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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505
OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

2 October 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: Dr. Henry A. Kissinger
Special Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

SUBJECT : Key Facilities in the Hanoi Area

1. In connection with General Haig's recent request, I asked our Imagery Analysis Service (IAS) -- on a very close hold basis -- to survey sixteen selected key installations in the Hanoi area with the object of determining what "major civilian facilities" (e.g., hospitals and schools) were located in immediate proximity (defined arbitrarily as 200 yards for installations in the heart of metropolitan Hanoi and 500 yards for installations located in outlying areas).

2. Attached hereto is a table/spread-sheet (Attachment 1) and a set of photographs (Attachment 2) which present the findings of this survey. In forwarding this material to me, my IAS colleagues made the following comments.

"The selected installations and major facilities within the specified distances were analyzed on recent aerial photography. The aerial photography was used to identify the general function of the installations and nearby civilian facilities and government offices. In some cases we could identify the specific function of an installation or facility solely from aerial photography, i.e., radio communications stations, waterworks and electric power plant. We used collateral material

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EXEMPT FROM CENTRAL DECLASSIFICATION
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Approved For Release 2004/08/19 : CIA-RDP80R01720R000200020004-0

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including maps, ground photography and information reports to indicate a more specific function of some of the other installations and nearby facilities. It should be emphasized that it is impossible to determine or confirm the specific function or use of many of the installations and facilities from aerial photography.

"The attached table contains the information derived from collateral material and our analysis of the selected installations and nearby major facilities which is annotated on the attached photo enlargements (Figures 1 through 16)."

3. We did not even request a survey on one potentially lucrative target -- the Hanoi Television Antenna and Probable Transmitter Site at WJ883250 on Pho Quan Su Street -- because it is directly across the street from the Ha Lo Prison, where the bulk of U.S. POWs are believed to be held. We also did not call for a survey on National Police Headquarters (WJ88912490) because it is known to be located in a very heavily built up area.

4. Because of the need to mask the real purpose of this exercise, we did not request surveys on facilities such as the following.

- (a) Ministry of Foreign Trade (WJ89692465)
- (b) Ministry of Foreign Affairs (WJ87402595)
- (c) Ministry of Communications and Transport
(WJ89692465)
- (d) Prime Minister's Residence (WJ87122652)
- (e) Residence Office of the President (WJ87122634)

The first three ((a) through (c)) are also in heavily built up areas. The last two (d) and (e) may merit some consideration. They obviously have symbolic value and, more to the point, both are sited in relative isolation in the middle of the botanical gardens.

Approved For Release 2004/08/19 : CIA-RDP80R01720R000200020004-0

5. Our sixteen site survey is submitted for your information and consideration, not as a package of target recommendations. Some of the information in this study, in fact, would argue against picking some of the surveyed installations. Lao Dong Party Headquarters, (WJ88252460), for example, is not only in a built up area but is within 100 yards of a hospital. The Government Communications Office is surrounded by the staff living quarters and embassies of Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, with the embassy compound of the USSR nearby.

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George A. Carver, Jr.
Special Assistant for Vietnamese Affairs

Attachments

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Approved For Release 2004/08/19 : CIA-RDP80R01720R000200020004-0

ANNEX

HUONG NAM TAKES STOCK

A recently available article on Vietnamese Communist strategy, written apparently by a spokesman for party First Secretary Le Duan, highlights two themes that had been largely absent from Hanoi's propaganda for months: the virtues of tactical flexibility in the struggle against imperialism, and the importance of "consolidating socialism" in the North. It reaffirms Hanoi's continuing determination to defeat the US, but it suggests that the North Vietnamese are doing their best to come to terms with some unpleasant international realities.

The article, authored by one Huong Nam, appeared in the July-August issue of Tuyen Huan, Hanoi's journal for propaganda and training cadres. Quoting profusely from Le Duan, Huong Nam addresses two broad topics: the balance of the forces, internal but more particularly external, that currently bear on the Vietnam struggle (Huong Nam's tag for this is "correctly evaluating the enemy") and "the strategic duties of both parts of Vietnam."

"Flexibility" and the "Balance of Forces"

Huong Nam asserts that the basic cause of Hanoi's success is the "creative" use it has made of revolutionary experience and Marxist-Leninist doctrine. Later in the article he speaks approvingly of the "principled" yet "flexible" nature of the party's line. "In the present world situation," he says, the struggle "will have to pass through many transitional phases" on the way to victory, but the Communists know how to defeat the US "in a way most compatible with the balance between our forces and the enemy's in each historic phase."

1 October 1972

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Approved For Release 2004/08/19 : CIA-RDP80R01720R000200020004-0

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When he analyzes the "balance of forces," Huong Nam makes it clear that the Vietnamese Communists are looking hard at international factors. Lenin, he notes, "demanded that the Communists pay constant attention...not only to the domestic situation but also to all factors of the international economy and international political situation." Huong Nam is manifestly unhappy with what he sees in this sphere. He claims that the US has "taken advantage of detente in the world and the division and opportunism in the world Communist and workers movement," and that "the situation at home and abroad is undergoing basic changes." (Another article in the same journal expresses the unhappiness more explicitly: "If the world situation were not facing such complex changes as it is now, our success would certainly have been even greater.")

Huong Nam indicates that Hanoi, willingly or unwillingly, has had to accept the trend toward big-power detente as a fact of life. He even finds it necessary to confront the argument--an argument very possibly used by Hanoi's own patrons--that the Vietnamese "revolution" is a threat to world peace. Quite the contrary, he argues in good dialectical fashion: although in the past Communist revolutions were indeed associated with major world struggles, at the present stage of history persistence in the revolution helps preserve world peace, and protecting peace fosters the development of the revolution.

The Continuing Struggle and the North's Role

Dialectics aside, Huong Nam leaves no doubt that the struggle will continue. "There is no other choice," in fact, even though the fight

1 October 1972

A-2

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will be "protracted, hard, ferocious, and complex." The party leadership has correctly gauged American weakness, he claims, and the people in both North and South are determined to press on. Huong Nam portrays North Vietnam's role in this struggle, however, in terms that differ from those used in other North Vietnamese propaganda recently. Although he asserts that the North does not "for one minute" waver in its support of the South, he goes on to state that "the duty to achieve socialist revolution in the North is the most decisive duty for the development of the entire Vietnamese revolution," while "the South must directly fulfill the duty of liberating itself" from the US and its agents. He laces this passage with extensive quotations from documents of the third party congress in 1960 that emphasize the complementary, mutually reinforcing duties of the two parts of Vietnam.

This passage is actually taken from the 1960 Party Congress.

Shifts in the Line over the Years

This notion of the complementary duties of North and South, with the North's prime task being to press on with "building socialism" at home, is a staple which is never entirely absent from Hanoi's propaganda. Like other components of the propaganda inventory, however, it has received different treatment at different points in the war. It was a central theme from 1960 to 1964, but for the four years or so thereafter the need to "build socialism" was subordinated to the need to provide ever greater direct aid for the struggle in the South. In that period the slogan, "everything for the front line," seemed to provide the keynote. In 1969, after the series of offensives that began at Tet 1968, the emphasis on "building socialism" in the North re-emerged. Although Hanoi continued to provide large amounts of aid and manpower to the South during this period, the absolute level, in relation to the forces operating in the South during this period was perhaps not as large as during the run-up for

1 October 1972

A-3

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TOP SECRET

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the 1968 offensives. The "building socialism" theme was a propaganda fixture in one form or another until late 1971 or early 1972, when the 20th party central committee plenum apparently again subordinated the needs of the North to the requirements of the upcoming offensive and "everything for the front line" once again became the order of the day. It may be noteworthy that Huong Nam's article not only quotes heavily from 1960 party congress documents on the parallel duties of North and South, but fails to make any mention at all of the 20th plenum.

} the 19th
plenum had
similar language

Similarly, the notion that "creativity" and "flexibility" are important factors in Hanoi's success has received markedly greater emphasis at some points in the war than at others. For reasons which are still not clear, the theme was given heavy emphasis in late 1969 and early 1970, notably in a massive article by Le Duan himself in February 1970. Since then it has received some lip-service, but the emphasis has been on the Communists' militancy and determination rather than on their flexibility. Huong Nam's article thus is giving currency to a topic that had been dormant for a year or more.

Exegesis is always a chancy thing where North Vietnamese propaganda is concerned; witness the still unexplained references to flexibility in Le Duan's article of February 1970. Still, Huong Nam's renewed emphasis on the importance of building North Vietnam and on the value of revolutionary "creativity" does seem significant, particularly considering the nature of the journal his article appears in. Tuyen Huan is less prestigious than, say, the party's theoretical journal, but its readers are propaganda cadres--people who must actually deal with the misgivings of the party rank and file and who therefore need a fairly comprehensible rendition of the current line. For this reason its articles sometimes come closer to addressing the issues without obfuscation than do

1 October 1972

A-4

TOP SECRET

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the more authoritative publications. Tuyen Huan, for instance, provided a hint that Hanoi was embarking on preparations for a major military effort a full year before the offensive began last March.

One almost certain purpose of his article is simply to help the propaganda cadres answer popular complaints that the regime is not seeing to the needs of the North. Beyond this, he could also be alerting his readers to the possibility of a change in emphasis on Hanoi's line on the war--a change which seems to have been brought about partly by the "complexities" of the international situation. He makes it clear that nothing like a capitulation by the Communists is in prospect, and the cautiousness of some of his language suggests that the leadership was not entirely sure that any change at all would actually occur. But a seasoned North Vietnamese interpreter of the nuances of Hanoi's line might easily consider himself put on notice to be ready for some sort of shift.

This is too much to attribute to the article.

If Huong Nam was indeed sounding such an alert in Tuyen Huan's July-August issue, the decision on which it was based almost certainly came several weeks earlier. His article thus provides indirect confirmation of other tenuous signs that the Communists' central committee met in June. [redacted]

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1 October 1972

A-5

25X1

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IV. 21 Sep 72

K 7

NORTH VIETNAM

JOURNAL DISCUSSES STRATEGY TO DEFEAT U.S. IN VIETNAM

Hanoi TUYEN HUAN in Vietnamese No 7-8 Jul-Aug 72 pp 27-35 S

[Article by Hong Nam: "Some Problems of Strategic Line"]

[Text] "Our Vietnamese people are conducting the greatest resistance in their history. For the independence and freedom of our fatherland and for the interests of the socialist camp, oppressed people and progressive mankind, we are fighting and defeating the cruellest enemy in the world." [Footnote: From the 20 July 1968 appeal by President Ho]

Our country is not large and our people are not numerous; why then are we able to defeat the U.S. imperialists--the archimperialist--and win the present great victories?

The causes of our victories are numerous. The basic cause, as pointed out by Comrade Le Duan, is: "We know how to consolidate the considerable experiences of the Vietnamese revolution since the foundation of our party--particularly the experiences of the August revolution and the anti-French resistance--and have applied them relatively to the new situation to put forth correct lines and strategic trends. It may be said that we can draw from our lessons of victory this fact: While applying Marxism-Leninism and Marxist military science and learning from the revolutionary experiences and revolutionary wars in our brotherly countries, we should be creative in implementing our lines, policies, aims and methods, should think independently to discover revolutionary rules and war rules for our country and should not and cannot use certain formulas as unchangeable models and principles in conducting the revolution and war. (Footnote: From the speech by Le Duan at the 19th VWP Central Committee Plenum)

Thus we can understand what the problem of creativity and independence in our party's anti-U.S. line is. First, it is the problem of creativity and independence in our party's Vietnamese revolutionary line for more than 40 years, a part of which is the southern revolutionary line and the anti-U.S. national salvation line. The content of the southern revolutionary line and the anti-U.S. national salvation line is very broad, including many problems concerning revolutionary strategies and methods. In this article we will begin to study some problems of the strategic line with main emphasis on the three following points: correctly evaluating the enemy, asserting the strategic duties of both parts of Vietnam and confirming the short-term objectives of the revolution in the south. We think these are the important strategic points that reflect the creative and independent characteristics of our party's anti-U.S. national salvation line.

For more than 40 years our party has led our people in conducting the revolutionary wars. These two revolutionary wars resemble each other because they are in the realm of national, democratic revolution and are aimed at gaining independence and freedom for the fatherland. However, in the second revolutionary war the enemy is completely different.

Previously we struggled against the French imperialists, who were old, decadent imperialists dominating our people in an old colonialist form. Today our main enemy is the U.S. imperialists, who are the ringleader of the imperialist camp, have an economic and military potential 700-800 times stronger than ours and are invading our country in a neocolonialist form.

IV. 21 Sep 72

K 8

NORTH VIETNAM

The U.S. imperialists have long harbored the dark scheme of grabbing our country. After World War II, taking advantage of the weakening of the French imperialists, especially while France was bogged down in the Indochina war, the Americans interfered more and more deeply in Indochina to implement their global strategy.

While the French were endangered in Dien Bien Phu and the Geneva conference was being held, the Americans plotted to replace the French and extend the war in Indochina. They tried to sabotage this conference, but to no avail. Unable to do this, the U.S. imperialists ruthlessly kicked the French aside and colluded with the Ngo Dinh Diem clique to turn our south into a U.S. neocolony and military base. Since then the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen have pushed the southern people into ferocious situations and into killing each other. They intensified preparations for a new war of aggression in the hope of destroying our people's revolutionary results in the north, imposing the neocolonialist yoke throughout our country, sabotaging peace in Indochina and Southeast Asia and threatening the socialist camp.

Our party has always kept itself closely informed of each step by the U.S. imperialists on their country-grabbing path and, being quickly aware of this disaster, showed our people in time the face of the enemy we must withstand. Right after the Geneva agreements the U.S. imperialists became in fact our entire people's most dangerous and cruel enemy. U.S. neocolonialism has replaced French colonialism in South Vietnam. Therefore, the party's third congress set forth a common task for all our country: Struggle to "solve the entire country's common contradictions and contradictions between our people and the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen" (Footnote: Congress Documents, Volume I, published by the VWP Central Committee, 1960, p 31) to achieve the common goal of peace and unification of the fatherland.

To achieve a national, democratic revolution throughout the country and advance toward unifying the fatherland, our nation must accept the U.S. imperialists' challenge and must defeat U.S. neocolonialism. There is no other choice. This is not accidental but is an historic necessity. Not only our people, but any nation that wants to gain or defend its national independence and protect world peace now must withstand U.S. imperialism, because since World War II the Americans have become the ringleader imperialist and an international gendarme plotting to dominate the world. Therefore, U.S. imperialism is the number one enemy of all progressive mankind.

Of course, because our Vietnam is a small, poor and economically backward country, the struggle will be protracted, hard, ferocious and complex in an unmatched test of strength, considering the balance of forces. Our party and people foresaw this problem and have spared no sacrifice or hardship to gain and defend their national independence. But how to defeat the Americans? This is a great problem posed to our party in withstanding the Americans. Historic experience shows that in any just war, in order to score success, besides the just cause of the struggle and the revolutionary determination of the people and the vanguard party, it is necessary to have proper revolutionary lines and methods. Determination alone is not sufficient to defeat the Americans; one must know how to defeat them.

To have a proper revolutionary line and method to defeat the Americans, we must understand the U.S. imperialists clearly and evaluate them correctly. In the early sixties of this century probably everyone knew of their strengths, but they hardly knew any of their weaknesses. If we see only their strength and not their weaknesses, we conclude that the Americans cannot be defeated. Without correctly assessing the U.S. imperialists it is impossible to have a proper anti-U.S. line.

Assessing the enemy is a strategic problem. Understanding the enemy's nature is difficult; assessing him correctly is more difficult. Everyone in the world communist and workers movement knows that the U.S. imperialists are the enemy of all mankind. What matters is to know how strong they are. Some persons see only the Americans' strength, while others see only their weaknesses. An inaccurate assessment of the U.S. imperialists has been a factor leading to different strategic stands in the struggle against U.S. imperialism and to step up the revolution and defend world peace.

Through the realities of our nation's revolutionary struggle our party has understood and accurately assessed the U.S. imperialists. This accurate assessment of their strengths and weaknesses is evidence of our party's creative spirit and independent thinking. It is the prime factor enabling our party to determine the correct revolutionary lines, guidelines, and methods for defeating the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

Our party has always understood clearly that the U.S. imperialists, our people's most dangerous and cruel enemy, are the imperialist ringleaders. "Generally speaking, we must recognize that the Americans are stronger than we in economic and military potential." (Footnote: Le Duan: 'We Will Certainly Win, the Enemy Will Certainly Be Defeated', Su That Publishing House, 1965, p 18) The U.S. imperialists' war of aggression against South Vietnam is part of their general plot against Southeast Asia and their global strategy.

The U.S. imperialists have a powerful economy producing hundreds of billions of dollars of goods each year, tens of divisions, tens of naval fleets, thousands of military bases encircling the socialist camp, modern weapons of mass destruction, and so forth. Our party clearly sees that among these strengths, which of course the Americans will use to implement their scheme to invade our country and impose their domination on the world, there also are weaknesses. Because of these weaknesses, the U.S. power is not boundless, but limited, and our people, as well as any other oppressed nation, can rise to fight resolutely and defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressors and regain independence and freedom for their country, if they have proper struggle lines and methods.

Since World War II, "looking at the world situation in general and analysing the characteristics and laws of development of the three zones, we see that the revolutionary forces, the forces of socialism and peace, are clearly superior to the reactionary imperialist and war forces," that "the world revolution is in an offensive position," and that "the revolution is in an offensive posture." (Footnote: Le Duan: 'An International Problem,' Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1965, p 140) The world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of human society. Meanwhile, the imperialist camp is plunging ever more deeply into a protracted crisis.

Although the U.S. imperialists are strong, they are in a generally weak situation and face the offensive impetus of the world revolutionary movement.

IV. 21 Sep 72

K 10

NORTH VIETNAM

In Vietnam itself, although the U.S. imperialists have taken advantage of the detente in the world and the division and opportunism in the world communist and workers movement, it is not true that they can freely do as they wish and devote all U.S. economic and military potential to the war of aggression here. This situation makes it possible for the national liberation movements to break the weak links in the U.S. imperialists' neocolonialist system chain.

This is the U.S. imperialists' first weakness.

Although they are extremely frenzied and crafty, they have been unable to hamper the mounting revolutionary movement. Since World War II U.S. imperialism has been attacked everywhere, especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the Americans have suffered the greatest defeats: defeats in China and Korea, defeats in Vietnam--together with the French, defeats in Cuba, a retreat in Chile, and the present serious defeats in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia.

Because of these continuous defeats the U.S. imperialists have been on the defensive and have had to change their global strategies one after another from the "massive retaliation strategy" to the "flexible response strategy" and "the Nixon doctrine."

This is their second weakness.

The contradictions within the United States and the imperialist camp headed by the Americans have developed gradually and are weakening the U.S. imperialists.

The U.S. failure in the war of aggression against Vietnam has caused U.S. internal contradictions to sharpen more vigorously than ever. A number of countries in the imperialist camp have surged forward, but have clashed with U.S. expansion and have seen that the Americans are being defeated in Indochina; therefore, the contradictions between the United States and these countries have increased. Earlier, in the war of aggression against Korea the Americans were able to hide themselves behind the UN flag and drag in dozens of satellite countries to participate, but today, in the war of aggression against Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists are really isolated and have dragged in only a few satellite countries to participate, such as South Korea, Thailand....

This is the U.S. imperialists' third weakness.

All these weaknesses have affected the U.S. imperialists' global strategy. To implement this strategy the United States has applied neocolonialism and modernized its traditional art of fighting to fit its aggressive scheme. However, U.S. neocolonialism quickly exposed its dirty face and weaknesses before the peoples' liberation movement and the world people.

Our party has pointed out the nature and weaknesses of U.S. neocolonialism. In an article observing the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Great October Revolution, Comrade Le Duan wrote: "neocolonialism is a basic U.S. policy designed so it can play the role of international gendarme and rule the entire world." However, it is not the "produce of a position of strength." "It is the product of imperialism's weakness, and aims at opposing the offensive of the revolutionary forces to maintain the position of imperialism in the world." It is an "imperialist policy designed to salvage collapsing colonialism, prevent the nationalist countries from developing their genuine national independence, and suppress the peoples' liberation movement."

IV. 21 Sep 72

K 11

NORTH VIETNAM

It is a "policy designed to oppose the socialist camp's great influence of the peoples' liberation movement and keep the peoples of various countries within the capitalist orbit." It is an "imperialist policy designed to seize the people's markets and raw materials as the balance of forces is tilting in favor of the revolutionary side." (Footnote: Le Duan: "Enthusiastically Move Forward Under the Great Banner of the October Revolution," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1967, pp 16-17-18-20)

In its direct struggle against U.S. imperialism, our party has understood more concretely U.S. weaknesses in South Vietnam. One can say that South Vietnam is an infertile land for U.S. neocolonialism. South Vietnam is not a separate entity but is part of Vietnam, a country whose independence, sovereignty, unification, and territorial integrity were recognized by the Geneva agreements. The southern people and all our people have a 12-century tradition of struggling against foreign invasion to regain independence. We are a people who successfully carried out the August revolution, who have our own government, and who resisted the French colonialists with arms for 9 years. The southern people, with a large force of more than 10 million peasants, have enjoyed the national interests and genuine democracy engendered by the revolution. Such a country, with such a nation, can never be subdued by any power.

Although the U.S. imperialists have carried out their neocolonialism not through direct rule but through a lackey administration covered with a cloak of "fake democracy," they cannot deceive our people. Moreover, the face of the U.S. lackeys in South Vietnam, tools of the neocolonialist administration, is very dirty. They all were bootlickers of the French colonialists and Japanese fascists and were fostered in the United States. This U.S. political prop is a power that bears the seeds of its own failure.

In sum, one can say that the basis of U.S. neocolonialism in South Vietnam has been shaken from the beginning. And the United States jumped into Vietnam from a weak position, not from a position of strength.

The anti-U.S. national salvation struggle has been waged under conditions where half the country, that is North Vietnam, has been liberated and is building socialism. A member of the socialist camp, North Vietnam is the revolutionary base area for the entire country and a steadfast rear base of the southern revolution. The fruits of the socialist revolution in North Vietnam have encouraged the revolutionary spirit of our people, especially our southern workers and peasants, and at the same time have created a strong national defense potential to aid South Vietnam.

The southern battlefield developments over the past 10 years have revealed U.S. imperialism's brutal strength, on the one hand, and all its weaknesses on the other hand.

Using its brutal strength, U.S. imperialism mercilessly kicked out French colonialism and cooperated with the Ngo Dinh Diem lackey clique to turn South Vietnam into a U.S. neocolony and military base from which to attack North Vietnam, intimidate the socialist camp, and prevent the peoples' liberation movement from spreading to Southeast Asia.

However, the "general uprising" movement of 1959-1960 completely disrupted this big fortress of the U.S. imperialists.

The U.S. imperialist regime reveals all the weaknesses of U.S. neocolonialism in South Vietnam.

IV. 21 Sep 72

K 12

NORTH VIETNAM

With its brutal strength U.S. imperialism has escalated from one strategy to another, from the "special war" strategy to the "local war" strategy, and then to the "Vietnamization" strategy. It has dropped on our country more than 10 million tons of bombs and shells, equivalent to 770 atomic bombs of the type dropped on Hiroshima in 1945, and five times the amount of bombs and shells used on all battlefields in Western Europe, the Mediterranean Sea, and the north Pacific during World War II, and 11 times the amount used in the U.S. war of aggression against Korea (LE MONDE, 29 July 1970).

The United States failed in its "special war" and "local war" and is now sustaining serious setbacks in its "Vietnamized war." The United States failed in the previous war of destruction against North Vietnam and it will surely fail pitifully in the re-bombing and blockade of the north.

Each U.S. failure proves the correctness of our party's view on U.S. weaknesses in Vietnam. Because our entire people have correctly assessed U.S. strongpoints and weaknesses, they have remained steadfast and are triumphing over U.S. imperialism.

The first success for our party's creative anti-U.S. line was its correct evaluation of the United States and its early awareness of the nature and weaknesses of U.S. neocolonialism.

The path the southern revolution will follow can be none other than the path chartered by Lenin for national liberation revolution. The present southern society is a neocolonialist, semi-feudal society. Its two basic contradictions are between our people and the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, and between the southern people--particularly the peasantry--and the landlords. The southern revolution should solve these two basic contradictions.

The southern revolution has the nature of a people's democratic and national revolution, but it is taking place while the situation at home and abroad is undergoing basic changes. In the present era the socialist, independent, national and peace forces are preponderant and becoming increasingly stronger, and their ability to prevent and suppress the imperialists' warmongering schemes and maintain and consolidate a lasting peace is increasingly developing. "The basic interests of the proletariat, people, and nations all over the world lie in how we can protect world peace while accelerating the revolution in various countries." (Footnote: Le Duan: "Under the Party's Glorious Banner and for Independence, Freedom, and Socialism, Advance Toward New Achievements," TUYEN HUAN No 3-4 1970, p 18)

The world situation is favorable for the Vietnamese revolution, but at the same time it has created new problems for the southern revolution to solve. These problems are how to accelerate revolution while protecting world peace, and must the theory on the revolutionary situation be closely linked to the war waged by the imperialists? Our party must be able to give an affirmative answer to this problem: Is it possible for the southern revolution to break out and achieve success while world peace is protected?

Prior to and after World War I, the revolutionary situation and the outbreak and success of revolution were usually linked in one way or another to world wars waged by the imperialists. The Soviet October Revolution broke out in 1917, and its successes were closely linked with World War I. The war caused contradictions in the USSR to reach an apex, thus weakening the Soviet bear.

IV. 21 Sep 72

K 13

NORTH VIETNAM

Taking advantage of this situation, Lenin advocated "turning the imperialist war into an internecine revolutionary war," and he motivated workers, peasants, and soldiers to revolt under the "peace, bread, and land" slogan. The emergence of numerous European socialist countries after World War II was also linked to the Soviet victories against the fascists. The Chinese revolution achieved success by leaps and bounds after the USSR defeated the Japanese fascists in World War II. Our August revolution also availed itself of favorable opportunities when the Japanese capitulated to the allies.

Now the situation has changed. It is in the interests of the Vietnamese people as well as other world peoples to accelerate the revolution in the south while protecting world peace. Protecting world peace is a revolutionary slogan.

In this situation our party contended: "In a situation where there is no world war and it is necessary to protect world peace, revolution can break out and triumph. The acceleration of the anti-imperialist revolution does not run counter to the protection of peace but rather, as reality shows, is a very basic offensive thrust directed at imperialism to really effectively protect common peace throughout the world. Conversely, preventing world war and protecting peace are also very important offensive thrusts directed at imperialism and which create more favorable objective conditions for the development of revolutions in all countries." (Footnote: Le Duan, op. cit. pp 17-18)

The two objectives of successfully protecting world peace and while accelerating revolution "have an organic relationship, serve as mutual premises, and are definitely achievable once the communists have firmly grasped the strategically offensive impetus of the world revolution and have succeeded in forming a front uniting different schools of the world revolution and all forces struggling for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism. These will resolutely defeat all wars of aggression unleashed by imperialism, foil all warmongering policies and schemes of imperialism, and will repulse imperialism step by step, topple it bit by bit, and proceed toward completely toppling it."

Thus, "a revolutionary situation is a product of the combination of many objectively and subjectively vital factors" (Footnote: Le Duan, op. cit. pp 17-18), and the emergence of this revolutionary situation in each country must not necessarily be linked with world war.

Comrade Le Duan said: "In the past 25 years many major changes favorable to the revolution and peace have occurred in the international arena. The revolutionary forces have gained a considerably more advantageous position and hold the initiative. Under the favorable conditions of the struggle to protect world peace, a directly revolutionary situation occurs continuously in one part of the world or another, and the outbreak of revolutions is no longer linked with the outbreak of world wars. The revolutionary struggle movements, unceasingly developed according to correct objectives and correct methods, do not increase the danger of world war. On the contrary, these revolutionary struggle movements prevent the adventurous, warlike acts of imperialism and create conditions for the world to advance gradually toward a firm, lasting, and widespread peace." (Footnote: Le Duan: "Leninism Illuminates the Era's Revolutionary Objectives," NHAN DAN, 12 May 1970)

IV. 21 Sep 72

K 14

NORTH VIETNAM

This correct and creative reasoning of our party is the theoretical foundation of the anti-U.S. national salvation line, and it has illuminated the way for the southern revolution to move forward.

This reasoning opened completely new prospects for our people. They did not sit passively and idly by and wait for a world war to break out, but rather had to develop their initiative positively and create conditions for directly attacking imperialism and liberating their country.

This reasoning also equipped us with a theoretical basis for struggling against the opportunist tendencies in the southern revolution.

Our people's anti-U.S. struggle has been developing under conditions where the north has been completely liberated and is building socialism. It is the duty of both zones to struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys and achieve the common and immediate objectives, which are liberating the south, defending the north, and achieving national unification. The northern people have not for one minute neglected their duty to the blood-sealed south. But it is not enough to stop after simply affirming the common duty. We must clearly affirm the concrete role and strategic duty of each zone in the anti-U.S. national salvation undertaking of our people.

Has the north organized the march south as it did during the first phase of the war of resistance against the French colonialists? Or did the south have to wait for the north to successfully build socialism for it to rise up and struggle? Basing itself on the general situation of our entire country and on the situation in each zone, our party has pointed out the strategic duties of each zone as follows: The duty to achieve socialist revolution in the north is the most decisive duty for the development of the entire Vietnamese revolution and for achieving national unification, and the southern revolution exerts a directly decisive influence on the task of liberating the south.

The political report of the third party congress said:

"Generally speaking, the north has become the common rear for the revolution of our entire country, because it has achieved the national democratic revolution, restored independence, and set up a people's democratic administration. The more strongly the north has advanced toward socialism and the more its forces have been strengthened in all fields, the more advantageous the situation is for the liberation revolution in the south, for developing the revolution in the entire country, and for maintaining and consolidating peace in Indochina and the world.

"The north is the common rear for the revolution throughout our entire country. The continuous growth of the north has not only heightened the southern patriotic compatriots' confidence and stimulated their revolutionary enthusiasm, but has also tilted the balance between revolutionary and counterrevolutionary forces throughout our country in favor of the revolutionary side, thus creating favorable conditions for the southern revolution to develop strongly and win final victory.

"At the same time, since the north is the common rear for the revolution in our entire country, the northern socialist revolution is aimed not only at building a new, free and happy life for the northern people but also at laying the foundation for building a new, free and happy life for the people throughout our country and realistically preparing for the future development of our entire country.

IV. 21 Sep 72

K 15

NORTH VIETNAM

"The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys are now actively preparing to launch a new war of aggression to conquer our country and turn it into a springboard to oppose the socialist camp, destroy the movement for national independence in Southeast Asia, and destroy world peace. The more strongly and firmly the north is built and consolidated, the greater will be our capacity to frustrate the warlike and aggressive plots of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, to maintain and consolidate peace in Indochina and the world; to actively support the movement to achieve national independence, and to make contributions to strengthening the socialist forces.

"In short, by actively advancing the north toward socialism it is possible to create conditions for the southern revolution to develop strongly and win victory, for the revolution throughout our country to progress, and for full use to be made of the forces of the Vietnamese revolution--in cooperation with the forces of the socialist camp and of the peace and national independence movement--to isolate and eventually defeat the cruelest and most dangerous enemies of our people, the U.S. imperialists; to achieve national unification; and to build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous, and powerful Vietnam. Obviously the duty of the northern socialist revolution is the most decisive duty in developing the revolution in our entire country and in achieving our people's national unification.

"Clearly defining the role and responsibility of the northern revolution, which must be thoroughly imbued with the duty of maintaining peace, building socialism, and stimulating the progress of the southern revolution means also clearly defining the role and responsibility of the southern revolution, which must directly fulfill its duty of overthrowing the ruling yoke of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys to liberate the south, and complete the people's national democratic revolution throughout the country. This is the only correct path for achieving national unification peacefully. The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys are the enemies of our people. They are against any plan to peacefully unify our country. That is why they have turned the south into a U.S. neocolony and military base, have endeavored to sabotage the Geneva accords, refused to hold a consultative conference with our government, and refused to reestablish normal relations between the two zones. Only by overthrowing their ruling yoke in the south will we achieve conditions for peacefully unifying our country.

"On the other hand, to enable the north to build socialism in peace and to maintain peace in Indochina and the world, the south must resolutely struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, defeat their aggressive and war policies, and overthrow their cruel ruling yoke. This is the only path to follow.

"The south must directly fulfill the duty of liberating itself from the ruling yoke of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. It is fully capable of fulfilling this glorious duty, because the southern compatriots have revolted and wrested power from the Japanese fascists and heroically resisted the French colonialists and U.S. interventionists, and because the southern revolution has been carried out as the U.S. imperialists have become increasingly weak and isolated, while the forces of socialism, national independence, peace and democracy the world over have strongly developed day by day. It is true that the U.S. imperialists are cruel and warlike, but once the large revolutionary forces of the oppressed peoples have resolutely arisen to overthrow them, their cruel ruling yoke cannot escape being crushed.

IV. 21 Sep 72

K 16

NORTH VIETNAM

This has been proven by many experiences drawn from the world national liberation movement in the past few years.

"The southern revolution plays a very important role in the present revolutionary movement in our country. It exerts a decisive influence the liberation of the south from the ruling yoke of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, the peaceful reunification of our country, and completion of the people's national democratic revolution throughout our country.

"Although the socialist revolution in the north and the people's national democratic revolution in the south are implemented through two different strategies, because they have a common objective---achieving national unification---these two revolutions are closely connected and interrelated. They help each other progress. We must clearly understand that the socialist revolution in the north exerts a decisive influence on the development of the revolution in our entire country and on the task of unifying our country. But at the same time we must clearly realize that the southern revolution exerts a decisive influence on the liberation of the south and the task of peacefully achieving national unification. Only then will we full understand the content and objectives of our revolution in the present phase and will we have correct policies, methods, plans and measures which we must carry out to build successfully a peaceful, unified independent, democratic, prosperous and powerful Vietnam." (Footnote: "Congress Documents," Vol 1, published by the VWP Central Committee, 1960, pp 32-34)

Since the day the U.S. imperialists introduced their troops to invade the south and used their air force and navy to attack the north, our party has pointed out that the anti-U.S. national salvation undertaking is the sacred duty of all our people, and that the south is the great frontline and the north the great rear. Our party has advanced the policy of changing the trend of developing the northern economy. At the same time it has emphasized that under any circumstances the socialist north must be consolidated and defended, that it must defeat the U.S. aggressors' war of destruction, and that it must do its best to aid the south.

After 10 years of struggle against the U.S. aggressors, the 19th Plenum of the VWP Central Committee once more asserted the correctness of the task of defining the strategic position of the two zones:

"The facts concerning the southern revolution and the great success of the anti-U.S. national salvation war of resistance prove tht our party is correct in advancing the two revolutionary objectives for the two zones. It is obvious that during the dark hours in the south between July 1954 and the end of 1959, had we not promptly mobilized the masses to rise up and wage a revolutionary war, the southern revolutionary forces might have been destroyed, the patriotic movement would have faced irremediable collapse, and the U.S.-Diemists would have used their ground forces to invade the north as they were then planning and actively preparing to do. On the other hand, had not the north quickly healed the war wounds after 9 years of resistance against the French colonialists, endeavored to build socialism, and further strengthened its economic and military potentials, it would have been unable to stand up firmly and defeat the extremely fierce war of destruction by the U.S. aggressors, focus all its efforts on helping the south, and thus the south would have been unable to resist and defeat the enemy's large-scale war.

IV. 21 Sep 72

K 17

NORTH VIETNAM

In fact, the building of socialism in the north has strengthened, is strengthening, and will strengthen the forces of our troops and people in both zones in all aspects to defeat the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys." (Footnote: Le Duan's talk at the 19th Plenum of the VWP Central Committee)

National independence, democracy, and socialism are the greatest truths of this era and are laws governing the development of all nations in this era. This is the political program of our party. This is the path the north has followed and our entire country is following.

The anti-U.S. war of resistance in the south is also developing along this line.

The third party congress asserted: "The basic objectives of the southern revolution is to liberate the south from the ruling yoke of the imperialists and feudalists, achieve national independence, bring land to the tillers, and help build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and power Vietnam." (Footnote: "Congress Documents," Vol 1 published by the VWP Central Committee, 1960 pp 46-50) No matter what difficulties and hardships they may encounter, and no matter how long the revolution may last, our Vietnamese people are determined to achieve this objective. "Rivers can dry up. Mountains can erode. But the will to unify the fatherland of our people throughout the country cannot be shaken, and in the end we will achieve victory." (Footnote: "Congress Documents," Vol 1, published by the VWP Central Committee, 1960 pp 46-50)

The southern revolution must handle an enemy who is an arch-imperialist, warlike, and who has the greatest economic and military potential in the imperialist camp. The southern revolutionary forces are strong and are gradually defeating the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression. However, the path to final victory is still long.

In the present world situation the southern revolution--due to the balance between our forces and those of the U.S. imperialists--will have to pass through many transitional phases in order to achieve victory step by step. Its immediate objective is: "Overthrow the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, liberate the south from the ruling yoke of neocolonialism, and build an independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral South Vietnam."

Our people throughout the country are determined to struggle and force the U.S. imperialists to end their war of aggression in the south; abandon their "Vietnamization" policy; end their air, naval and other military activities against our people in both zones; withdraw all U.S. and satellite troops, advisers, and military personnel from the south; end their support to the lackey administration and destroy its oppressive and coercive machinery to pave the way for the formation of a broad government of national concord responsible for organizing a genuinely free and democratic general election in the south.

As long as the U.S. imperialists pursue their war of aggression and maintain their neocolonialism in the southern part of our country in any form, our people will continue to struggle for genuine independence and freedom.

"Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom." Echoed in the hearts of the Vietnamese people, this teaching of President Ho is the steel-like determination and the most eager and sacred aspiration of all our Vietnamese people.

IV. 21 Sep 72

K 18

NORTH VIETNAM

Having thus declared the immediate objectives stated above, the leadership of the revolution's strategies is the most correct and most scientific leadership, a leadership that originates from an analysis of the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces, the intermediary forces in southern society, and so forth. This is a correct, comprehensive, and concrete analysis of the balance between our forces and the enemy's.

Asserting our objectives as above, our people are not only determined to fight the Americans but also know how to defeat them in a way most compatible with the balance between our forces and the enemy's in each historic phase. This is also a creative application of the method of gradually driving back imperialism in the southern part of our country, destroying it by chunks, and advancing to destroy it completely.

We are determined to achieve independence, freedom, and national unification. Since our people successfully carried out the August revolution, successfully waged the heroic war of resistance against the French colonialists for 9 years, and are now defeating the Americans, and especially since we have a strong and firm socialist north, we will surely fulfill the task of liberating the south and achieving national unification.

In asserting the objectives above, our party has linked the principled character and flexible character of its leadership of the revolutionary war. Implementing Lenin's teachings, our party has struggled against subjectivism, the theory of pure will power, and all passive political thoughts. Our party has built its policies and strategies on the basis of linking "an alert and scientific spirit in analyzing the objective situation of things and the process of their development, with the most resolute acknowledgement of the meaning of the revolutionary forces and the revolutionary creative spirit, and the revolutionary initiative spirit of the masses." (Footnote: Lenin, "Complete Collected Works in Russian," Vol 13, pp 21, 22)

"In advancing along the long road to the final objective, we cannot divert our attention from the concrete conditions of our struggle in each definite phase. We cannot divert our attention from these questions: When, and under what circumstances did the revolutionary masses start their struggle? And how were the social forces deployed at that moment? As for the enemy, what were his strong and weak points? What tricks was he using? What were his intentions? Lenin demanded that communists pay constant, objective attention not only to the domestic situation but also to all factors of the international economic and political situation, to all forces of the various classes in the country as well as in the world, and to the relationships between these forces. Without paying full attention to all these factors of the realistic and concrete movements, the revolutionaries at best see the ultimate objective of their struggle, but they fail to maintain a firm grasp of the means to be used to achieve this objective; they are unable to find the paths to follow, the methods to be applied, and the practical measures to be taken to achieve this objective. Therefore, they may commit serious errors in leading implementation of revolutionary strategies." (Footnote: Le Duan, "Under the Party's Glorious Banner, for Independence, Freedom and Socialism, Let Us Advance and Win New Victories," TUYEN HOAN, No 3-4, March-April 1970, p 14)

During these days of this month all our people are writing heroic and historic pages. News of resounding victories echoes throughout our country. Hatred is being translated into an invincible power and into strong blows aimed at the U.S. aggressors.

IV. 21 Sep 72

K 19

NORTH VIETNAM

Our war of resistance faces an unprecedentedly advantageous situation. Our position is a victorious one, one in which we are taking the initiative and are advancing. The enemy's position is defeated, passive, and declining. What is happening on the battlefields demonstrates that our party has correctly assessed the U.S. imperialists, correctly determined the role of our two strategic objectives, and correctly determined the immediate objectives of the southern revolution.

We are living the fiercest but also the most glorious days. Faced with irremediable defeats, the U.S. imperialists are reacting frantically and savagely.

Let Nixon travel to the east and west.

Let the U.S. imperialists squirm.

Absolutely confident in our party's anti-U.S. national salvation line, each of us is determined to become a stalwart combatant and completely defeat the U.S. aggressors.

RELEASED POW'S, RELATIVES VISIT NAM HA, NINH BINH PROVINCES

Hanoi VNA in English to Havana 0548 GMT 21 Sep 72 B--FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

["For Nguyen Duy Phuc (La Habana) Sept. 21, 1972"--VNA heading]

[Text] A group of Americans has just concluded an unusual trip during their sojourn in North Vietnam. Setting out from Hanoi before dawn Tuesday, they travelled several hundred miles down to the south, visiting Nam Ha and Ninh Binh provinces, and returned to their hotel Wednesday evening. The trip makers are Mrs Minnie L. Gartley and her son Navy Lieutenant Junior Grade Markham Ligon Gartley, Mrs Olga Charles and her husband Navy Lieutenant Norris Alphonozo Charles, and USAF Major Edward K. Elias. The three pilots were released by DRV authorities recently.

The visitors saw Nam Dinh city which is now almost deserted. This city of textile workers, North Vietnam's 3d largest, has been 75 percent destroyed following successive extermination bombings by American aircraft. They visited the workers living quarters, the cultural centre, the city hospital, a secondary school and the main cathedral. All these are now merely heaps of ruins. The city people have either moved out of the city or evacuated to the countryside, to continue their production, work and study.

Some people recognized the three young men as former U.S. fliers from pictures they saw in newspapers. The news spread like wildfire and people crowded before the reception centre, but their attitude was friendly.

In Ninh Binh, the Americans visited the Phat Diem diocese with the main cathedral and several chapels as well as many houses heavily destroyed after three successive raids on June 20, July 27 and August 15. They talked with some victims of the bombing including Tran Van Tho, whose 6-month pregnant wife was killed, leaving to his care eight children, the youngest only 12-months old, and Mrs Vu Thi Man, whose husband, a dignitary, was killed on August 15, Ascension Day.

At the request of Mrs Gartley, the church official gave the visitors a cross, some debris from the altar and the broken statue of St. Joseph. Mrs Gartley said she would take them back to the U.S. and give it to her friend, Mary Payne, a Catholic mother whose son was reported missing in Vietnam and who constantly prays for peace in Vietnam.

GAC,

OCI's treatment
of the article is
fairly straightforward.
However, there are
passages that are
vague or highly
speculative.