

INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

①

118a

45- CONFIDENTIAL

Action VZCZCZMJA747JIA376
EA RR RUEHC RUEHCR
DE RIUMJIR 29244 1811420
Info ZNY CCCCC
R 301210Z JUN 67
FM AMEMBASSY SAIGON
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC
INFO RIUMTRK/AMEMBASSY BANGKOK
RIUMJDH/AMCONSUL HONG KONG
RUEHCR/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
RIUMJFS/AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE
RIUMHQA/CINCPAC
L RIUHLHL/COM 7TH FLT
H STATE GRNC
SAL RT
EUR
IO
P
USIA
NSC
INR
CIA
NSA
DOD
NIC
ACDA
AID
RSR

1967 JUN 30 PM 12 18

026714

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12356, Sec. 3.4
NIJ 92-100
By , NARA, Date 5-14-92

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ SAIGON 29244

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

REF: SAIGON 27554 (NOTAL)

SUBJ: VAN TIEN DUNG ANALYZES NVN DRY-SEASON SUCCESSES

1. THE AUTHORITATIVE ARTICLE IN THE JUNE ISSUE OF NORTH VIETNAMESE ARMY (NVA) JOURNAL QUAN DOI NHAN DAN BY NVA CHIEF OF STAFF GENERAL VAN TIEN DUNG PROVIDES BEST INSIGHT WE HAVE HAD INTO CURRENT NVN MILITARY OUTLOOK ON DEFENSE AGAINST US BOMBINGS, AND CAPABILITY OF NORTH VIETNAMESE TO COPE WITH US

ATTACKS WITHOUT GREATER EXTERNAL ASSISTANCE EVEN IF FURTHER ESCALATION TAKES PLACE.

2. VAN TIEN DUNG MAKES THE SAME SANGUINE ASSERTIONS AS HAVE OTHER RECENT NVN/VC PROCLAMATIONS THAT THE DRY-SEASON WAS A DEFENSIVE VICTORY OVER U.S. DUNG STATES:

- A) NVN OVERCAME SUPERIOR US FIREPOWER, AND MORALE REMAINS UNSHAKEN.
- B) INFILTRATION WAS SUCCESSFULLY MAINTAINED, AND US ATTEMPTS TO ISOLATE THE BATTLEFIELD FAILED. ARVN CONTINUED TO DETERIORATE.
- C) CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALIST SYSTEM IN NORTH KEPT PACE DESPITE BOMBING. FULL MOBILIZATION OF ALL RESOURCES PROVED SUCCESSFUL.
- D) US AIR FORCES SUFFERED GRAVE DAMAGE MATERIALLY AND IN PRESTIGE.

CONFIDENTIAL

COPY LBJ LIBRARY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-2- SAIGON 29244 6/30/67

E) US HAS BEEN DRIVEN INTO PASSIVE STRATEGIC POSITION WITH ITS SOUTHERN FORCES SCATTERED AND ITS ATTACK ON THE NORTH A FAILURE. CONCURRENTLY NVA/VC COORDINATION BETWEEN THE NORTH AND SOUTH WAS STRENGTHENED.

3. DUNG DRAWS THREE STRATEGIC LESSONS FOR NVN WHICH COMPLEMENT FIVE LESSONS TRUONG SON SIMILARLY ENUMERATED FOR VC IN SOUTH IN MAY ISSUE OF QUAN DOI NHAN DAN (SEE REFTEL):

A) CORRECTLY EVALUATE THE ENEMY, BE DETERMINED, AND BE PREPARED: DUNG SAYS THE US HAS MOUNTED A "WAR OF DESTRUCTION." HOWEVER, US AIR FORCES CANNOT FREELY USE THEIR SUPERIOR STRENGTH TO ATTACK NORTH MASSIVELY ON STRATEGIC SCALE. US EFFORT IS "NOT YET" ALL-OUT AND THEREFORE IT CAN BE COPE WITH. LAW OF WAR OF DESTRUCTION IS THAT US MUST ESCALATE IN NORTH TO COUNTER DEFEATS IN SOUTH. US DEFEATS ARE GROWING AND NVN HOLDS THE INITIATIVE; THEREFORE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS MUST BE REJECTED AND DEFENSE OF NORTH STIFFENED. POLITICAL ISOLATION RESTRICTS US ABILITY TO USE ITS STRENGTH. US AIR FORCE TACTICS DO NOT MATCH CONDITIONS AND ARE AWKWARD. TARGETS ARE TOO SMALL, OFTEN MOVING, AND TOO DISPERSED FOR SOPHISTICATED US WEAPONRY. US AIRCRAFT LOSSES NOW SURPASS REPLACEMENT CAPACITY AND PILOT SHORTAGE IS SERIOUS. CENTRAL PROBLEM FOR NVN IS TO INSURE COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSPORTATION.

B) CONTINUE TO PROSECUTE PEOPLE'S WAR AND RELY ON OWN STRENGTH THROUGH FULL MOBILIZATION WHILE SEEKING INTERNATIONAL AID: DUNG NOTES DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PEOPLE'S WAR IN SOUTH AND IN NORTH, AND STATES THAT THE WAR WILL END "ONLY" WHEN US IS COMPLETELY DEFEATED IN SVN. HE WARNS NVN MUST PREPARE TO COPE WITH NEW ESCALATION, "INCLUDING THE ENEMY'S DISPATCH OF HIS ARMY TO RAID THE NORTH." HOWEVER, HE STRESSES "WE MUST RELY MAINLY ON OUR OWN STRENGTH." DUNG REPEATS THEME OF SELF-RELIANCE (CALLING IT AN "IDEOLOGY") THREE TIMES IN DISCUSSING FOREIGN AID TO NVN.

C) BUILD AIR DEFENSE: CHIEF MILITARY PROBLEM FACING NVN IS HOW TO APPLY CONCEPTS AND EXPERIENCES OF PEOPLE'S WAR TO THE AIR WAR THE US IS WAGING. JETS AND MISSILES HAVE WEAK POINTS IN DEFENSE. SOLUTION IS "EFFECTIVE MULTI-STRATA NET OF FIRE EVERYWHERE..." AND CLOSE COORDINATION OF CONVERGING DEFENSE ARMS AT ALL ALTITUDES AND DISTANCES WITH ANTI-AIRCRAFT UNITS AS THE CORE. HE SAYS EVEN US GENERALS MUST RECOGNIZE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE NVN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

-3- SAIGON 29244 6/30/67

AIR DEFENSE WHICH HAS PREVAILED OVER US TECHNICAL SUPERIORITY. THIS IS A NEW, CREATIVE ADDITION TO THE THEORY OF PEOPLE'S WAR, HE CONCLUDES.

4. COMMENT: A) DUNG'S ARTICLE IS FOR PROFESSIONAL NVN MILITARY READERS AND IS RELATIVELY SOBER ANALYSIS ALTHOUGH IT IS AIMED ALSO AT ENCOURAGING HARD-PRESSED AIR DEFENSE UNITS. HE INDICATES NVN INTENDS TO RELY ON REGULAR ANTI-AIRCRAFT WEAPONS RATHER THAN SAM OR MIG BUILD-UP IN AIR DEFENSES. HE MAKES NO REFERENCE TO SOVIETS WHEN HE DISCUSSES THE SUCCESS OF AIR DEFENSES, AND BY DISPARAGING EFFECTIVENESS OF JETS AND MISSILES ("SUITABLE ONLY IN SOME COMBAT SITUATIONS.") HE ALMOST DISDAINS SOVIET AID. HE AVOIDS ANY REFERENCE TO THE QUESTION OF A BOMBING CESSATION, AND IN FACT GIVES THE IMPRESSION OF LOOKING FORWARD TO A STEP-UP IN ATTACKS.

B) IN UNDERLINING THAT NVN MUST RELY ON STRENGTH, SOLVE ITS OWN PROBLEMS, AND DEVELOP INDEPENDENT SPIRIT IN FACE OF ANTICIPATED US

ESCALATION, DUNG DISSOCIATES NVA FROM DEPENDENCE ON CHICOM ARMY OR AIR FORCE, EVEN DOCTRINALLY. HE IMPLIES HANOI WILL NOT CALL FOR DIRECT CHICOM MILITARY HELP EVEN IF THE US INVADES NVN. ALTHOUGH THE THEME OF SELF-RELIANCE IS STANDARD, THIS IS ABOUT THE STRONGEST EXPRESSION OF NVN MILITARY INDEPENDENCE HANOI HAS ALLOWED TO BE EXPRESSED THROUGH SUCH AN AUTHORITATIVE VOICE. IT MATCHES THE TONE OF POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE FROM THE MAOISTS WHICH WAS EXPRESSED IN THE MAY HOC TAP ARTICLE.

C) IN LINE WITH THE JUNE 7 NVA COMMUNIQUE AND NHAN DAN EDITORIAL, THE TRUONG SON ARTICLE IN MAY, AND SEVERAL RECENT STATEMENTS BY NGUYEN CHI THANH AND VO NGUYEN GIAP, THE DUNG ARTICLE MANIFESTS A GROWING MILITARY CAST OF LATE TO HANOI PRONOUNCEMENTS. QUESTIONS OF NEGOTIATIONS OR SETTLEMENT ARE CURTLY DISMISSED IN THIS ATMOSPHERE OF HEIGHTENED MILITANCY.

BUNKER

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COPY LBJ LIBRARY