THE U.S. IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION AND THE VICTORIOUS STRUGGLE OF OUR PEOPLE

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The revolutionary struggle of our people in the South has entered its 12th year. Over the past 11 years our people in the South have continually dealt decisive blows at the enemy. The "special war" initiated by the U.S. imperialists is being seriously defeated. Our revolutionary force has grown rapidly.

In the North, thanks to the Party’s correct leadership and to the courage of our army and people in fighting and in overcoming difficulties and hardship, the war of destruction waged by the enemy has been basically defeated.

At present, the U.S. imperialists are trying to step up their "special war" in South Vietnam to a higher extent, bringing in more American troops and troops of some of their satellite countries, and intensifying their air raids in the North of our country. At the same time, they have mobilized their big propaganda machine to announce imaginary "victories" and "peaceful negotiations" proposals in hopes of deceiving the American people and all peace-loving peoples throughout the world. But all this cannot save their deteriorating situation.

Shortly after World War II, the U.S. imperialists dreamed of conquering Vietnam and other Indochinese countries to materialize their long-range strategic scheme.

In 1950, after being pushed out of the Chinese mainland, and taking advantage of the weakening position of the French colonialists, the U.S. imperialists began to interfere in the affairs of Indochina in general and of Vietnam in particular. When the Korean War ended, they immediately increased their intervention in Indochina. On one hand, they gave aid to the French to continue and expand the war of aggression in Vietnam (from 1950 to 1954 they provided the French with 2,500 million dollars of aid) and on the other hand, they tried to kick out the French. With our great
victory in Dien Bien Phu we defeated both the French colonialists and the American interventionists. But after the signing of the Geneva agreements and the partitioning of our country, the U.S. imperialists took advantage of the situation to kick the French out in order to take over the Southern part of our country.

On 24 March 1964, President Johnson declared that the U.S. wants nothing but a return to the basic principles of the 1954 Geneva agreements. This is a ridiculous deceptive trick. The truth in the past 11 years has shown that while our government and people have always adhered to the Geneva agreements, the U.S. has brazenly and systematically undermined them.

The Geneva agreements stipulated that all participating countries must respect the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, and absolutely must not interfere in the internal affairs of these countries. Hardly was the ink on the agreements dry before Eisenhower, the then U.S. President, declared that "the U.S. did not take part in the resolutions of the conference, therefore it is not bound by them." And less than two months later, on 8 September 1954, the U.S. imperialists masterminded the establishment of the Southeast Asian military bloc, and placed South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos in the so-called "protection zone" of that bloc. On 12 February 1955, the U.S. imperialists decided to send General O'Daniel to South Vietnam to personally direct and supervise the reshaping and reorganization of the puppet army there. Since then, they have trampled upon our national sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity, threatened the independence and neutrality of the kingdom of Cambodia, and waged war in Laos, creating a very serious situation in Indochina and directly threatening peace in Southeast Asia and the world.

The Geneva agreements stipulated that Vietnam would be temporarily divided into two parts so as to make easier the cessation of hostilities and primarily to repatriate the French expeditory corps, that the military demarcation line at the 17th parallel would be only temporary and cannot be considered a political or territorial border, and that free elections would be held in July 1956 for the peaceful reunification of Vietnam. But the U.S. imperialists had completely ignored the agreements. They had ordered the Ngo Dinh Diem clique to hold a "referendum" at bayonet and gunpoint to oust Bao Dai, and swiftly kicked the French out so that they could completely take over. They had ordered their lackeys to establish the so-called "government of the Republic of Vietnam," hold separate and illegal elections to elect the puppet "national assembly" and to adopt the "constitution." More brazen was the fact that Ngo Dinh Diem, at the U.S. orders, did declare that "the American border spreads to the 17th parallel." The U.S. imperialists have intended to perpetuate the partition of our country and to turn the southern part of our country into their colony and military base.

The Geneva agreements stipulated that both sides should not carry out
acts of reprisal against individuals or groups for their activities in the war, and must guarantee democratic freedoms. But from the affairs of Ngan Son, Huong Dien, Vinh Trinh, Cho Duc to the poisoning of over 1,000 of our compatriots in the Phu Loi concentration camp, the U.S.-Diem clique -- hiding under their "anti-communist" cloak -- carried out numerous campaigns of terror to suppress those who had participated in the resistance war against the French and those who yearned for peace and democracy. Prisons and concentration camps, Law 10/59 and guillotines seen throughout the rural areas were symbols of their policy of terror and suppression. The truth was that disregarding the Geneva agreements, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys had carried out an unilateral war from 1954 to 1959 to destroy the revolutionary force and people in South Vietnam.

The Geneva agreements stipulated that no foreign troops, military personnel, war materials and weapons could be brought into Vietnam, that no foreign bases could be established on Vietnamese territory, and that neither side could join any military alliance and use it to wage war or to carry out aggression. The U.S. imperialists and the puppet administration have brazenly violated all these provisions. They have brought into South Vietnam many American military "advisors", weapons and war materials, built air bases and naval bases and strategic roads, and strengthened their lackeys' army by establishing military corps, etc. with the purpose of turning South Vietnam into their military base and jumping board to attack North Vietnam and the socialist camp.

These brazen violations of the military provisions of the Geneva agreements are part of their plan to carry out a "special war" in the South and to wage a war of destruction in the North. As everybody knows, as the world situation is developing in favor of the revolutionary force and against American-headed imperialism, the U.S. imperialists have been forced to change their military strategy from a purely offensive strategy of "mass attack" and "mass retaliation" to an offensive-defensive strategy of "flexible response." Especially since 1961 when Kennedy took over "flexible response" has become the guiding strategy of the U.S. imperialists. The strategy of "flexible response" affirms three forms of war: world war, local war, and "special war."

The undeclared war carried out by the U.S. imperialists in South Vietnam over the past years is a "special war," "Special war" is a war of aggression in line with the U.S. imperialists' neo-colonialism in South Vietnam. From O'Daniel's "Marching North" plan to the Staley-Taylor plan of waging "special war," the U.S. imperialists have taken another step on the path of armed aggression against our country, brazenly violating the Geneva agreements.

From the U.S. imperialists' views, in the "special war" in South Vietnam American troops can participate to a certain extent, but the principal military force is their lackeys' army equipped, financed and armed by the U.S., trained and commanded by the U.S. through the system of "advisors."
As a result, the U.S. imperialists have paid special attention to increasing the number of puppet troops. In the past few years, through numerous demagogic tricks and suppressive measures, they had increased the number of puppet troops from 270,000 in 1961 to 560,000 at the end of 1964, and at present they are trying to increase it by 160,000 more men. In addition to such an increase of troops, the U.S. imperialists have brought into South Vietnam hundreds of thousands of tons of weapons and ammunitions, hundreds of tanks and armored cars, hundreds of planes of all types to equip the puppet army -- their main tool in the "special war." They have also brought into South Vietnam more and more American officers and troops to tighten the control over the puppet army and to direct it to serve their long-range strategic scheme. From 200 American "advisors" of the MAAG mission, which had been established during the resistance war to direct their "aid" to the French, the U.S. military force increased to 26,000 men at the end of 1961; at present it has increased to 90,000, and it may increase further in the future. To take direct control over the puppet army, the U.S. imperialists on 8 February 1962 set up their military command in Saigon headed by General Harkins (who was replaced by Westmoreland late in 1964) and they are now trying to speed up the establishment of the joint U.S.-Vietnam command.

From the U.S. viewpoint, in the "special war" in South Vietnam, apart from bringing money, weapons and war materials from the U.S. to there, they have also used the policy of "using Vietnamese to fight against Vietnamese," as well as demagogic tricks and coercion to separate the masses from the revolution and to take our people's money and properties to finance their war of aggression. Thus, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have considered "grouping" the people into "strategic hamlets" as a very important strategy, their national policy and the backbone of their "special war." Their purpose in building "strategic hamlets" is to snatch from us our people and money in rural areas, turn our strength into theirs and "eliminate the sources of guerrilla warfare, which are the peasants in rural areas and the minority groups in the highlands." According to their estimate, from July 1961 to December 1962, they would complete 16,000 "strategic hamlets" in a total of 17,000 villages in South Vietnam, transforming the rural areas and highlands in the South into a giant military camp with more than 10 million people in it. To materialize such a plan, they have used every savage means, including napalm bombs, rockets, chemical poisons and poisonous gases; they have used every tactical means, from helicopters to armored cars, from aircraft to artillery, to carry out thousands of small and big mopping-up operations, killing thousands of people. Their purpose is to completely destroy the people's revolutionary force and to drive the people into "strategic hamlets."

In carrying out their "special war" in the rural areas and highlands of South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have considered cities their safe rear. As a result, they have strived to consolidate cities by first strengthening the puppet administration and city defense, tightly controlling religious sects and political parties which have not sided with them, terrorizing and suppressing the working people, students
and intellectuals, and denying the masses of their most fundamental rights. In addition to such fascist acts, they have ceaselessly used their old-fashioned psychological tricks to persuade city youths to become their mercenaries.

The main points of support of the U.S. imperialists in their "special war" in South Vietnam are the puppet army, the puppet government, the "strategic hamlet" and the city. In the face of the rising revolutionary movement of the masses, these points of support are collapsing. The puppet army is being disintegrated. The puppet government is in a perpetual crisis with coups d'état breaking one after another. Four fifths of the "strategic hamlets" are destroyed. Cities are seething with revolutionary movements. The Staley-Taylor plan was completely bankrupted. The McNamara-Nguyen Khanh plan suffered the same fate. Faced with this situation, the Johnson administration had to decide on a new and more adventurous scheme aimed at stepping up the "special war" in South Vietnam to a higher extent and expanding the war to the North in the form of air raids.

In South Vietnam, since 19 February 1965, the U.S. imperialists have used their aircraft from their 7th fleet and from their air bases in Guam to make direct bombing raids against our liberated areas and revolutionary bases. They have brought more American troops and also troops of their satellite countries into South Vietnam to take over strategic bases such as Da Nang, Phu Bai, Chu Lai, Quy Nhon, Nha Trang, Vung Tau, etc. with the purpose of raising the deteriorating morale of the puppet army and at the same time suppressing the revolutionary movement in cities. On March 8th and 9th, 1965, the first unit of the U.S. Marine Brigade landed on Da Nang. In May, the entire U.S. 3rd Marine Division and one U.S. Airborne Brigade arrived in South Vietnam. And Johnson has recently decided to increase the number of American troops in South Vietnam to 120,000 and more in the future. Apart from their air force which has been already in Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists have mobilized a large part of their 7th fleet air force and part of their strategic air command in the Pacific to carry out bombing and strafing missions in South Vietnam. To materialize their plan of internationalizing their war of aggression in the South, Korean-war-type, the U.S. imperialists have brought into South Vietnam 2,000 South Korean puppet troops, one Australian battalion and numerous military personnel from New Zealand, Thailand, Taiwan and Britain, etc. under the cloak of "technical assistance to the South Vietnamese puppet army. And in the future they may bring in more. A number of U.S. troops have started to participate in mopping-up operations in the South. Thus, from bringing in only "advisors" to bringing in units of U.S. troops, from bringing in only U.S. troops to bringing in satellite troops, from playing only the so-called "defensive role" to using U.S. troops and satellite troops in mopping-up operations, the U.S. imperialists and their accomplices have taken another dangerous step in their aggression in South Vietnam.

Trying to get themselves out of their jam in the South, the U.S. imperialists have expanded the war to the North of our country in the form of
airs raids since 5 August 1964, especially since 7 February 1965. Their war provoking acts have a relatively long history. Back in 1961, with their Staley-Taylor plan, the U.S. imperialists began to infiltrate in the North several groups of special agents directly trained by them. In the past four years, they infiltrated 60 groups of special agents in the North but all these groups could not escape from our vigilant people. After failing in their attempt to infiltrate special agents they have since the middle of 1964 turned to using special gunboats to shell our coastal areas and using aircraft to bomb and strafe the North in their so-called "escalation" policy. From the Gulf of Tonkin affair on 5 August 1964, from what they called "retaliation" for their defeats in the South in the spring of 1965 to carrying out continuous air raids against the North; from bombing and strafing "limited targets" in certain areas to carrying out bombing raids on a larger scale against more targets... the U.S. imperialists have taken more adventurous steps, systematically waging their war of destruction in the North - a part of their "special war" strategy in South Vietnam. They have used their most modern aircraft from their 7th fleet, from air bases in South Vietnam and from Thailand to carry out bombing raids against the North of our country. They have used bombs of all sizes, rockets, 20mm shells, napalm bombs, radar-controlled air-to-ground missiles... to massacre our people and destroy socialist construction in the North. A more serious crime was committed by them on 25 April 1965 when they dropped chemical poisons on Con Co. They have bombod and strafed indiscriminately hospitals and schools, bus terminals and markets, churches and pagodas, towns and villages in the North. Their bloody crimes committed in Tu Tru market, Quynh Lap leprosium, and in many other places have made our people seething with hatred for them.

The truth in the past 11 years has eloquently shown that it was the U.S. imperialists who have undermined the Geneva agreements, carried out armed aggression against the South, committed brazen acts of war, shamelessly violated the sovereignty and territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and committed countless crimes on our soil, in violation of all international laws and most fundamental moral principles, and in spite of protests made by all peace-loving peoples in the world. This truth has destroyed all their deceitful statements on what they called "a return to the basic principles of the Geneva agreements", "a peaceful solution in Vietnam!", "unconditional discussions," etc. The U.S. imperialists are the mortal enemy of our people and of the peoples of Indochina, and constitute the serious threat to peace in Indochina, Southeast Asia and the world.

The truth in the past 11 years has also demonstrated that since the end of the Indochinese war the U.S. imperialists' plot has always been to increase their intervention in the internal affairs of Indochinese countries and to transform these countries into their new colonies and military bases. Therefore it is not surprising that they have blatantly declared that they intend to stay in South Vietnam, to strengthen their "aid" to their lackeys in order to suppress the revolutionary movement, and to do whatever necessary to attain their goals in South Vietnam.
Our people in South Vietnam are determined not to be enslaved by the U.S. imperialists and are resolved to take arms to fight against the U.S. imperialists to liberate the South and to achieve national reunification. The entire Vietnamese people are determined to fight to the end against the U.S. imperialists to defend the North, liberate the South and achieve the national democratic revolution.

The Vietnamese revolution is strongly developing and is in an offensive position. The offensive position of the Vietnamese revolution is the common position of all revolutions in Southeast Asia where the strongest revolutionary storms in the world are brewing. Southeast Asia is boiling with anti-imperialist revolutionary movements. It is in Southeast Asia that the anti-U.S. movement is developing strongly and that the vanguard banner of armed struggle for national liberation is flying high. It is here that the U.S. imperialists have been and are being defeated. The anti-U.S. movement and the determination to defeat the U.S. are the common spirit of all Southeast Asian peoples. Southeast Asian peoples are determined to crush any aggression by U.S.-headed imperialism and to wipe it out of their countries. This is the historic mission of the people of Southeast Asia in this period. The Vietnamese people, an integral part of the people of Southeast Asia, are determined to raise high the banner of "being determined to defeat the U.S. aggressors. They have fulfilled and are fulfilling that glorious mission.

Our people's present glorious task is to fight the U.S. for national salvation. The people in the South as well as the people in the entire country have no illusion about the U.S. imperialists. Through their own personal experiences and through the experiences of their ancestors, our people have learned that liberating the South is a long and hard revolutionary struggle. The people in the South have been persistently carrying out their political struggle, demanding correct implementation of the Geneva agreements and asking for democratic freedoms, improvement of living standards and peaceful reunification of the country. Their class struggle has been taking place under very difficult conditions. They have to fight against the U.S., leader of all imperialist countries. The puppet government of South Vietnam is the principal tool of the U.S. imperialists. It has a vengeful mind and is determined to destroy completely the revolutionary force, therefore it has set up a totalitarian and cruel regime, carried out a policy of suppression by force and relied upon its secret police for its survival. The people in the South, along with the people in the entire country, had been experiencing a long struggle for national liberation, leading the August Revolution to success and establishing the people's democratic regime. They had been experiencing 9 years of resistance against the French colonialists and the U.S. interventionists to protect the results of the revolution. As a result, they have accumulated lots of experiences in political and military struggle, and they have learned that only by rallying the people to fight in accordance with a correct line will they be able to win over the enemy of the people. Thus, starting with their
bare hands with no government and armed forces, the people in the South had been persistently fighting against the U.S. - Diem clique for self-liberation. The use of terror and violence by the enemy cannot extinguish the fighting will of the heroic people in the South. It can only arouse the deep class hatred and the revolutionary flame. Through new challenges, the revolutionary movement in the South has still been firmly maintained and developed.

From 1954 through 1959, the U.S.-Diem clique had carried out an unilaterally war to destroy the revolutionary forces. The people in the South had been experiencing their darkest days, standing between life and death. They had to make a choice: either crossing their arms and be destroyed by the enemy or taking up weapons and destroy the enemy. With their inherent fighting spirit and experiences, they had stood up to carry out partial armed aggression in the rural areas, wage guerrilla war to protect the revolutionary force and begin to build revolutionary bases and liberated areas inside the enemy's zones. Since the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam was established (20 December 1960) the revolution in the South has made a new step forward, and changed from a political struggle to a combined political-military struggle. The people in South Vietnam have used revolutionary war to fight against the U.S. aggression war.

Waging revolutionary war to fight against the U.S. imperialist "special war;" the people in South Vietnam have to attack the enemy's points of support which are the puppet army, puppet government, "strategic hamlets" and cities. The people in the South have to cope with a materially and technically strong force of the enemy, which includes half a million puppet troops armed, trained and commanded by the U.S., one fourth of the total number of U.S. officers, tens of thousands of U.S. troops and satellite troops, thousands of aircraft of all types, hundreds of tanks and armored cars. The people in the South are inferior in materials, equipment and technology, but have an absolute political and moral superiority. In a war where the weak fights the strong, the people in the South have developed to a very high extent their basic strength, taken good advantage of the enemy's political and moral weaknesses, used rudimentary weapons to fight against modern war materials, strived to wear down and destroy the enemy's strength, attacked the enemy in every field -- primarily in the military and political fields -- so that the enemy will become tired and discouraged. Such a fighting process is a process of changing the balance of power in our favor. The more we fight the stronger we are, the more the enemy fights the weaker he is. Thus, the South Vietnamese revolutionary war is a long, all-out and national war combining political struggle with armed struggle, and is carried out flexibly.

Over the past few years, thanks to this correct guidance, the South Vietnamese revolutionary war has developed more strongly.

Political struggle -- one of the two basically decisive factors in the revolution in the South -- is increasingly developing in the rural areas and has spread to the cities, igniting the flame of struggle in cities.
The movement in cities, with workers and working people as hard core, is attracting millions and millions of people of all strata, including those who formerly were on the enemy's side. With its various forms it aims at achieving the political objectives of the Front, which are "independence, democracy, peace, neutrality and national reunification." Today, cities are no longer the enemy's safe rear in his "special war." They have become the battlefronts of the revolutionary force. In cities, coups d'etat have broken out one after another, and the puppet central government of the enemy is in a perpetual crisis. Along with the large movement of more than 10 million people in the rural areas and highlands, the movement in cities has become a decisive factor for the ultimate victory of the revolution in the South. The South Vietnamese political struggle has actively contributed to wearing down, destroying and annihilating the enemy force, and to defeating the enemy's strategic schemes one by one.

The armed struggle, carried out along and closely combined with the political struggle, is the basic form of struggle of the revolution in the South. It plays a direct and decisive role. Armed struggle is the common task of the 14 million heroic people in the South, with the peasants' armed forces as hard core.

In essence, the armed struggle of the people in the South is a highly developed guerilla war which at present is changing gradually and steadily to regular warfare. Guerilla warfare in South Vietname has played an increasingly important role. It is a form of armed revolt carried out by the peasants to take over the base-level administration, to destroy the enemy oppression in rural areas, to liberate the land and to establish revolutionary bases. It is a bitter and fierce war against the enemy. Its primary content is to continuously attack the enemy by any means, in any place and at any time in order to oppose the enemy's suppression, restore the right to live for the people and defend the people and the land against mopping-up operations by the enemy.

Over the past few years, the people in South Vietnam have used every rudimentary weapons such as spikes, mines, traps and even wasps, etc. and also weapons captured from the enemy to fight against the enemy, turning their guerilla war into a sea of fire destroying the aggressors and traitors, and scoring ever greater victories.

The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have relied upon their modern weapons to carry out their war of aggression. They hope to use the power of their weapons and materials to crush the fighting will of the South Vietnamese people. But they have miscalculated. The army and people in the South not only are not afraid of the U.S. imperialists' most modern weapons, but they have also made frontal attacks against the enemy forces. Since 1961 the army and people in the South have shot down or damaged thousands of enemy aircraft and destroyed hundreds of enemy tanks and armored cars. The U.S. imperialists have relied upon their modern and highly mobile...
The army and people in the South have continuously attacked and destroyed the enemy's strategic roads, cut off his routes of supply and reinforcements, and put him into a defensive position. The U.S. imperialists have relied upon their modern aircraft which they consider their most powerful means to launch massive operations against the liberated areas of the people in the South. The army and people in the South, with their bravery, good ruses and bold actions, have made attacks on the enemy air bases. From November 1964 to June 1965, within 7 months, the army and people in the South have made 18 attacks on the enemy's air bases, destroying hundreds of aircraft of all types and killing hundreds of American aggressors. From sniping and around the clock harassment to massive attacks in Nui Thanh, Chu Lai and the bombing of the U.S. embassy in Saigon...the South Vietnamese Liberation Army has dealt decisive blows at the American aggressors, causing greater confusion and fear among them. The guerrilla war of the people in the South has been scoring great victories. This is because "its great energy is the unlimited political strength of the people and because it originates from and develops on the basis of the people's strong political force..." (1)

The revolutionary war of the people in the South is not limited to guerilla warfare. It has begun to develop into conventional warfare and is combined closely with conventional warfare.

The battle of Ap Bac early in 1963 marked a first important step in this direction. In this battle 200 guerilla fighters courageously fought against 2,000 enemy troops, defeated the enemy's mopping-up operations, killed 450 enemy troops, shot down and damaged 17 enemy aircraft and destroyed 3,113 amphibious cars. If before the battle of Ap Bac, the army and people in the South could kill only from 30 to 40 enemy troops in one single attack, today they can defeat 10 to 20 times these numbers and can put out of action from 400 to 500 enemy troops. If before the battle of Ap Bac our army and people in the South had to make hit-and-run attacks, today they can fight continuously for days against the enemy who is supported by aircraft and artillery. The battle of Ap Bac has opened the phase of attacking the enemy helicopters and armored cars in order to move on to completely defeating the enemy's strategy of "using helicopters and armored cars" in mopping-up operations.

Since the battle of Ap Bac, our army and people in South Vietnam have been strong enough to break off any large mopping-up operations of the enemy involving from 4 to 5 battalions; they have shot down many enemy aircraft, destroyed several armored cars and basically defeated the enemy "strategic hamlets" plan.

1964 was the year marking the new growth of the people's armed forces.

(1) Le Duan: The Proletariat and the Problem of Peasantry in the Vietnamese Revolution, Su That Publisher, Hanoi, 1965, page 211
Their combat ability has been clearly improved. Their commonplace rate of destruction of the enemy is from one company to one battalion. Coordination between the battlefronts of Binh-Tri-Thien, Interzones 5 and Nam Be has been closer. The armed forces have successfully fulfilled their role and gradually taken back the military initiative from the enemy. From breaking up the enemy’s mopping-up operations in Thanh Phu, Binh Trung, Thuong Phuoc, to setting up ambushes in Ploi-Krong, Cai Be...from attacking the enemy’s positions and "strategic hamlets" in An Lao to the battles of Vinh Thuan, Long iy, Vi Thanh, route 19...the army and people in the South have proved that not only they are good in breaking up mopping-up operations but they have also the ability to making sudden attacks, ambushes...

Changing from guerilla warfare to conventional warfare is a process of changing both quality and quantity by sudden transformations. The battle of Binh Gia was typical of such a sudden change. In other words, the battle of Binh Gia opened the phase of conventional warfare of the revolutionary armed forces in the South. The battle of Binh Gia, in fact, consisted of continuous attacks against the enemy reinforcements, which lasted for more than a week; in this battle, 2 entire battalions and two-thirds of 2 other battalions of the enemy were annihilated, 1,500 enemy troops were put out of action, and 42 enemy aircraft were shot down or damaged. After the battle of Binh Gia, the people’s armed forces in the South have fought many battles which were well known all over the world such as the battles of Deo Nhong, Ba Gia, Dong Xoai, etc. Not only the people's armed forces are good in small attacks but they are also good in massive attacks such as those in Viet An, Nui Thanh, Phuong Long, Hai Yen, Dong Xoai, Le Thanh, Toumerong, Bagia (second time), Dakto, etc...Since the battle of Binh Gia, the people's armed forces in South Vietnam have made impressive progress. They have greater ability in concentrating their forces and in destroying the enemy’s strength. In 1964 they could only destroy one enemy company in one single battle, but today they can destroy the enemy’s battalion-size main force, and in some cases they have destroyed up to 4 enemy battalions. They have developed rapidly their technical, tactical and commanding ability. Their good fighting tactics and their highly developed traditions of night fighting, close fighting and continuous attack have caused great confusion and fear among the puppet troops and the U.S. aggressors. The people’s armed forces in the South have taken initiative in almost any battle front and their activities are better coordinated. They can fight at any time and in any place. They attack where the enemy is weak and also where the enemy is strong, driving the enemy into a defensive position. Through conventional warfare, they have greater ability to destroy the enemy’s strength and to speed up the disintegration of the puppet army. In the first 7 months of 1965, the army and people in the South have put out of action nearly 115,000 enemy troops, including 25 battalions, 126 companies and 423 platoons that were completely annihilated. Based on guerilla warfare, conventional warfare is developing more strongly. It is closely combined with guerilla warfare; it encourages guerilla warfare to move forward, steps up the movement of destroying "strategic hamlets" and the popular movement in cities, and heightens the combat ability of local troops and guerilla fighters.
The stronger the revolutionary war in the South develops, the faster it steps up the expansion of the liberated areas and revolutionary bases, and the destruction of the enemy's "strategic hamlets." Today, the enemy's "strategic hamlet" system has already been destroyed up to four fifths. Three fourths of the South have been liberated along with more than 10 million people. The main characteristic of the liberated area of South Vietnam is that it has a nature of mutual defense between the highlands and the delta, between the delta and the coastal region linking Quang Tri to Ca Mau, and that it is being gradually formed into a good safe rear. In this large liberated area, the national united bloc centers on the National Front for Liberation of South Vietnam on the basis of a broader and more solid peasant-worker alliance. The people's armed forces have been developing more strongly. The land problem has been successfully solved. Over the past few years, the National Front for Liberation has distributed 2 million hectares of land to the peasants. As a result the agricultural economy has been restored and is developing strongly. The peasants' living standards have been constantly improved. Mass education is being stepped up. Culture is developing, and the society is changing. The large liberated rural area, like a steel belt, is tightly surrounding the cities. The already unstable cities are becoming more unstable.

The revolutionary war of the people in the South, with its combined political and military struggle, has great strength. It has basically defeated the national "strategic hamlet" plan of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. It has wiped out the puppet administration at base-level and is driving the puppet central government into a serious crisis. It has especially speeded up the disintegration of the puppet army. The puppet army in South Vietnam is the U.S. imperialists' principal tool in their "special war." It was a supplementary part of the former French Expeditionary Corps and had suffered the same defeat with the French colonialists. Since 1954 it has been taken over, reorganized and strengthened by the U.S. imperialists. In spite of its "modernization" by the U.S. imperialists it will certainly be disintegrated in ideology as well as in organization and will be destroyed under the attack of the revolutionary force in the South. The desertion rate among puppet troops is increasing. Mass desertion is also increasing and is appearing among puppet junior officers. Defeatism and loss of fighting determination are spreading among the puppet troops. On the other hand, a majority of puppet troops are children of working people in the South with more or less patriotism in their blood. They have begun to realize clearly the cunning tricks and cruel crimes of the U.S. imperialists and their reactionary lackeys. They have seen the shame of a people whose country is being enslaved, and of those who sell out the country in order to protect their own interests... Their nationalistic spirit and their patriotism are being aroused therefore they have stood up bravely to fight against the U.S. imperialists under various forms. From joining hands with the masses and pledging not to take part in any mopping-up operations to opposing orders to carry out mopping-up operations, their struggle is becoming stronger than just killing their cruel commanders and U.S. advisors. Eventually, as the army and people in the South score greater victories, the anti-U.S. movement among the puppet troops will
certainly become stronger. The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys will certainly carry out stronger measures to suppress this movement. But this will only drive the puppet troops faster into the revolutionary side. The slogan "Peasants, Workers, Soldiers, Let's Unite!" put out by the Front has encouraged more and more puppet troops to return to the people's side and to turn back their weapons against the U.S. aggressors.

The problem of desertion and mutiny among the puppet troops is really the problem of a deep national and class struggle. It reflects the ever increasing contradictory between our people and the U.S. imperialists. Whatever number of troops the U.S. bring into South Vietnam, they can never prevent the disintegration of the puppet army and can never crush the increasing opposition of the puppet troops. On the contrary they can only increase the opposition and make the puppet army collapse faster.

The revolutionary war of our people in the South is scoring great victories. The U.S. imperialists' "special war" is being seriously defeated. The U.S. imperialists are the number one aggressor. They will never cease to carry out new plans and schemes in hopes of saving their failure. But however cunning and evil their schemes are, and even if they bring into South Vietnam 100,000 or 200,000 or 300,000 or more troops and turn their "special war" into a local war, the people in South Vietnam will still defeat them. The people's war will certainly defeat the aggressor's war. Reality has proved this. The revolutionary force of the people in the South is the invincible force on the battlefront of South Vietnam.

The South is winning, so is the North. By waging a war of destruction against the North, the U.S. imperialists hope to use their powerful weapons combined with their "psychological war" to sow pessimism and illusion of peace among our people, to weaken our armed forces and national defense, and to destroy our socialist material and technical bases in the North, thus weakening the fighting determination of our entire people. From there they hope to reduce and eventually cut off the support of the North to the South, and isolate the South so that they can extinguish the revolutionary war in the South. By making air raids against the North they also hope to raise the deteriorating morale of the South Vietnamese puppet army and government. They also hope to weaken our people's determination to defeat the U.S. pirates, weaken the fighting strength of the revolutionary force in the South, save their desperate situation in their "special war," and strengthen their position so that they can solve the problem of South Vietnam in their favor.

By waging the war of destruction against the North, the U.S. imperialists have taken another step in their dangerous "escalation" policy aimed at carrying out their strategic scheme. By waging the war of destruction against the North of our country, the U.S. imperialists have directly provoked and attacked the socialist camp, violated the sovereignty of an independent country and the honor of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and created a new threat to peace in Southeast Asia and the world.
The people in the North are not afraid of the enemy's air power and are determined not to be deceived by the enemy's "psychological warfare." Deeply hating the enemy, the people in the North are determined to defeat the U.S. aggressors. Through their guns and their firm productive hands, our people's armed forces and our entire people have shown their deep hatred for the U.S. aggressors. With weapons in hands, our people are striving to destroy the enemy. Millions of youths have been ready to join the people's armed forces, ready to go to the battlefronts to fight the U.S. aggressors for national salvation, and ready to join the Vanguard Youth Corps to serve combat and production. Millions of women participating in the "three responsibilities" movement have developed to a high extent their role as heads of families, gradually replacing their men in taking charge of rear work and in serving combat. Workers, collective farmers, socialist intellectuals and students, all have been striving to step up production and to be ready for combat. The building of the socialist economy has been stepped up. National defense has also been strengthened. The masses' activities have been gradually changed into regular wartime activities. The entire Party and people have been persistently striving to overcome temporary difficulties caused by the enemy, and are moving forward to score new victories with an iron like determination. Our people's strength is the strength of our love for the country and for socialism, the strength of a deep hatred for the enemy, the strength of those who have a high sense of organization and collectivism, the strength of socialism in the North, the strength of 17 million people united around the Party. With this strength, our people will certainly win over the U.S. aggressors. Not only our people's determination to defeat the U.S. aggressors is unshakable but it is now stronger than ever. Waging their war of destruction in the North, the U.S. imperialists certainly can neither save their defeat in the South nor stop the development of the revolution in the South. On the contrary they will only step up further the revolution in the South, increase the unity between the North and the South, induce the people in both the North and the South to cooperate more closely and to give stronger support to each other in their anti-U.S. fight for national salvation, and lead the U.S. imperialists themselves faster to a complete defeat.

By waging the war of destruction in the North, the U.S. imperialists can neither strengthen the morale of the puppet army and government in the South. The puppet army is seriously disintegrating. The more violent and fascist the puppet government becomes, the faster it isolates itself and collapses. Meanwhile the people's democratic government in the North is becoming stronger than ever and can crush any opposition from inside and outside. Although the U.S. imperialists have mobilized a large part of their air force from their 7th fleet and from their airbases in South Vietnam and Thailand to carry out bombing raids against the North, they have failed to achieve their planned objectives. The enemy's war of destruction has been basically defeated the our people's war.

Fighting the U.S. for national salvation is our national just cause. It is associated with the task of defending socialism, with the struggle
for national liberation of the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America, with the revolutionary struggle for democracy and a better life of the working people in capitalist countries, and with the fight against the U.S. for protection of world peace. The Vietnamese people are the task force of the world people's front fighting against the common enemy which is U.S.-headed imperialism. As a result, our people's anti-U.S. fight for national liberation has the approval and support of all friendly peoples in the world, including the American people. The U.S. imperialists are isolated more than ever. Our people's revolutionary struggle -- with its great victories in the past 11 years -- has demonstrated that in this age a nation, however small and weak, can certainly defeat any imperialist, including the U.S., if it is united, dares to wage the people's war against aggression, and has a correct leadership and good stratagems. Our people's revolutionary struggle has also demonstrated that the U.S. imperialists are materially and technologically strong but morally and politically weak, and that the revolutionary force is fully able to drive them back step by step, break them apart and then defeat them completely.
The U.S. imperialists are continuously and systematically carrying out their war of destruction against the North of our country. Their war of destruction against the North of our country has been continuously expanded. In 1961, carrying out their Staley-Taylor plan along with making efforts to "pacify" the South, the U.S. imperialists sent their spies and special agents to the North for sabotage, but these spies and special agents were all annihilated by the army and people in the North. In the middle of 1964, the U.S. imperialists ordered their aircraft to bomb and strafe a number of areas close to the border of Laos, and their warships to bombard and shell a number of our islands off the coast. On 5 August 1964, they fabricated the so-called "Gulf of Tonkin affair" as an excuse to attack a number of areas along the coast in the North. This was a brazen act of war against a sovereign country, in violation of international laws. By creating the 5 August 1964 incident, the U.S. imperialists wanted to probe our strength and world reaction and to prepare conditions for waging their war of destruction against the North. Their act of war of 5 August 1964 was appropriately punished. The victory of 5 August 1964 was the first of our army and people in the anti-U.S. fight for national salvation.

Late in 1964 and early in 1965, the U.S. imperialists met with heavy defeats in the South. To avoid a complete defeat in the South they foolishly waged their war of destruction against the North. Since 7 February 1965 they have continuously and systematically carried that war of destruction by air force and partly by naval force. With their "escalation" policy they have gradually intensified and expanded their war of destruction. From the
18th, 19th then 20th and 21st parallels, their aircraft have intruded deeper into our air space, making bombing raids deeper into our territory. Their war of destruction is now being carried out on a larger scale and more fiercely.

Why have the U.S. imperialists carried out their war of destruction against the North of our country? What is the nature of that war? What are the goals of the U.S. imperialists in carrying out such a war? The U.S. imperialists waged their war of destruction against the North of our country because they have met with serious failures in the South. They waged this war in hopes of solving their dilemma in the South. So, their war of destruction in the North is part of their "special war" in the South. At the same time it may be their first step to wage a local war in the North. It prepare for a local war in the North if the U.S. imperialists dare to risk such a war. It is also part of their war to enslave the South and it may also be their first step in waging a war to enslave the North. As a result, it is an aggressive and causeless war in nature. This war of destruction aims at serving the common objective of the U.S. imperialists, which is to take over the South and turn it into a colony. Concretely, it aims at the three following major goals:

1- To weaken the determination of our people in the anti-U.S. fight for national salvation.

2- To prevent the people in the North from giving support to the self-liberation struggle of the people in the South.

3- To strengthen the seriously deteriorating morale of their lackeys in the South.

To achieve these major goals, the U.S. imperialists have bombed and strafed our communications systems, depots, factories, collective farms, dams, etc. in hopes of weakening the economy and national defense of the North. Not only have they bombed and strafed our military positions but they have also indiscriminately bombed and strafed populated areas, hospitals, schools, etc. in hopes of sowing death and terror among our people. In addition to these air raids, they have dropped leaflets, issued deceptive statements and carried out a "psychological warfare" along with their war of destruction in hopes of weakening our people's determination to fight the U.S. for national salvation.

Developments occured in our country since February 1965 have been completely contrary to the U.S. aggressors' mad intentions. Having the habit of bullying small and weak nations, the U.S. Imperialists have thought that by using aircraft and warships to attack the North they can force our people to kneel down and surrender to them. But they have been greatly wrong. Faced with the U.S. imperialist armed aggression, the people in the North
have resolutely stood up against them. Their bombs dropped on the North cannot crush our people's determination to fight the U.S. for national salvation. On the contrary they have ignited and blown higher the flame of hatred of our people for the U.S. imperialists.

Their barbarous air attacks cannot weaken the determination of the people in the North to support the people in the South in the struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. On the contrary they have induced the people in the North to make greater efforts in supporting their compatriots in the South to chase off the U.S. aggressors, liberate the South and achieve national reunification. And the U.S. bombing raids against the North have also induced the people in the South to further step up their revolutionary war aimed at liberating the South and protecting the North. The U.S. imperialist war of destruction has failed to weaken the undaunted fighting spirit of the whole Vietnamese people. On the contrary it has induced the whole Vietnamese people to unite closer in their brave anti-U.S. struggle. A U.S. capitalist correspondent wrote in the New York Herald Tribune that "the strategy of the (U.S.) President has failed because the North Vietnamese people have refused to surrender when bombs were dropped on their soil as the U.S. had hoped." U.S. Senator Aiken said on 22 August 1965 that "those who advocate bombing North Vietnam have miscalculated. They said that if we use force, North Vietnam will soon kneel down and ask for negotiations. They have underestimated North Vietnam. North Vietnam has refused to surrender to us." U.S. generals had to complain that they have encountered a very "tough" enemy and that "the enemy shows no sign of weakness." Hoping to raise the fighting spirit of their lackeys in the South is just an illusion of the U.S. imperialists. In the face of the undaunted spirit of the army and people of North Vietnam, who have shot down many U.S. aircraft, the U.S. lackeys in the South have lost their confidence in the U.S. strength. Their already deteriorated fighting spirit is deteriorating further. Through the U.S. bombing raids against the North, troops of the puppet army in the South have seen more clearly the true aggressive face of the U.S. imperialists, and as their nationalistic spirit has been aroused a quite large number among them have turned to the people's side and joined the anti-U.S. fight.

The U.S. imperialists so far have achieved none of their objectives in their bombing of the North. The U.S. imperialist war of destruction has failed to achieve its major goals.

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The U.S. imperialist war of destruction against the North of our country has been carried on quite fiercely. U.S. military authorities disclosed that during the period from 7 February 1965 to 14 August 1965 there were 125 days in which U.S. aircraft made air raids against the North; the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys carried out 1,120 air attacks against the North with a total number of 10,000 sorties made by their aircraft. They boastfully said that they had dropped more than 10,000 tons of bombs over the North, not counting.
numerous attacks made by their warships. The U.S. imperialists have mobilized
a large part of their 7th Fleet-based aircraft and of their air group 13
to bomb and strafe the North. They have used bombs and shells of all types,
including their most modern radar-controlled missiles. They have strived
to develop their air and naval superiority to carry out their aggressive
schemes. They have also used the most cunning tactics. But they have met
with the strong resistance of our army and people in the North, and they
have failed miserably.

The brave army and people in the North have dealt deadly blows at the
U.S. imperialists: more than 500 U.S. aircraft were shot down, many others
were hit and damaged, several U.S. pilots were killed or captured, and a
number of gunboats of the imperialists and their lackeys were sunk or
damaged. The total number of U.S. aircraft shot down in the North, shot
down or destroyed on their bases by guerrilla fighters in the South, and
shot down by Pathet Lao in Laos, have reached more than 1,000. These planes
and the number of U.S. pilots captured or shot down with their planes were
a large combat force of the U.S. imperialists. Their loss in planes and
pilots in the North in particular and in all Indochina in general is a
big military defeat for them.

But the biggest military defeat suffered by the U.S. imperialists is
not essentially in their loss of planes and pilots but in that the prestige
of their air force has been receiving deadly blows from our army and people.
As everybody knows, the armed forces of the U.S. aggressors consist of 3
main branches with a same number of troops. The U.S. Army lacks combat ex­
periences, its fighting spirit is low and its number of troops is smaller
than that of many other countries. The U.S. Navy can only fight on sea. It
can only blockade and shell other countries' coasts but cannot invade the
land because warships cannot get on land. The U.S. imperialists rely pri­
marily upon the Air Force to carry out their policy of deception, intimida­
tion and aggression. The Air Force is not a decisive factor in the war be­
cause it cannot attack and hold on the land like the Army, particularly
the Infantry. But the Air Force has an advantage in that its aircraft can
fly over other countries to make bombing and strafing raids. The U.S. im­
perialists have a great number of planes and a large quantity of bombs
and shells. With this advantage of the Air Force, the U.S. imperialists
have used their aircraft to carry out their policy of intimidation and
aggression. They have fabricated the myth about the so-called "absolute
supremacy" of the U.S. Air Force, given big publicity to the "invincible
power" of the U.S. Air Force and loudly claimed that "the air force plays
a decisive role in the war." The U.S. imperialists have mobilized their
giant propaganda machine with its most modern communication means to pump up
the role of the air force and to sow fear about U.S. planes and bombs.
But their false and deceptive statements about the "absolute supremacy" of
their air force can only deceive and intimidate weak people and not the
heroic Vietnamese people. Having a deep hatred for the U.S. aggressors,
the army and people in the North have resolutely fought the U.S., shooting
down many U.S. aircraft and killing several U.S. pilots. By concrete action,
our army and people have destroyed the prestige of the U.S. air force and the myth about the "absolute supremacy" of the U.S. air force. By concrete action, our army and people have shown to the world that the U.S. air force is not as extraordinary as the imperialists have claimed. We have shown to the world that the air force is not the decisive factor in the war. The decisive factor in any war is the human factor. It is the the fighting spirit of the entire army and entire people, and not weapons.

The U.S. imperialist war of destruction -- by air force and partly by naval force -- against the North of our country is a part of their "special war" in the South. Therefore, to have an accurate appraisal of the results of their war of destruction we should look not only into the situation in the North but primarily into the situation in the South. The U.S. imperialists think that they can curb the revolutionary movement in the South by bombing the North, but they are greatly wrong. Since the U.S. imperialists started their bombing raids against the North, the revolutionary movement in the South has developed more strongly. Deeply hating the U.S. imperialists for their barbarous bombing raids against the beloved northern part of the Fatherland, the Liberation army and people in the South have stepped up their revolutionary war, dealt thundering blows at the enemy and resolutely heeded the appeal made by the National Front for Liberation of South Vietnam on 22 March 1965 that "if the U.S. imperialists make one attack against the North of our country, the army and the people in the South will resolutely beat them two, three times stronger." The Liberation army and the people in the South have fought courageously and have scored great victories. In the first 6 months of this year alone, more than 10,000 enemy troops were destroyed. If last year, destroying a whole enemy company was an ordinary feat and destroying a whole battalion was an extraordinary feat of the Liberation army, then this year destroying a whole enemy battalion has become commonplace and in some cases a whole enemy regiment or even a division was annihilated. The guerrilla movement has become stronger than ever before. The army and people in the South have caused to the U.S. imperialists damages hundreds and thousands times greater than those caused to North Vietnam by the U.S. air force. Compared to the number of bridges, cars, locomotives, etc...of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys destroyed by the guerrillas in the South, the number of bridges, cars, locomotives... destroyed by the U.S. air force in the North is nothing. The number of U.S. aircraft destroyed in their bases or shot down by the guerrillas in the South is even greater than the number of U.S. aircraft shot down in the North! The people's armed forces in the South have scored great victories such as the ones described above, although the U.S. imperialists have brought their army troops into the South to directly participate in the fighting, and despite the fact that their navy and air force, including their Strategic Air Command, have taken part in attacking the revolution in the South. The political struggle movement of city people in the South is also rising. Nine tenths of the enemy's "strategic hamlets" have been destroyed. Four fifths of the land in the South has been liberated along with more than 10
million people. The rapid development of the revolution in the South have shaken off the roots of the puppet army and government. The deterioration of the puppet government of Saigon is one of the U.S. imperialist big failures. In an interview on 15 August 1965, general Taylor, recently-fired U.S. Ambassador to Saigon, admitted that his "greatest mistake" during the year he served as Ambassador in Saigon was that "he left the Saigon government in a permanent unstable situation." The rapid development of the revolution in the South and the rapid deterioration of the U.S. lackeys in the South have proved that the U.S. has failed miserably in its attempt to curb the development of the revolution in the South, and to prevent the deterioration of the South Vietnamese puppet army and government by carrying out their air raids against the North.

In addition to stepping up and expanding the war in both parts of our country, the U.S. imperialists have launched a "peaceful offensive." On 7 February 1965 the U.S. started their air attacks against the North; on 7 April 1965, in his Baltimore speech, President Johnson offered his deceitful proposals of "unconditional discussions." The U.S. imperialist plan was very simple: in February they started their bombing raids; in April they made their offer of peaceful negotiations; and the latest in May the Vietnamese people would send representatives to the conference table to accept their conditions! To make their offer more appealing they used the bait of one billion dollars of aid to Southeast Asian countries, including Vietnam. Their "stick and carrot" policy seemed to be very effective in many countries but when brought to Vietnam the stick was broken, the carrot was rotten, and such a policy of the U.S. imperialists was bankrupted. The U.S. imperialists thought that after two months of being bombed by the U.S., the Vietnamese people would immediately accept their "unconditional discussions" offer to make an "honorable" withdrawal and for a "face-saving surrender." But they were greatly wrong. Their bombs and deceitful peace offers cannot intimidate and deceive the Vietnamese people. The heroic Vietnamese people are determined to fight the U.S. to the end to save the country, and this determination of the Vietnamese people has thwarted the U.S. imperialists' plan.

The U.S. imperialists' plan of aggression against our country, as disclosed by general Taylor in his 15 August 1965 interview with newsmen, consists of 4 points:

1- to step up the war of aggression in the South
2- to bomb and strafe the North
3- to consolidate the South Vietnamese puppet government
4- to launch the "peaceful offensive" with "unconditional discussions" offer.

The U.S. imperialists called this the "four-point strategy." These
are related closely. Of these four points, the two first are the most important. The first is a decisive point but the second is also very important. The U.S. imperialists think that only by carrying out the second point (making air raids against the North) will they be able to curb the revolutionary movement in the South, consolidate the Saigon puppet government, force their opponent to come to the conference table to accept their conditions. But the Vietnamese people refused to yield to their ultimatum and to negotiate on their terms. Because to the Vietnamese people such issues as independence, unification, sovereignty and territorial integrity are issues that cannot be negotiated. The Vietnamese people are determined to take arms against the U.S. aggressors, and to thwart the U.S. imperialist aggression. In the face of the brave fighting spirit of the Vietnamese people, the U.S. imperialists' offer of "unconditional discussions" has become an unconsumable item. The U.S. imperialists tried very hard to find a way to sell that item at all costs. Wilson, the pseudo-socialist and British Prime Minister; Tito, the pseudo-communist; and Yougoslav President; Shastri, the pseudo-nationalist and Indian Prime Minister... all have volunteered to sell that unconsumable item for the U.S. imperialists, but the Vietnamese people still refuse to buy it, and thus "the peaceful offensive" of the U.S. imperialists has failed miserably.

The U.S. air raids against the North and the bringing of American and satellite troops into South Vietnam have exposed to the world the imperialists' aggressive face and their deceitful "unconditional discussions" offer. Our people are determined to take arms against the U.S. aggressors, forcing them to remove their "peace" mask. Our people's anti-U.S. struggle has forced the U.S. imperialists to expose their true reactionary, aggressive and bellicose face to the eyes of the world, helped other peoples to see the cruel face of the U.S. imperialists, and thus to avoid to have any illusion about the U.S. imperialists.

The results the U.S. imperialists obtained in their war of destruction by air force in the North of our contrary are completely contrary to their objectives.

The U.S. imperialists intended to use their destruction war to weaken our determination, but that war have only increased our determination to fight against them.

They wanted to destroy the economy in the North and weaken the national defense of the North, but the economic building in the North has been stepped up further and the national defense of the North has been strengthened more rapidly.

They wanted to prevent the people in the North from giving support to the people in the South, but this support has been increased further.

They wanted to curb the development of the revolutionary movement in
the South, but that movement has been further developed.

They wanted to strengthen the South Vietnamese puppet army and government, but the puppet army and government are rapidly disintegrating and collapsing.

They wanted to seize initiative by bombing the North and by offering "unconditional discussions" to force our people to the conference table to accept their conditions and thus ending the war in their favor, but our people have fought more strongly against them. The longer the war lasts the more they are bogged down. Not only they could not take back their lost initiative, but they are becoming more confused.

In the past, the U.S. war of aggression was limited to the South, with the people in the South directly fighting against the U.S. imperialists and the people in the North supporting them. But as the U.S. imperialists started to bomb the North, the people in the North now have the conditions to join their compatriots in the South to fight the U.S. The U.S. bombing raids against the North have made the whole world see clearly that the support of the people in the North to their compatriots in the South in the anti-U.S. fight for national salvation is fully justified. The U.S. imperialists attempted to perpetuate the partition of our country, but their bombing raids against the North has stepped up our struggle for national reunification. This is completely contrary to the U.S. imperialists' intentions.

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam is a member of the world socialist camp. An attack by the U.S. imperialists on North Vietnam is an attack against the powerful socialist camp. When the war was still limited to the South, it was just a conflict between imperialism and an oppressed people. Since the U.S. imperialists carried out the war to the North in the form of a war of destruction by air force and partly by naval force, it is no longer just a conflict between imperialism and an oppressed people but it is also a conflict between imperialism and socialism, i.e. between the two camps in the world. By bombing North Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists have placed before the socialist countries a responsibility to protect and defend a member of their camp. The U.S. imperialists tried to sow disunity among socialist countries but their bombing raids against North Vietnam have united all socialist countries in the common fight against the U.S.

The U.S. imperialists tried to isolate and restrain the People's Republic of China and they tried sow disunity between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples by recalling the old stories of Chinese aggression against our country. But their bombing raids against North Vietnam and the generous unconditional aid given us by the government and people of China have destroyed all their calumnies against China and made us realize more clearly that China is our great and close friend, ready to join us in fighting the U.S. So, it is not China that is isolated but it is the U.S. imperialists themselves who are isolated. The people in the world
have seen clearly that the U.S. imperialists are the aggressors oppressing small and weak nations, while the great People's Republic of China is always ready and willing to support the liberation movement of oppressed peoples.

The U.S. imperialists have always talked about "peaceful co-existence" but their air attacks against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, a member of the socialist camp, have made the people in the world realize clearly that their "peaceful co-existence" claims are but a trick to deceive the world and to cover up their preparations to enslave other nations and to attack the socialist camp. Their bombing raids against North Vietnam have torn to pieces their "peaceful co-existence" mask.

The U.S. imperialists attempted to suppress the movement for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism in other countries but their air raids against North Vietnam have created a wave of indignation all over the world, which -- through the movement of supporting the Vietnamese people in their anti-U.S. fight -- has gradually become a large and united anti-U.S. front of the people in the world.

The U.S. imperialists attempted to rally the reactionary forces in the world to oppose the world revolutionary movement, but their bombing raids against the North of our country and their stopped up war of aggression in the South have made other imperialists and reactionaries afraid of being involved in a greater war and therefore refuse to follow them. Taking advantage of the U.S. imperialists' stalemate in Vietnam, other imperialist countries have escaped from the U.S. control and tried to seize markets and influence areas of the U.S. Never before had the U.S. imperialists been so isolated.

The results the U.S. imperialists obtained in their air attacks against North Vietnam are totally "unexpected" to them.

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The U.S. imperialists have seriously failed in their war of destruction in North Vietnam but they have not abandoned their aggression attempt against North Vietnam. They will continue their war of destruction against the North until they are completely defeated. Their war of destruction in the North is a part of their war of aggression in the South. As long as their war of aggression in the South still continues, their war of destruction in the North will also continue. Therefore, the army and people in the North have to face their war of destruction until the revolution in the South succeeds completely in defeating the U.S. imperialists.

The U.S. imperialists have a very reactionary nature. Therefore they are very stubborn in their attempt. Moreover they have quite great military and economic potentialities. They can have fast military action thanks to their modern transportation means. Therefore our army and people must be
fully prepared, both morally and materially, in order to win over them.

The more the U.S. imperialists are defeated in the South the more they will step up their air raids against the North. They will probably carry out more brazen acts of destruction. They will carry out their war of destruction against the North on a larger scale and more fiercely. We do not exclude the possibility that the U.S. imperialists might turn their present war of destruction into a local war in the North, because destructive air raids can be a preparatory step to enlarge the war; the war of destruction by aircraft, with its present scale and being carried out in a long period, can have the same effect as a strategic aerial attack to start a local war. The U.S. imperialists will certainly think carefully about more severe punishments given them by our people when they want to turn their present war of destruction into a local war because of their present failures and difficulties. However the U.S. imperialists cannot completely control their strategic intentions and moreover they can commit mistakes in their military ventures. Therefore we should not be complacent; instead we should watch closely the enemy's scheme and action and be fully prepared to deal with them in time.

In fighting against the enemy's war of destruction by aircraft, we must understand thoroughly our Party's concept of people's war. We are carrying out a people's war to fight against the enemy's war of destruction. We use the strength of the people to defeat the enemy's professional air force. On one hand, we fight effectively to destroy as many enemy planes as possible, and on the other hand, we organize good civil defense work to reduce to minimum the loss in lives and properties which the enemy can cause to our people. In addition to our anti-aircraft work, we should be fully prepared to rapidly destroy any groups of special force the enemy can infiltrate into our territory by air, sea and land routes, including relatively large groups which can land on our soil to attack us. We must strengthen our work in protecting security, maintaining order and checking counterrevolutionary activities so as to make our rear safe in order to defeat the enemy.

Our task of fighting against the enemy's war of destruction must be combined closely with our careful preparations to cope with a local war which the enemy can wage against us. Building a strong people's national defense is an important factor to defeat the enemy in the war of destruction as well as in a local war. In building a strong people's national defense we should pay attention to all military, political and economic fields. Only when being strengthened can the people's armed forces serve as hard-core in the armed struggle of the entire people to win over the U.S. imperialist aggressors in whatever form of war. Strengthened political and ideological work will help the people realize the new situation and task, increase their determination to fight the U.S. for national salvation, have an absolute confidence in the Party's policies, and willing to sacrifice to defeat the U.S. aggressors. Stepped-up organizational work will transform moral strength into physical strength to destroy the enemy. Only when the economy is strong will the national defense become strong. Therefore in fighting against the U.S. aggressors, our people must at the same time
strive to fulfill the production task in order to increase our economic potentialities. Both production and combat are essential tasks. We can only do well our production work by fighting effectively against the enemy. And we can only increase our strength to fight the enemy by doing good production work. The more destruction the enemy causes to us, the faster and stronger our construction work should be. We must develop our economy in accordance with wartime conditions in order to meet the requirements of the army and people and at the same time we must create conditions for national construction after the war.

The enemy's war of destruction in the North is a part of his war of aggression in the South. In the present form of war between U.S. imperialism and our Vietnamese people, victory or defeat is not determined on the battlefronts in the North but on the battlefronts in the South. The U.S. imperialist aggression is primarily directed at the South. The South is the main arena of the war between the U.S. imperialists and our people. Only by defeating the U.S. in the South and liberating the South will our people be able to defeat their war of destruction in the North and destroy their attempt to expand their war of aggression. Only by defeating the U.S. imperialists on the battlefronts in the South, can the Vietnamese people defeat them completely. This is the direction to end completely the war of destruction in the North. Firmly following that direction, the people in the North are, on one hand, trying to defeat the enemy's war of destruction in the North, and on the other hand, giving full support to their compatriots in the South to defeat the enemy's "special war" in the South.

Realizing clearly the situation and scheme of the enemy, our people will stand firm under any circumstances. However fierce are the U.S. air raids against the North, the people in the North are always determined to defeat them to protect the North, liberate the South, and move on to national reunification. Whatever loss we will have to suffer and whatever sacrifice we will have to make, we are still determined to fulfill our duty to our fatherland. Through their own experiences, our people understand that to carry out a revolution, one cannot avoid loss and sacrifice; and that freedom and independence are not something free, but must be fought for. Therefore our people are not afraid of loss and difficulties. Our people are ready to sacrifice everything to chase off the U.S. aggressors, and to protect and completely liberate the fatherland.

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THE CERTAIN DEFEAT OF THE PUPPET ARMY IN THE SOUTH

[Following is a translation of an article by Vo Van Thoi in the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 9, September 1965, pages 67-71.]

In the face of the rapid growth in all ways of the revolution in the South of our country the American imperialists on the one hand promote their war of destruction against the North and, on the other hand, bring tens of thousands of American combat troops into the South in hopes of preventing the collapse of their puppet regime and army. In the immediate future, however, they will continue to use the more than half a million puppet troops as their chief support in carrying out their "special warfare"; and even if they recklessly wage an all-out war in the South, or even against the North, their policy of "Using Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese" will still be carried out.

The puppet army plays an important role in the American imperialists war of aggression against our country. What, then, is the fighting capability of the puppet army? That is something that everyone wants to know.

Whether the fighting capability of an army is strong or weak depends first of all on the spiritual element. The spirit and the will to fight and win of an army is determined principally by the political and military lines of the leadership class. The "special warfare" carried out by the American monopoly capitalist class during the past several years in the South, with the goal of transforming the South into a new type of colony and a military base, is an unjust war. The more that war is
prolonged, the more the aggressiveness of America is exposed and the more the people of the South, including the soldiers, hate the Americans and arise to oppose them.

The American imperialists, standing on capitalist military science viewpoints and relying on their material superiority, place great stress on the weapons and technology elements, and rely on them to build up the confidence of the puppet army. Furthermore, in order to achieve their plot of "using Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese," the American imperialists also pay some attention to the spiritual element of the puppet army. But America's "psychological warfare" tricks, with their aggressive and counter-revolutionary nature, cannot create spiritual strength for the puppet army. The puppet soldiers in the South are forced to go on continuous operations, are always in a stagnant defensive situation, are dispersed, and are always in the steel net of the people's guerrilla warfare movement, so their spirit is always low. In the face of the rapid growth of the Liberation Army, as evidenced by such battles of Ap Bac, Binh Gia, and Ba Gia, many of the enemy's outposts in the countryside have been leveled, the system of "strategic hamlets" has been destroyed, the clearing operations have constantly been defeated, and the area occupied by the enemy has gradually been pushed back to the cities and to areas along the main lines of communication. The puppet soldiers of the South, therefore, are constantly perplexed and terrified, and are coming more and more to realize the certain collapse of America and its lackeys.

The situation of the American aggressors and their lackeys in the South, as was the case with the German, Italian, and Japanese fascists and the French colonialists, proves clearly that when a mercenary army smells defeat its spirit declines rapidly.

The puppet army of the South is now running up against heavy military defeats, is faced with a serious political crisis, and is being surrounded and attacked by the extensive political struggle of the people. Since the coup d'état of November 1963, many American officials have come to believe that military measures alone cannot defeat the people of the South, and after battles at Phu My, Viet An, and Song Be, they realized that if they continue the war they will be overwhelmingly defeated. Even the top warmongers, such as Johnson, McNamara, and Dean Rusk have begun to be perplexed, although they still continue madly to expand the war. Most of the leaders of the puppet regime and the puppet army in the South also realize that they are faced with inevitable defeat; they are contradicting one another in their search for a way out of the war, and are competing for power, so that they can have important positions in the future. The more than ten coups of the past year have revealed the rottenness of the lackey regime, have exposed the puppet nature.
of the Vietnamese traitors and the aggressive nature of the Americans, and have clearly shown the enemy's confusion. In the meanwhile strong political struggles in opposition to America and in support of the National Liberation Front have arisen constantly, not only in the countryside, but also in all cities in the South, and are shaking the foundation of America's puppet regime. That situation cannot but cause the puppet soldiers of the South to see more clearly the true nature of "national independence" granted to the puppet regime by the American imperialists. If in the past most were discouraged and unenthusiastic when they were forced to kill their compatriots, and were confused with regard to the puppet regime, now their common feeling is one of war-weariness; they have lost their confidence in victory and are extremely confused by the chaotic condition of the puppet regime. The number of desertions in 1964 was two and one-half times greater than in 1962 (there were more than 30,000 in 1962, more than 40,000 in 1963, and more than 80,000 in 1964, of which more than 10,000 were regular troops).

Noteworthy is the fact that the situation of confusion, vacillation, and desertion is not only widespread in the semi-armed popular defense forces, but is spreading rapidly throughout the enemy's regular divisions and strategic reserve forces. Many of the enemy's mercenary units have not only lost their offensive will, but are even weak when on the defensive. The morale of the paratroopers which the enemy still calls "the angels in red hats," and of the marines, their reliable "green hat" units, who were previously enthusiastic and brave in combat has, since their constant defeats since 1964, declined visibly. The American AP news agency and many American reporters on the scene have described the fighting spirit of the seven regular battalions of the puppet army which took part in the battle at Viet An on 19 April 1965 as follows: "Soldiers were running through the rice fields in confusion"; "Soldiers with the eyes of madmen refused to obey orders shouted in Vietnamese to stay and fight"; "All of the marines ran away"; "A ranger battalion abandoned its American Advisers and ran away"; and "Two battalions (the First Airborne Battalion and the 11th Ranger Battalion) advanced with difficulty under the fading light of the setting sun." In the meanwhile, the soldiers of an armored unit ran away in order to save their lives. An American reporter wrote that "I knocked on the door of many vehicles, but no one would open the door and let me in."

In the battle of Song Be in May 1965, an entire security company ran away, leaving 28 American advisers to be annihilated by the Liberation Army. Nearby 300 puppet troops surrendered in this battle, and 650 local troops threw away their weapons.
and deserted. The 34th Ranger Battalion, which came to the rescue, dispersed immediately when the Liberation Army fired a few shots.

Faced with the situation of the armed and political struggle of the people of the South winning greater and greater victories, and because of the correct policies of the National Liberation Front, many puppet soldiers are not only tired of the war, but have come over to the National Liberation Front and have joined the people in fighting the enemy. They are seeing more and more clearly the justness of the people's resistance. They have been sympathetic to and have supported the struggles of their compatriots, which have as their slogans the winning of independence and opposition to the American imperialists and their lackeys, and which demand peace and neutrality, are opposed to the war, demand freedom and democracy, and are opposed to fascism. They have served as "fifth columnists," have fomented military revolts, and are participating in more and more uprisings. The number of internal uprisings and military revolts has increased two and one-half times that of 1962. If in the past such disturbances involved individuals, small groups, or squads, now many involve whole platoons. Noteworthy is the fact that since 1964 there have been many instances of the revolutionary armed forces of the South attacking American military bases with the assistance of some of the mercenary troops.

And how about the puppet officers? If in the past many had confidence in the might of America, were deceived by the false "national independence" and the campaign to "denounce communism and defend freedom," and if they endeavored to carry out the operations intended to destroy the revolution, now the feeling of most of them is one of pessimism and discouragement, and of a loss of confidence in ultimate victory. They have seen that although America desperately increases its troop strength, they continue to be defeated. They also fear that America will desert them, and have no confidence in their puppet leaders. Many officers have become disturbed and worry about saving their own skins and about getting positions in which they can avoid danger and gain advantage; there have even been cases of generals preparing to leave the country. Some officers approve of the National Liberation Front's policy of peaceful neutrality, for they understand that that is the only way to end the war. In the first six months of 1965, more than 80 officers and non-commissioned officers deserted the enemy's ranks.

The low morale of the puppet troops in the South has caused many American news organs to admit that "The Vietnamese Army has not surrendered, but it has little fighting spirit,
and its desertion rate is so high that we have no more confidence in the Vietnamese soldiers, even in their guarding of American air bases and military camps." (Walter Lippmann, Newsweek, 12 April 1965), "The basic problem in Vietnam is that its army has lost all of its confidence." (USIS).

Recently, the American expeditionary army, obeying the orders of President Johnson, has participated directly in the fighting in the South, and are causing more and more losses and difficulties for the people, including the families of the puppet soldiers. Those acts of the American imperialists have caused the puppet soldiers and officers to see clearly that they are the most despicable colonialists of all. The puppet soldiers are children of a people who have long tradition of resisting foreign aggression, and more or less have national self-respect. Therefore, they have quickly awakened with regard to national consciousness, have come to see more clearly the true nature of what is called the "republican army," and cannot but be indignant when they realize that their destiny is no different from that of the puppet troops of the French Union Army.

America's sending of troops to participate directly in the fighting in South Vietnam may perhaps have bolstered the spirits of some officers, but it will fan the flames of hatred among the masses of people in the South, among most of the puppet soldiers, and even among some generals. It will cause the fear of death, the war-weariness, and the desires for peace of the puppet troops to increase constantly, and will stimulate many people in the puppet army into arising and joining the people in resisting America.

Whether the fighting capability of an army is strong or weak also depends on such elements as the quantitative strength of units, the level of equipment, and the level of technology. These are not decisive elements, but are of importance in an army's fighting capability.

The puppet army of the South, in the face of the great victories of the Liberation Army, has not only deteriorated spiritually, but is also collapsing organizationally. According to the Liberation News Agency the number of enemy soldiers put out of action during the past four years has reached 550,000 (the number in 1964 was as great as the totals for the previous two years added together), and during the first six months of 1965 the total was more than 100,000, including more than 20,000 regular troops. Some noteworthy points are that the enemy's semi-armed forces have been broken up (for example, 50% of the semi-armed forces in zone 5 in 1964), and thus the enemy has been forced to disperse their regular troops to occupy the
various localities; that the number of troops conscripted cannot make up for the dead, the wounded, and those who surrendered or deserted (in 1964 the enemy was able to conscript only about 110,000 new soldiers, during a period in which 230,000 troops were taken out of action); that although most of the enemy's regular forces are still organized as divisions, all units, even those in the strategic reserve, are understrength, to the extent that some battalions now exist in name only. During the first six months of 1965 120 of the enemy's regular companies and 20 of their regular battalions were completely annihilated. Four of those battalions were in the general strategic reserve and five were ranger battalions. Therefore, one-third of the general strategic reserve was destroyed, as was one-fourth of the ranger battalions.

The puppet army of the South has also used new tactics and modern American weapons. But an army completely lacking in fighting spirit, no matter how modern its equipment, cannot be effective. The fighting in the South during the past 11 years has proved that although the American imperialists and their lackeys have constantly changed their tactics and improved their techniques and equipment, they have been continually defeated, for the very simple reason that their modern weapons are in the hands of people "who no longer want to fight," who no longer want to continue in their roles of mercenary troops who serve as cannon fodder for the American aggressors.

Under the circumstances of more than half a million puppet soldiers being routed the American imperialists, no matter how large their expeditionary army and no matter how many modern weapons and facilities they have, cannot prevent the collapse of the puppet army and cannot "reverse the situation" on the battlefields of South Vietnam. The American imperialists and their lackeys have been a good source of supply for the patriotic forces in the South. According to the Liberation News Agency, the revolutionary armed forces have captured 60,000 weapons since 1961, and the number captured during the past year was three times greater than the number of weapons captured during the previous three years added together.

Another important, decisive element with regard to victory or defeat in a war is an army's rear area, the scale and degree of the participation of the people in the war. Comrade Stalin said that "What if an army doesn't have a stable rear area? It would amount to nothing. Even the largest, best-equipped armies can be routed and annihilated if they do not have stable rear areas and the support and sympathy of the rear areas, of the workers." The area controlled by the enemy is shrinking more
every day, and now includes only one-fifth of the land and less than one-third of the population; and even in the cities, to which the enemy have retreated and is trying to defend, there are taking place fierce struggles between the people and the American imperialists and their lackeys, which create increasingly great difficulties for the enemy in their confiscation of manpower and wealth in order to serve their war. Because of that situation, the lackey clique's desperate conscription of 160,000 more men to bolster the puppet army will not be easy. Another noteworthy fact is that the fighting quality of the puppet army has deteriorated and is certain to continue to deteriorate rapidly.

In the meanwhile, the liberated area of the people of the South is expanding more every day, and is surrounding the enemy-held cities. Millions of people in the liberated zones are advancing with a spirit of defeating America and saving the nation, and are giving effective service to the revolutionary armed forces. The people in the liberated zones are receiving land-ownership rights in accordance with the Front's policy of encouraging the masses to achieve the reduction of rent and interest and to achieve land reform. Since most of the puppet soldiers of the South are of peasant stock, they cannot but reflect upon the revolution's policies of land reform and humanitarianism, and arise more and more and join the people in annihilating the aggressors and their lackeys.

The puppet army in the South is undergoing a serious spiritual decline, and is deteriorating more and more organizationally. The enemy, however, still relies on the puppet forces, for the puppet army still has a large number of troops, still has a certain superiority in technical facilities, and can still utilize the cities and positions along the main lines of communication in order to effect a static defense.

In our people's history of struggle, when the revolution experiences a rapid transformation, such as during the August Revolution of 1945, during the winter-spring campaign of 1953 to 1954, and during the recent period in the South, many patriotic soldiers in the enemy's ranks distinguish between friend and foe, believe in the policies of the revolution, redeem themselves with deeds of merit, and contribute worthily to the glorious enterprise of liberating the homeland.

In the course of the Russian revolution the Russian Communist Party paid much attention to unifying the three revolutionary elements—workers, peasants, and soldiers—and carried out resolute propaganda and organization work within the Tsarist army, thus causing millions of soldiers in the
Tsarist army to come over to the side of the revolution. In the Chinese revolution, especially during the third revolutionary war, segments of the reactionary Kuomintang Army arose in support of the slogan "stop the civil war and achieve peace in our country." Noteworthy are the uprisings of the Cao Thu Huan Division (November, 1945), and then of scores of other divisions in the Hoai-Hai campaign (two corps), the Lien Tham Campaign (four divisions), the Peking-Tientsin campaign (25 divisions), etc. The Chinese Liberation Army's drive to the South in 1949 was principally a political accomplishment, for as comrade Mao Tse Tung said, "Our victory was due not only to the tactics of our army, but also to the break-up of the enemy army."

The American imperialists have publicly declared war against the whole Vietnamese people, and are inflicting death and destruction in both parts of our Fatherland; but at the same time, they have sunk down to their necks in the South. All of our people, in both the South and the North, are shouldering the very difficult, but very glorious mission of "defeating the American bandits, liberating the South, and unifying the homeland." The people in both parts of Vietnam are persuading their compatriots in the puppet army to join the revolution.

The puppet soldiers of the South are now faced with the decision of whether to continue to follow the bandits on a path to despair, or whether to heed the call of the National Liberation Front and join the people in annihilating the American aggressors. The National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, the rallying point of the patriots in the South, always holds high the just flag of opposing America and saving the nation, and has often promulgated its correct and humanitarian policies toward the puppet soldiers of the South, the principal contents of which are as follows.

--The Front is determined to punish a small number of officers and criminals who assist the American bandits in murdering and injuring their compatriots.

--With regard to the people who desert the ranks of the enemy and return to their homes, the Front is "ready to welcome them" and allow them to "receive the land set aside for them"; and "if they bring along their weapons, they will be rewarded."

--With regard to the individuals, groups, or units which "arise to annihilate the enemy, kill the traitors, destroy the enemy's bases, and join the people in fighting America and their lackeys," the Front regards them as "patriots," and "rewards them according to their deeds, assists them in making a living, or accepts them into the ranks of the Liberation Army."
--With regard to the individuals, groups, or units which fight America and their lackeys on their own accord, the Front "applauds them and assists them to the best of their ability," and "is prepared to accept them" into the Liberation Army and "retain their old units."

--With regard to the puppet generals, the Front has stated that they "will play a positive role in the development of the situation in the South, if they boldly arise and struggle for the Front's policy of peaceful neutrality." The Front "is prepared to assist and cooperate with any individuals or units which are intimidated by the American imperialists and their lackeys, but which want to escape from their control."

Because of the increasingly brilliant justice of the revolution and the correct policies of the Front, because of the great strength of the people, which is smashing the aggressors, and because of the fact that the true nature of the aggressors and the traitors has been exposed, the soldiers in the puppet army of the South are seeking a way to escape. Their only way of escape is to unite with the people in fighting America and saving the nation, to arise heroically in military revolts, and to contribute to the enterprise of liberating the South and unifying the Fatherland.