

Dear Bo,

Have your letter of Feb. and D. has read me your follow-up comments. The Moustache is not receptive to the consultant to GVN idea. He realizes time's awasting, however, there are several irons in the fire here on getting him out on a more realistic basis.

As for myself I have been up to Pennsy Ave 3 times in an attempt to get out plus a session with the very weak sister imitation of John L. who is now in charge. Word is that first they are going to reorganize Uncle's set-up out there and then put me into a key position; and they don't want to prejudice my utility by sending me out now to get hit by the flying shit. I have argued that all I want to do is go back temporarily to my old position to get the pacification campaign on the road - Mike F. buys this but John L - O is too bureaucratic. Net result of MacNamara trip is likely to be O as I have pointed out to Mike F. who concurs but still no action. FYI, insipid Joe is on the way out. Stoner will be coming out w/ Mac the knife. Val ^(Veterians) consultancy approved and he should be on his way by 4 March.

Feb 64

Had the AID boys march up and down several hills and over to the

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civil service commission to try to get your consultancy renewed but its impossible - longer than a year takes an act of Congress. Stoney has been acquainted in part with the role you are playing and can be counted on, I believe, to push through ~~the contract~~ your contract when he gets there.

Am writing Len to-day as you suggest. ~~Could you get the enclosed to~~
(nix, next post)
~~Bar~~ Dream - when is he planning to come to the U.S.?

Concerning the razor sharpener, the cabbage during his courtesy call on him ~~reathly~~ insulted him brutally so you will probably have to do much hand holding. Apparently the sharpener made the error of launching into evils of former regimes and was showered by our friend to his self-satisfaction but to the detriment of the cause. Also the weak point on pull-out of dependents is none other than the cabbage himself - only ploy I can see there is have Hlouch tell him bluntly that Vets ~~is~~ can only interpret this as prelude to total American evacuation and that his govt. ~~is~~ sure to be replaced by neutralists who should dependants be evacuated. Assume the Mafia is still in contact despite orders.

Will try to get out with the Mac group but don't count on it. I don't really ^{however, evidence so far confirms} know it. I'm being held in reserve or subtly ^{however, evidence so far confirms} shoved aside. One suggestion, FYI, is that Dick be put in as Chief Ops under cabbage with me as his deputy. You might pass that on to Finis; also the fact that I have been doing my goddamndest get out there.

Am attempting give Yohu L. group some guidelines for successful approach to problem as follows:

1. Main problem our side is to create quickly ~~on our side~~ an idea worth fighting for. Two ingredients: right idea and ~~lead~~ proper leadership to implement.

2. Only idea which will provide sufficient inspiration is democracy. (To the ^{3rd} peasant this means local self-government plus ~~responsive~~ representatives and forces of GVN responsive to his security, political and economic needs in that order.

4. To the administrator and soldier democracy means ~~democratic leadership~~ democratic institutions (national elections for Assembly), ~~free~~ reasonably free press, and above all leadership which ~~acts~~ respects basic rights of people while projecting an image of ~~being~~ unselfish and devoted concern for the general welfare.

5. ~~Without the latter~~ The latter is ^{essential} ~~necessary~~ to inspire the administrators and the soldiers to carry out the former.

6. We already have in the SH program, as originally conceived, the framework for giving the peasant what he wants,

7. What we desperately need is a political plan to provide what the

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administrators and soldiers ^{at the same time,} ~~need~~ ^{want and would be willing to fight for}, which must ~~not~~ dilute the strength of the top-level leadership but rather reinforce it.

8. Such a plan would be as follows:

a. ~~Announce~~ A program of elections to ~~the~~ a new national Assembly from free electoral districts. Elected deputies, until half of all electoral districts are freed, would sit in as additional members of Council of Notables. ^(After that elected members would become the Council of Notables) Council of Notables would appoint a special commission to certify districts as being free and ready for elections. Once 80% of all electoral districts freed and Assembly members elected, National elections for President would be held.

b. Council of Notables to begin work immediately on a new Constitution.

c. ~~It~~ announce a clear interim policy on how govt. is to operate in the meantime to include specifics on how it ~~is to~~ will be democratic in substance ^{although} ~~it~~ not in form.

d. Immediate formation of a Complaint & Action Commission under Vice Minister of Pacification to include teams of inspectors stationed in each province. Crash indoctrination and training course organized by Filipinos for all concerned.

- e. Immediate formation of a Front for the Liberation of North Vietnam (this will be a morale booster if given even a few teeth). Flood country with Front publications depicting life in NVN.
- f. Facilitate participation by students (through hamlet corps) and Buddhists in hamlet program. Work this under auspices Vice-Minister Pacification, using ~~an~~ ^{previous} Pacification Committee plan as a guide.
- g. Set up a Victory Fund with adequate accounting procedures.
- h. Set up special indoctrination courses for Province Chiefs and District Chiefs using NIA facilities.
- i. Constant ^{Horn and other surprise} ~~Wham~~ inspections with spot promotions and firings and other dramatic actions demonstrate concern for the popular welfare.
- 9. Plan only good if U.S.:
 - a. Indicates it in VN to stay and will not pull-out. Dependents policy a critical area.
 - b. Effectively, quietly indicate it will tolerate no more coups; nor on the other hand will it support a resumption of dictatorship.
 - c. Backs moves against NVN, such as Front for Liberation but with teeth.
 - d. Provides close-in quiet advice and assistance. Present set-up not adequate nor are funding arrangements adequate. Need a slush fund plus \$

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~~the~~ aircraft at full-time disposal
of Vice-Minister Pacification Complex.

10. Situation in provinces also requires drastic action along following lines, using basic ideas of SH program as a guide.

a. Decentralization of command of ARVN battalions to Province Chief level. ARVN bn commander becomes his military deputy and security task force ~~is~~ organized composed of ARVN, CG, SDC. Concurrently move problem of dependents attached with massive USOM assistance.

b. 5 Units of Security Task force trained and switched over to night operations (use methods developed by Val in Philippines)

c. Full decentralization of funds and materials to do the job to the province chief ~~through~~ ^{through} the tri-partite committee.

d. Increased use of Filipino advisors in provinces

e. Application of LtCol. Chau's Province Complaint and Action operations (where is Chau?; would be ideal for ~~them~~ ~~that~~

Long An it not for top-level pacification job. Is Khanh's boy and good friend of Col. Lee.)

⑦

What I wanted to do was to get out
in time to get something similar
adopted by the Vietnamese and back into
American hands in time for the McNamara
visit. Assume you are working on this.
Suggest the razor sharpener and BD
as main channels - sharpener to Whelan
with Council of Notables agreement.
Don't know if this is practical but even
on intel feed back would be worth
something

You should see an ~~excellent~~ excellent
speech out of Sen Dodd next Monday -
hopefully a clarion call to American
people to stand behind Pres
Johnson in his firm policy of
sticking with ~~Vietnam~~ and standing
behind the Vietnamese.

Regards to all

W. coral. (RP)