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30180 prorsenfeld sundayer one mister america in vietnam stop  
saigon dash eye year ago military coup detat brought down  
regimeve stubby catholic president ngo dinh diem stoppara  
          themesong for vietnamese generals toppling him  
during eighteenhour coup was quote the longest day stopunquote  
afterwards saigonese presented garlands to paratroopers  
and tankdrivers and danced in the streets with joy stop  
dancehalls were flooded for allnight twisting sessions comma  
which diem regime had banned stoppara moredeepe

30181 prorsenfeld sundayer two dancing for joy did notrptnot  
last long for oneve diems predictions to began to true stoppara  
          only months earlier during flaming buddhist crisis  
which sparked his overthrow diem predicted quote apres moi  
le deluge unquoteparen after me the deluge unparen stoppara  
          now eye year later the deluge has descended stop  
both the military and the political war against the communists  
is in the process of being lost stop it was being lost under  
diem too but as one western diplomat explained sweek quote  
we are now losing it more efficiently than ever before  
stopunquote while observers here view this as sad but  
notrptnot tragic stop tragedy is that the war can still be  
won but probably will notrptnot be moredeepe

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30490 prorosensfeld sundayer three several months ago leading  
saigon fortunetellers made another prediction colon that in  
ninth monthve lunar calendar the trendsve future would become  
clearer and vietname quote little war would become bigger  
stopunquotepara tis unknown if fortunetellers before their  
incense altars specifically foresaw chicom atomic device  
explosion comma downfallve khrushchew comma labor victory  
in britain but tis interpreted as significant here that ninth  
lunar month ends on november third stoppara

saigonese etwestern observers here openly hoping that  
american policy on vietnam does become clearer stop they view  
that in past months american policy been to quote back every  
status quo in sight unquote and to quote hold the lid on vietnam  
until after elections stopunquote moredeepe

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30192 prorosenfeld syndayer four observers view these days as the crucial turningpoint in the military and political anticommunist war for quote to continue to drift is only to lose cmaunquote according one western diplomat stop quote this is the point of notprnot return stopunquote para pessimists say tis already too late reverse trends stop

as the saigon foretuneteller predicted the first clues of americas postelection vietnam policy have already appeared stop vietnam quote little war unquote now appear bigger not only becauseve flareupve border incidents but also continuous flowve highranking asian military delegations to saigon interpreted as evidenceve possible commitmentve asian combat troops stop chinese nationalist government recent appointmentve general to serve as ambassador here also considered significant moredeepe

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20193 prorosensfeld sundayer five during past weekve suspense  
during formationve new vietnamese government dash which  
saigon newspapers called a la hitchcock undash other clues  
about future american policy also appeared colon first there  
will notprnot be negotiations but will make last ditch attempt  
prosecute war second american will again attempt to back eye  
strongman ruler dash who will be general nguyen khanh comma  
former premier etnow commanderin chief dash etthat  
civilianheaded government will be restricted in authority  
if it survives atall moredeepe

31010 prorosensfeld sundayer six based on talks with american  
officials etwestern experts on counterinsurgency etcommunism  
in asia this is rundown on basic problems etpossible solutions  
facing the ong my repeat ong my dash mister america undash as  
children in ricepaddy villages call quote white man with big  
nose unquote in vietnam colon

one stop basic american mistake was to expect that  
vietnam would be another korea dash to expect invasion stedve  
guerrilla warfare etsubversion stopquote communists won  
souvietnam in soukorea cmaunquote according western observer  
quote there was aye korean type conventional war atmosphere  
here until american buildup in nineteen sixtytwo stopunquote  
moredeepe

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31011 prorosensfeld sundayer seven after that america  
committed twentythousand military advisors but only in  
past four months have USIS etembassy increased their  
staffs to upkeep with political subversion psychological  
warfare problems stoppara

however by mid1956 communists in vietnam shifted  
from legal to illegal or subversive political struggle  
as their cells in villages and cities went underground  
dash etthey since been organizing eteffecting subversion  
with helpve thousandseve party cadre who infiltrated from  
novietnam morodeepe

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31012 prorsenfeld sundayer eight while communists conducted this invisible but everpresent subversion comma assassinating local leaders etweakening government comma america largely ignored strengthening etreinforcing government administrative apparatus but looked largely to fighting the armed guerrillas stoppara

the newlyformed civilian government headed by phan khac suu hence has weak apparatus to fight communist political organization already eight years aheadve it in stability etdirection stop communist subversion now becoming blatant stop aye communist school to train englishspeaking quote dates unquote for american gggiis reportedly operates in saigon chinese twincityve cholon stop in provinces immediately around saigon communists collect taxes from government civil servants stop subversion recently became more evident when buddhist movement which sparked coup against dien last year et demicoup against khanh two months ago considered to be penetrated by communists stop other communist influenced organizations surfaced stoppara

muchdiscussed solution to problemsve subversion is airstrikes in communist infested southern laos or airraids on novietnam as aye means to smother the significanceve internal developments stop observers here view these suggestions as aye delaying action to postpone defeat etto attain better bargaining position for negotiations stop instead they suggest aye quote political raid unquote against communist agents dash whether they be buddhist monks student leaders or catholic prists more.

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31080 prerosenfeld sundayer nine two stop american approach  
was to quote be liked rather respected stop but you know  
communists do not care if they are loved in asia  
according western observer stop even vietnamese  
generals say american should interfere more in vietnamese  
affairs but quote you do not have courage to do that  
stop you are afraid of being called aye colonialist but  
you will be called that anyway stop you should force the  
government to be honest stopunquote result was america  
acted neither with firmness nor with diplomacy semicolon  
vietnamese leaders forced to read minds etmore important  
only guess how programs would be implemented morededge

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31082 prorosensfeld sundayer ten example was that shortly after becoming premier khang appointed own brother-in-law as consulate general in hongkong comma important post not only for intelligence but also for financial dealings stop anembassy wrote snickering cable to washington saying unfortunate appointment would only remind saigonese nepotismve diem regime stop it did stop but anembassy did not even suggest to khang appointment was unwise stoppara

observers believe at the highest level there should be initially have been formalized arrangement between the two governments--dash similar to an alliance undash with specific areasve responsibility authority each nation stop vietnamese generals etcabinet ministers et american team should then meet regularly etformally to make joint decisions and oversee implimentation stop since arrival maxwell ddd taylor as ambassador such committee vietnamese etamerican committee has met in emergencies stop but neither announcements nar any joint communique issued which perpetuates communist propoganda that americans taking over command stedve advising their countrymen moredeepe



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31085 prorosensfeld sundayer eleven observers believe that unless these toplevel saigon meetings are regularized strategists are only in position to react to emergencies failures and crisis stop vietnamese intellectuals accuse americave having norptnot policy but instead appears that this policy notrptnot systematically coordinated between all agencies on vietnamese etamerican side stop throughout past three years washington policy applied in vietnam only by ambassador calling on president semicolon american military commander seeing ministerve defense or commanderinchief with result that decisions were makeshift unplanned and uncoordinated between agencies moredeepe

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34084 prorosenfeld sundayer twelve three stop as corollaryve  
this attitude america gave everything paren except nuclear  
weapons unparen to help vietnamese materialwise but mistake was  
to demand nothing in return stop especially under diem the  
original conditionsve military advisors etaid eteconomic aid  
should have been demands for real reform in the saigom provincial  
etvillage governments etadministration stop instead economic  
etsocial reforms and administrative bchanges were postponed until  
after guerrilla war had been won semicolon although lackve  
these reforms only fueled the war in countryside stoppara

since endve french indochina war in nineteen fiftyfour  
american gave three billion dollars in military aid ettwo  
bbbillion economic aid dash totalve five bbbillion or moren  
threehundred unistates dollars per capita paren eye years  
salary for lowest paid vietnamese unparen stop obviously muchve  
this went into military equipment etdefense budget stop but  
norptnot economic program sudcessful without wellfunctioning  
government machinery to pass through which americans didntnot  
demand semicolon american agencies were also uncoordinated  
among themselves stop tis norptnot secret in saigon that oneve  
diems ministers would go to usaid for unauthorized supplies  
comma such as radios for provincial cadre comma dash etwould go  
to several divisions in usaid stop if didntnot get them  
there would go to ccciiiaaa or army special forces this stop  
this scattered unplanned distribution system gives impression  
that american aid only into mercedes benz class rather n pockets  
rice paddy farmer.

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31100 prorosenfeld sundayer thirteen this lackve demands  
for responsibility from the vietnamese has created the  
impression among saigon intellectuals that americans  
were attempting to quote buy victory stopunquote in  
countryside peasants open to communist propaganda thought  
americans were attempting to quote buy the country  
stopunquote one peasant woman explained she would notrptnot  
take any american aid because in five years americans would  
want all the money back stop vietnamese would notrptnot  
be able to return the money dash so the americans would  
take the country moreddeepe

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34101 prorosensfeld sundayer fourteen while political climate within past year turned antiamerican clearly americans must diplomatically insist that administrative etgovernment reform be instituted even if condition is as one western diplomat explained quote the sinking ship paren america unparen must desert the sinking rats stopunquote para

four stop in many instances america took the easy way out in vietnam semicolon it made eye half committment ettreated it as eye halfwar stop vietnam appears to be eye total commitment dash of money etmen etthe bloodve moren twohundred gggiis killed in combat stop but in many instances americans themselves never took the final systematic steps needed to insure successful implemenationve eye program stop for months american leaders here toyed with idea having american advisors to vietnamese commanders in provinces stay for moren oneyear tour stop but the painful decision dash unpopular with the gggiis and nothers undash was never made stop consequently even expert vietnamese speaking field advisors effectively advise for maximum eight months ~~with~~ etthen are shipped home stop tis eye symbol of the halfwar moredeepe

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31102 prorosensfeld sundayer fifteen at beginningve important  
strategic hamlet program to fortify villages highest ranking  
american general here was told that insteadve producing  
economic etsocial revolution in villages the program was  
considered by peasants to be economic disaster stop for  
villagers forced to build strategic hamlets insteadve  
working on cash cropve tobacco etwere forced to make fences  
from their bamboo trees which was their cushion crop stop  
but the policy had been set ettwas easier notrptnot to change  
it stop etwas never changed stop consequently for two years  
americas multimillion dollar strategic hamlet program  
rolled along to disaster until finally failed after fallve  
diem moredecepe

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34103 prorsenfeld sundayer sixteen fact that strategic hamlet concept is valid seen because communist guerrillas etpolitical cadre swiped entire idea comma have expertly setup their own combat hamlets complete with antihelicopter poles and trenches in houses for defense comma and own hamlet militia program as the government concept called for stop but their implementation succeeded semicolon american one did notrptnot stop in kien hoa province alone communists have eighteen thousand trained local village militia for their combat hamlets semicolon government militia numbers only in hundreds stoppara

even now american military command pushing much propogandized program to pacify provinces on outskirtsve saigon stop vietnamese in charge is majgen tran ngoc tam who was appointed when he was commanderve all troops in area stop since then has been assigned to totally unrelated post dash without any troops or command in provinces undash but he still remains responsible for eye longterm program he has notrptnot authority to implement

observers believe unity in american mission improved considerably under taylor but more steps needed moredeepe

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31104 prorsenfeld sundayer seventeen possibly fundamental  
mistakeve americans and the vietnamese government is the same  
one made by the french during their anticommunist struggle  
colon simply to make the same mistake over etover again stop  
clearly this must be changed dash if it is notrptnot too  
late to be changed atall stop

clearly victory in vietnam must be earned  
etnotrptnot bought stop it must be earned with backbreaking  
painstaking effortsve working side by side with vietnamese  
stop it means vietnamese troops must be held in eye province  
until area is pacified semicolon government administrators  
must systematically interview each family to root out  
communist agents etthis must be enforced with determination  
etjustice and insist by americans stop now in infamous  
long an province only ten miles from saigon theres been  
four separate pacification programs but american advisors  
praying they would be given chance to implement just oneve  
them moredeepe

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31105 prorosensfeld sundayer eighteen if painful decision  
is ignored now the result will be years of drifting towards  
eye neutralist solution eteventual communist takeover stop  
history may well say that americans were defeated by  
communists expansionists but in fact appears they were  
defeated by own mistakes stoppara

at the philosophical level comma vietnam is often  
viewed as eye testing ground between american democracy  
etasian communism stop some observers say that american has  
notrptnet made its revolutionary appeals relevant to asia  
dash especially its economic view of private enterprise  
is seen as increasing wealth of the wealthy class without  
aiding the poor stâp other observers however say that  
america has notrptnet demonstrated her democracy to vietnam  
stopquote tis notrptnet eye problemve philosophy butve  
performance enaunquote said western diplomat quote etour  
performance been bad stop communists preach our own philosophy  
of honest effecient just government to villagers dash  
etthey implement it stop we do notrptnet stopunquote  
moredeepe



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3/104 prorosensfeld sundayer nineteen key lesson from vietnam is that as one western diplomat explained quote the only good counterinsurgency is the one that is never fought because it is never allowed to start stopunquote observers here openly suggesting that after election america sets up quote small elite taskforce unquote of career civilian etmilitary officers from all agencies etall branchesve service todeal with this quote predictable typeve war in the future stopunquote

in short testve america is to win the counter guerrilla etcounterrevolutionary war in vietnam at this quote crucial pointve norptno return unquote etto win the same typeve war in south america ets etafrica before it need to be fought enditdeepe