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COMMUNIST-DIRECTED FORCES IN SOUTH VIET-NAM

Several hundred thousand people in South Viet-Nam, collectively known as the Viet Cong (Vietnamese for "Vietnamese Communist"), are engaged in a violent effort to overthrow the government of that country. Alongside them are many identified units of the regular North Vietnamese Army, ordered south by Hanoi by the thousands every month.

What was the situation which gave rise to the development of the Viet Cong? Who are its leaders? How do they operate? This paper seeks to answer these and related questions.

THE VIET MINH

From the close of World War II to 1954, Communist-led local forces known as the Viet Minh (Revolutionary League for the Independence of Viet-Nam) fought to expel France from Viet-Nam and other parts of Indochina.

Ho Chi Minh, present ruler of North Viet-Nam, organized and directed the Viet Minh movement. This veteran Communist was born in 1890 in North Viet-Nam. In 1921 he was a founding member of the French Communist Party. Fluent in French, English, Russian, and Chinese, he later spent years as an agent of the Communist International (Comintern). From a base in China, Ho organized the Viet Minh movement toward the close of World War II.

Japanese troops in Indochina surrendered to Chinese, British, and American forces at the end of World War II, and shortly thereafter French authorities resumed control. The Viet Minh and other groups fought the French for years. Finally, after the defeat of French forces at Dien Bien Phu, France conceded independence to Indochina at the Geneva settlement of 1954.

The Geneva agreements divided the Vietnamese portion of Indochina at the 17th parallel. A frankly Communist government, led by Ho Chi Minh, assumed control at Hanoi. Under the armistice provisions some 900,000 Vietnamese fled the North and sought the safety of the South. Roughly 100,000 of the Viet Minh moved from the South to the North, while an undetermined but large number remained behind.

THE TWO REGIMES: 1954-1960

In South Viet-Nam, non-Communist groups worked to build an effective government under

former Emperor Bao Dai. Much of the countryside, however, remained under local Viet Minh control after the new government was installed.

Ngo Dinh Diem was the leading figure in South Viet-Nam until his death in 1963. First as Prime Minister under Bao Dai, then as President after a 1955 referendum deposed Bao Dai, Diem sought to create a viable national government. His first problems were:

- to eliminate vestiges of both French and Viet Minh control;
- to provide for the 900,000 refugees from the North;
- to cut the strength of three independent armed groups which were fighting for control near Saigon: the Binh Xuyen (gangsters who controlled the Saigon police), the Cao Dai, and Hoa Hao (two extremist religious sects).



Ho Chi Minh

Save for reducing the Viet Minh threat, most of this program was completed by 1958.

In North Viet-Nam, the Communists consolidated control by police-state methods. Almost all of the North Vietnamese area was under Viet Minh control at the time of the Geneva settlement. As the French withdrew and refugees fled south, Ho Chi Minh's government smothered all opposition. There was a major purge in 1956, during which about 50,000 were killed and twice that number imprisoned. Once well entrenched in the North, Hanoi sought to expand its power by taking over the South. Its chief political instrument was the Lao Dong Party, the Communist Party of both North and South Viet-Nam until 1961.

ORGANIZING FOR SUBVERSION: 1955-1962

The Viet-Nam Fatherland Front

A front organization known as the Viet-Nam Fatherland Front was established in 1955 with headquarters in Hanoi and with unification with the South one of its objectives. The Front program lashed out against the "handful of traitors who have sold out to American imperialism," and stated "American imperialism is the chief enemy." The Fatherland Front never won significant influence in South Viet-Nam, nor did the first several hundred Communists who had gone North in 1954 and were now infiltrated back into South Viet-Nam.

The National Liberation Front (NLF)

At the close of 1960, authorities in Hanoi decided to concentrate their efforts on a new front organization to be based in the South, and to be known as the National Liberation Front (NLF). The NLF's program was forecast in a resolution of the North Vietnamese Lao Dong (Communist) Party third congress in September, stating that one of the strategic tasks of the Vietnamese revolution was "to liberate South Viet-Nam from the ruling yoke of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen."

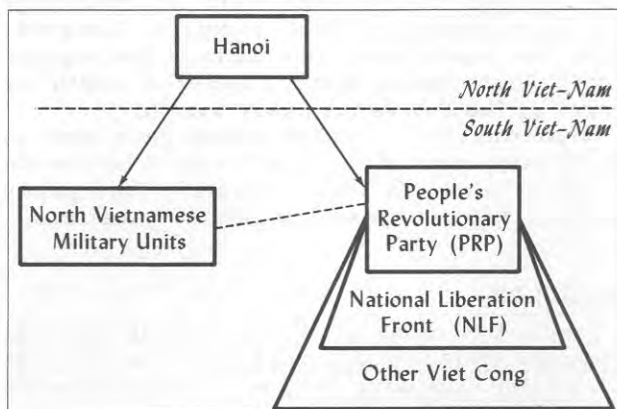
In describing the forthcoming National Liberation Front, the Lao Dong Party resolution stated: "The front must carry out its work in a very flexible manner in order to rally all forces that can be rallied, win over all forces that can be won over, neutralize all forces that should be neutralized, and draw the broad masses into the general struggle against the U.S.-Diem clique for the liberation of the South and the peaceful reunification of the fatherland."

Hanoi felt it could count on support from a variety of groups in the South. Most important were those entrenched Communists from the Viet Minh who had not gone North after the Geneva agreements. As Communists, they owed special loyalty to Ho Chi Minh. Some of them still controlled some rural areas which re-

sisted government authority. Others had merely gone underground.

Other potential recruits were rural peasants who feared that the new regime in Saigon would bring increased taxes, increased rents, and few benefits. Some members of the shattered Binh Xuyen, Cao Dai, and Hoa Hao groups wished to continue their fight against Diem. Finally, some people who at first had welcomed the increasingly authoritarian Diem regime were turning against it.

The National Liberation Front was carefully designed to appeal to members of all these groups.



Organization of Communist-Directed Forces

The People's Revolutionary Party (PRP)

Learning from the failure of the Viet-Nam Fatherland Front, Hanoi kept tight controls on the National Liberation Front by building it around trusted Communist Party members. At the heart was to be the so-called People's Revolutionary Party (PRP), a new name for the Communist Party in South Viet-Nam.

In November 1961 a secret central committee resolution of the Lao Dong Party provided for a new People's Revolutionary Party in the South, stating: "First of all, it must be clearly understood that this is only a name change... the party segment in South Viet-Nam is a segment of the Lao Dong party under the leadership of the party central committee, headed by Chairman Ho."

Public announcement of the formation of the PRP was made in early 1962 by the NLF to give the false impression that the PRP had been formed within South Viet-Nam. The southern branch of the Lao Dong Party quietly faded as its members shifted to the PRP.



Mr. Nguyen Huu Tho



Mr. Huynh Tan Phat



Mr. Tran Nam Trung

NLF LEADERSHIP

The chain of command from Hanoi to the two types of Communist-directed forces in South Viet-Nam is shown on page 2. The principal organizational feature is that the People's Revolutionary Party (PRP) forms the hard core of the National Liberation Front (NLF), while there are additional Viet Cong members who belong to neither the PRP nor the NLF.

The three top officers of the National Liberation Front are the Chairman, the Secretary General, and the Director of the Military Affairs Committee. Thumbnail sketches of these individuals follow:

Chairman Nguyen Huu Tho, born in 1910, studied law in France and practiced in Saigon. His anti-French activities started in 1947, when he reportedly was captured by the Viet Minh and then joined them. Arrested twice by the French, he was later imprisoned by the South Vietnamese for more than 6 years. Following his release in December 1961, he joined the NLF as Chairman in early 1962.

Secretary General Huynh Tan Phat, born in 1913, also uses the name Tam Chi. With an architect's training, he was a member of the Viet Minh early in the postwar period and was arrested twice by the French. In late 1955 he was a member of the Executive Committee of the Fatherland Front (Hanoi-organized precursor of the NLF). An associate has reported him to be a member of the Communist Party.

Military Affairs Committee Director Tran Nam Trung and Lt. General Tran Van Tra, Chairman of the Military Affairs Committee of the North Vietnamese Central Office for South

Viet-Nam, are the same person, according to several captured Viet Cong agents. Born in 1918, the General was arrested by the French in 1939 and 1944, escaping to join the Viet Minh in August 1945. Before the Geneva conference in 1954, his military activities focused in the area now comprising South Viet-Nam. General Tran Van Tra is an alternate member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in North Viet-Nam.

THE PATTERN OF SUBVERSION: 1961-1962

While the controlling position of the People's Revolutionary Party within the Front was being consolidated, the National Liberation Front continued to be reinforced with cadres from the North. Most of the early infiltrators were natives of South Viet-Nam who had gone to the North after the Geneva agreements for intensive training in Communist methods. In the 3-year period from 1959 through 1961, roughly 10,000 men infiltrated into the South. In 1962 North Viet-Nam sent an additional 13,000 men across the border.

As these large reinforcements arrived, the violence in South Viet-Nam increased.

Prime targets were the leaders of local government: village headmen, village elders, school teachers, medical personnel. Between 1957 and 1959, more than a thousand civilians were murdered or kidnaped. In 1960, terrorists assassinated 1,400 local government officials and kidnaped 700 others. As the Viet Cong infiltration increased, the toll rose: by early 1962 the Viet Cong were killing or kidnaping

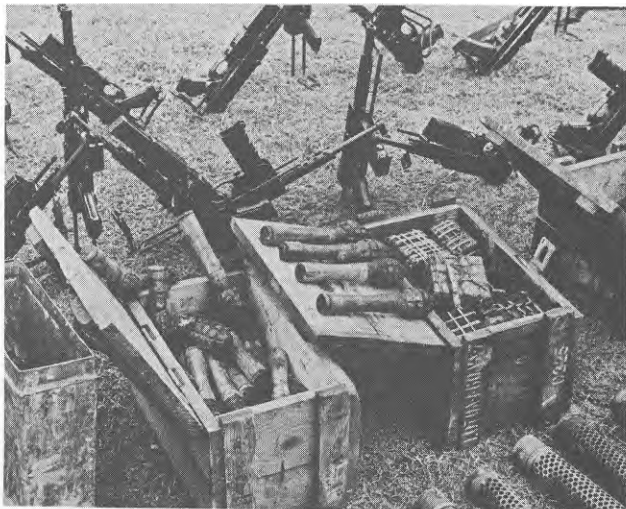
more than 1,000 South Vietnamese civilians each month.

ORGANIZED WARFARE: 1963-1966

The early Viet Cong effort laid great stress on guerrilla activities, largely in the rural areas. Occasional terror bombings were perpetrated in the cities (e.g., the bombing of the U.S. Embassy in Saigon in 1965). Later, as more and more regulars of the North Vietnamese Army were sent south to support the guerrillas, organized units were increasingly committed to conventional military engagements, and on a growing scale.

While the Viet Cong retained the military initiative until some time in 1965, they never gained the political initiative.

The Diem government survived several attempted coups by other anti-Viet Cong groups, but finally fell with Diem's assassination at the end of 1963.



Captured Viet Cong Weapons

Subsequent governments in Saigon have been overturned, but throughout this period no important political figure shifted allegiance to the Viet Cong or its NLF and PRP components. Thus, while terror has enabled the Viet Cong to disrupt the life of the nation, the Communists have failed to attract new loyalties to their cause.

Viet Cong personnel losses within the past 4 years have been severe. But with military reinforcements infiltrating from the North in a constant stream, the level of Viet Cong activities has been increasing. Losses of arms have been offset both by captured equipment and by massive supply from the North, while food

supplies are drawn from controlled areas and raids into neighboring territory.

Of the 16 million people in South Viet-Nam, 3 million live in cities outside Viet Cong control. Of the 13 million rural people, perhaps 30 percent live in Communist-controlled areas; perhaps another 25 percent live on land not fully controlled by either Viet Cong or government forces. The remaining 45 percent are in areas under government control.

COMMUNIST METHODS

The regular troops from North Viet-Nam and the Viet Cong operate differently in the South.

The northern military units are occupying and operating on foreign soil. Before infiltrating south, most of the military are prepared at the Xuan Mai training camp, where the curriculum includes a special course called "Hate America." Since the North Vietnamese are physically different in appearance from the natives of central and southern Viet-Nam, it is easy for the local people to recognize them.

The majority of the Viet Cong, on the other hand, are operating in areas close to their native villages. Many of the Viet Cong do not have purely military functions, but serve instead as local cadres in areas under Viet Cong control; occasionally they assume paramilitary functions. Their flag is the white hammer and sickle centered on a red field. The PRP Youth League flag has three yellow stars in the center and a white hammer and sickle in the upper right, all on a red field.

While the regular military units draw supplies from the North as an expeditionary force, the Viet Cong are more likely to depend on supplies generated in the South. Comprehensive information on how the regular military units coordinate with the Viet Cong is not available, but it appears likely that much of the coordination is done on an ad hoc basis at the local level.

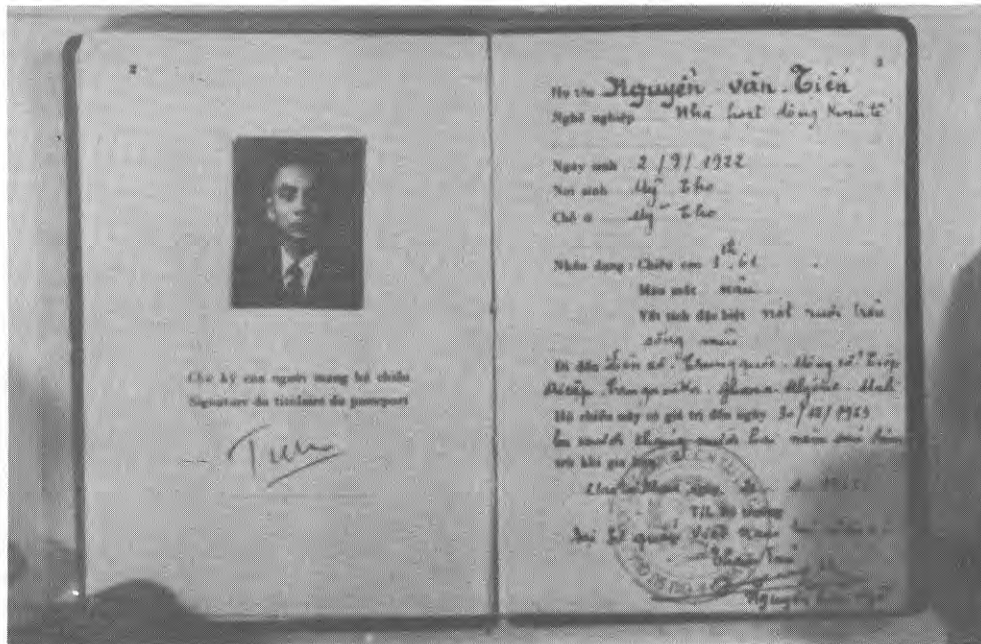
In January 1967 the numerical strength of these groups appeared to be as follows:

—Armed forces from	
North Viet-Nam	45 thousand
—PRP membership	85 thousand
—Others associated with NLF	125 thousand
—Other Viet Cong	70 thousand
—Civilians living under Viet Cong control	4 million

COMMUNIST OBJECTIVES

The first objective announced by the National Liberation Front was the overthrow of the Saigon government.

The Front's 10-point program was broadcast in English by Hanoi in February 1961.



North Vietnamese Passport used by Official of National Liberation Front (NLF)

It also stressed unification with the North and expulsion of all foreign influences. The United States was attacked throughout the program; for example, the preamble to the 10 points said: "The American imperialists, who in the past helped the French colonialists to massacre our people, have now plotted to permanently partition our country, to enslave the southern part through a disguised colonial regime, and turn it into a military base in preparation for an aggressive war in Southeast Asia." Members of the national government were referred to as "lackeys" and "henchmen" of American imperialists.

Almost a year later the People's Revolutionary Party announced its own 10-point program, covering the same ground with terms such as, "We will eliminate U.S. cultural enslavement and depravity." As in the NLF program, the first point for the PRP was overthrow of the Saigon government.

These announced goals of Communist strategy, though devised 6 years ago, have not been changed substantially in the interim and continue to be reiterated by the PRP, the NLF, and Hanoi.

The tactical goals of the Communist-controlled forces in South Viet-Nam can be discerned from the way the North Vietnamese military units and the Viet Cong operate. The short-run objectives seem to be:

- continued control of various base areas in South Viet-Nam, with physical expansion of these areas if possible;
- maintenance of supply lines for equipment and personnel from the North;

- destruction by assassination, kidnaping, and other means of individuals and groups resisting Communist authority;
- dividing the pro-government forces through political activity;
- enhancing the domestic political image of the NLF by making it appear to be a domestic political force, independent of Hanoi;
- strengthening the NLF image abroad and weakening relations between the South Vietnamese Government and other countries.

COMMUNIST STRENGTHS

The Communist forces are engaged in a classic attempt to overthrow a government by violence, directed by Hanoi and assisted by other Communist governments, particularly that of Red China.

Reinforcement and supply of the Communist forces in South Viet-Nam are conducted through parts of neighboring Laos (where Pathet Lao Communists backed by North Vietnamese regulars control the key border area) and apparently, to a lesser degree, through Cambodia. Supply routes also cross the demilitarized zone at the 17th parallel, where North Viet-Nam has refused to accept International Control Commission inspection. The use of these sanctuary areas is of substantial benefit to the Communist units. Major weight should also be given to the directive and psychological support provided by Hanoi, even to such details as supplying North Vietnamese passports to most of the NLF agents who travel abroad.

Within the controlled areas, Viet Cong elements exercise the functions normally associated with rural government. They are able to exact taxes from the villagers and draft local inhabitants to fulfill military and paramilitary functions. Propaganda is carried on a Viet Cong radio station.

COMMUNIST WEAKNESSES

Inability to achieve rapid victory is a major weakness of the Communist assault in South Viet-Nam.

The people of South Viet-Nam are war-weary. While the bulk of the war against the French was fought north of the 17th parallel (now the South Vietnamese border), that war left large scars in the South. Total Vietnamese deaths during 9 years of war against the French were roughly as large as British deaths during World War II. The resumption of violence by the Viet Cong and later by the organized troops of the North Vietnamese Army came at a time when most South Vietnamese wanted peace.

Despite continuous reinforcement from the North, the Communists in the South cannot gain a military victory over South Vietnamese forces, which are assisted by American, Korean, Australian, and other allied units. Meanwhile, the Viet Cong presence exposes everyone in the areas they control to war risks as the central government tries to expel the Communist elements.

During 1966 almost 1 million refugees fled the areas of military engagements and Viet Cong control to government-controlled areas. Captives and deserters from the regular North Vietnamese Army report their shock on discovering that the Viet Cong are taking advantage of the "Chieu Hoi" (Open Arms) program of the South Vietnamese Government, which offers a return to normal life to those who leave the Viet Cong.

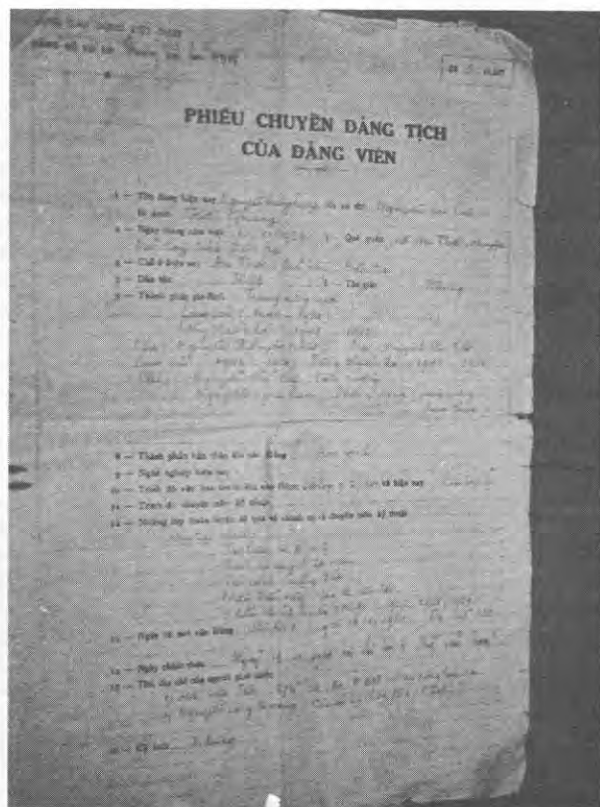
Viet Cong performance has not matched Communist promises.

After promising to abolish taxes, rents, and divide up larger estates, the Viet Cong themselves became the tax collectors. In the rural areas, some of which they have controlled for as long as 20 years, Viet Cong presence has brought few constructive results. Viet Cong base areas remain in a primitive state, with few of the benefits of modern technology. Instead, the peasants in these areas have lived through a generation of war only to find, to an increasing degree, that the Communists in authority over them are strangers from the North.

The conditions in regions under Communist control are beginning to differ significantly from those in similar regions under government control.

In the last few years the Saigon government has greatly increased the attention it gives to what it calls "revolutionary development," improvement of living conditions in the countryside. This program receives a great deal of assistance from the United States as well as from other countries, but for the most part the projects are directed and carried out by local leaders. The introduction of such elementary services as education, potable water, public buildings, electricity, and health clinics in a growing number of communities contrasts markedly with the unaltered backwardness of villages held by the Viet Cong. As the contrast increases, it appears likely that defections from the Viet Cong will accelerate as well.

The accent on terror and the primitive rural base of the Communists have circumscribed their impact on urban populations. Viet Cong use of terror in the cities contrasts unfavorably with the methods of the Vietnamese Gov-



A page from Communist Party record of Sgt. Nguyen Hoang Long, 338th North Vietnamese Division, killed in action.

ernment, making the Viet Cong an unattractive alternative. Despite their propaganda, to urban people the Viet Cong have appeared more as bandits and thugs than as humane leaders interested in their welfare.

Similarly, the brutality of the Viet Cong is demonstrating to more and more Vietnamese

outside the cities what a Viet Cong government would mean. The old slogan of unification with the North appears to have lost much of its appeal in South Viet-Nam, not only for the refugees who have fled the North, but also for the native southerners who have seen Communist terror first-hand in the South.

Twelve years of post-colonial government have provided the South Vietnamese with increasing experience in some of the positive attributes of independence. Reaction to Communist methods has contributed to growth of democratic aspiration. The populace has used

the ballot box, despite Viet Cong threats. It has chosen its own provincial governments and, in September 1966, its own National Constitutional Assembly, braving Viet Cong attempts to prevent successful elections.

Despite these trends, the PRP, the Front, and the rest of the Viet Cong, as well as the North Vietnamese Government, continue to predict victory for their forces. However, the claim of a quick success, still made as late as 1965, has largely been replaced by declarations of Communist willingness to carry on the campaign indefinitely.

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