offensive 1 (frier/deepe) NORMASS/DEEPE)

SAIGON, DECEMBER 20—In assessing prospects for another Communist offensive, these three related questions must be weighed simultaneously:

- 1. Are the Communists militarily prepared tolk launch another offensive?
 - 2. What is meant by another offensive?
- 3. What is the best political moment which the Communist Polithuro will decide to actually order an offensive to be unrolled.

Since Communist political decisions consistently dictate Communist military strategy and tactics, this last question—the most significant one—is also the most difficult to assess because it involves second—guessing or interpreting Communist political intentions rather than the more specific date on their military capabilities.

On the first question, both the American and South Vietnamese military commands believe that the Communists have the capability of launching (ital) another Tet-stylled, cross-country blitz war. But, The these Alfred commands are confident that the Communist units will suffer a devastating military defeat. Unlike the January Tet offensive in which the Communists were handed political and psychological laurels simply for attackin their surprise attacks on the cities—even though they failed in accomplishing that attaining the military objectives—the Communists now are in a position whereby they must not only also succeed in their attacks.

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offensive 3 (friar/deepe) (NormASS / Leape)

Currently, the Communists are building up pressure in the outer

Saigon area. At least one regiment of the North Vietnamese 1st repeat

1st Division, which was soundly battered in the battle of Duc Lap
in September, has been confirmed in Tay Ninh province, northwest of

Saigon along the Cambodian border. In short, while Washington

policymakers talk optimistically about North Vietnamese units which

have moved back into North Vietnam, the Allied commands here are worried
about the North Vietnamese units that have moved further south to the
outer Saigon perimeter.

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offensive 4 to (mar/deepe) (Noem ASS Leeps)

To counter this buildup, the American command moved the elite U. S. Army 1st Air Cavalry Division -- a heliborne division -- straight into the Communist stronghold areas of War to Zone C and the the jungled areas further north-nor not far from the eve Viet Cong high command. By doing so, the formanists Americans have brought in not only additional ground troops, but also long-range artillery, which consistently pounds & Communist-held areas heretofore out of the range of Allied While the Americans have seized the tactical initiative in this border area miting the communists are regularly counter-attacking and sharp clashes have occured continuously in the past weeks. Further south in the marshlands and the along the Cambodian border, the American-South Vietnamese "little boat navy" has also moved in for intensive patrolling along border waterways through which Communist supplies had previously moved from Cambodia into the con Cholon area of the capital.

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offensive 5 (fris/deepe) (NORMASS / Lege)

TROUND - NAUAR

Behind this border screen designed to interdict Communist movement of men and supplies across from Cambodia, the Allied commands have been able to compress their other regular units into a small of space for more intensive patrolling and for wedding weeding out the Viet Cong infrastructure in the villages. With the Communist main-force units still # fairly well contained the to the border areas, Allied regulars can fragment wair conventional formations into a string of small patrols.

One battalion commander outside of Saigon told this comments correspondent that his unit could be broken down into 18 to 24 night time patrols and ambushes nightly, with each patrol covering as much as a "grid square" (one samere kilometer on maprs) in flat terrain.

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offensive 6 ((normass/deepe)

On the second question—what is meant by an offensive—there is little evidence that the Communists have foresaken their overall policy of "fighting while negotiating", nor or that they have given up their designs and desires of overthrowing the elected, American—suppored Saigon government—which would make be cat politically catastrophic for the Allied position both in Paris and in Saigon. Nor is do they seem to have veered from their strategy of attacking Sai South Vietnamese cities—a tacit admission that Mao's distant of using the countryside to example encircle the cities is still that not repeat not bring them vieters.

Daily, Communist radio broadcasts talk of the "general uprisin offensive and general uprising," and since their so-called third offensive seemed to fizzle for them in August, they have refrained from numbering this predicted next wave.

But, there is considerable abbete here that the Communists have been may be changing the form of next offensive and hence changing their tactical deployment of military big-unit formations.

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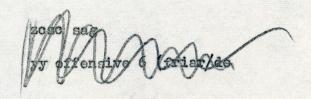
offensive 7 (normass/deepe)

Instead of pushing their big-unit regiments and battalions into a rather conventional-styled attack against the cities. as they attempted unsuccessfully in doing in during Tet and May, the Communists may be shifting into fragmenting their military power-or using only-the lower and Spackeum end of their military organization, such as their guerrilla formations. While this tank was a shift-rolling back from their Phase 3 peakwould be essentially a sign of inherent military weakness on the part of the Communists, this would not repeat necessarily bring much consolation What Any military let-down in pure military power to the Allies. COUN wealt be made up by political and panye psychological gains-during an exceedingly sensitive political and psychological time period. Allied troops, instead of compatting Communist regiments and battalions, find it more difficult to countermight be faced with coping with waves of terrorism, sniper squads from Saigon fo@rooftops, high-intensity propaganda, political agitation, labor strikes and student & or Buddhist demonstrations.

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offensive 8 (normass/deepe)

There is also some indication that the Communists may be putting intense political pressure on Saigon's whole body politic - and that the Sign nationalists or the Americans may serve Communist ends by overthrowing or the Saigon government. Certainly, the strains and tens diplomatic strains and tensions between # the American and South Vietnamese officials are now becoming a serious consdi consideration internally, bringing a mark drop of confer confidence both in I the American committment here and There is an erosion of anti-Communist strength the Saigon government. here in recent days; there is a noticeable rise in anti-governmentism, which may reflect Commin Communist or French-inspired propaganda, but which is not nonethelless draining morale. Whether or not this is convertible into a m something close to the Communist "general uprising" or not 19N1 is also debated here. Certainly, a viction really really disasterous political crisis between the Saigon government and the American officials or between the Saigon government and the Vietnamese population would be diasterous for the Allies, would be more beneficial for the Communists than a general offensive (which serves to momentarily unity the nationalists). the Communists would undoubtedly abort their offensive just to watch the intra-mural Picht on the Allied side.



The grape mass (deepe)

offensive (frier/deens)
Others predict the Communists will attempt to overrun a number of
provincial and district capitals before making any spectroular moves of the Saigon.

Hence, the form of the next offensive remains very much in a topic of debate and speculation here, but there is a consensus that the Communists will attempt something within the broad lines of their "general offensive and general uprising" strategy.

As to the third question on what is the best political moment for the Communist Polithuro to decide to launch another offensive is the most difficult to answer. The dilemma for the Politbure, as seen from here, is that if the Communist launch a major spectacular big-unit offensive and lose, then they have very little to negotiate in Paris. The prevailing view here is that the Communists will attempt some sort - Parthaps Not of A Big-Conit Character. of extravaganza) to welcome in the new American administration in mid-January, which may also coincide with the beginning of the expanded Paris peace talks. Others, however, believe that the Communists may delay any spectacular military moves until after (ital) American from VIETNAM the first American troops bed begin withdrawing here and the over-all American Months Away. combat level is substantially reduced-which may be years. Then, the Communist forces would escalate, attempting to produce a Dien Bien Phutype battle with Vietnamese government units. Per Hops in the Saigon, = = end reuter