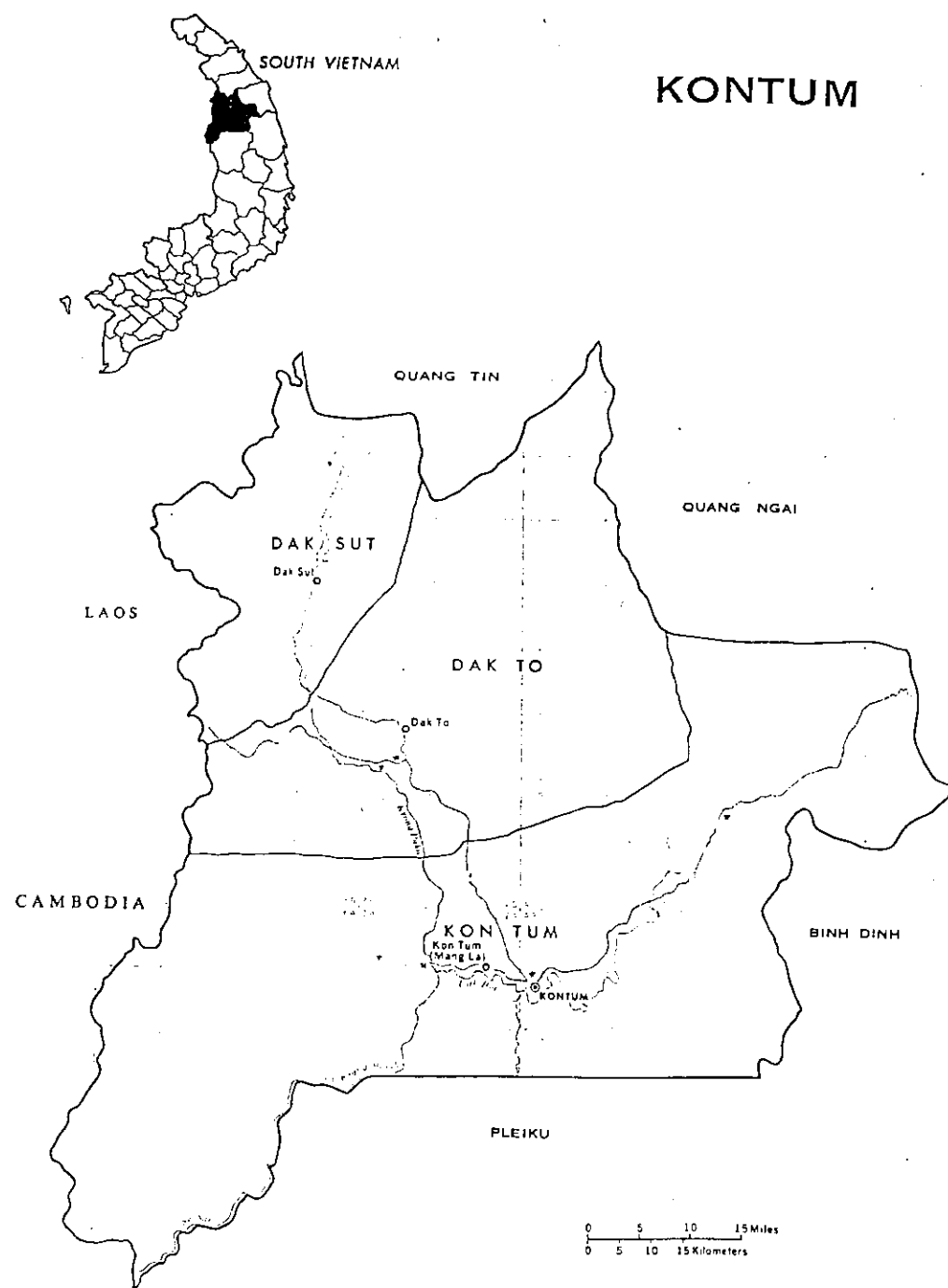
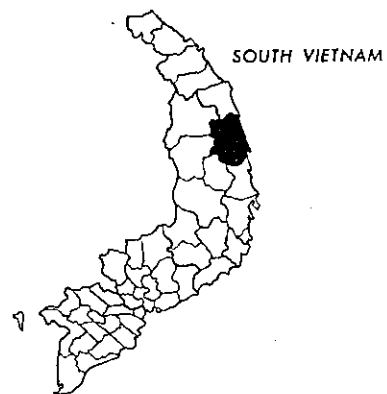


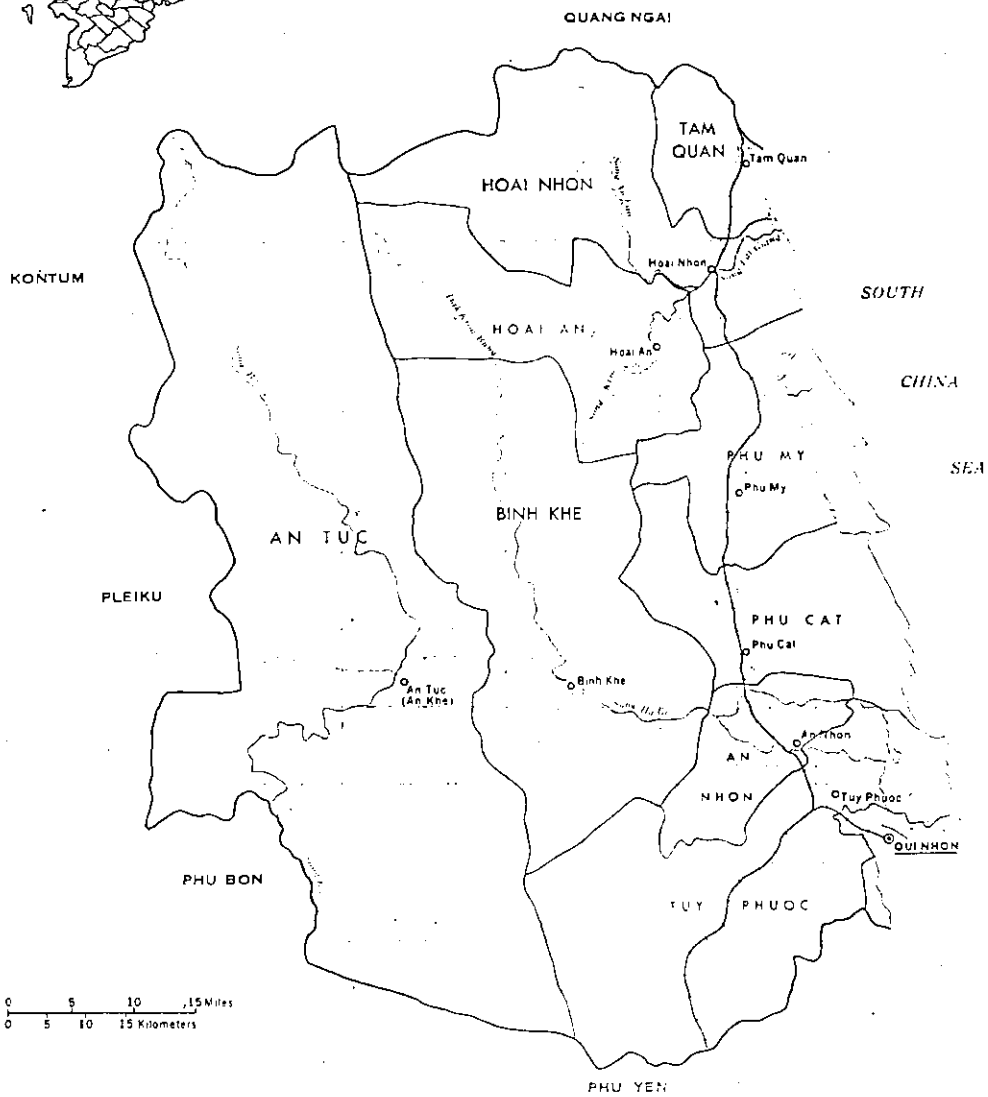
500220 2-73



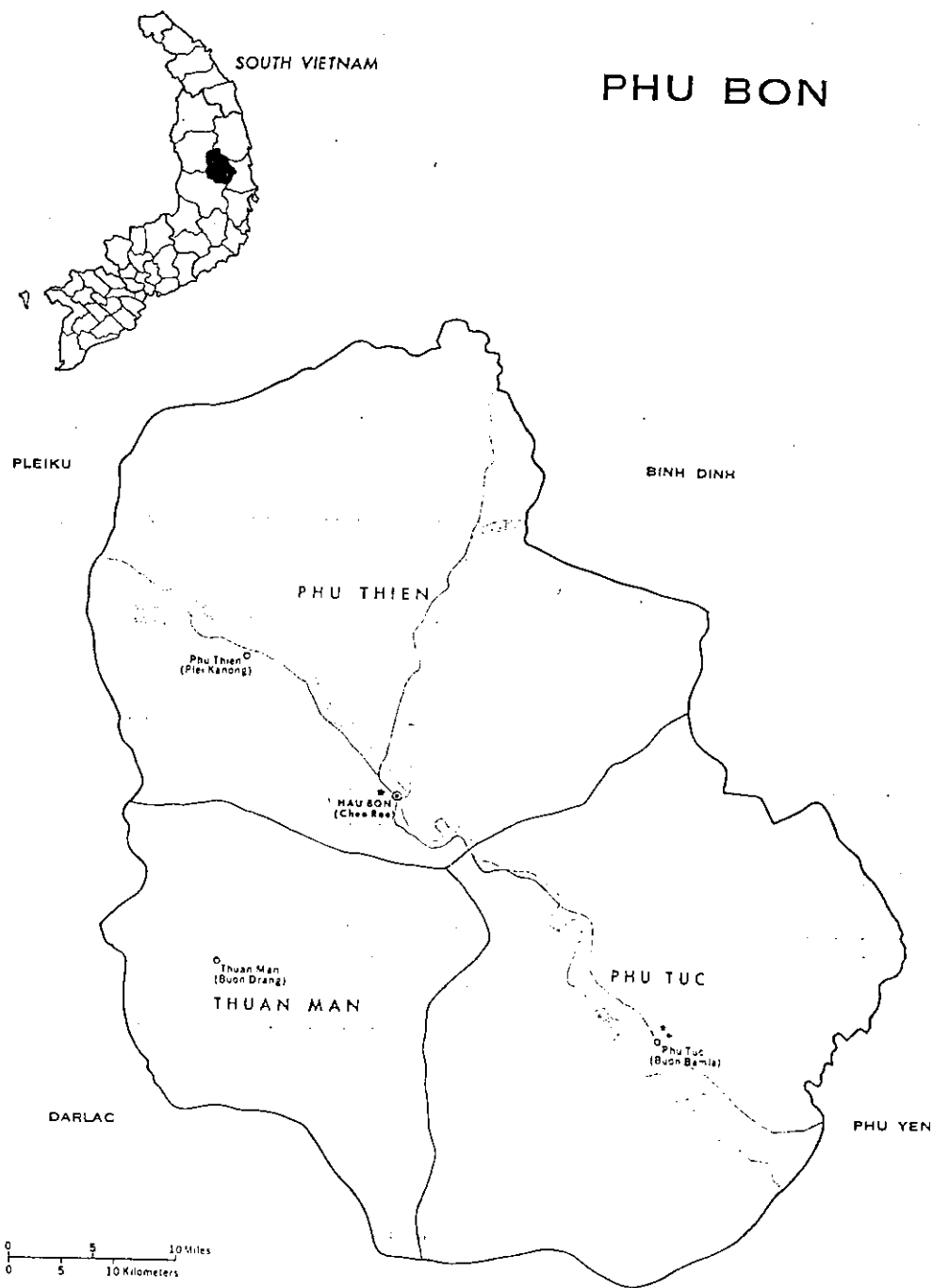
500215 2-73



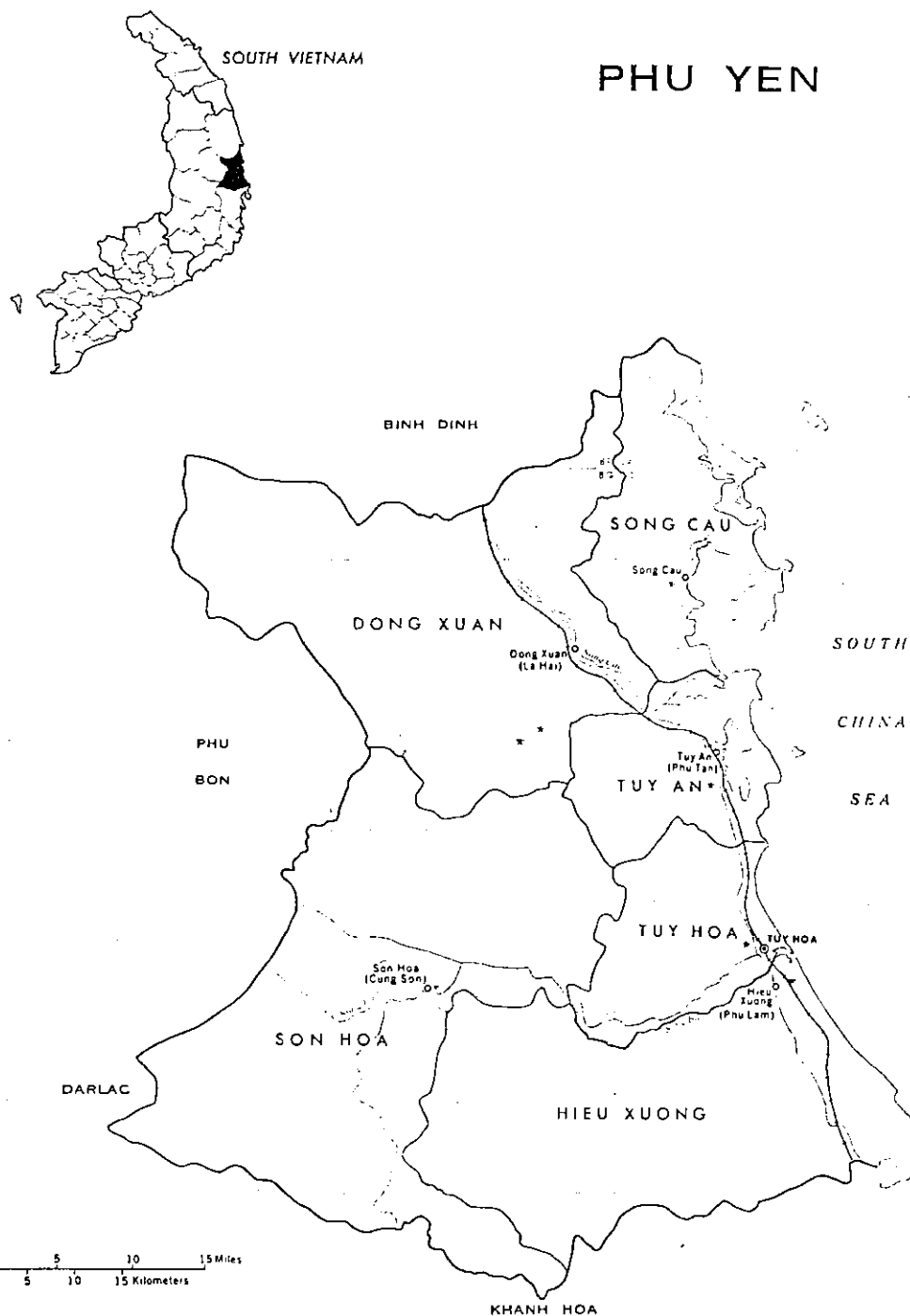
# BINH DINH AND QUI NHON MUNICIPALITY



501652 2-73



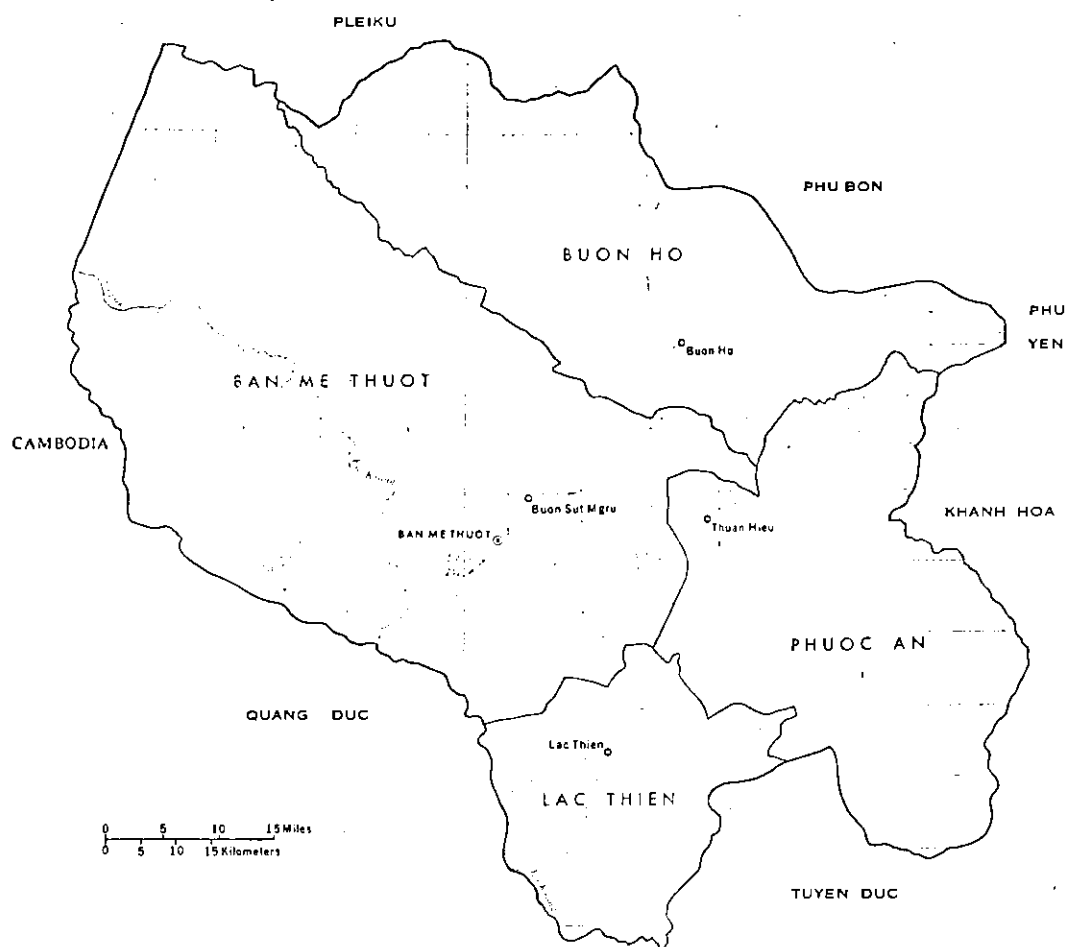
500219-2-73



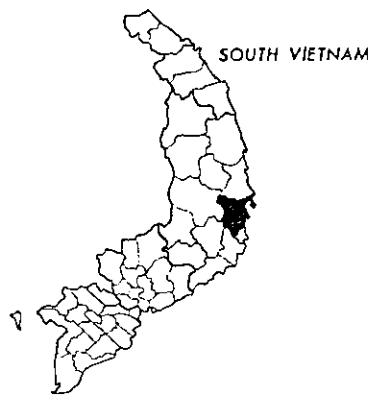
500219 2-73



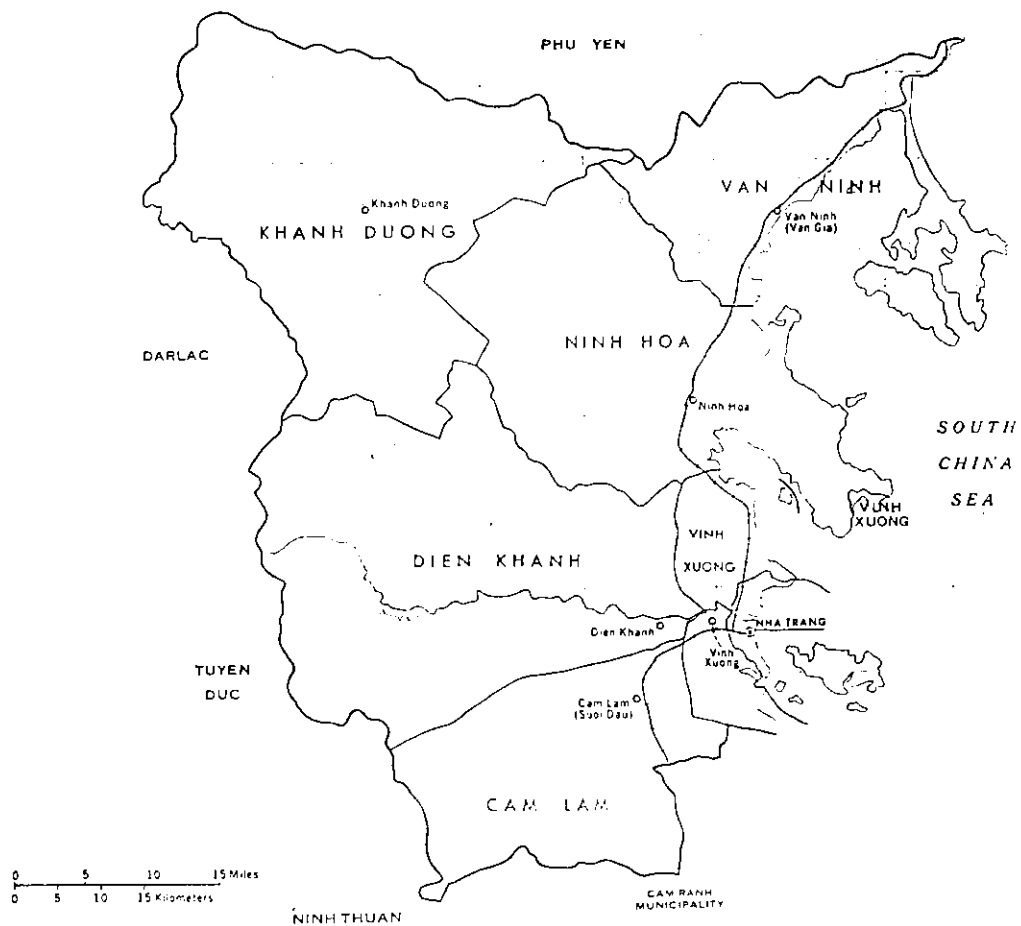
## DARLAC



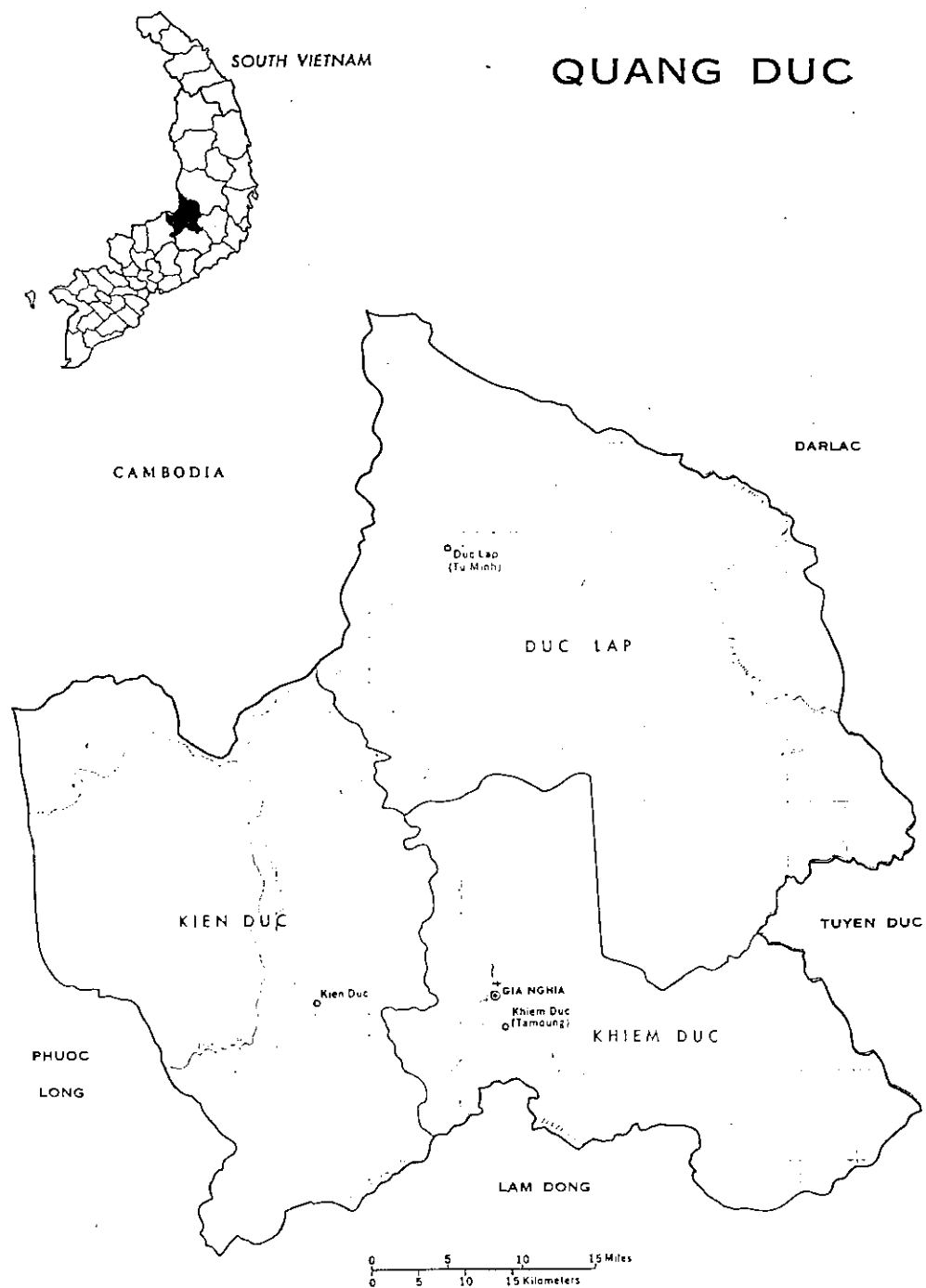
501653 2-73



# KHANH HOA AND NHA TRANG MUNICIPALITY



501654 2-73

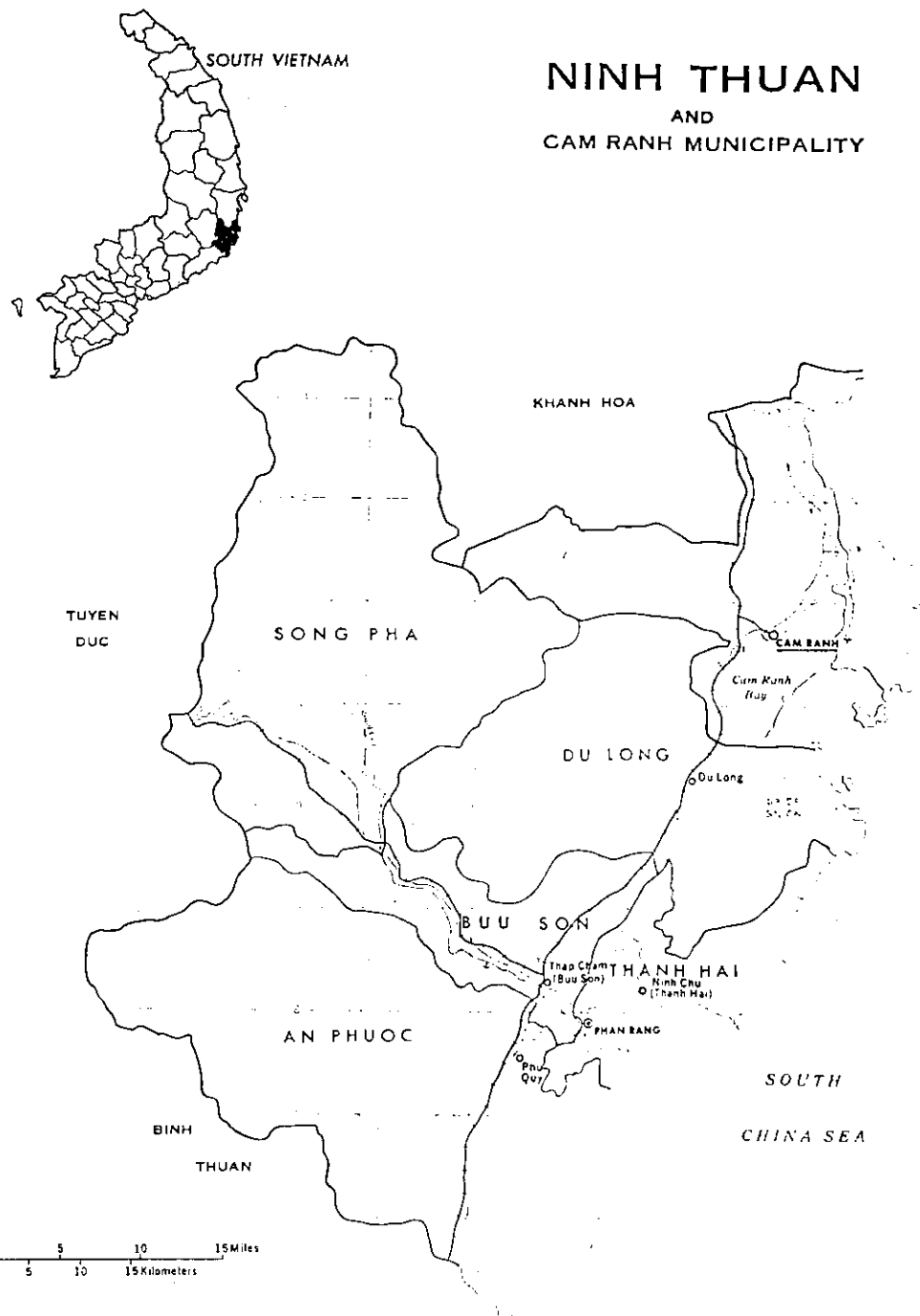


500221 2-73

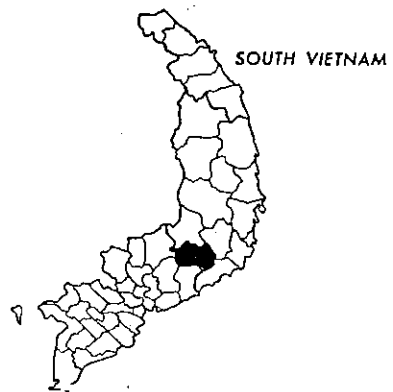




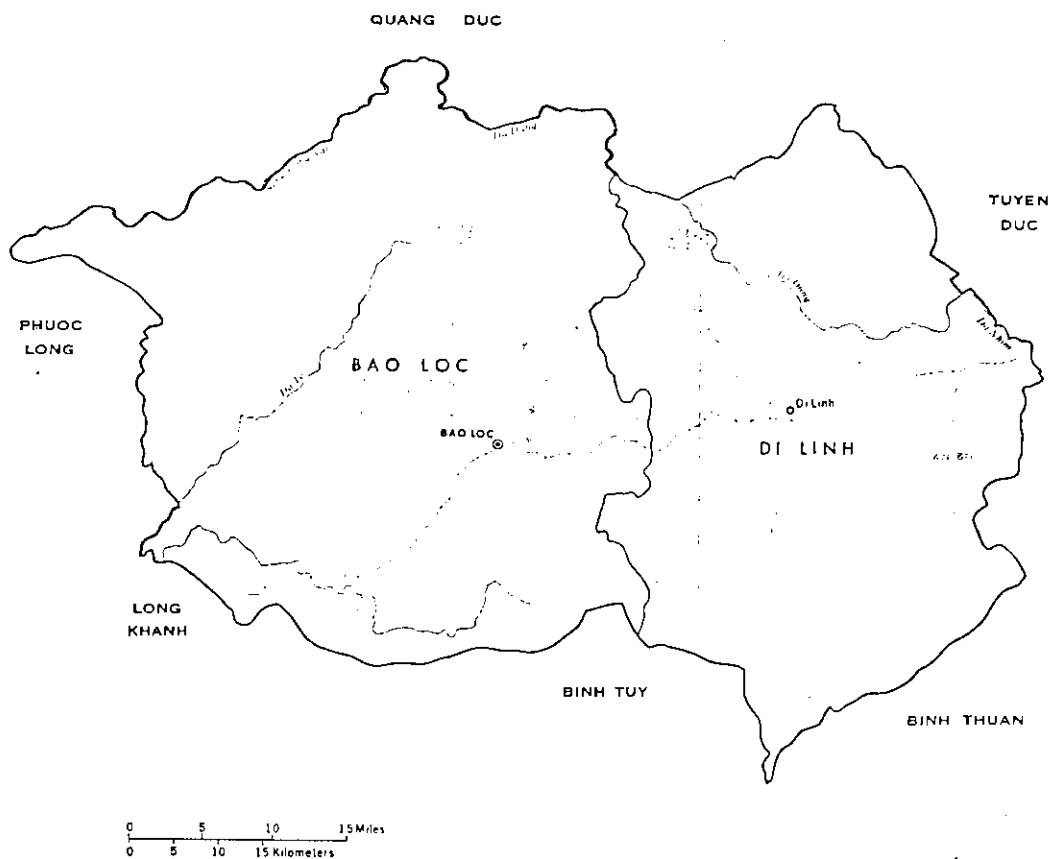
500222 2-73



501555 2-73



## LAM DONG



500216 2-73

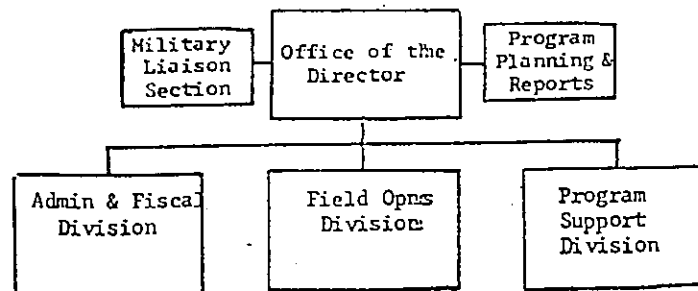


```

graph TD
    COMUSMACV[COMUSMACV] --> DFC[DEPUTY FOR CORDS C01]
    DFC --> COS[CHIEF OF STAFF HQ MACV]
    COS --> ACS[ASSISTANT CHIEF OF STAFF, CORDS C02]
    ACS --> PS[PACIFICATION STUDIES GROUP C03]
    ACS --> PPD[PLANS, PROGRAMS, AND POLICIES DIRECTORATE C04]
    ACS --> RAD[REPORTS AND ANALYSIS DIRECTORATE C08]
    ACS --> MSD[MANAGEMENT SUPPORT DIRECTORATE C09]
    RAD --> CDD[COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT DIRECTORATE C05]
    RAD --> CND[CHIEU NOI DIRECTORATE C06]
    RAD --> RD[REFUGEE DIRECTORATE C07]
    RAD --> TSD[TERRITORIAL SECURITY DIRECTORATE C10]
    RAD --> PD[PHOENIX DIRECTORATE C11]
    RAD --> PSD[PUBLIC SAFETY DIRECTORATE C12]
    CDD --> VTC[VUNG TAU TRAINING CENTER C15D]
    RD --> SCAG[SAIGON CIVIL ASSISTANCE GROUP C15C]
    TSD --> PRU[PRU RCN OPS (4) PRU FIELD OPS C15A&B]
    PSD --> NPCT[NATL POL TRNG CTR/NATL POL SUP DEPOT C15E]
    PSD --> NPFOT[NATL POL FLD OPS/TECH SUP C15F & G]
    DFC -.-> USEMB[U.S. EMBASSY]
    DFC -.-> USAID[USAID]
    DFC -.-> JUSPAO[JUSPAO]
    DFC -.-> OSA[OSA]
    DFC -.-> DFCO[DEPUTY FOR CORDS C01]
    DFCO --> CTZ1[I CTZ C20]
    DFCO --> CTZ2[II CTZ C40]
    DFCO --> CTZ3[III CTZ C60]
    DFCO --> CTZ4[IV CTZ C80]
    CTZ4 --> PSA[PROVINCE SENIOR ADVISORS (44)]
  
```

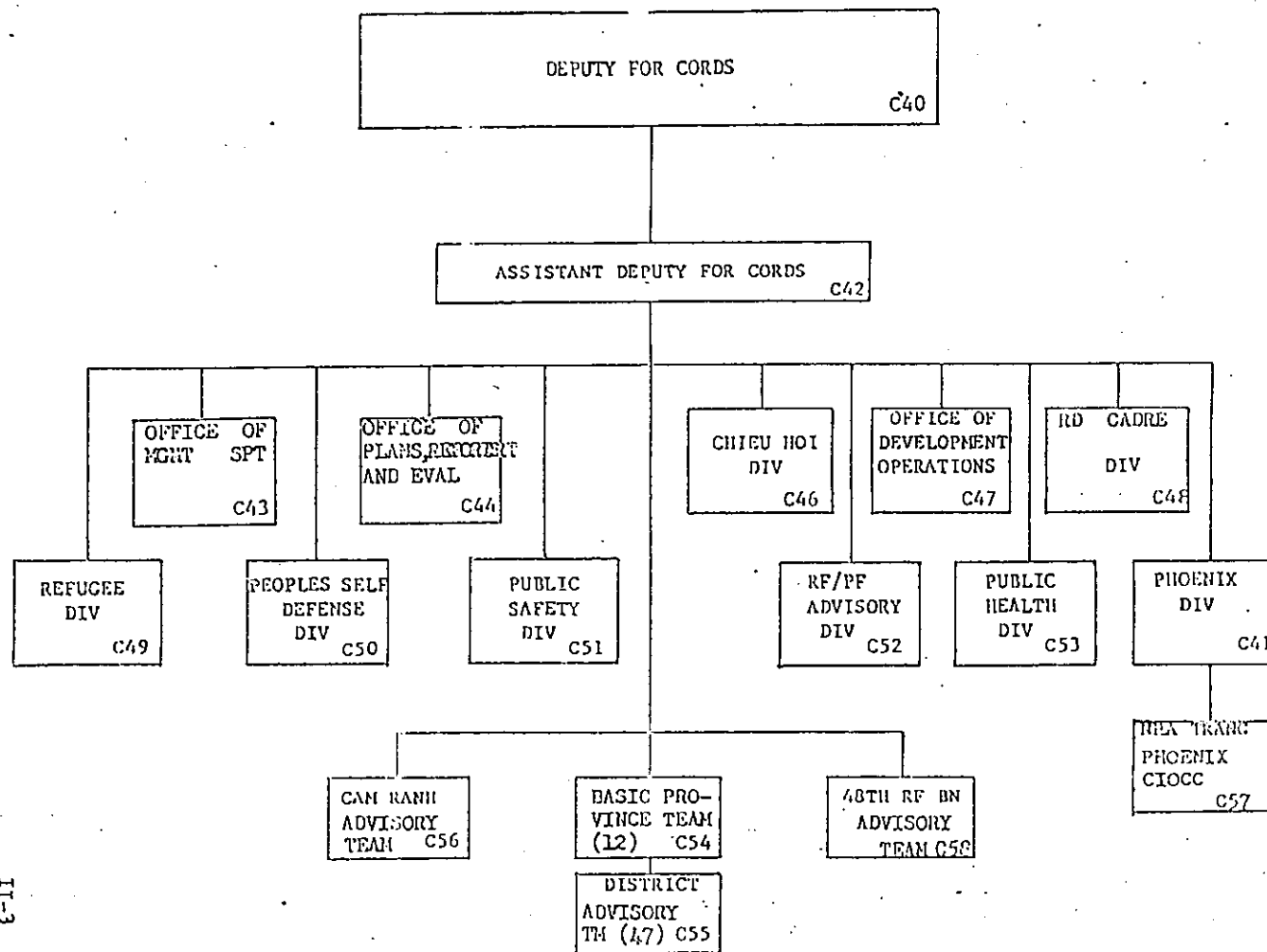
II-1

CHIEU HOI DIRECTORATE



UNCLASSIFIED

# CORDS ORGANIZATIONAL CHART HEADQUARTERS, II CTZ



6-II

MACV/CORDS CICV Pacification Documents

U.S. Army Center of Military History Materials Regarding  
Vietnam

Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59

Alphanumeric File, 1963

Records of Robert W. Komer, 1948-1968; Executive  
Secretariat, Entry 5045

Cornell University, Ithaca, NY

David W.P. Elliott Collection

United States Army Special Operations Command Archives (USASOC), Ft.  
Bragg, NC

Vietnam War Collection

PSYOP Student Materials

United States Army Center of Military History (CMH), Washington, DC

CMH Historians Working Files; DEPCORDS/MACV Papers, Chieu  
Hoi/APTs

Vietnam Archive, Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX

History of the Vietnam War on Microfilm

U.S. Army War College Library, Carlisle Barracks

US Military Assistance Command, Vietnam, Strategic Research and  
Analysis Division, SRAP2069



## Secondary Sources

Andradé, Dale W. *Ashes to Ashes; The Phoenix Program and the Vietnam War*. Lexington: Lexington Books, 1990.

Carrier, J.M., and, C.A.H. Thomson. *Vietcong Motivation and Morale: The Special Case of Chieu Hoi*. Rand Corporation, RM-4830-2-ISA/ARPA, May 1966.

Cima, Ronald J., ed. *Vietnam; A Country Study*. Washington, DC: GPO, 1989.

Conboy, Ken, Ken Bowra, and Simon McCouaig. *The NVA and Viet Cong*. London: Osprey Publishing, 1991.

Curry, Cecil B. *Edward Lansdale; The Unquiet American*. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1988.

Davis, Ginger R. "The Blond at the Bar: Assessing America's Chieu Hoi Program," Paper presented at the The American Military Experience in Asia, Meeting of the Big Ten Consortium of the Society for Military History, 24-25 October, Madison, Wisconsin.

Dawkins, Peter M. "The United States Army and the "Other" in Vietnam; A Study of the Complexity of Implementing Organizational Change." Ph.D. diss., Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University, 1979.

Fitzgerald, Frances. *Fire In the Lake; The Vietnamese and the Americans in Vietnam*. New York: Random House, 1972.

Herring, George. *America's Longest War: The United States and Vietnam, 1950-1975*. New York: Knopf, 1986.

Hess, Gary. "The Unending Debate: Historians and the Vietnam War." In *America in the World; The Historiography of American Foreign Relations Since 1941*, edited by Michael J. Hogan, 358-394. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Hunt, Richard A., and Richard H. Schultz, eds. *Lessons From an Unconventional War; Reassessing U.S. Strategies for Conflicts*. New York: Pergamom Press, 1982.

Hunt, Richard A. *Pacification*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1995.

Jamieson, Neil L. *Understanding Vietnam*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

Jervis, Robert. *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976.

Johnston, William F. "Neglected Deterrent: Psychological Operations in Liberation Wars." *Transition*, Nos. 12 and 13 (January 1968), p. 56.

Koch, J.A. *The Chieu Hoi Program in Vietnam, 1963-1971*. California: Advanced Research Projects Agency Report Number R-1172-ARPA (RAND Corporation), 1973.

Kolko, Gabriel. *Anatomy of a War; Vietnam, the United States, and the Modern Historical Experience*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1985.

Komer, Robert W. *Bureaucracy at War; US Performance in the Vietnam Conflict*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1986

Krepinevich, Andrew. *The Army and Vietnam*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1988.

Kutler, Stanley, ed. *Encyclopedia of the Vietnam War*. New York: Simon and Schuster Macmillan, 1996.

Lundestad, Geir. *The American "Empire."* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

McMaster, H.R. *Dereliction of Duty; Lyndon Johnson, Robert McNamara, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Lies that Led to Vietnam*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1997.

Nighswonger, William A. *Rural Pacification in Vietnam*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966.

Pollock, Daniel C., Ronald De McLaurin, eds. *The Art and Science of Psychological Operations: Case Studies of Military Application, Volume One*. Washington, DC: American Institute for Research, 1976.

Smith, Ralph. *Vietnam and the West*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1968.  
Summers, Harry G. Jr. *Vietnam War Almanac*. New York: Facts on File Publications, 1985.

-----, *Historical Atlas of the Vietnam War*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1995.

-----, *On Strategy; A Critical Analysis of the Vietnam War*. Novato: Presidio Press, 1982.

Tran Dinh Tho, *Pacification*, Indochina Monographs, Washington, DC:U.S. Army Center of Military History, 1980.

Vien, Cao Van, Ngo Quang Truong, Dong Van Khuyen, Nguyen Duy Hinh, Tran Dinh Tho, Hoang Ngoc Lung, and Chu Xuan Vien. *The Indochina Monographs; The U.S. Advisor*. Washington, DC: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 1980.

Young, Marilyn B. *The Vietnam Wars; 1945-1990*. New York:Harper Perennial, 1991.

## NOTES

Notes to Pages 1 – 3

### Introduction

<sup>1</sup> The Kit Carson Scouts program was established in the Spring of 1966, and was made up of Hoi Chanh who served along with American units to provide them with information on the VC and to serve as guides through the countryside. The scouts were paid by the United States government.

<sup>2</sup> “The Kit Carson Scout Program, 1966-1968,” Chieu Hoi Division, 1618-07A Kit Carson Scouts; General Records; Chieu Hoi Division; Office of Psychological Operations and Chieu Hoi; CORDS MR2; Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>3</sup> “The Chieu Hoi Program,” 1601-06A: Orientation and Briefing Files-Memos and Circulars; General Records; Chieu Hoi Division; CORDS MR1; Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia; Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>4</sup> For geographical locations of the four military regions, see the map of South Vietnam in Appendix.

<sup>5</sup> Joint Table of Distribution, February 1971, Joint Tables of Distribution; Civil Operations and Rural Development Support; Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia; Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>6</sup> The few which have been published include: Dale W. Andradé, *Ashes to Ashes; The Phoenix Program and the Vietnam War* (Lexington: Lexington Books, 1990); William A. Nighswonger, *Rural Pacification in Vietnam* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966); and Richard A. Hunt, *Pacification* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1995).

<sup>7</sup> One exception is *Ashes to Ashes; The Phoenix Program and the Vietnam War*, by Dale Andradé. Mr. Andradé is one of the first people to make an effort to sift through the actual records of the program as well as conducting dozens of interviews with participants. Many other authors have relied upon hearsay and have not put the program in the context of the entire American advisory effort.

<sup>8</sup> Chieu Hoi and Phoenix overlapped and at times worked in conjunction with one another. Both were counterinsurgency efforts which worked to defeat the Viet Cong in South Vietnam. Chieu Hoi, however, was a clemency program that attempted to weaken the VC, Viet Cong Infrastructure (VCI), or NVA by encouraging them to rally, whereas the Phoenix program was a specific attempt to destroy the VCI.

<sup>9</sup> Chieu Hoi and Phoenix overlapped and at times worked in conjunction with one another. Both were counterinsurgency efforts which worked to defeat the Viet Cong in South

Notes to Pages 3-8

Vietnam. Chieu Hoi, however, was a clemency program that attempted to weaken the VC, Viet Cong Infrastructure, or NVA by encouraging them to rally, whereas the Phoenix program was a specific attempt to destroy the VCI. Some Phoenix books which mention the Chieu Hoi program are the previously mentioned *Ashes to Ashes* by Dale W. Andradé and Mark Moyer, *Phoenix and the Birds of Prey* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1997).

<sup>10</sup>H.R. McMaster, *Dereliction of Duty: Lyndon Johnson, Robert McNamara, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Lies that Led to Vietnam* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1997). Some examples of other books which do discuss counterinsurgency warfare are: Timothy J. Lomperis, *From People's War to People's Rule: Insurgency, Intervention, and the Lessons of Vietnam* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Paul B. Rich and Richard Stubbs, editors, *The Counterinsurgent State: Guerilla Warfare and State-Building in the Twentieth Century* (New York: St. Martins Press, 1997); and D. Michael Shafer, *Deadly Paradigms: The Failure of U.S. Counterinsurgency Policy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988).

<sup>11</sup>Daniel C. Pollock, De McLaurin, Ronald, et. al, *The Art and Science of Psychological Operations: Case Studies of Military Application, Volume One* (Washington, DC: American Institute for Research, Washington, DC, 1976) 10.

<sup>12</sup> Larry Cable, *Conflict of Myths: The Development of American Counterinsurgency Doctrine and the Vietnam War* (New York: New York University Press, 1986) 5-6.

<sup>13</sup> Hess, Gary, "the Unending Debate: Historians and the Vietnam War," *Diplomatic History* 1994 18(2): 239-264.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. Hess lists works which fall into the "Clausewitzian" model including: Bruce Palmer, Jr., *The 25-Year War: America's Military Role in Vietnam* (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky, 1984); Phillip B. Davidson, *Vietnam at War: The History, 1946-1975* (Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1988); and Shelby Stanton, *The Rise and Fall of an American Army: U.S. Ground Forces in Vietnam, 1965-1973* (New York: Presidio Press, 1985)

<sup>15</sup> Ibid. Hess lists works which fall into the "Hearts and Minders" model including: David Hackworth and Julie Sherman, *About Face* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1989) and Andrew Krepinevich, *The Army and Vietnam* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1988).

<sup>16</sup> Harry Summers, *On Strategy: A Critical Analysis of the Vietnam War* (Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1982)

<sup>17</sup> Harry Summers, *On Strategy*, 76.

<sup>18</sup> Harry Summers, *On Strategy*, 76.

<sup>19</sup> Andrew Krepinevich, *The Army and Vietnam*

<sup>20</sup> Andrew Krepinevich, *The Army and Vietnam*, 41.

<sup>21</sup> Andrew Krepinevich, *The Army and Vietnam*, 268.

<sup>22</sup> Richard A. Hunt, *Pacification: The American Struggle for Vietnam's Hearts and Minds* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995) 279.

<sup>23</sup> Richard A. Hunt, *Pacification*, 212.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Koch, *Chieu Hoi Program in Vietnam*, 108.

<sup>26</sup> This was also true of many American advisors and other personnel who worked with the South Vietnamese.

<sup>27</sup> Koch, *Chieu Hoi Program in Vietnam*, 43.

## Chapter 2 : Chieu Hoi Writ Large: A Brief Overview of the Program's History and Operations

<sup>1</sup> Ken Conboy, et. al., *The NVA and Viet Cong* (London: Osprey Publishing, 1991) 8.

<sup>2</sup> Cao Van Vien, Truong, Ngo Quang et. al., *The Indochina Monographs; The U.S. Advisor* (Washington, DC: U.S. Army Center of Military History 1980) 122.

<sup>3</sup> The Strategic Hamlet program was the first pacification initiative of the Diem government. "Strategic Hamlets" were artificial hamlets created by the government, fortified by local defense forces and neighboring reaction forces and populated with relocated South Vietnamese. The hamlets aimed to unite the Vietnamese people, involve them in government affairs, and improve overall living standards. They were a doomed effort and failed within a few years.

<sup>4</sup> J.A. Koch, *The Chieu Hoi Program in Vietnam*, xix.

<sup>5</sup> Department of State Airgram from American Embassy Saigon to Department of State, April 18, 1963, subject: Chieu Hoi Program; POL 26-1 Counter Insurgence, S Viet; Political and Defense; 1963 Subjectnumeric File; Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>6</sup> J.A. Koch, *The Chieu Hoi Program in Vietnam*, 59.

<sup>7</sup> William F Johnston, "Neglected Deterrent: Psychological Operations in Liberation Wars." *Transition*, Nos. 12 and 13, (January 1968): 56.

<sup>8</sup> J.A. Koch, *The Chieu Hoi Program in Vietnam*, 60.

<sup>9</sup> William A. Nighswonger, *Rural Pacification in Vietnam* (New York: Praeger, 1966), 159.

<sup>10</sup> Cecil B. Curry, *Edward Lansdale; The Unquiet American* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1988) 98.

<sup>11</sup> Cecil B. Curry, *Edward Lansdale*, 98.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

Notes to Pages 15 - 20

<sup>13</sup> Airgram from American Embassy Saigon to Department of State, POL 18, Provincial, Municipal, and State Government; S Viet, Political and Defense; 1963 Subjectnumeric File; Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>14</sup> Airgram from American Embassy Saigon to Department of State, POL 18, Provincial, Municipal, and State Government, S Viet, Political and Defense, 1963 Subjectnumeric File; Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>15</sup> Armed Propaganda Teams were based on ex-insurgent psychological warfare teams used in the Philippines, Malay, and Algeria. These teams were comprised of ex-Viet Cong who had rallied under the Chieu Hoi Program. These paramilitary units became the primary "action-arm" of the Ministry of Chieu Hoi used for proselytizing the enemy to rally to the side of the GVN. They were living proof that the GVN did not kill or mistreat Viet Cong ralliers. Koch, J.A., *The Chieu Hoi Program in Vietnam*, 93.

<sup>16</sup> The Chieu Hoi Program, Questions and Issues, 1601-06A; Orientation and Briefing Files Memos and Circulars, 1970; General Records; Chieu Hoi Division, CORDS MR 1; Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia; Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>17</sup> The FWMAF consisted of those countries supporting the GVN fight against the North. They included the U.S., the Australians, and the Koreans.

<sup>18</sup> The equivalent of \$10.00 U.S. in 1973.

<sup>19</sup> Koch, J.A., *The Chieu Hoi Program in Vietnam*, 93.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> The Kit Carson Scouts program was established in the Spring of 1966, and was made up of Hoi Chanh who served along with American units to provide them with information on the VC and to serve as guides through the countryside. The scouts were paid by the United States government.

<sup>23</sup> David W.P. Elliott Collection, Cornell University, File No. DT-29, Roll 1, 6.

<sup>24</sup> David W.P. Elliott Collection, File No. DT-29, Roll 1, 15.

<sup>25</sup> David W.P. Elliot Collection, File No. DT-29, 15.

<sup>26</sup> David W.P. Elliott Collection, File No. DT-29, 15.

<sup>27</sup> David W.P. Elliott Collection, File No. DT-29, 18.

<sup>28</sup> Neil L. Jamieson, *Understanding Vietnam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) 310.

<sup>29</sup> David W.P. Elliott Collection File No. DT-29, 4, 16.

Notes to Pages 20 - 26

- <sup>30</sup>David W.P. Elliot Collection, File No. DT-29, 11.
- <sup>31</sup>David W.P. Elliot Collection, File No. DT-29, 9.
- <sup>32</sup>J.M. Carrier, and C.A.H Thomson, *Vietcong Motivation and Morale: The Special Case of Chieu Hoi*, (Rand Corporation, RM-4830-2-ISA/ARPA) May 1966, x.
- <sup>33</sup>"Leaflets Hit Billion Mark!" Article from "Stars and Stripes," Organizational History; 4<sup>th</sup> Psyops Group; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.
- <sup>34</sup>J.M., Carrier, and C.A.H. Thomson, *Vietcong Motivation and Morale*, x.; Airgram from American Embassy Saigon to Secretary of State, Washington, Bunce Highlights, February 22, 1963; POL 27 Military Operations S Viet, Political and Defense; 1963 Subjectnumeric File; Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.
- <sup>35</sup>Leaflet from the 11th Armored Cavalry Regiment, 11th Armored Cavalry S3 Operational Reports-Lessons Learned, May 1-July 1967; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.
- <sup>36</sup>Leaflet from 11th Armored Cavalry Regiment, 11th Armored Cavalry Regiment Operational Reports-Lessons Learned, May 1-July 1967; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.
- <sup>37</sup>David W.P. Elliot Collection, File No. DT-29, 23.
- <sup>38</sup>David W.P. Elliot Collection, File No. DT-29, 24.
- <sup>39</sup>J.A. Koch, *The Chieu Hoi Program in Vietnam*, 103.
- <sup>40</sup>William A. Nighswonger, *Rural Pacification in Vietnam*, 159.
- <sup>41</sup>Airgram from American Embassy Saigon to Department of State, Chieu Hoi Program, April 18, 1963; POL 26-1 Counter Insurgency S. Viet; Political and Defense; 1963 Subjectnumeric File, Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.
- <sup>42</sup>J.A. Koch, *The Chieu Hoi Program in Vietnam*, 21.
- <sup>43</sup>Airgram from American Embassy Saigon to Department of State, Provincial Series Report #6 - Progress and Change in the Vietnamese Countryside, July 18, 1963; POL 18, Provincial, Municipal, and State Government, S.Viet; Political and Defense, 1963 Subjectnumeric File, Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59; National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD
- <sup>44</sup>Airgram from American Embassy Saigon to Department of State, Provincial Series Report #7- Initial Reactions to Overthrow of Diem Regime, November 12, 1963; POL 26, Rebellion Coups, Insurgency S.Viet, Political and Defense; 1963 Subjectnumeric File; Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.
- <sup>45</sup>J.A. Koch, *The Chieu Hoi Program in Vietnam*, 22.



Notes to Pages 27 - 32

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Memorandum for CORDS, I, II, III and IV (CTZs), from MACCORDS-CH, 16 January 1969, Subject: Chieu Hoi Operational Memorandum No. 1/69: Administration and Operation of Armed Propaganda Teams, personal collection of Ogden Williams.

<sup>52</sup>J.A. Koch, *The Chieu Hoi Program in Vietnam*, 22.

<sup>53</sup>Robert Komer, *Bureaucracy at War: US Performance in the Vietnam Conflict* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1986) 87.

<sup>54</sup>J.A. Koch, *The Chieu Hoi Program in Vietnam*, 25.

<sup>55</sup> Cao Van Vien; Ngo Quang Truong; Dong Van Khuyen, et. al., *Indochina Monographs, The U.S. Advisor*, (Washington, DC: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 1980) 145.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup>William A. Nighswonger, *Rural Pacification in Vietnam*, 223.

<sup>58</sup>J.A. Koch, *The Chieu Hoi Program in Vietnam*, 25.

<sup>59</sup>J.A. Koch, *The Chieu Hoi Program in Vietnam*, 26

<sup>60</sup>Ibid.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid.

<sup>62</sup>Ogden Williams, End of Tour Report—1969; MACCORDS Chieu Hoi; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>63</sup>J.A. Koch, *The Chieu Hoi Program in Vietnam*, 28.

<sup>64</sup> Fullbright Package, Green Book, Chieu Hoi; Folder 9, p.21 Annex X, 1601-11A Chieu Hoi; Volume 4 (Fulbright Case); Military Assistance Command, Vietnam/CORDS CICV Pacification Documents; Records of the Army Staff, Record Group 319; National Archives at College Park, College Park MD.

<sup>65</sup> Robert Komer, 10 August 1966 report, "Giving A New Thrust to Pacification;" Komer Washington Papers; Records Of Robert W. Komer, 1948-1968; Executive Secretariat, Entry 5045; Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

Notes to Pages 33 - 38

<sup>66</sup> Fullbright Package, Green Book, Chieu Hoi; Folder 9, p.21 Annex X, 1601-11A Chieu Hoi; Volume 4 (Fulbright Case); Military Assistance Command, Vietnam/CORDS CICV Pacification Documents; Records of the Army Staff, Record Group 319; National Archives at College Park, College Park MD.

<sup>67</sup> Fullbright Package, Green Book, Chieu Hoi; Folder 9, p.20 Annex X, 1601-11A Chieu Hoi; Volume 4 (Fulbright Case); Military Assistance Command, Vietnam/CORDS CICV Pacification Documents; Records of the Army Staff, Record Group 319; National Archives at College Park, College Park MD.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> JUSPAO Viet-Nam information publication, from collection of author.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> A. Koch, *The Chieu Hoi Program in Vietnam*, 29.

<sup>73</sup> J.A. Koch, *The Chieu Hoi Program in Vietnam*, 37.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Memo, Pacification and Development Problems, by Richard Riddle, 7 August 1970, Plans and Programs #43, Folder II, 1970; General Records; Chieu Hoi Division; Office of Psychological Operations and Chieu Hoi; CORDS MR 2; Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>76</sup> J.A. Koch, *The Chieu Hoi Program in Vietnam*, 34.

<sup>77</sup> Effects of Tet Offensive on the Chieu Hoi Program, report by CORDS Chieu Hoi Directorate, personal collection of Ogden Williams.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Nixon made his announcement in the Summer of 1969. Robert D. Schulzinger in Stanley Kutler, ed. *Encyclopedia of the Vietnam War* (New York: Simon and Schuster Macmillan, 1996) 369.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> J.A. Koch, *The Chieu Hoi Program in Vietnam*, vii.

<sup>83</sup> J.A. Koch, *The Chieu Hoi Program in Vietnam*, 56.

<sup>84</sup> Since the failure of Tet of 1968, the VC and NVA had been reluctant to engage the Americans and GVN in large scale battles. They preferred to fight in small clashes where they

felt they had the advantage. Additionally, there were fewer NVA troops in South Vietnam due to the combat in Cambodia. Rallier number taken J.A. Koch, *The Chieu Hoi Program in Vietnam*, 56.

<sup>85</sup> Author interview with Eugene Bable, November 1998.

<sup>86</sup> Memo from CORDS MR2 to CG 4<sup>th</sup> ID, CG 173d ABN, DSA II CORPS/MR2, CO 5<sup>th</sup> SFG, CO 8<sup>th</sup> PSYOP Bn, OPC-MPD, Subject: U.S. Troop Withdrawals, 1601-04A Inducement, #44, Folder I; General Records; Chieu Hoi Division, Office of Psychological Operations and Chieu Hoi; CORDS, MR2; Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>87</sup> Notes from Staff Meeting, 25 June 1970, 1600 Hours, 1601-04 (29) Staff Meeting #29, 1970; General Records; Chieu Hoi Division; Office of Psychological Operations and Chieu Hoi; CORDS MR2; Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>88</sup> J.A. Koch, *The Chieu Hoi Program in Vietnam*, viii.

<sup>89</sup> Chieu Hoi Program Review, by Eugene Bable, August 1970, 1601-04 Chieu Hoi Policy #63, 1970; General Records; Chieu Hoi Division, Office of Psychological Operations and Chieu Hoi; CORDS MR2; Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>90</sup> Author interview with Eugene Bable, November 1998.

### Chapter 3: US II Corps and the Chieu Hoi Program

<sup>1</sup> IFFV began as Task Force Alpha, which was activated on 1 August 1965. On the 15<sup>th</sup> of November 1965, Task Force Alpha became Field Force Vietnam. The growth of American involvement in Vietnam necessitated the establishment of a second field force in Vietnam on March 15, 1966. As a result, Field Force Vietnam became IFFV. Pamphlet entitled "Headquarters I Field Force, Vietnam; Histories; Organizational History I Field Force Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>2</sup> After April 30, 1971 the area formerly under the headquarters of IFFV became the responsibility of the Second Regional Assistance Command (SRAC).

<sup>3</sup> Harry G. Summers, *Vietnam War Almanac* (New York: Facts on File Publications, 1985) 156.

<sup>4</sup> The provinces included in II Corps were Kontum, Binh Dinh, Pleiku, Phu Bon, Phu Yen, Khanh Hoa, Darlac, Khanh Hoa, Tuyen Duc, Quang Duc, Lam Dong, Ninh Thuan, and Binh Thuan. See maps 3-13 in the appendix.

<sup>5</sup> Harry G. Summers, *Vietnam War Almanac* (New York: Facts on File Publications, 1985) 205. See maps 3 and 10 in the appendix.

Notes to Pages 42 – 46

<sup>6</sup> Harry G. Summers, *Vietnam War Almanac* (New York: Facts on File Publications, 1985); Ronald Cima, ed. *Vietnam; A Country Study* (Washington, DC: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, GPO, 1989)

<sup>7</sup> Montagnard Dissidence: FULRO, Department of State Airgram, Folder 26, 1965 Vietnam, Box 31 United States Army Special Operations Center (USASOC) Archives, Ft. Bragg, NC.

<sup>8</sup> In English, the “United Fighting Front of the Oppressed Races.”

<sup>9</sup> The letters had been brought to the embassy by a neutral third party. The Americans photographed the letters and passed on the originals to GVN officials. Montagnard Dissidence: FULRO, Department of State Airgram, Folder 26, 1965 Vietnam, Box 31 USASOC Archives, Ft. Bragg, NC

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Report, *The Highland People of South Vietnam: Social and Economic Development*, by Gerald C. Hickey; General Records, Office of Management Support, Office of Civil Operations and Military Support; CORDS MR 2; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>12</sup> Montagnard Dissidence: FULRO, Department of State Airgram, Folder 26, 1965 Vietnam, Box 31 USASOC Archives, Ft. Bragg, NC.

<sup>13</sup> Tran Dinh Tho, *Pacification*, Indochina Monographs, (Washington, DC: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 1980) 137.

<sup>14</sup> The Montagnards, 16 October 1967, JUSPAO Field Memoranda #47, PSYOP Newsletter, The GVN/US Joint Chieu Hoi Program, Chieu Hoi Guidances, Student Booklet #2 (410/406), PSYOP Student Materials; USASOC Archives, Fort Bragg, NC.

<sup>15</sup> Harry G. Summers, *The Vietnam War Almanac* 347.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> IFFV Operational Reports-Lessons Learned (ORLLS) 1967-1971; USARV Command Historian ORLLS; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>18</sup> JUSPAO Guidances, Issue Number 16, July 9, 1966, Student Booklet #1, 8 January 1968, PSYOP Student materials, USASOC Archives, Fort Bragg, NC.

<sup>19</sup> Organization and Functions Psychological Operations, 21 October 1970, 1601-04(41) General Instruction #41; General Records; Chieu Hoi Division; Office of Psychological Operations and Chieu Hoi; CORDS MR2; Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Annex D (Military Participation in the Chieu Hoi Program to II Corps/MR2 Combined Campaign Plan 1971; General Records, Chieu Hoi Division; Office of Psychological Operations and Chieu Hoi; CORDS MR2; Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>22</sup> Position description of Regional Chieu Hoi Advisor ,102-05 Job Description #9, 1970; General Records, Chieu Hoi Division; Office of Psychological Operations and Chieu Hoi; CORDS MR 2; Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Author Interview with Paul Mather a former member of Provincial Advisory team in South Vietnam.

<sup>26</sup> Author Interviews of F. Groth, C. Gillen, and J. Coyle, former interrogators and psyops officers during the Vietnam War.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Analysis of Chieu Hoi Program, Binh Dinh Province, CMH Historians Working Files; DEPCORDS/Military Assistance Command, Vietnam Papers, Chieu Hoi/APTS:1969 (Jan-June), Folder 10, United States Army Center of Military History, Ft. McNair, Washington, DC

<sup>30</sup> Notes for Mr. Megellas (DEPCORDS MR2) speech, 1618-07A Program Briefing, 1969; General Records, Chieu Hoi Division; Office of Psychological Operations and Chieu Hoi; CORDS MR2; Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>31</sup> This was true for at least at the height of the American involvement, from 1967 through 1970.

<sup>32</sup> Memo to Integrate psyops at Province level; 1618-07A CMD and Staff Relationship; General Records, Chieu Hoi Division; Office of Psychological Operations and Chieu Hoi; CORDS MR2; Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>33</sup> Scrawled at the bottom of this copy of LTC Moreau's letter was the note "**The evil document that set Chieu Hoi back two years!!** Obviously added to the letter well after it was initially filed, the annotation gives a good indication of the general sentiment of the Chieu Hoi staff regarding the action.

<sup>34</sup> Telegram from Komer to all DEPCORDS, 29 March 1968, 1618-07A CMD and Staff Relationship; General Records; Chieu Hoi Division; Office of Psychological Operations and Chieu Hoi; CORDS MR2; Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

Notes to Pages 50 - 54

<sup>35</sup> Major Problems in the Chieu Hoi Program, Memo to DEPCORDS from Ogden Williams, CMH Historians Working Files, DEPCORDS/Military Assistance Command, Vietnam Papers, Chieu Hoi APTs, 1967-1968, Folder 10, US Army Center of Military History, Ft. McNair, Washington, DC.

<sup>36</sup> Memo for G.D. Jacobsen from O. Williams, Layering of Chieu Hoi Advisors under other Technical Divisions, 28 February 1969, 1618-07A CMD and Staff Relationship; General Records; Chieu Hoi Division; Office of Psychological Operations and Chieu Hoi; CORDS MR2, Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Memo for G.D. Jacobsen from O. Williams, Layering of Chieu Hoi Advisors under other Technical Divisions, 28 February 1969, 1618-07A CMD and Staff Relationship; General Records; Chieu Hoi Division; Office of Psychological Operations and Chieu Hoi; CORDS MR2, Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> It should be re-emphasized that when talking about the psyops hierarchy in II Corps, I am not including the Chieu Hoi staff. The differences in opinion between the psyops staff and the Chieu Hoi staff is made clear by a handwritten attachment to the letter, directed to Mr. Riddle, reading, "Mr. Riddle, Bad News..."

<sup>45</sup> Letter from Willard E. Chambers Asst. Deputy for CORDS, II CTZ to George Jacobsen, 7 March 1969, 1618-07A CMD and Staff Relationship; General Records, Chieu Hoi Division; Office of Psychological Operations and Chieu Hoi; CORDS MR2; Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>46</sup> OPRD Memorandum Upcoming Visit of CG, I FORCEV to all Provinces, 21 March 1969, 1618-07A CMD and Staff Relationship; General Records; Chieu Hoi Division; Office of Psychological Operations and Chieu Hoi; CORDS MR2, Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>47</sup> Draft CORD Order "to emphasize the Chieu Hoi Program," 23 March 1969, 1618-07A CMD and Staff Relationship; General Records, Chieu Hoi Division; Office of Psychological Operations and Chieu Hoi; CORDS MR2; Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>48</sup> CORDS directive 11.4-69, Organizational Changes for CORDS II CTZ, 1618-07A CMD and Staff Relationship; General Records; Chieu Hoi Division; Office of Psychological Operations and Chieu Hoi; CORDS MR2; Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.—It should be noted that this directive also made the Phoenix Division independent from the Office of Territorial Forces.

<sup>49</sup> ALK stood for Allan Keiswatter, Assistant Regional Advisor, MR2 for Chieu Hoi. Although Mr. Keiswatter made a slight misquote, his phrase obviously came from the song “High Hopes.” Indicating the staff sentiment that they were a small unit fighting against tough odds.

<sup>50</sup> Military Participation in the CH program for 2 Corp/MR2 Combined Campaign Plan; Plans and Programs #43, Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; General Records; CORDS MR 2; Chieu Hoi Division; Office of Psychological Operations and Chieu Hoi; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>51</sup> Annex D (Military Participation in the Chieu Hoi Program to II Corps/MR2 Combined Campaign Plan 1971; General Records; Chieu Hoi Division; Office of Psychological Operations and Chieu Hoi; CORDS MR2; Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Richard A. Hunt, *Pacification: The American Struggle for Vietnam's Hearts and Minds* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995) 212.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Command and Staff Relationships, II Corps, 17 December 1968, 1618-07A CMD and Staff Relationship, Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; General Records; CORDS MR 2; Chieu Hoi Division; Office of Psychological Operations and Chieu Hoi; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>56</sup> CORDS Pacification Briefings, 1618-07A Conference; General Records; CORDS MR 2; Chieu Hoi Division; Office of Psychological Operations and Chieu Hoi; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>57</sup> IFFORCEV PSYOP plan for CH/Dai Doan Ket Programs during the 1969 TET season, 28 Jan. 1969, 1618-07A Inducement; General Records; Chieu Hoi Division; Office of Psychological Operations and Chieu Hoi; CORDS MR2; Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Improvement of the Chieu Hoi Program, 08/1966, 1601-08 Project “Take Off”/Chieu Hoi Program 1968; General Records; Communications and Records Branch; Office of

Management Support; CORDS MR2; Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>60</sup> IFFORCEV PSYOP plan for CH/Dai Doan Ket Programs during the 1969 TET season, 28 Jan. 1969, 1618-07A Inducement; General Records; Chieu Hoi Division; Office of Psychological Operations and Chieu Hoi; CORDS MR2; Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> It was Army convention during this time to capitalize the names of particular operations. Operational Reports Lessons Learned; USARV Command Historian; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>67</sup> Operation MACARTHUR lasted from October 1967 through January 1969.

<sup>68</sup> Operation MACARTHUR, Combat Operations After Action Report, 4<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division G3 After Action Reports, Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> The Chieu Hoi Program, Questions and Issues, 1601-06A Orientation and Briefing Files Memos and Circulars, 1970; General Records; Chieu Hoi Division; CORDS MR1, Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>72</sup> Operation MACARTHUR, Combat Operations After Action Report; 4<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division G3 After Action Reports; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>73</sup> This description was taken directly from the Psyops support section of the Combat Operations After Action Report for Operation MACARTHUR. This author surmises that the use of pictures of Vietnamese girls was for inducing feelings of romantic melancholy in the male enemy soldier.

<sup>74</sup> Operation MACARTHUR, Combat Operations After Action Report; 4<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division G3 After Action Reports; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.



<sup>75</sup> Operation MACARTHUR, Combat Operations After Action Report; 4<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division G3 After Action Reports; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>76</sup> Operation WASHINGTON GREEN began on 15 April 1969 and continued through 31 December 1970.

<sup>77</sup> After Action Report, WASHINGTON GREEN; 173d Airborne Brigade; USARV COMMAND HISTORIAN AFTER ACTION REPORTS; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> For a more indepth analysis of the importance of Operation WASHINGTON GREEN and its aftermath, see: Richard A. Hunt, *Pacification: The American Struggle for Vietnam's Hearts and Minds*.

<sup>84</sup> Author Interview with Eugene Bable, November 1998.

<sup>85</sup> Note from Riddle to Major Brandon regarding Memo "Proposed Organization for PSYOP Activities in II Corps," 9 January 1969; General Records; Chieu Hoi Division; CORDS MR2; Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>86</sup> The Americans were stationed at Nha Trang and the South Vietnamese were headquartered in Pleiku, a distance of well over 100 miles. Major Problems in the Chieu Hoi Program, Memo to DEPCORDS from Ogden Williams, CMH Historians Working Files, DEPCORDS/Military Assistance Command, Vietnam Papers, Chieu Hoi APTs, 1967-1968, Folder 10, US Army Center of Military History, Ft. McNair, Washington, DC.

<sup>87</sup> Required Action to Re-activate the CH program in II CTZ, 16 April 1969, Memo from Richard Riddle to Asst. DEPCORDS, 1618-07A Program Briefing, 1969; General Records; Chieu Hoi Division; CORDS MR2; Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>88</sup> Reflections of a Senior Advisor, CORDS, Role of an Advisor, Part I 1970, Vietnam War Collection, USASOC, Ft. Bragg, NC.

<sup>89</sup> Letter to Mr. Tran Van Nhat, 1618-07A APT General 1969; General Records; Chieu Hoi Division; CORDS MR2; Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

Notes to Pages 66 - 69

<sup>90</sup> Program Review for Chieu Hoi, 12 December 1969, 1618-07A Program Briefing, 1969; General Records; Chieu Hoi Division, CORDS MR2, Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>91</sup> J.A. Koch, *The Chieu Hoi Program in Vietnam*, 40.

<sup>92</sup> Reply to CG IFFV, Reference Pacification and Vietnamization, 2 July 1970, Plans and Programs #43, Folder II, 1970; General Records; Chieu Hoi Division; CORDS MR2; Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>93</sup> Pacification and Development Problems, 7 August 1970, Plans and Programs #43, Folder II, 1970; General Records; Chieu Hoi Division; CORDS MR2; Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>94</sup> This was not only true for the advisor assignment. United States Army officers were routinely assigned to one year rotations in Vietnam.

<sup>95</sup> End of Tour Reports, Thomas M. Stevers and Robert Kidd, advisors in II Corps, 1601-04 (32) Misc. Reports, #32 1970; General Records; Chieu Hoi Division; CORDS MR2; Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>96</sup> Dawkins, Peter M, *The United States Army and the "Other" in Vietnam; A Study of the Complexity of Implementing Organizational Change*; Princeton Dissertation, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, June 1979, Princeton, NJ, 80.

<sup>97</sup> Cao Van Lien, Ngo Quang Truong, et. Al., *Indochina Monographs; The U.S. Advisor*, 198.

<sup>98</sup> Author interview with Ogden Williams, October 1998.

<sup>99</sup> Author interviews with Ogden Williams, October 1998 and Eugene Bable, November 1998.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> End of Tour Report, Robert Kidd, Deputy Senior Advisor, Phu Bon Province, 1601-04 (32) Misc. Reports, #32 1970; General Records; Chieu Hoi Division; CORDS MR2; Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>102</sup> Author interview with Eugene Bable, November 1998.

<sup>103</sup> This was shown in the example of the II Corps Chieu Hoi fight for independence from the Psyops office lasting from 1967 through 1969.

<sup>104</sup> Notes on End of Tour Reports, Richard A. Riddle, 1601-04 (32) Misc. Reports, #32 1970, General Records; Chieu Hoi Division; CORDS MR2; Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD. This was not only a problem in II Corps, but in the other three Corps areas as well.

Notes to Pages 69 - 75

<sup>105</sup> Memo to Eugene Bable from Richard Riddle, Armed Propaganda Team Reductions, 8 August 1970, 1601-04 (22) APT Studies, 1970; General Records; Chieu Hoi Division; CORDS MR2; Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>106</sup> Memo, NCO Officers for Armed Propaganda Teams, July 1968, 1618-07A APT Advisors; General Records; Chieu Hoi Division; CORDS MR2; Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Summary: Armed Propaganda Team Advisors, 1618-07A APT Advisors; General Records; Chieu Hoi Division; CORDS MR2; Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> Frances Fitzgerald, *Fire In the Lake; The Vietnamese and the Americans in Vietnam* (New York, Random House, 1972.); Marilyn B. Young. *The Vietnam Wars; 1945-1990*, (New York:Harper Perennial, 1991).

<sup>113</sup> Geir Lundestad, *The American "Empire"* (Oxford:Oxford University Press, 1992) 117.

<sup>114</sup> Geir Lundestad, *American Empire*, 117.

<sup>115</sup> Geir Lundestad, *American Empire*, 43.

<sup>116</sup> Marilyn B. Young. *The Vietnam Wars*, 27.

<sup>117</sup> Marilyn B. Young. *The Vietnam Wars*, p. 29.

<sup>118</sup> Frances Fitzgerald, *Fire In the Lake; The Vietnamese and the Americans in Vietnam* 113. According to most intelligence estimates, during the Ngo Dinh Diem regime the Communists would win more than a majority of the votes in a free election.

<sup>119</sup> Donald Vought, "American Culture and American Arms" in *Lessons from an Unconventional War; Reassessing U.S. Strategies for Future Conflict*, ed. Richard Hunt (New York:Pergamom Press, 1982) 172.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

<sup>122</sup> Vought, "American Culture and American Arms," 396.

<sup>123</sup> Frances Fitzgerald, *Fire in the Lake*, 334.

Notes to Pages 75 - 79

<sup>124</sup> Interview with Paul Mather a former member of Provincial Advisory team in South Vietnam, and "Intercultural Communications Guide for the Republic of Vietnam," U.S. Army Center of Military History Materials regarding Vietnam; Records of the Army Staff, Record Group 319; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>125</sup> One such example is "Building Rapport with the Vietnamese", a manuscript by Marilyn W. Hoskins. Mrs. Hoskins was an anthropologist who worked with UNESCO in Vietnam for several years. Mrs. Hoskin's manuscript can be found in the Vietnam War Collection, Box #10, Psychological Aspects, General, USASOC Archives, Ft. Bragg, NC

<sup>126</sup> One such example is "Observations on Psychodynamic Structures in Vietnamese Personality", by Dr. Walter H. Slote, a psychiatrist. He based this study on interviewing (through an interpreter) only four vietnamese, a student, a Buddhist monk, a VC terrorist, and an intellectual. Dr. Slote's paper can be found in the Vietnam War Collection, Box #10, Psychological Aspects, General, USASOC Archives, Ft. Bragg, NC

<sup>127</sup> "Intercultural Communications Guide for the Republic of Vietnam," U.S. Army Center of Military History Materials regarding Vietnam; Records of the Army Staff, Record Group 319; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>128</sup> "Intercultural Communications Guide for the Republic of Vietnam," U.S. Army Center of Military History Materials regarding Vietnam; Records of the Army Staff, Record Group 319; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>129</sup> Author interview with Paul Mather, former member of Provincial Advisory team in South Vietnam.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid.

<sup>131</sup> Office of the ACOS for CORDS, Memo:Conversation between Mr. Jones and Mr. Ely of the Ethnic Minorities Division, Community Development Directorate, 3 May 1969, 1618-07A Pleiku Montagnard Training Center; General Records; Chieu Hoi Division; Office of Psychological Operations and Chieu Hoi; CORDS MR2; Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD. Telegram memo to PSA's in MR2 from Allen L. Keiswetter, Asst. Regular CH Advisor And Richard A. Riddle Chief, CHD MR2, 1618-07A Field Program Assessment; General Records, Chieu Hoi Division; Office of Psychological Operations and Chieu Hoi; CORDS MR2; Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>132</sup> Review of Goals and Accomplishments of CH program 29 January-1 April 1969, 1618-07A Program Briefing, 1969; General Records; Chieu Hoi Division; Office of Psychological Operations and Chieu Hoi; CORDS MR2; Military Assistance Command; Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>133</sup> Author interview with Paul Mather, former member of Provincial Advisory Team in South Vietnam.

<sup>134</sup> Author interview with Eugene Bable, November 1998

Chapter 4: Conclusion

<sup>1</sup> Document No. 12, Pacification and the Viet Cong Reaction, January 1968; Viet-Nam, Documents and Research Notes; United States Mission Documents and Research Notes; Intelligence Production Directorate Library (J23); Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>2</sup> J.A. Koch, *The Chieu Hoi Program in Vietnam*, v.

<sup>3</sup> The number of those “neutralized” by the Phoenix program has been estimated at 81,740. Andradé, *Ashes to Ashes*, Appendix.

<sup>4</sup> J.A. Koch, *The Chieu Hoi Program in Vietnam*, 20-56.

<sup>5</sup> Letter to Richard Riddle from David A. Sulzberger Rpts. Officer CHD, 31 December 1969; 1618-07A Monthly Categorization Chieu Hoi; General Records; Chieu Hoi Division; Office of Psychological Operations and Chieu Hoi; CORDS MR 2; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>6</sup> Memo from W.E. Colby, Assistant Chief of Staff for CORDS, 31 December 1968, US Army Center of Military Historians Working files, DEPCORDS/Military Assistance Command, Vietnam Papers, Chieu Hoi/APTs 1967-1968, US Army Center of Military History, Ft. McNair, Washington, DC.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Author interview with Ogden Williams, October 1998. Author interview with Eugene Bable, November 1998.

<sup>9</sup> Notes on End of Tour Reports by Richard A. Riddle, CHD 17 April 1970, 1601-04 (32) Misc. Reports, #32 1970; General Records; Chieu Hoi Division; Office of Psychological Operations and Chieu Hoi; CORDS MR 2; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>10</sup> Author interview with Eugene Bable, November 1998.

<sup>11</sup> Author interview with Eugene Bable, November 1998.

<sup>12</sup> Memo, Pacification and Development Problems, by Richard Riddle, 7 August 1970, Plans and Programs #43, Folder II, 1970; General Records; Chieu Hoi Division; Office of Psychological Operations and Chieu Hoi; CORDS MR 2; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>13</sup> Tran Dinh Tho, *Indochina Monographs, Pacification*, 136.

<sup>14</sup> Tran Dinh Tho, *Indochina Monographs, Pacification*, 137.

<sup>15</sup> AVFA-CORDS-CHD, Provincial Problem List for CH, 21 March 1969; General Records; Chieu Hoi Division; Office of Psychological Operations and Chieu Hoi; CORDS MR2; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD. and J. A. Koch, *The Chieu Hoi Program in Vietnam*, 108.

- <sup>16</sup> Davis, Ginger R, "The Blond at the Bar: Assessing America's Chieu Hoi Program," Paper presented at the American Military Experience in Asia, Meeting of the Big Ten Consortium of the Society for Military History, 24-25 October, Madison, Wisconsin. 13; J.M. Carrier, and C.A. H. Thomson, *Vietcong Motivation and Morale: The Special Case of Chieu Hoi*. x.
- <sup>17</sup> J.A. Koch, *The Chieu Hoi Program in Vietnam*, 11.
- <sup>18</sup> J.M. Carrier, and C.A. H. Thomson, *Vietcong Motivation and Morale: The Special Case of Chieu Hoi*. x.
- <sup>19</sup> Community Defense and Local Development Plan, 4 Nov. 1970, Plans and Programs #43, Folder II, 1970; General Records; Office of Psychological Operations and Chieu Hoi; Chieu Hoi Division; CORDS MR 2; Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.
- <sup>20</sup> Andradé, Dale, *Ashes to Ashes*, 86.
- <sup>21</sup> James Megellas, DEPCORDS, I FFV, II CTZ, End of Tour Report, 1601-04 (32) Misc. Reports, #32 1970; General Records; Office of Psychological Operations and Chieu Hoi; Chieu Hoi Division; CORDS MR 2; Military Assistance Command, Vietnam; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.
- <sup>22</sup> Directive on VC Defectors, Can Giuoc District, CDEC #10-1507-69, "History of the Vietnam War on Microfilm," Vietnam Archive, Texas Tech University, Lubbock TX.
- <sup>23</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>24</sup> Paper, "COSVN Assessment of the ..check CORDS publication 101078.
- <sup>25</sup> United States Mission in Vietnam Press Release with attached translated document, "Captured Document Shows Viet Cong Response to Open Arms Program, Vietnam Archive, Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX.
- <sup>26</sup> US Military Assistance Command, Vietnam, Strategic Research and Analysis Division, "VC Efforts to Disrupt the Chieu Hoi Program," SRAP2069, 1969, U.S. Army War College Library, Carlisle Barracks, Carlisle, PA, 2.
- <sup>27</sup> Directive on VC Defectors, Can Giuoc District, CDEC #10-1507-69, "History of the Vietnam War on Microfilm", Vietnam Archive, Texas Tech University, Lubbock TX.
- <sup>28</sup> Notes on End of Tour Reports by Richard A. Riddle, CHD 17 April 1970, 1601-04 (32) Misc. Reports, #32 1970; General Records; Chieu Hoi Division; Office of Psychological Operations and Chieu Hoi; CORDS MR 2; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.
- <sup>29</sup> Intercultural Communications Guide for the Republic of Vietnam," U.S. Army Center of Military History Materials regarding Vietnam, Record Group 319, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

Notes to Pages 88

<sup>30</sup> Notes on End of Tour Reports by Richard A. Riddle, CHD 17 April 1970, 1601-04 (32) Misc. Reports, #32 1970; General Records; Chieu Hoi Division; Office of Psychological Operations and Chieu Hoi; CORDS MR 2; Records of the United States Forces in Southeast Asia, Record Group 472; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.

<sup>31</sup> Author Interview with Eugene Bable, November 1998.

<sup>32</sup> J.A. Koch, *The Chieu Hoi Program in Vietnam*, 56.