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strategy 1 (normass/deepe)

(This is the first lest of a two-part series on the military situation in the Vietnem war. This article discusses the war from the Communist viewpoint).

SAIGON, AUGUST 6—A few weeks after the rampagous Communist
Tet offensive, a ver veteran journalist, who had also covered the
French Indo-China War, made one of his many visits to Vietnam. # He
shook his head a lamented, "No one here has read Truong Ching Chinh.
"The whole Tet offensive is spelled out in his book—lightning attacks
into the cities. But. ""

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strategy 2 (normass/deepe)

of Communist revolutionary warfare—but the great rhythms of military strategy are still best defined, systematized and articulated by Mao Tse Tung, who left on an indelible print stamp on the military thinking of North Vietnamese strategists and tacticians. Truong Chinh, a s well a sother Ho Chi Minh and other Party leaders, all fled to China at various times when suppression campaigns exiled them from Vietnam.

The name Truong Chinh is simply a Party alias which itself mez means "The Long March."

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strategy 2 3 (normass/deepe)

Read together, Mac and Truong Chinh, their writings provide not only complementary political and military components of revolutionary warfere of a buy by-gone era-but components still applicable, as the ver veteran journalist indicated - indicated, in providing a sense of direction for the future. So Specifically, Mao's guerrilla warfare principles—the dynamics, movements and progressions of this unconventions 1 and complex kind of warfare—is still the foundation of the Communist military policies of fighting in the South, in general use of r peasentry waging warfare in the countryside as a means to encircle and finally defeat the urban centers. But, Truong Chinh's political strategy of the August Revolution is much closer to the Russian putson Communist putsch of 1917, by applying the power of the urban working class to seizure power in the streets of the cities. These two Mac-ist-Moscow components thus seem to reflect be equal or unequal parts of the whole embodied in today's current Communist appeal in the gouth: e call for the "general offensive and the general uprising."

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strategy 4 (normass/deepe)

This duality of stre strategic lines in achieving victory now gives
the Communists a split-level war at this time in the South—a differentiation
between the big-unit military formations and the imperceptible, yet
omnipresent clandestine and quasi-military structures which are necessary
in igniting an uprising.

of North Vietnemese origin—are on the strategic retreat; the hidden half of the split-level war, forming the insurgency side, are on the strategic offensive. The North Vietnamese have reportedly withdrawn up to possibly as many as fifty per cent of their main-force strength from the South, thus y creating the conspicuous lull in this strate of the war. Truong Chinh's book does not mention strategic retreats, but Mac defines them with clarity and pres precision. He wrote:

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"A strategic retreat is a planned strategic step taken by an inferior force for the purpose of conserving its strength and biding its time to defeat the enemy.... The object of strategic retreat is to conserve military strength and prepare for the counter-offensive." He identifies the two stages of revolutionary warfare as the strategic offensive and the strategic defensive, and within the defensive; is contained the two stages of the strategic retreat and the strategic counter-offensive.

"To prepare for a counter-offensive," he continued, "we must select or create conditions favorable to curselves but unfavorable to the enemy, so as to bring about a change in the balance of forces, before we go on to the x stage of the counter-offensive....During the stage of retreat we should in general secure at least two of the following conditions before we can consider the situation as being favorable to us and unfavorable to the enemy and before we can go ever the counter-offensive. These conditions are: 1. the population actively supports the Red Army (the most important condition, he says) 2. The terrain is favorable for operations 8 (the current rainy season in the South might be considered an unfavorable condition until October) 3. All the main forces of the Red Army are concentrated 4. The enemy's week spots have been discovered 5. The enemy has been reduced to a tired and demoralized state and 6.

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yy num strategy 6 (normass/deepe)

Mao's elucidation of the great military ebbs and flows of revolutionary warfare provides an historical skeleton for the steady progression of the war in South Vietnam. In 1960, the Viet Cong's homogrown guerrillas began fighting after four years of unarmed political subversion and agitation by Communist cadre. The guerrillas began in 1960 and continued on the strategic defensive until late 1963, when a military con-coup d'etat by nationalist generals overthrew President Ngo Dinh Diem and thus provided the conditions for the Communists to shift into the strategic offensive. Through 1963 and 1964, as the Vietnamese nationalist governmental and military situation continued to detecti deteriorate with successive coups and counter-coups, the guerrillas, escalating into regular formations, small smashed the government's strategic hamlet progrem through most parts of the countryside. By late 1964, the guerrilla movement had escalated into Phase III with positional warfare battles against elite government troops.

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strategy 7 (normass/deepe)

Then came the buildup of American combat troops in 195 1965. The relative balance of forces against shifted against the Communist guerrillas and regulars; the Communists again became the "inferior force" in relative terms of manpower and material. They again shifted to the strategic defensive, specifically to strategic retreat. This posture of strategic retreat was the period of preparing for the counter-offensive, which was effected with a world-wide sensational impact during late January of this year. As the veteran journalist had lamented, Truong Chinh had articulated the counter-offensive year twenty years before with such precision that the Communist Tet thrust this year appeared to be simply copied from his manual. He wrote:

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"Our troops concentrate rapidly and lightning attacks on the cities and the annihiliate them. In brief, we throw country into the battle to crush the en whole of our territory...."

power by the use of military force; in fact, military commanders here believe the Communists suffered a military defeat of great magnitude, although they effectively gained some political and psychological f advantages as byp by-products of their military defeat. Thus, the Communists have again referred reverted to the strategic retreat—and if Mao is appropriate accurate, in this circumstance, they are again preparing for another counter-offensive. Some curphy cupheric military sources believ that the Communist military defeat at Tet was decisive and final—that they must de-escalate their total strategy to one of a lover-level of activity. But, these more pertinent, would be the historical fact that the Communists. North Vietnamese Communists launched three c general counter-offensived against the French—and completely failed in each—until they were victorious with their ge fourth counter-offensive at the most sensitive political moment of peace negotiations.

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strategy 9 (normass/deepe)

Truong Ching Chinh specifically forecasts the possibility of holding negotiations while fighting, saying, "I" "In that case, our long resistance will be interrupted by new talks, and that is precisely on of its characteristics.

Handever However as long as the French colonialists live in our country, and we have not yet completed the third stage (of the general counter-offensive), we cannot obtain genuine independence and unification." If applicable currently, his words would continue to imply that since the American neo-colonialists are still in Vietnam and since the Communists have not successfully completed the general counter-offensive, they will continue fighting for their political objectives.

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strategy 10 (normass/deepe)

(In a possible of nuances of definition, both Mao and Truong Chinh speak more of a strategic counter-offensive by the Communists than of a strategic offensive. Mao wrote: "Whether in a counter-offensive or in an offensive, the principles with regard to these problems do not differ in their basic character. In this sense we may say that a counter-offensive is an offensive. Still, a counter-offensive is not exactly an offensive. The principles of the counter-offensive are applied when the enemy is on the offensive (as that Allied troops were before the Communist thrust at Tety). The principles of the offensive are applied when the enemy is on the defensive—(as is now the case with the Allied strategic posture.) In this sense, there are certain differences between an counter-offensive and a n offensive."

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strategy 11 (normass/deepe)

At this most peculiar moment in the Vietnam war, the Communist big unit formations have retreated, some of them across the borders of South Vietnam, the Allied Allies are on the strategic defensive until the American elections—waiting for the Communist counter-offensive. But, under this Communist big-unit layer of the war in their split-level war, the Viet Cong remain on the strategic offensive, which is explained by Mao in terms directly reflective of what is happening in Vietnam now:

When the "enemy" is on the strategic defensive adn and "we are on the strategic offensive, at such times our operational policy is not to attack enemy forces which are entrenched in defensive positions and which we are not sure of defeating, but systematically to destroy or drive out the small enemy units and puppet forces in certain areas, which are our guerrilla units are strong enough to deal with, and to expand our areas, arouse the massess for struggle...replenish and train our troops and organize new guerrilla units."

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military 12 (normass/deepe)

This lower level of the split-level war, conducted with a mixture of continuous, it level irregular warfare as fought by local guorrillas and milition, is directly related to the Communist big-unit war; it serves as the essential springboard, providing a para-military, political, economic and geometric geographic foundation for the Communist big-unit formations to cease their strategic retreat, about-face, and hurl themselves forward into a sensational strategic offensive.

This lower echelons of low-level guerrilla warfare also provides the many-faceted base for the Communist "general uprising"—the line between low-level guerrilla activity and armed political activity becoming relatively obscure. The "general uprising" is now interpreted here as meaning the seizure of power from the Vietnamese government and its affiliates into the hands of the people, who are protected in this process off by bands of armed insurrectionists or guerrillas. Students seize power from the school principle principals and university administrations. The citizens seize control of outposts, government offices, police stations, military institutions—and then the Presidential Palace and the elected legislat legislature. Hence, the Vietnamese government and its appendages is destroyed of a popular in acceptance in surrection in the cities, which negates at least partially conventional military power.

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military 13 (normass/deepe)

under their control, but continue to fan out with precision into
the contested and government-controlled areas, including the urben centers,
to terrorize and neutralize selective pro-government officials, newspaper
offices, businessmen, to weaken the will of pro government-controlled towns
by reining in raining in harrassing fire by mortars and rockets, to
ever-run or reach an accommodation with government outpost militiamen,
to ever-so proselytze politically Vietnamese organized units and some
in the countryside and senior Army officers in the cities and to fragment
Vietnamese government reservoirs of political strongth and commonic
buoyancy.

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military 14 (normass/deepe)

There is overwholdingly one overwholdingly significant and conspicuous political similarity between August of 1968 and the August Truong Ching Chinh's August Revolution of 1945. This revolves around the formation people's liberation councils and people's liberation countities in the villages and hemlets either subject to their current control or penetration. Currently these approximations are to serve 'as a fighting machine and not a purely administrative machine as in peacetime." The formation of these countities, set up through a rather re highly regulated form of election were to be seeing in accordance with a high-level directive issued March 5; the Communists now beest 26 of these people's liberation committees on the outskirts of Saigon.

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military 15 (normass/deepe)

These committees are duplicates and an administrate and an administration of the second community of t mission, purpose, character-and name-to what Truong Chinh established before the general insurrection in August of 1945. He writes that a these committees were used first as "transitory organization forms" to gain on enemy power and paralyze its administrative machine. These organizations were effective. They gave the people the occasion to realize universal suffrage and become acreat acquainted with administrative affairs, led them to direct henceforth their own destiny ... In effect, after the August General Insurrection, these different Liberation Committees became real administrative organizations. To use People's Committees and Liberation Committees as springboards for the direct transition to the democratic republican regime was an extremely interesting characteristic of the Communist tactics in the -repre-insurrectionary period."

These "transitory organizations" with their "pre-governmental character" gave way to the provisional government and finally became the ONCE TREFFERSINEZED POWER.

Communist government when their army but hour destroyed.

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military 19 (normass/deepe)

political difference between August of 1966 and Truong Chinh's August Revolution of 1945. The 1945 insurrection was vaged against the Japanese, Japanese, who had been internationally defeated, but still held weapons and power in Vietnam. The purpose of the general insurrection was sing simply to seize their weapons and their power—to proclude a return of the French colonialists. Currently, the Allies are in the strongest defensive postion position to a date in the war and a singular general uprising would only meen wanton massacre.

Honoe, the dual nature of the current Communist appeal for estater a "general offensive and general uprising" or else the total merger of these two into by converging of their main-force and local force units into armed insurrections insurrections to the oate cities, as a means of out-flenking the Allied military power machine while eracting, as Truong Chinh did in 1945, "the general form of struggle of the armed demonstration."

The Allied wer machine hero is fully slerted to the predicted Communist general offensive, but they find approaching as well what Reyo Tryong Chinh described as the "sero hour of insurrection."

(Hank: This is all I'm definitely planning to file this week. However, I've requested to see the foreign minister and that might come through this week. I'm also attempting to wrapup a political situationer on the Buong government, but I doubt that if finished by weekend. Regards Bev).