North Vietnamese Viewed

By FOX BUTTERFIELD Special to The New York Times

South end of March, an authorita-the North. tive Communist official explained to Vietcong officials Vietnamese offensive accomthat "our general offensive is plished, it reversed the milidesigned to defeat the enemy's tary trend that had favored Vietnamization plan, force the the Government since the failenemy to acknowledge his de-ure of the Communist's Lunar feat and accept a political set- New Year offensive in 1968. tlement on our terms."

side could win decisively," said an American analyst with many years' experience in Vietnam, "so they decided to make one last big push to get the best possible settlement and then take their chances on winning the peace."

Side South Vietnam's borders into which the Communists had been pushed.

The first blow fell where least expected — on the string of fire bases just below the demilitarized zone in northern Quang Tri Province. On March 30 North Vietnamese gunners.

one: ¶Between 100,000 and 130, 000 North Vietnamese and Viet cong soldiers have lost then lives or been disabled since the offensive began, American began, American

¶A million South Vietnamese panic.

Vietnam, prominent, Quang Tri and An Jan. 23—Just when North Viet-Loc in South Vietnam, Nam nam's offensive began at the Dinh and much of Haiphong in

Whatever else the North

The terms the Communists wanted, the official wrote in a little-noted article in the Vietcong magazine Tien Phong, were "a transitional government at the upper level while we seize control at the lower level and proceed toward the formation of a three-segment coalition government."

Trom then until 1971 American and South Vietnamese troops broke up almost all large Communist units, pushed them back across the border into Laos, Cambodia or North Vietnam, and opened up much of the countryside that had been under Vietcong control for years. Even in the populous and fertile Mekong Delta, long a guerrilla stronghold, the roads From then until 1971 Ameri-

coalition government."

Reviewing this article and other captured Communist documents recently, American intelligence specialists have concluded that Hanoi's goal all along in 1972 was precisely to get a negotiated settlement.

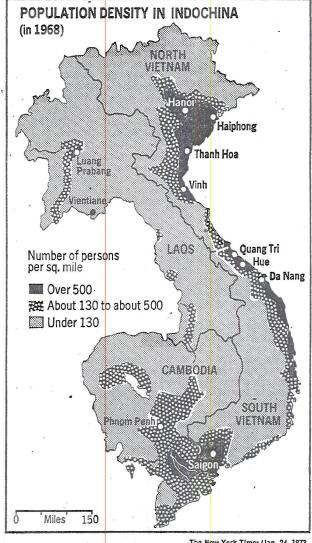
"Sometime late in 1971 Hanoi must have calculated that the war was a stalemate neither side could win decisively," said an American analyst with many years' experience in Vietnam, and fertile Mekong Delta, long a guerrilla stronghold, the roads were suddenly safe and rice flowed to the Saigon market. When the Communist attacks finally came last spring, they were the clearest possible indication that 500,000 American troops had really accomplished something, for each assault came from the sanctuaries out side South Vietnam's borders into which the Communists had been pushed.

An Expensive Policy
Exactly what peace terms of thousands of rounds from 130-mm. field pieces carefully hidden in North Vietnamese denotes that the road to a settlement has been an expensive of the south Vietnamese defenders for reasons naver or the former.

fenders, for reasons never explained by either the Saigon or United States commands were an untested unit, the Third Discons that had just been just been 25,000 that had justogether. As
Vietnamese in √ision, chrown sources say.

North Vietnamese infantry
Thirty-six thousand South men advanced on them— Vietnamese solders have been backed by perhaps 300 heavy killed, the sources report, and 90,000 wounded.

Note that advanced on them advanced on them averaged by perhaps 300 heavy killed, the sources report, and solders have been backed by perhaps 300 heavy killed, the sources report, and solders have been backed by perhaps 300 heavy killed, the sources report, and solders have been backed by perhaps 300 heavy killed, the sources report, and solders have been backed by perhaps 300 heavy killed, the sources report, and solders have been backed by perhaps 300 heavy killed, the sources report, and solders have been backed by perhaps 300 heavy killed, the sources report, and solders have been backed by perhaps 300 heavy killed, the sources report, and solders have been backed by perhaps 300 heavy killed, the sources report, and solders have been backed by perhaps 300 heavy killed, the sources report, and solders have been backed by perhaps 300 heavy killed, the sources report, and solders have been backed by perhaps 300 heavy killed, the sources report, and solders have been backed by perhaps 300 heavy killed, the sources report, and solders have been backed by perhaps 300 heavy killed heavy killed



The New York Times/Jan. 24, 1973

Population centers in South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia are mostly in areas dominated by Government forces.

guns that had been smuggled tanks? Don't they hit anything down the Ho Chi Minh Trail on the Ho Chi Minh Trail?"" from North Vietnam.

States Air Force? Gen. Creigh-Soviet tanks and surface-to-air States Air Force? Gen. Creigh- and outgunned, it held on missiles—the division fled in ton W. Abrams, then the United bravely but suffered casualties panic.

States commander, was report- of nearly 100 per cent. The second blow fell a week later as the North Vietnamese ponse to it. That is the largest forced migration in Vietnam since the Geneva accords ended the first Indochina war in 1954.

Dozens of cities, towns, and of Saigon. They were backed to name a few of the more scores of heavy antiaircraft similar to name a few of the more scores of heavy antiaircraft similar to the first indochina war in the first indochina war in the more scores of heavy antiaircraft similar to the first indochina war in the more scores of heavy antiaircraft similar to the first indochina war in the more scores of heavy antiaircraft similar to be first surprised and then furious. "He was practically pounding his fists on furious. "He was practically pounding his fists on furious. "He was practically pounding his fists on of birefing," said a junior officer who was at American headquarters. "Where the hell's the Air Force?' he'd say. "How come way.

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The third major assault—

The third major assault—

The South Vietnamese force How could the enemy have in Binh Long, the Fifth Division, moved all that equipment without being spotted by the United provincial capital. Outnumbered provincial capital. Outnumbered

ive as Crucial for a Settlement

Kontum Province, in the mountainous, sparsely populated Central Highlands--was the one allied officers had most often predicted, but it did not come until April 24.

Attacking from a base area across the Laotian border, the again North Vietnamese, backed by tanks, overran the headquarters of the 22d Division at Tan Canh. The South Vietnamese broke and fled back to Kontum city, which the frightened residents evacuated.

In early April it looked as if a complete rout was under way. Vietnamization, President Nixon's heralded program for getting the United States out of the war and turning it over to the improved South Vietnamese Army, never looked more

officers rapidly discovered, was North Vietnam and an equal manence. the same thing that had always bedeviled Saigon's forces — B-52 heavy bombers, which record to the same thing that had always bedeviled Saigon's forces — B-52 heavy bombers, which record to the same thing that had always bedeviled Saigon's forces — B-52 heavy bombers, which record to the same things are said that the same things are said to said the same than the same things are said that the same things are said that the same things are said that the same poor leadership and lack of will. A system of promotion based on nepotism and personal loyalty just could not number of daily strikes against produce first-class officers.

When North Vietnamese and

Vietcong troops launched a fourth but smaller attack on the central coast east of Kontum, in Binh Dinh Province. Government officials and army officers simply fled in their jeeps and armored cars, leaving troops to fend for them-

Some Distinguished Units

namese units fought with genu-ine distiction — the marines, the Airborne Division, the First

Eight hundred Air Marine



The New York Times/Jan. 24, 1973

bombers began flying 300 mis-What was wrong, American sions a day against targets in they B-52 heavy bombers, which North Vietnam, ranging as far as Haiphong, and the United as Halphong, and the United override antiwar sentiment at States Navy put together a home and resume the bombing fleet of 6 aircraft carriers and of the North. 35 cruisers and destroyers the largest task force since World War II.

continued Vietnamization as intervention by the Soviet United States troop strength in Union and China. Perhaps most South Vietnam itself fell from critical, the North Vietnamese had not appreciated the awe-South Vietnam itself fell from had not appreciated the awesome power of B-52's when employed tactically against incomplete and our militial units—they just piled up their arms and faded away."

Although some South Vietnam:

South Vietnam itself fell from had not appreciated the awesome power of B-52's when employed tactically fantry around the fantry around have to go on until the United have to go on until the United States got its prisoners back, 126 more pilots were shot down and listed as missing in North vietnamese leaders decided to make their vietlamese had not appreciated the awesome power of B-52's when employed tactically fantry around the fantry around have to go on until the United States got its prisoners back, 126 more pilots were shot down and troops and supplies expenditude.

Saigon Government remained Force, surprisingly free of turmoil, fighter with the usually vocal opposi-

tion scared by the intensity of the Communist attacks. Thanks to a troop-replacement system that was improved last year after the disastrous invasion of Laos, South Vietnamese Army losses were quickly made up with freshly trained recruits.

Even Quang Tri city was retaken by the South Vietnamese marines after a tortuous threemonth campaign, personally ordered by President Thieu, that left not a house or a tree.

In October the North Vietnamese and Vietcong shifted to a less costly tactic, using small units to infiltrate hamlets and cut the highways around Saigon. According to United States intelligence sources, the Communists had received orders to seize as much territory as possible before the cease-fire, but achieved little of per-

The North Vietnamese, it appeared, had made some damaging miscalculations of their own. The nine men in the Politburo who formulate policy clearly had not anticipated that President Nixon could so easily

The Mining and the B-52's

Nor had the leaders in Hanoi orld War II.

Technically, President Nixon apparently expected that he would mine the harbors, risking

leaders decided to make their bid for a negotiated settlement, the United States intelligence

REMEMBER THE NEEDIEST!

Vietnam War Casualties

MILITARY (1961 through Jan. 13, 1973) United States - 45,933 killed and 303,616 wounded (with 153,300 of these requiring hospitalization).

South Vietnamkilled and 499,026 wounded (all requiring hospitalization).

North Vietnam and Vietcong—924,048 (an estimate by South Vietnamese command; fig-ures on wounded not available).

CIVILIAN

415,000 South Vietnamese civilians killed and 935,000 wounded as result of combat, 1965 through 1972 (estimates provided by United States Senate Subcommittee on Refugees and Escapees).

31,463 South Vietnamese killed and 49,000' ab-ducted as result of Vietcong actions against civilians, 1966 through 1972 (figures from United States Defense Department).

20,587 killed and 28,978 jailed as result of Saigon Government actions against civilian Vietcong, 1968 through May, 1971 (figures from Agency for International Development).