

PRINCIPAL RE

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II

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THE BASIC OBJECTIVES OF THE VIETNAMESE
REVOLUTION AND TO CLOSELY UNITE WITH THE
BROTHERLY PEOPLES ON THE INDOCHINESE
PENINSULA IN GAINING AT ALL COSTS INDEPEN-
DENCE, PEACE AND PROSPERITY FOR THE
THREE COUNTRIES"

CUU LONG

PART II

PRINCIPAL REPORTS

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Triangle

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PART I

[Editor's Note -- Principal Reports on October 13, pages 1 to 5, carried a report of a "Congress of Heroes and Emulation Combatants of Eastern Nam Bo and Saigon" held September 20-23, 1971. The meeting was attended by "delegates of the NFLSV Central Committee and the PRGSV, the South Vietnamese PLAF, mass organizations around the NFLSV Central Committee and the PRG and delegations from Southern Trung Bo, Central Nam Bo and Western Nam Bo." The areas and organizations from which the delegates were drawn suggest that this meeting was in fact a COSVN conference.

The text reproduced here was broadcast by Liberation Radio in two lengthy installments as an article "by Comrade Cuu Long" based upon a "talk" by "the representative of the PLAF Command," at that meeting.

Cuu Long, the Vietnamese word meaning the Mekong River, is the pen name used by Tran Do, a Major General in the North Vietnamese Army, and alternate member of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Workers' Party, third ranking member of the COSVN Military Affairs Committee, and Assistant Political Officer of the People's Liberation Armed Forces.

The Liberation Radio broadcast of 1330 GMT, 8 October, cited above, noted that the meeting's Presidium was headed by "the Director of the Political Department of the South Vietnamese PLAF," and included "the delegate of the Eastern Nam Bo PLAF Command, the Chairman and Vice Chairman of the Saigon People's Revolutionary Committee, the Delegate of the Saigon PLAF Command" and several "heroes." There was no indication of where the meeting was held.]

(Liberation Radio [clandestine] in Vietnamese to South
Viet-Nam 0930 GMT 17 October 1971)

[Article by Cuu Long: "The U.S. Vietnamization Strategy
Has Been and Will Certainly Be Defeated."]

In late September a festive congress of heroes and emulation combatants in Eastern Nam Bo and Saigon was solemnly held and succeeded brilliantly. At the congress the representative of the PLAF Command spoke of the necessary failure of the U.S. imperialists' Vietnamization strategy. On the basis of this talk, Comrade Cuu Long has written an article entitled "The U.S. Vietnamization Strategy Has Been and Will Certainly Be Defeated." This article includes five parts: 1) The U.S. Vietnamization strategy received a strategically significant blow in the 1970-1971 dry season; 2) The victories in the 1970-1971 dry season and the glorious significance of the Vietnamese revolution; 3) The Vietnamization of the war is a roundabout, deadlocked and outdated strategy; 4) The Vietnamization strategy has received one painful blow after another; and 5) Our armed forces and people, with sufficient conditions and determination, will surely completely defeat the Vietnamization strategy.

In this program, we will present to you comrades and friends the first three parts of this article.

Nixon took office at a time when more than half a million U.S. expeditionary troops had been defeated. Johnson was trying to find way to deescalate the war after pushing millions of U.S. youths to go to Viet-Nam, where they fell on the battlefields or from which they returned as cripples and filled with utter weariness and terror of a war in which they were deceived. At that time, the situation in the United States was very agitated. The disastrous bankruptcy in Viet-Nam of the U.S. policy of strength aimed at governing the world drove the United States to a critical, serious and comprehensive crisis in the military, political, economic, financial and social respects. Nixon then stated that the erroneous and expensive war in Viet-Nam led to the fact that the Congress was "confused and in revolt" and U.S. political circles were "suffering from noisy internal squabbles."

However, Nixon's term has yet not ended and the U.S. situation has become far more disastrous than what was criticized in his bitter words. Obviously this disastrous situation in the United States is proof of the initial bankruptcy of the Nixon Doctrine that includes the Vietnamization strategy. How defeated is Nixon's Vietnamization strategy and what is the present level of the defeat? To answer this question the best thing to do is to review the U.S.-puppet clique's disastrous failure in the 1970-1971 dry season.

Part I -- The U.S. Vietnamization strategy received
a fatal blow of strategic significance in
the 1970-1971 dry season.

In the 1970-1971 dry season the U.S. aggressors put on the battlefield more than 70 percent of the puppet main force troops, directly coordinated with one-third of U.S. troops. This was the greatest military effort of the U.S.-puppets in their Vietnamization scheme. This was also the greatest military adventure of the U.S.-puppets in the present strategic phase to win a victory of vital significance. To the U.S. aggressors, as long as our powerful regular units remain, their Vietnamized war will be endangered. Only by destroying our strategic rear service line and our resistance bases can they weaken and drive our regular forces away from the terrain so they can carry out their pacification operations.

To complete their rural pacification plan in three phases will help stabilize the puppet army and puppet administration for at least two years. At that time the U.S. aggressors will be able to relieve their henchmen in Laos and Cambodia, who have been encircled by the revolutionary forces. If this adventure is successful, it will be a success in the use of the Saigon puppet army as a nucleus to expand the aggressive war to all of Indochina.

Nixon hoped that military victory on the battlefield would enable him to gain political support at home so he could continue to implement the Nixon Doctrine and the Vietnamization plan, and that this victory would prove the success of his Doctrine and of Vietnamization and would enhance his chance of winning reelection in 1972.

These facts show that the Vietnamization strategy has been subjected to a vital test. Our armed forces and people also have

undergone a very hard trial. In the Vietnamized war, the biggest match of strength has been going on between our main-force units and the biggest southern puppet main-force units enjoying U.S. air, artillery and logistic support.

The Americans' and their puppets' military adventures were motivated by extremely crafty calculations. Nevertheless, they were unable to fully assess the strength inherent in a revolutionary war and consequently suffered very serious defeats on the battlefield. In the recent operation in the key strategic Route 9 - Southern Laos area the Americans mobilized more than 30,000 strategically mobile troops of the southern puppet army, including puppet divisions described as seasoned, and nearly all the puppet strategic general reserve units, which were fully equipped and supported by 15,000 U.S. troops and which enjoyed maximum U.S. air support.

Nevertheless, the Vietnamese and Laotian revolutionary forces at the outset blunted this highly ambitious U.S.-puppet operation and subsequently engaged the enemy troops in terrible battles of annihilation, annihilated three infantry regiments and five infantry battalions, four armored regiments and two armored companies and eight artillery battalions, killed or injured 22,400 of the enemy, captured 1,000 others, seized or destroyed 1,320 tanks and military vehicles and destroyed more than 700 aircraft. Our victory on the Route 9- Southern Laos front marked a disastrous defeat for the enemy and further undermined the strength of the U.S. and puppet troops on the southern battlefield.

On the northeastern front of Cambodia the Americans used all the puppet main-force units in the Third Corps and a number of puppet main-force units in the Fourth Corps, intensively supported by U.S. aircraft and artillery. Nevertheless the so-called operation Toan Thang [Total Victory] 171 in the end became operation Toan Bai [Total Defeat]. One battle group, 18 infantry battalions, one armored regiment, and six armored companies were annihilated, more than 20 other battalions were extensively mauled, more than 1770 tanks and military vehicles were destroyed and 120 aircraft were downed. On both the Northeastern Cambodia and Route 9 - Southern Laos fronts the puppet troops appeared to be very aggressive at the outset. However, when attacked they retreated in a disorderly manner and even abandoned their vehicles and artillery pieces.

In close coordination with the Southern Laos and Northeastern Cambodia armed forces and people, our southern armed forces and people on the Route 9 - Khe Sanh front, in Tri Thien, U Minh and the Highlands and in a number of Nam Bo Delta areas annihilated nearly 80,000 of the enemy, forcing the Americans and their puppets to discontinue their operation in the tailborder area. Our southern armed forces and people also have extensively destroyed enemy bondage in many delta and mountain areas, have acquired a fairly firm combat position, and have seriously foiled the enemy's pacification plan in many important areas of the South.

In the same period the patriotic compatriots' struggle movement was stepped up right in U.S. - puppet lairs in the cities. Its goals are to demand vital and democratic rights, the restoration of peace, U.S. withdrawal, and overthrow of cruel, dictatorial President Nguyen Van Thieu. As a result the enemy's rear has been disturbed, the Saigon puppet administration has been divided and its internal contradictions have become very acute.

It is clear that in the 1970-1971 dry season Nixon's Vietnamization strategy sustained a serious military setback. The U.S. - puppets' strategic setback is revealed in the following points:

1 -- The puppet army, the backbone of the Vietnamization strategy, has received a hammerblow from our revolutionary forces. It is now facing the danger of collapse. Organizationally, the important units of the puppet regular forces have suffered a deficit in numerical strength and are disarrayed and weak. At present they have not yet been consolidated.

The enemy wants to upgrade his troops but he cannot recruit sufficient replacements. He wants to muster mobile troops but fears that the Pacification Program will be foiled. Regarding strategic and tactical measures, the "Saigon infantrymen plus U.S. firepower" talisman has proven to be ineffective because they cannot serve as a strategic nucleus in South Viet-Nam and on the Indochina battlefield. The U.S. cadres have boasted about heliborne tactics, the tactic of establishing blocking positions on hills, the tactic of forming great troop concentrations and the tactic of launching surprise attacks with armored vehicles. But all these tactics have created terrible dangers for the enemy.

The morale of the puppet troops in the strategic reserve force, the most important and seasoned force of the enemy, has drooped. Militiamen are afraid of being upgraded into civil guards, who are panic-stricken about being upgraded into main-force troops. Main-force units are worried about being upgraded into strategic reserve units, which usually receive the blows of the liberation armed forces units. Fear of engaging in battles and in remote operations, desertions, self-inflicted wounds, passively staying in their posts, mutinies and other antiwar actions are widespread facts among puppet troops, including troops known for their aggressiveness.

In the meantime, never has the enemy's adversary -- the Vietnamese, Lao and Khmer revolutionary forces -- been so full of energy. The 1970-1971 dry season not only created favorable conditions for our main force to engage in large-scale annihilation operations but also opened the prospect that we will certainly annihilate the Saigon puppet main-force troops, thus completely defeating Nixon's Vietnamization Strategy militarily.

2 -- The Americans and their puppets have also been defeated on the Rural Pacification front. They had to send their forces back to cope with difficulty with the guerrilla warfare movement that was developing rapidly in areas that the puppets had ballyhooed as areas where pacification was being accomplished.

The truth is that militiamen, civil guards and even a number of puppet main-force units have been unable to cope with the guerrilla warfare movement in many localities. These forces that the enemy calls "Territorial Forces" were weak before 1970-1971 because they had been sent to Route 9, Lower Laos, and Northeastern Cambodia. Now these forces are weaker because they had to send men to replenish puppet main-force divisions.

Shielding his back, the enemy exposed his flank. Recently the Americans and their puppets had to send many puppet main-force units to save the pacification. Therefore their ability to concentrate mobile troops to form an outer protective shield for the Rural Pacification Program decreased compared with the beginning of 1971.

In the meantime the struggle movement in the southern cities was smashingly carried out in varied forms with definite objectives and appropriate slogans for action and developed from lower to higher levels. This constituted a new danger for the Vietnamization strategy.

After the 1970-1971 dry season, the U.S. military situation in Indochina worsened disastrously. The Laos puppet clique has become weaker than it was at the end of 1970. It has lost many important strategic areas both in Northern and Southern Laos, especially the Bolovens Highland. U.S. - puppet attempts to reoccupy the latter have been repelled many times. The Vang Pao pirates have sustained serious losses. Thai troops have not been strong enough to assist Lao puppet troops. The Americans' Vientiane puppet administration has suffered from internal squabbles due to personal interests, but the Lao Patriotic Armed Forces have appeared far more steadfast than ever before.

The situation of Lon Nol and Matak has become worse. Lon Nol has passively coped with the vigorous military pressure of the Cambodian armed forces and people. Because his forces have been thinned and are weak, his ability to cope has been very limited. Unable to satisfactorily care for its fate, how can the South Vietnamese puppet army jump in once again to rescue its neighbor. To date we can clearly see that the 1970-71 dry season upset every strategic calculation of the U.S. - puppet clique:

A -- It wanted to aid Saigon puppet troops in order to have a dependable strategic force that can replace U.S. troops. Instead the U.S. - puppets sustained serious blows and have not yet recovered.

B -- It wanted to weaken the enemy main force by repelling the enemy far from supply lines. Instead the enemy main force appears more efficient and vigorous since its victories in the dry season.

C -- It wanted to create a relatively stable period for achieving the Pacification Program. Instead the stable period of time has not existed and the precarious results have been challenged so seriously that the persons who had optimistic views have become alarmed.

D -- It wanted to enhance the prestige of the Saigon puppet administration and prove the efficiency of Vietnamization to U.S. people and other people in the world. Instead the Saigon Puppet administration has become even more divided and corrupt and U.S. and world opinion has doubted and criticized the Vietnamization and the so-called Nixon Doctrine more than ever.

These are obvious truths that Nixon and his henchmen are aware of more clearly than anyone else. The 1970-71 dry season drove Nixon and his reactionary doctrine deep into the impasse that Johnson had experienced and retreated from after serious losses three years ago. Our armed forces' and people's success in the 1970-71 dry season was the greatest since the 1968 Spring. It marks new progress in our people's anti U.S. national salvation resistance. It is obvious proof that fundamentally we are in a victorious, favorable and ascending position while the U.S. - puppet clique is in a defeated, difficult and descending position.

However, the Americans and their henchmen are blaming each other and trying to make a comeback. We can assert that the more they try to squirm the more serious their defeats will be. The 1970-71 dry season (which demonstrated) U.S. aggression and the Indochinese people's anti-aggression. We have witnessed a series of U.S. defeats. Thus the significance of our success in the 1970-71 dry season cannot be separated from the significance of our entire people's overall anti-U.S. national salvation resistance.

Part 2 -- The victories in the 1970-71 dry season
and the glorious significance of the Vietnamese
Revolution

For the past 26 years, the U.S. imperialists have caused untold suffering for our people! Why have the U.S. imperialists spent a large amount of money and manpower to wage the biggest and most protracted regional war ever seen in the history of the U.S. war of aggression against our people? Why have so many U.S. Presidents--Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon--stubbornly nurtured the dream of invading our country even though they have all sustained many woeful defeats?

If we do not make a strategic analysis of the U.S. imperialists' global counter-revolutionary strategy we will not learn the main causes of these problems. Since World War Two the United States has been the most powerful country in the capitalist camp. The U.S. imperialists have nurtured the dream of becoming the master of the world through economic strength and have considered the military occupation of Viet-Nam to be one of their most important objectives. Economically Viet-Nam is a country rich in material and manpower resources, militarily it is both an outpost of the socialist camp in Southeast Asia and a link between the socialist camp and a Southeast Asia that burns with the revolutionary impetus, and politically it is a country within the socialist system. Its strong national liberation movement serves as a source of encouragement for the Afro-Asian and Latin American peoples.

That is why Viet-Nam has become the focal point for struggle in the world. This is a struggle between the socialist and capitalist camp, between the worker class and the bourgeoisie in capitalist countries, between the oppressed peoples and the imperialists and colonialists, among the imperialists themselves, and among the monopolist, capitalist cliques in imperialist countries.

Immediately after the success of the August 1945 Revolution--under Truman's regime--the U.S. imperialists sought to intervene in Viet-Nam under the cover of "sending Allied forces to accept the surrender of Japan." Since then the U.S. imperialists have increasingly revealed their aggressive nature through many perfidious schemes to check the Vietnamese revolution, to invade a socialist country, to stamp out the national liberation movement that has opened the way for colonial and semicolonial countries to arise, to curb the influence of socialism in Southern Asia and part of Africa and Latin America--

areas that have been burning with revolutionary flames--to use Viet-Nam as a testing ground for U.S. tactics and strategies. To repress the new revolutionary movements in various countries, to exert pressure on the socialist camp and to arrest the influence of communism in the world.

That is why the U.S. imperialists have carried out in Viet-Nam, a small country, the biggest and most fierce and prolonged war since World War Two and why the success of the Vietnamese revolution is of world-wide significance. The greatness of the Vietnamese revolution lies in the fact that it has defeated the most powerful arch-imperialist of the capitalist camp and has brought independence and freedom to its people. The Vietnamese revolution has made important contributions in changing the balance of forces in the world and has encouraged the present revolutionary movements in the world to further develop.

The present U.S. defeat in Viet-Nam is a continuation of the defeat of their counter-revolutionary global strategy. It is the bankruptcy of the flexible response strategy of Kennedy and Johnson and Nixon's present strategy. The Viet-Nam revolution has gone through a path full of difficulties and hardships, and the victories it has obtained are victories of great significance. We can point out the following important facts :

After nine years of resistance, our people defeated the French colonialists with the earth-shaking Dien Bien Phu victory. Being defeated the French were forced to sign the 1954 Geneva Agreements that recognized the DRV and the liberation of the North. As for the South, there will be a free election for the reunification of the two zones. The defeat of the French colonialists was also a defeat for the U.S. interventionists who pulled the strings and paid up to 80 percent of the expenses for the French aggressive war against our country. After the French were defeated the U.S. imperialists immediately intervened to kick the French out, to tear up the 1954 Agreements, to undermine the general election, and to bring back Ngo Dinh Diem from the United States so he could terrorize the revolutionary masses in South Viet-Nam.

Nevertheless, our compatriots arose in 1959-1960 to regain power in rural areas and to step up their struggle in the cities. The U.S. imperialists then ordered their henchmen to kill Diem so they could improve the military and political situation in South Viet-Nam. Nevertheless, they were unable to prevent the mass uprising and the revolutionary war from developing strongly. With the Ap Bac battle on

2 January 1963, we defeated the helicopter and armor tactics of the enemy. We undertook large-scale enemy-annihilating battles in 1964-65, such as at Binh Gia and Ba Gia. We quickly defeated the enemy's Special War and quickly disintegrated a puppet army of some 500,000 men who were supported by about 100,000 U.S. advisers.

In mid 1965, the U.S. imperialists hastened to rush troops to South Viet-Nam to save the puppet troops from danger. With the increasingly intensified local war in South Viet-Nam and the war of destruction against the North--mainly through air and naval forces--the U.S. imperialists believed that they would be able to turn South Viet-Nam into their neocolony in a few weeks. That figure was changed to 12 months and then to 18 months. After 40 months and with more than one million troops they still could not escape great defeat in the Spring of 1968. The U.S. imperialists then had to de-escalate the war, thus tacitly recognizing the bankruptcy of their Local War and the utmost indignation of the American people in all walks of life.

A series of outstanding personalities and generals were then forced to resign such as President Johnson; strongman McNamara; the most resourceful man in the United States, Maxwell Taylor; and the most reliable man in the U.S. Army, Westmoreland.

After many years of struggle against the U.S. imperialists we realize that the U.S. has lost one battle after another because it has over-estimated its strength and under-estimated that of its opponent. Therefore, it was repeatedly caught by surprise and was hit hard and forced to recognize its defeats. We have defeated the U.S. imperialists because we know our own strength and we know the temporary strong points and the basic weak points of the enemy. We know how to gradually learn from the war in order to build a great force and a strong posture. With the great consolidated strength of the people's war we have shown the U.S. imperialists the limits of their strength.

We also know that the U.S. imperialists brazenly and cruelly escalated the war. Now being forced to de-escalate the war they cannot do it in a simple way. They are still very stubborn and cunning. They want to use their economic and military potential and other cruel and cunning tricks to achieve the objectives that they were unable to achieve during the past 10 years. This shows the inherent greediness of imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism. Therefore, in their de-escalation, the Nixon clique has resorted to many adventures, one after the other.

Nixon's present adventure is the implementation of the so-called Nixon Doctrine and includes a great experiment : the Vietnamization of the war. This experiment has gone on for more than two years and has suffered bitter defeats. Nevertheless, they still cling to the Vietnamization Plan which has failed since the 1970-1971 dry season. Thus we are going to have another good opportunity to show Nixon and his clique that this maneuver will be doomed.

Part 3 -- Vietnamization is a roundabout, outdated
and deadlocked strategy

The U.S. imperialists have been compelled to de-escalate the Viet-Nam war through Vietnamizing it. Vietnamization is part of Nixon's Doctrine and is a new counter-revolutionary global strategy of the U.S. imperialists. Moreover it is the direct product of a series of U.S. setbacks in Viet-Nam. The biggest local war ever waged by more than one-half million U.S. troops and by the modern U.S. Air Force and Navy has been defeated. Vietnamization is also the result of the change in the balance of forces in the world.

Today in the world many powerful revolutionary forces have appeared and can foil the U.S. plot to create a nuclear war, defeat the biggest U.S. local war, and frustrate or smash the U.S. peace evolution scheme and plot to stage counter-revolutionary coups.

The U.S. economic strength and way of life have lost their attraction because U.S. imperialism itself has become weak and is facing a new, overall crisis. U.S. imperialism, the greatest warmonger, aggressor, and subverter with its peace evolution scheme, has retreated from one position after another because it has received many strong blows from all directions, especially the painful blows in Viet-Nam.

As we have mentioned, the U.S. Vietnamization strategy was born out of defeat. Although the U.S. aggressors have been forced to de-escalate the war, they have used dollars and weapons to buy the blood of the Vietnamese and Indochinese peoples with a determination to realize neocolonialism and to prolong and expand their criminal war of aggression in South Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia. According to their calculations, the United States will leave only a small number

of support troops in Viet-Nam and will give less economic and military aid but will be able to maintain its position of strength on the battlefield with the ultimate aim of realizing neocolonialism in Viet-Nam.

It is clear that the U.S. imperialists have proven to be very brutal and cunning when escalating the war and very stubborn and perfidious when de-escalating it. They are stubborn because, in their defeated position, they have sought to counter-attack us in the hope of realizing their land-grabbing scheme. They are perfidious because they have advocated using Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese and Indochinese to fight Indochinese.

According to U.S. Defense Secretary Laird's statement to the press, a UPI report on 26 September 1969, and Nixon's speech of 3 November 1969, the U.S. aggressors have set forth the following four objectives of their Vietnamization strategy :

1--Strive to build and strengthen the puppet army by raising its numerical strength from 800,000 in 1969 to more than one million in 1970 and 1971 through three measures; frantically carry out military conscription, improve the equipment and weapons of the puppet army, and urgently train the puppet troops so they can apply U.S. techniques and tactics on the Viet-Nam battlefield. According to U.S. calculations, if the puppet army becomes strong and is aided to the maximum by the U.S. Air Force and rear base services, it will be able to cope with the revolutionary forces in Viet-Nam and Indochina and play the role of a main strategic force in the Vietnamization strategy.

2--Kissinger, Special Adviser to Nixon, argued that the South Viet-Nam war must be a war to win the people and not the land. The U.S. aggressors have concentrated on creating a strong puppet administrative network including henchmen at the central level and at local bases. They have stressed the need to set up a strong central puppet administration in Saigon by all means and to aim at these objectives !

A--Gather all lackey forces through bribery, dismissal, and terrorist measures. They will be used as a political prop for the militarist, dictatorial Nguyen Van Thieu Government. It is the U.S. aggressors' belief that only such a Government can continue to lead and command the puppet army in the fight against the

revolutionary forces during the withdrawal of the combat troops. Such a government--though not supported by the people--can be negatively accepted by the people.

B--Consolidate and expand the puppet administration's control over the urban and populated areas. According to the Western press, the Nixon clique has insured Thieu's power in South Viet-Nam with burning fire. The clique has caused the war to fade away by destroying the villages of Viet-Nam.

C--Moreover, the U.S. has applied a number of economic and political measures, such as land reform and economic restoration, and has tried to stabilize the already confused and deteriorating economic and financial situation of the Saigon puppet administration.

3--To achieve the two aforementioned objectives, the U.S.-puppet clique must be able to pacify the rural areas and to control the majority of the masses. They consider this to be the main strategic measure of the Vietnamization plan aimed at expelling our armed forces from the rural areas. Then they will be able to destroy the Viet Cong Infrastructure--the basic revolutionary organization--and scrape up human and material resources to serve their Vietnamization plan. According to U.S. calculations, with a network of military posts, with the intensification of the Pacification Program, and with U.S. air and logistic support, the puppet army will be able to insure its defensive tasks.

4--The Vietnamization Plan will cost less, in money and U.S. casualties, to win military victories on the battlefields. Moreover, it will create favorable conditions for them to stabilize the U.S. political and economic situation. Then they will be able to check the struggle movements of the American people and U.S. political circles for an end to the 'aggressive war in Viet-Nam and provide a sound prop for the Vietnamization plan. If the U.S. Congress decides on a prompt U.S. pullout and a reduction in economic and military aid to Thieu, the Vietnamization plan will certainly be doomed.

Apart from the four aforementioned objectives for the Vietnamization Plan, the U.S. aggressors have tried by every means possible to restrict and cut the communications and assistance between the great rear base and the great frontline. That plan is aimed at isolating and weakening the resistance force of the South Vietnamese armed forces and people. We must see to it that the Nixon clique has pinned

all its hopes and ambitions on the Vietnamization strategy. Nevertheless, this strategy will in no way reach its target. It actually is a round-about, deadlocked and outdated strategy because it is a manifestation of the stubbornness and subjectiveness of the U.S. imperialists who are trying to oppose the general trend of the world, a trend they have been unable to cope with for years. Today they are opposing a new and stronger trend.

All progressive people of the world, the majority of the American people, and even the Vietnamese who had nurtured good thoughts about the U.S. imperialists now clearly realize and firmly denounce the cunning and brazen neo-colonialist schemes of the U.S. aggressive policy. This trend has created a violent tide and given more strength to the Vietnamese people's resistance to drive the U.S. imperialists to defeat. Nixon, however stubborn and cunning he may be, cannot escape this. The Vietnamization Plan has proceeded as a series of U.S. rescue operations for their own policies. Vietnamization is aimed at retrieving the war in Viet-Nam and these troops were rushed to Viet-Nam to save their expanded the war to Cambodia to safeguard the Vietnamization Plan from great danger in early 1970. In 1971 they expanded the war to Southern Laos to relieve a critical situation when the U.S. imperialists were facing the great revolutionary force * of the three Indochinese peoples who were closely united in struggle.

The U.S. imperialists have spared no money and effort to launch worldwide psywar propaganda on the Nixon Doctrine and the Vietnamization strategy, trying to make it a picture of optimism, victory, and progress. Nevertheless, the world and American people, who are tired of listening to promises of victories by the U.S. leading circles, have not only expressed their doubt but have also pitilessly denounced the deceitful tricks of the U.S. imperialists.

Thus the Vietnamization strategy is a new and more serious deadlock for the U.S. warmongers. The U.S. imperialists want to use the Vietnamization plan to retrieve their setbacks but they now must exert greater efforts to safeguard this Vietnamization plan. Due to their stubbornness and cruelty. The U.S. imperialists have boasted that they are withdrawing and are ending the war, but in reality they prolonged and expanded the war and are thereby expanding and prolonging their defeats. All this demonstrates that Nixon's Vietnamization is a roundabout, deadlocked and outdated strategy. Moreover, the realities on the various battlefronts have clearly proved this fact.

(Liberation Radio [clandestine] in Vietnamese to South Viet-Nam, 0930 GMT, 18 October 1971)

[Article by Cuu Long: "The U.S. Vietnamization Strategy Has Been and Will Certainly Be Defeated"]

Part 4 -- The Vietnamization strategy has received one painful blow after another!

Let us review Nixon's plans and the support he relies on to implement the Vietnamization strategy as well as the undertaking that he and his clique have been trying to promote during the past few years. Everyone has a clear view of the U.S. Vietnamization picture when they look at the following painful results: puppet troop collapse, strife-torn puppet administration, agonized pacification and the increasingly troubled United States. Let us discuss these items one by one.

A. Puppet troop collapse.

The puppet troops have been dealt ~~deadly~~ blows from the time they were considered to be the main force in the special war. When the U.S. troops sustained serious defeats and had to pack up and go home Nixon began making the puppet troops play the main role. He has used exciting terms to say this army is the "backbone" of the war Vietnamization and a "key" to "victory on the battlefield."

In reality, what has the roundabout military logic of the U.S. strategists brought about? In the Spring 1969, when Nixon was trying hard to bolster the puppet troops, the latter were dealt a deadly blow with 104,000 enemy troops wiped out or captured -- including 56,000 U.S. and satellite troops -- 1,600 planes downed or destroyed, 2,900 armored cars and military vehicles destroyed and 270 ammunition depots blown up. This was a vigorous initial blow by the Southern armed forces and people to Nixon's reactionary doctrine, particularly at a time when it was trying to embellish the Vietnamization plan and the puppet troops.

UPI 13 March 1969 sarcastically remarked: The South Vietnamese units -- meaning the puppet troops -- have not been able to achieve half of what they did one year before. They are like tennis players

who are tired after the first match. The Chairman of the U.S. Congress Military Committee [has heard] bluntly said to newsmen: I doubt the development of that army -- meaning the puppet army. I have been disappointed in its achievements, according to AP on 11 June 1969.

When Nixon first came to power he unleashed an attack and he was immediately driven into a stalemate because his troops were bad. If he refuses to withdraw U.S. troops he is unable to remain in the Presidential post. Nixon withdraws U.S. troops but at the same time he still harbors an aggressive dream. Therefore the only way left for him is to give the war burden to the puppet troops. After a stinging blow during the Ky Dau Spring, the U.S. aggressors have again tried to boost the puppet troops and sent them to fight on the outer perimeter in order to give them an impetus in the war Vietnamization plan.

The 4th U.S. Infantry Division has withdrawn, turning over the combat mission to the puppet troops in Kontum. Two regiments of the 1st puppet Division have been put under U.S. control on Route 9 and in the area in the northwest of Hue. Puppet troops have been moved to Tay Ninh. The 18th puppet Division has had to take care of the Long Khanh area. The 7th and 9th puppet Divisions have had to man the military posts in Ben Tre and My Tho. However, the Americans have failed in their first experiments in the war Vietnamization. The puppet troops suffered serious defeats in Long Khanh in May 1969; at Ben Het in May 1969 and at Bu Prang and Duc Lap in November 1969.

The desertion rate in the puppet units stationed in the areas subjected to the Vietnamization test has increased threefold. Combat efficiency, leadership ability, and the strength of the puppet troops have been shockingly reduced, according to the Baltimore Sun of 29 October 1969. The Saigon puppet administration has admitted that in 1969, 130,000 puppet troops deserted and 400,000 puppet troops were put out of action, that is 1,000 troops more than in 1968. The desertions, mutinies and revolts in the puppet army have doubled when compared with the period when the Americans started their war Vietnamization.

Stupefied, Nixon sent Defense Secretary Laird on an inspection tour to Saigon. On his return Laird reported a painful truth: The South Vietnamese troops -- meaning the puppet army -- were not

ready yet to shoulder the war burden. However, a chess player cannot move to another game when he finds he cannot move a pawn. Relying on his military potential -- a large army and a great amount of weapons -- and on his economic potential, Nixon has grown even more stubborn. He hopes to salvage Vietnamization through a military adventure in Cambodia.

The world viewed Nixon's move like a losing gambler's.

The U.S. press held that Nixon put his prestige and that of the Republican Party at stake. Nearly 70,000 U.S. -puppet troops fought in Cambodia, yet they failed in their attempt to annihilate our force, to break the backbone of the Viet Cong, to destroy the leadership of the resistance in South Viet-Nam, to weaken the South Vietnamese armed forces' and people's attacks and to relieve the constant threats to their sweep-and-hold strategy in order to give themselves at least an eight-month break to proceed with their pacification in the South and insure success for the war Vietnamization.

On the contrary, the U.S. -puppet troops were fiercely counter-attacked. The Cambodian people arose everywhere, gathered under the flag of the National United Front headed by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and quickly organized and developed their Patriotic Armed Forces. In a short time the Cambodian people regained their mastery over a large liberated area and threw the Lon Nol puppet troops into a passive position. The Americans thought the Lon Nol troops could rescue them and the puppets in South Viet-Nam, but now it is clear that the U.S. -puppet troops, which were weakened as a result of Nixon's stupid adventure, are even more weak because they have had to disperse their forces on a battlefield where the counter-revolutionary force is weak and full of gaps.

The success of the Cambodian armed forces and people is a big military and political success both at home and internationally. This success is particularly important because it marks a quick development in the revolutionary undertaking of the Cambodian people of a new historical force, of the revolutionary class.

Coordinating their activities with those of the Cambodian armed forces and people, the Patriotic Laotian Armed Forces and people have dealt the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys vigorous blows in the Plaine Des Jarres-Xieng Khouang area, at Attapeu, Saravane and

(? Thakek) and on other battlefields. The Laotian armed forces and people are still defeating the U.S. special war and driving their puppet forces into a passive and defeated position.

At the time the U.S. -puppets were bogged down in Cambodia, the brotherly Laotian armed forces and people scored their greatest victories in the history of their struggle. More than 30,000 Laotian puppet and U.S. and satellite troops were annihilated. The Laotian people's liberated areas have been consolidated and enlarged by three-fourths of Laotian territory, from Northern Laos through Central Laos to Southern Laos and connecting with the liberated areas of the brotherly Vietnamese and Cambodian peoples. The new areas recently liberated not only have created new forces and strength for each country, but have also created a steadfast new combat posture for all the three Indochinese countries, which have coordinated with each other in resolutely dooming every aggressive scheme and act of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys.

The Indochinese people's conference -- a brilliant success of militant unity between the three brotherly peoples -- also demonstrated this. The glorious counteroffensive in Spring of 1971 again marked extremely great progress of the Indochinese armed forces and peoples. The glorious victories on Route 9 and in Southern Laos, the high plateau, Northeastern Cambodia and Snuol reflected the rapid and steadfast maturity of our main forces and the serious decline of the puppet main forces. The backbone of the Vietnamization strategy has been violently shaken.

The puppets have lost confidence in themselves, not to mention the U.S. troops. Our main force army can now completely defeat the Southern puppet army. Since it has served as a lackey army the Southern puppet army has never won a victory. It has been routed everywhere and has been dealt increasingly painful blows. In 1959 and 1960, with as many as 300,000 men, the Southern puppet army could not resist the stormy uprising of the Southern armed forces and people. In 1965 it was almost completely out of combat. The Americans were forced to rush to back it. Since then the more numerous the Southern puppet army becomes, the greater its (losses).

The Saigon puppet army's moral decline and collapse is due on the one hand to its mercenary nature and on the other to insurmountable contradictions caused by the concept of building its forces in conformity with U.S. methods. This decline has been tremendously accentuated by the Saigon puppet army's terrible setbacks on Route 9 and in Southern Laos and Northeastern Cambodia, has been deeply affected by our people's hatred and protest and has been especially seriously influenced by the rottenness of the leadership and command system of the clownish central-level puppet administration and its corrupt, smuggling generals and the suffering and humiliation of the puppet servicemen's families.

The U.S. -puppets are trying hard to carry out deceitful psychological warfare activities, but these tricks cannot fill the moral gap that is becoming wider and wider in the puppet army. This serious decline is inherently an unavoidable, chronic disease of the Southern puppet army, which is in a serious decline filled with insurmountable difficulties. Following the Binh Gia and Ba Gia battles, because the puppet army was distressed, the U.S. armed forces rushed to save it. Following the disasters on Route 9 and in Southern Laos, Snuol, and the High Plateau, the puppet army suffered a serious decline and the U.S. armed forces have been weakened. A number of U.S. servicemen wait impatiently for their rotation, while others are narcotic addicts, and are depressed and depraved. Who can save the puppet army from danger at a time when its adversary is in good shape and is becoming increasingly stronger? Like a crippled person with no crutch, the puppet army will completely collapse when the full war burden falls on its head.

B. -- The rotten puppet administration.

The Southern puppet administration is a tool of the U.S. aggressors and bears the U.S. neocolonialist face. As our people of all walks of life hate and condemn the brazen U.S. policy of aggression, the decadent, depraved U.S. way of life and the crudely contemptuous attitude, the Southern puppet administration is also opposed by the absolute majority of our compatriots, including even those still under enemy control. The present Southern puppet administration has, under U.S. supervision, become a dictatorial, bellicose military organization led by Vietnamese traitor Nguyen Van Thieu. According to Kissinger's theory, if this organization is not positively supported by the masses, it must be passively approved by them. Nixon hopes to gather the lackey forces and use them as a political prop for this rotten administration. This can never be realized. Through the farce of reshuffling the Cabinet and the recent elections of the Puppet National

Assembly and President, Thieu has eliminated those who do not side with him, while grasping all powers, repressing and terrorizing anyone who approved peace, independence, and neutrality (?inciting) people to stage demonstrations and ransack the puppet National Assembly building and resorting to the trick of holding rigged elections.

As a result, as reported by U.S. newspapers, early in 1970 the Americans could only gather six of more than fifty organizations of the lackey forces. The number of these organizations gathered has been seriously reduced, due to Thieu's bellicose, authoritarian and arbitrary acts.

In the puppet National Assembly -- set up by the Americans to serve as a legal base to the Thieu administration -- more and more deputies have asked for Thieu's overthrow. Inside the Thieu Government many persons oppose Thieu and demand that he be ousted. Most prominent were the activities of Nguyen Cao Ky, Vice President of the Thieu regime, during the recent electoral campaign. Obviously the U.S. policy of focusing efforts on building a strong central administration in Saigon has been frustrated. On the contrary, this administration has become more and more corrupt, shaken and isolated in face of the increasingly enlarged struggle movement of our compatriots.

During the first months of 1971 the struggle movement of compatriots of all walks of life in the Southern cities, in particular Saigon, was further stepped up, compared to 1970. The impetus of the struggles was unprecedentedly stronger. Their speed was greater than ever. The size of the forces participating in these struggles increased day by day. Forms of struggles were varied. Their slogans were suitable to compatriots of all walks of life, including the demand for democratic rights, a better life, elimination of the decadent U.S. culture, restoration of peace, withdrawal of U.S. troops, overthrow of the warlike and dictatorial Thieu and denunciation of Thieu's deceitful tricks and U.S. intervention in the recent puppet Presidential election.

Most seething was the struggle movement by students and workers with a main theme of "Let us talk to our compatriots; let us listen to them." These struggles developed from cities to suburbs and the neighboring rural areas. These struggles took place in meetings and debates and were publicly reported by Saigon newspapers. The more they were developed, the more they were joined by workers, students, intellectuals, patriots and wise elements in the puppet administrative machinery.

The puppet army is the main prop of the Southern puppet administration. Its disintegration and collapse on the battlefield recently has caused disintegration of the puppet administration at the basic level. Areas under the control of the puppet administration have shrunk day by day. Military defeats, political confusion, economic and financial difficulties and corruption in the Thieu Government are sowing discord among the puppet authorities, causing them to engage in a fierce struggle to eliminate each other. Faced with this situation, the Thieu Government is confused and frightened.

Newsweek on 20 October 1970 compared the Saigon puppet administration to a baby just cured of measles, smallpox or mumps -- he may suffer from tuberculosis or a heart attack but his doctor is leaving.

It can be said that one cannot find an administration which, like the Southern puppet administration, must cope with a fierce internal struggle, is strongly criticized by the press and is hated so much by the masses while it is fighting a war. There are signs that the Saigon puppet administration will disintegrate.

Under certain conditions the struggle movement of Southern city compatriots may develop into a broad revolutionary movement which, in coordination with other attacks, will contribute to overthrowing the most stubborn and warlike puppet clique and crushing the enemy's administrative system and war machinery.

C -- The agony of the Pacification Program.

Rural pacification is regarded as a main strategic measure of the Vietnamization program. Its fundamental objectives are: repressing our people, undermining our revolutionary bases, building local reactionary forces and reinforcing the puppet army and puppet administration. But the puppet army is declining and the puppet administration is in a mess. This situation partially reflects the bankruptcy of this strategic measure of the U.S. - puppets.

Resorting to very cruel and wicked tricks, the U.S. - puppets have scored some performances such as: establishing a number of new military posts, forcing a number of youths to enroll in the puppet army and so forth. But generally speaking none of the "above fundamental objectives has been achieved although Nixon has spent one billion dollars. The struggle is very fierce on what Abrams has called their second front.

In 1969, the first year of the Vietnamization strategy, more than 50 percent of the U.S. troops' activities and more than 80 percent of the puppet troops' activities were aimed at supporting the Pacification Program. In 1970, as a result of their military adventure in Cambodia, the U.S.-puppets had at least eight months available to carry out the Pacification Program in South Viet-Nam. It seemed that all military activities of the U.S.-puppets were aimed at herding the people and building strategic hamlets. In the first months of 1971 they continued to conduct pacification operations in many areas.

In the Central Trung Bo plains and Western Highlands the enemy has failed in his plot to drive our armed forces and revolutionary bases away from the people. Our local people and armed forces have demonstrated an unyielding spirit, have fought very stalwartly and bravely, have overcome all sacrifices, trials and hardships, have counterattacked the enemy tenaciously and valiantly in all the three strategic zones and have created a position of close mutual support. The U.S., puppet and Pak Chung-hui troops have been forced to cope with the strong guerilla warfare movement in areas they considered pacified. Moreover, they have always failed to complete their Pacification Plan on schedule. They can never correctly evaluate the situation although they possess a huge network of electronic computers.

According to U.S. pacification experts, as of June 1970 the enemy's objectives in the first phase were not realized. As a result, since July 1970 the enemy was compelled to carry out an additional special four-month Pacification Program up to October 1970. After the Vung Tau Conference he had another additional Pacification Plan to complete by February 1971. As a result the first phase of the Pacification Plan was extended for eight more months, from July 1970 to February 1971.

Dealing with the results of the Pacification Plan, the Pacification Chiefs in Saigon bitterly admitted that in South Viet-Nam their adversary held the initiative. Particularly since the 1970-1971 dry season and in the first six months of 1971, many U.S.-puppet ringleaders no longer made optimistic statements but complained that the security situation was seriously imperiled.

In the Mekong Delta the U.S.-puppets have been unable to put down the guerrilla warfare movement which developed in their last-ditch lairs and in the suburbs of Saigon. Our armed forces, holding to their "fine-tooth comb" position, have broken the enemy's counteroffensive and encroachment spearheads. The U.S.-puppets' long-term encroachment operation in the U Minh area, the most important operation of the enemy's Pacification Plan in the Mekong Delta in the past months, was particularly bloody. In 130 days the Rach Gia-Ca Mau armed forces and people put out of action nearly 7,500 enemy troops, destroyed or badly mauled 12 command posts and several battle groups, regiments, brigades, battalions and flotillas, downed or wrecked 60 aircraft and sank or burned 120 vessels.

The movement to exterminate diehard cruel agents, to break enemy bondage and to encircle enemy camps and forts has gradually developed. In general our infrastructure--a term used by the enemy--has remained steadfast and our forces have increasingly developed.

In all four enemy tactical zones many cases of desertion, collective defection, uprisings, mutinies, revolts and withdrawals from posts and camps have taken place. From January to July of this year 80,000 puppet troops deserted. The movement to oppose the war, pacification operations and troop upgrading has developed, and self-inflicted wounds to avoid being sent to die in Laos and Cambodia have increased. Compatriots whose relatives are in the ranks of the puppet army have participated in troop proselyting, thus further accelerating the collapse and disintegration of the Saigon puppet army.

In the first six months of 1971 more than 18,000 puppet troops in the 5th Zone deserted their ranks. Almost all Civil Defense agents in Quang Da Province refused to mount guard and those along Route 1 and near the district towns deserted in large numbers. In Western Nam Bo more than 7,000 puppet troops deserted. More than 10,000 Civil Defense members dropped their guns and returned to their families. More than 20,000 puppet officers and troops opposed the war. Many battalions and 18 companies and platoons performed collective antiwar acts. Puppet troops were forced to withdraw from 50 camps and forts. During the long operation in the U Minh area, hundreds of anti-

war moves were staged by puppet troops and even by many entire battalions.

The enemy has admitted that his force for territorial defense is not strong enough to cope with our people's warfare at basic level. Weak as it is, it also has had to fill gaps in battered puppet main-force divisions, which has made it even weaker. The U.S.-puppets have had to bring back many main-force units from the border area to serve as running dogs in their pacification (? campaign).

Obviously the U.S.-puppet Vietnamization is vigorously threatened from both inside and outside. The pacification drive in which the U.S.-puppets have placed much hope and whose achievements they have often ballyhooed is becoming precarious and is causing them much danger. Despite their great efforts in this field, our people have taught and are teaching them bitter lessons and will certainly shatter their Vietnamization illusion.

D) The confusing situation in the United States.

The United States was in disarray under the Johnson regime. The U.S. ruling circles were divided. The American people became highly indignant because they hate the war. They repeatedly staged massive demonstrations to demand that the U.S. Government end its criminal war of aggression in Viet-Nam. The U.S. press repeatedly criticized the warmongering clique in the White House and Pentagon.

When Nixon came to power he initiated measures to improve the situation. First of all, in domestic policy Nixon tried to unify the American people and soothe the antiwar movement while [words indistinct] to stabilize the social, political and economic situation to attain his most important objective--to help the Republican Party win the 1970 U.S. Congressional Election and thus help himself win in the 1972 Presidential Election and remain in power for another term.

Nixon has resorted to many perfidious schemes to make the American people allow him to continue the war of aggression in Viet-Nam through his Vietnamization program. On the one hand

Nixon has increasingly prolonged and broadened the war throughout Indochina while carrying out piecemeal U.S. troop withdrawal. On the other hand he has had the psywar machinery spread the false belief among the American people that the United States is disengaging from this war.

Nixon gave many lectures, held many press conferences, and repeatedly ballyhooed his decision to defer draft calls for the last two months of 1969 and the phased withdrawal of U.S. troops. He believed that by so doing he could create a smokescreen capable of covering up the military adventure in Cambodia and the brazen attacks in Southern Laos and covering up the insidious U.S. scheme to maintain the dictatorial and militarist lackey Nguyen Van Thieu and to indefinitely maintain a residual U.S. military force that would join with the puppet troops in committing new towering crimes against the peoples of the three Indochinese countries.

Even under normal circumstances the U.S. workers lead a precarious life. The serious economic and social consequences of the war of aggression in Viet-Nam have made the American people's livelihood even more precarious. In 1964 Johnson admitted: In the United States today there are 33 million poor people whose livelihood has become more and more difficult and miserable. Social ills have become increasingly widespread. The cities are deteriorating. The suburbs have become increasingly poor.

Nixon has unceasingly increased the war burden on the shoulders of the American people. How can he appease their indignation? The intensive and extensive development of the antiwar movement is an unprecedented development not only in U.S. history but in all the imperialist powers' history of aggression. The development of the antiwar movement in the United States vividly reflects the American people's indignation. They are indignant because the consequences of the war of aggression in Viet-Nam have driven the United States into a serious all-out military, political, economic, financial and monetary crisis and have caused the U.S. status and prestige in the world to decline to the lowest degree in the United States' 200-year history. The Nixon clique is most deeply concerned about the American people's and political circles' lack of confidence in the reactionary and rotten U.S. political and social system and in the U.S. ruling clique's domestic and foreign policies. This situation is reflected in the following facts.

In recent years the American workers have conducted an increasingly widespread and resolute strike movement and have coordinated their action on a national basis. The strike by the longshoremen at all the seaports in the Northeastern United States was one of the most protracted strikes in U.S. history.(sic)

As a result of the war of aggression in Viet-Nam unemployment under the Nixon Administration has reached six percent of the U.S. labor force. The devaluation of the dollar has boosted the cost of living nearly two times compared with that under the Johnson Administration. These factors have contributed toward intensifying the struggle movement of the American workers.

The Negro population is only eleven percent of the total U.S. population. However, Negro troop casualties in South Viet-Nam amount to 25 percent of the total U.S. casualties. In the present all-out U.S. crisis the Negroes are most seriously subjected to racial discrimination, poverty, oppression and ruthless exploitation. It is therefore not accidental that, according to U.S. newspaper reports, many U.S. Negro servicemen in Viet-Nam have secretly brought weapons back to the United States and used them in the Negroes' struggle for liberation. The Negroes have staged armed revolts in nearly 40 cities and have continuously stepped up their struggle.

U.S. college students, who represent one of the strongest forces opposing the U.S. war of aggression, have conducted a nationwide antiwar struggle movement. Under the Nixon Administration, 35 percent of the U.S. college student body have been drafted compared with only five percent in 1969. The U.S. college students' antiwar movement has spread throughout U.S. colleges and high schools and has become the nucleus of the American youths' increasingly resolute struggle movement against the war of aggression in Viet-Nam. American students publicly held high the slogan "We would rather go to jail than serve in the army in Viet-Nam."

The widespread antiwar movement of broad masses of the American people has vigorously affected the U.S. servicemen who are shedding their blood and enduring immeasurable hardships in Viet-Nam for the sake of the U.S. capitalists' interests. The antiwar struggle of the U.S. servicemen in Viet-Nam, in coordination

with the antiwar struggle of various strata of the American people, has been developed more and more rapidly and vigorously and turned into the most intensive and extensive struggle movement on the Viet-Nam battlefield.

The American people's antiwar movement reached two high points in October and November 1969, which far exceeded the climax of the antiwar movement under the Johnson Administration. In 1970, following the U.S. attacks in Cambodia, the American people's antiwar movement again reached high points in May, June and July--high points that fully bared the Nixon Administration's internal disunity and disagreements, and forced Nixon to withdraw all U.S. troops from Cambodia within the time limits that he had set.

The U.S. Congress after months of heated debate abrogated the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, banned the reintroduction of U.S. troops into Cambodia and Laos, and prohibited payments for the satellite troops operating in Cambodia and Laos, except for the South Vietnamese puppet troops operating along the borders.

In 1971, following the Route 9-Southern Laos disaster, the American people further developed their antiwar struggle movement, coordinated the mass struggle with Congressional antiwar moves and advanced their struggle toward high points. In the United States, as well as at U.S. bases in Britain, West Germany, Japan, the Philippines and South Korea, U.S. officers and men repeatedly staged antiwar demonstrations. They found it a real honor to participate in the courageous struggle of broad American masses against Nixon's ignominious war of aggression in Viet-Nam. In the Spring of this year Nixon mobilized a giant repressive apparatus consisting of 15,000 police, Marines and infantry troops supported by tanks and helicopters to repress the American people and arrested and detained 10,000 Americans who participated in the Spring Phase of the antiwar struggle movement. This massive repression further bared the Nixon clique's fascist nature and made the American people's antiwar struggle movement develop even more intensively and extensively.

In South Viet-Nam many U.S. servicemen realized that they were fighting not to protect freedom and democracy as Washington claimed, but rather to protect the rotten puppet administration. Therefore antiwar demonstrations repeatedly broke out

at the major U.S. military bases in Saigon, Long Binh, Da Nang, Cam Ranh, Chu Lai and elsewhere.

The longer the U.S. war of aggression drags on, the more vigorously a defeatist mood and antiwar feelings develop among the U.S. troops. On 28 April the Subcommittee on Narcotics of the Armed Forces Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives let it be known that some 60 percent of U.S. servicemen were drug addicts. A doctor testified before the U.S. Senate that as of August 1970 some 43,000 U.S. servicemen had died from overdoses of drugs taken under the pressure of bitter frustration. UPI on 6 June quoted a U.S. Senator, who heard reports by high-ranking U.S. officials during his trip to Saigon, as saying: The U.S. Army in South Viet-Nam is collapsing. Aware of the disintegration of the whole army there, the generals support the withdrawal of troops. They want to leave the area. Let us reorganize and bring our army together in order to save it.

The U.S. Defense Department is urging Nixon to withdraw troops more rapidly for military reasons as well as for reasons of racial tension and drug addiction--UPI, 2 July 1971. The American newspapers' denunciation of the war crimes committed by the Americans at My Lai in the 5th Interzone and publication of the classified Pentagon Documents, exposed to U.S. and world opinion the dirty, naked truth about the origins of the U.S. administration's aggression in Viet-Nam. This was yet another hard blow at the U.S. warlike clique, a blow that further isolated Nixon and undermined his prestige. The majority of U.S. Senators are against the war. The number of anti-Nixon Representatives is growing.

All these difficulties confronting the United States are clues to an apparently absurd situation that arose in the United States in which the Supreme Court rejected the President's legal action against the newspapers. This partially shows the development and strength of the antiwar forces within the U.S. Government.

The past two and one-half years the Nixon Administration's policies, especially the policy of settling the Viet-Nam war, have been subject to the most stringent test. Nixon has sustained very serious setbacks. Because of internal chaos and the serious decline of U.S. prestige in the world, the prospects of the Nixon Administration, the Republican Party and the warlike ruling clique for the remaining one and one-half years of Nixon's term of office are very gloomy.

We have just pointed out a few main features of Nixon's complex and very ambitious Vietnamization plan. These features show clearly enough that Vietnamization is a product of failure. The criminal Vietnamization Plan has sustained increasingly serious setbacks and is faced with total failure. The defeated and outdated Vietnamization strategy cannot save the U.S. imperialists from defeat in their war of aggression and will certainly go completely bankrupt.

Part 5 -- Having the determination and conditions, our troops and people will surely and completely defeat the Vietnamization Program of the U.S. imperialists. We gloriously defeated the French imperialists' colonialism throughout the country. We have defeated, are defeating and will surely and completely defeat the U.S. imperialists' neocolonialism in South Viet-Nam.

The present anti-U.S. national salvation resistance of our troops and people has many new factors, but it is obvious that the new factor that has filled our hearts with pride is the fact that although the U.S. puppets have about one million troops and a lot of dollars, weapons, cannons, planes and armored vehicles, they have sustained defeat after defeat and eventually they will be completely defeated.

The Americans will return home. The puppets will follow their own path. This point is understood not only by our cadres but also by all our people. The people living in the areas under temporary control of the enemy in Southern cities know more tragic things about the enemy than the people living in liberated areas. This point is understood not only by our people but also by the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys in Saigon.

This is because we have constantly held the initiative in this war: We have held the initiative on the battlefield, in political struggle and in diplomatic activities. Thanks to this fact we have won victory after victory. The laws governing the great patriotic war of the Vietnamese people against the U.S. imperialist aggressors inevitably lead to this point. The logic of our era is that all reactionary forces, including the colonialist and neocolonialist ones, are doomed to defeat.

Our troops and people are maintaining and developing the initiative power on all three fronts--military, political, and diplomatic. The PRGRSV has advanced a Seven-Point Peace Initiative

to create favorable conditions for the Americans to withdraw their expeditionary force in safety and honor and to end the war and restore peace on the basis of drawing a clear-cut line between the aggressors and the victims of aggression. This initiative enjoys the sympathy and support of all peoples the world over, including the American people.

But so far Nixon and the American warmongers have not positively responded to this initiative. They have isolated themselves from public opinion in the world and the United States. On the battlefield they are intensifying military activities in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. In the days ahead they will surely enforce many shameless and wicked plots and tricks. Recently, on 14 July, U.S. Defense Secretary Laird insolently threatened that an important force would be used to discourage the adversary and that a common venture would be launched by the United States and its allies.

What sort of power will the Americans display? In 1970, in launching their military adventure against Cambodia did they not display their power by running away like rabbits? In 1971, in invading Southern Laos did not the U.S.-puppets sustain ignominious defeats because they were too confident in U.S. power--defeats that marked the turning point of their decline?

For decades our people have resisted many categories of imperialists and aggressors. We have been engaging in a test of strength with the U.S. imperialists for more than a decade. Thus we know well how strong our people, our leadership and our command skills are. We have the conditions to understand the U.S. imperialists better.

The U.S. imperialists have often said that they are afraid we misunderstand them. No, we do not misunderstand them. We understand them too well. We understand them better and more correctly than they understand themselves. First of all we know the true nature of their plots. We know what they want in Vietnam. We have many times unmasked their devilish tricks which they endeavored to keep in the dark. We know what defeats they have sustained. We have even foreseen the disastrous consequences caused by these defeats to the U.S. honor and situation.

The American warmongers have tried to deceive the American people by saying that the Vietnamese people are trying to force them to surrender. In fact we love peace and justice more than anyone else. We have warned them many times that in introducing American troops into Viet-Nam they will sustain heavier defeats, that in attacking the North they will suffer more ignominious defeats and that in expanding the war to all of Indochina they will be dealt heavier blows. We have often shown them the path to follow to avoid heavier and more ignominious defeats. But they have stubbornly engaged in military adventure after military adventure. As a consequence they have sustained defeat after defeat.

With the PRG's seven concrete points we have opened a path for them to honorably withdraw in order to restore peace. However, Nixon has refused to learn from past experience. He has continued to stubbornly dodge the proposal, to try to implement stupid and shameful plans, to cling to the dirtiest Vietnamese country-sellers and to plunge into the dirty quagmire in order to "save the honor of the United States". But, as previously, the Americans will certainly continue to sustain more serious defeats and to cause (sic) the United States to lose face and become more divided and disorderly. This is a great tragedy by Nixon and a great misfortune for the United States.

We are clearly aware of the enemy's capability and potential. We have been clearly aware of and have fully foreseen all the forces he would mobilize and the cruel means he would use. We have been clearly aware of the crimes he would perpetrate and the losses and sufferings our people would have to undergo. Therefore, with their firm belief that "nothing is more valuable than independence and freedom," our people have not been surprised at his maneuvers and have calmly persisted in constantly developing revolutionary heroism, thus dealing him deadly counterblows. They alone have been surprised and cannot calculate our people's revolutionary spirit, although our people are constantly aware of each of their steps. Today the Vietnamese people's heroism and the U.S. imperialists' defeat in Viet-Nam are an obvious truth and are topics for conversation, a simple and universal truth known everywhere.

We understand that Nixon and his clique are still harboring old ambitions. We have seen that with Kissinger's assistance

Nixon has applied very vile pragmatic methods in order to achieve his goals at any costs. For example, he and his clique have wantonly pressganged Vietnamese youths and have given them guns, have forced them to enter the military and have provided puppet troops with aircraft and warships and them joyfully said that they have the most modern army in Southeast Asia.

They wantonly bombed and shelled areas, forced puppet troops to come to the spot and then clamored that Saigon puppet troops had efficiently carried out military operations and had taken over responsibility. But when puppet troops retreated at the risk of their lives, Nixon and his clique insulted them as parasites. They spread out troops, built posts and blockhouses, shelled all the surrounding hamlets and then compiled and advanced sensational percentages to prove the progress and success of the Pacification Program.

At present they continue to practice these magic tricks in order that Vietnamese traitor Nguyen Van Thieu can continue to be President and then clamor to the world that they have built a democratic regime and that the South Vietnamese people have chosen their regime and President. Truly, with these tricks Nixon and his clique are considered the most ridiculous and insolent clowns ever known in the world.

They hope that with these tricks they can shake our people's determination, influence a number of persons and then deceive and subdue our people and deceive the world's peoples. Of course they have advanced their stories. However, they can never achieve their goals. Our people, with their skillfull and clear-sighted leadership and overcoming great and fierce trials, have always discerned the truth and have overcome all difficulties in order to uphold the banner of their just cause and completely defeat every scheme and plan of the U.S. imperialists.

Our people now clearly realize that they are conducting their struggle in ever increasingly favorable conditions.

First, we are now in a strong position. Indochina is a battlefield where the revolutionary people of the three countries are closely united in their struggle against the Americans, their common enemy. The Americans are seriously bogged down and

have had to rescue their puppets one after another. On the contrary, the Indochinese revolutionary forces are receiving mutual assistance and are becoming increasingly stronger.

Second, faced with pressure of the people in the United States and the world, the Americans are forced to withdraw more troops, cut down war expenditures and compel their lackeys to play the main role in the war. However, their lackeys are becoming increasingly disintegrated and impotent. Therefore, the balance of forces on the battlefield is shifting to the advantage of the revolutionaries and to the disadvantage of the aggressors and their lackeys.

Third, in face of the mounting crimes of the Americans and their lackeys, our people's hatred for them is becoming bitter and they are seeking ways to deal them counterblows. From the city to the rural areas all the puppet administration structure from the central to the basic level is shaking violently in the face of our people's struggle waves.

Obviously the enemy stance and strength are running downhill and those of the Indochinese and Vietnamese revolutionary forces are becoming increasingly steady and vigorous. No matter what tricks Nixon may resort to, where he may ask for help or what schemes he may use to sidetrack the people, he will not be able to dodge the blows of the people's war at a refined degree (sic) and of the just cause struggle which encompasses the military, political and diplomatic aspects and which manifests a seething many-sided revolutionary movement at the present time.

This is a battle whose outcome can be decided only by the Vietnamese people, the Indochinese peoples and the progressive people in the world--not by the sorcerous, impotent and outmoded hands of the imperialist clique.

We are extremely encouraged by and confident in the present revolutionary situation. We must make greater efforts, clearly realize our victorious situation and the enemy's defeated situation and clearly and deeply realize the enemy's stubbornness and craftiness, while clearly and deeply realizing his weakened, defeated and stalemated posture. We are therefore even more confident in our revolutionary lines and the victorious future of our revolution. We

are highly developing our revolutionary heroism and the fine nature and tradition of our people's armed forces. We are determined to annihilate and disintegrate an even greater part of the enemy's potential and to destroy and sabotage an even more substantial part of the enemy's war equipment.

Our entire people are determined to smash part of the enemy's criminal Pacification Plan and to advance toward completely smashing it and gaining greater mastership for the people. We are determined to step up and encourage even more vigorously the struggle movements of the compatriots of all walks of life in the cities and the rural areas, which are demanding U.S. withdrawal and overthrow of the Nguyen Van Thieu's lackey puppet administration. If we succeed in doing this we will make our combat posture broader and stronger than ever and gradually defeat and advance toward completely defeating the U.S. imperialists' crafty, aggressive schemes and wiping out the vile, country-selling Vietnamese traitors.

We clearly realize and are firmly convinced that the U.S. Vietnamization strategy has been defeated from the start, is being defeated and certainly will be completely defeated. We are determined to achieve at all costs the basic objectives of the Vietnamese Revolution and to closely unite with the brotherly peoples on the Indochinese Peninsula in gaining at all costs independence, peace, democracy and prosperity for the three countries.

President Ho said: "As long as there is an aggressor in our country, we must continue to fight to wipe him out." He often said: "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom" and "We prefer to sacrifice everything rather than lose our country and freedom." Implementing his advice, we have advanced from having no force to having a force, from having a small army to having a large army, from having a small initial unit equipped with of rifles to having achieved a great revolutionary task.

On the occasion of the 26th Anniversary of the Nam Bo Resistance we are deeply moved in reviewing the glorious path that the South Vietnamese Revolution has followed. We feel eternal gratitude for President Ho--the Great Father of Our Nation and the talented and most beloved leader of the Vietnamese working class and people. He devoted his entire life to serving the nation and

the working class and the South Vietnamese Revolution in particular. His voice was filled with solicitude and affection when he said: "So long as the South has not been liberated, I feel uneasy about eating and sleeping because my heart is constantly worried about the South."

Uncle Ho's words were those of the Fatherland, were sacred national salvation calls. We promise him that no matter what hardships and difficulties the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance may have to go through, our entire Party, army and people will have only one will and one action. This will and this action are our determination to fight and win and to fight until the U.S. troops withdraw, until the puppet army and administration--the U.S.-lackeys --collapse and until complete victory.

Never before has the Southern Revolution had as great advantages as it does now. Never before have the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys encountered so many difficulties as they are now. When the counterrevolutionary forces are obviously weakened our revolutionary forces are more powerful than ever. These are the great revolutionary forces of the three Indochinese countries which have united closely with each other, made tremendous efforts and persevered in and stepped up the anti-U.S. national salvation fight until complete victory. These are our great revolutionary forces.

More obvious than ever before are the glorious, many-sided achievements of the Northern armed forces and people in building socialism and, in particular, on the agricultural front. These achievements not only have further strengthened the economic and national defense power of the entire country but also constitute a great source of encouragement and mobilization for the Southern armed forces and people, and have stimulated all cadres and combatants to firmly hold their rifles, bravely surge forward and fulfill their glorious mission in the most glorious phase of national history.

We thank the brotherly socialist countries and our friends and the world peoples for sympathizing with and greatly supporting and aiding the Southern Revolution. The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys will certainly be defeated. The heroic Vietnamese and Indochinese peoples will certainly win complete victory.