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**Nguyen Van Hieu**

**“SPECIAL WAR”  
— AN OUTGROWTH OF  
NEO-COLONIALISM**

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS PEKING

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**PUBLISHER'S NOTE**

This is a report delivered at the Peking Scientific Symposium in 1964 by Prof. Nguyen Van Hieu, Head of the South Vietnamese Scientific Delegation and Member of the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation.

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Dear Delegates,

We have come here from the scene of an aggressive war now raging in the form of "special war" conducted by U.S. imperialism, and from the scene of a liberation war of the entire people of South Vietnam. The U.S. imperialists have often boasted of their "war science", but this is not *science* in the noble sense of the word, although the imperialist war machine makes use of many scientific and technical discoveries; it is an *anti-science* in every sense. On the other hand, it is clear that the people, who are fighting and winning a war *for their own survival and with their powerful vitality*, are contributing to the genuine science of mankind, whose aim is to defend and develop the life of man and society.

What then is the "special war" of U.S. imperialism, and how can the revolutionary people of a small country completely defeat that kind of counter-revolutionary war? These are the problems which the social science workers of South Vietnam have been studying and which form the content of this report.

## NEO-COLONIALISM

Before dealing with "special war", we should like to express some of our views on neo-colonialism.

Most countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America have been victims of old colonialism, and at present, about 50

million people are still groaning under oppression and exploitation by old colonialism.

After the Second World War, the peoples of the colonial countries have risen up and struggled powerfully to win national independence. Many countries have liberated themselves from the imperialist yoke. The forces of peace and social progress have also greatly developed with the rapid growth of the socialist countries. On the other hand, the imperialist countries have been torn by contradictions: the more they try to find new methods to moderate their conflicts, the more acute their contradictions become.

This situation has compelled the imperialists hurriedly to collaborate with the reactionaries and traitors in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, with the aim of maintaining their colonialist domination under new forms and by new methods. Thus people have seen the emergence of Ngo Dinh Diem, Syngman Rhee, Abdul Rahman, Mobutu-Tshombe and the like. To prettify these puppets, imperialism has created for them a façade of fake independence and democracy, with a separate administrative machine, a separate army, and a separate economic and financial organization.

However, nobody can believe that Ngo Dinh Diem, Syngman Rhee, Abdul Rahman, Mobutu and their kind are patriots and that their regimes are really independent states. Everybody knows that behind them — or more exactly above them — are the real masters, the imperialist cliques. And a preliminary study of the regimes of that type in the world will reveal that U.S. imperialism is the most rapacious and dangerous ringleader of imperialism.

The goal of the U.S. imperialists has often been clearly expounded by their representatives. It is to turn small and weak countries into colonies of a new type and into military bases to serve their aggressive and war-seeking policy. The American magazine *U.S. News and World Report* on January 28, 1949, blatantly expressed the evil design of U.S. imperialism as follows: Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos abound in strategic materials necessary for the war industry, especially tin, antimony and tungsten, which the United States lacks. On January 13, 1954, J. F. Dulles declared: From the strategic point of view, American interests in the Far East are closely linked with what is usually called the string of offshore islands. These islands have two bases on the mainland: Korea in the north and Indo-China in the south. Between these two bases are the islands of Japan, Ryukyu, China's Taiwan, the Philippines, Australia and New Zealand.

How has U.S. imperialism been carrying out neo-colonialism in South Vietnam?

French old colonialism completely collapsed in 1954 and the Geneva agreements on Vietnam were concluded. These agreements solemnly recognized the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of the Vietnamese people and provided that on July 20, 1956 free general elections were to be held throughout the country to achieve the peaceful reunification of Vietnam. However, the U.S. imperialists moved in, ousted France and rigged up their puppet administration in South Vietnam.

The political manoeuvre of the United States and its lackeys also consists in paying lip-service to "independence" and "democracy". Unfortunately enough for the U.S. imperialists, the South Vietnamese are a people who know only too well what genuine independence and de-

mocracy are, having long been fighting for independence and democracy and having gone through a war of resistance lasting nine years. That is why no sooner had the banner of "independence" and "democracy" been hoisted by the U.S. puppets than it had to be pulled down. That is why within a short time the puppet regime has become fascist, resorting to bloody repressions known to everybody.

At the same time, U.S. imperialism has used economic and military means. Concerning "economic aid", the monopolist Rockefeller, in a letter to President Eisenhower, wrote: "We must make full and clever use of our economic aid to realize the aim of forcing countries to sign military agreements, we must do it in a flexible way. . . ."

In South Vietnam, however flexibly the United States may proceed with its "aid", it cannot conceal the fact that 80 per cent of U.S. aid is military aid. From 1954 to 1963, the U.S. poured into South Vietnam nearly four billion dollars. The present rate is nearly two million dollars a day. This huge sum has been used mainly for military purposes: feeding 600,000 mercenary troops and all kinds of lackeys, building 111 airfields and 11 naval ports. . . . Furthermore, the so-called "joint security" agreement signed between the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys in South Vietnam clearly stipulates that the puppet administration must "contribute, as far as its manpower and material resources permit, its own means to the development and maintenance of the joint defence forces" (Article I-c).

In short, *the main characteristic of neo-colonialism is the collaboration of imperialism with local reactionaries and the maintaining of their colonial rule and interests*

*by means of economic and military "aid" and the establishment of military bases and military alliances, etc.*

Clearly, under whatever form it may disguise itself imperialism has not in any way changed its aggressive and bellicose nature. The form of neo-colonialism has become a grave danger in Asia, Africa and Latin America, because it is a widespread and very cunning form of colonialism and because U.S. imperialism is the ringleader of neo-colonialism.

### **"SPECIAL WAR"**

U.S. imperialism has gone farther than any other imperialism in carrying out neo-colonialism. To oppose the national liberation movement, the U.S. imperialists have been using what they call "special war" in given conditions. It is this kind of war that they are testing in the southern part of Vietnam, with the aim of gaining experience to suppress the national liberation movements throughout the world.

This kind of war is the outgrowth of neo-colonialism in the present international situation.

A few years ago, relying on its temporary superiority in nuclear weapons, the United States devised the military strategy of "mass retaliation", with a view to threatening and enslaving the peoples.

However, the revolutionary movement in the world did not die down as a result of that threat. On the contrary, it has been developing powerfully. As our Indonesian friends often say, the "new emerging forces" are gaining ground and the world situation is developing more and more unfavourably for the imperialists. The revolution-

ary movement — of different characters — has succeeded in a series of countries: China, Vietnam, Korea, Indonesia, Algeria, Cuba, etc. The strategy of “mass retaliation” with nuclear weapons has proved useless, and U.S. imperialism has been increasingly losing the initiative. As a result, the United States has had to change its strategy to that of “flexible response”, dividing wars into three kinds, world war, local war, and sub-local war, that is, “special war”. With this new strategy, they hope to win the local initiative in their general defensive position.

“Special war” is an aggressive war of a new type which suits the policy of neo-colonialism. Just as economically the imperialists use the reactionary puppet administrations to exploit the people, *in carrying out aggressive war they mainly use the armies of those puppet administrations, but supply arms and money, take direct command and bring in their own troops to take part in the fight to a certain degree.*

Why has U.S. imperialism unleashed a “special war” in South Vietnam?

As said above, the new-type colonialist regime in South Vietnam has, within a short time after its establishment, dropped its deceitful mask of “independence” and “democracy” before the eyes not only of the labouring masses who are the most cruelly oppressed and exploited, but also of the intelligentsia and business circles. From 1955 to 1959, the whole of South Vietnam was a hell on earth. The people who demanded elementary rights and democracy were suppressed in cold blood. Many intellectuals and scientific workers who only asked for peace, independence and the reunification of their country, were barbarously tortured or simply liquidated. That is why the South Vietnamese people have arisen and put up a fierce

resistance, shaking the puppet administration of U.S. imperialism to its foundations.

In the face of this stormy wave of struggle, to save the neo-colonialist regime they had rigged up, the U.S. imperialists have gone a step further and developed their policy of violence into a "special war".

The launching and waging of "special war" is closely associated with the names of Kennedy, Johnson, McNamara, Taylor and others. In mid-1961, Johnson, then Vice-President of the United States, came to Saigon on orders from Kennedy to work out a plan for suppressing the patriotic movement in South Vietnam. The plan consists of two main points:

1. To set up a U.S. Military Command, increase the mercenary army, and introduce more American "advisers", armaments and war material;
2. To carry out the so-called Staley-Taylor Plan to "pacify South Vietnam within 18 months".

In the "special war", the United States has used the puppet army as its main force. U.S. imperialism is actually the "father" of that army, as U.S. General John O'Daniel put it. The U.S. imperialists have equipped, trained and directly command the mercenary army. The armed forces of the South Vietnam puppet regime now number 600,000 men.

In February 1962, the United States set up its Operation Command in Saigon disguised as M.A.C. (Military Assistance Command). That command comprises more than a dozen generals and directs the war through a system of "military advisers" of whom there are now about 30,000. You must often have read from American papers that the U.S. "advisers" are only engaged in "training" missions. That is a sheer fiction. In reality, U.S. officers and troops

have been directly shooting and killing our compatriots. This contingent of U.S. "advisers" in no way differs from an expeditionary force coming from thousands of miles away to our country to sow death and ruin. Yet, according to the logic of the U.S. government, it is we Vietnamese who are the aggressor!

The United States has also illegally brought to South Vietnam tens of thousands of tons of armaments, hundreds of aircraft, tanks, warships and other war materials. There are now over 700 U.S. aircraft in South Vietnam, that is, five air divisions, equivalent to the air forces of the French Expeditionary Corps on the whole Indo-China battlefield in the past.

Following Lyndon Johnson's trip to Saigon in May 1961, the United States resolved to put into effect the Staley-Taylor Plan aimed at pacifying South Vietnam within 18 months.

It must be pointed out that when drawing up this plan, the U.S. imperialists based themselves on "theories" and "measures" of which they were very confident.

The American theory in this connection was summed up by Bernard Fall, Professor of Harvard University, who wrote in a book entitled *Chronicle of a Revolutionary War* (R. Laffont — Ed. Paris): "One may expect an eventual victory of the 'forces of order' when the latter reach a *threshold* of superiority of 20 to 1."

According to U.S. calculations, the balance of forces between them and the Liberation Army was in the ratio of 10 to 1 at the beginning of 1962. It was their hope to increase the effective strength of the mercenary army and to decimate the revolutionary forces to such an extent that by the end of 1962 this ratio would be 20 to 1.

Tactically the U.S. imperialists based themselves on the experience drawn from the wars of repression against the national liberation movements in Malaya, the Philippines, Greece, etc., and on a study of the distinctive features of guerrilla wars in a number of colonies and semi-colonies. Indeed, they displayed a certain amount of cleverness when they remarked that the national liberation movement in backward agricultural countries was chiefly a peasant movement and the strength of guerrilla forces stemmed from the fact that the guerrillas lived among the people just like fish in water. However, the American strategists were stupid when they concluded that to defeat the guerrillas it was necessary to "scoop water dry to catch the fish". On the basis of this theory, the Staley-Taylor Plan provided for the concentration of the major part of the South Vietnamese population — that is 14 million people — into 17,000 prisons which they called "strategic hamlets" in order completely to isolate the guerrilla forces which they hoped to wipe out.

Thus, the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen made large-scale raids, using bombs and bullets to herd the population into concentration camps. They forced millions of peasants to leave their homes and fields to live within barbed wire stockades under an extremely harsh prison regime.

At the same time, they applied modern tactics and techniques in attacking the people's armed forces.

Their most widely advertised technique is that of lightning attack by helicopter-borne troops. With hundreds of helicopters of all kinds — the H-21, HU-1A, HU-1B, etc. — they speedily moved groups of commandoes to launch surprise attacks on the guerrillas.

Relying on their helicopters, they have worked out a series of tactics such as "Eagle Flight", "Prey-Catching Eagles", or "Net Spreading" on the ground and "Javelin Throws" from the air, etc. According to a Reuter report of July 7, 1964, in 1963 alone American aircraft, mostly helicopters, made 300,000 sorties, moving half a million troops.

The U.S. imperialists have also often boasted of their new techniques in anti-guerrilla warfare, from quick-firing carbines to napalm bombs, from toxic chemicals to phosphorous shells. Continuing the crimes of the Hitlerite fascists, they have made use of scientific discoveries and employed barbarous means of war which have long been banned by international law.

Here we would like to deal only with the criminal policy of the U.S. imperialists of using poisonous chemicals in South Vietnam. The *National Guardian* of April 18, 1963 reported: "Seven months ago the White House approved operation 'Ranch Hand', whose purpose was to hit the guerrillas in the belly by destroying the ricefields." In carrying out this viperous plan, U.S. aircraft spread poisonous chemicals on 200 occasions on many areas from August 1961 to May 1964, infecting 20,000 civilians, many of whom died, killing thousands of domestic animals and destroying more than 300,000 hectares of rice and other crops.

According to investigations made by the South Vietnam Liberation Red Cross, the U.S. imperialists have sprayed 2-4D and 2-4-5T poisons in large doses, white arsenic, various kinds of alkali and alkaline earth arsenites, calcic cyanamide, dinitrophenol (DNP) and dinitro-orthocresol (DNC). These new war criminals have tried to deny

their crimes but they have been positively exposed by world scientists. American scientists themselves have sternly denounced them. On June 19, 1964 the Federation of American Scientists issued a statement saying among other things:

. . . The published information suggests that considerable effort is being devoted to development of lethal agents such as those causing anthrax and pneumonic plague.

Reports that defoliating agents have been used [in Vietnam] to destroy protective cover have been confirmed by representatives of the Defence Department. These charges give rise to the broader implication that the U.S. is using the Vietnamese battlefield as a proving ground for chemical and biological warfare. FAS is opposed to the "first use" of chemical and biological weapons. We are further opposed to experimentation on foreign soil. (From *I. F. Stone's Weekly*, July 6, 1964.)

We have described above the distinctive features of the "special war" in South Vietnam, a kind of war that suits neo-colonialism and is being conducted by U.S. imperialism with their tremendous war machine and extremely barbarous methods. Relying on their superiority in finance, armaments and war material, the U.S. imperialists thought that they could attack quickly and win a quick victory over the South Vietnamese people. But the facts in the past three years have proved that if "special war" is a natural outgrowth of the new colonialism of U.S. imperialism in South Vietnam, it is also the last stage of new colonialism in South Vietnam.

## THE LIBERATION WAR OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE

The U.S. imperialists nurture vast ambitions and are determined to realize them in South Vietnam. However, those "theories" which they claim to be a kind of "science of anti-guerrilla warfare" are based on non-essential factors, and are therefore devoid of any scientific basis. The imperialists can only see the apparent strength of dollars, aircraft and toxic chemicals, but do not see that the basic and most decisive factor is *man*.

The *man* in South Vietnam means the Vietnamese people. For centuries Vietnam has been a united country, historically, economically and culturally. The Vietnamese people have a tradition of indomitable struggle against foreign aggression. They threw off the yokes of the Japanese and French imperialists, victoriously carried out the August Revolution, conducted a 9-year war of resistance against the French colonialists assisted by the American imperialists, and wrote a glorious page of their history, Dien Bien Phu, which led to the concluding of the 1954 Geneva agreements.

Such a people saw through the U.S. imperialists' spurious slogans of "nationalism", "independence" and "democracy" right at the beginning. And right at the beginning, absolute political superiority was on the side of the revolutionary forces, although they were weaker than the enemy militarily and materially. It may be said that the South Vietnamese people began their fight with bare hands but they possess an invincible strength in their nation-wide solidarity, correct line of struggle and united determination to fight and win.

In the first years following the signing of the Geneva agreements, the South Vietnamese people stuck to non-violent methods of struggle in demanding improved living conditions, peace, independence and democracy. But the enemy answered with bullets and bombs. Our compatriots went through the darkest days under the ruthless terror of the imperialists and their henchmen. From 1959 onward, the South Vietnamese people were compelled to take up arms for self-defence and they are resolved not to put down their arms as long as the U.S. imperialists do not give up their aggressive policy. \*

The extensive and resolute struggle of the entire South Vietnamese people led to the founding of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation on December 20, 1960. \*

The Front is the banner rallying patriots from all walks of life and of different political parties, religious creeds and nationalities to oppose the U.S. imperialist aggressors, overthrow all cliques of henchmen of the U.S. imperialists in the country and achieve independence, democracy, improved living conditions, peace and neutrality, in preparation for the reunification of the Fatherland. The Front is the only genuine representative of the most urgent aspirations of the South Vietnamese people. Under its leadership the South Vietnamese people have smashed the perfidious plans of the U.S. imperialists one after another and are defeating their "special war" in South Vietnam.

According to the wishful thinking of the American strategists, with the implementing of the Staley-Taylor Plan the patriotic movement in South Vietnam should have been stamped out by the end of 1962. But the whole world knows that this prediction is long overdue for fulfilment, yet the South Vietnam National Front for Libera-

tion continues to exist and the South Vietnamese people's fight is developing more powerfully than ever.

Indeed, the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen have increased their forces, but on the other hand the revolutionary forces have been built and have grown up quickly. That is why even the American press has had to admit that the manpower ratio is daily changing in favour of the South Vietnamese people. Likewise, according to the American press, whereas this ratio was 10 to 1 at the beginning of 1962, by early 1964, while the imperialists and their lackeys had 600,000 troops at their disposal, the revolutionary forces were already composed of 150,000 men, that is, the ratio was 4 to 1. The logical conclusion would be that if they want to defeat 150,000 guerrillas, the U.S. imperialists must have 20 times this number, that is, 3 million troops. To think of building a 3 million-strong army in an area with only 14 million people is indeed a day-dream!

But the fundamental mistake in the above theories is the imperialists' appraisal of the strength of the revolutionary movement. In a people's war, the duty to fight is voluntarily accepted not just by a few, but by the entire people, old and young, men and women, each being at the same time a producer and a fighter, each house being a fortress, and each village a defence line.

To counter the "special war" of U.S. imperialism, the South Vietnamese people are carrying out an extensive and powerful guerrilla war, a nation-wide, all-round and protracted war against an enemy who has absolute superiority in material forces and modern weapons. The South Vietnamese people have used their originally weak forces to fight stronger ones and have opposed modern weapons with their spirit of heroic sacrifice.

In this "special war", U.S. imperialism and its lackeys rely mainly on their military forces, but they have also to use political, economic and cultural means to deceive and exploit the people and poison their minds. That is why the South Vietnamese people are simultaneously carrying on armed and political struggles, and are closely combining these two forms.

The fundamental strength of the South Vietnamese people lies in their politics and this is also the fundamental weakness of the enemy. From the beginning of 1961 to the end of April 1964, participants in political struggles both in the countryside and the towns amounted to over 90 million people/times. These struggles took violent and non-violent forms at different times, combined legal, semi-legal and illegal forms of struggle, and used revolutionary might to demand improved living conditions and democracy, oppose terror and the aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism, and demand the realization of independence, peace and neutrality. In the process of struggle, a powerful political force has taken shape, with an organization comprising people of all social strata, opinions and ages, having a high degree of political consciousness. This political force comprises people of all strata, while the great majority of them are peasants, for South Vietnam is a backward agricultural region subject to imperialist domination and at the same time semi-feudal in character. The national liberation struggle in South Vietnam is therefore closely linked with the struggle for the liberation of the peasants. At present, over two-thirds of South Vietnam with a population of more than 7 million has been liberated under the leadership of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, and over 1,500,000 hectares of land, or more

than half of the cultivated land, are owned by the peasants.

The members of the revolutionary armed forces come from the people. They gather strength from their high fighting spirit, the *justice* of the cause they are defending and the solidarity in their struggle for *common goals*. The people have waged revolutionary wars to oppose counter-revolutionary aggressive wars. The people have their own strategies and tactics, and have inflicted great losses on the enemy. From early 1961 to June 1964, the armed forces and people of South Vietnam fought 64,000 battles, big and small, annihilated and put out of action over 300,000 enemy troops, including more than 2,000 Americans, and captured tens of thousands of guns of various kinds. The people make great use of rudimentary weapons such as bows and cross-bows, spiked pits, booby traps, etc. Clearly, these are short-range weapons, but because the aggressive troops are carrying on an unjust war, they move into the countryside to plunder and destroy and thus bring the targets closer to the people's, rudimentary weapons. Of course the Liberation Army has modern weapons too, which, as the American paper *Wall Street Journal* admitted on September 26, 1963, have been captured from the United States and its henchmen.

In the "special war", the main force of the enemy is the army of the puppet administration. But the overwhelming majority of the troops of this army are sons and brothers of the labouring people who are oppressed and exploited by the aggressors and traitors. Once they understand the justice of the people's cause, they readily turn their guns against their own commanders. The morale of such an army is bound to be low. According to incomplete figures, from early 1961 to late June 1964,

over 65,000 enemy troops deserted in the whole of South Vietnam, many of them joining the Liberation Army.

Combining the use of rudimentary and modern weapons, combining armed fighting with political struggle and agitation among enemy troops and officers, the army and people of South Vietnam have unceasingly destroyed and worn out the enemy forces, and tempered and developed their own forces. As a result, the enemy's plans for repression and persecution and their new tactics have been defeated one after another.

The most cruel policy of U.S. imperialism is that of herding people into "strategic hamlets". It harms the interests and life of the entire people of South Vietnam, the overwhelming majority of whom are peasants. That is why it has been smashed by the people who have stood up. It is crystal-clear that wherever there is oppression, there is struggle and that the "guerrillas" are none other than the indignant peasants who have stood up to fight. Therefore, when the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys set fire to houses, raze gardens, destroy crops and force the peasants to leave their dearly loved plots of land to live in concentration camps, the peasants become "guerrillas". They wage a life-and-death struggle with the land-grabbers, wresting back every inch of land and defending every small vegetable garden and every paddy-field. When the enemy manages to put them in concentration camps, contrary to the desire of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys to separate the guerrillas from the people, it is precisely the people in the "strategic hamlets" who rise up to smash the imperialist jails, not once, but dozens of times, not in one place, but in thousands of places.

This is a liberation movement conducted by the peasants themselves, the movement of millions of people, with an unflinching heroism never seen before in Vietnam's history. The movement has its own laws, which the South Vietnamese peasants have mastered and successfully applied. In the course of the struggle, a huge organized political force has come into being, with an armed contingent rich in experience.

At present, of the 8,000 "strategic hamlets" set up by the enemy over the past three years, over 80 per cent have been destroyed by the people. A new feature of the movement to destroy "strategic hamlets" is that the people not only destroy hamlets one by one, but by whole groups, and turn the destroyed hamlets into "fighting villages" of their own. "Fighting villages" are fortresses in the countryside. Everywhere they surround enemy posts, carrying into effect the people's strategy of turning the enemy from their original position of encircling the people into the position of being encircled by the people. Incidentally, we would like to mention that even in the occupied towns and cities the enemy are also being encircled by the people. Typical of this situation is the case of the U.S. embassy in Saigon which has become a blockhouse, if not a prison, or the case of General Maxwell Taylor arriving in Saigon, heavily surrounded by barbed wire barricades and secret agents!

The failure of the "strategic hamlets" plan is a most bitter blow for the enemy, because they considered it the "backbone" of their plan for attacking and destroying the revolutionary movement in South Vietnam. Other U.S. tactics and techniques have also proved ineffective in face of the stubborn resistance of the South Vietnamese people.

The "helicopter-borne tactics" of the enemy, loudly publicized as invincible, have gone bankrupt in South Vietnam. The advantage of the helicopter-borne tactics lies in its sudden action, quick assault and quick withdrawal, but the army and people of South Vietnam have maintained their high revolutionary tactical thinking that "nobody can fight as quickly as those who are guarding their own homes". Our people are simultaneously producing and fighting. Wherever they go, enemy helicopters now find our fields bristling with sharp spikes, waiting for them, and everywhere they meet with guerrillas ready to "shoot" them down with all the weapons at their disposal, as people shoot birds, even this is a kind of bird which the American imperialists boastfully call "eagle"!

Our people have relied on their own advantages, their heroic fighting spirit and revolutionary strategy and tactics, and have exploited the weak points of the enemy to oppose the "helicopter-borne tactics". So far, 80 per cent of the helicopters brought by the U.S. to South Vietnam have either been shot down or damaged. Following the battles of Ap Bac, Loc Ninh, Cha La and many others, it can be said that, equipped as they are at present, the armed forces and people of South Vietnam are fully capable of defeating the "helicopter-borne tactics" of the United States.

In their confused, defensive position, the U.S. imperialists have been guilty of a vicious crime against the South Vietnamese people, that is, the spraying of toxic chemicals. Of course, toxic chemicals have caused considerable losses to our people, but they cannot subdue the South Vietnamese people; on the contrary, the U.S. im-

perialists and their lackeys have suffered still heavier setbacks.

As we have said, "special war" is an outgrowth of neo-colonialism, and it mainly relies on the local army and on the success of the policy of winning over the local population. Thus, if the enemy spray toxic chemicals to destroy crops in a battle area where the revolutionary and the imperialist forces are locked together in the fight, they will reap the following consequences:

1. The people will be still more indignant at the aggressors and fight more vigorously against them;

2. As most of the families of the puppet soldiers and administrators have their homes in the countryside, they also suffer damage. Therefore, not only the people but the members of the puppet army and administration also oppose such barbarous U.S. tactics;

3. The U.S. imperialists try to rely mainly on the manpower and material resources of the colonial country to support their aggressive war, hence, if they use toxic chemicals to any great degree, they will deprive themselves of their own source of food supply and defeat their own purpose.

Besides, in spraying toxic chemicals, the U.S. imperialists expose many weak points which the people may exploit to oppose them.

At the same time, by bringing their fighting spirit into full play, the people can limit the damage caused by toxic chemicals and in fact, in many localities the enemy have had to desist for the time being in face of the stern protest of the population.

The crimes of the U.S. imperialists have also been severely condemned by the people of the whole world. Many scientists and intellectuals, among them the British

philosopher Lord Bertrand Russell, have denounced the U.S. imperialists. The powerful reaction of the people of the world has compelled the U.S. imperialists to try to explain away, deny, or justify their acts. However, they still continue to spray toxic chemicals, especially in the areas over which they have completely lost control. What is more, recently they have even sprayed toxic chemicals on many parts of Cambodia's territory, adjoining South Vietnam. In June and July last year, toxic chemicals spread by the U.S. on Rattanakiri province of Cambodia killed 76 persons.

On behalf of the scientific and technical workers of South Vietnam, we take this opportunity to thank warmly all intellectuals and scientists in the world, among them American scientists, who actuated by the noble ideals of true scientists have protested against the U.S. imperialists' use of science to massacre the South Vietnamese people.

We hope that the world's scientists will continue denouncing the war criminals in order to stay their bloody hands and prevent them from resuming their chemical warfare, and using women, children and vegetation as guinea-pigs and South Vietnam or anywhere else as a proving ground for the chemical weapons they are producing.

However, no matter what weapons and techniques they may use, the "special war" of the U.S. imperialists will certainly end in defeat because:

1. The army of their henchmen on which they must rely to conduct their "special war" is a tool which is weakening day by day. It is precisely because the morale of this army is so low that the U.S. imperialists must place their hope in weapons and techniques. And even

if they bring in more U.S. troops, they will not avert defeat because the main factors of the war remain unchanged.

2. The forces of the army and people of South Vietnam are developing day by day because our people are endowed with an ardent patriotism and an indomitable spirit of struggle; moreover, they have mastered the science of "revolutionary war" in the course of their own struggle and by learning from the rich experience of national liberation movements in other parts of the world.

3. The world situation is becoming more and more favourable to the movement for national liberation, peace and social progress. The peoples of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are well aware that the U.S. imperialists are testing their "special war" in South Vietnam in order to apply it to the suppression of the national liberation movements in other parts of the world. Progressive mankind regards the patriotic movement in South Vietnam as an integral part of the world movement for national liberation and for the defence of world peace. That is why the just struggle of the South Vietnamese people enjoys such broad sympathy and support and has received such strong encouragement.

## CONCLUSION

Fellow Delegates,

It is clear to all the world that at present the U.S. imperialists are being bogged down in South Vietnam. In the stalemate, they have twice changed their lackeys by engineering *coups d'état*. Recently they have inten-

sified their aggressive war in South Vietnam by bringing in more U.S. troops and weapons and sending their number one general — Maxwell Taylor — to take direct command of the "special war". At the same time, they are drawing in the SEATO, NATO and ANZUS military blocs and even the United Nations Organization, to interfere in South Vietnam so as to share the burden and continue expanding the war.

Early in August, they brazenly launched provocative attacks against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, in defiance of international law and the Geneva agreements on Indo-China.

However, these frenzied acts can only lead to still greater failures for them.

If they commit aggression against North Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists will certainly be duly punished by our compatriots, and in fact, right at the first encounter, they have already suffered a telling counter-blow.

However, even by extending the war to North Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists cannot get out of their stalemate in South Vietnam. On the contrary, by doing so they will confront a whole nation of more than 30 million; the South Vietnamese people are resolved to stand shoulder to shoulder with their northern compatriots in the fight against the aggressors.

The proposal of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation is the only fair and reasonable solution to the South Vietnam question, that is that the U.S. imperialists must withdraw all their troops, armaments and war material from South Vietnam and let the South Vietnamese people themselves settle their own affairs on the basis of independence, democracy, peace and neutrality.

Our people of South Vietnam earnestly cherish independence and peace. That is why, although our struggle has lasted for more than 20 years we have never ceased to carry on the fight for national salvation and will continue our struggle until the final victory.

So we see that the strongest imperialism in the imperialist camp, after three years of experimenting with "special war" against a small area of only 14 million people, has had to call for its allies to come to its rescue, and has suffered defeat after defeat, and is now heading for complete failure.

The fact that the weak can oppose the strong and that the weak can become the strong has been proved in revolutionary wars in the world, especially in China, in Vietnam, and in Algeria during its war of resistance against the French colonialists. The South Vietnamese people have taken over these valuable experiences, and developed and applied them creatively to the existing conditions in their own country.

Basing ourselves on the real situation in South Vietnam, we would like to draw some conclusions:

1. The "special war" waged by the imperialists is a new type of aggressive war, counter-revolutionary war, that is, an unjust war which runs counter to the national and democratic rights of the whole South Vietnamese people.

2. The South Vietnamese people who have united around the National Front for Liberation — a broad Front which rallies the great majority of the people on the basis of a fair and reasonable programme — are opposing the U.S. imperialists' aggressive and counter-revolutionary war by means of a patriotic and revolutionary war, based on the people's high sense of nationalism and democracy

and on their indomitable fighting spirit, and they will never retreat even in face of the enemy's most barbarous suppression and persecution.

3. Having mastered the laws of neo-colonialism and "special war", the South Vietnamese people have waged a protracted political and armed struggle, combining legal, illegal and semi-legal forms of struggle, and using both rudimentary and modern arms. They have shattered all the plans and schemes of the enemy and from the position of the weak force they have grown to that of the strong.

The victories scored by the South Vietnamese people have proved that *in our time, once a nation, however small and weak, is united and rises up, is ready to make sacrifices for the cause of victory, and is armed with a correct political line, it will never be conquered by any imperialism, not even by U.S. imperialism.*

We firmly believe that the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America will without doubt be able to smash all aggressive and warlike schemes and acts of the imperialist clique, headed by U.S. imperialism, because we have mastered the science of revolutionary struggle, because we have the united strength of more than a thousand million people, because we have the intellect of more than a thousand million people working on the greatest of the sciences, the science of the emancipation of man!

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