

FEB 1966

# DAILY REPORT

TUESDAY  
1 FEBRUARY 1966

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## SUPPLEMENT

<i>ALST</i>	<i>2-66/Giap</i>
FILE	SUBJ.
DATE	SUB-CAT.
<i>1/66</i>	

## Far East

NO. 21 (38) -- 1966

EXCERPTS OF GENERAL VO NGUYEN GIAP ARTICLE IN JANUARY 1966 HOC TAP:

"LET THE ENTIRE PEOPLE RESOLUTELY AND UNANIMOUSLY  
STEP UP THEIR GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR TO DEFEAT THE U.S. AGGRESSORS"

## EXCERPTS OF GEN. GIAP ARTICLE IN JAN. HOC TAP

Hanoi VNA International Service in English 1634 GMT 31 January 1966--B

(Text) Hanoi, 31 January--From 25,000 men by the end of 1964, the U.S. expeditionary corps was brought to 190,000 men at the close of 1965 (Johnson's message to the American Congress), not including the troops supplied by the satellite countries or units of the Seventh Fleet participating in the war against Vietnam.

It fights together with over half a million puppet troops. Meanwhile, the war of escalation against the DRV has taken a dangerous turn. What will the situation and the war be like in Vietnam? In an article published in the January 1966 issue of the HOC TAP, theoretical review of the Vietnam Workers Party, under the title "Let the entire people resolutely and unanimously step up their great patriotic war to defeat the U.S. aggressors," Gen. Vo Nguyen Giap will provide an answer. Important excerpts are given below. The translation, headlines, and subheads are from VIETNAM COURIER, a Hanoi fortnightly published in English and French.

### I. A New Stage in U.S. Aggressive War

Why are the American aggressors bringing in massive troops of an expeditionary corps for a direct invasion of our country?

By the end of July 1965, after General Taylor had to resign and as McNamara, back in Washington from Saigon, had been busy pressing more troops for South Vietnam, the American press said: The reason for the new U.S. involvement is obvious. . . because the Saigon army and government have lost the war. So the 500,000 puppet troops commanded by the Americans have not been able to cope with our people's patriotic war; our people's patriotic war has prevailed over the U.S. special war. The immediate dispatching of a U.S. expeditionary corps to the South Vietnam battlefield in an untoward emergency move, a strategically passive move in an attempt to retrieve the worsening predicament of the puppet clique.

As was pointed out over and over again, the U.S. imperialists' aggressive design is to try to turn South Vietnam into a U.S. new-type colony and military base of aggression. However, throughout the past 11 years, the process of realization of this aggressive policy in the south of our country has been also one of heavy and repeated setbacks for the U.S. imperialists, who have been driven deeper and deeper into a state of passivity and a morass.

In the south of our country, as in many parts of the world, faced with the growth of the socialist camp and the national liberation movement, to hide their aggressive nature the American imperialists have applied neocolonialism with the customary policies and maneuvers, hoping to enslave our nation through their agents and by means of military and economic aid. All during the period between 1954 and 1959, since the day when they brought Ngo Dinh Diem to Saigon and staged the Republic of Vietnam farce, the U.S. imperialists sought every means to carry out their neocolonialist tricks. However, right from the start the southern people exposed the true colors of the American imperialists and their stooges, waged an enduring political struggle to demand the correct implementation of the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam, independence and freedom, and peaceful national reunification. The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys mustered the puppet forces, used most vicious military measures to repress the people's political struggle, and launched a unilateral war for four or five long years.

But far from being extinguished, the patriotic fire of the southern people blazed up with every passing day; by the end of 1959 the southern revolutionary movement shifted to the offensive, resorted to combined political struggle and armed struggle, and defeated the U.S.-Diem policy of pacification by violence. In the face of the revolutionary storm of the scattered uprisings of millions of peasants, the policy of aggression by traditional maneuvers of U.S. neocolonialism in South Vietnam went bankrupt.

Continuing their scheme of aggression against the south, the American imperialists had to resort to new war methods to reach their goal.

The use of war to achieve neocolonialism constituted a heavy setback for the U.S. imperialists. In their passivity they still tried to hide their cruel nature under the disguise of an undeclared war, the so-called special war. This is a kind of war that many American military theoreticians do not regard as a real war, as far as the aggressor is concerned. As a matter of fact, this is a kind of war waged by the native stooge reactionary forces, the puppet army and administration, equipped with arms, materials, and other war means supplied by the United States following the American imperialists' plan and commanded by the United States with a view to crushing the revolutionary struggle and destroying the patriotic forces in the south of our country.

The first plan mapped out by the American imperialists for this war was the Staley-Taylor plan. They reckoned that with their enormous material force they could pacify the whole south of our country within 18 months. But they met with the extremely heroic resistance of the southern people, led by the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation (NFLSV). The Staley-Taylor plan came to grief and was buried together with the Ngo Dinh Diem regime, which pitifully collapsed on 1 November 1963.

In 1964 the U.S. imperialists put forward a new strategic plan, the Johnson-McNamara plan, aimed at pacifying South Vietnam within two years. Again they increased the flow of war means, military and economic aid, and advisers. They even stated that by the end of 1965, after their victory, the withdrawal of their advisers would begin, in an endeavor to force upon the American people and world public opinion the belief that it was not an American war. However, the resistance for national salvation of the liberation armed forces and people in the south gained strength and great successes which culminated in the glorious Binh Gia victory. Soon the Johnson-McNamara plan shared the fate of the Staley-Taylor plan.

In the face of this failure and predicament the U.S. imperialists took a step further in their adventurist aggression by raising their special war to its highest degree in the hope of retrieving this strategy when the initiative is lost. Their scheme is:

1--To step up their aggressive war in the south of our country by reinforcing U.S. and satellite combat units while consolidating the puppet administration, strengthening the puppet army, and bolstering the puppet reactionary forces as the mainstay and a tool of the aggressive war;

2--To expand the war mostly by intensifying their air strikes against the north of our country, regarding it as part of their neocolonialist aggressive war to threaten the north and save the situation in the south, and

3--Together with this intensification and expansion of the aggressive war they carry out a so-called diplomatic and psychological campaign with doubletalk about peaceful settlement and unconditional discussions in an attempt to dupe public opinion and cover up their dark design.

However, the American imperialists cannot shake the determination of our people in both zones to fight them for national salvation, cannot cause any decrease in the wholehearted assistance of the northern people to the patriotic struggle of the southern people, let alone stabilize the very critical position of the puppet army and administration.

In brief, in the south as well as in the north, in mid-1965 the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen were meeting with heavy setbacks:

In the face of the repeated offensives of the South Vietnam Liberation Armed Forces, the puppet army had been driven further into a passive situation, an increasing number of puppet battalions had been wiped out, and the morale of the puppet troops had been alarmingly declining;

The Saigon puppet administration had been ever more rotten and after 13 coups it had become utterly inefficient in the hands of the unruly Young Turks;

The system of strategic hamlets continued disintegrating while the people's movement in towns was rising. The powerful upsurge of the army and people in central and south-central Vietnam compelled the enemy to abandon part of his scheme to concentrate on pacifying the Mekong River delta. The rural areas controlled by the U.S. imperialists and their agents had been markedly reduced while the liberated areas expanded and built into the firm rear of the liberation war;

In their escalation against the north, the U.S. imperialists, unable to shake our people's determination to fight them for national salvation, had been suffering heavy losses. The northern people's hatred for the U.S. imperialists had been all the more bitter and their emulation drive for production and fighting for national salvation had become the more resolute to defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressors, to defend North Vietnam and to liberate the south.

The situation described above shows that the U.S. strategy of special war developed to its highest degree had been foiled in the main. The fact that Johnson recalled Taylor in July 1965 while hurriedly dispatching troops to South Vietnam at an accelerated tempo evidences the American imperialists' panic and passiveness in the face of their discomfiture. And it is due precisely to this failure and passiveness that they frenziedly stepped up their war efforts according to a new strategy aimed at reversing the situation and wresting back strategic initiative in the south. This once again proves that the U.S. imperialists' scheme to occupy the south has not changed at all. Thereupon the impudent nature of the American aggressors has been fully laid bare. The U.S. imperialists have thrown off their last mask and appeared in their true colors as colonialist aggressors.

With the large-scale introduction of an American expeditionary corps into South Vietnam the U.S. imperialists have shifted their aggressive war to a new stage.

It is not the case of an ordinary transfer from one stage to another but a shift to a new strategic stage of their aggressive war. The main characteristic of this stage is that the American imperialists not only make use of the puppet reactionary armed forces--that is, the puppet army--as the main tool of the war, but they also bring in a U.S. expeditionary corps for a direct invasion of the south while continuing to expand the war of destruction, mostly by airstrikes to the north of our country.

In other words, on the South Vietnam battlefield at present the American imperialists are using a U.S. expeditionary corps together with the puppet army to wage their aggressive war. Both the American expeditionary corps and the puppet army plan an important part, helping each other and coordinating their action.

The U.S. troops are the core, serving as the military mainstay of the puppet army and administration and the main mobile force, and as the occupying force in important strategic bases and the strategic and tactical reserve, taking a direct part in the combat in an attempt to wipe out our people's revolutionary force on the southern battlefield.

The puppet army, which relies on the American troops to exist, consolidate, and develop, constitutes both the mobile force on the battlefield and the main force to control and pacify the people, while serving as the political mainstay of the U.S. troops.

Clearly enough, in military strategy the American imperialists have gone beyond the limits and scope of the special war. Of course, while they step up their aggressive war according to their new strategy, the U.S. imperialists' purpose is to continue achieving neocolonialism in South Vietnam. No matter how many American troops they bring in, all the same they have to actively consolidate the native reactionary force, the puppet army, and administration as the necessary political and military mainstay of their colonialist aggressive war. It is precisely in the process of the implementation of their new strategic plan that the Johnson clique harps on their alleged obligation to keep their commitments, to increase aid, and so forth, and frenziedly go ahead with most perfidious political, economic, cultural, and social measures in the general line of neocolonialists. They maintain the puppet administration and strengthen the puppet army; together with the military methods of aggressive war they feverishly step up political moves of neocolonialism. Hence, their war in this stage, as in the former one, is still an aggressive war aimed at realizing the political aims of neocolonialism, a neocolonialist aggressive war.

The war that the U.S. imperialists have started and pursued in Vietnam with the south of our country as the main battlefield, whatever strategic plan they have followed and in whatever stage, is invariably aimed at occupying the south and turning it into a U.S. new-type colony and military base; therefore, by its nature, this war is an aggressive and unjust war. Having grasped the nature of this war, we clearly understand that whatever turn it may take, it cannot avoid the fundamental contradictions and the inevitable failure of aggressive war and of neocolonialism in this era, especially in the specific conditions of the south of our country. The more obdurately the U.S. imperialists pursue and intensify this war, the sharper these contradictions, the worse their situation, and the more painful their ultimate defeat will be.

## II. U.S. Outward Strength and Most Fundamental Weakness.

In view of this situation, why is the Vietnamese people's struggle against the American imperialists for national salvation at present bound to be long and hard but finally victorious? Why will the Vietnamese people not only certainly win but also gain time and secure even greater victories? Through a scientific analysis, the article supplies this key problem with an answer:

The U.S. imperialists are the international gendarme, the topmost imperialists, with the most powerful economic and military potential of all the imperialists. By taking a direct part in the aggressive war they hope to rely on their material strength to overcome all difficulties in manpower and politics, thereby to retrieve their predicament in the south. With a sizable expeditionary corps, which is to be eventually increased, they hope to give themselves new vantage grounds on the battlefields.

First, to strengthen their military force in general, especially their strategic mobile force, thereby tilting the balance of forces in their favor; second, to control important strategic areas and set up firm bases as springboards, to launch raids or attacks against the liberated areas; third, to build up their air force, develop their superiority in this arm to decimate our forces, and to strike deep into the liberated areas.

Their scheme is to prevent the collapse of the puppet army and administration, to launch offensives aimed at wiping out the southern revolutionary forces, to strive to consolidate the areas still under their control and gradually to carry out a pacification of key areas, to attack the liberated areas and to wrest back some of the lost areas, to seek every means to encircle and isolate the southern battlefield; meanwhile, to intensify the war of destruction against the north and carry on their deceptive peace negotiations campaign.

Banking upon a force of more than 700,000 men to be eventually increased, the American imperialists hope to realize their scheme by means of more radical and efficacious measures. They reckon that they can gradually win military and political successes, secure a position of strength to end the war with a solution favorable to them, or to prolong or expand the aggressive war when necessary.

The U.S. imperialists' design is very ambitious, their scheme most perfidious, and their military and political maneuvers extremely cruel and cunning. However, beside their definite strong points in material strength the American imperialists have most fundamental weak points in political and military fields, in both strategy and tactics.

First of all, the U.S. imperialists are the enemy not only of the Vietnamese people but also of the progressive people throughout the world. In the present situation as the socialist camp is growing, the national liberation movement surging, the workers movement in the capitalist countries, the movement for peace and democracy developing, and as on the other hand, the forces of imperialism are declining, the correlation of forces in the world shows that the American imperialists are not in a strong position but in a weak position and have to scatter their forces to cope with attacks from all quarters. That is precisely why they cannot send to the south whatever number of troops they like without reckoning with their difficulties in every field in the world or even in the U.S.A. and on the Vietnam battlefield.

The dispatch of an expeditionary corps for a direct invasion of our country is itself afflicted with most fundamental weak points they cannot overcome.

First, the sending of their troops directly to invade our country exposes all the clearer the U.S. imperialists' true colors as aggressors and their lackeys as traitors, whereby the contradiction between the American imperialists and our nation becomes all the sharper and fiercer. Stirred by their hatred for the aggressors, our entire people (are) broadly and firmly united within the national united front against the U.S. imperialists and their stooges. All patriotic forces are determined to fight for national salvation. Moreover, many Vietnamese in the enemy's temporarily controlled area, even in the puppet army and administration, in the parties and organizations under the sway of the U.S. puppets, so far unaware of the nature and scheme of the American imperialists and their minions, now begin to see the latter's true nature as aggressors and traitors.

Second, due to U.S. imperialists' dispatching of their troops to invade our country in the conditions when the strategy of their "special war" has fundamentally gone bankrupt while our people's patriotic war has developed with a very powerful mettle, the liberation armed forces have grown up and the liberated areas have included the major part of the southern population and territory. Though they may bring in hundreds of thousands of troops, they cannot avoid being driven into passivity in strategy, compelled to scatter their forces in the defensive as well as in the offensive, and cannot easily wrest back the initiative as they wish but instead face increasing failures and predicament.

Third, due to their above-mentioned loss of political and military initiative, no matter how modern its equipment, the American expeditionary corps cannot bring into full play its combativeness, and cannot escape the inevitable defeat which is likely to befall any aggressive army . . . facing a whole nation resolute to resist them. Due to the unjust character of its war, the U.S. expeditionary corps, deprived of an ideal to fight for, is possessed of a low morale. On the southern battlefield it has to cope with a people's war; its strategy and tactics based on the bourgeois military outlook are of no use. The organization, composition, and training of the American army in general are not fit to tackle our entire people's revolutionary war, aside from the great difficulties they meet with in a strange terrain and climate, and their very considerable needs in supply and logistics.

Fourth, the purpose of the U.S. imperialists' introduction of troops into the south is to prevent the collapse of the puppet army and administration and create new conditions to consolidate and strengthen the puppet forces; the U.S. imperialists directly invade the south of our country at a moment when the puppet army and administration are seriously weakening. In this situation the more direct the Americans' aggression, the more isolated and differentiated the puppet army and administration are, the greater the contradiction between the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, the more conscious those who have any national feeling among the puppet army and administration become, and the more numerous those who cross over to the people's side.

Consequently, American military buildup not only cannot retrieve the predicament of the puppet army and administration but instead speeds up the latter's collapse in the face of our people's resistance. When the American imperialists' crack troops are defeated by our people the disintegration and collapse of the puppet army and administration will be all the more inevitable.

Fifth, the U.S. imperialists, having started the war in the south, are more and more sternly condemned by the peace-loving people in the world. Now that they openly sent their troops for direct aggression against the south and use their air force to strike at the north, an independent and sovereign socialist state, they are meeting with increasing energetic opposition from the people of the socialist countries and the world's progressive people, including the American people.

The strong points of the U.S. imperialists are limited, whereas their weak points are basic ones. In the process of development of the aggressive war, the latter will become more and more visible and aggravated and will surely lead the American imperialists to ignominious failure.

### III. Decisive Factors of Our Victory

After dealing with the Vietnamese people's weaknesses in equipment and technique and in economic potential, the author points out the decisive factors of their ultimate victory:

1--The first factor is the party's correct revolutionary line. This line is the condensed expression of the clever and creative combination of Marxist-Leninist general principles with the concrete practice of our revolution. This is the line of the people's national democratic revolution progressing to socialism in a former semifeudal colony. Our party's line once was tested in our people's long and heroic revolutionary struggle and led our revolution from victory to victory. In the light of this line, the Vietnamese nation was the first colony to rise up and defeat the mighty army of an imperialist power--French imperialism--to liberate itself. The north of our country is also the first state to take the path of socialism in southeast Asia. Today our nation has the honor to be in the forefront of the fight against the chieftain of the imperialists--U.S. imperialism.

The above-mentioned correct line is also the line of revolutionary armed struggle of a small country which rises up and defeats an enemy many times stronger than itself. This is the line of people's war developed to a high degree with a creative and diverse content unknown in the annals of the national liberation struggle. A correct revolutionary line is the surest guarantee for our people's ultimate victory in their just struggle against the American imperialists for national salvation.

2--The second factor is the unity of all the people against the U.S. imperialists for national salvation; North and South are of the one mind in their determination to defeat the American aggressors and their lackeys, ready to make every sacrifice rather than lose their independence and be enslaved. This iron will reflects our entire people's tradition of indomitable resistance against foreign aggression. It has united our people, millions like one, resolute to fight to defend our country and secure independence, democracy, unity, and peace.

Our compatriots in the south have closed their ranks in the fire of the revolutionary struggle, fought throughout 20 long years, overcome countless difficulties, and braved a cruel enemy with a firm resolve to march forward, to fight, and to win. Today our people in the south have the national liberation front, a broad-based organization possessed of a correct line and a program and enjoying high prestige at home and abroad.

Our compatriots in the south, starting from spikebeards and mantis guns, have built up big and heroic liberation armed forces comprising three kinds of army, having a high combativeness as well as a skillful strategy and tactics, versed both in guerrilla warfare and large-unit actions, and credited with the wiping out of ever bigger units of both the puppet and American troops. The heroic liberation armed forces have developed everywhere and have been conducting ever more powerful operations on all battlefields of the south from the Ben Hai River to Ca Mau Cape, from the western plateaus to the delta countryside, and even in the vicinity of the big towns. At present the southern (liberated) zone includes the major part of the population and territory of the south. The front's policies are gradually being applied there, a new life under an independent and democratic regime is being built, and in fact the liberated zone has become the image of tomorrow's entirely liberated south.

Meanwhile, the people in the north of our country are steadily progressing to socialism with an ardent love for the fatherland and for socialism and with an unprecedented political and spiritual identity of mind. The north is not only a source of inspiration but also a firm rear for the struggle against the U.S. imperialists for national salvation of our entire people, endowed with an excellent political system and strong economic and national defense potential. This is a favorable condition which did not exist in our former resistance against the French imperialists.

Since the American imperialists extended their war of destruction to the north, our army and people there have stood up, fought resolutely, and inflicted initial defeats upon the enemy's war of destruction. In response to the call of the party Central Committee, the government, and President Ho Chi Minh, our people in the north have launched a movement against the U.S. imperialists for national salvation to carry out production while fighting, fight heroically in defense of the north, give wholehearted and all-out support to the liberation revolution in the south, and make a substantial contribution to the common victory of the whole nation.

The Vietnamese nation has always had a tradition of unity and unbending resistance against foreign aggression, but if we look back to its several thousand-year-old history as well as to the revolutionary struggle of the past years, we shall realize that never have the entire people united so firmly and broadly as today, never has the will to fight off aggression and defend the country been promoted to such a degree as today.

3--The third factor is the invincible people's war and the experience to lead this struggle. If one can say that at present in military affairs, apart from the great invention of atomic weapons, there is a greater invention, people's war, one can safely say that the Vietnamese people have contributed to the devising and the efficient wielding of such an invincible weapon. People's war in our country has developed in the historical, political, and social conditions of Vietnam and achieved a very high standard with an extremely varied content.

People's war in our country has developed according to the general laws of revolutionary war but also to the specific laws of the Vietnamese society and battlefield. Therefore, it is a nationwide and all-sided revolutionary war and at the same time a revolutionary war in a small nation, on a small territory, inhabited by a small population, having an underdeveloped economy relying on the strength of an entire people united in the struggle, which will finally worst an enemy originally many times stronger than itself.

People's war in Vietnam in general is a revolutionary armed struggle developing on the basis of the masses' political upsurge. Hence the revolutionary masses' boundless strength has pervaded the revolutionary armed forces and given them an extraordinary capacity to fight and to win. Moreover, the outstanding characteristic of the people's war in our country at the present stage is that, in the midst of the fighting, armed struggle and political struggle are very closely coordinated, mutually assisting, and interacting. Therefore the slogan "Mobilize the entire people, arm the entire people, and fight on all fronts" has become a most lively and heroic reality. Armed struggle in South Vietnam has budded forth from the political upsurge; and in guerrilla warfare or in limited regular warfare the operations of the armed forces have always been carried out in accordance with a principle--which is closest coordination with the political struggle--formerly in the scattered insurrections in the countryside as later on in the movement to destroy strategic hamlets, formerly in the uprising of millions of peasants in Nam Bo (South Vietnam proper) as recently in that of millions of peasants in south central Vietnam. (sentence as received)

Armed struggle in the south has another characteristic: in guerrilla warfare or in regular warfare, revolutionary armed struggle is fully capable of solving the question of getting the better of an enemy equipped with up-to-date weapons, as is the U.S. Army. In the south, not only can the regular army, but also the regional army and the militia and guerrillas wipe out American and puppet troops and foil their most modern tactics. This is a new development of the revolutionary military art, the main content of which is to rely mostly on man, on his patriotism and revolutionary spirit, to bring into full play all weapons and techniques available to defeat an enemy with highly modern weapons and equipment.

People's war in the north at present is also developing in the process of the heroic fight against the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction, in the movement among the army and people to down American planes and to turn our north into a vast battleground to counter and foil the enemy airstrikes and inflict heavy losses upon the U.S. imperialists' modern air force. They may attack more fiercely but they cannot by any means cut off our main communication lines, stop our people's productive activities, and still less shake their determination to oppose the American imperialists, save the country, defend the north, and give unqualified assistance to the south.

People's war in Vietnam is not only the product of our people's resolute and indomitable revolutionary struggle, but also that of the revolutionary struggle of the world's peoples in our times. People's war has led our nation to splendid victories in the resistance war against French colonialism, and has brought our people great successes both in the south and in the north these last years. Even if the U.S. imperialists beef up their expeditionary corps to hundreds of thousands, the great people's war of the Vietnamese nation will certainly outdo the aggressive war of the American imperialists.

4--The fourth factor is the warm sympathy and wholehearted support given us by the people of the brother socialist countries and the progressive people the world over, including the American people. Our people's struggle against the U.S. imperialists for national salvation aims not only at liberating a half of our country still enslaved but also at defending the socialist north. This great struggle is the frontline of progressive mankind against American imperialism. It is making a great contribution to the world peoples' revolutionary struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism. That is probably

why the brother socialist countries have given their unreserved support to the stand and line of struggle against the American imperialists for national salvation of our government and the NLFV and lent an all-out assistance to our people to defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressors. The working class and toiling people of the capitalist countries and the people of the newly independent countries also side with us and give us their sympathy and support.

At all great international conferences and recently at the Tricontinental Conference held in Havana, warm feelings and powerful encouraging words have been expressed for the Vietnamese people's fighting and stern (two-line passage indistinct) launched by the American people against the Johnson administration's aggression against Vietnam, is drawing ever broader strata, taking on bold forms such as self-immolation, burning of draft cards, holding up of the transport of troops to Vietnam . . . . This movement is spreading everywhere on an unprecedented scale. Never in the history of their revolutionary struggle have our people enjoyed such widespread and strong sympathy and support from abroad as today.

#### IV. What Facts Prove

After analyzing the strong points and the weak points, assessing the strength and capacities of the enemy and ourselves from the theoretical point of view, the article goes on:

The question is: Which--the U.S. imperialists who pursue an unjust aggression or our people who uphold a just cause--will win in the end? Our people or the American imperialists? Throughout the past 11 years, every time the U.S. imperialists launch a new aggressive scheme that same question is raised. The liberation struggle of the heroic southern people has supplied an eloquent answer: Whatever trick the American imperialists may resort to, they will inevitably fail in the end. And the fundamental law of (the) great patriotic struggle of our compatriots in the south throughout the various stages is: The further the U.S. imperialists and their flunkies engage in their scheme to enslave the south of our country, the deeper they sink in their morass and the greater their defeats; whereas the more determined the Vietnamese people's struggle, the greater their victories.

Today the question as to which will win in the south is more pressing than ever, for at the present juncture there has emerged a new factor: the introduction by the American imperialists of hundreds of thousands of troops. Can these massive reinforcements reverse the situation? Can the Vietnamese people, who have recorded many great successes in their just struggle, win new victories in the face of direct aggression by so modern an army as the U.S. imperialists? Can they defeat the American expeditionary corps?

. . . . If in the past when they brought Ngo Dinh Diem to power and began to realize the Collins plan or when they put forth the Staley-Taylor plan or the Johnson-McNamara plan the American imperialists had been extremely optimistic and reckoned that their dark design would be certainly achieved, today when they begin to send a huge expeditionary corps to the south they firmly believe that they could turn the tide. They were confident that within a short time, the pattern of the aggressive war would change, that with their crack divisions and brigades, their strategic and tactical air force, they were fully able to change the correlation of forces, set up solid defense positions, launch bold offensives, and push ahead their pacification with key points, thereby not only preventing the collapse of the puppet army and administration but also consolidating and strengthening their

stooges, the reactionary forces. The Pentagonians hastily declared that: At the very moment when big U.S. combat units were introduced into the south and the war was intensified, there were wide prospects of a quick victory. When their first military operations did not yet meet with any retaliation to speak of, they hastened to declare out of optimism that they had shifted to the offensive and compelled the southern liberation troops to disperse their forces and undertake only small formations. They also made dramatic preparations for attacks on all fronts in the coming dry season in order to wrest back the initiative and hold it more and more firmly, and drive the southern people into an ever more serious passive position.

However, reality has fallen short of the U.S. imperialists' expectations and purposes. From the point of view of general strategy on the southern battlefield, is the enemy applying a strategy of the offensive or that of the defensive? Is he following the strategy of lightning attack and lightning victory or that of protracted war? As regards operations on various battlefields, is he making his major efforts on the coastal battlefield where he can bring into full play the power of his technical weapons, or on the hinterland battlefield where he dreads most to face defeat?

Is he concentrating on the Nam Bo battlefield where lie great political and economic centers or on the western high plateaus regarded as an important strategic position? As regards coordination with the puppet troops, is he concentrating on independent operations, or on joint operations? Those are several strategic questions to which the enemy himself cannot give clear-cut answers, for the American expeditionary corps is embarking in a blind tunnel.

The most outstanding feature of the military situation (over the) past months is that not (only have the) southern liberation armed forces kept on stepping up guerrilla warfare, but they have also developed large-unit actions. If in the whole of 1965 they wiped out over (200,000) enemy troops, including over 50 battalions neatly destroyed, in the last five months, as large U.S. contingents landed in South Vietnam, the enemy casualties ran to more than 100,000 men, among them about 25 battalions put out of action wholesale, including five American infantry battalions and several American armored units.

This hard fact shows that despite the introduction of hundreds of thousands of troops, the U.S. imperialists cannot reverse the situation. In the face of the widespread and powerful development of the people's war, they have no other alternative than to spread thin their forces over all battlefields, cannot avoid being driven into the defensive, and find themselves unable to wrest back the initiative and bring into full play their troops' combativeness. The outstanding feature of the military situation on the southern battlefield is that not only have the southern Liberation Armed Forces successfully turned to account their (position) in which they can take the offensive since the Binh Gia victory (late December 1964-early 1965), but right after a big U.S. expeditionary corps has been introduced, the southern liberation armed forces are still holding the initiative and promoting their vantage-ground on an ever larger scale.

No wonder that McNamara and the American brasshats have expressed concern in the face of the heavy setbacks suffered by the expeditionary corps and now have declared that the war in Vietnam will be long, or that in case the U.S. Army attacks at all, it is only in sheer defense. This is not to mention the moral crisis of their army, which fears hand-to-hand fighting, leaves the wounded and the dead to their fate when hard pressed, throws away weapons and munitions when withdrawing; is afraid of the dense forest, of sun, of wind, of malaria, especially of the liberation fighters, and even of ordinary Vietnamese, including old women or children, so much so that an American general, speaking of the U.S. expeditionary corps, said that its upkeep was expensive but its combativeness poor. This is not to mention their great difficulties in logistics and supply, causing the American press to write: When the first combat units began to land in South Vietnam according to U.S. President Johnson's (?new) plan, signs of serious confusion in logistics also appeared. This daily growing confusion certainly aggravates U.S. economic and financial difficulties, the U.S. gold hemorrhage, and the effects of foreign competition in the world market.

At present it is evident that the American imperialists are at sea as far as military strategy is concerned. But what about tactics? Though the U.S. expeditionary corps has been fighting the liberation armed forces for only a short length of time, the latter have proved able to best their enemy's tactics.

The Van Tuong battle (August 1965) can be considered to be an Ap Bac for the American expeditionary corps. The United States had deployed a far superior force, crack troops supported by armored units, the Air Force, and the Navy, to attack a unit of the South Vietnam Liberation Army. The result was that, far from being wiped out, the liberation troops fought most valiantly and put out of action many enemy troops. The Van Tuong battle, which the American generals think can be linked to the fiercest World War II engagements, was a great victory of the southern army and people, foreshadowing the tactical failure of the U.S. expeditionary corps.

After it came Chu Lai and Da Nang (28 October 1965), Dat Choc (8 November), Bau Bang (12 November), Plei Me (19 October-12 November), Dong Duong (8-12 December), and many other battles in which many Americans and puppets were wiped out.

These resounding and repeated victories prove that:

The United States' most solid bases are not immune from attacks;

The American imperialists' crack infantry units such as those belonging to the First Infantry Division can be wiped out (and wiped out at the rate of one or several battalions in a single battle!);

The U.S. imperialists' crack air cavalry units such as those of the First Air Cavalry Division so much vaunted by the U.S. defense secretary can be put out of action;

The puppet units, though supported by the U.S. expeditionary corps, continue to be cut to pieces, not only by the battalion but by the combat groups, as at Plei Me, by the whole battalions in a single battle like at Dong Duong, or by the regiment as at Dau Tieng;

U.S. troops on the defensive or on the offensive can be wiped out not only by the liberation army, but also by the local army, the militia, and guerrillas.

The splendid exploits are accomplished at a time when the enemy is actively putting into use technical weapons, including B-52 strategic plans (in more than 100 sorties), while spraying chemicals to destroy vegetation and crops and, most savage enough, resorting to poison gases against us in a certain number of battles. They are achieved at the same time as the great feats performed by the northern army and people in their continued efforts to bring to nought the superiority of the U.S. modern air force and defeat the U.S. war of destruction against the north of our country.

The significance of these achievements in the wiping out of the U.S. puppets is that the liberation armed forces and people of the heroic south are fully able to put out of action crack units of the U.S. expeditionary corps, maintain and promote the initiative they have taken, and step up their attacks on all battlefields to win ever greater victories.

Their purport is that the strategy and tactics of people's war can and will certainly prevail over the strategy and tactics based on the rotten bourgeois military conception of the American troops. Their inference is that in theory as in practice, the people's war of the heroic Vietnamese nation will certainly win over the neo-colonialist aggressive war of the U.S. imperialists.

The great victories of our army and people in both zones since the American imperialists started a direct aggression against the south of our country have been mobilizing and greatly encouraging all our people and enthusiastically inspiring our friends in all continents. (Passage indistinct) U.S. imperialists are a cruel and (word indistinct) enemy with a great military potential, who is extremely obdurate and at the same time knows how to draw lessons from experience to contrive ever fiercer and ever more ruthless fighting methods. However, the living reality of the struggle against the American imperialists for national salvation during the past 11 years has brought home to our people and the people's armed forces in both zones that we shall certainly defeat the U.S. aggressors under any circumstances.

The heavy defeats of the American expeditionary corps right in its first actions on the Vietnam battlefield are causing to the U.S. imperialists and their valets many more difficulties, not only military but also political and economic. Far from improving, the situation of the puppet army and administration instead is deteriorating as it has lost faith in its masters' modern army. The antiwar movement in the United States is developing with (few words indistinct) internal contradictions among the Washington ruling circles are increasing.

In view of this situation, (?the) American imperialists are scheming to send more reinforcements to the south, beef up the U.S. expeditionary corps one and a half, two, or more times. They are plotting to intensify their aerial war of destruction against the north, while threatening to expand the war to neutralist Laos and Cambodia. U.S. President Johnson talks about taking hard steps in Vietnam. U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk also stressed: We will not withdraw from Vietnam for the United States must keep its commitments.

The American imperialists' familiar trick has been to couple the stepping up of their aggressive war with a ballyhoo about their good will for peace; this time, together with its preparations for new adventurist military moves, the U.S. administration opens a large-scale peace campaign. The Johnson administration's ("peace") efforts are only aimed at placating public opinion at home and abroad which has been energetically protesting against its aggressive policy.

However, whatever honeyed words the American aggressors may use, they cannot deceive the Vietnamese people and the peace-loving people throughout the world. There has not been the slightest change to the original design of the U.S. aggressors. They want to cling to South Vietnam and to keep Vietnam permanently partitioned. They refuse to withdraw their troops from the south and to recognize the NLFV as the sole genuine representative of the South Vietnamese people, they cynically arrogate to themselves the right to bomb and strafe the territory of the DRV, an independent and sovereign socialist state, and go to the length of demanding from the Vietnamese people compensation for the halt in the bombing of North Vietnam. The essence of the unconditional discussions hoax is to compel our people to accept the American aggressors' terms.

We must further heighten our vigilance over the enemy's perfidious scheme. We must step up our entire people's patriotic war, resolutely fight until victory, no matter how many hundreds of thousands of troops the U.S. imperialists may dispatch to Vietnam (?and how) far they may escalate their war (?of destruction) against (?the) north. Our people are determined not to shrink from any sacrifice to bring the great struggle against the American imperialists for (?national) salvation to final victory.

In the last part the General deals with the task of the northern people:

Our fatherland, our nation must mobilize the forces of the whole country to defeat the aggressors. . . . We must do all that is necessary to bring our struggle against the American imperialists for national salvation to a successful end.

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