CUU LONG COMMENTARY ON 'VIETNAMIZATION IMPASSE'

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[Commentary by Cuu Long: "Vietnamization of the War, an Impasse for the U.S. Imperialists"]

[Text] To date, Nixon has covered nearly one-third of his presidential term after assuming power. One of his pressing problems is to consolidate the ruling position of the Republican Party and his own position in order to find a way out of the U.S. imperialist aggressive war in South Vietnam which has driven the United States into a critical situation for the past several years.

Well known as a bellicose, great rogue on the U.S. political blackmarket, Nixon, immediately after taking his presidential seat, made the utmost efforts to pull out the Vietnamese nail that has caused a headache to the chieftain of U.S. aggressors.

He hastily turned the war of Johnson into his own, exerting maximum military pressure on the battlefield and committing untold towering crimes against our people. But what have been his results? Nothing other than the increasingly heavier setbacks of the U.S. imperialists, the even fiercer counterattacks by the Vietnamese, the more profound indignation of the Americans, and the increasingly stronger protest of progressives in the world.

These obvious setbacks have dizzied Nixon. Moreover, he has failed in his war-Vietnamization scheme which he has so far publicized noisily as powerful medicine to cure the debility of the giant U.S. imperialism which has to shoulder a burden of defeated war.

1--What is the Substance of Vietnamization?

The Nixon clique has created beautiful illusions to describe Vietnamization as a chain of victories. But this is substantially a new phase of defeats in the process of the U.S. Imperialists' successive defeats in Vietnam.
Everyone remembers that in the middle of 1965, before the danger of complete collapse of the puppet army and administration, Johnson sent the U.S. expeditionary corps to South Vietnam and, at the same time, started the war of destruction in North Vietnam. This even marked the complete defeat of the special war and the beginning of the U.S. imperialists' regional war.

Wearing a necklace of aggressive war against Vietnam the U.S. imperialists believed that they could increase U.S. prestige and power and intimidate the movement for the liberation of peoples and the struggle movement for peace, democracy, and socialism worldwide. But this necklace has become a heavy, evil wire strangling the U.S. imperialists and pulling them into the great furnace of the Vietnamese people's sacred war to protect the fatherland.

In his mistaken escalation, Johnson blindly and recklessly advanced the war toward a high point within a short time. This was an unforeseen defeat for Johnson because according to his subjective (viewpoint), wherever there was U.S. involvement the balance of forces would be tipped in its favor. Johnson was more surprised by the fact that in the process of Americanizing the war, he could achieve nothing to make up for the loss of hundreds of billions of U.S. dollars and hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops.

Failing to Americanize the war, Johnson was compelled to de-Americanize it, hoping, therefore, to get out of the war and to salvage his presidential seat and the U.S. Democratic Party's administrative power. But Johnson was completely disappointed. After his retreat, his de-Americanization plan, which is still being continued by the White House, has been amended and enlarged by Nixon to become the Vietnamization plan. So, de-Americanization and Vietnamization are but two consecutive sections of a road leading from one failure to another.

Following de-Americanization, Vietnamization is designed to accomplish these objectives: To strengthen the puppet army and administration so that some U.S. troops may be withdrawn; and to prolong the war in order to realize the basic U.S. scheme to maintain its neocolonialist yoke in South Vietnam. Obviously, Vietnamization is a U.S. scheme to prolong the war but it has been generated by defeats and has been carried out on the basis of erroneous calculations, stupid illusions, and adventurous efforts of the Nixon clique.

However, the U.S. aggressors have blindly boasted about their Vietnamization policy. On 7 October 1969, addressing the U.S. trade unions congress, U.S. Defense Secretary Laird boasted that "Vietnamization implies that South Vietnam must build a stronger army, a more powerful government, a stronger security force, and a stronger economy." Then he stressed that "Vietnamization has opened to us"—that is, the United States—"the most beautiful prospect: We can repatriate our troops rapidly while achieving our objectives in Vietnam."

On 18 February 1970, when dealing with the so-called "Nixon's doctrine on U.S. foreign policy for 1970," Nixon boasted that "Vietnamization is a program aimed at increasing the self-defense capability of the South Vietnamese Government and people"—that is, the puppets—and that "this program emphasizes the progress in insuring the South Vietnamese people's safety and increasing the South Vietnamese Government's power in all rural areas." Then, Nixon pointed out: "Vietnamization includes two parts: First, there is the strengthening of the South Vietnamese armed forces regarding numerical strength, equipment, leadership, combat art, and all sided capabilities."
Second, there is the expansion of the pacification program in South Vietnam."

This boastful statement reveals the following points of the substance of Vietnamization:

A—Vietnamization consists of building a strong puppet army. It is necessary to reinforce the disintegrated puppet army with the help of men, weapons, and money so that it can become a prop for the corpse of the rotten puppet administration and a tool for the repression of counterrevolutionary people.

B—Vietnamization consists of setting up a powerful central puppet administration, a low-level puppet administration working 24 hours a day, a constitutional, legal puppet administration supported by troops’ bayonets and policemen’s clubs, a puppet administration steadfastly backed by certain political parties and religious communities to effectively carry out all ruling plots and to implement U.S.-style democracy.

C—Vietnamization consists of building a stronger security force that will include hundreds of thousands of policemen operating with hundreds of thousands of troops in controlling and terrorizing the people and serving as a prop for the puppet administration.

D—Vietnamization consists of creating a false prosperity and turning the southern market into a type of store window to exhibit U.S. goods and to conceal the U.S.-puppet troops’ cruelties and acts of exploitation.

In sum, three of the four points on Vietnamization imply violence and savage repression. A strong puppet force, a powerful puppet administration, and a prosperous economy based on hideous exploitation of our people. These four points are all considered as aspects of the scheme. However, Vietnamization substantially consists of only two things, stepping up the pacification program and increasing the buildup of the puppet army.

They have paid the greatest importance to pacification because only by oppressing the people in all aspects can they pressgang, plunder the people’s wealth, and clamour about a strong government with a view to weakening our revolutionary forces. Actually, the strengthening of the puppet government and of its economy is but a very secondary task to be achieved by the administrative machinery which relies on violence, faced with serious failures in Vietnam, with the strong pressure by the struggle movement of the American and world’s people, and with the piling up of difficulties caused to them by the war of aggression, the U.S. aggressors have been forced into the act of Vietnamization.

2—Vietnamization is a U.S.-puppet Maneuver That is Extremely Perfidious, Cruel, Stubborn, But of a Passive and Defeated Nature.

Everyone can clearly see that by its origin, targets, and content, Vietnamization is an impasse that the Nixon clique has had to choose in order to avoid its deadlock in Vietnam as well at home. But, being very stubborn, it is perpetrating more crimes and foolishly counterattacking in each of its withdrawal steps, so as to lessen its immediate casualties as well as to continue to undermine our people’s revolution. In absolute terms, Vietnamization is perfidious, cruel, and stubborn and does not possess any magic power that can strengthen the defeated puppet troops and the corrupt puppet government.
The U.S. aggressors and their henchmen are endeavoring to resort to the cruelest maneuvers and the most violent acts in order to oppose our people, thus perpetrating extremely savage crimes. In this situation, the United States, faced with our armed forces and people's general offensive and uprising drive, has had to continue its troop withdrawal. The Nixon clique is endeavoring to build up the puppet army by increasing its numerical strength to about 800,000 and equipping it with modern weapons and war means. In addition, it has organized a civil defense corps in order to pressgang and strengthen the machinery of bondage in the localities.

These puppet troops and the remaining U.S. troops will be deployed widely throughout all battlefields, in order to continue to carry out the ineffective clear-and-hold strategy and to counter our armed forces through launching sweep operations, building posts, and carrying out the pacification work, so as to oppose our people's fierce struggle movement. The perfidious, stubborn, and cruel nature of Vietnamization is concentratedly reflected in the carrying out of the rural area pacification plan, which is considered by the U.S. aggressors as the last battle, the winner of which will win the war. (AP, 1 December 1969) Pacification has been an accelerated activity of the Americans and their puppets. Today it manifestly becomes necessary and urgent for them in order to provide them with favorable conditions to herd the masses, pressgang, consolidate the puppet government, exploit the people, and, especially, to face our people's uprising movement, being weakened on the battlefields, they will resort to every savage act so as to support Vietnamization. They do not spare bombs, ammunition, and poisonous chemicals to demolish our compatriots' villages, ricefields, and gardens and to disrupt their production, and they plunder their wealth and wantonly carry out arrests and massacres in order to herd our people. In some localities, they even used mines to destroy our compatriots' underground shelters and then shelled their villages so that they had no places to hide from the shelling.

All their savage acts aim at bringing starvation, suffering, and death to our compatriots, at demolishing our beautiful native land, and at herding our people into the areas under their control. Everywhere our compatriots are physically and morally oppressed by their network of posts, secret agents, and Phoenix and Swan plans. Our compatriots are poisoned by psywar maneuvers and American ways of life and culture, and our compatriots are shackled economically.

Their intention is to undermine our compatriots' tradition of militant solidarity and indomitability, to trample upon our compatriots' noble national spirit, patriotism, and love for independence and freedom, to develop among our people an enslaving spirit of standing in admiration of and in fear of the Americans to create a class of people [word indistinct] loyal to the Americans and ready to sell themselves for dollars, to serve the interests of the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys, and to betray the people and fatherland of Vietnam under the anticommunist label.

The more the U.S. aggressors are defeated, the more they are afraid of our people and the more they try to oppress, through the most ruthless means, the people still living in enemy-controlled areas. In certain areas close to Saigon, their control is so strict that each family has to bring a cooking pot to a puppet post in order to receive rice to prepare a meal. There, the pot is filled with rice and water by the puppets themselves and can be taken home for cooking only when the rice begins to swell.
The enemy believes that in this way our compatriots will no longer be able to supply the liberation armed forces with rice, that he can separate our people from the liberation armed forces, and that our troops will be isolated and forced to fight like an ordinary expeditionary army. (Nixon's 16 February 1970 message--liberation radio)

The above facts reflect the ruthlessness of the U.S.-puppet pacification program and at the same time the U.S. aggressors' and puppets' confusion and fear in the face of the people's force and their inability to control the people. In the cities, they know that they are living in the middle of an encirclement of indignation and hatred of our compatriots and even of those in their ranks. That is why they are strengthening the ranks of police and secret agents in the cities and provincial and district cities, especially Saigon, in order to closely control all segments of the urbanites, sow dissension among the people, destroy revolutionary bases, and suppress and arrest opposition elements and peace- and neutrality-advocating forces now developing everywhere.

In Saigon, in one day, scores of police operations took place, during which a great number of people were arrested, thus insuring security for the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys. But no place is really secure for them, in all their schemes, ranging from agrovilles and strategic hamlets to the pacification of important areas and the present accelerated pacification program, they have resorted to violence most brazenly, ruthlessly, and violently.

All the above acts of the enemy do not in the least speak for his strength but, on the contrary, reveal the weakness of a declining regime. This regime, which is trembling with fear before the people, is frenziedly writhing in the hope of prolonging its existence through crimes.

B—Vietnamization of the war is the immediate and long-term scheme of Nixon and his lackeys. The U.S. aggressors, though bitterly defeated, still refuse to forego their basic scheme, which is to invade our country. Therefore, on their path of inevitable defeat, they have counterattacked our people violently while at the same time creating a basis for fighting us protractedly. To make preparations for their immediate and long-term scheme, besides their military forces, the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys are actively organizing political forces to continue opposing the revolution in the future.

In areas still under their temporary control, they are striving to build up bases, train counterreactionaries, organize underground reconnaissance and espionage agents, and seek ways to implant them in the revolutionary ranks in order to undermine our revolutionary administrations. In the cities, they have [held on to] political organizations and prepared immediate and future [word indistinct] in order to cope with us promptly and under all circumstances.

The U.S. aggressors are trying to maintain the Thieu-Ky-Khiem clique—which represents a herd of docile, stupid, and restive horses—so that it can draw the shabby "Republic of Vietnam" cart along the path of Vietnamization. However, the U.S. aggressors are selecting new teams from among their lackeys. They have eliminated one lackey clique while embellishing another, have created internal contradictions among the lackey cliques, and, thereby, have set one lackey clique against another. In order to enliven the political spectrum and to create the impression that it reflects broad democracy. However, these lackey cliques are in fact marionettes in the hands of the CIA.
The U.S. aggressors also are seeking to subvert, bribe, suppress many patriots who nurture progressive tendencies, in the hope of misleading them and, thereby, gradually turning them into a political prop for the aggressors.

In the economic field, the insidious nature of the Vietnamization scheme has been revealed even more brazenly by the enemy's long-term policies aimed at opposing our people. Along with exploiting out people, effecting inflationary tax hikes, and scraping up our people's property in order to increase the on-the-spot resources devoted to the war, to bridge the budgetary gap, and to fill the personal pockets of the speculators in the puppet army and administration—who represent a well-known ban of corrupt elements—the U.S. aggressors also have tried to sabotage our people's economy so as to deprive the revolution of its sources of supply.

The Americans and puppets have resorted to the deceitful trick of land reform, which is allegedly aimed at turning the peasants into owners of property, and have formed various associations in the hope of making the economy of South Vietnam dependent on the U.S. economy. In its so-called postwar economic plan, the U.S.-puppet clique, in collusion with many capitalist cliques in various countries, plots to jeopardize and stifle the southern economy.

C--The [word indistinct] nature of Vietnamization has been revealed by the U.S. aggressors' belief that by administering the Vietnamization scheme they can simultaneously cope with the American people's struggle movement and with the world movement against the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam.

The Nixon clique hopes that through the partial withdrawal of U.S. troops, it can reduce the U.S. casualties, cut U.S. war spending, and, thereby, materialize its scheme to prolong its war of aggression in the southern part of our country while easing its contradictions with the American people and improving the political situation in the United States. Nixon also hopes that by achieving these objectives he will be able to avoid the political disaster that befell Johnson. To avoid being regarded as the first U.S. President who has been defeated in war, and, thereby, to maintain for many more years his presidential position and the power of the Republican Party, which has been bitterly criticized because of the endless war of aggression in Vietnam.

As far as the world is concerned, the U.S. aggressors hope that they will be able to cover up their aggressive nature and to show their "good will for peace." They also hope that by successfully carrying out Vietnamization they will be able to partially revive their prestige and, thereby, partially retrieve the U.S. imperialists' global strategy which is moving toward bankruptcy.

Pinning extravagant hopes on its Vietnamization scheme, the Nixon clique has become even more stubborn, cruel, and pernicious in its attempt to move forward by every means its global strategic scheme from its present stalemate position. The Nixon clique's criminal acts have revealed to the public that it does not want peace, does not want to end the war, but only wants to end the war on the basis of its piratical objectives, which it definitely cannot achieve. It is for this reason that the Americans are expanding the war in Laos while brazenly intervening in Cambodia. These represent criminal acts which have been severely condemned by all progressives throughout the world.

Vietnamization is not only stubborn, cruel, and insidious by nature, but also reflects passiveness and defeat.
(1)--The foregoing insidious and cruel U.S. schemes not only reflect the reactionary and stubborn nature of the American and puppets, but also bare their weakened, defeated situation.

The history of mankind has shown that any political regime which resorts to cruel violence in order to impose bondage on the people is a reactionary, weakened regime. The more it is weakened, the more barbarous and cruel the ruling clique becomes. When it can in no way firmly maintain its domination, it becomes devoid of any humanity, becomes even more bloodthirsty, and commits numerous crimes before it collapses. Hitler, Diem, and Nhu, and so forth, are striking examples.

This is true with the U.S.-Thieu-Ky-Khiem clique. If it is strong and can exercise power among the people, why has it built five or seven military posts and stationed several civil guard and militia platoons in each allegedly pacified village in order to control the local people? The Americans and puppets have had to station up to two divisions and hundreds of civil guard companies, supported by aircraft and artillery, in a province with a population of approximately 400,000, but they have remained apprehensive about the people's uprisings aimed at punishing them. Does this represent their strength and their victory? If their regime has won the people's hearts, why are they afraid of the people? If they have won the people's confidence, why have they had to enforce fascist laws and to use weapons and prisons in order to dominate the people?

The obvious truth is that the Americans and puppets have resorted to criminal tricks because they have been defeated and weakened, and have panicked in the face of the people's strength. This signals the inevitable collapse of the country-grabbing U.S. aggressors and of the country-selling Thieu-Ky-Khiem regime.

(2)--When the Nixon administration put forth the 3 [words indistinct] U.S. troop withdrawals, it revealed its posture of passiveness and defeat. According to Nixon, the withdrawal of U.S. troops must depend on the following three specific conditions:

(A)--The level of our armed forces' and people's activities on the battlefield must decrease—that is, the PLAF must become so weak that they can no longer launch attacks—and a lull must prevail on the battlefield so that the Americans have time to consolidate their forces.

(B)--The puppet troops must be strong enough to assume a greater share of the combat burden—that is, the puppet troops must become so strong that they will be able to replace the U.S. troops on the battlefield.

(C)--The Paris talks must progress in accord with U.S. expectations.

Obviously, all these three conditions are definitely not determined by the Americans. Moreover, Nixon set many conditions for effecting U.S. troop withdrawals because he had not acquired any of these conditions. If Nixon had acquired adequate conditions and was talented and strong enough to take the initiative in achieving his wishes, why did he take pains to put forth a series of conditions, all of which are vague and illusory and reflect doubt and indecision?
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(3) --Vietnamization of the war represents an outcome of the Americans' increasingly grave defeats. It also represents a vicious circle in which they have moved from the special war -- in which they failed in their attempt to use Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese -- and from Americanization of the war -- which also failed -- to the present Vietnamization of the war, which represents a return to the scheme to use Vietnamese, supported by an important number of U.S. troops, to fight Vietnamese. This new scheme will certainly be frustrated.

We have just reviewed the objectives which the Americans and puppets hope to achieve. While ballyhooing their so-called progress toward achieving these objectives, the Americans and puppets are apprehensive about sustaining setbacks.

(A) --The U.S. aggressors want to build a strong puppet army which can insure the prospects of their piratical war. However, the puppet clique only consists of elements whom world public opinion has called "a band of incapable, useless people who are only skilled in graft and corruption." Therefore, Nixon is not very intelligent, because he trusts the idiots. He is confident in the puppet army, which is not only a band of idiots but also an army that has never scored a military victory, that had a record of defeats while serving as a mercenary army for the French, that was defeated by our people who did not have a single weapon during the Diem-Nhu period, that suffered bitter defeats in our people's general uprising movement, that was knocked out in the special war, and that is battered in the present limited war of the U.S. imperialists.

The U.S.-puppets are cultivating the hope that they will be able to conscript more troops and improve the equipment for the puppet army. However, faced with our compatriots' struggle against conscription, against the concentration of people, and against the creation of the civil defense corps.

Where can they find men to implement their plan to reinforce their army? Let us not forget that -- according to figures admitted by the enemy, figures which are far from the truth -- the puppet army's monthly casualties have amounted to 30,000 men and the average number of its deserters is equal to a division. The U.S. aggressors should not forget that these figures do not stop here. These figures will increase at a tremendous speed since fighting conditions are increasingly more disadvantageous to the puppet army. Let us suppose that the U.S.-puppets can wantonly conscript a sufficient number of new troops. How then, can they find time to improve the fighting ability and comprehensive capacity of this miscellaneous force and especially inject into it a fighting spirit which the U.S. troops have completely lost during the troop withdrawal. Let us also suppose that the U.S. aggressors have enough weapons and announced [words indistinct]. Now, then, will the puppet army be able to play the U.S. Army's role on the battlefield? The New York TIMES on 2 June 1969 affirmed: "It is a waste to try to reinforce the South Vietnamese Army" -- that is, the puppet army -- "in men and equipment." On 3 September 1969, AP reported that "the United States is supplying the South Vietnamese army with large doses of modern equipment. But many U.S. officers fear that the patient does not have sufficient time to consume this large quantity of medicine." These views reflect part of the truth.
If one can avoid losing a war with extensive equipment, why have the U.S. troops sustained successive setbacks when they possess every type of weapon?

It is the enemy's pacification program is an extremely shrewd scheme, but this very slender prospect is not a supernatural, precious, and strange object for the South Vietnamese. It is rather a set of pincers which our armed forces and people have smashed on several occasions.

The enemy is sufficiently cruel to massacre our people but the latter, with sufficient bravery and hatred for him, have dealt appropriate punitive blows at him. He wants to resort to deceitful and bribery moves to win our people's hearts and minds. However, since he used to look at our people's hearts and minds through the [words indistinct] of weapons, how can he believe that with the "just cause" he can win over the people and how can he find men to consolidate his regime?

Our people and armed forces have lived through several years of fierce pacification operations, have won very glorious victories, and have gained ample experience in their very heroic struggle. They will surely have sufficient determination, bravery, perseverance, capability, and wisdom to smash every new pacification scheme of the enemy.

(C) Everyone knows that the Saigon puppet administration is a gang of swindlers and country-sellers, a group of most despicable tyrants, a band of political speculators under the guise of religion, and an army of mercenaries serving France and then the United States.

Our entire people have humiliated this administration, which has relied on bayonets and crimes to subsist, U.S. troops must get out and the puppet troops must be overthrown.

The pacification program has been smashed. The puppet administration's fate is very precarious. However, since the U.S. puppetts are now trying to use this rotten administration to implant false nationalist spirit and a false sense of independence and freedom in our people, how can they succeed? An administration in which the rulers are always ready to flee, and administration which broad sections of public opinion consider incapable of surviving over 2 hours after the U.S. troops' withdrawal from South Vietnam, will surely collapse completely.

(D) Everyone knows that the puppetts' economy is a stretching but uprooted tree, possessing no endless resources. The U.S. economy is not so omnipotent that the Nixon clique can pour out dollars to sow turmoil in the world. Further, this economy is now weakened by inflation, gold flow, imbalance in production branches and between receipts and expenditures which have been caused by the war situation in Vietnam. Since the U.S. economy is not stable and strong, how can the puppetts' begging economy become strong?

It is clear that Vietnamization is a scheme based on defeats. It is now sticking to the factor of defeat to salvage a defeated situation: This is a new dialectic of old schemes that have been defeated and that have been renewed to fit the present impact of the U.S. and its puppets so as to salvage U.S. honor through the most shameful deeds of the U.S. aggressors.
3.-The Present, Actual Situation of the Vietnamization and its Prospects

In the present situation, the temporary strongpoints of the Americans and the puppets cannot be developed, but are strictly limited by the strong effects of our victories on the battlefields. Meanwhile, their basic weakpoints have emerged and developed more obviously and are bound up with one another, causing the Vietnamization program to be stalemated. That is why at present, while carrying on the Vietnamization plan, the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys, who still set all their hopes on it, never dare believe it will be successful. They hope that their bombs and bullets and crimes will be able to change the situation. They also hope that, faced with the difficulties caused by them, our troops and people will become weak and tired, lose their militant will and confidence, and retreat, giving way for the enemy to move forward and win victory.

Their hopes have never been fulfilled, whereas what they have tried to avoid has continuously occurred. The want to experiment with Vietnamization in certain areas like Dakto, Duc Lap, Bu Prang, Long Khanh, the Mekong River Delta, and other places. But in these areas they have experienced the heaviest defeats. They want to reduce the U.S. casualty toll by withdrawing U.S. troops, but it has kept increasing. On 8 December 1969, U.S. Senator Fulbright stated before the U.S. Congress: "During the 9 months of Nixon's rule, U.S. casualties in Vietnam increased twice those during the same period under Johnson's rule."

They want us to be not strong enough to attack them, so that the intensity of the war may gradually wane while they remain in a strong position. However, our attacks not only have not diminished in tempo and intensity but also have been repeatedly, vigorously, and comprehensively launched throughout the battlefields, thus prompting them to be more embarrassed and on the defensive. They hoped that by withdrawing troops they could be able to weaken the American people's struggle movement but, being thoroughly aware of their deceitful maneuvers, the American people have continued to vigorously struggle, demanding that the Nixon administration totally withdraw the U.S.-satellite troops from South Vietnam.

The more developed the aforementioned realities, the more numerous the contradictions among the U.S.-puppet ranks. As a result of the fact that the withdrawn U.S. troops have not been replaced with puppet troops in time, the remaining U.S. troops and existing puppet troops have had to be spread thinly: In the Tri-Thien area, because the 3d U.S. Marine Division left, the 101st U.S. Airborne Division has had to have its troops deployed on a long front, from the southern side of the demilitarized zone to the Hai Van mountain pass.

In Quang Nam and Quang Ngai, a segment of the 1st U.S. Marine Regiment, which had been withdrawn from its area of operations. In the 3d tactical zone, the U.S. Air Cavalry Division and Tropical Lightning Division had to additionally shoulder the activities that were left by the Big Red One Division and that are beyond the capabilities of the puppet 5th Division.
With the shortage of forces, the deployment and moving of enemy troops has been in a critical situation, mobile forces have been busy with fixed defense. More seriously, the enemy's defense system has not been stronger at all but has exposed many of its weak points. Everywhere, enemy units have considered it their main task to stay where they are, waiting for our attacks and being rarely able to provide each other with reinforcements. Many U.S.-puppet units have been charged with guarding the so-called pacified areas and if they left these areas the results of their pacification there would be nullified at once.

In order to overcome the aforementioned impasse, the Thieu-Ky-Khiem clique has asked the Americans for many dollars so as to more speedily build the puppet troops, but this demand has been responded to unsatisfactorily and not in time and has been met only in a drop-by-drop manner.

The above realities are great enough for the U.S. and world opinion to see that the United States will necessarily fail. Harriman, former head of the U.S. delegation at the Paris peace talks, asserted that Vietnamization is a totally mistaken strategy and that Nixon's Vietnamization will do no other thing than to prolong the war with the active participation of the United States (REUTERS, 14 March). On 2 September 1969, UPI reported that many high-ranking Pentagon officers including General Westmoreland, have not believed in the success of Vietnamization. Suspicion has prompted the enemy ranks to assess the situation in different way.

On pacification, whereas the Americans claimed gratuitously that 77 percent of the population was under U.S.-puppet control, the puppets exaggerated it to a ridiculous 97 percent. But both have put the figure at 40 percent. But even at 40 percent, they have had to change their calculation system and standards to classify hamlets in order to display a falsely optimistic picture.

Meanwhile, many observers throughout the world, even in the United States, have pointed out that their pacification results can collapse completely overnight. According to the 6 February 1970 INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, at the U.S. Senate many U.S. senators pessimistically said that despite optimistic reports on pacification progress, Senate investigators have found enough evidence of communist strength—meaning the South Vietnamese people in general—and Saigon weakness—meaning the puppets—to conclude that military and pacification achievements to date are frail and can vanish.

The Americans have diverged in evaluating our strength, reassuring themselves that we have been weakened and are unable to launch an offensive, whereas others estimate that we are strong and preparing to launch a big offensive. But they all tremble at the thought that the firestorm of offensive and uprisings of our armed forces and people can come at any time.

Some have claimed that Viet Cong bases have been destroyed, whereas others have observed: "Viet Cong infrastructure remains intact." Meanwhile, every week and every month, they have noisily complained about the plight of their cruel, diehard agents operating in localities—whom they call civilians, an innocent name!—who have been increasingly punished by the people.
Some have boasted that our forces have been weakened, but many others still feel that our powerful units are intact and are like sharp swords pointed at their throats. Despite every effort to evaluate our armed strength and predict our actions, a U.S. officer found this brain-twisting conclusion: "What we are sure about is that we do not know what the enemy intends to do." Thus, what is the use of disputing who is passive? By refusing to recognize that they are passive in all respects while anxiously waiting for and fearing an enemy offensive, the Americans are actually holding the initiative in carrying staggering blows. They know little about the puppet army's real strength because at least 10 percent of the names on the monthly payrolls are of dead persons. Some died long ago, or deserted, or were never in the puppet army or never existed.

Following his recent inspection trip to South Vietnam, skeptical Secretary of State Laird had to say that "we must foresee a number of temporary backward steps," and that "the path toward achieving Vietnamization is not difficulty- and disappointment-proof." Not believing in his subordinates, Nixon urged Thompson, a defeated British general who was one of Ngo Dinh Diem's advisers, to assess the situation for him. Late in 1969 and early 1970 the Americans and their puppets advanced assessments of the situation.

Previously, by assessing the Viet Cong strength, McNamara and Westmoreland succeeded many times in heightening their army's morale and in deceiving world opinion. But their lies are clearly exposed now. Therefore no matter how deceitful Nixon and the Thieu-Ky-Khiem clique is, nor how optimistic their situational assessment might be, they cannot minimize the American people's and their own skepticism. Worse, present assessments are too contradictory, and Nixon has actually been driven into the dark impasse bequeathed by Johnson.

Our southern armed forces and people directly tell the Nixon clique that Vietnamization is only a hopeless path leading the U.S. aggressors to extremely shameful defeats and Nixon to his political grave. It is certain that this path will become the impasse of the U.S. imperialists in South Vietnam.

Presently, implementing Vietnamization, the enemy is endeavoring to beset our people with difficulties. But with the posture of winners and in the flush of successes, our armed forces and people, certainly overcoming every hardship and sacrifice, will valiantly and strongly attack the Americans on every battlefields, thus smashing the enemy's Vietnamization completely. All our armed forces and people are determined to heighten their stand and spirit of fighting the Americans until the end, to constantly heighten vigilance before the extremely perfidious maneuvers of the Americans and their puppets, to constantly and fiercely attack and arise, and to gain increasingly greater successes.

With our determination being increasingly firm and tenacious, our lines increasingly correct, and our position and forces increasingly strong, we will certainly completely defeat Vietnamization and all other enemy maneuvers under any circumstances. Implementing President Ho's sacred testament, our armed forces and people are determined to persevere and strongly advance the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance to total victory.
A Wicked Policy Born of Failure

The wicked, obdurate and brutal character of "Vietnamization" is found most strikingly in the "rural pacification" program considered by the U.S. as the last battle the victor of which will win the war, as AP reported on December 1, 1969.

The main aim of "pacification" is to round up the people, pressgang young people into the puppet army, bolster up the stooge administration, and cope with our people's uprising.

To heard people into concentration camps, the U.S. puppets have poured bombs, shells, and toxic chemicals to raze villages, cropfields and orchards of the people. They plunder the people's property, wantonly arrest and massacre people, and in some areas even blast the people's bomb-shelters with mines then shell the villages to deprive the people of anti-raid refuges. All their barbarous acts are aimed at driving the people into areas under their control, where they are physically and morally swayed by military posts and secret agents, poisoned by psywar means, depraved American way of life and tied to the American economy....

In the towns under their tight control, the U.S. aggressors and their flunkeys are well aware that they are hated by the people and even many of their officers and personnel. They are beefing up their police and security forces, especially in Saigon, to crack down on the revolutionary forces and on the opponent parties and the peace and neutralist forces now developing widely in South Vietnam....
"Vietnamization" is an immediate and at the same time a long-term scheme of Nixon and his agents. Though sustaining bitter failures, the U.S. aggressors still do not renounce their basic scheme—grabbing our country—for that reason on the path of unavoidable defeat, they are counter-attacking us fiercely while trying to create a basis for lasting opposition to us.

To prepare for both their immediate and long-term schemes, the U.S.-puppets are frenziedly organizing, besides military forces, political forces for continued opposition to the revolution in the future.

In the areas still under their control, they are building up bases, training counter-revolutionary agents, organizing forces for intelligence and espionage to slip into the revolutionary ranks and sabotage our revolutionary power. In the towns, under their control, the U.S. aggressors are trying to hold faster the political organizations and getting their pawns ready for the present and the future to cope with any eventuality....

In the economic sphere, the wicked character of the "Vietnamization" plan is more manifest in the enemy's long term policies against our people. Apart from exploitation, tax increase, inflation, plunder, so as to increase on-the-spot supplies for the war and fill the budget gaps and the pockets of the puppet military and administrative bosses, the U.S. aggressors also want to sabotage our economy and cut the supplies to the revolution.

The wicked character of the "Vietnamization" program is also proven by the U.S. intention to cope simultaneously with both the South Vietnam revolution and the American people's struggle and the world-wide movement against the U.S. aggressive war.

With their present troop withdrawal manoeuvres, the Nixon clique hope to reduce American casualties and U.S. war expenditures thereby dragging on the aggressive war in South Vietnam while lessening the contradictions among the American people, and improving the political situation in the United States.

By so doing, Nixon also hopes to avoid a political accident like the one that smashed Lyndon Johnson's career and avoid the ill fame of the "first defeated president of the United States." He hopes to cling to the presidential chair for many more years and maintain the Republican Party administration which is facing strong condemnation for its issueless war of aggression in Vietnam.

With regard to the world's peoples, the U.S. aggressors hope to cover up their true features. Success in "Vietnamization" might eventually save part of their power, thereby saving part of their global strategy now on the way to fiasco. It is because they have pinned high hopes on "Vietnamization" that the Nixon clique have become more obdurate, brutal, and wicked in their efforts to carry out their global strategy scheme in their present stalemate.

RURAL COMPATRIOTS INCREASE PRODUCTION EFFORT

Liberation Radio (Clandestine) in Vietnamese to South Vietnam 1100 GMT 21 Apr 70 S