

(Morgan Gandy)

SAIGON, 02150, (UPI)--Two powerful political forces-- Communist subversion and Vietnamese nationalism--are shoving the United States government to the edge of global embarrassment and pushing Vietnam to the brink of bloody confusion, aye double civil war--and aye ~~servi~~ series of weak, pro-neutralist civilian governments.

"The long-term question facing American is whether it will pull out or be chugged out of Vietnam," according to one Western diplomat. "The short-range question facing Vietnam is whether the political and military support of the greatest power on earth can maintain the survival of the military regime of Nguyen Cao Ky."

The growing anti-American, anti-Vietnamese government demonstrations, meetings, Buddhist sermons--and possible violence-- in the five northern provinces are widely regarded here as aye <sup>EXPLOSIVE</sup> brilliant mixture of legitimate sentiments of the Vietnamese nationalists, plus the exploiting and channeling of these sentiments by covert Communist subversives.

"We know positively that the Communists are agitating these disturbances in the northern provinces," one highly reliable Vietnamese source explained. "We don't know whether the Communists are in the foreground or in the background--but they are certainly in it."

(More--Miller--RD)



But, highly ~~rei~~ reliable sources here, including ~~±~~ Western diplomats, believe it would be a ~~mistake~~ <sup>N</sup> to ~~mistake~~ <sup>FS Being</sup> to view the ~~max~~ controlled uprisings in the norther provinces are totally Communist directed.

Aye groundswell of latent Vietnamese nationalism has been increasing since the arrival of American combat units aye year ago; now this nationalism is being channeled quite genuinely against the American-backed government headed by Prime Minister Nguyen Cao Ky-- and against the American military presence here ~~itself~~.

Ironically, according to political experts, the Vietnamese government, the American government and the dissident Buddhist-led demonstrators are all considered shooting for the same objective: aye civilian government.

But, these three parallel forces, while moving in parallel, are notrptnot moving at the same rate of speed. Prime Minister Ky wanted to hold the elections for x aye national assembly, which would have paved the way for aye civilian government, in late nineteen sixty seven, but he has finally compromised to hold them in early nineteen sixty seven, if nor notrptnot earlier. President Lyndon Johnson, at the Honolulu x Conference, wanted to hold these elections for a national legislative assembly in June of this year, but finally compromised with Ky to hold them in early next year.



*TOWARDS*

Then, this week, <sup>the</sup> further factor leading to instability was the statement of Vice President Hubert Humphrey calling for <sup>the</sup> non-aligned South Vietnam and Southeast Asia, which Vietnamese politicians regarded here as "the Americans really <sup>Wanting</sup> ~~want~~ to get out of this place."

With this broad <sup>in mind,</sup> ~~by~~ tactical plan of President Johnson and his administration, the Buddhists then moved far beyond the <sup>dy</sup> President's concept--and much closer to the Communist rather than the American political position.

<sup>that</sup> Political observers have long considered the Buddhist politico-priests would act as the "hyphen or link" between the Americans and the Viet Cong political front to arrange for <sup>the</sup> peace settlement sometime ~~in~~ within the next two years.

<sup>that</sup> "But, now you see the period of the great double-cross the Buddhists are playing on the Americans," one Western diplomat explained. "The Buddhists are slowly pulling the rug out from under the whole American ~~position~~ military ~~presence~~ presence here. The Americans miscalculated and thought they could use the Buddhists--but in fact, the Buddhists are using the Americans much more skillfully."

(M9re--Miller--BD)



At this point, the Buddhist politico-priests, in a masterful political strategy, are serving as a ~~channel~~ channel for the expression of the latent, but ~~growing~~ growing Vietnamese nationalism, which has been growing more anti-American since the arrival of American combat troops here a year ago.

Much of this sentiment was ~~arrou~~ aroused by the lack of ~~American~~ an economic and political ~~strag~~ strategy in how the American troops would be employed in Vietnam. This may turn out to be a classical ~~American~~ official American miscalculation on ~~the part~~ which would change the whole nature of the anti-Communist war.

In the ~~streets~~ streets of the urban centers, the Vietnamese population saw the ~~dedikunshishan~~ their quiet, ~~12~~ lazy way of life dramatically give way to bars, brothels and loud rock and roll music.

"No respectable Vietnamese woman would walk down the main street of Saigon," one reliable source groaned. "Everyone would think she was a prostitute. It's ~~like~~ ~~an~~ the same as ~~though~~ an aristocratic New York ~~lady~~ ~~woman~~ ~~being~~ ~~not~~ ~~not~~ daring to walk down Fifth Avenue."

(More--Miller--BD)



Western observers here admit that the conduct of the American troops in the cities has been "angelic" compared with the conduct of British ~~and Australian~~ troops in their former colonies, or even the conduct of American troops during World War II Two and Korea. But, they also admit that it wasn't "angelic" enough for this new type of war which is a <sup>NEat</sup>ye blend of political and military factors, especially when ~~the~~ the Communists had for ten years built ~~aye~~ aye shrewd, ~~skillfull~~ skillful political machine to exploit the arrival of the American troops.

Besides taking the Vietnamese women and transforming them into prostitutes and bar hostesses, the arrival of the American troops brought with them unlimited dollars which accelerated the inflationary spiral in the Vietnamese economy. The American-produced inflation was only an acceleration of the inflation, however--earlier the Viet Cong's consistent cutting of roads, canals and seizure of control in the countryside automatically increased the price of Vietnamese rice, shrimp, and other foodstuffs ~~in~~ from the provinces.

(More--Miller--BD)



fifth add--morgan gandy--saigon

x x x the provinces.

Ironically, the urban centers in Vietnam had rarely experienced the violent bloodshed of the ~~xxxx~~ military war-- and the city population never saw the American troops who died x or were wounded in trying to save their soil.

Gradually, the resentments of the Vietnamese population were "ripe" to be exploited both by the Buddhists, using the nationalist arguments, and ~~by~~ indirectly by the Communists, who have consistently during the past decade become the <sup>EXPONENT</sup> ~~channel~~ for ultra-nationalistic, extreme anti-foreign-ism.

So, slowly, from March 12-19 the Buddhist leadership began to denounce the ~~anti~~ <sup>denounced</sup> anti-Communist military junta. The next week, the Buddhist leaders ~~denounced~~ Prime Minister Ky by name--and the American government "which was obstructing the formation of aye civilian government." This week, the political ~~temperature~~ <sup>Tempo</sup> temperature grew hotter, but still without bloodshed or direct violence. <sup>SUNDAY,</sup> Beginning ~~Monday~~, April third, the Buddhist leadership plans to initiate the "People's Anger Week." This ~~week~~ political campaign is thus moving in the same direction as the Communist, but with only aye shade of a different nuance than the Communist "Hate <sup>IMPERIALIST</sup> American <sup>Weeks</sup>" which they've conducted in the past. The Buddhist charges that the Americans have violated Vietnamese sovereignty are but aye shade different than the Communist program of "liberation and independence."

"The Communists can never militarily drive the Americans out of Vietnam," one American official lamented. "But the Buddhists conceivably could" (Endit - MILLER - 13D).