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Person is prohibited by law.		(Classification and Control Markings)	
1. COUNTRY: SOUTH VIETNAM	5. REPORT NUMBER: 6 028 1048 70		
2. SUBJECT: Ideological Indoctrination, Command Committee, Sub-Region 1, COSVN (U)	6. DATE OF REPORT: 15 December 1970		
3. ISC NUMBER: A157.610 A157.613/135	10. NO. OF PAGES: 1		
	11. REFERENCES: DIRM 6A1, 6B1, 6B1a		
4. DATE OF INFORMATION: 15 June 1970	12. ORIGINATOR: COMUSMACV (CDEC)		
7. PLACE AND DATE OF ACQ: VS; 29 September 1970	13. PREPARED BY: Michael H. Crutcher		
8. EVALUATION: SOURCE <u>2</u> INFORMATION <u>3</u>	MICHAEL H. CRUTCHER, CPT, MI CH 7 PROD DIV, US ELM, CDEC		
SOURCE: CAPTURED ENEMY DOCUMENT	14. APPROVING AUTHORITY: George S. Lapsky		
	GEORGE S. LAPSKY, LTC, USA DIRECTOR, US ELM, CDEC		
15. SUMMARY:		Leave Blank	
<p>(C) This report contains information obtained from an enemy document and concerns a copy of a directive signed by Tran Quoc An for the Command Committee, Sub-Region ((1, COSVN)). <u>The directive, dated 15 June 1970, provides instructions governing the increase of ideological guidance for cadre and members because friendly ((VC/NVA)) cadre and members were pessimistic about the availability of manpower and material resources to meet battlefield requirements.</u></p>			

19.20

HISTORY OF THE VIETNAM WAR ON MICROFILM

----- FULL TRANSLATION -----

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D I R E C T I V EON STRENGTHENING IDEOLOGICAL LEADERSHIP IN THE FACE OF THE
PRESENT SITUATION IN INDOCHINA

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I. THE PAST AND PRESENT PLANS OF THE US IMPERIALISTS CONCERNING INDOCHINA

The plans of the US imperialists for the invasion of Indochina were drafted years ago. In recent years especially, they have suffered bitter failures throughout the SVN and Laotian battlefields. For this reason, they exerted every effort to overthrow the neutral Cambodian government. Their purpose is to expand the war to Cambodia, create a stable position, and set up strategic defensive lines along Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand border areas. However, these plans have been detected and frustrated by friendly forces. At the same time, the enemy is bogged down and severely defeated throughout the battlefields in Vietnam and Laos.

This is why the US imperialists have been driven, step by step, into a defensive position and have had to unconditionally accept such losses as:

The bombing halt throughout NVN;

The Paris Conference;

The unilateral and piecemeal withdrawal of all troops from SVN.

However, with their reactionary and stubborn nature, the US imperialists still foster illusions of "being defeated ((sic)) in a superior position" by carrying out their plan for the de-Americanization of the SVN war.

To support this plan, on 18 Mar 70, they plotted a coup d'etat to overthrow the Cambodian government, while Sihanouk was abroad. Then they sent their troops into Cambodia, and resumed airstrikes over some areas in NVN for the following purposes:

Establish a dictatorial and pro-American government in Cambodia to join with their lackeys in Thailand, Saigon, and Laos to set up the defensive lines in Southeast Asia.

Conduct sweep operations to drive our main forces out of the ((Vietnam-Cambodia)) border areas, and at the same time cut off our lines of communication, as well as undermine our economy.

Make all efforts to prevent our forces from attacking them in SVN in order to recover from their failures in the Vietnamization plan. Only by doing so, can they achieve the following two main purposes:

Maintain their neocolonialist policy in this area ((meaning Cambodia)) for a long time.

Create great difficulties for us in order to withdraw their troops while in in a strong position.

II. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SITUATION AFTER THE COUP D'ETAT IN CAMBODIA

In spite of these plans the US imperialists have been unable to salvage the situation or recoup their failures. They have increasingly been bogged down, driven into a deadlock, and severely defeated in all fields and throughout the battlefields.

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a. In the military field:

Approximately 100,000 US and Puppet troops were deployed to Cambodia. However, they were unable to change the political situation there or reduce our combat capabilities in SVN and Laos. To the contrary, they are being defeated at an even greater rate.

In only two months of combat operations in Cambodia, approximately 11,000 enemy soldiers were killed including eight US and Puppet battalions. Thousands of armored vehicles were destroyed, and hundreds of aircraft were shot down. Moreover, 24,000 troops of the Lon Nol and Matak reactionary clique were annihilated, and 28 battalions were wiped out or disorganized. Their forces are in the danger of complete disorganization. We completely liberated three province capitals, 53 districts, hundreds of villages, and two million people.

We continuously intensified our activities and strong attacks throughout the SVN and Laotian battlefields. On the SVN battlefield during the first 20 days of April 70, 50,000 enemy troops were killed by our forces. (Half of them were US and satellite troops.) Thousands of military vehicles and hundreds of aircraft were destroyed. Half of their strategic hamlets were disrupted. The enemy admitted these casualties himself. In May 70, our forces throughout SVN, including our own Sub-Region, continued to launch fierce operations against the enemy, especially in the Mekong River Delta, Western Nambo, and from Region 6 to Tri Thien ((Quang Tri and Thua Thien Provinces)). (The enemy again admitted that the ratio of casualties in April was higher than those in previous years). According to an incomplete report, 36,000 enemy soldiers were put out of action.

The enemy's plan for re-occupying the Dong Chum ((Plain of Jars)) area in Laos was a failure. The liberated areas in Laos were expanded, connecting with the Vietnam-Cambodia border.

The enemy escalated the war by resuming the bombing of NVN. As a result, 13 of his aircraft were shot down within two days.

b. In the political and diplomatic fields:

US troops have been isolated since they invaded Cambodia. Their stubbornness and aggression have been laid bare and denounced by public opinion. At the same time, our revolutionary forces in Cambodia, Indochina and the world have strongly developed and have obtain even more achievements.

The creation of the National United Front and Royal Government of the Khmer People deeply aroused that country and other countries throughout the world.

The Front and Government are now recognized by 20 countries in the world.

They are also enthusiastically supported by a conference of 18 representatives of the Communist Party from 18 capitalist countries ((etc)) in Europe and by a conference for economic cooperation of socialist factions.

The socialist factions and peoples in the world, including the progressive American people, have condemned the US imperialists and warmly supported the Revolution in Indochina.

The conference for higher echelons of three countries ((Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia)) in Indochina has become a united front against the US aggressors.

The Revolution in Cambodia has strongly, rapidly, and solidly developed, and has gained great achievements.

The majority of Cambodian people of all classes has shown ((a favorable)) inclination towards the resistance government. Almost all rural areas are liberated, and the revolutionary government has also been established there. Three provinces have been completely liberated by our forces.

Our three forces ((main, local, and guerrilla forces)) have been promptly developed. They fight well and have obtained glorious victories. The rightist troops are rallying to the just cause of the Revolution.

The Lon Nol-Matak reactionary government has become more isolated and their traitorous nature has been exposed ((before the people)).

The US and Puppet troops are unable to save the Lon Nol-Matak clique. Instead, the dissension between the US and Puppet troops, the Cambodian people, and the Lon Nol-Matak government has become more serious.

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c. Present US difficulties and contradictions:

During two months of fighting after the invasion of Cambodia, the conflict between us and the enemy proved that we had taken the initiative throughout the battlefields and had developed our revolutionary pride everywhere. At the same time, the enemy was driven into a defensive position, and seriously defeated in the three fields ((military, political, and diplomatic)).

The US imperialists have made every effort to establish the Lon Nol-Matak reactionary government in Cambodia. However, this government has not received any support from the people in that country or from people in the world. Moreover, its forces are very weak. For this reason, it is completely disrupted even through the US imperialists have strived to provide assistance.

Previously, the US-Thieu-Ky clique was incapable of fighting against our forces and was driven into a defensive position. At present, the enemy is sending his troops to Cambodia. Consequently, his strength will be ~~improved~~. He will leave many gaps which will seriously affect his Vietnamisation plan.

~~The purpose of the~~ US imperialists is to expand the war throughout Indochina. They do not want to develop their forces, or increase their war budget and casualties. They want to send their troops to many countries, and at the same time, withdraw their troops in compliance with their plan.

In addition, they have to cope with great opposition, especially from the American people, including members of the US Senate and the House of Representatives.

Due to these difficulties and failures, US and Western newspapers and a large number of well-known politicians in the US, have recently said that Nixon's actions

are dangerous, audacious, and lack calculation. He will suffer bitter failures in the future. This operation cannot bring him victory, but only create deeper hatred between the people and the US government, and incite Asian people to unite in fighting the US.

III. IDEOLOGICAL EVOLUTION OF OUR CADRE AND SOLDIERS IN THE PRESENT SITUATION:

In view of recent developments and the achievements of the Revolution, our cadre and soldiers have realized that these are new victories which create many favorable conditions for the development of the Revolution, and that these are also serious losses for the enemy. For this reason, they have exerted every effort to implement their missions positively and enthusiastically.

However, some cadre and soldiers are not completely aware of the new situation. Therefore, they have displayed shirking attitudes, anxiety, and a lack of eagerness.

Are our forces able to change the situation of the war and gain great victories in compliance with Directive 136 for 1970 prescribed by the Party?

What are we to do to cope with the enemy's strong and extended operations in the border areas while we have to supply the battlefield with manpower and material resources and our strength is thinned out? Will the war be prolonged?

How can we fight the enemy in Laos and Cambodia while friendly forces are still weak and enemy forces are numerous and strong? Why does Red China only give empty promises and not engage in the war?

How can the leadership committees of sub-regions provide effective leadership for lower echelons on the battlefield when they are also being attacked by the enemy?

These erroneous thoughts have spread among our cadre and soldiers, reducing their fighting capabilities.

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IV. WHAT SHOULD WE DO FOR IMMEDIATE MISSIONS?

We should indoctrinate all soldiers and cadre, and make them fully aware that in the present situation, although the enemy is able to cause some temporary difficulties, he is actually in a state of confusion and is being driven into a deadlock. His activities have not supported his aims. Basically, he has suffered bitter and overall losses throughout the Indochinese battlefield. On the other hand, we have recently made ~~many~~ great achievements and have had new and favorable opportunities for carrying out all revolutionary missions in SVN. We will certainly be successful in building up the Revolution in Indochina. For this reason, the following general requirements are provided for each cadre and soldier in the implementation of his missions:

With a firm determination to promptly and completely fulfill all tasks outlined in Directive 139 for 1970 and the directives concerning missions and criteria for the first six months of ((1970)) prescribed by the Current Affairs Committee, Sub-Region Command Headquarters has set forth the following specific missions:

Positively deplete and wipe out as much of the enemy's strength as possible. Conduct strong operations to frustrate his accelerated pacification plan. Develop three-pronged attack tactics, and maintain control of the people.

Urgently and continuously develop and strengthen our forces in all fields.
Strive to create opportunities to gain greater achievements.

Make every effort to heighten our vigilance in the face of the enemy's cunning and cruel schemes. Display a good sense of discipline by strictly complying with regulations concerning messing and billeting and combat activities, avoid any unnecessary casualties.

Display a high sense of economy for the improvement of ((the unit)) by concerning food provisions and weapons because we still encounter many difficulties in this area.

Step up the people's guerrilla warfare movement.

Upon receipt of this directive, all units should conduct a one-day meeting to study, discuss, and satisfactorily settle erroneous thoughts ((of cadre and soldiers)). Submit a report on the results to the Sub-Region Command Headquarters.

15 Jun 70

For the Sub-Region Command Committee

/S/ Trần Quốc An

Copies: Sent to subordinate agencies of
district units and cadre assistants
for district units

18 Jul 70

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