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GROUP 1
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~~S-E-C-R-E-T~~

211245Z

CITE [Redacted]

3.5(c)

DIST 21 NOVEMBER 1967

COUNTRY: NORTH VIETNAM

3.3(h)(2)

DOI: [Redacted]

3.3(h)(2)

SUBJECT: COMMENTS [Redacted]

3.3(h)(2)

[Redacted] REGARDING
DISCONTENT AMONG INTELLECTUALS IN NORTH
VIETNAM AND NORTH VIETNAMESE PREMIER'S
DETERMINATION TO CONTINUE THE WAR.

JJ
GP

- ~~— BOWDLER~~
- ~~— BUDGET~~
- ~~— DAVIS~~
- ~~— ERIC~~
- GINSBURGH
- ~~— HAMILTON~~
- ~~— JESSUP~~
- ~~— JOHNSON~~
- ~~— JORDEN~~
- ~~— KEENE~~
- ~~— LECHWART~~
- ~~— ROGHE~~
- ~~— SAUNDERS~~
- ~~— TAYLOR~~

ACQ:

SOURCE:

[Large Redacted Area]

3.3(h)(2)

SUMMARY.

[Redacted]

3.3(h)(2)

[Redacted] NORTH VIETNAMESE PREMIER

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TO FULFILL THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES.

3. AIR RAIDS HAVE DEMORALIZED THE PEOPLE IN CERTAIN AREAS, PARTICULARLY WHEN STEEL PELLET BOMBS WERE USED, SINCE THEY TEND TO "MAIM HORRIBLY" RATHER THAN KILL. HOWEVER, EVEN AN INCREASE IN BOMBING WOULD NOT SUCCEED IN SHAKING NORTH VIETNAMESE FANATICISM UNLESS THE TOP LEADERS WERE ELIMINATED. SUCH AN EVENT IS NOT LIKELY, SINCE THE LEADERS ARE NOT CONCENTRATED IN ONE SPOT.

4. DESPITE NUMBERS OF POLITICAL COMMISSARS SCATTERED THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY, THE PEOPLE GENERALLY DO NOT APPEAR TO BE AS CONCERNED WITH IDEOLOGY AS WITH THE PROBLEM OF FIGHTING THE WAR. THE NORTH VIETNAMESE DO NOT APPEAR TO BE RABID COMMUNISTS IN TERMS OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION OR STALINIST CONCEPTS. SEVERAL NORTH VIETNAMESE CONDEMNED THE CHINESE INFLUENCE ON NORTH VIETNAM AND EXPRESSED FEAR THAT COMMUNIST CHINA WOULD ONE DAY OCCUPY THEIR COUNTRY. NORTH VIETNAMESE NATIONALISM IS CHARACTERIZED BY FANATICAL PRIDE, WHICH IS NOT EXCEEDED EVEN IN CUBA OR CHINA.

5. THE NORTH VIETNAMESE DO NOT APPEAR TO CONSIDER

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(classification)

(dissem controls)

CONSIDERED NORTH VIETNAM DEFEATED. PHAM ALSO COMMENTED THAT THE POSITION OF THE NATIONAL FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF SOUTH VIETNAM HAD IMPROVED.

2. ALTHOUGH MOST NORTH VIETNAMESE, PARTICULARLY IN RURAL AREAS, DEMONSTRATE A FANATIC DETERMINATION TO PURSUE THE WAR TO ITS ULTIMATE CONCLUSION, THERE ARE DISCONTENTED ELEMENTS IN THE CITIES, ESPECIALLY AMONG INTELLECTUALS WHO HAVE STUDIED ABROAD. THEY WANT THE GOVERNING REGIME TO FIND A SOLUTION TO THE WAR THROUGH NEGOTIATION SO THAT THEIR COUNTRY CAN BE RECONSTRUCTED AND THE PEOPLE CAN HAVE A BETTER LIFE. SEVERAL CHEMISTS, DOCTORS, AND ENGINEERS SAID THAT THE WAR WAS LEADING NOWHERE AND IF CONTINUED WOULD "BLEED NORTH VIETNAM WHITE." THEY THOUGHT THAT THE PRESIDUM OF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE COMMUNIST PARTY, WHICH IS STAFFED WITH PARTY ELDERS, SHOULD BE REJUVENATED. SEVERAL SENIOR MILITARY OFFICERS SAID A QUICK AND COMPLETE MODERNIZATION OF THE COUNTRY WAS NECESSARY BUT THAT PROGRESS WOULD BE SLOW AS LONG AS THE WAR CONTINUED. HOWEVER, THEY INDICATED NO SIGN OF WEAKENING AND CONTINUED

3.3(h)(2)

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PHAM VAN DONG STATED IN OCTOBER 1967 THAT NORTH VIETNAM
WOULD NOT NEGOTIATE UNTIL MILITARY OPERATIONS AGAINST
IT WERE ENDED AND WOULD NEVER NEGOTIATE WITH AN ENEMY
WHICH CONSIDERED NORTH VIETNAM DEFEATED. [REDACTED]

3.3(h)(2)

THAT THE NORTH VIETNAMESE SEEM DETERMINED TO CONTINUE
THE WAR, EVEN THOUGH THEY ARE NOT ARDENT COMMUNISTS.
HOWEVER, INTELLECTUALS WHO HAVE STUDIED ABROAD WISH A
NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IN ORDER TO RECONSTRUCT THEIR
COUNTRY. SOME MILITARY OFFICERS WOULD LIKE THE WAR TO
END FOR THE SAME REASON, BUT THEY CONTINUE TO FAITH-
FULLY FULFILL THEIR DUTIES. END SUMMARY.

1. [REDACTED]

3.3(h)(2)

[REDACTED] NORTH

VIETNAMESE PREMIER PHAM VAN DONG STATED RECENTLY THAT
IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR NORTH VIETNAM TO ACCEPT
AMERICAN NEGOTIATION PROPOSALS UNLESS MILITARY OPERATIONS
AGAINST NORTH VIETNAM WERE HALTED FIRST. THE PREMIER
SAID NORTH VIETNAM WOULD NEVER SIT AT A CONFERENCE TABLE
SO LONG AS THEIR TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY WAS NOT RESPECTED
AND WOULD NEVER NEGOTIATE WITH AN ADVERSARY WHO

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(classification) (dissem controls)

WITH GREAT REGRET THE POSSIBILITY THAT HANOI MIGHT BE DESTROYED. IF IT WERE DESTROYED, THEY FEEL THAT THEY COULD BUILD A MODERN CITY, WHICH WOULD BE MORE DIFFICULT TO DO OTHERWISE.

3.3(h)(2) 6. [redacted] DISSEM: STATE ARMY NAVY AIR USMACTHAI

NSA CINCPAC PACFLT ARPAC PACAF [redacted]

3.3(h)(2)

REPORT CLASS ~~S E C R E T NO FOREIGN DISSEM~~

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