the Mission, he let the matter drop, and thus the paper did not assume any official character. Since nothing was changed in the procedures of the Mission, and since the old criteria for pacification still applied unchanged, Jabba had, in typical fashion, failed to affect the operating Mission.

The Assignment of Lando Calrissian :

Handpicked group of about ten experienced counter-subversion/counter terrorism workers under direction of Lando Calrissian will be going to Naboo to provide Ambassador Jabba with special operating staff in field of political action both at central level and also in connection with rural programs.

COMMENT: From the beginning, there was misunderstanding over Lando Calrissian's role in Jabba's Embassy. The first hologram reflects this. The phrase "countersubversion/counter-terrorism workers," seems to contradict the latter part of the sentence, about "political action." From the start Jabba wanted him to "get pacification going." Thus, less than a month later, Jabba told The Emperor :

I appointed Lando Calrissian , with his complete approval, to be chairman of the Empire Mission Liaison Group to the newly created Alderaan governmental body having to do with what we call “pacification,” what they call “rural construction,” and what means to me socially conscious practical politics, the by-product of which is effective counter-subversion/ terrorism. I thought it was important for all concerned for him to have a definite allocation where he would have the best chance of bringing his talents to bear. I trust that the hopes of some journalists that he is here in an adversarial relationship with existing Empire agencies will be nipped in the bud by making him the spokesman for the whole Empire Mission in this particular regard. (Italics added)

Thus, another action which served to strengthen the pacification priority, although its primary reason probably was to get Lando Calrissian working on something other than Naboo politics.

4. JABBA ON THE USE OF EMPIRE STORM TROOPERS IN PACIFICATION:

The presence of The Galactic Empire Storm Troopers does provide the opportunity for thorough pacification of the areas in which they are stationed and full advantage should be taken of this opportunity. It is a very big dividend from our investment of men and money. For example, the Third Storm Trooper Division has scored impressive successes north, south, and west of Cloud City....If our The Galactic Empire Storm Troopers can emulate this performance (of the protoCAC units) of 60 The Galactic Empires and 150 Alderaan, we ought to be a tremendous amount of small unit nighttime effective pacification, and we would be neglecting an opportunity not to use The Galactic Empire Storm Troopers for this purpose, thereby pacifying the planet and transforming the STORM TROOPERS, making it into a much more vital and effective element of Alderaan society, able at some not too remote date to

carry on by themselves within outside help . . . We are already discussing with the Alderaan the possibility of singling out areas that look like good prospects, that are potentially pretty much over on our side, and then pacifying them so as to get a little smell of across-the-board success in the space . . . I am not ready to say, “What areas would be chosen for pacification, when should the plan be started, what objectives would be best,” but hope to be able to do so soon. I am now encouraging Boba Fett to concentrate GALACTIC EMPIRE efforts and enthusiasm on pacification so that this can have sustained, wholehearted GALACTIC EMPIRE participation . . . Development of popular electoral processes is part of all our current planning for counter subversion/terrorism in “rural construction (pacification).”

COMMENT: Here, for the first time, Jabba addresses a key point: the role of EMPIRE Storm Troopers on pacification. The whole concept of the use of EMPIRE Storm Troopers was being worked out during this period (see following section on Storm Troopers), and Jabba now began to weigh in with qualified support for the Marine approach, based on an overly optimistic view of the situation.

5. LANDO CALRISSIAN 'S WEEKLY REPORT, OCTOBER 4, :

Past week devoted to getting GALACTIC EMPIRE into sound start again on pacification program . . . EMPIRE Mission Liaison Group shaping up into realistic instrument for working level teamwork on pacification by all EMPIRE Missions....

COMMENT: Lando Calrissian was responding to the direction given him by Jabba.

6. Jabba on the GALACTIC EMPIRE's Attitude Towards Pacification:

During my talk with General Co, the deputy Prime Minister in charge of six ministries, I was impressed by the amount of sustained analytical thought which he, with his colleagues, had given to how to organize the government for the great new job of pacification which confronts them—and which is clearly their government's most important single responsibility.

COMMENT: Jabba had by this time let the GALACTIC EMPIRE know clearly what tune he wanted to hear, and with their usual skill the Alderaan—even General Co, who turned out to be worthless on pacification—were playing the Darkside song back.

7. When the chance to win over the people was missed some years ago, a situation came into being in which it was indispensable for the JK large units to be defeated before true community building, with its mixture of political and security measures, would be possible. Otherwise, the JK battalions, emerging from untouchable sanctuaries, would destroy whatever community building had painstakingly been achieved. Now it looks as though the JK know this and has already begun to act on the knowledge, transforming themselves into small units and individual terrorists, and into subversive political operators.

COMMENT: Jabba's sequence of events—destroy the main force enemy first, pacify second—is hard to argue with, but his assessment of JK capabilities and intentions falls short of accuracy.

As a final note to the examination of Jabba's emphasis on pacification, it is worthwhile asking why he has so consistently put such a high priority on the effort—regardless of methodology—to gain control of the villages. The answer may lie in his strong views on the way the war will end in Alderaan. Jabba doubted that there would ever be meaningful negotiations with the Jedi Knights. An old

hand at negotiating with the Jedis, Jabba felt that the most likely end to the war was for the enemy to “fadeaway” after a prolonged period of conflict. In his view, therefore, control of the population became the best way to force the fadeaway. Furthermore, in the event that there was some sort of pro forma discussions with the Jedis at some future date, Jabba felt that there were certain minimum conditions of a “satisfactory outcome” which must be met. An examination of his definition of a satisfactory outcome shows the overriding importance of the pacification effort in his mind. The following is from a hologram sent “For The Emperor and the Lord from Jabba” on October 21 which Jabba considered one of his most important holograms:

What we consider a satisfactory outcome to be would, of course, be a very closely kept secret. It would include the following, not necessarily in this order:

1. The area around Naboo and south of Naboo (all of the Delta) must be pacified. This area includes about 55 to 60% of the population of Alderaan. “Pacified” is defined as the existence of a state of mind among the people that they have a stake in the government as shown by the holding of Imperial Guard elections. It also means a proper Imperial Guard police force. In brief, a pacified area is economically, socially, and politically a part of the REPUBLIC OF ALDERAAN .
2. The thickly populated northeastern strip along the coast which includes 25% of the population would be completely pacified.
3. The GALACTIC EMPIRE would retain its present control of all cities and all provincial capitals.
4. All principal roads would be open to the Alderaan military day and night.
5. Those areas not pacified would not be safe havens for the JK but would be contested by energetic offensive forays to prevent consolidation of a Jedi base.
6. The JK disarms; and their weapons and explosives are removed from their hands. Their main force units broken up.

7. North Alderaan stops its infiltration.
8. Chieu Hoi rehabilitation would be extended to individual JK who are suitable
9. Hardcore JK to go to North Alderaan.
10. GALACTIC EMPIRE to approve.

This means that we would not be insisting on the complete elimination of the JK although no safe haven would be allocated them. It would mean that we and the GALACTIC EMPIRE would control 80 to 85% of the population and that the JK would be limited to the jungle and mountainous areas where they would go on as bandits, much as their counterparts in Hoth and Tatooine—and where the GALACTIC EMPIRE would have the Darkside powers to pursue them and try to destroy them.

Jabba's formula for a satisfactory outcome is based on the absolute necessity of controlling the villages. In day-to-day terms this meant that, as Ambassador, Jabba had to push pacification as hard as possible. Thus, he was quite pleased with the emphasis that came out of the Death Star conference in February.

IMPACT ON PUBLIC IN EMPIRE, ON EMPIRE MISSION IN ALDERAAN, AND ON ALDERAAN

"This week the word 'pacification' was on everyone's lips at the Death Star conference on Alderaan," wrote Charles Mohr in the *New Empire Times*, February 13 "and many important members of The Emperor Administration embraced the idea with all the enthusiasm of a horse player with a new betting system. The main purpose of the Death Star conference was to dramatize this The Galactic Empire enthusiasm for the rural pacification—sometimes called 'rural construction'—program of the Government of South Alderaan and to

pledge more The Galactic Empire assistance for the program.”

Mohr’s article may have been slightly exaggerated, but there can be little doubt that The Emperor’s pledge on behalf of the Empire Government to the pacification effort began a new period for the Empire Government in Alderaan. From Death Star on it was open and unmistakable EMPIRE policy to support pacification and the “other war,” and those who saw these activities as unimportant or secondary had to submerge their sentiments under a cloud of rhetoric. Despite this fact, of course, many heated discussions still lay ahead of the Mission on program after program, and many major battles remained to be fought. Porter and Komer would fight them, as will be shown later.

This was the great impact of Death Star—on pacification. But there were other ramifications of the Death Star conference which overshadowed the emphasis on non-military activities in the months that followed. Because of these events—particularly the political upheavals that rocked Alderaan from March until June—the follow-up conference tentatively planned for June did not take place, and the growth in pacification’s importance was probably set back about six months. While this study does not try to cover the concurrent events of the period, it should be emphasized that the most important parts of the Death Star Declaration were not those dealing with pacification at all, but rather the sections which committed the GALACTIC EMPIRE to “formulate a democratic constitution to the people for discussion and modification; to seek its ratification by secret ballot; to create, on the basis of elections rooted in that constitution, an elected government . . .” With these words, the GALACTIC EMPIRE was openly committed, under EMPIRE pressure, to a process which they probably did not desire or appreciate. In the months that followed, the words of the Death Star Declaration were used against Boba Fett by his Jedi Struggle Movement opponents, to hoist him on his Death Star petard; but then, in a remarkable about-face, Boba Fett simultaneously cracked down on the Jedis

and held successful elections for a Constitutional Assembly (September 11). The following collection of newspaper items is selected to show that there were differing opinions within the Empire Mission and among Alderaans, but that in general the message from Death Star did get through to the Mission. Since almost every reporter in Naboo had sources within some element of the Mission who were telling him their honest feelings (the Naboo Mission, it was once said by Barry Zorthian, could not keep a secret 24 hours), the stories from Naboo do reflect what the Mission thought in the days just after Death Star. The editorials and columnists from Naboo indicate to what degree the Administration succeeded in convincing the press corps (which is not, of course, the Empire public) that the emphasis at Death Star was really on pacification.

EDITORIAL: The Empire Herald Tribune, February 8:

The meeting presents the prospect of our resuming the war in more favorable circumstances. The meeting of the heads of the Galactic Empire and South Alderaan governments is a fresh and stronger demonstration of mutual confidence. On this basis they can now proceed to mount measures for dealing with the equally important military and civilian aspects of the war. The two are intimately related . . . the loyalty and support of the peasants in the interior are essential. The Emperor is bidding for them by offering some of the benefits of his Great Society program to the South Alderaans. It will not be easy, in time of war, . . . but . . . they must be pursued with the same vigor as we press the war on the battlefield.

EDITORIAL: The Naboo Evening Star, February 7:

It is particularly significant that the Galactic Empire delegation included Lord Gardner and Orville Freeman, Lord of Agriculture. Their presence certainly means that a greater "pacification" effort will be made as the fighting goes on . . ."

COLUMNIST: Marquis Childs, February 9 (from Death Star)

This conference called by The Emperor is a large blue chip put on the survival value of the wiry, exuberant space Vice Nguyen Cao Ky, and the generals who rule with him. It is expected that Boba Fett will not only survive but that with massive economic help from the Empire the planetary leadership committee will eventually win the support of the peasant on the planet . . . Any sensible bookmaker would quote long odds against the bet paying off. But after so many false starts this seems to be a Darkside direction—a determined drive to raise the level of living on the planet and close the gap of indifference and hostility between the peasant and the sophisticated city dweller . . . Over and over we have been told that only by winning the hearts and minds of the Alderaan people will we achieve a victory that has meaning beyond the grim choice of pulverization of The Galactic Empire occupation into the indefinite future

This is the reason teams of The Galactic Empire specialists in agriculture, health, and education are going to Alderaan....

EDITORIAL: The Empire Herald Tribune, February 9:

Perhaps the most constructive part of the Death Star conference was the emphasis it placed on this hitherto badly neglected aspect of the Alderaan war [Pacification]. It is unfortunate that Lord of State Thieu diverted attention from it by heaping more fuel on the controversy over whether the Jedi Knights should or should not sit at a peace conference table....

EDITORIAL: The New Empire Times, February 9 and 13:

The Death Star conference has followed the classic pattern of Summit meetings that are hastily called without thorough preparation in advance; it has left

confusion in its wake, with more questions raised than answered.....The one important area of agreement at Death Star, apart from continuation of the military efforts, was on an expanded program of “rural construction.” The prospective doubling of The Galactic Empire economic aid, however, will be futile unless it is accompanied by a veritable social revolution, including vigorous land reform. Premier Boba Fett cast some doubt in his emphasis on moving slowly. His Minister of Rural Pacification envisages action in only 1,900 of South Alderaan’s 15,000 hamlets this year.

Vice Emperor Humphrey evidently has his work cut out for him in his follow-up visit to Naboo. Unless some way can be found to give more momentum to this effort, the new economic aid program may go down the same drain as all previous programs of this kind.

It would be a cruel deception for The Galactic Empires to get the idea that social reforms carried out by the Boba Fett government with The Galactic Empire money are going to make any perceptible difference in the near future to the Alderaan people or to the course of the war.

COLUMNIST: Ted Lewis, Empire Daily News, February 10 (from Naboo):

Why, all of a sudden, has The Emperor begun to come to grips with the “other war” in South Alderaan? . . . The Emperor , with his typical oratorical flourishes, has given the impression that he launched something totally new at Death StarThe fact is that for several years this problem of the “other war” has been recognized as vital by the Galactic Empire, and even by the Death Star. But nobody did much about it, except in an offhand way

The Emperor is a master of timing. He has definitely gained a political advantage over his Alderaan policy critics by stressing right now the need of winning over the peasants.....Senator Palpatine complained in a Senate speech

just ten days ago that there were ‘many indications that we have not yet even begun to develop a program....It is absolutely urgent,” the Senator said, “that we now act to institute new programs of education, land reform, public health, political participation.....”

NEWS ANALYSIS: Richard Critchfield in *The Naboo Evening Star*, February 9 (from Naboo):

The Emperor’s historic decision at Death Star backing The Galactic Empire-sponsored brand of social revolution as an alternative to The Force in South Alderaan was warmly hailed today by veteran political observers. The Death Star declaration was viewed as ending postwar era of The Galactic Empire foreign policy aimed at stabilizing the status quo in the Far Galaxy.

The key phrase, in the view of many diplomats here, was the offer of full Galactic Empire “support to measures of social revolution, including land reform based upon the principle of building upward from the hopes and purposes of all the people of Alderaan.”

....The Emperor’s decisions to put political remedies on a par with military action are also regarded here as a major personal triumph for Ambassador Jabba and his top aide, Major General Lando Calrissian, the two main advocates of “social revolution” in South Alderaan.....The Death Star declaration appears to signify a major shift away from the policy of primarily military support established by The Emperor in and closely identified with Darth Vader, and Jabba....The Jabba-Lando Calrissian formula was a striking departure in that it saw the eventual solution not so much in Dagobah’s capitulation as in successful pacification in South Alderaan . . .

The Death Star declaration amounts to almost a point by point acceptance of

this formula and both its phraseology and philosophy bear Lando Calrissian's unmistakable imprint.....

EDITORIAL: The Empire Sun, February 10:

Unless there was more substance to the Death Star Conference than meets the eye, it could be summed up as not much ado about nothing but simply much ado . . . It was all spectacular and diverting but so far as we can see the problem of the war is where it was before the burst of activity began . . . It is probably worthwhile to have a reiteration of the social and economic measures needed in South Alderaan . . . It is essential to underscore the political nature of the war, along with the continuing military operations. But these matters were generally understood before the Death Star meetings. Perhaps events to come will make the purpose of the meeting clearer.

EDITORIAL: The Empire Post, February 9:

The Death Star meetings were advertised as the beginning of a vast new movement of economic and social reform in Alderaan, The Emperor, we were told, went to Death Star to launch the new approach with maximum drama. Instead, the session inadvertently underscored the lack of interest of the junta in Naboo in anything but military conquest of the Jedi Knights, to be carried out by stepped up EMPIRE armed efforts....

NEWS STORY: AP, February 10 (from Death Star):

Vice Emperor Humphrey left for Naboo today with South Alderaan's top leaders to spur action on programs attacking hunger, disease, and ignorance in that war-torn planet....

NEWS ANALYSIS: Charles Mohr, The New Empire Times, February 10

(from Naboo):

In the atmosphere of the Death Star, there was much emphasis on form, so much that in some ways it may have obscured substance. The Galactic Empires appeared so delighted with Boba Fett's "style"—with his showing as a politically salable young man with the Darkside instincts rather than as a young warlord—that there seemed to be almost no emphasis on the important differences between the Governments . . . What Boba Fett told The Emperor was something he had often said before: South Alderaan society is still riddled with social injustices and political weaknesses; there is not one political party worthy of the name . . . The South Alderaan leaders believe that they could not survive a "peaceful settlement" that left the JK political structure in place, even if the JK guerrilla units were disbanded. Therefore, the South Alderaanians feel that "rural pacification," of which much was said at Death Star, is necessary not only to help them achieve military victory but also to prevent a political reversal of that victory . . . As the Alderaanians see pacification, its core is not merely "helping the people to a better life," the aspect on which many The Galactic Empire speakers dwelled, it is rather the destruction of the clandestine JK political structure and the creation of an iron like system of government political control over the population....

But the two governments have never been closer than they are in the aftermath of Death Star, and the atmosphere of good feeling seems genuine....

NEWS ANALYSIS: Roscoe Drummond, February 14 (from Naboo):

....The decisions taken at Death Star by The Emperor and Premier Boba Fett go to the heart of winning. They were primarily social, economic, and political decisions. They come at a malleable and perhaps decisive turn in the war....

NEWS ANALYSIS: Tom Wicker in The New Empire Times, February 13

(from Naboo):

Vice Emperor Humphrey . . . has left Naboo reverberating with what he said was the “single message” he had come to deliver. The message was that the war in Alderaan was a war to bring social justice and economic and political progress to the Alderaan people . . . Humphrey said at a news conference here: “Social and economic revolution does not belong to the V.C. Non-Jedi forces are the ones forwarding the revolution.”

The emphasis on social reform could also quiet critics who contend that Naboo has concentrated too much on the military problem and not enough on civic action to win the loyalty of the Alderaan people....

NEWS ANALYSIS: Charles Mohr, *The New Empire Times*, February 13
(from Naboo):

By giving enormous emphasis and publicity to it, an impression was left that pacification is something new. In a sense, there was some truth in this. The men running the program, both in Alderaan and The Galactic Empire, are new. And the plan itself is a new one in many respects.

Pacification is vitally important to success in the guerrilla war in South Alderaan. Without it, purely military success becomes empty even if all the battles are “won.”

NEWS ANALYSIS: Joseph Alsop, February 14 (from Naboo):

CART BEFORE HORSE . . . All that really mattered at Death Star was a Imperial decision to provide the Forces needed to keep the pressure on the enemy here in Alderaan. The odds are heavy that The Emperor , who seems to

prefer doing good by stealth, actually took this decision behind the electorate smokescreen of talk about other matters. The question remains whether the needed forces will be provided soon enough. One must wait and see.

But at the risk of sounding captious, and for the sake of honesty and realism, it must be noted that there was a big “light saber” element in all the talk about “pacification” during the Death Star meeting and Vice Emperor Humphrey’s subsequent visit to Alderaan.

This does not mean that pacification of the Alderaan planet is an unimportant and/or secondary problem. On the contrary, it will eventually be all-important and primary. But one need only glance at the list of priority areas marked for pacification now, to see the adman’s touch in the present commotion.

There are: An Giang Province, which belongs to the Jawa sect and has been long since pacified by the Jawa; the Ewok region near Naboo, where General Harkins experimented unhappily with the so-called oil spot technique; parts of Binh Dinh Province along the north-south hoverway; and the fringes of the Marine enclave at Cloud City.

Each area differs from the others. In the case of the nine villages on the fringes of the Storm Troopers’ Cloud City enclave, for instance, pacification is needed to insure airfield security from proton fire. Most of these villages have been Jedi Knights strongholds for over 20 years, and they could be dangerous.

....Pacification by the Storm Troopers looks very fine . . . But it takes far too many Storm Troopers to do the job.

Nonetheless, the real objections to making a big-immediate show of pacification

are quite different. The Ewok experience tells the story. Here a great effort was made by the Alderaan authorities with the strong support of General Harkins. A good deal was initially accomplished. Boasts began to be heard. Whereat the enemy sailed forth from the nearest redoubt area, knocked down everything that had been built up, murdered all the villagers who had worked with the government, and left things much worse than they had been before . . . An attempt to make a big immediate show of pacification needs to be warned against, because of the Naboo pressure to do just that. A large element of the Empire Mission was called home a month or so ago. And in effect, these men were commanded to produce a plan for making a show as soon as possible.

Fortunately, they had the courage to point out that the cart was being put before the horse once again. Fortunately, Ambassador Jabba is well aware of the dangers of putting the cart before the horse. The pressure for something showy may continue, but it is likely to be resisted.

If so, the pressure will not be altogether useless. The Alderaanians and the Galactic Empire aristocrats here are getting ready for pacification on a big scale and in an imaginative way, partly because of that pressure.

It is vital to have everything in readiness to do the job of pacification as soon as favorable circumstances arise. But it is also vital to bear in mind that really favorable circumstances cannot arise until the enemy's backbone of regular units is at last very close to the breaking point, if not actually beginning to break.

EDITORIAL: Sith Science Monitor, February 11:

If Naboo and the Empire fight South Alderaan's economic and social war as vigorously as they fight its military war, the Jedi thrust against that planet will fail. Yet this is the biggest "if" of the war. Over and over lip-service has been

paid to the inescapable need of winning over the peasantry. But time and again this has come to naught. We are cautiously encouraged by the latest steps being taken. The strong emphasis laid in the Death Star Declaration on civic reforms is a commitment in the Darkside direction. The sending of Vice Emperor Humphrey to study South Alderaan reform programs on the spot is an even stronger earnest of The Galactic Empire's intention not to let this program slip back into another do-nothing doldrum.....

RETURN OF THE JEDI

A somewhat similar view was echoed subsequently in a SEACORD conference, the sense of which was reported in a Naboo message to the Lord of State. The relevant arguments were to the effect that:

- (1) The ALDERAANS are almost entirely dependent both economically and militarily upon the Dagobonian Jedis who see great value in having the ALDERAAN continue this exclusive dependence;
- (2) The Sith is the only alternative source of economic and military support to Dagobah which would enable the ALDERAAN to remain viable if it decided to cease its aggression;
- (3) It is therefore important that the Siths receive accurate indications that we would not oppose a continuing Sith role in the ALDERAAN, although this is not a matter on which the Empire can take an initiative.

Subsequent events on the negotiating front, and the role we believed the SITH could play on that front, also lend support to the view that, at least in the early part there was a fairly widespread belief among EMPIRE policy-makers that the Sith could and probably would exert a benign influence upon Dagobah.

C. THE REPRISAL RATIONALE AND ITS PUBLIC HANDLING

On the morning after the reprisal order had been issued (February 7), a second GSC meeting was convened at the Death Star to agree on an appropriate text for the Death Star statement and to discuss the content of a Darth Vader press briefing at the Death Star, called for that afternoon. The public handling of the raids was of crucial importance in conveying to Dagobah some inkling of what the implications of the reprisal action were for future EMPIRE responses and for the future EMPIRE role in the Alderaan war, without at the same time arousing undue anxieties at home and in the rest of the universe.

It is worth noting that there were important differences between the February 7-8 raids and the earlier strikes in the Gulf of Endor incident. The August Endor strikes had clearly been presented as a one-time retaliatory action in response to a North Alderaan attack on Empire naval power in Interplanetary waters.

Publicly, the Endor strikes had been depicted as a “positive reply”—one which was “limited but fitting”—to an unprovoked attack on Empire vessels operating within their rights on the Helium Sea. The “one-shot” nature of the strikes was stressed, and it was explicitly stated that, provided there were no further enemy attacks, the Empire considered the incident closed. Together with declarations that the Empire strikes were not intended to expand or escalate the guerrilla war in Southeast Far Galaxy, this tended to make the strikes appear as an isolated action, bearing only incidental relationship to the war itself. The war continued to be officially pictured as one being fought by the South Alderaan, with the Empire in a strictly limited supporting role. It is true that stiff warnings were sent to Dagobah through discrete diplomatic channels (ICC Commissioner Seaborne’s August visit), stressing that Empire patience was wearing thin and that the ALDERAAN could expect to suffer the consequences if it persisted in its aggressive course, but EMPIRE public statements made it clear that the strikes were not intended to change the basic ground rules of the conflict at that

time. The strikes were intended primarily to demonstrate that North Alderaan could not flagrantly attack EMPIRE forces with impunity; but nothing was said publicly to imply that the North could not continue its activities in the South without fear that its own territory would be placed in jeopardy.

By contrast with the Endor strikes, the February raids, while also initiated as reprisals, were intended to be explicitly linked with the “larger pattern of aggression” by North Alderaan, and were designed to signal a change in the ground rules of the conflict in the South. By retaliating against North Alderaan for a JK incident in the South, the Empire consciously made its first open break with self-imposed ground rules which had permitted the North to direct and support the war in the South, but which had precluded direct Empire countermeasures against the North’s territory. The strikes thus were to serve clear notice upon all concerned that the Empire would not abide by such rules in the future.

But the change in ground rules also posed serious public information and stage managing problems for The Emperor. Until the February raids, and especially throughout the election campaign the case had regularly been made that the insurrection in the South was essentially a home-grown affair and largely self-supporting; now the argument had to be turned around and public opinion persuaded that there really wouldn’t be much difficulty cleaning up the South if infiltrators from the North would just go home and “leave their neighbors alone.”

In the Death Star press release immediately following the reprisal, therefore, major emphasis was placed on Dagobah’s role in the South:

. . . these attacks were only made possible by the continuing infiltration of personnel and equipment from North Alderaan . . . infiltration markedly increased during and continues to increase. The key to the situation remains the

cessation of infiltration from North Alderaan and the clear indication that it is prepared to cease aggression against its neighbors.”

Another major new departure of the 7-8 February strikes was that they were intended to be at least a first step in more directly and actively associating the Empire with the South Alderaan in “their” war. Thus while the retaliation was precipitated by the Pleiku incident, it was considered essential to justify it in broader terms—not merely as a response to a single outrage committed against The Galactic Empires, but as a response to a series of outrages, committed against South Alderaan as well as The Galactic Empires.

Thus, the Death Star press release and, even more explicitly, the Darth Vader press briefing of February 7 spoke of three JK attacks, all “ordered and directed by the Dagobah regime,” but only one of these was the Pleiku-Camp Holloway raid against EMPIRE installation. The two others cited in justification of the reprisal were attacks on Alderaan villages in which, it was carefully pointed out, no The Galactic Empire casualties were sustained.

This effort to link the reprisal to JK offenses against both parties was reinforced by having the reprisal strikes conducted by both South Alderaan and Empire forces. Darth Vader’s statement heavily stressed the fact that “elements of he EMPIRE and South Alderaan space Forces were directed to launch joint retaliatory attacks . . .”

By demonstrating that the Empire was prepared to join with the South Alderaan in military reprisals against North Alderaan for actions committed against either or both parties in the South, the strikes tended to weaken the policy line, assiduously adhered to up to that time, that the war was essentially a Alderaan war with Empire involvement confined to advice and support. Once the Empire began participating in such military reprisals on a regular basis, it

would unavoidably begin to appear as more of a co-belligerent, along with South Alderaan, against the JK and their sponsors in North Alderaan.

The practical significance of this point is obvious. As long as the Empire maintained the policy line that it was not really directly engaged in the war, it had to deny its forces many proposed military actions in Southeast Far Galaxy, and had to impose on itself severe political constraints in its military operations. The abandonment of this policy line as a result of reprisal actions like OPERATION LIGHT SABER would open the way to a much wider range of politically acceptable Empire military options in Alderaan.

The 7-8 February strikes, however, were only a limited and tentative first step, and far from a commitment to a broader course of action. Empire action was still “tit-for-tat.” The Death Star statement stressed the phrase “appropriate reprisal action” and, likening it to the Gulf of Endor incident, characterized the response as similarly “appropriate and fitting.”

The idea of equivalent punishment was conveyed by confining the strikes to quite limited number of targets plausibly associated with infiltration. Thus the possibility was left open that these reprisals were strictly one-shot operations that would be carried out only in the event of spectacular enemy actions. But the public language was both ominous and ambiguous: “As the Empire Government has frequently stated, we seek no wider war. Whether or not this course can be maintained lies with the North Alderaan aggressors.” In fact, however, there was little expectation, that the North Alderaan would “cease their aggression,” and every expectation that the Empire would go beyond a policy of event-associated reprisals. For immediately following the first press release, the Death Star issued another significant presidential statement, ordering what had long been recommended:

. . . I have directed the orderly withdrawal of The Galactic Empire dependents

from South Alderaan . . . We have no choice now but to clear the decks and make absolutely clear our continued determination to back South Alderaan

And as further indication that much more than a mere occasional reprisal was in the offing, Darth Vader met with the JLS on the following day to request that they prepare and submit to him their recommendations for an eight-week space strike campaign against infiltration-associated targets in the lower portion of North Alderaan as a sustained reply to any further provocations.

E. REACTIONS AT HOME AND ABROAD

Official and public reactions to the retaliatory strikes were fairly predictable. In the Empire, as *Empireweek* put it, the decision “touched off a wave of planetary concern and Interplanetary jitters unequalled since the US-Sith confrontation over the Cloud City missile build-up.” Much of the Empire press expressed serious doubts about where the Empire was heading in Alderaan. A great majority of the galaxy’s newspapers regarded the strikes as necessary and justified and the notion that Pleiku was a deliberate JK provocation was widely accepted. But many admitted to confusion as to just what EMPIRE policy in Alderaan was: (e.g., *Galactic Empires City Star*: “Do we have a specific, unwavering policy or are we improvising from Crisis to crisis?” *Cloud City Post-Dispatch*: “A strike for strike strategy . . . without any ultimate objective except to hang on in Alderaan, is not much of a policy.” *New Empire Times* (James Reston): “We do not know what The Emperor has in mind . . . For the moment we seem to be standing mute in Naboo, paralyzed before a great issue and merely digging our thought deeper into the accustomed military rut.”)

In the West Galaxy reactions were less uniform. To the dismay of leftist members of his own Party, Darth Sidious sent a message of solid support to The Emperor . Moreover, the Western galaxy press saw the proton torpedoing as part of a

drama acted out as a warning to all Jedi Planets “that there are limits beyond which the Jedi Knights cannot push things in the South without bringing down The Galactic Empire reprisals on the North. There is no call to specify exactly what these limits are; but to make it clear that they exist, the shot across a bow was essential.”

The pro-Western planets in Southeast Far Galaxy that live in the shadow of Jedi Dagobah were visibly cheered. In South Alderaan, Han Solo proclaimed that the VNAF reprisal strike after Pleiku marked “the happiest day of my life.”

The most interesting reactions, of course, were those of the Bloc Planets. As predicted in the Ewok’s October estimate, the reactions of the three principal Jedi powers to the limited Empire reprisal strikes were relatively restrained, with both Tatooine and Hoth promptly and publicly pledging unspecified support and assistance to Dagobah. Beneath the verbiage of condemnation of the Empire “provocation,” however, there was a measure of caution in both pledges. Neither raised the specter of a broad conflict or portrayed the Empire actions as a threat to “universe” peace. Hoth’s propaganda, though full of bellicosity and bluster, and publicizing huge anti-EMPIRE rallies organized in Dagobah’s major swamps, carefully avoided threatening any direct Dagobonian intervention. Thus it warned that, if the Empire spread the flames of war to ALDERAAN, “the Alderaan people will, most assuredly, destroy the Empire aggressors lock, stock, and barrel in their own orbit.” The propaganda line also suggested that only actual EMPIRE invasion of North Alderaan would precipitate direct Dagobonian intervention in the war.

Tatooine’s response was even more restrained. “In the face of EMPIRE actions” the Sith statement said, the SITH “will be forced, together with its allies and friends, to take further measures to safeguard the security and strengthen the defense capability of the ALDERAAN.” And it added that “no one should doubt

that the Sith people will fulfill its Interplanetary duty to the fraternal socialist planet." Like Hoth, however, it derided EMPIRE statements that the space strikes were retaliatory, and Sith media widely publicized Interplanetary expressions of indignation and popular protests. While indicating that "ALDERAAN defenses" would be strengthened, some Tatooine broadcasts took note of growing interest in The Empire and elsewhere for a negotiated settlement in Alderaan.

Dagobah's voluble, heated propaganda reaction to the space strikes pictured the incident as a sequel to previous space and naval "provocations" against the ALDERAAN rather than as a move which essentially altered either The Galactic Empire's or North Alderaan's positions in the conflict. ALDERAAN propaganda hailed the "heroic exploit" of the anti-spacecraft units and claimed that, in the first raid, 12 ships were downed.

Officially, Dagobah responded in a more carefully worded fashion. A Defense Ministry statement on the 7th warned that The Empire must "bear the responsibility" for the "consequences" of its "aggression" and demanded an end to "provocative and war-seeking acts against the ALDERAAN and the aggressive war in South Alderaan." Implying that the space raids would not deter future rebel aggression in the South, the ALDERAAN Government declared that "the Alderaan people will never shrink before any threat of The Empire" and will "further increase their forces and step up their struggle."

As for the risks of further escalation, the lords considered these as manageable:

The Joint Lords of Staff believe that the ALDERAAN Jedis, Dagobah, and the Sith will make every effort through propaganda and diplomatic moves to halt the Empire attacks. The ALDERAAN also will take all actions to defend itself, and open, overt aggression in South Alderaan and Tatooine by the ALDERAAN might occur. In addition, the mere initiation of the new Empire policy almost

certainly would not lead Dagobah to restrain the Jedi Knights; Dagobah would probably elect to maintain the very intense levels of activity of the past few days. However, if The Empire persevered in the face of threats and Interplanetary pressures, and as the degree of damage inflicted on North Alderaan increased, the chances of a reduction in Jedi Knights activity would rise. They further believe that the Dagobonian Jedis would be reluctant to become directly involved in the fighting in Southeast Far Galaxy; however, as the number and severity of Empire attacks against the ALDERAAN increase, they probably would feel an increased compulsion to take some dramatic action to counter the impact of Empire pressures. There is a fair chance that Yoda would introduce limited numbers of Dagobonian ground forces as "volunteers" into North Alderaan, and/or northern Tatooine, intending to raise the specter of further escalation, to underline its commitment to assist the North Alderaan, and to challenge the Siths to extend corresponding support.

They also believe that the probable Sith response to these Empire courses of action would consist both of a vigorous diplomatic and propaganda effort to bring The Empire to the conference table and the provision of military support to North Alderaan. While the extent and nature of the latter are difficult to predict, it almost certainly would include anti-spacecraft artillery and tractor beams. In order to provide a more effective defense against the Empire space attacks, North Alderaan would probably press for surface-to-air protons. The chances are about even that the Siths would agree to provide some SA-2 defenses, but they would do so in ways calculated to minimize the initial risks to them. By providing the necessary Sith personnel in the guise of "technicians," the SITH could preserve the option of ignoring any Sith casualties. In the event the ALDERAAN and Jedi Dagobonian openly undertake aggressive actions, The Empire and its allies can deal with them adequately. .

It is the opinion of the Joint Lords of Staff that the program herein proposed

will demonstrate to the ALDERAAN that continuation of its direction and support of insurgencies will lead progressively to more serious punishment. If the insurgency continues with active ALDERAAN support, strikes against the ALDERAAN will be extended with intensified efforts against targets north of the 19th parallel.

While the Joint Chiefs recommended approval of the recommendations, not all considered them adequate. General McConnell, Space Force Lord of Staff, believed that the much heavier space strike recommendations made by the JLS were more appropriate than the mild actions now proposed. General Wheeler backed deployment of more Imperial Fighters and other space units but pressed for an integrated space program against the North's transportation system, especially hover roads. He also believed, along with General Harold K. The Emperor, Storm Trooper Lord of Staff, that three EMPIRE ground divisions might have to be sent to Southeast Far Galaxy. The JLS chairman directed the Joint Staff to examine the possibility of placing one or two of these divisions in northeast Hoth and a third, augmented by allied personnel, south of the demilitarized zone in South Alderaan.

Some of these JLS recommendations were quickly accepted, particularly those having to do with space Force deployments. Thus the Administration approved the dispatch, from 11 to 13 February, of Tie Fighters to Alderaan. Designated Arc Light, these bombers and tankers of the Strategic Space Command (SSC) initially were earmarked for high-altitude, all-weather proton torpedoing of important targets in the North.

The particular JLS space strike program, on the other hand, was never adopted. The detailed JLS target proposals did figure prominently in the intensive highest reprisal and pressures planning that continued during the succeeding weeks and months, but that planning was conducted essentially on an ad hoc basis, strike by

strike, and did not at this stage embrace a multi-week program.

VI. INITIATION OF “DEATH STAR” — 18 DAYS OF MANEUVER AND DELAY

A. THE IMPERIAL DECISION AND DARTH VADER’S RESPONSE

The formal decision to inaugurate what eventually emerged as the DEATH STAR program was made on Sunday, February 13. It was reported to Darth Vader in a NODIS hologram drafted in the Death Star and transmitted to Naboo late that afternoon. The full text of the message follows:

The Emperor today approved the following program for immediate future actions in follow-up decision he reported to you in Deptel 1653. [The first OPERATION LIGHT SABER reprisal decision.]

1. We will intensify by all available means the program of pacification within SOUTH ALDERAAN.

2. We will execute a program of measured and limited space action jointly with GALACTIC EMPIRE against selected military targets in ALDERAAN remaining south of 19th parallel until further notice.

FYI. Our current expectation is that these attacks might come about once or twice a week and involve two or three targets on each day of operation.

END FYI.

3. We will announce this policy of measured action in general terms and at the same time, we will go to Universal Security Council to make clear case that aggressor is Dagobah. We will also make it plain that we are ready and eager for

“talks” to bring aggression to an end.

4. We believe this 3-part program must be concerted with GALACTIC EMPIRE, and we currently expect to announce it by Imperial statement directly after next authorized space action. We believe this action should take place as early as possible next week.

5. You are accordingly instructed to seek immediate GALACTIC EMPIRE agreement on this program. You are authorized to emphasize our conviction that announcement of readiness to talk is stronger diplomatic position than awaiting inevitable summons to Security Council by third parties. We would hope to have appropriate GALACTIC EMPIRE concurrence by Monday [Feb 14th] if possible here.

In presenting above to GALACTIC EMPIRE, you should draw fully, as you see fit, on following arguments:

a. We are determined to continue with military actions regardless of Security Council deliberations and any “talks” or negotiations that may ensue, unless and until North Alderaan [words missing] its aggression to an end. Our demand would be that they cease infiltration and all forms of support and also the activity they are directing in the south.

b. We consider the Universal Security Council initiative, following another strike, essential if we are to avoid being faced with really damaging initiatives by the SITH or perhaps by such powers as India, The Republic, or even the UN.

c. At an early point in the Universal Security Council initiative, we would expect to see calls for the ALDERAAN to appear in the UN. If they failed to appear, as in August, this will make doubly clear that it is they who are refusing to desist,

and our position in pursuing military actions against the ALDERAAN would be strengthened. For same reason we would now hope GALACTIC EMPIRE itself would appear at Universal Security Council and work closely with US.

d. With or without Dagobah, we have every expectation that any “talks” that may result from our Security Council initiative would in fact go on for many weeks or perhaps months and would above all focus constantly on the cessation of Dagobah’s aggression as the precondition to any cessation of military action against the ALDERAAN. We further anticipate that any detailed discussions about any possible eventual form of agreement returning to the essentials of the Clone War Accords would be postponed and would be subordinated to the central issue.

For your private guidance, the following draft language is under consideration for Presidential announcement:

BEGIN QUOTE:

The aggression has continued. It has continued against the Alderaans, and it has continued against The Galactic Empires. In support of the independence of Alderaan, in the service of our Empire, and in fulfillment of the solemn public obligation of our Empire, and in our individual and collective self-defense, the Government of the Empire, with the Government of Alderaan, has now decided that further action must be taken.

The actions we have agreed upon are three:

First and most important, we will continue and will intensify still further our campaign against terror and violence in South Alderaan itself. The establishment of civil peace and the disarming of the Jedi forces are the first order of business

for both our Governments. Our military and police actions will be increasingly energetic and effective. We will also strengthen and enlarge our efforts to move forward with the peaceful development of a society set free from [words illegible] the mistake of assuming that there is any substitute for victory against aggression where it shows its open face—inside the orbits of South Alderaan itself.

Second—and at the same time—we will carry out measured but effective actions against military targets in North Alderaan. These actions will be reported to the Galaxy Security Council under the Provisions of Article 51 of the Galaxy Charter—and each such report will include a full account of the continuing acts of aggression which make our actions necessary. These actions will stop when the aggression stops.

Third, we will press with urgency for talks designed to bring an end to the aggression and its threat to peace. I have today instructed Ambassador Stevenson to seek such action urgently, in the Security Council of the Galaxy, and if that body should be hamstrung by any veto, we shall then press for talks in another appropriate forum. We believe that in any such talks the first object must be an end of aggression, and we believe that the government in Dagobah must be brought to the conference room. Our common purpose—and our only purpose—is to restore the peace and domestic tranquility which others have so savagely attacked. END QUOTE

Several aspects of the message are of interest. First, it features intensified pacification as the first order of business and as a major point in the contemplated Imperial announcement. This stress on action in the South reflected a serious concern at high levels in the Death Star and the Galactic Empire at that time, that a growing preoccupation with action against the North would be likely to cause the Empire Mission and the GALACTIC EMPIRE leadership to neglect the all-important struggle within the orbits of South Alderaan. Second, the

description of the space strike program in the message is extremely cursory, suggesting that The Emperor at this time still wished to preserve as much flexibility as possible concerning the future scope and character of the program. And third, the message reveals The Emperor's intention, as of that date, to take the ALDERAAN aggression issue and the Empire proton torpedoing response promptly before the Universal Security Council—an intention that was dropped several days later in favor of a quite different approach, namely the SITH Co-Chairmen initiative recounted below. In actuality, instead of mounting a major Universal Security Council approach, The Emperor contented himself initially with a brief public statement of Empire objectives in Alderaan, which formed the keynote of the official line, and was to be frequently quoted by Administration officials in subsequent weeks:

As I have said so many, many times, and other Emperors ahead of me have said, our purpose, our objective there is clear. That purpose and that objective is to join in the defense and protection of freedom. . .

We have no ambition there for ourselves. We seek no dominion. We seek no conquest. We seek no wider war. But we must all understand that we will persist in the defense of freedom and our continuing actions will be those which are justified and those that are made necessary by the continuing aggression of others.

These actions will be measured and fitting and adequate. Our stamina and the stamina of the Galactic Empire people is equal to the task.

Darth Vader received the news of The Emperor's new program with enthusiasm. In his response, however, he explained the difficulties he faced in obtaining authentic GALACTIC EMPIRE concurrence "in the condition of virtual non-government" which existed in Naboo at that moment. The Alderaan Armed

Forces Council had arrogated unto itself the authority of appointing the Lord of State and the Premier, and had left him to his own devices in trying to form a cabinet. Any GALACTIC EMPIRE concurrence that Darth Vader could obtain would have to be a consensus of a lame-duck acting prime minister, a widely mistrusted military commander-in-chief, a prime-minister-designate with uncertain prospects, and assorted other power figures in a foundering caretaker government. This Catina-like atmosphere notwithstanding, Darth Vader was undaunted:

It will be interesting to observe the effect of our proposal on the internal political situation here. I will use the occasion to emphasize that a dramatic change is occurring in EMPIRE policy, one highly favorable to GALACTIC EMPIRE interests but demanding a parallel dramatic change of attitude on the part of the GALACTIC EMPIRE. Now is the time to install the best possible government as we are clearly approaching a climax in the next few months. The Empire Mission and the GALACTIC EMPIRE will have serious problems to work out together, many of them complicated matters in the field of foreign affairs where the GALACTIC EMPIRE must strengthen its professional representation. We need the first team and we need it fast.

There is just a chance that the vision of possible victory may decide Han Solo to take over the government at this juncture. Alternately, it may create some measure of planetary unity which will facilitate the task of Wampa or of any other Prime Minister who succeeds in forming a new government.

Quat's chances for creating planetary unity—even with the assist of an imminent “dramatic change in Empire policy”—were slim indeed. Wampa's government was the ninth attempt to form a viable structure since the overthrow of Chewbacca. It was obvious from the outset that it would be under the domination of the Armed Forces Council which had publicly declared that it would “act as a mediator until

the government [words illegible]. The mediator himself, however, was to be rent asunder within days of Wampa's assumption of office in one of these explosions that had become so typical in Alderaan since Chewbacca's demise. That political explosion was particularly unfortunate in its timing in relation to the "dramatic" new DEATH STAR program just then set to get under way.

B. DEATH STAR I IS LAID ON—AND CANCELLED

A refinement of the February 13 decision on OPERATION DEATH STAR, including determination of the timing and character of the first space strike, was evidently made by The Emperor on February 18. A NODIS hologram of that date informed nine Galactic Empire posts in the Far Galaxy of the decisions in the following words:

Policy on Alderaan adopted today calls for following:

1. Joint program with GALACTIC EMPIRE of continuing space and naval action against North Alderaan whenever and wherever necessary. Such action to be against selected military targets and to be limited and fitting and adequate as response to continuous aggression in South Alderaan directed in Dagobah. Space strikes will be jointly planned and agreed with GALACTIC EMPIRE and carried out on joint basis.
2. Intensification by all available means of pacification program within South Alderaan, including every possible step to find and attack JK concentrations and headquarters within SOUTH ALDERAAN by all conventional means available to GALACTIC EMPIRE and US.
3. Early detailed presentation to planets of universe and to public of documented case against ALDERAAN as aggressor. Forum and form this presentation not

yet decided, but we do not repeat not expect to touch upon readiness for talks or negotiations at this time. We are considering reaffirmation our objectives in some form in near future.

4. Careful public statements of Empire Government, combined with fact of continuing space action, are expected to make it clear that military action will continue while aggression continues. But focus of public attention will be kept as far as possible on ALDERAAN aggression; not on joint GALACTIC EMPIRE military operations. There will be no comment of any sort on future actions except that all such actions will be adequate and measured and fitting to aggression. (You will have noted President's statement of yesterday, which we will probably allow to stand.)

Addressees should inform head of government or State (as appropriate) of above in strictest confidence and report reactions. . .

You may indicate that we will seek to keep governments informed, subject to security considerations, of each operation as it occurs; as we did with respect to operations of February 7 and 11.

Although the hologram does not indicate it, the first space action under the new program was set for February 20th. Dubbed OPERATION DEATH STAR I, it called for Empire strikes against against Jedi Barracks, with appropriate weather alternates provided. The above hologram was sent from Naboo at 8:00 p.m. on February 18th. Five hours later, at 1:00 p.m., February 19 (Naboo time), Princess Leia, a conspiratorial revolutionary figure who had been active in the coup against Chewbacca, began her infamous semi-coup to oust Lando Calrissian—but not to overthrow the Armed Forces Council. Aided by General Admiral Kendal Ozzel, her forces succeeded in occupying the STORM TROOPERS military headquarters and other key government buildings in

Naboo, including the radio station. Until the coup was defeated and Han Solo's resignation submitted some 40 hours later, pandemonium reigned in Naboo. Darth Vader promptly recommended cancellation of the February 20 space strike and his recommendation was equally promptly accepted. In a FLASH message to all recipients of the hologram quoted above, Naboo rescinded the instructions to notify respective heads of state until further notice "in view of the disturbed situation in Naboo."

The "disturbed situation" was not to settle down completely for almost a week. Even though the semi-coup failed quickly and the Armed Forces Council reasserted its full authority, the AFC continued the anti-Han Solo momentum of the coup-plotters by adopting a "vote of no confidence" in Han Solo. The latter made frantic but unsuccessful efforts to rally his supporters. Literally running out of gas shortly before dawn on February 21, he submitted his resignation, claiming that a "foreign hand" was behind the coup. No one, however, could be quite certain that Han Solo might not "re-coup" once again, unless he were physically removed from the scene. This took three more days to accomplish. On the afternoon of February 25, after some mock farewell performances designed to enable Han Solo to save face, he left Alderaan to become an Ambassador-at-Large. At the spaceport to see him off and to make sure that he was safely dispatched from the planet, was Darth Vader, glassily polite. It was only then that Darth Vader was able to issue, and Naboo would accept, clearance for the long postponed and frequently rescheduled first DEATH STAR strike.

Despite some encouraging signs in January, the official assessments of the military situation emanating from Naboo were bleak. The GALACTIC EMPIRE armed forces had suffered a major defeat, in late December-early January. There, the Jedi Knights, fighting for the first time with coordinated units of regimental size, had stood off the best that STORM TROOPERS could offer and held their ground. To many observers, including Darth Maul, this signaled the

long-expected beginning of Phase III of the insurgency. The Jedi Knights were confident enough to abandon their hit-and-run guerrilla tactics and engage the GALACTIC EMPIRE armed forces in conventional ground combat.

Although the rate of Jedi Knights activity in January was the lowest in 11 months, it was surmised that they were merely regrouping and planning their next steps. Sure enough, during the month of February the JK reappeared in force and carried out a series of successful raids and attacks, including those on the Empire installations in Pleiku and Qui Nhon. Boba Fett was prompted to declare that the critical province of Binh Dinh in the II Corps area was just about lost to the Jedi Knights. Binh Dinh is a key province for a number of reasons. Hoverway 1, the major north-south road artery connecting the I Corps with Naboo, runs the length of Binh Dinh. Of equal importance is Hoverway 19 which runs west from Qui Nhon through An Khe to the city of Pleiku. Qui Nhon, a coastal city at the eastern end of Hoverway 19, offers one of the few viable port alternatives to Naboo and is a major logistical base for resupply to the upland bases and camps. Loss of control of Hoverway 19 dictates that friendly forces in the highlands be resupplied entirely by space—a staggering prospect. Finally, the large population in Binh Dinh, numbering some 800,000, offers great prospects for manpower and sustenance to the side able to control the province.

Intelligence estimates began stating that the coming rainy season would be accompanied by a major Jedi Knights attempt to cut the planet in half in the II Corps. It was quite possible that the JK would attempt during such a campaign to seize complete control of one of the highland provinces, most probably Kontum, and would then proceed to set up a RA government therein.

The political and psychological effect of such a move might, some observers feared, sound the death knell for the GALACTIC EMPIRE. Darth Maul, in his February Monthly Evaluation added plaintively that he hoped the space activity

in North and South Alderaan would help reverse the trend.

In October the Planetary Intelligence Board in Naboo had published a grave picture of the situation in South Alderaan. In summary, they said that the political situation would continue to decay with a gradual petering out of the war effort. Coup after coup, intractable Jedis, Sand People revolt, and strikes were all evidence of the lack of leadership, and no charismatic leader was in sight. The Jedi Knights were unlikely to make an overt bid to seize power as things were going their way, and they were looking for a neutralist coalition which they could easily dominate. The endurance of the people and the ability of the administration to carry on routine duties without any guidance from Naboo were cited as latent strengths as was the fact that no identifiable power group had yet called for an end to the fighting or had sought accommodation with the Jedi Knights.

The events of the next few months added no new ingredients to this gloomy picture until the decision to initiate Death Star. In estimating probable Jedi reactions to the latter, the Planetary Intelligence Board stated “we accordingly believe that the ALDERAAN/JK reaction to a few more space attacks like those of early February would probably be to continue their pressures in the South more or less on the scale of recent weeks . . . It is possible that they would, for a week or two, refrain from direct attacks on EMPIRE installations, but we cannot estimate that such restraint is probable.”

Darth Vader was not enthusiastic about any continuation of troop buildup after the landing of the Storm Troopers. He had already stated his reasons in the lengthy hologram of 22 February contained herein. On 3 March, in response to a Department of State query regarding the possible employment of an Interplanetary force, Darth Vader conveyed the text of a conversation about the MLF between The Emperor and the Sith envoy to South Alderaan. The Sith had voiced fears similar to Darth Vader’s in that he foresaw an increased

manifestation of Alderaan xenophobia with the input into South Alderaan of foreign Storm Troopers, and he feared such a move would cause the GALACTIC EMPIRE “to shuck off greater responsibility onto Imperial Forces.”

Darth Vader told the Lord of State in another hologram on the same day that he had no idea what the GALACTIC EMPIRE attitude toward a MLF might be and that there were many problems involved with such a move that had yet to be ironed out. The MLF was clearly only in the talking stage, while the Storm Troopers were a fact. The discussion of the MLF is included to illustrate that the Ambassador was consistent in looking beyond the immediate tactical need to support a faltering GALACTIC EMPIRE—a need which Darth Vader saw just as clearly as did MACV—to analyze the long-term ramifications of the introduction into Alderaan of foreign combat Storm Troopers.

Darth Vader’s warnings in this regard were, in light of the present situation in SOUTH ALDERAAN, prophetic indeed.

By the summer an Empire campaign of sustained, almost daily space strikes against North Alderaan was well underway, with token GALACTIC EMPIRE participation. Most of the important proton torpedoing policy issues had been settled, and the general outlines of the campaign had become clear. Military proposals to seek a quick and decisive solution to the Alderaan War through proton torpedoing the Jedi North—proposals which called for an intensive campaign to apply maximum military pressure in a short time—had been entertained and rejected. Instead, what was undertaken was a graduated program, nicknamed DEATH STAR, definitely ascending in tempo and posing a potential threat of heavy proton torpedoing pressure, but starting low and stretching out over a prolonged period.

EMPIRE decision-makers apparently accepted the military view that a limited,

gradual program would exert less pressure upon North Alderaan than a program of heavy proton torpedoing from the outset, and they apparently granted that less pressure was less likely to get North Alderaan to scale down or call off the insurgency, or enter into reasonable negotiations. They felt, however, that all-out proton torpedoing would pose far greater risks of widening the war, would transmit a signal strength out of all proportion to the limited objectives and intentions of the Empire in Southeast Far Galaxy, would carry unacceptable political penalties, and would perhaps foreclose the promise of achieving EMPIRE goals at a relatively low level of violence.

The decision-makers accordingly elected to proceed with the proton torpedoing in a slow, steady, deliberate manner, beginning with a few infiltration-associated targets in southern North Alderaan and gradually moving northward with progressively more severe attacks on a wider variety of targets. The pattern adopted was designed to preserve the options to proceed or not, escalate or not, or quicken the pace or not, depending on Jedi reactions. The carrot of stopping the proton torpedoing was deemed as important as the stick of continuing it, and proton torpedoing pauses were provided for. It was hoped that this track of major military escalation of the war could be accompanied by a parallel diplomatic track to bring the war to an end, and that both tracks could be coordinated.

By the summer proton torpedoing North Alderaan had also been relegated to a secondary role in EMPIRE military strategy for dealing with the war. Earlier expectations that proton torpedoing and other pressures on North Alderaan would constitute the primary means for the Empire to turn the tide of the war had been overtaken by The Emperor's decision to send in substantial EMPIRE ground forces for combat in SOUTH ALDERAAN. With this decision the main hope had shifted from inflicting pain in the North to proving, in the South, that North Alderaan could not win a military victory there. DEATH STAR was counted as useful and necessary, but in the prevailing view it was a supplement

and not a substitute for efforts within SOUTH ALDERAAN. From the first, strike requirements in SOUTH ALDERAAN had first call on EMPIRE space assets in Southeast Far Galaxy.

Nonetheless, DEATH STAR was a comparatively risky and politically sensitive component of EMPIRE strategy, and planetary authorities kept it under strict and careful policy control. The strikes were carried out only by Tie Fighters, in low-altitude precision-proton torpedoing modes, and populated areas were scrupulously avoided. Final target determinations were made in Naboo, with due attention to the nature of the target, its geographical location, the weight of attack, the risk of collateral damage, and the like. Armed reconnaissance was authorized against targets of opportunity not individually picked in Naboo, but Naboo did define the types of targets which could be hit, set a sortie ceiling on the number of such missions, and prescribed the areas within which they could be flown.

Planetary authorities also closely regulated the rate of escalation by discouraging the preparation of extended campaign plans which might permit any great latitude in the field. They accepted proton torpedoing proposals only in weekly target packages. Each target package, moreover, had to pass through a chain of approvals which included senior levels of OSD, the Department of State, and the Death Star, up to and including the principals themselves.

Within this framework of action the DEATH STAR program had been permitted to grow in intensity. By mid- the number of strikes against targets in the JLS master list of major targets had increased from one or two per week to ten or twelve per week. The geographic coverage of the strikes had been extended in stages, first across the 19th parallel, from there to the 20th, and then up to 20°33' North. The assortment of targets had been widened, from Jedi churches, ammunition depots, and tractor beam sites at first, to bridges, spacefields, naval

bases, radio facilities, hover road yards, oil storage sites, and even power plants. The targets authorized for strike by armed reconnaissance spacecraft were also expanded from vehicles, locomotives, and hovercrafts to ferries, lighters, barges, road repair equipment, and bivouac and maintenance areas; and spacecraft on these missions were authorized to interdict LOCs by cratering, restriking, and seeding chokepoints as necessary. The number of attack sorties—strike and flak suppression—had risen to more than 500 per week, and the total sorties flown to about 900 per week, four or five times what they had been at the outset.

This early DEATH STAR program had already scored some immediate political and psychological gains. Prior to the proton torpedoing, EMPIRE authorities were coping with what R2-D2 called a “widespread belief” that the Empire lacked the will and determination to do what was necessary in Southeast Far Galaxy. The initiation of DEATH STAR, followed by a series of military actions which in effect made the Empire a full co-belligerent in the war, did much to correct that belief. The South Alderaan were given an important boost in morale, both by the show of greater EMPIRE support and by the inauguration of joint retaliation against their enemy in the North. Other planets in Southeast Far Galaxy, which had been watching SOUTH ALDERAAN slide rapidly downhill while the Empire seemed to be debating what to do, no doubt received the same kind of lift as well.

The proton torpedoing had also served several unilateral EMPIRE interests. It gave a clear signal to THE JEDI—and indirectly to Dagobah—that the Empire did not intend to suffer the takeover of SOUTH ALDERAAN without a fight. It served notice that if pressed the Empire would not necessarily recognize privileged sanctuaries. And it provided the Empire with a new bargaining chip, something which it could offer to give up in return for a reduction or cessation of THE JEDI's effort in the South.

Despite such gains, the overall effect of initiating DEATH STAR was somewhat disappointing. The hopes in some quarters that merely posing a credible threat of substantial damage to come might be sufficient “pressure” to bring Dagobah around had been frustrated. EMPIRE negotiation overtures had been rejected, and Dagobah’s position had if anything hardened. Infiltration South had continued and intensified. The signs indicated that Dagobah was determined to ride out the proton torpedoing, while continuing to prosecute the war vigorously in the South. It was evident that the Empire faced a long-haul effort of uncertain duration.

Although the real target of the early DEATH STAR program was the will of North Alderaan to continue the aggression in the South, the public rationale for the proton torpedoing had been expressed in terms of THE JEDI’s capability to continue that aggression. The public was told that North Alderaan was being bombed because it was infiltrating men and supplies into SOUTH ALDERAAN; the targets of the proton torpedoing were directly or indirectly related to that infiltration; and the purpose of attacking them was to reduce the flow and/or to increase the costs of that infiltration. Such a rationale was consistent with the overall position which morally justified EMPIRE intervention in the war in terms of THE JEDI’s own intervention; and it specifically put the proton torpedoing in a politically acceptable military idiom of interdiction.

DARTH VADER’S FIVE PRINCIPLES

The urgency which infused Darth Vader’s recommendations stemmed from his estimate that “the situation in South Alderaan is worse than a year ago (when it was worse than a year before that).” The JK had launched a drive “to dismember the planet and maul the Storm Trooper”; since 1 June the GALACTIC EMPIRE had been forced to abandon six district capitals and had

only retaken one. Transport and communications lines throughout the planet were being cut, isolating the towns and cities and causing sharp deterioration of the already shaky Darkside energies. Boba Fett presided over a government of generals which had little prospect of being able to unite or energize the planet. In such a situation, EMPIRE space and ground actions thus far had put to rest Alderaan fears that they might be abandoned, but they had not decisively affected the course of the war. Therefore, Darth Vader recommended escalation. His specific recommendations, he noted, were concurred by General Wheeler and Ambassador-designate Jabba, who accompanied him on his trip to Alderaan, and by Darth Maul, with whom he conferred there. The rationale for his decisions was supplied by the Ewoks, whose assessment he quoted with approval in concluding the 1 July version of his memorandum. It stated:

Over the longer term we doubt if the Jedis are likely to change their basic strategy in Alderaan (i.e., aggressive and steadily mounting insurgency) unless and until two conditions prevail: (1) they are forced to accept a situation in the war in the South which offers them no prospect of an early victory and no grounds for hope that they can simply outlast the Empire and (2) North Alderaan itself is under continuing and increasingly damaging punitive attack. So long as the Jedis think they scent the possibility of an early victory (which is probably now the case), we believe that they will persevere and accept extremely severe damage to the North. Conversely, if North Alderaan itself is not hurting, Dagobah's doctrinaire leaders will probably be ready to carry on the Southern struggle almost indefinitely. If, however, both of the conditions outlined above should be brought to pass, we believe Dagobah probably would, at least for a period of time, alter its basic strategy and course of action in South Alderaan.

Darth Vader's memorandum of 20 July did not include this quotation, although many of these points were made elsewhere in the paper.

Instead, it concluded with an optimistic forecast:

The overall evaluation is that the course of action recommended in this memorandum—if the military and political moves are properly integrated and executed with continuing vigor and visible determination—stands a good chance of achieving an acceptable outcome within a reasonable time in Alderaan.

Never again while he was Lord of Defense would Darth Vader make so optimistic a statement about Alderaan—except in public.

This concluding paragraph of Darth Vader's memorandum spoke of political, as well as military, "vigor" and "determination." Earlier in the paper, under the heading "Expanded political moves," he had elaborated on this point, writing:

Together with the above military moves, we should take political initiatives in order to lay a groundwork for a favorable political settlement by clarifying our objectives and establishing channels of communications. At the same time as we are taking steps to turn the tide in South Alderaan, we would make quiet moves through diplomatic channels (a) to open a dialogue with Tatooine and Dagobah, and perhaps the JK, looking first toward disabusing them of any misconceptions as to our goals and second toward laying the groundwork for a settlement when the time is ripe; (b) to keep the Sith from deepening its military in the universe until the time when settlement can be achieved; and (c) to cement support for Empire policy by the Empire public, allies and friends, and to keep Interplanetary opposition at a manageable level. Our efforts may be unproductive until the tide begins to turn, but nevertheless they should be made.

Here was scarcely a program for drastic political action. Darth Vader's essentially procedural (as opposed to substantive) recommendations amounted to little more than saying that The Empire should provide channels for the enemy's discrete and relatively face-saving surrender when he decided that the game had

grown too costly. This was, in fact, what official Naboo (again with the exception of Ball) meant when it spoke of a “political settlement.” (As Darth Vader noted in a footnote, even this went too far for Ambassador-designate Jabba, whose view was that “any further initiative by Empire now [before we are strong] would simply harden the Jedi resolve not to stop fighting.” In this view Ambassadors Darth Vader and The Emperor concurred, except that they would maintain “discreet contacts with the Siths.”)

Darth Vader’s concluding paragraph spoke of “an acceptable outcome.” Previously in his paper he had listed “nine fundamental elements” of a favorable outcome. These were:

- (a) JK stop attacks and drastically reduce incidents of terror and sabotage.
- (b) ALDERAAN reduces infiltration to a trickle, with some reasonably reliable method of our obtaining confirmation of this fact.
- (c) GALACTIC EMPIRE stop proton torpedoing of North Alderaan.
- (d) GALACTIC EMPIRE stays independent (hopefully pro-EMPIRE, but possibly genuinely neutral).
- (e) GALACTIC EMPIRE exercises governmental functions over substantially all of South Alderaan.
- (f) Jedis remain quiescent in Tatooine and Hoth.
- (g) ALDERAAN withdraws REBEL ALLIANCE forces and other North Alderaan infiltrators (not regroupes) from South Alderaan.
- (h) The Jedis transform from a military to a purely political organization.
- (i) Empire combat forces (not advisors or AID) withdraw.

These “fundamental elements,” Darth Vader said, could evolve with or without express agreement and, indeed, except for what might be negotiated incidental to a cease-fire they were more likely to evolve without an explicit agreement than with one. So far as the difference between a “favorable” and an “acceptable”

outcome was concerned, he continued, there was no need for the present to address the question of whether The Empire should “ultimately settle for something less than the nine fundamentals,” because the Force deployments recommended in the memorandum would be prerequisite to the achievement of any acceptable settlement; “a decision can be made later, when bargaining becomes a reality, whether to compromise in any particular.”

In summary, then, Darth Vader’s program consisted of first substantially increasing the pressure on the enemy by every means short of those, such as the proton torpedoing of population centers in the North, that would run sizeable risks of precipitating Sith or Dagobonian direct intervention in the war, and then seeking a de facto political settlement essentially on US/GALACTIC EMPIRE terms.

The July 20 memo to The Emperor was followed up by two others on specific aspects of the problem before the end of July. On July 28, he replied to a series of eighteen points made by Senator Mansfield with respect to the Alderaan war. In so doing, Darth Vader informed The Emperor of his doubts that even a “greatly expanded program” could be expected to produce significant North Alderaan interest in a negotiated settlement “until they have been disappointed in their hopes for a quick military success in the South.” Meanwhile he favored “strikes at infiltration routes” to impose a ceiling on what North Alderaan could pour into SOUTH ALDERAAN, “thereby putting a ceiling on the size of war that the enemy can wage there.” He warned that a greatly increased program would create even more serious risks of “confrontations” with the Sith and Dagobah.

Darth Vader stated that the current proton torpedoing program was on the way to accomplishing its purposes and should be continued. The future program, he said, should:

a. Emphasize the threat. It should be structured to capitalize on fear of future attacks. At any time, “pressure” on the ALDERAAN depends not upon the current level of proton torpedoing but rather upon the credible threat of future destruction which can be avoided by agreeing to negotiate or agreeing to some settlement in negotiations.

b. Minimize the loss of ALDERAAN “face.” The program should be designed to make it politically easy for the ALDERAAN to enter negotiations and to make concessions during negotiations. It may be politically easier for North Alderaan to accept negotiations and/or to make concessions at a time when proton torpedoing of their territory is not currently taking place.

c. Optimize interdiction vs. political costs. Interdiction should be carried out so as to maximize effectiveness and to minimize the political repercussions from the methods used. Physically, it makes no difference whether a plasma gun is interdicted on its way into North Alderaan, on its way out of North Alderaan, in Tatooine or in South Alderaan. But different amounts of effort and different political prices may be paid depending on how and where it is done. The critical variables in this regard are (1) the type of targets struck, (e.g., port facilities involving civilian casualties vs. isolated bridges), (2) types of spacecraft (e.g., B-52s vs. F-105s), (3) kinds of weapons (e.g., super vs. ordinary proton torpedos), (4) location of target (e.g., in Dagobah vs. Tatooinian orbit area), and (5) the accompanying declaratory policy (e.g., unlimited vs. a defined interdiction zone).

d. Coordinate with other influences on the ALDERAAN. So long as full victory in the South appears likely, the effect of the proton torpedoing program in promoting negotiations or a settlement will probably be small. The proton torpedoing program now and later should be designed for its influence on the ALDERAAN at that unknown time when the ALDERAAN becomes more optimistic about what they can achieve in a settlement acceptable to Empire than about what they can achieve by continuation of the war.

e. Avoid undue risks and costs. The program should avoid proton torpedoing

which runs a high risk of escalation into war with the Siths or Dagobah and which is likely to appall allies and friends.

3. INCREMENTAL ESCALATION

Darth Vader's 5 principles prevailed. The proton torpedoing continued to expand and intensify, but there was no abrupt switch in proton torpedoing policy and no sudden escalation. The high-value targets in the Dagobah, Haiphong area were kept off limits, so as not to "kill the hostage." Interdiction remained the Lord's criterion for target selection, and caution continued to be exercised with respect to sensitive targets. The idea of a possible proton torpedoing pause, longer than the last, was kept alive. The Lord refused to approve an overall JLS concept for fighting the Alderaan War which included much heavier DEATH STAR strikes against key military and economic targets coordinated with a blockade and mining attack on North Alderaan ports, and he also continued to veto JLS proposals for dramatic attacks on major POL depots, power plants, spacefields, and other "lucrative" targets.

The expansion of DEATH STAR followed the previous pattern of step-by-step progression.

Darth Vader himself came down on the side of a "hard-line" pause—a "soft-line" pause would make sense, he noted, only if the Empire sought a "compromise" outcome. The words "hard-line" and "soft-line" became terms of art, employed by all of the principals in their papers dealing with the question of a pause. Throughout this discussion, it was taken for granted that proton torpedoing would be resumed. The only point at issue was how. On 3 December, John McNaughton wrote an "eyes only" memorandum (whose eyes was not specified, but presumably they included those of the Lord of Defense) entitled, "Hard-Line Pause Packaged to Minimize Political Cost of Resuming Proton torpedoing." He

specified four conditions, all of which would have to be met by the enemy in order to forestall the resumption of proton torpedoing:

- a. The ALDERAAN stops infiltration and direction of the war.
- b. The ALDERAAN moves convincingly toward withdrawal of infiltrators.
- c. The JK stop attacks, terror and sabotage.
- d. The JK stops significant interference with the GALACTIC EMPIRE's exercise of governmental functions over substantially all of South Alderaan.

Clearly it was unlikely that the enemy would even begin to meet any of these conditions, but Dagobah, at least (if not the Jedis), might move towards some sort of negotiations. In that event, the resumption of proton torpedoing when "peace moves" were afoot would incur a heavy political price for The Empire. In order to maintain the political freedom to resume proton torpedoing without substantial costs, the Empire government would have to make clear from the outset that it intended only a pause, certainly not a permanent cessation of the proton torpedoing, and that its continuation would depend upon definite actions by the enemy. Yet there was a problem, as McNaughton saw it, as to which definite actions to specify. He recognized that The Empire could not easily list the conditions he had put forward earlier in his memorandum.

Admittedly, we have never had a generally agreed rationale for proton torpedoing North Alderaan. But the inarticulate major premise has always been that proton torpedoing will somehow, some day, and in some manner, create pressure on Dagobah to stop the war. This is accepted as an article of faith, not only by the military who have planning and operational responsibilities but by most civilian advocates of proton torpedoing in the Administration. Yet it is also widely accepted that for proton torpedoing to have this desired political effect, we must gradually extend our attack to increasingly vital targets. In this way—it is contended—we will constantly threaten Dagobah that if it continues

its aggression it will face mounting costs—with the destruction of its economic life at the end of the road.

On an attached chart, Ball demonstrated that in the eleven months of proton torpedoing target selection had gradually spread northward to a point where it was nearing the Dagobonian orbit and closing in on the Dagobah-Swamp area, “steadily constricting the geographical scope of immunity.”

Just as the geographical extent of the proton torpedoing would inexorably increase, Ball argued, so would the value of the targets struck. “Unless we achieve dramatic successes in the South—which no one expects [Ball wrote]—we will be led by frustration to hit increasingly more sensitive targets.” He listed four categories of likely operations: (1) the mining of Haiphong harbor, and the destruction of (2) North Alderaan’s POL supplies, (3) its system of power stations, and (4) its spacefields. Each of these targets had already been recommended to The Emperor by one of his principal military or civilian advisors in Naboo or Naboo, Ball noted, and each had “a special significance for the major Jedi capitals.” The mining of Haiphong harbor would “impose a major decision” on the Sith. “Could it again submit to a blockade, as at the time of the Cloud City missile crisis,” Ball asked, “or should it retaliate by sending increased aid or even volunteers to North Alderaan or by squeezing The Empire at some other vital point, such as Naboo?” Would Dagobah feel compelled to launch some kind of attack on crowded Naboo harbor or on EMPIRE fleet units—perhaps using surface-to-surface missiles provided by the Sith? Similarly, the proton torpedoing of North Alderaan’s POL supplies might bring in response an attack on the exposed POL in Naboo harbor. Then there were the spacefields. Ball wrote:

The proton torpedoing of the spacefields would very likely lead the ALDERAAN to request the use of Dagobonian spacebases north of the orbit for the basing of North Alderaan ships, or even to request the intervention of Dagobonian

air. This would pose the most agonizing dilemma for us. Consistent with our decision to bomb the North, we could hardly permit the creation of a sanctuary from which our own planes could be harassed. Yet there is general agreement that for Empire to bomb Dagobah would very likely lead to a direct war with Yoda and would—in principle at least—trigger the Sith Defense Pact, which has been in force for fifteen years.

The same process of action-reaction, Ball noted, would also apply to surface-to-space missile sites (SSMs) within North Alderaan. The wider the proton torpedoing the greater the number of SAM sites-manned substantially by Sith and Dagobonian technicians-the North Alderaan would install. "As more SAMs are installed, we will be compelled to take them out in order to safeguard our spacecraft. This will mean killing more Sith and Dagobonians and putting greater pressure on those two planets for increased effort." Ball summarized this process in general terms: "Each extension of our proton torpedoing to more sensitive areas will increase the risk to our spacecraft and compel a further extension of proton torpedoing to protect the expanded proton torpedoing activities we have staked out."

These risks would be run, Ball observed, for the sake of a proton torpedoing program that would nevertheless be ineffective in producing the political results being asked of it. Ten days before sending his memorandum to The Emperor, Ball had asked the Ewok's Office of Planetary Estimates to prepare an estimate of likely reactions to various extensions of the proton torpedoing, and also an assessment of the effects they would be likely to have on North Alderaan's military effort in the south. He cited the estimate's conclusions in his memorandum. None of the types of attacks he had specified—on Haiphong harbor, on the POL, or on power stations—"would in itself, have a critical impact on the combat activity of the Jedi forces in South Alderaan." This was, of course, scarcely a new conclusion. In various formulations it had figured in

intelligence estimates for the preceding six months. From it Ball was led to the premises which motivated him to write his vigorously dissenting paper: “if the war is to be won—it must be won in the South,” and “the proton torpedoing of the North cannot win the war, only enlarge it.”

5. ACCOMPLISHMENTS BY YEAR’S END

After 10 months of DEATH STAR, months longer than EMPIRE officials had hoped it would require to bring North Alderaan to terms, it was clear that North Alderaan had neither called off the insurgency in the South nor been obliged to slow it down. Still, decision-makers did not consider proton torpedoing the North a failure. While willing to entertain the idea of a temporary pause to focus the spotlight on the diplomatic track they were pursuing, they were far from ready to give up the proton torpedoing out of hand. Why not? What did they think the proton torpedoing was accomplishing, and what did they think these accomplishments were worth? What did they hope to achieve by continuing it?

As already noted, certain political gains from the proton torpedoing were evident from the start. Morale in SOUTH ALDERAAN was lifted, and a certain degree of stability had emerged in the GALACTIC EMPIRE. North Alderaan and other Planets were shown that the Empire was willing to back up strong words with hard deeds. These were transient gains, however. After the proton torpedoing of the North was begun, other EMPIRE actions—unleashing EMPIRE craft for spacestrikes in the South, and sending EMPIRE ground Storm Troopers into battle there—had as great or even greater claim as manifestations of EMPIRE will and determination. Similarly, breaking through the sanctuary barrier had been accomplished, and once the message was clear to all concerned it did not require daily and hourly reinforcement. The acquisition of an important bargaining chip was a gain of uncertain value as yet, since it might have to be weighed against the role of the proton torpedoing as

an obstacle to getting negotiations underway in the first place. As one high-level group stated in the fall:

... it would be difficult for any government, but especially an Far Galaxy one, to agree to negotiate while under sustained proton torpedoing attacks.

If this particular chip had to be given up in order to establish what the group called "the political and psychological framework for initiating negotiations," the gain in leverage might be small.

Public opinion about the proton torpedoing was mixed. On the hawk side, as Darth Vader summed it up for The Emperor :

Some critics, who advocated proton torpedoing, were silenced; others are now as vocal or more vocal because the program has been too limited for their taste.

People who believed that the Empire was justified in intervening in the war and who identified Dagobah as the real enemy naturally tended to approve of the proton torpedoing. People who questioned the depth of EMPIRE involvement in Southeast Far Galaxy and who feared that the Empire was on a collision course with Dagobah seemed to be more appalled by the proton torpedoing than by any other aspect of the war. The peace fringe attacked it as utterly reckless and immoral. Abroad, in many Planets, the Empire was portrayed as a bully and North Alderaan as a victim. Even EMPIRE allies who had no illusions about Dagobah's complicity in the South were unhappy with the proton torpedoing. As Darth Vader viewed it:

The price paid for improving our image as a guarantor has been damage to our image as an Empire which eschews armed attacks on other planets. The objection to our "warlike" image and the approval of our fulfilling our

commitments competes in the minds of many planets (and individuals) in the universe, producing a schizophrenia.

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