

## ANNOTATED TRANSCRIPT BURNS EPISODE 1

(This is how I envision the annotated transcripts will work, but we have some technical issues before we can do this on a wiki so multiple editors can participate in the markup. If you are keeping your own annotations for the record, in order to incorporate them in the final markup, keep track of either the timing mark (hh:mm:ss) or the sequential entry number in the transcripts given.

Color Coding: **Red** = False statement; **Yellow** = Warning; **Green** = Not yet used; **Blue** = Interesting, warranting Attention; **Gray** = I've got to study and verify this item; **Pink** = Loaded Words?

1  
00:00:01,566 --> 00:00:03,000 ANNOUNCER: MAJOR SUPPORT FOR "THE VIETNAM WAR"  
2  
00:00:03,000 --> 00:00:06,500 WAS PROVIDED BY MEMBERS OF THE BETTER ANGELS SOCIETY,  
3  
00:00:06,500 --> 00:00:10,466 INCLUDING JONATHAN AND JEANNIE LAVINE,  
4  
00:00:10,466 --> 00:00:13,366 DIANE AND HAL BRIERLEY,  
5  
00:00:13,366 --> 00:00:15,766 AMY AND DAVID ABRAMS,  
6  
00:00:15,766 --> 00:00:18,266 JOHN AND CATHERINE DEBS,  
7  
00:00:18,266 --> 00:00:21,166 THE FULLERTON FAMILY CHARITABLE FUND,  
8  
00:00:21,166 --> 00:00:23,233 THE MONTRONE FAMILY,  
9  
00:00:23,233 --> 00:00:25,566 LYNDA AND STEWART RESNICK,  
10  
00:00:25,566 --> 00:00:28,333 THE PERRY AND DONNA GOLKIN FAMILY FOUNDATION,  
11  
00:00:28,333 --> 00:00:29,333 THE LYNCH FOUNDATION,  
12  
00:00:29,333 --> 00:00:32,200 THE ROGER AND ROSEMARY ENRICO FOUNDATION,  
13  
00:00:32,200 --> 00:00:35,633 AND BY THESE ADDITIONAL FUNDERS.  
14  
00:00:35,633 --> 00:00:37,533 MAJOR FUNDING WAS ALSO PROVIDED  
15  
00:00:37,533 --> 00:00:39,266 BY DAVID H. KOCH...  
16  
00:00:41,566 --> 00:00:43,766 THE BLAVATNIK FAMILY FOUNDATION...  
17  
00:00:46,100 --> 00:00:48,533 THE PARK FOUNDATION,  
18  
00:00:48,533 --> 00:00:50,700 THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES,  
19  
00:00:50,700 --> 00:00:52,900 THE PEW CHARITABLE TRUSTS,  
20  
00:00:52,900 --> 00:00:55,566 THE JOHN S. AND JAMES L. KNIGHT FOUNDATION,  
21  
00:00:55,566 --> 00:00:58,333 THE ANDREW W. MELLON FOUNDATION,  
22  
00:00:58,333 --> 00:01:01,000 THE ARTHUR VINING DAVIS FOUNDATIONS,  
23

00:01:01,000 --> 00:01:03,200 THE FORD FOUNDATION JUSTFILMS,  
24  
00:01:03,200 --> 00:01:04,400 BY THE CORPORATION  
25  
00:01:04,400 --> 00:01:05,633 FOR PUBLIC BROADCASTING,  
26  
00:01:05,633 --> 00:01:07,600 AND BY VIEWERS LIKE YOU.  
27  
00:01:07,600 --> 00:01:08,733 THANK YOU.  
28  
00:01:13,266 --> 00:01:15,400 ANNOUNCER: BANK OF AMERICA PROUDLY SUPPORTS  
29  
00:01:15,400 --> 00:01:20,300 KEN BURNS' AND LYNN NOVICK'S FILM "THE VIETNAM WAR"  
30  
00:01:20,300 --> 00:01:22,700 BECAUSE FOSTERING DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVES  
31  
00:01:22,700 --> 00:01:25,300 AND CIVIL DISCOURSE AROUND IMPORTANT ISSUES  
32  
00:01:25,300 --> 00:01:27,600 FURTHERS PROGRESS, EQUALITY,  
33  
00:01:27,600 --> 00:01:29,600 AND A MORE CONNECTED SOCIETY.  
34  
00:01:34,066 --> 00:01:38,100 GO TO BANKOFAMERICA.COM/ BETTERCONNECTED TO LEARN MORE.  
35  
00:01:44,466 --> 00:01:50,233 (helicopter blades beating, growing louder)  
36  
00:01:54,300 --> 00:01:56,000 (helicopter blades stop beating)  
37  
00:01:56,900 --> 00:01:58,500 (wind whipping, bullet whizzing)  
38  
00:02:02,033 --> 00:02:03,133 (gunfire)  
39  
00:02:03,133 --> 00:02:04,833 (explosion)  
40  
00:02:06,400 --> 00:02:08,266 (helicopter blades beating, indistinct voices)  
41  
00:02:10,866 --> 00:02:13,166 (gunfire, distorted screaming)  
42  
00:02:15,666 --> 00:02:18,500 (distorted Marine Corps Hymn playing)  
43  
00:02:19,666 --> 00:02:21,133 (electronic hum)  
44  
00:02:23,533 --> 00:02:31,600 (Marine Corps Hymn playing, crowd cheering)  
45  
00:02:32,766 --> 00:02:35,633 KARL MARLANTES Marine 1969 **Coming home from Vietnam**  
87  
00:33:11,419 --> 00:33:15,150 **was close to as traumatic as the war itself**  
88  
00:33:17,091 --> 00:33:20,083 **For years nobody talked about Vietnam**  
89  
00:33:20,161 --> 00:33:21,389 (gunfire)  
90  
00:33:21,462 --> 00:33:23,157 (marching band playing)  
91  
00:33:23,231 --> 00:33:24,789 We were friends with a young couple  
92

00:33:24,866 --> 00:33:29,530 and it was only after 12 years that the two wives were talking  
93  
00:33:29,604 --> 00:33:33,005 Found out that we both had been Marines in Vietnam.  
94  
00:33:33,074 --> 00:33:35,599 Never said a word about it.  
95  
00:33:35,676 --> 00:33:37,405 Never mentioned it.  
96  
00:33:37,478 --> 00:33:39,469 And the whole country was like that.  
97  
00:33:41,149 --> 00:33:43,947 **It was so divisive.**  
98  
00:33:44,018 --> 00:33:48,978 And it was like living in a family with an alcoholic father  
99  
00:33:49,056 --> 00:33:51,422 (whispering) Shh, we don't talk about that.  
100  
00:33:51,492 --> 00:33:53,790 (gunfire)  
101  
00:33:53,861 --> 00:33:55,795 Our country did that with Vietnam.  
102  
00:33:55,863 --> 00:33:58,696 It's only been very recently that, I think,  
103  
00:33:58,766 --> 00:34:01,462 That, you know the baby boomers are finally starting to say,  
104  
00:34:01,536 --> 00:34:02,833 "What happened?  
105  
00:34:02,904 --> 00:34:04,269 What happened?"  
106  
00:34:04,338 --> 00:34:07,501 ("A Familiar Taste" by Trent Reznor & Atticus Ross playing)  
107  
00:34:13,981 --> 00:34:15,915 HENRY KISSINGER What we need now in this country  
108  
00:34:15,983 --> 00:34:20,352 is to heal the wounds and to put Vietnam behind us.  
109  
00:34:20,421 --> 00:34:23,481 ("A Familiar Taste" continues)  
110  
00:34:32,467 --> 00:34:33,764 RICHARD NIXON The killing  
111  
00:34:33,835 --> 00:34:35,564 in this tragic war must stop.  
112  
00:34:37,839 --> 00:34:39,033 ("A Familiar Taste" continues)  
113  
00:34:46,314 --> 00:34:48,976 LYNDON JOHNSON General Westmoreland's strategy  
114  
00:34:49,050 --> 00:34:50,779 is producing results.  
115  
00:34:50,852 --> 00:34:54,948 The enemy is no longer closer to victory.  
116  
00:34:57,024 --> 00:34:59,015 ("A Familiar Taste" continues)  
117  
00:35:02,430 --> 00:35:04,364 ROBERT McNAMARA No matter how you measure it  
118  
00:35:04,432 --> 00:35:07,230 We're better off than we thought we would be at this time.  
119  
00:35:12,740 --> 00:35:15,470 REPORTER: You have been less than candid  
120

00:35:15,543 --> 00:35:19,172 as to how deeply we are involved in Vietnam.  
121  
00:35:19,247 --> 00:35:20,874 We have increased our assistance  
122  
00:35:20,948 --> 00:35:23,007 to the government, its logistics.  
123  
00:35:23,084 --> 00:35:25,518 We have not sent combat troops there.  
124  
00:35:25,586 --> 00:35:29,215 DWIGHT EISENHOWER: You have a row of dominoes set up  
125  
00:35:29,290 --> 00:35:31,417 and you knock over the first one  
126  
00:35:31,492 --> 00:35:33,357 and the last one, certainly it will go over.  
127  
00:35:33,427 --> 00:35:35,622 HARRY TRUMAN: **If aggression is successful in Korea**<sup>1</sup>,  
128  
00:35:35,696 --> 00:35:38,187 we can expect it to spread throughout Asia and Europe  
129  
00:35:38,266 --> 00:35:39,392 and to this hemisphere.  
130  
00:35:41,869 --> 00:35:45,532 (“A Familiar Taste” continues)  
131  
00:35:55,483 --> 00:35:58,247 (“A Hard Rain is A-Gonna Fall” by Bob Dylan playing)  
132  
00:36:01,689 --> 00:36:08,185 ♪Oh where have you been, my blue-eyed son?♪  
133  
00:36:08,262 --> 00:36:12,323 ♪And where have you been my darling young one?♪  
134  
00:36:14,368 --> 00:36:18,668 MAX CLELAND: Viktor Frankl who survived the death camps in World War II,  
135  
00:36:18,739 --> 00:36:21,708 wrote a book called *Man's Search for Meaning*.  
136  
00:36:21,776 --> 00:36:24,142 DYLAN: ♪I've walked and I've crawled on six. . .♪  
137  
00:36:24,211 --> 00:36:26,873 CLELAND: You know. “To live is to suffer.  
138  
00:36:26,948 --> 00:36:31,408 To survive is to find meaning in suffering.”  
139  
00:36:31,485 --> 00:36:35,945 **And for those of us who suffered because of Vietnam,**  
140  
00:36:36,023 --> 00:36:40,289 **That's been our quest ever since.**  
141  
00:36:40,361 --> 00:36:46,925 DYLAN: ♪And it's a hard, it's a hard, it's a hard♪  
142  
00:36:47,001 --> 00:36:48,992 ♪it's a hard♪  
143  
00:36:49,070 --> 00:36:53,564 ♪It's a hard rain's a-gonna fall♪  
144  
00:36:53,641 --> 00:36:57,771 NARRATOR: America's involvement in Vietnam **began in secrecy.**  
145  
00:36:57,845 --> 00:37:02,782 It ended, 30 years later, in **failure,**  
146  
00:37:02,850 --> 00:37:06,149 **witnessed by the entire world.**  
147  
00:37:06,220 --> 00:37:09,087 DYLAN: ♪And what did you see, my darling young one?♪

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<sup>1</sup> See how well the Korean Truce is working today. [ed.]

148

00:37:09,156 --> 00:37:12,353 NARRATOR: It was begun in good faith by decent people

149

00:37:12,426 --> 00:37:15,020 out of fateful misunderstandings,

150

00:37:15,096 --> 00:37:19,499 American overconfidence, and Cold War miscalculation.

151

00:37:19,567 --> 00:37:24,937 And it was prolonged because it seemed easier to muddle through

152

00:37:25,006 --> 00:37:28,066 than admit that it had been caused by tragic decisions,

153

00:37:28,142 --> 00:37:31,134 made by five American presidents,

154

00:37:31,212 --> 00:37:34,079 belonging to both political parties.

155

00:37:34,148 --> 00:37:36,082 DYLAN: ♪I saw a room full of men with their hammers a-bleeding♪

156

00:37:36,150 --> 00:37:38,015 NARRATOR: Before the war was over,

157

00:37:38,085 --> 00:37:41,782 more than 58,000 Americans would be dead.

158

00:37:41,856 --> 00:37:46,691 At least 250,000 South Vietnamese troops died

159

00:37:46,761 --> 00:37:49,286 in the conflict, as well.

160

00:37:49,363 --> 00:37:53,322 So did over a million North Vietnamese soldiers

161

00:37:53,401 --> 00:37:54,891 and Viet Cong guerrillas,

162

00:37:54,969 --> 00:37:57,961 DYLAN: ♪Sharp swords in the hands of young children♪

163

00:37:58,039 --> 00:38:00,269 ♪And it's a hard. . .

164

00:38:00,341 --> 00:38:03,401 NARRATOR: Two million civilians, north and south,

165

00:38:03,477 --> 00:38:05,377 are thought to have perished,

166

00:38:05,446 --> 00:38:08,904 as well as tens of thousands more in the neighboring states

167

00:38:08,983 --> 00:38:10,814 of Laos and Cambodia.

168

00:38:10,885 --> 00:38:13,410 (helicopter blades whirring)

169

00:38:13,487 --> 00:38:17,583 For many Vietnamese, it was a brutal civil war;

170

00:38:17,658 --> 00:38:21,059 for others, the bloody climactic chapter

171

00:38:21,128 --> 00:38:24,655 in a century old struggle for independence.

172

00:38:24,732 --> 00:38:29,760 DYLAN: ♪And what you do now, my blue-eyed son?♪

173

00:38:29,837 --> 00:38:32,203 NARRATOR: For those Americans who fought in it,

174

00:38:32,273 --> 00:38:35,174 and for those who fought against it back home,

175

00:38:35,242 --> 00:38:38,769 as well as for those who merely glimpsed it on the nightly news,

176  
00:38:38,846 --> 00:38:42,577 the Vietnam War was a decade of agony,  
177  
00:38:42,650 --> 00:38:48,213 the most divisive period since the Civil War.  
178  
00:38:48,289 --> 00:38:53,192 Vietnam seemed to call everything into question --  
179  
00:38:53,260 --> 00:38:57,754 the value of honor and gallantry;  
180  
00:38:57,832 --> 00:39:02,428 the qualities of cruelty and mercy;  
181  
00:39:02,503 --> 00:39:06,997 the candor of the American government;  
182  
00:39:07,074 --> 00:39:10,771 and what it means to be a patriot.  
183  
00:39:12,713 --> 00:39:17,241 DYLAN: ♪Where hunger is ugly, where the souls are forgotten♪  
184  
00:39:17,318 --> 00:39:19,513 NARRATOR: And those who lived through it  
185  
00:39:19,587 --> 00:39:22,522 have never been able to erase its memory,  
186  
00:39:22,590 --> 00:39:25,684 have never stopped arguing about what really happened,  
187  
00:39:25,760 --> 00:39:31,289 why everything went so badly wrong, who was to blame,  
188  
00:39:31,365 --> 00:39:33,993 and whether it was a worth it.  
189  
00:39:37,671 --> 00:39:39,662 BAO NINH: It has been forty years. Even the Vietnamese veterans, we avoid talking about the war. People sing about victory, about liberation. They're wrong. Who won and who lost is not a question. In war, no one wins or loses. There is only destruction. Only those who have never fought, like to argue about who won or lost.

190  
00:40:17,478 --> 00:40:19,378 DYLAN: ♪And it's a hard  
191  
00:40:19,446 --> 00:40:24,349 ♪It's a hard rain's a-gonna fall♪  
192  
00:40:30,057 --> 00:40:31,456 (song ends)

**EPISODE ONE Déjà Vu (1854-1961)**

193  
00:40:36,263 --> 00:40:41,257 (Silk Road Ensemble playing "People and Fighters Unite")  
194  
00:41:00,487 --> 00:41:03,718 BAO NINH: The French attacked and colonized our country in the middle of the 19th century. The invasion was bloody and cruel.

195  
00:41:11,365 --> 00:41:14,823 NARRATOR: The French conquest of Indochina began with an attack  
196  
00:41:14,902 --> 00:41:20,465 on the ancient Vietnamese port of Danang in 1858. [note picture]  
197  
00:41:20,541 --> 00:41:23,999 It took 50 years to lay claim to the whole region--  
198  
00:41:24,078 --> 00:41:28,674 Laos and Cambodia, as well as the 1,200-mile-long area  
199  
00:41:28,749 --> 00:41:31,877 that would come to be called Vietnam.  
200  
00:41:34,755 --> 00:41:37,781 All of this was ruled By a French governor-general  
201

00:41:37,858 --> 00:41:40,088 from his palace in Hanoi.  
202

00:41:41,862 --> 00:41:45,229 The French largely lived on plantation estates  
203

00:41:45,299 --> 00:41:49,565 and in cities, like Saigon, made to look as much as possible  
204

00:41:49,637 --> 00:41:51,662 like those at home.  
205

00:41:53,073 --> 00:41:56,270 Most did not even bother to learn the language  
206

00:41:56,343 --> 00:41:58,311 spoken by their subjects.  
207

00:41:58,379 --> 00:42:02,042 instead they installed a series of puppet emperors  
208

00:42:02,116 --> 00:42:03,708 and employed a network  
209

00:42:03,784 --> 00:42:07,652 of French-speaking Vietnamese officials – mandarins --  
210

00:42:07,721 --> 00:42:09,712 willing to carry out their wishes.  
211

00:42:13,193 --> 00:42:17,596 The French put their subjects to work building roads and canals,  
212

00:42:17,665 --> 00:42:20,099 railroads and bridges.  
213

00:42:21,502 --> 00:42:23,800 BAO NINH: Of course the French were proud of their civilization, Which they boasted of  
bringing to the Vietnamese people. Of course, the Vietnamese people didn't need French  
civilization. What they needed was independence.  
214

00:42:36,417 --> 00:42:39,181 NARRATOR: The Vietnamese people did not take easily  
215

00:42:39,253 --> 00:42:40,720 to French occupation,  
216

00:42:40,788 --> 00:42:43,586 just as they had fought against earlier invasions  
217

00:42:43,657 --> 00:42:45,284 by the Chinese.  
218

00:42:45,359 --> 00:42:49,489 By the early 20th century, nationalism was on the rise,  
219

00:42:49,563 --> 00:42:54,899 But anyone who dared resist colonial rule risked exile,  
220

00:42:54,969 --> 00:42:57,335 prison or the guillotine.  
221

00:42:59,974 --> 00:43:01,441 TRAN NGOC TOAN: S. Vietnamese Marines (speaking English) They control everything.  
The resources from our country. But mostly they took our independence And our freedom. When I  
was a small child, I got Nationalism already from school. I always looked at the French as my  
enemy. My enemy.  
222

00:43:28,369 --> 00:43:31,998 LAM QUANG THI: S. Vietnamese Army To the French, the Vietnamese were an inferior  
people. In Vietnam, there was no "égalité." It was why we hated them so much.  
223

00:43:46,987 --> 00:43:48,852 (helicopter blades whirring)  
224

00:43:51,358 --> 00:43:54,521 JOHN MUSGRAVE: Marine 1967 My hatred for them was pure.  
225

00:43:54,595 --> 00:43:56,460 Pure  
226

00:43:56,530 --> 00:43:59,658 I hated them so much  
227  
00:43:59,733 --> 00:44:01,166 And I was so scared of them.  
228  
00:44:01,235 --> 00:44:03,203 (gunfire)  
229  
00:44:05,639 --> 00:44:07,800 Boy, I was terrified of them.  
230  
00:44:16,383 --> 00:44:19,216 And the scarer I got, the more I hated them.  
231  
00:44:22,256 --> 00:44:25,521 I was an 18-year-old Marine rifleman with the ink still wet  
232  
00:44:25,592 --> 00:44:27,685 on my high school diploma.  
233  
00:44:27,761 --> 00:44:30,059 I didn't want to shame myself in front of my buddies.  
234  
00:44:32,266 --> 00:44:34,200 But I was so scared.  
235  
00:44:34,268 --> 00:44:37,101 I felt like I was hanging onto my honor by my fingernails  
236  
00:44:37,171 --> 00:44:38,729 the whole time I was there.  
237  
00:44:43,944 --> 00:44:46,936 ("La Marsellaise" playing)  
238  
00:44:49,383 --> 00:44:51,613 (crowd cheering)  
239  
00:44:53,620 --> 00:44:55,781 NARRATOR: In the spring of 1919,  
240  
00:44:55,856 --> 00:44:59,053 as the victorious Allied Powers met in Paris  
241  
00:44:59,126 --> 00:45:02,857 to rebuild a world shattered by the Great War,  
242  
00:45:02,930 --> 00:45:06,661 President Woodrow Wilson headed the American delegation  
243  
00:45:06,733 --> 00:45:09,065 housed in the Hotel Crillon.  
244  
00:45:12,005 --> 00:45:15,771 One day, a tall, slender, 29-year-old man  
245  
00:45:15,843 --> 00:45:18,334 appeared with a petition for the president.  
246  
00:45:18,412 --> 00:45:22,371 he and other Vietnamese nationalists had written.  
247  
00:45:22,449 --> 00:45:25,976 Inspired by Wilson's declaration  
248  
00:45:26,053 --> 00:45:28,954 that the interests of colonial peoples should be given  
249  
00:45:29,022 --> 00:45:32,253 equal weight with those of their European rulers,  
250  
00:45:32,326 --> 00:45:35,853 the man was asking that this principle be applied  
251  
00:45:35,929 --> 00:45:37,658 to his homeland.  
252  
00:45:37,731 --> 00:45:42,498 The president's secretary promised to show it to Wilson  
253  
00:45:42,569 --> 00:45:46,164 but there is no evidence that he ever did.  
254



00:45:46,240 --> 00:45:48,765 His name was Nguyen Tat Thanh,  
255  
00:45:48,842 --> 00:45:52,778 but he was now living under an alias, Nguyen Ai Quoc --  
256  
00:45:52,846 --> 00:45:55,337 “Nguyen the Patriot.”  
257  
00:45:56,717 --> 00:45:59,015 During his long shadowy career,  
258  
00:45:59,086 --> 00:46:02,817 he would adopt some 70 different pseudonyms.  
259  
00:46:02,890 --> 00:46:05,984 finally settling on “the most enlightened one” --  
260  
00:46:06,059 --> 00:46:09,426 Ho Chi Minh.  
261  
00:46:09,496 --> 00:46:14,729 DUONG VAN MAI: Ho Chi Minh was a man who succeeded in projecting an image  
262  
00:46:14,801 --> 00:46:18,760 of somebody who was totally dedicated to freeing  
263  
00:46:18,839 --> 00:46:23,242 his country and his people from foreign domination.  
264  
00:46:23,310 --> 00:46:27,303 to the point that he sacrificed his own well-being,  
265  
00:46:27,381 --> 00:46:31,181 his own life, not having a family of his own.  
266  
00:46:32,686 --> 00:46:35,211 To Vietnamese, That’s a big sacrifice  
267  
00:46:35,289 --> 00:46:37,951 because to us everybody needs a family.  
268  
00:46:39,993 --> 00:46:42,757 NARRATOR: Ho Chi Minh was born in 1890,  
269  
00:46:42,829 --> 00:46:45,730 the son of a minor official in the French regime.  
270  
00:46:45,799 --> 00:46:48,734 After taking part in a demonstration  
271  
00:46:48,802 --> 00:46:50,394 against the puppet emperor  
272  
00:46:50,470 --> 00:46:52,335 and the Frenchmen who pulled his strings,  
273  
00:46:52,406 --> 00:46:56,399 Ho was expelled from school and marked for arrest.  
274  
00:46:58,645 --> 00:47:03,878 He left Vietnam in 1911 and remained in exile for 30 years.  
275  
00:47:05,552 --> 00:47:08,783 He served as a cook’s helper aboard a French liner,  
276  
00:47:08,855 --> 00:47:11,619 and visited New York and Boston,  
277  
00:47:11,692 --> 00:47:16,720 where he worked for a time as a pastry chef at the Parker House.  
278  
00:47:16,797 --> 00:47:21,996 He shoveled snow in London, tinted photographs in Paris.  
279  
00:47:23,537 --> 00:47:27,769 There Ho Chi Minh joined the French Socialist Party.  
280  
00:47:27,841 --> 00:47:31,277 But, when he discovered the anti-colonial writings of Lenin,  
281  
00:47:31,345 --> 00:47:33,279 he became a communist.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> He is also considered to be a founder of the French Communist Party.

282  
00:47:34,881 --> 00:47:36,815 He was invited to Moscow to study,  
283  
00:47:36,883 --> 00:47:39,909 underwent training as a Soviet agent,  
284  
00:47:39,987 --> 00:47:43,388 was sometimes criticized for being a nationalist first,  
285  
00:47:43,457 --> 00:47:45,322 a communist second<sup>3</sup>,  
286  
00:47:45,392 --> 00:47:48,361 and then was dispatched to China  
287  
00:47:48,428 --> 00:47:51,625 to organize a cell of other Vietnamese exiles  
288  
00:47:51,698 --> 00:47:56,294 and help establish the Indochinese Communist Party.  
289  
00:47:56,370 --> 00:48:00,101 Through it all, “He was taut and quivering,”  
290  
00:48:00,173 --> 00:48:03,438 a friend remembered, “with only one thought--  
291  
00:48:03,510 --> 00:48:06,274 his country, Vietnam.”  
292  
00:48:07,614 --> 00:48:10,481 (air raid siren blaring)  
293  
00:48:10,550 --> 00:48:11,778 (bombs whistling, exploding)  
294  
00:48:11,852 --> 00:48:12,978 (shouting)  
295  
00:48:16,056 --> 00:48:20,117 (gunfire, explosions)  
296  
00:48:20,193 --> 00:48:26,530 NARRATOR: By 1940, much of the world was at war again.  
297  
00:48:32,939 --> 00:48:36,841 Germany had seized most of Western Europe,  
298  
00:48:36,910 --> 00:48:38,741 including France.  
299  
00:48:42,316 --> 00:48:44,079 Imperial Japan threatened  
300  
00:48:44,151 --> 00:48:46,244 many of the European colonies in Asia,  
301  
00:48:46,320 --> 00:48:50,188 and occupied Vietnam where they permitted their allies,  
302  
00:48:50,257 --> 00:48:51,849 the collaborationist French,  
303  
00:48:51,925 --> 00:48:54,553 to continue to oversee their colony.  
304  
00:48:57,798 --> 00:49:01,393 To some Vietnamese, the coming of the Japanese  
305  
00:49:01,468 --> 00:49:06,030 seemed to signal a welcome end to white colonial rule.  
306  
00:49:06,106 --> 00:49:09,405 But Ho Chi Minh, still in exile in China,  
307  
00:49:09,476 --> 00:49:12,877 saw the Japanese as alien invaders,  
308  
00:49:12,946 --> 00:49:15,346 no more welcome than the French.

<sup>3</sup> In Comintern’s training program (see link to come) criticism is an important part of recreating the student in the proper image. His actions as Head of State show that ideology rather than nationalism had the higher priority.

309  
00:49:15,415 --> 00:49:18,680 They were only interested in exploiting his country  
310  
00:49:18,752 --> 00:49:24,486 and seizing Vietnamese crops to fill their own rice bowls.  
311  
00:49:24,558 --> 00:49:26,924 The time had come, he said,  
312  
00:49:26,993 --> 00:49:30,588 to rally “patriots of all ages and all types,  
313  
00:49:30,664 --> 00:49:34,760 Peasants, workers, merchants and soldiers”  
314  
00:49:34,835 --> 00:49:38,464 to defeat the Japanese and the collaborationist French.  
315  
00:49:42,309 --> 00:49:47,872 In February of 1941, after three decades away from his homeland,  
316  
00:49:47,948 --> 00:49:52,009 Ho Chi Minh stepped back across the Chinese border into Vietnam  
317  
00:49:52,085 --> 00:49:56,419 and set up headquarters near the remote village of Pac Bo  
318  
00:49:56,490 --> 00:49:59,357 in a limestone cave at the side of a mountain  
319  
00:49:59,426 --> 00:50:02,156 he named for Karl Marx,  
320  
00:50:02,229 --> 00:50:07,633 overlooking a jungle stream he named for his hero, Lenin.  
321  
00:50:10,070 --> 00:50:12,732 There, he founded a revolutionary movement,  
322  
00:50:12,806 --> 00:50:16,503 which he called the Vietnam Independence League--  
323  
00:50:16,576 --> 00:50:19,136 the Viet Minh.  
324  
00:50:20,380 --> 00:50:22,712 TRAN NGOC TOAN: S. Vietnamese Marine (speaking English) Everybody wanted to join the  
Viet Minh to fight. Nobody know about the Viet Minh as a communist organization.  
325  
00:50:31,925 --> 00:50:35,122 NARRATOR: To build and lead a fighting force for his revolution,  
326  
00:50:35,195 --> 00:50:37,857 Ho called upon Vo Nguyen Giap,  
327  
00:50:37,931 --> 00:50:40,365 a one time teacher of French history  
328  
00:50:40,434 --> 00:50:44,131 who had instructed the children of Hanoi’s elite.  
329  
00:50:44,204 --> 00:50:47,799 Giap was an early convert to communism,  
330  
00:50:47,874 --> 00:50:51,275 whose life-long hatred for the French intensified  
331  
00:50:51,344 --> 00:50:54,677 when they beat his wife to death in prison.  
332  
00:50:54,748 --> 00:50:59,048 Inspired by Napoleon, Lawrence of Arabia,  
333  
00:50:59,119 --> 00:51:02,748 and the communist Chinese revolutionary Mao Zedong,  
334  
00:51:02,823 --> 00:51:05,155 Giap had already begun to develop  
335  
00:51:05,225 --> 00:51:09,525 a distinctive theory of warfare that relied on guerrilla tactics  
336

00:51:09,596 --> 00:51:14,624 until a full scale conventional attack could be mounted.  
337

00:51:14,701 --> 00:51:18,694 In the fight for independence, which he believed was coming,  
338

00:51:18,772 --> 00:51:25,473 his armies, Giap said, would be “everywhere and nowhere.”  
339

00:51:25,545 --> 00:51:29,413 DUONG VAN MAI: The reason Vietnamese had always resort to guerrilla warfare  
340

00:51:29,483 --> 00:51:32,008 was because we were a small country  
341

00:51:32,085 --> 00:51:37,387 And it was just a way of fight the weak against the strong  
342

00:51:37,457 --> 00:51:41,052 Don’t fight unless you’re sure you can win,  
343

00:51:41,127 --> 00:51:44,392 and surprise is a big element.  
344

00:51:46,266 --> 00:51:48,757 Choose your own battle.  
345

00:51:54,541 --> 00:51:58,739 MIKE HEANEY: ARMY 1966 I had about 26 guys that day out of 45.  
346

00:51:58,812 --> 00:52:01,178 We were always somewhat understrength  
347

00:52:01,248 --> 00:52:03,478 And this day we were quite understrength.  
348

00:52:05,185 --> 00:52:07,016 My platoon’s on point  
349

00:52:12,192 --> 00:52:13,887 MAN: Go, go, go, go, go!  
350

00:52:13,960 --> 00:52:16,758 HEANEY: And all of a sudden the very point man,  
351

00:52:16,830 --> 00:52:20,322 the first guy in the column, said, “VC on the trail.  
352

00:52:20,400 --> 00:52:21,594 VC on the trail.”  
353

00:52:23,637 --> 00:52:26,003 Before I had a chance to digest this...  
354

00:52:26,072 --> 00:52:27,198 (gunshot)  
355

00:52:27,274 --> 00:52:28,866 . . .he went down, shot right through the chest.  
356

00:52:28,942 --> 00:52:31,206 (gunfire)  
357

00:52:31,278 --> 00:52:34,873 And what was a very Well-laid ambush erupted.  
358

00:52:34,948 --> 00:52:38,247 (explosion, gunfire)  
359

00:52:43,924 --> 00:52:45,949 (gunfire, shouting)  
360

00:52:46,026 --> 00:52:48,256 I knew I’d lost a bunch of guys.  
361

00:52:48,328 --> 00:52:52,560 I said a prayer to God saying, Basically,  
362

00:22:26,532 --> 00:22:29,000 **TIMING MARKS ABOVE HERE NEED TO BE CHANGED**  
363

00:22:29,068 --> 00:22:30,968 Don’t take any more of my men.”  
364

00:22:31,037 --> 00:22:34,495 As soon as said it, I freaked myself out and said,  
365  
00:22:34,574 --> 00:22:36,007 “Holy shit.  
366  
00:22:36,075 --> 00:22:38,566 Can I take that prayer back?”  
367  
00:22:40,980 --> 00:22:43,414 (gunfire, plane engine roaring)  
368  
00:22:44,984 --> 00:22:48,715 (explosion, alarm ringing)  
369  
00:22:48,788 --> 00:22:52,189 NARRATOR: **By the spring of 1945,**  
370  
00:22:52,258 --> 00:22:57,628 more than three years after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor,  
371  
00:22:57,697 --> 00:23:00,860 the United States government was **looking for allies**  
372  
00:23:00,933 --> 00:23:03,026 behind the lines in Vietnam.  
373  
00:23:03,102 --> 00:23:05,161 The Americans were hoping to find a way  
374  
00:23:05,238 --> 00:23:08,537 to undermine Japanese forces there  
375  
00:23:08,608 --> 00:23:11,805 when they were **contacted by Ho Chi Minh.**  
376  
00:23:11,878 --> 00:23:13,709 DONALD GREGG: OSS/CIA And so it was decided to drop  
377  
00:23:13,779 --> 00:23:18,716 an OSS team in to meet with the Viet Minh leadership.  
378  
00:23:21,254 --> 00:23:24,519 Paul Hoagland was the medic on the team.  
379  
00:23:24,590 --> 00:23:28,219 And the **first thing** he was to do was that he must attend  
380  
00:23:28,294 --> 00:23:30,159 to their leader, who was **desperately sick.**  
381  
00:23:30,229 --> 00:23:33,289 So he was taken to a grass shack  
382  
00:23:33,366 --> 00:23:37,735 where a bewhiskered, skinny man lay on a bundle of straw,  
383  
00:23:37,803 --> 00:23:39,361 **Desperately ill.**  
384  
00:23:39,438 --> 00:23:40,996 And that was Ho Chi Minh.  
385  
00:23:43,509 --> 00:23:48,173 NARRATOR: The OSS, the secret wartime precursor of the CIA,  
386  
00:23:48,247 --> 00:23:51,375 **supplied** Ho’s ragtag guerrillas with arms  
387  
00:23:51,450 --> 00:23:56,319 and **marveled** at how quickly they learned to handle them.  
388  
00:23:56,389 --> 00:23:59,119 Ho Chi Minh began to call his followers  
389  
00:23:59,191 --> 00:24:03,423 the **“Viet-American Army”** and praised the United States  
390  
00:24:03,496 --> 00:24:05,361 as a “champion of democracy”  
391  
00:24:05,431 --> 00:24:08,525 that would surely help them end colonial rule.  
392

00:24:09,869 --> 00:24:12,963 BUI DIEM (speaking English): S Vietnamese Diplomat  
We saw the American coming. And when we look at the American, we consider them as a kind of  
free man Liberating the people. They have liberated Europe already.

393  
00:24:26,886 --> 00:24:31,516 NARRATOR: Meanwhile, famine gripped the northern part of the country.  
394  
00:24:31,591 --> 00:24:33,582 Hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese  
395  
00:24:33,659 --> 00:24:35,650 were dying of starvation  
396  
00:24:35,728 --> 00:24:38,891 while Japanese storehouses were filled with rice.  
397  
00:24:42,001 --> 00:24:44,026 DUONG VAN MAI: In those days, garbage was collected  
398  
00:24:44,103 --> 00:24:46,264 by people pushing carts.  
399  
00:24:46,339 --> 00:24:50,901 And my mother remembers that every morning she would see  
400  
00:24:50,977 --> 00:24:52,911 these garbage carts going around  
401  
00:24:52,979 --> 00:24:55,379 and people picking up dead bodies and throwing them  
402  
00:24:55,448 --> 00:24:56,972 on the cart.  
403  
00:24:57,049 --> 00:24:58,607 It was incredible.  
404  
00:24:58,684 --> 00:25:02,279 And people who lived through it never, never forgot.  
405  
00:25:02,355 --> 00:25:06,792 NARRATOR: Duong Van Mai's father was the deputy governor  
406  
00:25:06,859 --> 00:25:09,054 of a province east of Hanoi,  
407  
00:25:09,128 --> 00:25:11,596 the son and grandson of mandarins  
408  
00:25:11,664 --> 00:25:14,326 who had all served the French.  
409  
00:25:14,400 --> 00:25:17,767 He and his wife had 17 children.  
410  
00:25:17,837 --> 00:25:22,604 DUONG VAN MAI: Parents who had children who were, you know, plump,  
411  
00:25:22,675 --> 00:25:25,143 were very afraid of their children being stolen  
412  
00:25:25,211 --> 00:25:27,679 and killed.  
413  
00:25:27,747 --> 00:25:30,875 And it was really like hell on earth.  
414  
00:25:30,950 --> 00:25:34,545 **The government didn't have a clue on how to deal**  
415  
00:25:34,620 --> 00:25:36,645 **with this calamity.**  
416  
00:25:38,290 --> 00:25:39,621 NARRATOR: **But Ho Chi Minh did.**  
417  
00:25:39,692 --> 00:25:41,956 He directed the Viet Minh  
418  
00:25:42,028 --> 00:25:45,327 to break into the Japanese storehouses wherever they could  
419

00:25:45,398 --> 00:25:49,494 and distribute the rice to the people.  
420  
00:25:49,568 --> 00:25:52,059 They were hailed as saviors.  
421  
00:25:54,674 --> 00:25:56,198 (engine starts)  
422  
00:26:03,315 --> 00:26:04,304 August 6, 1945 (explosion)  
423  
00:26:06,952 --> 00:26:10,183 NARRATOR: When an atomic bomb destroyed Hiroshima,  
424  
00:26:10,256 --> 00:26:13,817 and three days later a second one destroyed Nagasaki.  
425  
00:26:13,893 --> 00:26:16,862 Japanese surrender seemed imminent.  
426  
00:26:18,964 --> 00:26:22,559 **Ho Chi Minh called upon** all Vietnamese to rise up  
427  
00:26:22,635 --> 00:26:24,603 and take over their own country  
428  
00:26:24,670 --> 00:26:27,070 before the Free French could reestablish  
429  
00:26:27,139 --> 00:26:29,664 their old colonial regime.  
430  
00:26:29,742 --> 00:26:34,839 They did, in cities and towns across the country.  
431  
00:26:38,451 --> 00:26:41,420 On September 2, 1945,  
432  
00:26:41,487 --> 00:26:44,285 the same day the Japanese formally surrendered,  
433  
00:26:44,356 --> 00:26:47,291 hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese  
434  
00:26:47,359 --> 00:26:52,126 streamed into Ba Dinh Square in Hanoi to see for the first time  
435  
00:26:52,198 --> 00:26:55,463 the mysterious leader of the Viet Minh  
436  
00:26:55,534 --> 00:27:00,198 and hear him proclaim Vietnam's independence.  
437  
00:27:00,272 --> 00:27:03,730 (Ho Chi Minh speaking Vietnamese)  
438  
00:27:03,809 --> 00:27:08,371 NARRATOR: With an OSS officer standing nearby,  
439  
00:27:08,447 --> 00:27:12,440 **Ho Chi Minh began with the words of Thomas Jefferson:**  
440  
00:27:12,518 --> 00:27:15,112 "All men are created equal.  
441  
00:27:15,187 --> 00:27:18,020 "They are endowed by their creator  
442  
00:27:18,090 --> 00:27:21,218 "with certain unalienable rights;  
443  
00:27:21,293 --> 00:27:23,989 "that among these are life, liberty  
444  
00:27:24,063 --> 00:27:26,190 and the pursuit of happiness."  
445  
00:27:28,968 --> 00:27:31,766 DONG SI NGUYEN: Viet Minh All Vietnamese people, not just me, felt that from now on  
Vietnam would be independent. Free, unified, territorially secure and officially named on the map  
of the world. Everybody was so proud.



00:27:48,854 --> 00:27:51,118 GEORGE WICKES: OSS Ho Chi Minh had great hopes  
447  
00:27:51,190 --> 00:27:56,594 that the U S would support the Vietnam desire for independence,  
448  
00:27:56,662 --> 00:27:58,459 not necessarily by intervening  
449  
00:27:58,531 --> 00:28:02,331 but by doing what it could  
450  
00:28:02,401 --> 00:28:05,996 to support an independence movement.  
451  
00:28:06,071 --> 00:28:09,802 NARRATOR: Ho Chi Minh's hopes for American support were calculated  
452  
00:28:09,875 --> 00:28:12,810 but understandable.  
453  
00:28:12,878 --> 00:28:16,814 **President Franklin Roosevelt** had promised a postwar world  
454  
00:28:16,882 --> 00:28:19,976 that would "respect the rights of all peoples  
455  
00:28:20,052 --> 00:28:22,953 to choose the form of government under which they live."  
456  
00:28:25,891 --> 00:28:29,759 But Roosevelt was dead now, and his successor, Harry Truman,  
457  
00:28:29,829 --> 00:28:33,697 had inherited a very different world.  
458  
00:28:33,766 --> 00:28:36,132 The alliance with the Soviet Union  
459  
00:28:36,202 --> 00:28:40,036 that had won the Second World War had collapsed.  
460  
00:28:40,105 --> 00:28:43,768 **The Soviets now occupied the Eastern European countries**  
461  
00:28:43,843 --> 00:28:48,439 **they had overrun, and hoped to spread their influence farther,**  
462  
00:28:48,514 --> 00:28:53,178 into Iran, Turkey, and the Mediterranean.  
463  
00:28:53,252 --> 00:28:57,621 A new cold war had begun.  
464  
00:28:57,690 --> 00:29:00,284 French President Charles De Gaulle warned  
465  
00:29:00,359 --> 00:29:03,453 that if the United States insisted on independence  
466  
00:29:03,529 --> 00:29:07,158 for her colonies, France might have no choice  
467  
00:29:07,233 --> 00:29:10,600 but to "fall into the Russian orbit."  
468  
00:29:10,669 --> 00:29:14,105 The United States must do nothing to undercut  
469  
00:29:14,173 --> 00:29:19,509 the restoration of France's empire, including Vietnam.  
470  
00:29:23,649 --> 00:29:27,176 GEORGE WICKES: OSS There were hardly any Americans in Vietnam, you know--  
471  
00:29:27,253 --> 00:29:30,245 State Department people, consular officials,  
472  
00:29:30,322 --> 00:29:32,552 a few businessmen.  
473  
00:29:32,625 --> 00:29:34,684 Hardly anyone from this country  
474



00:29:34,760 --> 00:29:36,557 knew where Vietnam was located.  
475

00:29:36,629 --> 00:29:41,362 NARRATOR: George Wickes was part of a seven-man OSS mission  
476

00:29:41,433 --> 00:29:44,800 sent to Saigon, the largest city in the south.  
477

00:29:44,870 --> 00:29:48,362 The United States was officially neutral,  
478

00:29:48,440 --> 00:29:51,170 hoping the French and Viet Minh could reach  
479

00:29:51,243 --> 00:29:54,804 some peaceful solution on their own.  
480

00:29:54,880 --> 00:29:58,407 Allied leaders had agreed temporarily to divide Vietnam  
481

00:29:58,484 --> 00:30:01,009 into two separate zones.  
482

00:30:01,086 --> 00:30:05,284 Nationalist Chinese troops were to handle things in the north.  
483

00:30:05,357 --> 00:30:08,849 British colonial troops would try to perform the same task  
484

00:30:08,928 --> 00:30:11,761 in the south, where rival factions,  
485

00:30:11,830 --> 00:30:15,960 including the French and Viet Minh, were already fighting  
486

00:30:16,035 --> 00:30:18,970 in the streets of Saigon.  
487

00:30:19,038 --> 00:30:21,438 WICKES: No one was in charge.  
488

00:30:21,507 --> 00:30:25,705 On both sides, there was brutality and atrocity  
489

00:30:25,778 --> 00:30:27,302 and violence.  
490

00:30:27,379 --> 00:30:29,939 It wasn't quite a civil war  
491

00:30:30,015 --> 00:30:31,915 but it was getting very close to civil war  
492

00:30:31,984 --> 00:30:34,350 in the streets of Saigon.  
493

00:30:34,420 --> 00:30:37,412 NARRATOR: Lieutenant Colonel Peter Dewey,  
494

00:30:37,489 --> 00:30:40,890 the 28 year old commander of the OSS in Saigon,  
495

00:30:40,960 --> 00:30:43,588 tried to make sense of it all.  
496

00:30:43,662 --> 00:30:46,426 WICKES: Right from the start he was in touch with everybody--  
497

00:30:46,498 --> 00:30:49,194 not only the French, but very soon he established  
498

00:30:49,268 --> 00:30:53,466 a connection with various Vietnamese groups.  
499

00:30:53,539 --> 00:30:56,565 The Viet Minh soon established themselves  
500

00:30:56,642 --> 00:30:59,110 as the most successful.  
501

00:30:59,178 --> 00:31:02,011 NARRATOR: Dewey, who spoke fluent French<sup>4</sup>,  
502  
00:31:02,081 --> 00:31:04,982 brokered talks between a Viet Minh spokesman  
503  
00:31:05,050 --> 00:31:08,816 and the senior French representative in the city.  
504  
00:31:08,887 --> 00:31:13,688 His efforts infuriated British general Douglas Gracey  
505  
00:31:13,759 --> 00:31:16,728 who commanded Allied forces in the south.  
506  
00:31:16,795 --> 00:31:19,696 Gracey was convinced that French control  
507  
00:31:19,765 --> 00:31:22,632 should be reimposed as soon as possible.  
508  
00:31:22,701 --> 00:31:26,068 By conferring with the Viet Minh, Gracey said,  
509  
00:31:26,138 --> 00:31:30,632 Colonel Dewey had become a “subversive” force.  
510  
00:31:30,709 --> 00:31:32,074 (gunfire)  
511  
00:31:32,144 --> 00:31:35,580 The violence in and around Saigon escalated.  
512  
00:31:37,649 --> 00:31:40,413 Colonel Dewey urgently cabled his superiors:  
513  
00:31:40,486 --> 00:31:44,047 Vietnam “is burning,” he wrote.  
514  
00:31:44,123 --> 00:31:46,648 “The French and British are finished here  
515  
00:31:46,725 --> 00:31:49,285 and the United States,” he concluded,  
516  
00:31:49,361 --> 00:31:51,556 “ought to clear out of Southeast Asia.”  
517  
00:31:51,630 --> 00:31:53,154 (gunfire)  
518  
00:31:55,868 --> 00:32:00,328 Two days later, September 26, 1945,  
519  
00:32:00,406 --> 00:32:01,930 he set out for the airport,  
520  
00:32:02,007 --> 00:32:06,876 prepared to fly to OSS headquarters.  
521  
00:32:06,945 --> 00:32:11,973 At a roadblock, the Viet Minh mistook Dewey for a Frenchman  
522  
00:32:12,051 --> 00:32:14,110 and opened fire.  
523  
00:32:14,186 --> 00:32:15,653 (gunfire)  
524  
00:32:15,721 --> 00:32:18,952 He was killed instantly.  
525  
00:32:19,024 --> 00:32:22,858 WICKES: Ho Chi Minh wrote to the United States  
526  
00:32:22,928 --> 00:32:26,955 lamenting the death of Dewey, whom he recognized  
527  
00:32:27,032 --> 00:32:30,934 as a person sympathetic to his cause.  
528

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<sup>4</sup> The narration is much concerned that the Americans didn't speak Vietnamese, but acknowledges here that French was a lingua franca.

00:32:31,003 --> 00:32:33,836 It seemed a terrible irony that Dewey,  
529  
00:32:33,906 --> 00:32:36,500 who was doing what he could to help  
530  
00:32:36,575 --> 00:32:40,272 the Vietnamese independence movement should have been killed  
531  
00:32:40,345 --> 00:32:42,540 by the Vietnamese by a **mistake**.  
532  
00:32:48,087 --> 00:32:50,453 (electronic buzzing, muted helicopter blades beating)  
533  
00:32:54,093 --> 00:32:58,792 VINCENT OKAMOTO: Army 1968 An elderly African-American woman answered the door.  
534  
00:33:03,902 --> 00:33:07,770 I think she knew the instant she saw us why we were there.  
535  
00:33:10,809 --> 00:33:12,970 And the padre said, uh,  
536  
00:33:13,045 --> 00:33:17,675 "I'm, I'm terribly sorry to inform you,  
537  
00:33:17,749 --> 00:33:22,982 but your son was killed in Vietnam."  
538  
00:33:23,055 --> 00:33:24,022 And she just sat down.  
539  
00:33:24,089 --> 00:33:25,647 Didn't say a word.  
540  
00:33:28,060 --> 00:33:31,826 Then the . . . her husband says, "No, there's a mistake."  
541  
00:33:31,897 --> 00:33:33,694 He comes back with this letter.  
542  
00:33:33,765 --> 00:33:36,063 And he said, "Look, see?  
543  
00:33:36,135 --> 00:33:41,072 We got it yesterday my. . . our son was still a live yesterday."  
544  
00:33:41,140 --> 00:33:44,132 And the chaplain looked at the letter  
545  
00:33:44,209 --> 00:33:46,439 and he said, "It's a week old.  
546  
00:33:46,512 --> 00:33:50,812 I think your son was killed on the day he wrote this letter."  
547  
00:33:52,918 --> 00:33:56,752 ("La Marseillaise" playing)  
548  
00:33:58,724 --> 00:34:02,956 NARRATOR: In the fall of 1945, a week after Colonel Dewey's death,  
549  
00:34:03,028 --> 00:34:05,963 fresh French troops began arriving in Saigon,  
550  
00:34:06,031 --> 00:34:09,933 taking over from the British.  
551  
00:34:10,002 --> 00:34:11,196 They quickly established  
552  
00:34:11,270 --> 00:34:13,101 control of the city  
553  
00:34:13,172 --> 00:34:14,503 and set out to reoccupy  
554  
00:34:14,573 --> 00:34:16,302 the entire country.  
555  
00:34:18,277 --> 00:34:22,043 Ho Chi Minh hoped somehow to achieve independence  
556

00:34:22,114 --> 00:34:24,139 without a war with France,  
557  
00:34:24,216 --> 00:34:27,652 and he still hoped the United States would intervene.  
558  
00:34:27,719 --> 00:34:31,678 “You never had an empire, never exploited the Asian peoples,”  
559  
00:34:31,757 --> 00:34:34,885 he would tell a visiting American journalist.  
560  
00:34:34,960 --> 00:34:39,056 **“Do not be blinded by this issue of communism.”**  
561  
00:34:39,131 --> 00:34:44,296 LESLIE GELB: He did not want to fight the French as an enemy of America  
562  
00:34:44,369 --> 00:34:50,535 And, in fact, I saw the letters he wrote to President Truman  
563  
00:34:50,609 --> 00:34:55,069 saying “We believe in the same things you believe.”  
564  
00:34:55,147 --> 00:34:58,446 Those letters I saw in the CIA files,  
565  
00:34:58,517 --> 00:35:02,317 they had never been given to President Truman.  
566  
00:35:03,889 --> 00:35:06,551 (children shouting)  
567  
00:35:06,625 --> 00:35:11,255 NARRATOR: In June of 1946, Ho Chi Minh returned to Paris  
568  
00:35:11,330 --> 00:35:14,299 **in a fruitless attempt to get the French to live up**  
569  
00:35:14,366 --> 00:35:17,597 **to a promise they had made of increased autonomy<sup>5</sup>**  
570  
00:35:17,669 --> 00:35:19,933 for his country.  
571  
00:35:20,005 --> 00:35:21,836 **While Ho was away,**  
572  
00:35:21,907 --> 00:35:25,308 **General Giap began consolidating communist control**  
573  
00:35:25,377 --> 00:35:26,776 **of the revolution.**  
574  
00:35:26,845 --> 00:35:29,643 **He conducted a merciless purge**  
575  
00:35:29,715 --> 00:35:32,684 **of members of rival nationalist parties**  
576  
00:35:32,751 --> 00:35:36,152 and people he called “reactionary saboteurs,”  
577  
00:35:36,221 --> 00:35:41,523 landlords and moneylenders, Trotskyites and Catholics,  
578  
00:35:41,593 --> 00:35:45,996 men and women accused of collaborating with the French.  
579  
00:35:46,064 --> 00:35:50,364 **Hundreds** were shot, drowned, buried alive.  
580  
00:35:50,435 --> 00:35:52,266 LAM QUANG THI: **I saw that Viet Minh killed their fellow Vietnamese. They weren’t**  
**actually fighting for the Vietnamese people. They fought only for the international communist**  
**system.**  
581  
00:36:03,482 --> 00:36:08,385 NARRATOR: On December 19, 1946, after months of building tension,  
582  
00:36:08,453 --> 00:36:10,683 fighting broke out in Hanoi

<sup>5</sup> Insert link to paper citing Turner research

583  
00:36:10,756 --> 00:36:13,691 between the Viet Minh and the French.

584  
00:36:13,759 --> 00:36:15,454 (gunfire)

585  
00:36:17,929 --> 00:36:21,023 The Viet Minh proved no match for French firepower.

586  
00:36:25,671 --> 00:36:30,574 Ho, Giap, and their comrades slipped out of the city

587  
00:36:30,642 --> 00:36:34,578 and returned to their mountain stronghold far to the north.

588  
00:36:36,882 --> 00:36:40,045 “Those who have rifles will use their rifles,”

589  
00:36:40,118 --> 00:36:42,177 Ho declared in a radio address

590  
00:36:42,254 --> 00:36:45,121 calling for a nationwide guerrilla war.

591  
00:36:45,190 --> 00:36:49,092 “Those who have swords will use swords;

592  
00:36:49,161 --> 00:36:54,258 those who have no swords will use spades or sticks.”

593  
00:36:58,070 --> 00:37:02,939 NGUYEN NGOC: Viet Minh There was a profound sense of responsibility to fight for our  
country. I remember it as a happy, beautiful time. We sang even as we marched into battle, very  
romantic songs.

594  
00:37:24,730 --> 00:37:27,358 NARRATOR: But the country Ho Chi Minh hoped to unite

595  
00:37:27,432 --> 00:37:30,697 was itself bitterly divided.

596  
00:37:30,769 --> 00:37:33,101 Families were being torn apart.

597  
00:37:33,171 --> 00:37:37,039 Despite her father’s position in the French government,

598  
00:37:37,109 --> 00:37:41,978 Duong Van Mai’s sister felt compelled to answer Ho’s call.

599  
00:37:43,715 --> 00:37:47,344 DUONG VAN MAI: My older sister Thang was married

600  
00:37:47,419 --> 00:37:52,447 to a man who had great sympathy for the Viet Minh.

601  
00:37:52,524 --> 00:37:55,550 And by that time Ho Chi Minh had evacuated his government

602  
00:37:55,627 --> 00:37:56,958 to the mountain base.

603  
00:37:57,028 --> 00:38:00,691 So my sister and her husband trekked all the way

604  
00:38:00,766 --> 00:38:03,030 from Hanoi toward the base

605  
00:38:03,101 --> 00:38:06,559 in order to join the resistance against the French.

606  
00:38:09,341 --> 00:38:11,832 So the Vietnam War was really a **civil** war

607  
00:38:11,910 --> 00:38:13,468 down to the family level.

608  
00:38:21,887 --> 00:38:25,550 NARRATOR: France poured thousands of men into Vietnam --

609  
00:38:25,624 --> 00:38:29,993 French regulars, European Mercenaries, and colonial troops

610  
00:38:30,061 --> 00:38:34,020 from Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Senegal--  
611  
00:38:34,099 --> 00:38:39,002 who fought alongside an army of Cambodians, Laotians,  
612  
00:38:39,070 --> 00:38:41,903 and anti-communist Vietnamese.  
613  
00:38:45,811 --> 00:38:50,077 French forces managed to occupy most of the large towns  
614  
00:38:50,148 --> 00:38:51,581 and province capitals  
615  
00:38:51,650 --> 00:38:56,678 and established hundreds of isolated outposts.  
616  
00:38:56,755 --> 00:39:01,454 The French also set out to try to win over rural Vietnamese  
617  
00:39:01,526 --> 00:39:04,859 through a program they called "pacification" --  
618  
00:39:04,930 --> 00:39:07,057 "Pacification" --  
619  
00:39:07,132 --> 00:39:11,694 building dikes, schools and roads, and vaccinating children.  
620  
00:39:14,606 --> 00:39:17,040 DUONG VAN MAI: The French would pacify a village  
621  
00:39:17,108 --> 00:39:21,306 and during the daytime they could control it.  
622  
00:39:21,379 --> 00:39:24,906 But at night the Viet Minh would come back.  
623  
00:39:24,983 --> 00:39:29,181 And so it was never completely secure.  
624  
00:39:29,254 --> 00:39:32,712 My father would shake his head and said, you know,  
625  
00:39:32,791 --> 00:39:34,349 "Pacification is really futile  
626  
00:39:34,426 --> 00:39:38,590 because it is like trying to hold sand in your fingers."  
627  
00:39:42,133 --> 00:39:47,264 NARRATOR: The Viet Minh mined roads, blew up bridges and railroads,  
628  
00:39:47,339 --> 00:39:52,367 ambushed French patrols and then disappeared.  
629  
00:39:54,779 --> 00:39:59,011 French soldiers sometimes took revenge on the nearest village,  
630  
00:39:59,084 --> 00:40:01,518 burning homes, raping women,  
631  
00:40:01,586 --> 00:40:05,716 executing men suspected of aiding the Viet Minh.  
632  
00:40:10,695 --> 00:40:12,788 LE CONG HUAN: Viet Minh In 1948 in my home village the French came on tanks and  
burned our houses. They shot many of the water buffaloes that we used to plow. When I was a little  
boy I witnessed that scene. It was seared into my memory.  
633  
00:40:44,763 --> 00:40:49,530 NARRATOR: But the communists proved every bit as ruthless as the French.  
634  
00:40:49,601 --> 00:40:52,798 "It is better to kill even those who might be innocent."  
635  
00:40:52,871 --> 00:40:58,639 one commander said, "than to let a guilty person go."  
636  
00:40:58,710 --> 00:41:01,008 And they specifically targeted

637  
00:41:01,079 --> 00:41:04,378 anyone who had links to the French.

638  
00:41:04,449 --> 00:41:08,146 DUONG VAN MAI: Once my father started working for the French, then he was

639  
00:41:08,219 --> 00:41:10,915 a target, especially the higher he rose,

640  
00:41:10,989 --> 00:41:12,889 the bigger target he became.

641  
00:41:12,958 --> 00:41:19,056 A Viet Minh agent actually came in with a pistol to shoot him

642  
00:41:19,130 --> 00:41:22,622 but at the last moment decided not to.

643  
00:41:25,070 --> 00:41:27,630 TRANG NGOC ("HARRY") HUE: S. Vietnamese Army I saw the Viet Minh arrest  
Vietnamese soldiers in the French Army, strip them naked. And kill them savagely by burying  
them alive. They didn't want to waste a bullet on these people. We lived under two oppressors.

644  
00:41:57,302 --> 00:41:58,792 (gunfire)

645  
00:42:01,740 --> 00:42:05,073 NARRATOR: French casualties continued to mount.

646  
00:42:05,143 --> 00:42:08,010 "There are days when we are so discouraged

647  
00:42:08,079 --> 00:42:10,707 that we would like to give it all up,"

648  
00:42:10,782 --> 00:42:12,909 a French soldier wrote his mother.

649  
00:42:12,984 --> 00:42:16,215 "Convoys under attack, roads cut,

650  
00:42:16,287 --> 00:42:19,415 "firing in all directions every night,

651  
00:42:19,491 --> 00:42:21,356 the indifference at home."

652  
00:42:31,102 --> 00:42:33,798 ROGER HARRIS: Marine 1967 While I was there I had the opportunity to call my mother,

653  
00:42:33,872 --> 00:42:36,033 you know.

654  
00:42:36,107 --> 00:42:39,167 And I was telling my mother what was happening over there,

655  
00:42:39,244 --> 00:42:42,372 and was telling her how she shouldn't believe

656  
00:42:42,447 --> 00:42:45,348 what she sees in the newspaper and sees on television

657  
00:42:45,417 --> 00:42:48,079 because we're losing the war.

658  
00:42:48,153 --> 00:42:50,917 I said "And you'll probably never see me again

659  
00:42:50,989 --> 00:42:54,618 "because we're the most northern outpost that the Marines have,

660  
00:42:54,693 --> 00:42:56,024 you know."

661  
00:42:56,094 --> 00:42:58,062 We could literally. . . could look right into North Vietnam.

662  
00:42:58,129 --> 00:43:00,097 We could see the sparks when the guns fired on us.

663  
00:43:00,165 --> 00:43:02,360 And I said "And everybody in my unit is dying.

664  
00:43:02,434 --> 00:43:05,062 I probably won't be coming back."  
665  
00:43:05,136 --> 00:43:07,195 And my mother said, "No, you're coming back."  
666  
00:43:07,272 --> 00:43:11,038 She said, "I talk to God every day and you're special.  
667  
00:43:11,109 --> 00:43:12,974 You're coming back."  
668  
00:43:13,044 --> 00:43:15,308 And I said "Ma, everybody's mother thinks  
669  
00:43:15,380 --> 00:43:17,610 "that they're special.  
670  
00:43:17,682 --> 00:43:21,641 You know I'm putting pieces of special people in bags."  
671  
00:43:23,121 --> 00:43:24,713 (explosion)  
672  
00:43:27,192 --> 00:43:28,853 ED HERLIHY: August 29, 1949 President Truman's dramatic announcement  
673  
00:43:28,927 --> 00:43:30,394 that Russia had the atom secret  
674  
00:43:30,462 --> 00:43:32,054 caused state departments all over the world  
675  
00:43:32,130 --> 00:43:34,894 to stir uneasily.  
676  
00:43:34,966 --> 00:43:39,027 HAL KUSHNER: Army Doctor, POW, Danville, VA  
We were very aware that there was a Cold War  
677  
00:43:39,104 --> 00:43:41,004 and that we had an enemy,  
678  
00:43:41,072 --> 00:43:45,133 and that enemy was the Soviet Union.  
679  
00:43:45,210 --> 00:43:48,304 The United States stood at one pole  
680  
00:43:48,379 --> 00:43:50,540 and the Soviet Union stood at the other pole.  
681  
00:43:50,615 --> 00:43:53,607 It was kind of a Manichean dynamic  
682  
00:43:53,685 --> 00:43:55,482 that there was evil and there was good.  
683  
00:43:55,553 --> 00:43:57,544 And we were good, and the other side was evil.  
684  
00:43:57,622 --> 00:44:00,614 **It wasn't morally ambiguous.**  
685  
00:44:03,495 --> 00:44:07,693 NARRATOR: Just a few weeks after Russia became a nuclear power,  
686  
00:44:07,766 --> 00:44:09,631 there was more stunning news--  
687  
00:44:09,701 --> 00:44:13,330 communist forces under Mao Zedong seized control  
688  
00:44:13,404 --> 00:44:16,032 of China.  
689  
00:44:16,107 --> 00:44:20,009 Separate communist insurrections were also underway  
690  
00:44:20,078 --> 00:44:25,641 in the British colonies of Burma and Malaya.  
691



00:44:25,717 --> 00:44:29,448 In January 1950, Mao formally recognized  
692  
00:44:29,521 --> 00:44:33,582 Ho Chi Minh's insurgency and agreed to provide the arms,  
693  
00:44:33,658 --> 00:44:37,651 Equipment, and military training he had been seeking.<sup>6</sup>  
694  
00:44:37,729 --> 00:44:41,756 The Soviets recognized the Viet Minh as well,  
695  
00:44:41,833 --> 00:44:43,664 and also offered help.  
696  
00:44:43,735 --> 00:44:47,330 President Truman, who was being blamed  
697  
00:44:47,405 --> 00:44:51,205 by his political opponents for having "lost" China,  
698  
00:44:51,276 --> 00:44:53,642 and having failed to "contain" communism,  
699  
00:44:53,711 --> 00:44:57,169 approved a \$23 million aid program  
700  
00:44:57,248 --> 00:45:00,012 for the French in Vietnam.  
701  
00:45:00,084 --> 00:45:04,919 The United States was no longer neutral.<sup>6</sup>  
702  
00:45:04,989 --> 00:45:07,856 SAM WILSON: Army  
We were caught on the horns of a dilemma  
703  
00:45:07,926 --> 00:45:10,588 of how can we maintain our friendship  
704  
00:45:10,662 --> 00:45:14,428 and our alliance with the French and support them in Indochina  
705  
00:45:14,499 --> 00:45:18,162 while we, as a former colony ourselves,  
706  
00:45:18,236 --> 00:45:21,228 sympathized with the Vietnamese and their aspirations  
707  
00:45:21,306 --> 00:45:23,171 for freedom and independence?  
708  
00:45:28,079 --> 00:45:30,445 ED HERLIHY: A highly trained and well equipped North Korean Army  
709  
00:45:30,515 --> 00:45:32,676 swarmed across the 38th parallel  
710  
00:45:32,750 --> 00:45:34,809 to attack unprepared South Korean defenders.  
711  
00:45:34,886 --> 00:45:36,513 (explosion)  
712  
00:45:36,588 --> 00:45:40,251 NARRATOR: In June of 1950, China's ally,  
713  
00:45:40,325 --> 00:45:43,852 communist North Korea, invaded South Korea.  
714  
00:45:43,928 --> 00:45:45,395 (gunfire)  
715  
00:45:45,463 --> 00:45:47,397 President Truman ordered  
716  
00:45:47,465 --> 00:45:49,695 tens of thousands of American ground troops  
717  
00:45:49,767 --> 00:45:51,564 onto the Korean Peninsula.  
718

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<sup>6</sup> How is this different than the US supporting the French or SVN?

00:45:58,610 --> 00:46:00,544 The United States and its allies  
719  
00:46:00,612 --> 00:46:04,946 eventually pushed the invaders back north.  
720  
00:46:05,016 --> 00:46:07,348 Meanwhile, in southern China,  
721  
00:46:07,418 --> 00:46:09,852 Mao's military was beginning to turn the Viet Minh  
722  
00:46:09,921 --> 00:46:13,755 into a modern fighting force,  
723  
00:46:13,825 --> 00:46:17,818 capable of inflicting a heavy toll on the French occupiers.  
724  
00:46:25,270 --> 00:46:27,067 In July, the Truman administration  
725  
00:46:27,138 --> 00:46:30,039 quietly dispatched transport planes  
726  
00:46:30,108 --> 00:46:32,702 and a shipload of jeeps to Vietnam.  
727  
00:46:32,777 --> 00:46:38,443 Thirty-five military advisors went along to oversee their use.  
728  
00:46:40,351 --> 00:46:43,320 None of them, and no one in the American embassy,  
729  
00:46:43,388 --> 00:46:47,415 spoke a word of Vietnamese<sup>7</sup>.  
730  
00:46:47,492 --> 00:46:51,656 But the United States was now officially in Vietnam.  
731  
00:46:53,965 --> 00:46:56,160 In October of 1950,  
732  
00:46:56,234 --> 00:46:59,328 hundreds of thousands of Chinese troops  
733  
00:46:59,404 --> 00:47:01,599 began pouring into North Korea,  
734  
00:47:01,673 --> 00:47:05,666 driving the allies back down the peninsula.  
735  
00:47:05,743 --> 00:47:07,404 As that fighting raged,  
736  
00:47:07,478 --> 00:47:10,709 Truman continued to increase military aid  
737  
00:47:10,782 --> 00:47:13,512 for the French war in Vietnam.  
738  
00:47:17,355 --> 00:47:19,016 HARRY TRUMAN: If aggression is successful in Korea,  
739  
00:47:19,090 --> 00:47:22,355 we can expect it to spread throughout Asia and Europe  
740  
00:47:22,427 --> 00:47:23,689 and to this hemisphere.  
741  
00:47:23,761 --> 00:47:26,229 (mortar fire)  
742  
00:47:26,297 --> 00:47:28,788 We are fighting in Korea  
743  
00:47:28,866 --> 00:47:31,391 for our own national security and survival.  
744  
00:47:34,973 --> 00:47:38,238 ("Mean Old World" by T-Bone Walker playing)  
745  
00:47:38,309 --> 00:47:40,436 NARRATOR: In the autumn of 1951,

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<sup>7</sup> See footnote x?

746  
00:47:40,511 --> 00:47:42,672 a young Massachusetts congressman  
747  
00:47:42,747 --> 00:47:46,649 named John F Kennedy dined at the rooftop bar  
748  
00:47:46,718 --> 00:47:49,312 of the Hotel Majestic, overlooking Saigon.  
749  
00:47:49,387 --> 00:47:50,649 (distant gunfire)  
750  
00:47:50,722 --> 00:47:52,747 As he and his party ate  
751  
00:47:52,824 --> 00:47:57,193 they could hear the thunder of guns across the Saigon River.  
752  
00:47:57,261 --> 00:48:00,321 French commanders assured Kennedy  
753  
00:48:00,398 --> 00:48:02,923 that with more American support,  
754  
00:48:03,001 --> 00:48:06,129 French rule would be re-established.  
755  
00:48:06,204 --> 00:48:09,799 But Kennedy spent two hours with Seymour Topping,  
756  
00:48:09,874 --> 00:48:12,001 a seasoned American reporter,  
757  
00:48:12,076 --> 00:48:14,704 who gave him a very different perspective:  
758  
00:48:14,779 --> 00:48:17,509 The French were losing, he said,  
759  
00:48:17,582 --> 00:48:21,382 and many Vietnamese, who had once admired the Americans,  
760  
00:48:21,452 --> 00:48:25,650 were beginning to despise them for backing the French.  
761  
00:48:25,723 --> 00:48:28,988 Kennedy believed the reporter.  
762  
00:48:29,060 --> 00:48:32,359 Unless the United States could persuade the Vietnamese  
763  
00:48:32,430 --> 00:48:36,093 that it was as opposed to “injustice and inequality”  
764  
00:48:36,167 --> 00:48:37,691 as it was to communism,  
765  
00:48:37,769 --> 00:48:40,761 he told his constituents when he got home,  
766  
00:48:40,838 --> 00:48:46,140 the current effort would result in “foredoomed failure.”  
767  
00:48:46,210 --> 00:48:49,077 (Rosemary Clooney singing Come On-a My House)  
768  
00:48:49,147 --> 00:48:54,517 ♪Come on-a my house, my house, I’m gonna give you candy.♪  
769  
00:48:54,585 --> 00:48:56,485 NARRATOR: In 1952,  
770  
00:48:56,554 --> 00:48:59,887 General Dwight Eisenhower was elected president,  
771  
00:48:59,957 --> 00:49:02,790 in part because he promised to take a tougher stance  
772  
00:49:02,860 --> 00:49:04,851 on communism.  
773  
00:49:04,929 --> 00:49:08,262 That year, American taxpayers

774  
00:49:08,332 --> 00:49:10,800 were footing more than 30% of the bill  
775  
00:49:10,868 --> 00:49:13,837 for the French war in Vietnam.  
776  
00:49:13,905 --> 00:49:16,032 Within two years,  
777  
00:49:16,107 --> 00:49:19,474 that number would rise to nearly 80%.  
778  
00:49:19,544 --> 00:49:22,809 CLOONEY: ♪Everything, everything, Everything.♪  
779  
00:49:22,880 --> 00:49:25,178 RICHARD NIXON: And many of you ask this question:  
780  
00:49:25,249 --> 00:49:27,547 Why is the United States spending  
781  
00:49:27,618 --> 00:49:29,449 hundreds of millions of dollars  
782  
00:49:29,520 --> 00:49:33,684 supporting the forces of the French Union  
783  
00:49:33,758 --> 00:49:37,353 in the fight against communism in Indochina?  
784  
00:49:37,428 --> 00:49:39,692 I think perhaps if we go over to the map here,  
785  
00:49:39,764 --> 00:49:44,133 I can indicate to you why it is so vitally important.  
786  
00:49:44,202 --> 00:49:46,568 Here's Indochina.  
787  
00:49:46,637 --> 00:49:48,002 If Indochina falls,  
788  
00:49:48,072 --> 00:49:51,269 Thailand is put in [an] almost impossible position.  
789  
00:49:51,342 --> 00:49:54,436 The same is true of Malaya with its rubber and tin.  
790  
00:49:54,512 --> 00:49:59,575 Now I may say that as far as the war in Indochina is concerned,  
791  
00:49:59,650 --> 00:50:04,280 that I was there, right on the battlefield, or close to it,  
792  
00:50:04,355 --> 00:50:06,983 and it's a bloody war, and it's a bitter one.  
793  
00:50:07,058 --> 00:50:12,291 (explosions)  
794  
00:50:12,363 --> 00:50:17,130 NARRATOR: By 1953, the French had been fighting for seven years.  
795  
00:50:17,201 --> 00:50:20,466 They had suffered over 100,000 casualties  
796  
00:50:20,538 --> 00:50:23,701 and failed to pacify the countryside.  
797  
00:50:23,774 --> 00:50:27,471 Six commanders had come and gone.  
798  
00:50:27,545 --> 00:50:29,740 Nevertheless, the seventh commander,  
799  
00:50:29,814 --> 00:50:32,874 General Henri Navarre, assured his countrymen  
800  
00:50:32,950 --> 00:50:34,474 that victory was near.  
801  
00:50:34,552 --> 00:50:37,646 "Now we can see it clearly," he said,

802  
00:50:37,722 --> 00:50:41,488 "Like the light at the end of the tunnel."  
803  
00:50:43,561 --> 00:50:47,497 Meanwhile large parts of the French population were horrified  
804  
00:50:47,565 --> 00:50:50,125 by reports of French brutality  
805  
00:50:50,201 --> 00:50:52,931 and the widespread use of napalm--  
806  
00:50:53,004 --> 00:50:57,703 gelatinized petroleum that burned foliage,  
807  
00:50:57,775 --> 00:51:00,175 homes and human flesh.  
808  
00:51:03,181 --> 00:51:06,548 When returning French troops disembarked at Marseilles,  
809  
00:51:06,617 --> 00:51:11,054 members of the longshoremen's union pelted them with rocks.  
810  
00:51:11,122 --> 00:51:14,216 Parisian leftists began to call the conflict  
811  
00:51:14,292 --> 00:51:17,352 "La Sale Guerre" "The Dirty War".  
812  
00:51:21,132 --> 00:51:24,499 (police sirens wailing, people chanting)  
813  
00:51:25,803 --> 00:51:28,135 RON FERRIZZI: The camera was a close up,  
814  
00:51:28,206 --> 00:51:31,300 was over the shoulder of this storm trooper  
815  
00:51:31,375 --> 00:51:34,936 who had a kid by the scruff of his shirt and he smacks him.  
816  
00:51:35,012 --> 00:51:36,138 REPORTER: People screaming. . .  
817  
00:51:36,214 --> 00:51:38,307 FERRIZZI: At that moment in time,  
818  
00:51:38,382 --> 00:51:41,010 I realized that anybody who really cared for America  
819  
00:51:41,085 --> 00:51:42,575 was sent halfway around the world  
820  
00:51:42,653 --> 00:51:46,111 chasing some ghost in a jungle.  
821  
00:51:46,190 --> 00:51:49,250 In the meantime, my country is being torn apart.  
822  
00:51:49,327 --> 00:51:51,557 So I saw somebody who looked like my dad  
823  
00:51:51,629 --> 00:51:53,153 hitting somebody who looked like me.  
824  
00:51:53,231 --> 00:51:54,994 Whose side would I be on?  
825  
00:52:03,174 --> 00:52:05,642 ED HERLIHY: In Korea, three years of combat end  
826  
00:52:05,710 --> 00:52:08,611 as United Nations and communist negotiators at Panmunjom  
827  
00:52:08,679 --> 00:52:09,737 sign a truce.  
828  
00:52:09,814 --> 00:52:12,806 NARRATOR: In July of 1953,  
829  
00:52:12,883 --> 00:52:16,284 the Korean War ended in a negotiated settlement

830  
00:52:16,354 --> 00:52:18,345 and a still divided peninsula.  
831  
00:52:18,422 --> 00:52:21,755 American policymakers saw it as proof  
832  
00:52:21,826 --> 00:52:25,159 that communism in Asia could be contained.  
833  
00:52:25,229 --> 00:52:26,992 HERLIHY: And in Washington, a dramatic evening press conference. . .  
834  
00:52:27,064 --> 00:52:30,124 NARRATOR: That fall, the French indicated their willingness  
835  
00:52:30,201 --> 00:52:34,194 to begin talks to end the fighting in Vietnam.  
836  
00:52:34,272 --> 00:52:37,799 Ho Chi Minh agreed to meet.  
837  
00:52:37,875 --> 00:52:41,777 But before the negotiators were to convene in Geneva,  
838  
00:52:41,846 --> 00:52:46,783 each side sought to improve its position on the battlefield.  
839  
00:52:48,452 --> 00:52:51,012 General Navarre set up a fortified base  
840  
00:52:51,088 --> 00:52:53,989 in a remote valley in northwestern Vietnam  
841  
00:52:54,058 --> 00:52:58,552 called Dien Bien Phu, where he hoped to lure the Viet Minh  
842  
00:52:58,629 --> 00:53:00,563 into a decisive battle.  
843  
00:53:02,733 --> 00:53:05,896 Navarre was certain that superior French firepower  
844  
00:53:05,970 --> 00:53:10,998 and air support would crush any attack by the Viet Minh.  
845  
00:53:11,075 --> 00:53:13,669 He and his commanders saw no need to worry  
846  
00:53:13,744 --> 00:53:18,204 about the jungle covered hills that overlooked his 11,000 men,  
847  
00:53:18,282 --> 00:53:21,217 dug in on the valley floor.  
848  
00:53:21,285 --> 00:53:25,585 The artillery commander was so confident of victory,  
849  
00:53:25,656 --> 00:53:29,615 he complained, "I have more guns than I need."  
850  
00:53:32,763 --> 00:53:35,493 General Giap saw his chance.<sup>8</sup>  
851  
00:53:35,566 --> 00:53:40,060 "We decided to wipe out at all costs the whole enemy force  
852  
00:53:40,137 --> 00:53:43,004 at Dien Bien Phu," he remembered.  
853  
00:53:45,142 --> 00:53:48,908 To do it, he pulled off one of the greatest logistical feats  
854  
00:53:48,979 --> 00:53:50,879 in military history--  
855  
00:53:50,948 --> 00:53:54,076 a feat that would be restaged in propaganda films  
856  
00:53:54,151 --> 00:53:57,416 and celebrated for decades.  
857

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<sup>8</sup> Had it been up to Giap, there never would have been a DBP, Qiang Zhai piece.

00:53:57,488 --> 00:54:01,390 A quarter of a million civilian porters--  
858  
00:54:01,459 --> 00:54:02,824 nearly half of them women--  
859  
00:54:02,893 --> 00:54:07,660 moved everything he needed for a siege, from sacks of rice  
860  
00:54:07,732 --> 00:54:09,927 to disassembled artillery pieces,  
861  
00:54:10,000 --> 00:54:13,060 on foot through the jungle.  
862  
00:54:13,137 --> 00:54:17,938 Gap surrounded the valley with 50,000 soldiers  
863  
00:54:18,008 --> 00:54:23,173 and 200 big guns, dug in and camouflaged so well  
864  
00:54:23,247 --> 00:54:27,741 they could not be spotted from the air.  
865  
00:54:29,520 --> 00:54:33,422 On March 13, 1954,  
866  
00:54:33,491 --> 00:54:35,823 Viet Minh artillery on the hill sides  
867  
00:54:35,893 --> 00:54:39,192 began raining down 50 shells a minute  
868  
00:54:39,263 --> 00:54:42,255 on the French troops huddled below.  
869  
00:54:42,333 --> 00:54:44,528 (explosions)  
870  
00:54:44,602 --> 00:54:46,263 The airstrip was destroyed.  
871  
00:54:49,340 --> 00:54:52,434 The besieged troops could only be reinforced  
872  
00:54:52,510 --> 00:54:55,274 and resupplied by airdrop.  
873  
00:54:58,949 --> 00:55:00,678 The French artillery commander,  
874  
00:55:00,751 --> 00:55:05,711 who had underestimated his enemy, committed suicide.  
875  
00:55:05,790 --> 00:55:08,816 NEWSREEL NARRATOR: The airlift to Dien Bien Phu continues,  
876  
00:55:08,893 --> 00:55:11,361 vital men and supplies for the heroic garrison  
877  
00:55:11,429 --> 00:55:13,021 that has defied the massed Viet Minh onslaughts  
878  
00:55:13,097 --> 00:55:14,189 for over six weeks.  
879  
00:55:14,265 --> 00:55:17,291 Today, Dien Bien Phu is a human dam  
880  
00:55:17,368 --> 00:55:19,302 trying to stem the red tide  
881  
00:55:19,370 --> 00:55:21,395 that threatens to engulf Southeast Asia.  
882  
00:55:23,140 --> 00:55:25,904 NARRATOR: The French government begged President Eisenhower  
883  
00:55:25,976 --> 00:55:27,500 to intervene.  
884  
00:55:27,578 --> 00:55:30,911 He refused to act without Congressional approval  
885

00:55:30,981 --> 00:55:33,882 and support from European allies.  
886

00:55:33,951 --> 00:55:36,078 Britain said no  
887

00:55:36,153 --> 00:55:39,987 and the Congress would not support unilateral action.  
888

00:55:40,057 --> 00:55:41,354 JOHN F KENNEDY: The communists  
889

00:55:41,425 --> 00:55:44,019 under Ho Ch Minh are able to claim that they are fighting  
890

00:55:44,094 --> 00:55:46,654 for independence and the French appear to be fighting  
891

00:55:46,730 --> 00:55:49,028 for a maintain. . . maintenance of colonial rule.  
892

00:55:49,099 --> 00:55:50,396 I therefore believe  
893

00:55:50,468 --> 00:55:53,699 that before the United States moves in, in any degree,  
894

00:55:53,771 --> 00:55:56,331 that independence must be granted to the people,  
895

00:55:56,407 --> 00:55:57,999 that the people must support the struggle.  
896

00:55:59,877 --> 00:56:03,836 NARRATOR: "I am convinced," Eisenhower confided to his diary,  
897

00:56:03,914 --> 00:56:08,715 "that no military victory is possible in this theater."  
898

00:56:08,786 --> 00:56:11,482 Still, **without consulting Congress**, 899

00:56:11,555 --> 00:56:15,423 the President had secretly sent more American transport planes,  
900

00:56:15,493 --> 00:56:21,193 their markings painted over and flown by civilian contractors,  
901

00:56:21,265 --> 00:56:25,759 to help resupply the desperate French troops at Dien Bien Phu.  
902

00:56:29,607 --> 00:56:31,802 GELB: Everyone understood that in and of itself  
903

00:56:31,876 --> 00:56:35,505 Vietnam didn't mean very much.  
904

00:56:35,579 --> 00:56:39,743 But they believed, I believed, if we lost it,  
905

00:56:39,817 --> 00:56:42,684 that the rest of Asia would tumble to communism.  
906

00:56:42,753 --> 00:56:47,622 EISENHOWER: You have broader considerations that might follow  
907

00:56:47,691 --> 00:56:52,424 what you would call the falling domino principle.  
908

00:56:52,496 --> 00:56:55,056 You have a row of dominoes set up,  
909

00:56:55,132 --> 00:56:56,929 and you knock over the first one,  
910

00:56:57,001 --> 00:57:00,903 and what will happen to the last one is the certainty  
911

00:57:00,971 --> 00:57:03,804 that it will go over very quickly.  
912

00:57:05,676 --> 00:57:07,667 (explosion)  
913

00:57:11,782 --> 00:57:14,649 (muted gunfire)



914  
00:57:25,062 --> 00:57:31,126 NARRATOR: On the afternoon of May 7, 1954, after 55 days of siege,  
915  
00:57:31,201 --> 00:57:36,332 the exhausted French forces at Dien Bien Phu surrendered.  
916  
00:57:39,009 --> 00:57:43,673 They had lost 8,000 men, killed, wounded, or missing.  
917  
00:57:46,617 --> 00:57:50,986 Genera Giap had lost three times as many,  
918  
00:57:51,055 --> 00:57:54,115 but he had won a great victory.  
919  
00:57:55,225 --> 00:57:58,991 NGUYEN THOI BUNG: Viet Minh  
Half of our country was liberated by the victory at Dien Bien Phu We had eliminated an entire  
French army corps. The victory instilled in us the belief in our ability to win.

920  
00:58:11,275 --> 00:58:16,178 NARRATOR: Even Duong Van Mai's parents could not help but be impressed.  
921  
00:58:16,246 --> 00:58:18,305 DUONG VAN MAI: They were very proud  
922  
00:58:18,382 --> 00:58:21,044 that the Viet Minh had defeated the French,  
923  
00:58:21,118 --> 00:58:23,052 this great Western power.  
924  
00:58:23,120 --> 00:58:27,022 Admiration and respect on the one hand,  
925  
00:58:27,091 --> 00:58:29,355 but fear on the other hand.  
926  
00:58:29,426 --> 00:58:32,054 And fear was the stronger emotion.  
927  
00:58:33,831 --> 00:58:36,595 NARRATOR: "We have been caught bluffing by our enemies,"  
928  
00:58:36,667 --> 00:58:40,398 Senate Minority Leader Lyndon Johnson said.  
929  
00:58:40,471 --> 00:58:45,499 "Today it is Indochina, tomorrow Asia may be in flames.  
930  
00:58:45,576 --> 00:58:51,640 And the day after the Western Alliance will be in ruins."  
931  
00:58:51,715 --> 00:58:54,707 DONALD GREGG: We should have seen it as the end of the colonial era  
932  
00:58:54,785 --> 00:58:57,948 in Southeast Asia, which it really was.  
933  
00:58:58,022 --> 00:59:00,422 But instead we saw it in Cold War terms,  
934  
00:59:00,491 --> 00:59:05,121 and we saw it as a defeat for the free world  
935  
00:59:05,195 --> 00:59:06,992 that was related to the rise of China.  
936  
00:59:07,064 --> 00:59:12,092 And it was a total misreading of a pivotal event,  
937  
00:59:12,169 --> 00:59:14,797 which cost us very dearly.  
938  
00:59:14,872 --> 00:59:16,897 (chanting)  
939  
00:59:16,974 --> 00:59:20,740 (newsreel music playing)  
940  
00:59:20,811 --> 00:59:22,802 JACK TOBIN: The former home of the League of Nations,

941  
00:59:22,880 --> 00:59:25,075 Geneva, Switzerland, where East is meeting West  
942  
00:59:25,149 --> 00:59:26,480 in the international conference  
943  
00:59:26,550 --> 00:59:30,042 that may decisively affect the political future of Asia.  
944  
00:59:30,120 --> 00:59:33,453 NARRATOR: The day after the fall of Dien Bien Phu,  
945  
00:59:33,524 --> 00:59:37,290 diplomats from **nine nations**<sup>9</sup> gathered in Geneva  
946  
00:59:37,361 --> 00:59:40,159 to settle the future of Vietnam.  
947  
00:59:40,230 --> 00:59:44,189 The talks dragged on for nearly two-and-a-half months.  
948  
00:59:47,304 --> 00:59:49,101 Despite their victory,  
949  
00:59:49,173 --> 00:59:52,802 Ho Chi Minh and General Giap could not keep fighting  
950  
00:59:52,876 --> 00:59:58,041 without more support from China and the Soviet Union.  
951  
00:59:58,115 --> 01:00:01,551 But China had lost a million men in Korea  
952  
01:00:01,618 --> 01:00:04,644 and did not want to become involved in another war  
953  
01:00:04,722 --> 01:00:06,314 along its border.  
954  
01:00:06,390 --> 01:00:12,158 **The Soviet Union was hoping to ease tensions with the West.**  
955  
01:00:12,229 --> 01:00:17,132 Both of Ho Chi Minh's communist patrons urged him to agree  
956  
01:00:17,201 --> 01:00:19,101 to a negotiated settlement,  
957  
01:00:19,169 --> 01:00:23,503 a partition like the one that had ended the Korean War.  
958  
01:00:23,574 --> 01:00:26,839 Ho had no option but to give in.  
959  
01:00:30,848 --> 01:00:33,544 In the end, no one was satisfied.  
960  
01:00:35,719 --> 01:00:40,747 Vietnam was temporarily to be divided at the 17th parallel.  
961  
01:00:40,824 --> 01:00:45,284 The 130,000 French-led troops stationed in the North  
962  
01:00:45,362 --> 01:00:47,455 were to withdraw to the South,  
963  
01:00:47,531 --> 01:00:51,399 and somewhere between 50,000 and 90,000 Viet Minh  
964  
01:00:51,468 --> 01:00:54,164 were to "re-group" to the North.  
965  
01:00:54,238 --> 01:00:56,035 The two halves would be separated  
966  
01:00:56,106 --> 01:01:00,440 by a demilitarized zone until an election could be held  
967  
01:01:00,511 --> 01:01:03,742 to reunify North and South Vietnam,

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<sup>9</sup> Both North and South Vietnam were counted among the nine participants, suggesting equal legitimacy. Bao Dai appointed Ngo Dinh Diem as his Prime Minister as the opening of the sessions. Diem was not "chosen" by the U.S.

968  
01:01:03,814 --> 01:01:08,808 an election everyone knew Ho Chi Minh would win<sup>10</sup>.  
969  
01:01:11,355 --> 01:01:15,758 NGUYEN VAN TONG:  
The Geneva agreement called for a general election in two years, Which would reunify the  
country. Everybody believed it. Nobody thought it would last more than 20 years.  
970  
01:01:24,401 --> 01:01:25,800 (cheering)  
971  
01:01:25,869 --> 01:01:28,337 NGUYEN THO BUNG: I went to the North to train, To liberate the South one day.<sup>11</sup> But I  
could never believed the war would be so fierce. The violence was unimaginable.  
972  
01:01:43,954 --> 01:01:45,546 KARL MARLANTES: Marine 1969 We had started walking up  
973  
01:01:45,622 --> 01:01:47,522 and we had probably gotten about a third of the way up the hill  
974  
01:01:47,591 --> 01:01:49,115 and then they unleashed on us.  
975  
01:01:49,193 --> 01:01:51,889 (explosion, gunfire)  
976  
01:01:51,962 --> 01:01:54,123 We were in the middle of this horrible shit sandwich.  
977  
01:01:54,198 --> 01:01:56,132 That's what we called it.  
978  
01:01:57,935 --> 01:02:01,234 (explosion, gunfire)  
979  
01:02:01,305 --> 01:02:05,139 One of the things that I learned in the war is that  
980  
01:02:05,209 --> 01:02:08,736 We're not the top species on the planet because we're nice.  
981  
01:02:11,682 --> 01:02:14,845 People talk a lot about how we, the military turns, you know,  
982  
01:02:14,918 --> 01:02:17,648 kids into, you know, killing machines and stuff.  
983  
01:02:17,721 --> 01:02:20,281 And I'll always argue that it's just finishing school.  
984  
01:02:20,357 --> 01:02:22,154 (gunfire)  
985  
01:02:22,226 --> 01:02:26,287 (shouting)  
986  
01:02:28,932 --> 01:02:32,629 NEWSREEL NARRATOR: Braving the dangers of the open sea in tiny, rickety craft,  
987  
01:02:32,703 --> 01:02:35,194 thousands of Roman Catholic and Buddhist faith  
988  
01:02:35,272 --> 01:02:37,570 have found life impossible under the communists.  
989  
01:02:37,641 --> 01:02:41,042 For them, it's freedom or nothing.  
990  
01:02:44,281 --> 01:02:46,272 NARRATOR: Under the Geneva Accords,  
991  
01:02:46,350 --> 01:02:49,217 civilians living in either half of Vietnam  
992  
01:02:51,555 --> 01:02:54,615 would have 300 days to do so.  
993

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<sup>10</sup> A lot here. Eisenhower quote, no signers, no offer of UN supervision, no serious protest from DRV

<sup>11</sup> If there was so much confidence in an election, why train guerrillas in the North?

01:02:54,691 --> 01:02:58,627 DUONG VAN MAI: My mother and father wanted to stay  
994  
01:02:58,695 --> 01:03:00,720 and meet my sister Thang again  
995  
01:03:00,797 --> 01:03:03,163 because they knew Thang would come back.  
996  
01:03:03,233 --> 01:03:05,428 But on the other hand they couldn't risk that.  
997  
01:03:05,502 --> 01:03:10,405 They were convinced that when Ho Chi Minh and his government  
998  
01:03:10,474 --> 01:03:12,635 arrived in Hanoi,  
999  
01:03:12,709 --> 01:03:16,270 my father would be the first one to be killed  
1000  
01:03:16,346 --> 01:03:18,143 and all of us would be persecuted.  
1001  
01:03:20,951 --> 01:03:23,010 And I remember the day we left  
1002  
01:03:23,086 --> 01:03:26,283 I looked around and thought, "I'll never come back here again."  
1003  
01:03:28,759 --> 01:03:30,693 It was extremely traumatic.  
1004  
01:03:30,761 --> 01:03:35,460 It was like the ground was suddenly cut from under you.  
1005  
01:03:35,532 --> 01:03:41,027 NARRATOR: In the end, some 900,000 refugees,  
1006  
01:03:41,104 --> 01:03:43,368 including more than half of all the Catholics  
1007  
01:03:43,440 --> 01:03:44,737 living in the North,  
1008  
01:03:44,808 --> 01:03:49,836 fled to the South, many of them aboard American ships.  
1009  
01:03:54,284 --> 01:03:57,879 The United States hoped somehow to encourage the building  
1010  
01:03:57,955 --> 01:04:00,116 of a **legitimate**<sup>12</sup> government in the South.  
1011  
01:04:02,359 --> 01:04:07,023 That government was now headed by Ngo Dinh Diem.  
1012  
01:04:07,097 --> 01:04:09,793 Both a Roman Catholic and a Confucian  
1013  
01:04:09,866 --> 01:04:11,993 in a **largely Buddhist country**,  
1014  
01:04:12,069 --> 01:04:17,006 he was a celibate bachelor who had once planned to be a priest.  
1015  
01:04:17,074 --> 01:04:23,206 GELB: The war for us really started when we became the partner,  
1016  
01:04:23,280 --> 01:04:28,343 or would say the victim, of President Diem.  
1017  
01:04:28,418 --> 01:04:33,412 We were going to help him turn South Vietnam into a democracy.  
1018  
01:04:33,490 --> 01:04:35,014 That s what he said he wanted to do.  
1019  
01:04:35,092 --> 01:04:36,150 And we believed him.  
1020

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<sup>12</sup> Choice of words: "Competent" or "Qualified" might be appropriate, but SVN's "legitimacy" is equal to or greater than that of the Hanoi "regime". See article on Legitimacy.

01:04:36,226 --> 01:04:38,592 NARRATOR: Like Ho Chi Minh,  
1021  
01:04:38,662 --> 01:04:42,257 Diem had spent years abroad seeking support  
1022  
01:04:42,332 --> 01:04:46,029 for his own brand of Vietnamese nationalism.  
1023  
01:04:46,103 --> 01:04:49,470 He was a veteran politician whose loathing for the French  
1024  
01:04:49,539 --> 01:04:53,339 was matched only by his hatred for the communists,  
1025  
01:04:53,410 --> 01:04:57,107 who had imprisoned him and buried alive his eldest brother<sup>13</sup>  
1026  
01:04:57,180 --> 01:04:59,580 and his nephew.  
1027  
01:04:59,649 --> 01:05:03,016 Diem was aloof, autocratic,  
1028  
01:05:03,086 --> 01:05:06,351 mistrustful of anyone much beyond his own family.<sup>14</sup>  
1029  
01:05:06,423 --> 01:05:10,359 He also proved to be shrewd, Resourceful,  
1030  
01:05:10,427 --> 01:05:14,488 and skilled at exploiting the weaknesses of his opponents.  
1031  
01:05:14,564 --> 01:05:20,525 But he faced a daunting task in creating a new country.  
1032  
01:05:20,604 --> 01:05:23,630 The French, who still had thousands of troops  
1033  
01:05:23,707 --> 01:05:27,199 stationed in the South, detested Diem.  
1034  
01:05:27,277 --> 01:05:31,077 Several provinces were under the sway of religious sects  
1035  
01:05:31,148 --> 01:05:33,548 with armies of their own.  
1036  
01:05:33,617 --> 01:05:37,815 Tens of thousands of Viet Minh soldiers had gone north,  
1037  
01:05:37,888 --> 01:05:40,049 but several thousand cadre--  
1038  
01:05:40,123 --> 01:05:43,490 trained and dedicated Communist Party workers--  
1039  
01:05:43,560 --> 01:05:49,465 had stayed behind to organize resistance in the countryside.  
1040  
01:05:49,533 --> 01:05:53,629 And Saigon itself was ruled by the Binh Xuyen,  
1041  
01:05:53,703 --> 01:05:57,139 a crime syndicate backed by the French.  
1042  
01:05:57,207 --> 01:05:59,437 RUFUS PHILLIPS: CIA/USAID And the French were behind the Binh Xuyen  
1043  
01:05:59,509 --> 01:06:00,942 sort of supporting them  
1044  
01:06:01,011 --> 01:06:04,105 because they didn't want Diem to succeed.  
1045  
01:06:04,181 --> 01:06:05,978 And that became the central contest.  
1046  
01:06:08,085 --> 01:06:12,021 NARRATOR: Some in the CIA believed that Diem could be the savior  
1047

<sup>13</sup> Seems a reasonable basis for hatred. [ed.]

<sup>14</sup> A certain amount of backstabbing seems endemic to Vietnam. Ask any of Giap or Le Duan's victims [ed.]

01:06:12,089 --> 01:06:14,114 of South Vietnam.  
1048  
01:06:14,191 --> 01:06:16,159 Others were not so sure.  
1049  
01:06:16,226 --> 01:06:18,387 “He’s a messiah without a message,”  
1050  
01:06:18,462 --> 01:06:21,431 one diplomat reported to Washington.  
1051  
01:06:21,498 --> 01:06:24,990 The U S ambassador agreed.  
1052  
01:06:25,068 --> 01:06:28,401 On Apr 27, 1955,  
1053  
01:06:28,472 --> 01:06:32,568 President Eisenhower decided to end American support<sup>15</sup>  
1054  
01:06:32,642 --> 01:06:35,304 for Diem’s regime<sup>16</sup>.  
1055  
01:06:35,378 --> 01:06:36,367 (gunfire)  
1056  
01:06:36,446 --> 01:06:39,677 But then Diem made an all-out assault  
1057  
01:06:39,749 --> 01:06:42,081 on the Binh Xuyen syndicate.  
1058  
01:06:42,152 --> 01:06:44,382 (sirens blaring, gunfire)  
1059  
01:06:44,454 --> 01:06:46,319 DUONG VAN MAI: Suddenly, in the middle of the day,  
1060  
01:06:46,389 --> 01:06:50,849 we heard gunfire and then we saw flames  
1061  
01:06:50,927 --> 01:06:53,293 and the neighborhood was burning.  
1062  
01:06:53,363 --> 01:06:56,196 MICHAEL FITZMAURICE: There are hundreds of dead and wounded on both sides  
1063  
01:06:56,266 --> 01:06:59,201 as the street fighting continues for an entire week.  
1064  
01:06:59,269 --> 01:07:01,260 For the United States, the situation presents  
1065  
01:07:01,338 --> 01:07:02,430 a grave problem.  
1066  
01:07:04,441 --> 01:07:07,274 Diem finally regains control of Saigon.  
1067  
01:07:09,079 --> 01:07:13,379 NARRATOR: In the end, Diem’s forces prevailed.  
1068  
01:07:13,450 --> 01:07:19,389 Eisenhower now saw no option but to stick with Diem.  
1069  
01:07:19,456 --> 01:07:24,860 The French then announced their intention to withdraw completely<sup>17</sup>  
1070  
01:07:24,928 --> 01:07:31,094 from South Vietnam, ending nearly a century of occupation.  
1071  
01:07:31,168 --> 01:07:36,231 PHILLIPS: Diem became wildly popular because he seemed to embody  
1072  
01:07:36,306 --> 01:07:38,831 the nationalist cause in the South.  
1073

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<sup>15</sup> Cross reference to the Kinder? story

<sup>16</sup> The word “regime” is a loaded word, used in reference to the French and to various SVN governments, but never in regard to the Communists. See article on “Legitimacy.”

<sup>17</sup> See Kinder op cit.

01:07:38,909 --> 01:07:40,843 He succeeded in getting the French  
1074  
01:07:40,911 --> 01:07:42,879 out of Vietnam all the way.  
1075  
01:07:42,946 --> 01:07:46,438 And Ho Chi Minh had only got them out of the northern half.  
1076  
01:07:46,516 --> 01:07:52,318 NARRATOR: Flush with victory, Diem called for a referendum in the South.<sup>18</sup>  
1077  
01:07:52,389 --> 01:07:57,725 The CIA warned him not to meddle too much with the returns.  
1078  
01:07:58,995 --> 01:08:00,826 But when the ballots were counted,  
1079  
01:08:00,897 --> 01:08:06,529 Diem claimed to have won 98.2% of the vote.  
1080  
01:08:08,505 --> 01:08:14,068 On October 26, 1955, Ngo Dinh Diem named himself  
1081  
01:08:14,144 --> 01:08:19,810 the first President of the brand-new Republic of Vietnam.  
1082  
01:08:19,883 --> 01:08:23,717 The election to reunify the North and South  
1083  
01:08:23,787 --> 01:08:27,416 that had been promised at Geneva would never be held.  
1084  
01:08:27,490 --> 01:08:33,554 GELB: He became our ally, or rather our master,  
1085  
01:08:33,630 --> 01:08:36,224 because the goal of preventing  
1086  
01:08:36,299 --> 01:08:38,426 the communists from taking over the South  
1087  
01:08:38,501 --> 01:08:45,065 was so strong that we couldn't afford for him to lose.  
1088  
01:08:45,141 --> 01:08:47,905 So Diem started to boss us around.  
1089  
01:08:47,978 --> 01:08:49,946 And this was a typical relationship.  
1090  
01:08:50,013 --> 01:08:52,413 You need any ally you believe  
1091  
01:08:52,482 --> 01:08:55,451 to be the centerpiece of your foreign policy.  
1092  
01:08:55,518 --> 01:08:57,042 They understand that right away.  
1093  
01:08:57,120 --> 01:08:59,714 And the tail wags the dog.  
1094  
01:09:04,294 --> 01:09:06,524 ED HERLIHY: From the Far East comes a distinguished visitor.  
1095  
01:09:06,596 --> 01:09:09,292 President Ngo Dinh Diem of Vietnam is accorded  
1096  
01:09:09,366 --> 01:09:12,335 one of President Eisenhower's rare airport greetings,  
1097  
01:09:12,402 --> 01:09:14,836 as he arrives for a four-day state visit.  
1098  
01:09:14,904 --> 01:09:17,372 President Diem, one of America's staunchest allies  
1099  
01:09:17,440 --> 01:09:18,668 in Southeast Asia,  
1100  
01:09:18,742 --> 01:09:21,404 will seek an increase in aid to shore up his country

<sup>18</sup> The referendum was a plebiscite on disbanding the monarchy and instituting a republic. I was held on October 23, 1955



1101  
01:09:21,478 --> 01:09:23,309 against increasing communist pressure,  
1102  
01:09:23,380 --> 01:09:28,875 a request to which the president lends a sympathetic ear.  
1103  
01:09:28,952 --> 01:09:32,945 NARRATOR: Most politicians, Democrats as well as Republicans,  
1104  
01:09:33,023 --> 01:09:34,957 now seemed to share the changing views  
1105  
01:09:35,025 --> 01:09:36,959 of Senator John F Kennedy.  
1106  
01:09:37,027 --> 01:09:40,622 South Vietnam's "our offspring," he said.  
1107  
01:09:40,697 --> 01:09:42,324 "We cannot abandon it."  
1108  
01:09:42,399 --> 01:09:46,699 If it fell the United States would be "held responsible  
1109  
01:09:46,770 --> 01:09:51,036 and our prestige in Asia will sink to a new low."  
1110  
01:09:51,107 --> 01:09:56,477 **There had never before been a South Vietnamese nation**<sup>19</sup>,  
1111  
01:09:56,546 --> 01:09:59,811 but Americans, who had rebuilt much of their own country  
1112  
01:09:59,883 --> 01:10:03,512 during the New Deal and had helped rebuild Western Europe  
1113  
01:10:03,586 --> 01:10:04,848 through the Marshall Plan,  
1114  
01:10:04,921 --> 01:10:09,654 were convinced they could build one nonetheless.  
1115  
01:10:09,726 --> 01:10:11,717 (blows whistle)  
1116  
01:10:11,795 --> 01:10:15,731 Eisenhower ordered scores of American civilians<sup>20</sup>  
1117  
01:10:15,799 --> 01:10:19,530 to South Vietnam, full of plans for economic development  
1118  
01:10:19,602 --> 01:10:23,368 meant to win, he hoped, the hearts and minds  
1119  
01:10:23,440 --> 01:10:25,067 of the Vietnamese people.  
1120  
01:10:28,111 --> 01:10:31,239 But those civilians would always be outnumbered  
1121  
01:10:31,314 --> 01:10:32,838 by military advisors,  
1122  
01:10:32,916 --> 01:10:37,410 with orders to modernize, train, and equip Diem's forces,  
1123  
01:10:37,487 --> 01:10:43,323 now called the Army of the Republic of Vietnam -- the ARVN.  
1124  
01:10:43,393 --> 01:10:48,854 Some ARVN officers found American methods unsuited  
1125  
01:10:48,932 --> 01:10:51,526 to the guerrilla war they expected to wage  
1126  
01:10:51,601 --> 01:10:53,762 against the communists.<sup>21</sup>  
1127

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<sup>19</sup> See Keith Taylor's History of Vietnam p. xxx, and article of Legitimacy.

<sup>20</sup> Many of whom were academics, e.g. Michigan State. When the anti-war fervor took to the USA, a reverse McCarthyism took place on the campuses at home.



01:10:53,837 --> 01:10:56,533 Most American military advisors were veterans  
1128  
01:10:56,606 --> 01:10:57,937 of the war in Korea,  
1129  
01:10:58,007 --> 01:11:01,704 determined to prepare South Vietnamese forces  
1130  
01:11:01,778 --> 01:11:07,182 to slow a conventional invasion from the North.  
1131  
01:11:07,250 --> 01:11:10,879 **But no one in North Vietnam**  
1132  
01:11:10,954 --> 01:11:14,549 **was planning a conventional invasion**<sup>22</sup>.  
1133  
01:11:14,624 --> 01:11:18,560 **Ho Chi Minh was focused on rebuilding his country**<sup>23</sup>  
1134  
01:11:18,628 --> 01:11:22,428 devastated by more than a decade of war.  
1135  
01:11:25,034 --> 01:11:28,595 **The communists imposed brutal land reforms**  
1136  
01:11:28,671 --> 01:11:30,866 modeled on those underway in China  
1137  
01:11:30,940 --> 01:11:35,639 with a ruthlessness that left **[tens of]** thousands of people dead,  
1138  
01:11:35,712 --> 01:11:39,113 including not only landlords who had sided with the French,  
1139  
01:11:39,182 --> 01:11:43,380 but also many villagers who had fought with the Viet Minh.  
1140  
01:11:46,156 --> 01:11:49,922 **Ho Chi Minh was still determined to reunite Vietnam.**  
1141  
01:11:49,993 --> 01:11:52,621 **But he worried that if he took direct military action**  
1142  
01:11:52,695 --> 01:11:54,219 **against the South,**  
1143  
01:11:54,297 --> 01:11:58,393 **the United States would be drawn more deeply into the struggle.**<sup>24</sup>  
1144  
01:11:58,468 --> 01:12:01,926 He cautioned his comrades in the South to put their faith  
1145  
01:12:02,005 --> 01:12:05,634 **in political agitation and avoid violence.**  
1146  
01:12:08,144 --> 01:12:10,135 But that message rang hollow  
1147  
01:12:10,213 --> 01:12:13,011 among embattled Southern revolutionaries  
1148  
01:12:13,082 --> 01:12:14,811 struggling to survive  
1149  
01:12:14,884 --> 01:12:19,844 under Diem's increasingly harsh **regime.**  
1150  
01:12:19,923 --> 01:12:24,485 In a campaign he called "Denounce the Communists,"  
1151

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<sup>21</sup> This is an argument brought up repeatedly. The ARVN was trained for war: specifically defense of their country from the ultimate invasion from the North. Parallel to this, General Williams had the few US counter-insurgency manuals translated into Vietnamese and Special Forces teams were brought in to conduct ranger training with specific units of ARVN. A parallel program training police and Civil Defense cadre was instituted under US Embassy control, using retired SF personnel to conduct the program. This was 1957-1961 period.

<sup>22</sup> C.f. Giap's theory of warfare and Mao's 3 stages.

<sup>23</sup> In 1956, instead of negotiating an election with Diem, he was focused on the brutal land reform program and a rebellion in Nghe An province. He also began the precursor units to the 559 (May 1959) element that ran the Ho Chi Minh Trail.

<sup>24</sup> Given the Land Reform and the Nghe An rebellion, the US did not appear to be a primary concern at this time.

01:12:24,561 --> 01:12:27,894 Diem had imprisoned tens of thousands of citizens

1152

01:12:27,964 --> 01:12:34,130 without trial and ordered the executions of hundreds more.<sup>25</sup>

1153

01:12:34,204 --> 01:12:38,197

Now, the communists took matters  
into their own hands

1154

01:12:38,274 --> 01:12:41,869

and began attacking

South Vietnamese officials.

1155

01:12:43,379 --> 01:12:48,248 LE QUAN CONG: Viet Minh

We didn't have guns then so we used machetes to kill they tyrants. During the uprising, we killed a security officer named Soc. Twelve of us got together with machetes. He ran out and fell into the rice paddy. We hacked him to death. Then, we told the people that anyone who attended Soc's funeral Would be killed. Nobody dared to go.<sup>26</sup>

1156

01:13:21,584 --> 01:13:25,680 NARRATOR: As violence in South Vietnam intensified,

1157

01:13:25,755 --> 01:13:28,451 new leaders emerged in Hanoi.

1158

01:13:28,525 --> 01:13:31,926 Ho Chi Minh would remain the face of the revolution

1159

01:13:31,995 --> 01:13:35,954 around the world, but he now began to share power

1160

01:13:36,032 --> 01:13:39,229 with men who were growing impatient with his caution,

1161

01:13:39,302 --> 01:13:43,762 men about whom Americans knew almost nothing.<sup>27</sup>

1162

01:13:45,975 --> 01:13:48,944 The most important proved to be a carpenter's son<sup>28</sup>

1163

01:13:49,012 --> 01:13:55,076 from Quang Tri province in the South named Le Duan.

1164

01:13:55,151 --> 01:13:58,643 He had helped found the Indochinese Communist Party,

1165

01:13:58,721 --> 01:14:02,248 survived nearly ten years in a French prison,

1166

01:14:02,325 --> 01:14:05,385 and proved himself a shrewd political infighter

1167

01:14:05,461 --> 01:14:08,828 as he rose to become First Secretary of the Party.<sup>29</sup>

1168

01:14:10,800 --> 01:14:14,736 NGUYEN NGOC: Viet Minh

I met Le Duan for the first time in 1951. I was a young cadre. I saw that he was very different from the other leaders. He understood the will of the Southern people. Le Duan carried their will to the North.

1169

01:14:43,800 --> 01:14:47,896 NARRATOR: By 1959, Le Duan and his hard line allies<sup>29</sup>

1170

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<sup>25</sup> This seems tame in comparison to what was happening in the North and the placement here, in juxtaposition with the North's land reform seems designed to draw attention away from the former.

<sup>26</sup> Not all VC had guns at that time, but that did not stop them from assassinating their fellow villagers. Did they disembowel Soc's wife? See article "Casualties" showing year by year assassinations and disappearances, compared to RVN arrests.

<sup>27</sup> The U.S apparently knew very little about anybody in Vietnam, including Ho Chi Minh, as evidenced by the continued questions as to his being a communist or nationalist. See article "Flags."

<sup>28</sup> Is this intended as a biblical allusion?

<sup>29</sup> Date?

01:14:47,971 --> 01:14:51,873 were gaining influence within the North Vietnamese Politburo  
1171  
01:14:51,941 --> 01:14:54,569 and beginning to change its policy.  
1172  
01:14:54,644 --> 01:14:58,444 They now argued that Hanoi should do everything  
1173  
01:14:58,514 --> 01:15:01,642 within its power to help Southern revolutionaries  
1174  
01:15:01,718 --> 01:15:03,948 remove Diem by force.  
1175  
01:15:06,055 --> 01:15:10,219 BUI DIEM (speaking English)  
The North Vietnamese adopted a more expressive posture. They did not accept the division of the  
country, as such. And they would try to have the country reunified again, at any cost.  
1176  
01:15:25,642 --> 01:15:29,203 NARRATOR: Now bands of 40 to 50 armed Viet Minh  
1177  
01:15:29,278 --> 01:15:32,611 began slipping back home into South Vietnam,  
1178  
01:15:32,682 --> 01:15:36,550 following jungle paths hacked through the Laotian mountains  
1179  
01:15:36,619 --> 01:15:41,056 that the Americans would soon call the Ho Chi Minh Trail.<sup>30</sup>  
1180  
01:15:47,163 --> 01:15:50,326 Violence against the Diem regime steadily accelerated.  
1181  
01:15:50,400 --> 01:15:52,061 (gunfire)  
1182  
01:15:52,135 --> 01:15:54,035 (siren blaring)  
1183  
01:16:00,243 --> 01:16:05,340 On the evening of July 8, 1959, at Bien Hoa,  
1184  
01:16:05,415 --> 01:16:07,280 20 miles northeast of Saigon,  
1185  
01:16:07,350 --> 01:16:11,514 six American military advisors were watching a movie  
1186  
01:16:11,587 --> 01:16:13,054 in their mess hall.  
1187  
01:16:14,857 --> 01:16:16,916 Viet Minh guerrillas, who had crept silently  
1188  
01:16:16,993 --> 01:16:20,588 into the compound, opened fire through the windows.  
1189  
01:16:20,663 --> 01:16:23,188 (rapid gunfire)  
1190  
01:16:26,235 --> 01:16:29,170 Major Dale Buis from Pender, Nebraska,  
1191  
01:16:29,238 --> 01:16:31,365 and Master Sergeant Chester Ovnand  
1192  
01:16:31,441 --> 01:16:34,774 from Copperas Cove, Texas, were killed.  
1193  
01:16:37,113 --> 01:16:41,447 They were the first American soldiers to die from enemy fire<sup>31</sup>  
1194  
01:16:41,517 --> 01:16:43,348 in the Vietnam War.  
1195  
01:16:44,954 --> 01:16:47,582 JOHN KENNEDY: We must prove all over again,  
1196

<sup>30</sup> See article on troop movement dates. Also, HCM Trail is later known as Averill Harriman Memorial Highway.

<sup>31</sup> This assumes that the bullets that killed Peter Dewey were “friendly fire?”

01:16:47,657 --> 01:16:53,357 to a watching world, as we sit on a most conspicuous stage,  
1197  
01:16:53,429 --> 01:16:55,056 whether this nation,  
1198  
01:16:55,131 --> 01:16:59,261 conceived as it is with its freedom of choice,  
1199  
01:16:59,335 --> 01:17:03,931 its breadth of opportunity, its range of alternatives,  
1200  
01:17:04,006 --> 01:17:06,338 can **compete with the single-minded advance**  
1201  
01:17:06,409 --> 01:17:08,104 **of the communist system.**  
1202  
01:17:08,177 --> 01:17:13,843 NARRATOR: On November 8, 1960, John Fitzgerald Kennedy was elected  
1203  
01:17:13,916 --> 01:17:16,578 President of the United States.  
1204  
01:17:16,652 --> 01:17:20,452 His Vice President was Senator Lyndon Johnson.  
1205  
01:17:20,523 --> 01:17:24,516 They had narrowly beaten Vice President Richard Nixon  
1206  
01:17:24,594 --> 01:17:27,757 and his running mate, **Senator Henry Cabot Lodge.**  
1207  
01:17:29,298 --> 01:17:32,267 During the campaign, both Kennedy and Nixon  
1208  
01:17:32,335 --> 01:17:36,863 had pledged to hold the line against international communism  
1209  
01:17:36,939 --> 01:17:39,567 wherever it seemed to be a threat.  
1210  
01:17:39,642 --> 01:17:43,578 But very few Americans knew or cared about  
1211  
01:17:43,646 --> 01:17:45,910 what was going on in Vietnam.  
1212  
01:17:47,750 --> 01:17:49,911 Six weeks after Kennedy's election,  
1213  
01:17:49,986 --> 01:17:52,978 at a remote jungle village called Tan Lap  
1214  
01:17:53,055 --> 01:17:54,955 near the Cambodian border,  
1215  
01:17:55,024 --> 01:17:58,892 representatives of southern revolutionary groups  
1216  
01:17:58,961 --> 01:18:03,091 met to form a new organization to replace the Viet Minh,  
1217  
01:18:03,166 --> 01:18:05,999 dedicated to overthrowing Ngo Dinh Diem  
1218  
01:18:06,068 --> 01:18:10,004 and ousting the foreigners supporting him.  
1219  
01:18:10,072 --> 01:18:15,601 **Behind the scenes Le Duan and his communist comrades in Hanoi**  
1220  
01:18:15,678 --> 01:18:19,705 **were orchestrating everything.**  
1221  
01:18:19,782 --> 01:18:21,511 The new organization would be called  
1222  
01:18:21,584 --> 01:18:25,748 the National Liberation Front--the NLF.  
1223  
01:18:27,456 --> 01:18:30,550 The armed wing of the NLF was called  
1224

01:18:30,626 --> 01:18:33,322 the People's Liberation Armed Forces,<sup>32</sup>  
1225  
01:18:33,396 --> 01:18:36,923 but its enemies in Saigon and Washington preferred  
1226  
01:18:36,999 --> 01:18:39,058 a more disparaging term.  
1227  
01:18:39,135 --> 01:18:42,536 In their eyes, the revolutionaries were  
1228  
01:18:42,605 --> 01:18:46,041 Communist Traitors to the Vietnamese Nation --  
1229  
01:18:46,108 --> 01:18:47,541 the Viet Cong.  
1230  
01:18:53,516 --> 01:18:58,215 (muted shouting)  
1231  
01:19:00,756 --> 01:19:05,352 HUY DUC: Our leaders said, "We are willing sacrifice to the last Vietnamese person." We  
exulted in those slogans. The people couldn't fully understand that behind those heroic slogans was  
their own sacrifice. History will judge whether the war was worth the sacrifice.  
1232  
01:19:37,793 --> 01:19:40,227 JOHN KENNEDY: January 20, 1961  
Let every nation know,  
1233  
01:19:40,296 --> 01:19:45,928 whether it wishes us well or ill,  
1234  
01:19:46,002 --> 01:19:51,998 that we shall pay any price, bear any burden,  
1235  
01:19:52,074 --> 01:19:56,977 meet any hardship, support any friend,  
1236  
01:19:57,046 --> 01:20:02,074 oppose any foe, to assure the survival  
1237  
01:20:02,151 --> 01:20:03,448 and the success of liberty.  
1238  
01:20:15,932 --> 01:20:18,423 TIM O'BRIEN: Army 1969 For me, I'd always thought of courage  
1239  
01:20:18,501 --> 01:20:23,029 as charging enemy bunkers or standing up under fire.  
1240  
01:20:23,105 --> 01:20:29,066 But just to walk, day after day from village to village  
1241  
01:20:29,145 --> 01:20:33,707 and through the paddies and up into the mountains,  
1242  
01:20:33,783 --> 01:20:38,049 just to get up in the morning and look out at the land  
1243  
01:20:38,120 --> 01:20:41,783 and think, "In a few minutes I'll be walking out there  
1244  
01:20:41,857 --> 01:20:45,020 "and will my corpse be there, over there?  
1245  
01:20:45,094 --> 01:20:46,459 "Will I lose a leg out there?"  
1246  
01:20:48,331 --> 01:20:52,062 Just to walk felt incredibly brave.  
1247  
01:20:52,134 --> 01:20:54,932 I would sometimes look at my legs as I walked,  
1248  
01:20:55,004 --> 01:20:57,336 Thinking, how am I doing this?  
1249

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<sup>32</sup> Since we have already noted ARVN and PLAF, we should remind the viewer that the Northern soldiers were called PAVN or "People's Army of Vietnam," an epithet that conveys no more popular merit than calling the Northern regime "Democratic Republic of Viet Nam."

01:21:01,444 --> 01:21:07,542 ("A Hard Rain's A-Gonna Fall" by Bob Dylan playing)  
1250  
01:21:07,616 --> 01:21:11,279 ♪Oh where have you been my blue-eyed son?♪  
1251  
01:21:13,856 --> 01:21:17,986 ♪And where have you been my darling young one?♪  
1252  
01:21:20,896 --> 01:21:24,593 ♪I've stumbled on the side of 12 misty mountains.♪  
1253  
01:21:27,703 --> 01:21:31,764 ♪I've walked and I've crawled on six crooked highways.♪  
1254  
01:21:34,276 --> 01:21:38,235 ♪I've stepped in the middle of seven sad forests.♪  
1255  
01:21:40,716 --> 01:21:45,119 ♪I've been out in front of a dozen dead oceans.♪  
1256  
01:21:47,289 --> 01:21:51,749 ♪I've been ten thousand miles in the mouth of a graveyard.♪  
1257  
01:21:54,063 --> 01:21:57,328 ♪And it's a hard, It's a hard,♪  
1258  
01:21:57,400 --> 01:22:01,461 ♪It's a hard, It's a hard,♪  
1259  
01:22:01,537 --> 01:22:06,634 ♪It's a hard rain's a-gonna fall.♪  
1260  
01:22:12,081 --> 01:22:16,142 ♪Oh what did you see my blue-eyed son?♪  
1261  
01:22:18,821 --> 01:22:22,518 ♪And what did you see my darling young one?♪  
1262  
01:22:25,494 --> 01:22:29,863 ♪I saw a newborn baby with wild wolves a around it.♪  
1263  
01:22:32,201 --> 01:22:35,864 ♪I saw a highway of diamonds with nobody on it.♪  
1264  
01:22:38,974 --> 01:22:42,876 ♪I saw a black branch with blood that kept drippin' .♪  
1265  
01:22:45,581 --> 01:22:49,449 ♪I saw a room full of men with their hammers a-bleedin' .♪  
1266  
01:22:52,321 --> 01:22:55,848 ♪I saw a white ladder all covered with water.♪  
1267  
01:22:58,894 --> 01:23:02,694 ♪I saw 10,000 talkers whose tongues were all broken.♪  
1268  
01:23:05,634 --> 01:23:10,435 ♪I saw guns with sharp swords in the hands of young children.♪  
1269  
01:23:10,506 --> 01:23:13,771 ♪And it's a hard, It's a hard,♪  
1270  
01:23:13,843 --> 01:23:17,745 ♪It's a hard, and it's a hard,♪  
1271  
01:23:17,813 --> 01:23:23,217 ♪It's a hard rain's a-gonna fall.♪  
1272  
01:23:25,654 --> 01:23:29,146 ♪And it's a hard, It's a hard,♪  
1273  
01:23:29,225 --> 01:23:32,717 ♪It's a hard, and it's a hard,♪  
1274  
01:23:32,795 --> 01:23:37,960 ♪It's a hard rain's a-gonna fall.♪  
1275  
01:23:44,273 --> 01:23:46,867 Captioned by Media Access Group at WGNH Access [wgnh.org](http://wgnh.org)