

THE MYTH OF MASS SUPPORT

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<sup>FN</sup>  
SAIGON--The Chi Hoa open <sup>3</sup> air market on the outskirts of Saigon, Southern shopkeepers refuse to ~~sell~~ <sup>3</sup> sell foodstuffs and household goods to the Northern refugees.

Nine ~~subdivisions~~ <sup>2</sup> Vietnamese militiamen in an isolated delta outpost are refused ~~to buy~~ <sup>2</sup> the buying of food from a nearby village, so they have to stop boat traffic for supplies.

In the ~~provincia~~ <sup>2</sup> provincial capital of ~~Cam~~ <sup>CAMAU</sup> in the Communist-stronghold area at the southern tip of the country, cooks and houseboys of American military installation are refused fresh <sup>3</sup> fruits and <sup>2</sup> vegetables from the local market. <sup>AT ANY PRICE.</sup>

In some Saigon homes, both Catholic families and Buddhist families have stockpiled an arsenal of sharpened sticks, clubs and knives ~~for~~ <sup>2</sup> for self-defense after a flurry of false rumors were deliberately circulated earlier this month that more religious rioting was in the offing.

These actions are considered the work of what the Vietnamese call "invisible hands"--the secret agents of the Communists, who operate in "people-divider" teams. Their assignments: to divide the people, create confusion and <sup>3</sup> also disorder, which <sup>RESULTS</sup> ~~leads~~ in government instability--and, in time, leads to their a Communist seizure of power.

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"The Communists take a local grievance and exploit it," one old-time resident in Viet Nam explained. "Their covert 'people-divider' teams--some sometimes called agitprop (agitation and propaganda) teams--give general lecturers to large groups. Then they break the large group down into small groups of common interest--~~students~~, students, women, farmers, ~~occupational groups~~ and in detail point up the gripes. They know the people are not sympathetic to the government, and they create imaginary ills or government faults. In English we call this 'brainwashing'; in Vietnamese it is known literally as 'brain-squeezing'."

One reliable source estimated a ~~Communist~~ <sup>one</sup> pro-Communist member of the "people-divider" teams <sup>PER</sup> ~~in an outpost~~; five in a 140-man Vietnamese army company. They generally operate in 7-8 man teams to work with civilian population. Information from the secret agent passes through a liaison man to the overt Communist agent--maybe the guerrillas--who act on the information either politically or militarily, such as ~~setting up~~ <sup>CONTACTING POTENTIAL</sup> defectors inside the armed ~~for~~ forces.

Secret communist cells are known to exist in almost every high school in Saigon; one Communist-front organization was uncovered <sup>Some</sup> in a high school in the old imperial capital of Hue, 400 miles north of Saigon. University students ~~in~~ and ~~university~~ university professors in Saigon--and even more ~~in~~ in Hue--are known to have pro-Communist <sup>SYMPATHIZERS.</sup> ~~sympathizers.~~ Anti-Communist professors and students <sup>BUT SELDOM REPORT THEM</sup> know who ~~they are,~~ but seldom report them, for the Communists are, <sup>THE</sup> for difficulty ~~to~~ to get proof of their activities.

Communist cells are known to exist in ~~the~~ <sup>REPORTEDLY WORK</sup> the Saigon labor unions; newspaper offices--and ~~have~~ individual agents within the government itself. Communist agents are considered to play a part in the ~~movement~~ <sup>AND POLITICAL</sup> actions of the Buddhist movement.

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Some of the strongest leaders of the Buddhist movement were formerly members of the Communist Party—they admit this—but the question is whether they have been converted to anti-Communism, <sup>AS THEY PROFESS,</sup> Roman Catholic laymen and priests <sup>3</sup> say that Communists have even infiltrated ~~the~~ the tightly-knit organization of the Catholic <sup>2</sup> Church.

The ~~biggest~~ biggest question is how many agents have already infiltrated the regular army, police and secret police—pro-Communist agents and sympathizers have been picked up in the regional forces.

Reliable sources indicate that social discontent and anti-government should not <sup>3</sup> necessarily be equated with support for the Communist political cause or their military guerrillas. In many sections of the country, the peasants are passive politically; in other places they blame both the government and the Communists for their economic plights and hardship <sup>3</sup> in the family.

However, the "people-divider" teams <sup>2</sup> can ~~assist~~ in a sophisticated manner, exploit grievances which already exist and attempt to play groups of persons against other groups, or the government. So, the workers are set in motion against their labor leaders; one <sup>2</sup> labor leader hurls charges at another leader; one union <sup>2</sup> antagonizes another.

"The <sup>3</sup> ~~Via~~ Commies are <sup>3</sup> more successful ~~and we are not,~~ and we are not," explained one American official, speaking privately. "They <sup>2</sup> observe the ~~the~~ "three togethers." They eat, work and live with the people—they are part of the <sup>2</sup> people.

"But we (Americans) give the government printing presses, <sup>And</sup> millions of pounds of paper—but no guidance about what to say in their leaflets. It's

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like giving them a car, but no driving instructions. While the Communists have face-to-face contact with the people, the government has to use leaflets and electronic microphones dangling from airplanes. In some government hamlets, ~~make~~ the hamlet chief does not <sup>2</sup> even live in the hamlet; he sends over hamlet papers by couriers. The government does not even have one person in the hamlet speaking for it."

With these kind of tactics, the Communists have little difficulty getting participants for mass demonstrations--which they equate with popular uprisings against the government. The Communists ~~like the Americans~~ are careful to insist that their policies are consistent with the desires of the people. This is a direct flipflop ~~from 2000~~ <sup>MOVE</sup> from <sup>more</sup> than 2000 years of Vietnamese tradition, where the emperor ~~is~~ ruled under a "heavenly mandate", not unlike the "divine right of kings" concept prevalent in England five hundred years ago.

~~While the Communists rest the li legitimacy of their regime on~~  
~~which express the will of the people~~  
popular elections; so do the American system, though the fundamentals of the election may differ.

In an underdevd underdeveloped <sup>Country</sup> such as the <sup>South VIETNAM;</sup> southern republic, however, mass support is largely a myth, if it is considered <sup>2</sup> voluntar totally voluntary and spontaneous. Of the 15,000 Students" <sup>11</sup> who d whose demonstration forced resignation of Vietnamese Prime Minister Gen. Nguyen <sup>2</sup> Khanh Khanh on August <sup>5</sup> 27, only about 100 were active participants; only four did any talking; <sup>3</sup> ~~many~~ many of them--including <sup>BATTLES</sup> bundles of old women--later admitted they had been paid by political parties to <sup>PARTICIPATE.</sup> ~~organize the demonstrations.~~

Overturning

With the passing of the "heavenly mandate" of the emperor and the "will of the people" expressed through presidential ~~dict~~ elections of ~~president ngod Ngo Dinh Diem~~, the problem of the legitimacy of power ~~aga in becomes a problem in Viet Nam.~~ ~~As various~~ ~~spasitic~~ ~~disruptive~~ ~~forces~~ ~~have~~ ~~emerged~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~country~~ ~~since~~ ~~the~~ ~~fall~~ ~~of~~ ~~Diem~~ ~~the~~ ~~forces~~ ~~holding~~ ~~actual~~ ~~power~~ ~~--the~~ ~~armed~~ ~~forces~~ ~~--~~ ~~at~~ ~~least~~ ~~momentarily~~ ~~--~~ have already relinquished their claim to hold it legally once it was contested by civilian masses.

The question is how an assembly of civilians--some who are certain to be pro-Communist--will justify the legal existence of themselves and the "permanent" constitution they seek to forge within the next year.

~~"MASS UPRISING" IN QUI NHON~~  
TOMORROW: THE "STUDENTS" OF QUI NHON