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CHIEN BINH DISCUSSES PROBLEMS FACING U.S.

Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1115 GMT 25 Jul 69 S

[Commentary by Chien Binh in 25 July QUAN DOI NHAN DAN: "Never Before Have the U.S. Imperialists Been Faced With Such a Dark Situation"]

[Text] Some 200 years ago, in 1776, the capitalist United States was born. In coming to colonize America, the European capitalists--the first capitalists of the United States--brought with them capitalist production forms, whose development in Europe had taken several hundred years.

At the outset, the capitalist United States developed quickly because it was in the flourishing period of capitalism and inherited from the great achievements of the technical revolution in Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries. U.S. capitalism flourished very quickly, partly because of favorable conditions, such as fertile land and rich resources which were only slightly damaged by war, partly because of its exploitation of laborers in the country and abroad, and partly because of its reliance on aggressive wars.

Total U.S. industrial output at that time represented one-half that of the capitalist world's total. But following the success of the October Russian Revolution, an important link was cut off from the world imperialist capitalist system, including the United States, which began going downhill.

After World War II, the socialist camp was born. The national liberation movement was seething, the worker movements in capitalist countries developed strongly, and the peace and democratic forces in the world continuously developed. As a result, the offensive spearhead of the world revolutionary forces was thrust at the U.S. imperialists, the most (?dangerous) enemy of mankind in the present era.

The world situation over the past 20 years has proved that while frenziedly materializing their dream of conquering the world, the Americans have suffered one setback after another and become increasingly weak. The U.S. imperialists were tragically defeated in China, sustained bitter defeat in the war of aggression in Korea, and failed in their plot to intervene in Indochina despite their efforts to shoulder the war burden for the French colonialists by spending as much as 80 percent on military expenditures from 1945 to 1954.

The success of the Cuban revolution was a deadly blow for the Americans. They were also defeated in the special war in Laos and in their military intervention in the Congo, the Dominican Republic, and others. Particularly, their defeat in the war of aggression in Vietnam marks a new step in the collapse of U.S. imperialism.

Never have the U.S. imperialists been faced with such a dark situation. They are faced with a very critical situation in the war of aggression in Vietnam. In his televised, 14 May 1969 speech, Nixon had to admit that the United States is coping with a most difficult situation in the war of aggression in Vietnam.

In Vietnam, the United States has sustained defeats despite its greatest military efforts. It has poured into South Vietnam over one-half million expeditionary troops, including 60 percent of its infantry and airborne forces, 60 percent of its marine forces, 32 percent of its tactical air force, 20 percent of its strategic air force, and 66 percent of its aircraft carriers.

Although the U.S. forces sent to the Vietnam battlefield do not fully represent the U.S. imperialists' overall strength, they clearly represent the total U.S. strength which the U.S. ruling clique can mobilize for the U.S. imperialists' most violent war. Almost all excellent U.S. generals have been sent to this battlefield, all the most modern weapons and technical equipment, except nuclear weapons, have been used here.

The most modern strategic plans and tactics for a local war have been applied. Yet, the U.S. imperialists have clearly admitted that they cannot achieve a military victory and must think of an honorable way out. But there is no honor for an aggressor. The honor which the U.S. ruling clique hopes for here is the U.S. imperialists' prestige and colonialist interests which it will try to save after the U.S. troops have been compelled to withdraw from Vietnam. But it will be unable to materialize even this dream.

The U.S. imperialists' great and overall defeats on the Vietnam battlefield have smashed the fantastic military strength about which the U.S. ruling clique has loudly boasted. Since the real U.S. strength has lost on the Vietnam battlefield, how can the U.S. imperialists retain a fictitious strength to continue their bluffs elsewhere?

The U.S. imperialists have devoted themselves toward applying in South Vietnam a series of the craftiest maneuvers and the most effective experiences in carrying out their neocolonialism, maneuvers and experiences which they have accumulated for nearly a century or have learned from such old colonialist rogues as the British imperialists. These are maneuvers and experiences in using dollars to buy and control satellites, such as Latin American countries which the U.S. imperialists have dominated for nearly 100 years, and using military aid to firmly control indigenous armed forces, turning these mercenary armies into effective instruments for the realization of U.S. aggressive policy. These experiences also include forming and building puppet administrations through a series of shrewd maneuvers, such as using numerous henchmen, staging coups and counter coups, the divide-and-rule policy, and so forth, which they have practiced in South Korea, Thailand, and African and Latin American countries. They also employ experiences in antiguerrilla warfare, pacification, and people-herding which they have drawn from Greece and the Philippines or from the British colonialists in Malaya.

But all this so-called colonialist intelligence has failed to help the Americans in South Vietnam. All their maneuvers to dominate South Vietnam went bankrupt from the outset. The Americans have exerted themselves to form and build the Saigon puppet administration, using even the most capable U.S. experts such as Cabot Lodge and Laird, but this lackey machinery remains weaker than any other. The Saigon puppet administration's impotence and corruptness mirrors the evil nature and the impotence of U.S. neocolonialism in South Vietnam. The too-weak Saigon puppet army and administration represents the U.S. imperialists' darkest hour in the aggressive war and their biggest difficulty in the so-called de-Americanization for the war.

The U.S. imperialists' defeat is obvious. Clifford, former U.S. defense secretary, moaned: "The United States is in a desperate military situation in Vietnam." Clearly, the U.S. imperialists are confronted with a highly stalemated situation. The present situation is forcing them to swiftly settle the war and withdraw U.S. troops, but the puppet army and administration is too weak. If they buy time by leaving U.S. troops in Vietnam to continue the war and by trying to prop up the puppet army and administration, U.S. casualties will rise, expenditures for the war will be heavier, and the Americans' antiwar movement will enlarge.

This stalemate reflects the stubborn nature, impotence, and extremely tragic situation of the archimperialists. U.S. defeats and difficulties in the neocolonial war of aggression in Vietnam constitute a new, serious setback for U.S. imperialism. Militarily, this setback has been demonstrated by the following facts: Since the end of World War II, though the Americans have been defeated militarily in many parts of the world they have never been defeated so seriously as they are in Vietnam. Never before, in a limited war, have they mobilized their armed forces so massively as in Vietnam. But Vietnam, possessing limited territory and a small population and relying mainly upon itself, has defeated the giant U.S. expeditionary army.

Politically, this setback has been demonstrated by the fact that never before has American international prestige been impaired as seriously as now because of the unjust and defeated war of aggression in Vietnam. U.S. foreign policy based upon strength has gone bankrupt. The United States has fallen into utter isolation in the world.

Never since the end of World War II has the world peoples' movement for opposing the U.S. imperialist aggressors mounted so vigorously as it has now. U.S. defeats in the war of aggression in Vietnam have driven the United States into an extremely difficult situation at home and abroad. The gloomy picture of U.S. society is loomingly large.

Soon after he had acceded to the U.S. presidency, Nixon on 20 January 1969 sadly complained: "Our morale is shattered. We have successfully launched a spaceship toward the moon, but on this earth, we have fallen into utter chaos, being plagued by disunity and finding around us countless empty lives expecting to be fulfilled." Nixon had to admit that the United States has encountered difficulties, undergoing a comprehensive crisis. What are these difficulties? American papers have revealed that when Nixon entered the White House he inherited an almost completely empty heritage from Johnson and was faced with a serious financial and monetary crisis. Inflation was unprecedentedly rampant. U.S. gold reserves had decreased to an all-time low. The position of the U.S. dollar was more unstable than ever.

The U.S. ruling clique has always boasted about U.S. prosperity. But it is obvious that the U.S. imperialists' frantic aggressive and expansionist policy, especially the U.S. aggressors' human and material resource-consuming war in Vietnam, has exhausted their material and financial resources, exposing more clearly than ever their weakened position.

According to a U.S. Treasury Department communique released after Nixon had taken over the presidency, the remaining U.S. gold reserves amounted to only 10.8 billion dollars, that is, less than one-half of the 1957 amount, whereas the volume of banknotes in circulation increased by 4.5 percent, that is, 1.5 percent over that of 1968 and 3 percent over that of 1965.

An economic adviser to Nixon on 7 June 1969 alarmingly said that inflation is seriously threatening the position of the U.S. dollar. Increasing inflation has brought a soaring cost of living. The average American realizes more clearly than ever that his normal life is being seriously threatened.

U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT reported that compared with 1960, current commodity prices, house rental rates, transportation costs, and cinema ticket prices have increased 30 to 40 percent.

Specifically, the cost of medicine and medical care soared. The average daily hospital fee an American patient must pay is 50 dollars, whereas an average laborer in the United States can afford only 3-dollar meals.

In the past 10 years, the total amount of taxes paid by Americans to the federal administration has tripled. Now, the taxes paid by the Americans represent 35 percent of the total U.S. income. Exploited ruthlessly, the number of poor Americans has increased with every passing year. According to a report by U.S. economist (Clifford Carlman), the present number of poor Americans has reached a record 51 million.

The U.S. Labor Department reported that nearly 7 million Americans have to live in ghettos. It also admitted that in the past 6 months the number of jobless Americans amounted to 3.4 million, jobless part-timers not included. Social relief funds curtailed under Johnson's rule have not been given greater attention by Nixon. On an average, 55 workers die and 35,000 are injured daily because of labor accidents due to a lack of accident prevention.

U.S. society is inherently a confused society typified by looting and murder. Before his retirement, Johnson admitted that "since the United States came into being, on an average, 6,500 Americans have been killed by guns, one out of every three U.S. Presidents has been the object of a murder attempt, and one out of every five U.S. Presidents has been killed." Since Nixon assumed power, the criminal rate in the United States has continued to increase. The Federal Bureau of Investigation admitted that in the first 3 months of this year, the U.S. criminal rate increased 10 percent with murder increasing 7 percent, looting increasing 12 percent, and rapes increasing 12 percent.

U.S. society is an unjust, confused society. In 1968, 4,960 work strikes broke out in the United States, the biggest in the past 15 years. The Negroes' struggle movement has also soared. Negroes in 125 cities have used weapons to oppose policemen's repression and demanded an administration for Negroes.

For the first time, thousands of poor people, including whites' Negroes, Indians, and Mexican-Americans, closed ranks and marched on Washington, demanding that the administration settle the problem of poverty and starvation.

Especially, opposition to the aggressive U.S. war in Vietnam has reached an unprecedented height. Alongside various strata of Americans, many former U.S. servicemen, with the participation of former U.S. generals such as David Shoup and (Federicker) founded an organization to struggle for peace in Vietnam. Recently, nearly 2,500 U.S. businessmen gathered to demand that Nixon immediately end the men- and money-consuming war in Vietnam. All congressmen in Maryland unanimously protested the federal government for drafting too many men from their state. The Chicago City Council demanded that Nixon withdraw all U.S. troops from South Vietnam. New York Mayor John Lindsay and 45 U.S. senators issued a statement protesting Nixon's continuation of the aggressive war in Vietnam. In less than 6 months as President, Nixon was opposed by the U.S. Senate which put forward a motion demanding a reduction in the President's power to send U.S. troops abroad.

Nixon has called for unity, but it is obvious that he is still confronted with the danger of an unprecedentedly serious internal division. It is obvious that never before has U.S. society exposed so dark a face as it does now. The U.S. capitalists have endeavored to make it look like a great society, but it continues to be a degenerate and confused society. The United States has itself been ironically dubbed by U.S. papers "disunited states" because of the acute dissensions whose existence Nixon has admitted.

[The following portion of the Chien Binh article was broadcast on Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese at 1115 GMT on 26 July.]

The U.S. imperialists' prestige has been engulfed more deeply in darkness.

Since World War II, the U.S. imperialist plot to stage an aggressive war to realize an illusion of ruling the world has successively received very heavy blows from Asia, Africa, Europe, and Latin America. U.S. global strategy and neo-colonialism have been driven back and gradually defeated. Never before has the U.S. international position been so weakened and degraded as it is now.

As everyone knows, in 1961 after assuming the presidential functions, Kennedy was forced to approve the Taylor-created strategy of active reaction, replacing the massive retaliation strategy which had pitifully gone bankrupt. Only after a few years of development this new U.S. strategy was frustrated on the Vietnam battlefield right in the initial experiment, and its creator was forced to go home bitterly and stealthily. After that, the U.S. regional war strategy in Vietnam was also foiled and Johnson had to quit the White House.

Therefore, the special war and regional war, the two types of war visualized by the United States, have been defeated in Vietnam. Meanwhile, it has admitted that the general nuclear war, the third type, is very dangerous. So, what type of war will the United States employ to achieve its global strategy? It has striven to build its aggressive military blocs and its military machinery. But, these U.S. military blocs have become disunited. The SEATO bloc has become mostly disintegrated. NATO--the most important U.S. military bloc--has been completely disorganized. As for the U.S. forces, all their military branches and services have been defeated in Vietnam, despite all strategic reserve units having been used. In this case, which effective force will the United States depend on to realize its global strategy?

The war realities in Vietnam have upset a series of subjective U.S. calculations. The United States has failed, revealing gaps in its regional war everywhere in the world. So, with its limited capabilities can it react blindly and make countless commitments according to its colonialist designs?

It is clear that the U.S. global strategy is now undergoing a very serious crisis in the key problems. Considering the U.S. setbacks in Vietnam and the world in past years, especially in 1968, the British Strategic Research Institute has concluded: 1968 was the year the United States lost the will and possibility of being the world's ruler (U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, 21 April 1969).

This explains why the discussions of U.S. global strategy have become more spirited among U.S. rulers; why the Republicans swore to the U.S. electorate during the electoral campaign that they would liberally reassess all U.S. military commitments in the world (U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, 25 May); why the U.S. Senate on 19 June issued a resolution stressing that the U.S. President could not send troops to

participate in military activities abroad or grant military aid to other countries without congressional approval; and why the number isolationists on American soil--those urging the United States to renounce its role of international policeman--has increased so considerably that Nixon himself has had to defend them from their criticism.

Like U.S. global strategy, U.S. neocolonialism last year suffered heavy defeats. Neocolonialism is camouflaged colonialism. That is why one of its life-or-death demands is to cover its face. It is not accidental that many U.S. senators have condemned U.S. authorities, saying that their introduction of U.S. expeditionary troops into South Vietnam is the greatest error in U.S. history. Naturally, the consequences of this action for the Americans are varied, and the first disaster brought them by this brazenly aggressive action is that it bared the U.S. imperialists' hypocritical face before world people.

U.S. neocolonialism has been defeated in Vietnam, no matter under what forms it has been implemented--through traditional measures or with the bayonets of 1.2 million U.S. expeditionary and puppet troops. This situation has strongly influenced the world people's revolutionary movement. Obviously, neocolonialism--source of U.S. imperialism's life--has been dealt deadly blows. Its collapse is inevitable. Violent threats and bribery are fundamental tricks which the U.S. imperialists have used to enslave world people. But these tricks have gone bankrupt, especially during the war of aggression in Vietnam.

Johnson wrote in the February 1969 issue of *READER'S DIGEST* as follows: "The truth is that our power and richness have been unable to force world events to evolve in accordance with our desire." The U.S. imperialists' prestige has reached its lowest level. The world people's revolutionary movement is focusing the spearhead of its attacks on these top imperialists. The anti-U.S. movement under various forms--from the lowest, such as tearing U.S. flags and holding anti-U.S. demonstrations to the highest, such as holding rifles and shooting at the U.S. aggressors' heads--has developed boisterously everywhere. The fact that the U.S. imperialists lost face in Korea with the *Pueblo* spy ship and the *EC-121* spy plane affairs, that Peru nationalized many U.S. petroleum exploiting installations despite U.S. threats, and that Latin Americans in the recent past drove Rockefeller, Nixon's representative, out of their countries is the latest evidence.

Inside the "free world" itself, U.S. prestige has reached the lowest mark. One month after taking office, Nixon had to do something which none of his predecessors had done--hastily cope with foreign affairs and make a trip to Europe to beg his allies to support him. Now he has to visit Asia to woo his allies and justify U.S. defeats in Vietnam. The U.S. imperialists' prestige is sinking deeply into the shadows. Never in history have U.S. imperialists faced such a troubled and dark situation as now.

The U.S. imperialists have encountered difficulties domestically and internationally, militarily and politically, economically and socially. The U.S. imperialists' dark faces have clearly reflected the internal contradictions of imperialism and the influences of other contradictions in the world. The strong development of the world revolutionary movement is hastening the decline of U.S. imperialism. In particular the heroic, glorious, and victorious struggle of the Vietnamese greatly contributed, along with world's people, to drive the U.S. imperialists into a state of irretrievable collapse.

## COMMENTARY ON NIXON'S PROBLEMS, POLICIES

## Apollo 11 Aftermath

Hanoi in Vietnamese to South Vietnam 0330 GMT 30 Jul 69 S

[30 July NHAN DAN commentary: "Apollo 11 Cannot Help Nixon Settle His Difficulties"]

[Text] Apollo 11 is not a magic wand which the U.S. imperialists only have to wave to achieve all the expected results. Immediately after Apollo 11 returned to earth, Nixon began raising a ballyhoo about his trip around the world to sell his fake peace. While U.S. domestic policies and global strategy were encountering fundamental and insurmountable difficulties, Nixon believed that with the success in landing men on the moon, the United States could increase its prestige and, simultaneously, cover up its aggressive and war-like designs.

But Nixon has been disappointed by the realities on earth. The U.S. landing of men on the moon has not succeeded in diverting the attention of world's people, who are constantly vigilant against U.S. imperialists' criminal actions and plots on earth. That is why wherever he went, Nixon was chased out with these cries: "U.S. imperialists go home," and "Let us land him on the moon." These are firm answers to the cunning arguments which Nixon brazenly uttered while he was pursuing aggression in South Vietnam and killing our compatriots.

"I am convinced that if we land men on the moon, we can also achieve peace on this earth." We know too well the true meaning that Nixon has given to the word "peace." Asian and world peoples know that Nixon's peace is peace under the oppression and exploitation of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. The more eager they are for genuine peace, the more the Asian and world peoples strengthen their solidarity and step up their struggle against U.S. imperialists and their lackeys to demand that U.S. imperialists leave the countries they have invaded and enslaved through one means or another.

The Vietnamese people's anti-U.S. national salvation resistance and stand--demanding unconditional withdrawal of U.S. and satellite troops from South Vietnam so that the South Vietnam problem may be solved by the South Vietnamese themselves without foreign intervention--are fully consistent with the common aspirations and interests of Asian and world peoples. All progressives are supporting the Vietnamese people's just cause. Stubbornly opposing the Vietnamese, the American, and world peoples, the Nixon clique--no matter what tricks it may resort to--will surely and ignominiously fail.

## Conduct of War

Hanoi in English to American Servicemen in South Vietnam 2300 GMT 29 Jul 69 B

[Commentary on Nixon's first 6 months: "Still on the Wrong Track"]

[Text] The feeling that Johnson's war in Vietnam is becoming Nixon's war is growing month after month. It was (first thought) that the new President needed time to formulate new policies. When that explanation became stale, rumors were spread about promising signs in secret talks.

Meanwhile, U.S. spokesman in Paris claimed that the official talks were showing hopeful signs, despite the fact that there was nothing in the publicly available records of the talks to substantiate the claim.

Then, in May, as congressional criticism of both parties began to mount, Nixon sought to turn [word indistinct] by spelling out his Vietnam plan. After 4 and a half months of labor, the mountain finally produced a mouse: His order of pulling out a whole group of troops. From Americans' point of view, this was insignificant. The 25,000 men to be withdrawn are less than 5 percent of U.S. armed forces in South Vietnam, or about 4 percent of foreign troops. Even the pullout of some 50,000, if [word indistinct] could not meaningfully affect the U.S. war effort.

That is the widespread belief of American officers of all ranks in South Vietnam, as reported by the Washington POST last 11 May.

In other words, it appears that, with this troop withdrawal trick, Nixon wants to buy off the angered American public. Tennessee Democrat Senator Albert Gore put it bluntly, during a Senate Foreign Relations Committee recent hearing: As things are now drawn out, it seems a withdrawal is not for peace, but for a prolonged and indefinite involvement.

Nixon's token troop pullout, announced on 8 June, was accompanied by a familiar surge of escalation. Two days later, Defense Secretary Melvin Laird, testifying before the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee, requested additional funds so that B-52 sorties could be maintained at 1,800 per month instead of the 1,600 provided for in the budget. That means there is no reduction of B-52 raids, as announced by the Defense Department with great fanfare on 1 April. For the first time in the war, 15,000 pound bombs have been used, and as a result of the so-called "maximum military pressure" so as to give the lowest possible U.S. casualties, some 7,300 more GI's died in Vietnam since Nixon took office 6 months ago. According to Pentagon statistics, the figures, if they are believed at all, [words indistinct] the U.S. death toll in Johnson's last year in power.

In the political and diplomatic field, Nixon tried to [word indistinct] the present (U.S.) Saigon regime to maintain it in power against the will of the South Vietnam [people]. His current Asian tour is aimed at nothing more than reaffirming that "our allies are not going to be let down," as was stated on 14 May. Presidential adviser Henry Kissinger, in his proposal for negotiations outlined in FOREIGN AFFAIRS magazine earlier this year, criticized Johnson for seeking a military victory that did not correspond to the political aims of the negotiations he was pursuing.

The new President now is engaged in talks, and pretends he wants a settlement. In reality, he is pursuing an all-out military effort, already foreseen as not only endless but hopeless, by a VIP, who more than anyone else has a good knowledge about the U.S. military and economic [word indistinct] and potential, former Defense Secretary Clark Clifford.

The Vietnam war has reached the point where it is endangering the American social stability. But signs are clear that Washington with Nixon in the White House is not on the right track.