

General

VÕ NGUYỄN GIÁP

**VIET NAM PEOPLE'S WAR
HAS DEFEATED
U.S. WAR OF DESTRUCTION**

HANOI 1969

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

*I*N their resistance from 1945 to 1954 the Vietnamese people defeated the aggressive war waged by the French colonialists mainly with ground troops. This time they have worsted the U.S. war of destruction conducted chiefly with air and naval forces. In two speeches at military meetings by mid-1969, General Vo Nguyen Giap, Defence minister and Commander-in-Chief of the Viet Nam People's Army, analysed the factors of this latter victory and threw light upon some problems pertaining to both the fighting and production fronts at a historical stage of the Vietnamese people's struggle, problems from which fundamental experiences can be drawn.

We present to our readers the full translation of General Vo Nguyen Giap's speeches.

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**VIET NAM PEOPLE'S WAR HAS DEFEATED
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*Speech by General VO NGUYEN GIAP at the
Emulation Congress of the anti aircraft and
air forces held in early June 1969*

Dear comrades,

It is very gratifying for me to convey the warm greetings of the Party Central Committee, the Government and President Ho Chi Minh, the Central Military Committee and the High Command to this Emulation Congress of the anti-aircraft and air forces, to the representatives of the heroic units, heroes, determined-to-win fighters and emulation fighters, to all delegates to this Congress, and, through them, to tend my cordial greetings to all cadres and fighters, workers and personnel in all units as well as to the people in all localities.

I. A VICTORY OF STRATEGIC SIGNIFICANCE

Together with the emulation congresses of our forces in the various war zones, in the various arms and services since early spring, this Emulation Congress

of the anti-aircraft and air forces marks a tremendous victory of our people in their resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation. This is a *triumph of people's war in North Viet Nam over the U.S. imperialists' air and naval war of destruction*. Along with the resounding successes on the South Viet Nam theatre it is a *victory of great consequence, of strategic significance*.

Four years ago, when their "special war" strategy in South Viet Nam was facing complete bankruptcy, the U.S. imperialists, with the utter obduracy of an international gendarme and counting on their economic and military potentials, made the most serious strategic and political mistake in the history of their aggressions. To make good their failure, they launched a large-scale "limited war", committed masses of expeditionary troops to an aggression against South Viet Nam, and at the same time started a piratical air and naval war of destruction against North Viet Nam — an independent and sovereign state, a member of the socialist camp.

On the South Viet Nam theatre, they mounted one major counter-offensive after another during two successive dry seasons, which all came to grief. But the heavier their setbacks, the more frantically they stepped up the aggressive war, deploying ever-bigger ground, air and naval forces which soon far exceeded the strength originally intended for a "limited war".

In the North they carried out frenzied raids and continually escalated the war as their reverses increased, extending their attacks up to the 19th and 20th

parallels, then to the Northwest, Northeast and Viet Nam — China border, and finally to Hanoi, our capital, and Haiphong, the biggest port in North Viet Nam.

They mustered a fairly big modern air force based in Thailand and on aircraft carriers, together with artillery of various types onboard Seventh-Fleet units, and of the infantry forces operating south of the demarcation line. They mounted nearly 100,000 strikes against our beloved North Viet Nam, using more than one million tons of bombs and shells. They tried all kinds of hardware in their arsenal such as bombs and shells, rockets, steel-pellet bombs, napalm and magnetic bombs, and all the other most up-to-date and murderous weapons at their disposal short of nuclear ones.

The U.S. imperialists thought that with their modern air and naval forces and the huge amount of bombs and shells which they believed nothing would resist, they could easily achieve their strategic objectives and finally subdue our people and bring to fruition their scheme of neo-colonialist aggression.

But the U.S. imperialists were grossly mistaken.

They thought that our determination would be shaken within a few weeks and our people would give in. But, contrary to their expectation, the fiercer their strikes, the deeper our people's hatred for the U.S. aggressors and the firmer the resolve of our entire army and people to defeat them. True, the aggressors had made careful and comprehensive calculations, banking heavily on the effectiveness of their

modern armoury. However, there was one hard reality they had failed to take into account, that is: *the Vietnamese people are a heroic people who have since time immemorial never bowed to any invader and who have in less than three decades defeated Japanese fascism and French imperialism one after the other, and are now staunchly fighting and keeping in check the U.S. imperialist aggressors.*

The U.S. imperialists believed that with the force of their weaponry they could within a short period of time destroy all our land and water communications, completely sever North from South Viet Nam and realize their dark design of preventing the North Vietnamese from fulfilling their sacred duty to their Southern kith and kin. But reality has completely baffled their plans. The more their raids intensified, the warmer the militant solidarity between North and South, the closer the North Vietnamese stood by their beloved countrymen in the South, and the more zealously they fulfilled their duty as the great rear area toward the great fighting front. *Viet Nam is one country, the Vietnamese are one nation; no force can drive them apart.*

In the "All for defeating the U.S. aggressors" and "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom" spirit the North Vietnamese people have constantly turned their thoughts toward their Southern kindred, and have discharged with merit their sacred duty toward the liberation cause in the other half of their beloved country.

The U.S. imperialists expected that with the formidable destructive power of their modern air and

naval forces, they could promptly bring our people's economic and cultural life to a standstill and cause serious damage to our national defence potential and our socialist construction. But what happened upset their calculations. In the flame of the fighting and in the flush of its victory over the war of destruction, North Viet Nam grew ever steadier and stronger. Agricultural and industrial production has remained stable and even developed. Communications and transport keep rolling. Cultural, educational and medical activities have increased. The national defence forces have consolidated and grown considerably. Even in war time, the people's life has continued unperturbed and the army's needs have been adequately met. The moral and political unity of our entire people has become stronger than ever before. With the above marvellous achievements in the fighting and in production the socialist regime has unmistakably proved its superiority and great vitality. The North has brought into full play its role as the base of the revolution for the whole country and as the great rear area for the great fighting front.

In combat, the North has grown ever steadier than ever before and has really become a steel rampart. This we can rightly take pride in. Friends from foreign countries who visited it were astonished by the strong vitality of our nation and the miraculous revolutionary optimism of our people. Such a nation, such a people, under a socialist regime, will surely defeat any enemy.

The main goal of the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction against the North was to effectively

co-ordinate actions with their expeditionary troops in the South Viet Nam theatre of operations and realize their aggressive design there.

After years of U.S. intensified aggressive war in both parts of our country, big changes have occurred in the South Viet Nam situation. The more the U.S. imperialists stepped up their aggressive war, the heavier their failures; the more our people persisted in their resistance, the greater their victories. Especially since early spring 1968, under the banner of the National Front for Liberation, the heroic people and Liberation Army in the South have been mounting wave after wave of widespread offensives and uprisings against the enemy, springing powerful, continual and all-round attacks—military and political—in towns and country, in the plains and hill-forest areas; the liberated areas have been expanded and people's revolutionary power set up throughout South Viet Nam. *The generalized offensives and uprisings have won tremendous, all-round and unprecedented successes*, upsetting the strategic battle array of the enemy, rocking their rear area and obviously shaking their aggressive will. They have forced the U.S. imperialists to put an end to the stage of counter-offensive of their "limited war" on the South Viet Nam theatre, switch on to the defensive and the "clear and hold" strategy, and muster the major part of their forces for the defence of the towns and important bases.

In early spring this year, at the very moment the Nixon administration, which had just assumed

office was at a loss to find a solution to the Viet Nam problem, the armed forces and people in the South staged new and well-timed violent onsets, striking hard at the U.S. aggressors in many skillfully prepared and highly efficient actions. *These repeated assaults prove that the longer they fight the stronger the South Viet Nam armed forces and people become, and spell out the great ability of South Viet Nam—the bulwark of the fatherland—to deliver powerful and continuous blows, and its determination to press its attacks till final victory.*

Turning our thoughts to the heroic South we warmly hail the great victories of our fourteen million beloved countrymen, of the heroic Liberation Armed Forces, the pride of our entire people.

Having bitterly failed in their war effort and confronted with innumerable difficulties not only on the Viet Nam battlefield but also at home and in the world, the U.S. imperialists were forced to reconsider their unjust war condemned by all progressive mankind. They had to enter into talks with the delegates of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation. This was something they had not envisaged when they massively sent aggressor troops to our country. This was one more aspect of their political passiveness in the face of the radiant justice and great strength of our nation. Recently the N.F.L. put forward its ten-point overall solution to the Viet Nam problem together with very sound and serious principles which further aggravated the U.S. imperialists' and their flunkies' embarrassment.

The U.S. imperialists attacked the North in the hope of extricating themselves from their predicament in the South, but they met with bitter setbacks in both parts of our country. *On the South Viet Nam theatre the heroic people and Liberation Armed Forces inflicted reverse after reverse upon 1,200,000 troops of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen. This marvellous exploit was a telling blow at the U.S. imperialists' scheme of aggression and a very important contribution to defeating their war of destruction in North Viet Nam.* The aggressors were driven to unconditionally cease their bombardments in the North. It was the failure not only of the war of destruction but also of an important part of the "limited war" strategy and of this strategy itself. It is safe to say that have now tacitly admitted the bankruptcy of their "limited war" strategy and are forced to consider an "honourable" settlement and of "de-Americanizing" the war. Is "de-Americanization" a new manoeuvre? Surely the, U.S. imperialists have not forgotten that they have once used non-American forces — the puppet army and administration — in the "special war", and having failed miserably, they had, out of passiveness, to take the decision to "Americanize" the war. Now that the "limited war" has gone bankrupt, they hope to turn the tide by resorting to the old trick of "de-Americanizing" or "Vietnamizing" the war. Both the U.S. and puppets have failed to gain a position of strength and have sustained more setbacks in the process. Yet they now want to put into effect a plan for "phased withdrawal" of U.S. forces, with a view to replacing them by

puppet troops and securing a position of strength. It is clear that they are plunging deeper into an impasse, a quagmire and a losing position.

Our people are determined to continue foiling all their new schemes and keep up our resistance till final victory. And this war against U.S. aggression, for national salvation — the biggest in our nation's history against foreign aggression — will dash to the ground the myth of U.S. invincible military and economic strength. Our people's war is beating off and will surely defeat completely the neo-colonialist aggressive war of the U.S. imperialists.

2. SHINING EXAMPLES OF REVOLUTIONARY HEROISM

Dear comrades,

Under the leadership of our Party headed by our beloved and venerated President Ho Chi Minh, the people's armed forces in the North have upheld the tradition of resolute fighting until victory, of loyalty to the Party and devotion to the people, and have gloriously fulfilled their duty of crushing the American imperialists' war of destruction so as to make a worthy contribution to the great victory of our nation.

The anti-aircraft forces of our three kinds of armed forces in all localities, from the militia or self-defence member holding the plough or the hammer in one hand and the gun in the other, or fighting on a permanent basis in the battlefields, to the anti-aircraft and air-force

units have achieved very brilliant exploits and, together with the entire army and people, shot down nearly 3,300 * American planes, got the better of the modern air force, and sunk or burnt hundreds of warships and commando boats of the topmost imperialist power. These are most glorious feats of arms. At this congress, *it is very gratifying for us to commend all cadres and fighters of our heroic people's armed forces, of the anti-aircraft, infantry, artillery, engineer, transport, signal, naval and other units on the collective exploits achieved.*

We all warmly congratulate our anti-aircraft artillery and missile units, air force, radar and other units of the anti-aircraft and air forces for their very important part in the victory over the U.S. air force. They have displayed revolutionary heroism, their resolve to fight and win, their splendid courage, great vigilance, intelligence and creative power; they have constantly improved their technique and tactics and devised skilful fighting methods to foil the perfidious technical tricks of the American aggressors and shot down nearly all types of their most up-to-date planes.

Promoting their spirit of "aiming right at the enemy", many *anti-aircraft gunners and units* have recorded outstanding achievements. They are the heroic Company No 1, the Hong Linh unit credited with the highest record of 200 planes downed, the Xung Kich unit which fought with extraordinary perseverance

* Up to June 5, 1969 when the speech was delivered, 3,294 U.S. planes had been downed. (Pub.)

and courage on the strategic communications front. Many comrades such as chief gunner Nguyen Huy Hong who, seriously wounded, continued to fight heroically, chief gunner Bui Xuan Chien who rushed into the flames to keep up the fighting. These comrades have set shining examples of revolutionary heroism.

Our young but heroic missile force has grown rapidly to maturity. Many units and operators recorded great feats such as the heroic Section No 61, the Section No 64 which grounded the highest number of American aircraft (over 40), the Song Da unit with 137 planes downed to its credit, the Nam Trieu and Ha Long units with a score of over 100 aircraft each, army hero Nguyen Tuyen and others who have ceaselessly improved their scientific and technical levels thanks to their revolutionary ardour.

Our nascent but heroic air force, true to its tradition of winning every battle has scored valiant exploits: The heroic Company No 1 downed over 60 aircraft, Company No 2 over 50, Sao Do unit over 100. Besides heroes Tran Hanh, Nguyen Van Bay and Lam Van Lich, many other comrades fought most valiantly and skilfully, and performed brilliant feats such as Nguyen Van Coc who blasted 9 planes, Ha Van Chuc who broke into an enemy formation of 36 aircraft and grounded the leading one manned by a colonel, thus checking the attack.

Our radar operators, courageous and constantly vigilant have never ceased to improve their technical level and proved capable of spotting the enemy "from

afar, rapidly, accurately and thoroughly"; they have fought tirelessly by their oscilloscope and recorded ever greater achievements; among others we can mention such distinguished units as Companies Nos. 11 and 19 and such able operators as Pham Si Yeng, Do Ngoan, Nguyen Van Giang and Tran Vinh Quang.

Signal, engineer, transport, armoury and other support units, offices and schools have displayed great combativeness and efficiently served the fighting, making an important contribution to the common victory.

Our heroic anti-aircraft and air forces have accomplished the task entrusted them by the Party and the people with splendid success and earned the confidence and love of our armed forces and people.

We are very proud of our fellow-countrymen who have spared no effort and even sacrificed their lives in helping the armymen and, together with them, in taking part in the fighting. They have spent millions of work-days to build defence positions and roads to haul guns, carry ammunition, and tend the wounded. Without the wholehearted assistance and encouragement of the population, of Party organizations, government bodies and mass organizations of various localities, and of people of various nationalities, it was impossible for our army to perform such outstanding exploits.

The victories won by our armed forces are closely associated with the success of *anti-air-raid precautions* taken by the *civilian air defence*. Our compatriots have dug millions of anti-air-raid shelters and tens of thousands of kilometres of communication trenches; by

efficiently organizing an alert system and a thorough dispersal they reduced the losses caused by the enemy to the minimum. Thus, highly favourable conditions were created to fight the adversary and foil their objectives.

The successes of our armed forces and people are closely associated with our achievements in *production, transport and communications, in the cultural, medical and other branches*. In *production*, our people displayed courage and perseverance, unceasingly improved their technique and increased their labour productivity, overcome natural calamities and the havoc wrought by the enemy and satisfied all the requirements of our resistance. More particularly, as of late the enemy concentrated their attacks on the *communication lines*, and as a result the fighting unfolded most fiercely. With the spirit "to mend the roads immediately after the enemy destroy them" and "when the vehicles cannot pass, even houses are dismantled to repair the road", the forces in charge of transport and communications and the population have fought very heroically and gloriously carried the day. Thanks to the valiant struggle and strenuous efforts of our people in all branches, organs and localities to repel enemy raids and overcome difficulties and hardships in order to win on all fronts, we have recently recorded great and all-sided successes.

Once again, *we warmly hail and praise the tremendous achievements of our people in all localities and on all fronts. We express our profound gratitude and respect to them who, under the leadership of our Party, have given us added strength to defeat the enemy.*

3. OUR PARTY'S CORRECT LINE :
FOUNTAIN-HEAD OF ALL OUR SUCCESSES

All the great successes of our people originate from the correct revolutionary line and the clever leadership of our Party headed by President Ho Chi Minh.

Our Party has laid down its revolutionary line by correctly and creatively applying Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of the revolution and of revolutionary war in our country.

That is the line of "promoting the socialist revolution in the North and at the same time the national people's democratic revolution in the South, achieving the reunification of the country on the basis of independence and democracy, building a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam, thereby contributing effectively to the strengthening of the socialist camp and to the defence of peace in Southeast Asia and the world".

That is the line of revolutionary war in a country with no large territory and population, but carried out by a heroic people—who possess a time-honoured tradition of building and defending their country, who have stood up time and again to fight and defeat enemies many times stronger than themselves economically and militarily — for their independence and freedom, for socialism.

This line, imbued with the radical revolutionary spirit of the working class, is the application of an offensive strategy to the concrete conditions of

the present epoch; it is imbued with a constant determination to attack the enemy, to repel them step by step and smash them part by part so as to crush them completely and secure final victory for the revolution. That line gives full play to the ardent patriotism of our people, and at the same time is permeated with genuine proletarian internationalism. Our Party has always upheld the spirit of self-help, of relying mainly on our own strength while highly valuing the devoted assistance of the fraternal countries and the sympathy and support of all progressive mankind. That line is a condensed expression of our Party's spirit of independence and sovereignty and stems from its sense of political responsibility for the revolutionary cause of our people and nation.

The fundamental point of our Party's line of revolutionary war is this: *the whole people, the whole country fights the aggressors with the people's armed forces as the hard core*. By mobilizing the entire people to resist aggression, by bringing people's war to a very high level, and by displaying unprecedented courage and creative power, our Party has firmly grasped the rule of revolutionary war in Viet Nam, thus generating a mighty force to get the better of any aggressor.

Deeply confident of the people's invincible strength, and indomitable in face of U.S. imperialism — an enemy possessed of a tremendous potential and, in addition, utterly cruel and perfidious — our Party has always seen through the nature and scheme of the enemy, their general strategic intentions just as their political manoeuvres and concrete tactics, accurately appraised

their strong and weak points, their innumerable contradictions and insurmountable difficulties, and has made a scientific analysis of the rules of the U.S. neo-colonialist war of aggression. In this aggressive war, all strategic schemes of neo-colonialism have been foiled one after another by the powerful offensives of people's war. The failure of their "special war" compelled the U.S. imperialists to wage a "limited war". Their bitter defeats in the South drove them to launch a war of destruction in the North. Their reverses forced them to escalate and it is their losses which led them to de-escalate in their war of destruction. The more reckless they were, the heavier setbacks they suffered as a result of our people's strong offensives. Obdurate in escalation they met with defeats; obdurate and frenzied in de-escalation they met with still more humiliating ones. That is a blind alley which will inevitably lead them to complete failure. *That is the irrevocable development process of the U.S. imperialists' aggressive war, which has the character of a rule.*

The military line in our people's war against the U.S. neo-colonialists' war of aggression has these marked characteristics:

The spirit of sustained, resolute and all-round offensive against the enemy. To strike the enemy with all our forces: basing ourselves on the valiant spirit and intelligence of the Vietnamese people who have reached a high level of political consciousness and are very closely united, to vigorously develop the efficiency of all kinds of weapons at our disposal, use all forms of struggle and combat methods and hit the enemy

everywhere and at any time. To constantly attack and wipe out the enemy while seeing to the preservation and development of our own forces so that we become stronger and score more successes as we fight.

The capability to strike a big force with a small force, the courage to confront and defeat an opponent disposing of a modern matériel with weapons in most cases unsophisticated, to use seasoned troops and clever combat methods to fight an enemy superior in number and equipped with modern armaments. Imbued with such a spirit and devising excellent fighting tactics, our people and armed forces always hold the initiative of operations against the enemy, hitting them devastatingly from a position of strength.

In the South, under the clever leadership of the National Front for Liberation, our people, millions acting as one man, have taken up arms and launched a strategic offensive by making use of both political and revolutionary armed forces, of the regular army, regional troops and militia and guerillas, of all weapons available, rudimentary, improved and modern; they have co-ordinated armed struggle with political action, military operations with uprisings, military and political offensives with persuasion work among the enemy troops, used various combat methods — fielding small, medium-size and big units in all the three strategic arms: hills-forests, plains and urban centres. The South Viet Nam people and armed forces have skilfully used the method of opposing a small force to a bigger one, concentrating an appropriate troop-strength when need be; using a highly effective force, striking hard and

smarting blows at the enemy's manpower, war means and rear bases, in order to cause them ever-heavier losses while we grow stronger in the fighting and win bigger successes

In the North, to worst the U.S. war of destruction our people have developed an enormous fighting potential. To defend the North and fulfil their duty as the great rear area to the great fighting front in the South, our people and armed forces have thwarted all frenzied efforts of the American aggressors and scored brilliant successes.

Our Party has energetically aroused the patriotism and love for socialism of the entire people, and called on our armed forces and people to enhance their determination to fight, bring into full play their revolutionary heroism, surmount all difficulties and hardships, make sacrifices and endure losses, in order to mobilize and organize the people's forces in the fight against the invader.

Hence, the entire people have taken part in the struggle in a well organized manner. Prompted by deep hatred for the enemy, our army has made good use of ever more sophisticated weapons and equipment and devised highly efficient combat methods. In the course of the fighting *they have developed to the utmost their offensive spirit, searched the enemy to beat them, grasped the rule governing their activities and the characteristics and capabilities of our own forces, then acted with determination, secrecy and suddenness to engage the enemy and wipe them out.* All this has enabled us to *avail ourselves of the adversary's moves to hit them*

back, depriving their attacks of all or part of their efficiency while constantly keeping our initiative of operations. We have thus made notable progress in our efforts to oppose a smaller force to a bigger one and to co-ordinate small engagements with medium-size and big ones. Where and when we grasp this fighting method, there and then we can obtain the greatest success, continually harass the enemy, destroy their manpower and foil all their tactical manoeuvres and schemes.

Everywhere in our country, *all our three kinds of armed forces have defeated the enemy.* Our militiamen and guerillas young or old, men or women, have downed enemy jets and captured American pilots. Each rifle, machine-gun, heavy gun, missile-launching pad or modern plane at our brave and resourceful fighters' disposal has been brought into full play; even rifles can successfully cope with modern U.S. jet planes.

Being aware of the enemy's perfidious scheme to check our communications and transport and sever the relations between our rear area and our fighting front, we have set our army and people to fight on the communications and transport front considered as an emergency central task. With gallantry, perseverance and commendable creativeness our people have remarkably fulfilled their task on this front, frustrating the above-mentioned scheme of the enemy.

The adversary plotted to cause us heavy losses in life and property and to wreck our economic potentialities and national defence. Parallel to the participation in the fighting, our people have made great efforts to effectively preserve their forces. The dispersal

of civilians and anti-air raid precautions have proved their efficiency in the protection of the lives and property of the population and their tremendous significance in our victorious resistance.

We have envisaged to change the orientation of economic construction in war time, strengthen regional industry, ensure production while fighting and continue to build socialism, in order to satisfy the immediate needs of the war and to meet the long-range requirements of socialist construction in the North. In the thick of the fight, the socialist relations of production have only been maintained but also developed their great efficiency in the enhancement of our people's material and moral strength to defeat U.S. aggression and to build socialism. Our people have fulfilled this glorious task with a high political consciousness tempered in the process of socialist construction in the North. Whereas our resistance war against the French colonialists was conducted with a people's democratic economy, today, for the first time in our millenary history we wage a war of resistance against the American imperialists, for national salvation, under the socialist regime. *Through the trials of the war the socialist system has proved to be an excellent and very steady one.*

Since the outset of the U.S. predatory war against the North, our Party has realized that the aim of the aggressors was to stave off the U.S. puppet predicament in the South Viet Nam theatre and has therefore called on the entire people to devote their heart and strength to the fight against the aggressors with a view to liberating the South and defending the North. Our

fellow-countrymen in the South and their Liberation armed forces have put up a stubborn struggle: against a blow dealt at the North, the enemy received ten at the hand of the South Viet Nam people and armed forces who have thus won bigger and bigger successes.

It is in these conditions that our armed forces and people in the North have unceasingly heightened their combativeness, caused ever-heavier losses to the enemy, foiled all their strategic schemes and political and tactical manoeuvres, compelling them to unconditionally halt the bombing of the North and resign themselves to total failure in their war of destruction.

Such are the new developments in our Party's line of revolutionary war and conduct of war. The mapping out and development of this line has been a great achievement in the application of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism concerning war and armed forces to the concrete conditions of our country. Our people have promoted to a higher level the traditional indomitability, the heroism and combat skill of a people who have defeated powerful aggressor armies in the course of their millenary history.

The soundness of the revolutionary and military lines of our Party has been demonstrated by the successes recorded on the battlefield. *These lines are the very source of our indomitable strength and of all our victories.*

Viet Nam military science is an advanced one, which has been outwitting the strategies and tactics of the imperialist war of aggression and the outmoded

military thought of an imperialist power which, though possessed of a tremendous economic and military potential, is on the wane and will continue to weaken in the inevitable development process of history at the present time.

In the revolutionary struggle of our people for independence, for the reunification of their country and for socialism, *Viet Nam military science has brought into play its far-reaching bearing and proved its unquestionable superiority over the military thought of the imperialists, as well as its tremendous combativeness and invincible strength.*

4. LET US VALIANTLY MARCH FORWARD TO BRING OUR STRUGGLE AGAINST U.S. AGGRESSION, FOR NATIONAL SALVATION, TO TOTAL VICTORY

The ultimate defeat of the U.S. imperialists is a foregone conclusion. The longer they drag on the war, the heavier setbacks they will incur. But they are still very obdurate and do not want to give up their aggressive designs upon our country.

Though compelled to talk about an "honourable" settlement of the war, the U.S. imperialists are feverishly stepping up their aggression, exerting every effort to retrieve their situation by "de-Americanizing" the war step by step, and continuing their attempt to impose neo-colonialism on South Viet Nam and prolong the partition of our country. In their passive and defensive posture and serious predicament, they are doing their best to reinforce their defences,

frantically shore up the crumbling puppet army in all respects, rally the forces on their payroll and breathe life into them in an attempt to bolster up the puppet Thieu-Ky-Huong administration. At the same time, they are frenziedly using B.52s, bombs and shells and toxic chemicals to devastate the liberated zone, launching repeated military operations and stepping up the so-called "accelerated pacification" program to repress, persecute and massacre our fellow-countrymen. While drifting toward ultimate defeat the U.S. imperialists still nurture the illusion that they can check the advance of the South Viet Nam armed forces and people who in the impetus of their victories, are dashing toward final victory.

Meanwhile, in the North, they stubbornly go on with their acts of war, carrying on reconnaissance flights and provocations, perpetrating other crimes, encroaching upon the sovereignty and threatening the security of the D.R.V.N., and continuing to dispatch spies and commandos to devastate socialist North Viet Nam. For all their failures in four years of war of destruction, they have not yet renounced their dark designs upon the North.

For the independence and reunification of the country, and for socialism, *we pledge ourselves to strictly implement the teaching of President Ho Chi Minh: "So long as a single aggressor remains on our soil, we must fight on to sweep him away."* Our people throughout the country, united as one man, are resolved to rush forward to fight the U.S. aggressors till final victory.

It is the sacred duty of our people, of our nation, to completely defeat the U.S. aggressors. *All cadres and fighters of the people's armed forces show their determination to fight and to win, heighten their vigilance and resolutely fulfil all the tasks entrusted them by our Party and people.*

All cadres and fighters of the anti-aircraft and air forces must be well aware of the new situation and of their new tasks, fight stubbornly together with the other arms and services of the people's armed forces, resolutely smash all acts of war of the enemy, bring down all types of reconnaissance planes, be constantly prepared to fight, and with a strong resolve foil all the perfidious schemes of the American imperialists.

To accomplish these tasks, *we must ceaselessly strengthen our anti-aircraft and air forces, help them acquire great fighting capabilities and a great combat efficiency.*

We must build excellent A.A. artillery: all A.A. battalions should fight as well as, or better than, the Nguyen Viet Xuan battalion; all A.A. units should fight as well as, or better than, the Hong Linh unit.

We must build excellent missile units so that all its units can fight as well as, or better than, the heroic sections No 61 and No 64 or the Song Da unit.

We must build an excellent air force so that all its units fight as well as, or better than, heroic Company No 1 and Company No 2 or the Sao Do unit.

We must build excellent radar units so that they can in good time detect the enemy when they intrude into our air space

We must consolidate all our services, paying adequate attention to technical and logistic bases.

The standpoint of our Party on the building of the armed forces is constantly to *attach utmost importance to raising their fighting capabilities and combat efficiency.* Only by so doing can we successfully fight a big force with a small one, vanquish an aggressive numerous and modernly equipped force with a not-so-large and not-so-modernly-equipped force and get the better of an army of the topmost imperialist power which disposes of the greatest economic and military potentials in the capitalist world. Only by so doing can we promote the fighting tradition of our forefathers and grasp the spirit and content of Viet Nam military science.

The yardstick to measure the fighting capabilities of an army is the combat efficiency of its units. Should all our air force companies be able to destroy over 60 enemy aircraft as the heroic company No 1 did, should all our missile units be able to knock out of our skies over 40 planes as did one of them, should all our A.A. artillery battalions be able to destroy over 120 aircraft as the Nguyen Viet Xuan battalion did, even with their present number, our anti-aircraft and air forces would have fighting capabilities five, ten or more times stronger. This means that the fighting capabilities of our army would be considerably multiplied. And this is what we are exerting ourselves to achieve a realistic goal that all cadres and fighters of our anti-aircraft and air forces must attain at any cost.

First and foremost, *we must grasp the military line and operational thought of the Party.* This is the line of people's war developed to a high degree where the entire people fight and are valiant fighters; this is the thought of resolutely attacking the enemy to wipe them out, of striking them without respite and on all planes, acting with initiative, secrecy, suddenness, determination, courage and resourcefulness and using a small force against a bigger one, so as to achieve ever-higher combat efficiency and winning ever-greater victories.

Organizationally, our troops must be well seasoned, very strong, built up and equipped in accordance with the requirements of our combat methods. They must be politically and ideologically steadfast, and thoroughly conversant with technique and tactics; they must perfect the organization of their command, be appropriately equipped, and enjoy good material and technical conditions, especially as far as modernly equipped arms and services like the anti-aircraft and air forces are concerned. The officers in particular must be highly qualified, evince revolutionary virtues, master technique and tactics, show a grim determination to fight, and proved equal to their task as commanders, capable of leading their units to victory.

Your emulation congress has highlighted a great many examples set by army units and individual fighters in combat and in training. For the Congress to develop its great impact, it is necessary to *review* more concretely and more penetratingly the experiences of

the most representative units, and from these experiences draw guide-lines and principles in order to enrich our Party's military thought, improve our combat methods and achieve greater achievements and feats of arms. This is a very good basis to strengthen our anti-aircraft and air forces, and improve their fighting capabilities *so that they can become an excellent arm, capable of defeating any enemy and effectively defending the beloved skies of our heroic Viet Nam.*

*

A very great and heavy task faces our people throughout the country, that of *making all-out efforts to bring our resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, to complete victory.*

Our countrymen and the liberation armed forces in the heroic South are rushing ahead like tidal waves, pushing up their attacks, and winning great victories, thus landing the American imperialists in an ever-graver losing position and passive posture. For the liberation of South Viet Nam, for the reunification of our country, for socialism, and for the fulfilment of our lofty internationalist obligation, our armed forces and people in the North are exerting the greatest efforts to fight in order to defend the North, push ahead socialist construction and accomplish their sacred duty as the great area toward the great fighting front.

Never have the Vietnamese people been confronted with such a historic and glorious task as today.

Never have they deployed their combat strength with such an impetus.

Under the banner of the Party headed by our beloved and venerated President Ho Chi Minh, all our cadres and fighters in the people's armed forces in general and the anti-aircraft and air forces in particular *will courageously march forward together with our people all over the country in order to carry through our glorious mission and record the most shining exploits in the history of our resistance against aggression: to completely defeat the American aggressors, liberate the South, defend the North and advance toward the reunification of the country.*

BRILLIANT SUCCESSES AND IMMENSE STRENGTH OF PEOPLE'S WAR IN THE VARIOUS REGIONS OF SOCIALIST NORTH VIET NAM

Comrades,

Today you are meeting to discuss the review of four years of people's war versus the war of destruction in the various regions of the North. I am very glad to address your meeting. Let me convey the cordial greetings of President Ho Chi Minh, the Party Central Committee and the Central Military Committee to all the participants in this congress and all cadres and fighters of the regional armed forces, to all our fellow-countrymen and all cadres and Party members in the various regions.

On many previous occasions I have talked about people's war versus the U.S. war of destruction in the North as a whole. Today I would like to deal with *the brilliant successes and immense strength of people's war in the various regions* of the North, i.e. in the various provinces, and take this opportunity to set forth some views about the progress, new potentialities, and important position of *regional military work.*

Over the past years, *under the direct leadership of the regional Party organizations, the gallant fight and creative labour of our people and armed forces accounted for a worthy part in the common achievements of the North and of the country as a whole, and our people's war in various regions attained a rather high level.*

People's war versus war of destruction was a nationwide and all-sided resistance with new features. Hence the abundant and valuable experiences gathered by the various regions in all fields.

The first experience consists in having *the entire people fight the enemy*, in having the entire people hit back at enemy aircraft to defend our airspace, and enemy vessels to defend our territorial waters, *in conducting wartime mobilization in such a way as to expand our regular troops and at the same time to build and develop our regional armed forces*, and make all-sided preparations to guard against the expansion by the enemy of the "limited war" of aggression to the whole country.

As the war goes on, the various regions have continued to maintain and boost production and to build socialism, the immediate aim being to help bring the resistance to victory and the long-term one being to push socialist revolution forward. That is why they have also gained experience in *changing the economic orientation, building socialism in wartime conditions*, and closely combining combat duties with the task of building socialism. We must stress that this is the first time in our history that people's war has been conducted on the basis of a socialist regime, unlike the

former resistance against French aggression and the current resistance in the South against U.S. aggression, waged on the basis of a people's democratic regime in the liberated areas.

Another experience of great importance consists in *strengthening the leadership of regional party organizations in an all-sided way*, in combat and in production, in ideology and organization, so as to bring the power of people's war into full play in all regions.

The American imperialists' perfidious design is to perpetuate the division of our country. But in their war of aggression they have looked upon Viet Nam as one single battlefield, thus tacitly and unwittingly admitting that Viet Nam is one. They have introduced a large expeditionary force into the South, considering this as the main battlefield, at the same time attacking the socialist North with air and naval forces, considering it as a combinative battlefield. That is why the resistance waged by the people and armed forces of the North against the American imperialists' war of destruction, for the defence of the D.R.V.N. is at the same time part and parcel of the common resistance waged by the entire nation against the limited war of aggression, for the defence of the great rear base of South Viet Nam, the great fighting front. Therefore, *the experiences gained by people's war in the North in opposing the enemy's war of destruction are also experiences gained by people's war against their "limited war" of aggression in the socialist rear base.* Meanwhile, in the South, our countrymen and the Liberation armed forces are getting the better of over 1,200,000 American

and puppet troops, winning great successes, and gaining very precious experiences in the fight against American ground, air and naval forces.

And so the experiences drawn by our people and armed forces in both zones of the country are very rich; they complement each other and complete the experiences acquired by our entire nation in the resistance against American aggression, for national salvation. In practice, people's war in the various regions in both the South and the North has proved to contain extremely great potentialities. That is *why we must not only sum up the experiences obtained in the North but also strive to learn from those secured in the various regions of the South*. Only so can we substantially strengthen regional military work, develop the tremendous power of the regions and contribute to bringing our resistance to complete victory, and at the same time make good preparations for the long-range building of our armed forces and the consolidation of our national defence.

I

THE PEOPLE AND ARMED FORCES IN ALL REGIONS HAVE MADE WORTHY CONTRIBUTION TO DEFEATING THE AMERICAN AGGRESSORS' WAR OF DESTRUCTION

The summing-up report prepared by the command of the military zone is fairly complete and to a degree reflects the ideas of the leadership of the provinces

concerned. This is very good. I would like to add my comments on the following subjects:

1. The entire people fight the enemy and oppose their war of destruction by air and naval forces.
2. Wartime mobilization; building and development of regional armed forces.
3. Change in economic orientation; building of socialism in the various regions in war time.
4. The strengthening of the leadership of regional Party organizations.

I. THE ENTIRE PEOPLE FIGHT BACK AIR AND NAVAL WAR OF DESTRUCTION

Against the U.S. imperialists' modern air and naval forces our armed forces and countrymen in the North waged an unusual people's war: *the entire people hit back at enemy planes and vessels, carried out defence and "dodging" work, and ensured the functioning of communications and transport*. Owing to the particular features and specific goals of the war of destruction, the above-mentioned three fronts, of which combat was the primary one, were closely related to each other and all of them actively contributed to defeating the enemy, foiling their main design against the North of our country. On these fronts worked side by side the anti-aircraft units of the regular forces and the regional forces, the communication-transport-maintenance units at the centre and the provinces and villages. The forces at the centre played a part of utmost importance. The widespread regional forces had also a very important role.

a) As regards *combat tasks*, we successfully implemented this directive: *the entire people hit back at enemy planes, taking the anti-aircraft units of the three armed forces as the nucleus*. This is a new development in people's war in our country. We had acquired experiences in our resistance mainly against ground forces, but not against air force. With our Party's sound line, our people's determination, intelligence and creative power, we launched a plane-hunting mass movement and achieved splendid results.

Our young anti-aircraft defence and air force developed by leaps and bounds. Regional anti-aircraft units also grew more experienced. Militia and self-defence members, young and old, men and women, no matter what their nationality, in the plains as in the hill regions, managed to down up-to-date U.S. jets. *Regional forces* of provinces and districts also grounded enemy planes. Our *people* valiantly fought and served the fighting, captured air pirates, built defence works and roads for anti-aircraft guns and missiles, helped the army in every respect. We used all available weapons from rifles, machine-guns, anti-aircraft guns of various calibres up to missiles and modern planes. With anti-aircraft units of both the regular forces and the widespread regional forces and all kinds of weapons, we wove an extensive network of fire with key points, many layers and many directions, to trap enemy planes at every altitude, place and moment. The strong fire-power in the socialist North inflicted very heavy losses to the enemy air force and struck fear into American pilots.

The impact of the regional armed forces in anti-aircraft defence could be felt in the number of enemy planes brought down by the militia, self-defence and regional forces. Keeping watch round the clock and using automatics of various kinds, sometimes while working in the fields or in the factories, and using rifles, militia and self-defence members managed to shoot down modern jets: those of Quang Binh province bagged over 100, and many militiawomen also did their bits. Provincial anti-aircraft units gave a good account of themselves, some of them blasting up to 70 or 80 enemy planes — a high record indeed.

The impact of the regional armed forces could be seen in their co-ordination in combat with the regular anti-aircraft units to knock down as many enemy planes as possible, forming an efficacious flank at different altitudes and in different places.

On the other hand, in the war of destruction, enemy air force was in a position to strike at any target in our rear. To cope with the enemy's mobility, we had to build an extensive air defence system with focal points. Thanks to the close co-ordination between the air defence forces of the regular army and of the regional troops, and between the regional troops and the militia and self-defence forces, we satisfactorily met that complex combat requirement.

Another major role of the armed forces was their important assignment in air defence: fighting enemy planes flying at low altitude. The regional forces and militia and self-defence units kept watch, detected adverse aircraft and helped the people organize

air defence, and therefore succeeded in protecting their lives and property and production, keeping their life at normal under the conditions of a gruelling war.

The regional armed forces in the coastal areas successfully hit back at U.S. vessels and U.S. - puppet commando-boats. In coordination with regular artillery units operating at key centres, regional gunners fired at enemy boats, provided cover for the people's activities within their gun's range and opened up new possibilities for the regions to defend our rather long coast-line.

Together with the people, regional troops and people's security forces honourably discharged their responsibility by grounding adverse planes, wiping out commandos, keeping order and security, and foiling the enemy psywar moves.

Along with operations of the regular forces, courageous and effective actions of the regional armed forces stimulated the people's fighting spirit and production zeal, and strengthened their determination to defeat American aggression, and their confidence in the final victory.

As regards *operational thinking*, the very fact that Vietnamese militia and self-defence units were able to knock down U.S. jets with infantry weapons bears a very important significance. It gives a concrete expression to the high level of our people's traditional military thinking to fight a big force with a small one and to use all weapons available to worst an adversary possessing up-to-date ones usually superior to ours. One can say that the successes of our militia

and self-defence forces supply part of the answer to the question why the Vietnamese people have got the better of the American aggressors.

b) Parallel to the directive "The entire people hit back at enemy planes and vessels" is this one: "*The entire people actively take part in civilian air defence*". The past years' fighting has highlighted the extremely important significance of the civilian air defence which frustrated the enemy's objective and reduced to the minimum our losses in life and property.

"*To wipe out the enemy so as to defend ourselves, to preserve our forces to wipe out the enemy,*" this fundamental principle of every war has to be thoroughly grasped when opposing a people's war to a war of destruction. Indeed, to fight the enemy air force is not like to deal with their infantry, especially when one does not yet possess a strong air force and long-range missiles to destroy their planes on the ground at their bases or on the wing to their targets. In these conditions, in order to bring our initiative into full play and reduce our losses, it is of utmost importance to nullify or lessen the effectiveness of the adversary's air strikes, and on this basis to turn their attacks into opportunities for us to wipe them out. Therefore, targets of eventual enemy strikes must be kept secret, protected by defence works, camouflaged, scattered and moved from place to place. Civilian air defence as well as the change of orientation in economic activities have a strategic significance, in the sense that they aim at neutralizing or diminishing the destructive effect of the enemy's raids. The satisfactory functioning

of civilian air defence makes it possible for the regions to carry out fighting, maintain production, keep communications and transport going for a long time. Moreover, in many areas, especially in the southern provinces of the Fourth Military Zone, where the adversary intensified their attacks during the "limited bombing" period, our losses were smaller than previously due to better air defence measures.

In this domain the people's efforts were truly considerable. Throughout the North the population dug tens of millions of shelters, tens of thousands of communication trenches, adequately organized first aid, and made good the aftermaths of enemy attacks. We evacuated to the countryside millions of people living in places worst hit by the enemy and in cities and other urban centres, dispersed many factories, offices, storages, schools and hospitals. Some provinces played hosts to hundreds of thousands of evacuees and helped them in their work and life. These were very great achievements and at the same time new experiences of the various regions in this war.

Civilian air defence work is directly related to the people's life, feelings, ways and customs, and to the production and combat activities of various bases, government services and branches of activity. We must, therefore, adequately perform the job of educating the masses, cadres and Party members in their tasks and of conducting deep and broad political mobilization, and at the same time pay the utmost attention to organizational work, relying on the socialist relations of production, and, in rural areas,

mainly on the co-operatives. Once the task of reinforcing civilian air defence is set forth, we must engage in organizational work, adopt concrete measures and correct policies with a view to fulfilling this task. We must have manpower to dig trenches and shelters (for instance the trench-digging teams of the co-ops), elaborate policies to ensure in every way good conditions for this activity, adopt a sound line in building shelters, for instance building shelters in priority for families of war invalids and war martyrs, organize first-aid and transport of the wounded, adopt concrete line and policies concerning evacuation and dispersion, etc. In many regions, effective models of shelters have been worked out and popularized, as well as efficient material and technical means which have made it possible to build better shelters with less labour. In the recent period, our people have built many types of highly effective shelters against the American imperialists' savage bombings and shelling: individual shelters, collective shelters, shelters for cattle, shelters for movable property, mobile shelters, shelters in the fields, shelters in sandy beaches, and solid and complex shelter systems.

Co-ordinating the resistance against the war of destruction with the preparations against the enemy's eventual expanding of the "limited war", many regions paid attention to coupling the building of shelters with the erection of combat villages.

Civilian air defence was very successful and has demonstrated our people's engineering capacities and the immense inventive power of people's war.

c) The *communications and transport front* was also an important part of people's war against the war of destruction.

One of the enemy's major objectives was to strike at our communications and transport and check all assistance of the great rear to the great fighting front. To this effect, the adversary at times concentrated three-fourths of their air attacks. The military report of Grant Sharp, U.S. commander in the Pacific, revealed his vicious schemes and measures and strenuous efforts to bomb scattered targets as well as networks of targets, especially our most important communication lines. This report also admitted U.S. bitter failure on this front, where our people's feats were remarkable.

Indeed, they unmistakably spelled out the grim determination to outwit the enemy, the courage, cleverness and organizational skill of the regional armed forces and people. *The entire people were mobilized to maintain communications and transport in good order under all circumstances, this being regarded as a central emergency task.* To repair what the enemy fiercely destroyed was a real combat job, especially in a country with an intricate terrain, so many rivers, bridges and roads difficult of access. To get the better of the enemy here, one must have a tight hold on all the forces of transport, of road-building and road-mending, and of self-defence to protect the communication lines. Leadership in this task became part of military art, which requires a good understanding of the enemy situation and ours, a close co-ordination

between the central and regional forces. Organizationally, the forces ensuring the smooth running of communications and transport were set up along the line of the three categories of armed forces: centrally-directed forces and forces of the regular army; the specialized units of the provinces; and the widespread militia and self-defence forces at the grassroots. The centrally-directed forces and the regular forces were most important, especially in the uninhabited or sparsely populated areas and at key points subjected to heavy attacks. But the regional forces played also a part of great consequence, without which our tasks in communications and transport could not have been fulfilled in the past years.

Experience proves the potentialities of the various regions, provinces and villages to be very great. The point is to develop these potentialities in the most rational way: any job a region can tackle should be entrusted to it, on condition that this will not affect the unified leadership of the central level and the mobility and flexibility in the overall activities of the transport and communications branch. Over the past years, transport and communications work was best ensured in those provinces which put adequate emphasis on it, which have received adequate reinforcements, which knew how to use adequately both army engineers and young volunteers, which were adequately strengthened as regards their fighting forces, which benefited from resolute command and concentrated and unified leadership, and where the central forces were effectively combined with the militia, self-defence corps and people at the grassroot level.

2. TO MOBILIZE THE MANPOWER NEEDED BY THE WAR, TO SET UP AND DEVELOP THE REGIONAL ARMED FORCES

In the tough fight against the war of destruction, every region *actively encouraged the youth to enlist in the army while steadily building and strengthening its armed forces, and militia and self-defence forces.*

a) To meet the requirements of the war, our regular forces, especially the modern arms like the anti-aircraft force and the air force, were considerably expanded in a short time, in both number and quality, and did well on the battlefield. This was made possible by the great contribution of the various regions to the strong reserve forces built there since the years of peace.

As production, combat and service to the front had to be carried out simultaneously, *successful mobilization of an adequate contingent of young people to serve in the army was in itself a tremendous achievement of the regions.* It was possible thanks to the patriotism and love for socialism of our people and youth, to the leadership and organizational ability of the regional Party organizations and government services, and to the superiority of our socialist system. It also threw light on the new progress of regional military work and military organs.

It was the first time that the regions had to draft so many young men. In peace time, we did make good preparations for wartime mobilization by working out relevant laws, statutes and regulations. When the war broke out, we further realized the necessity of combining the enforcement of State laws with a careful

political education, of carrying out ideological mobilization of the masses, of following the mass line and of relying on the Party cells, co-operatives, state farms, enterprises, offices, schools, mass movements like the youth's "three ready's" *, the women's "three responsibilities" **.

In those regions where the mass line was followed and where a strong mass movement prevailed, in particular the youth movement, the work of selecting men for the armed forces was always fulfilled, even overfulfilled, both quantitatively and qualitatively. A point to be stressed is that the various regions should pay full attention to strengthening the movement wherever it is still weak, and at the same time to getting a good hold on it wherever it is advancing, so as to bring about overall progress. All regions should act in such a way as to perform their duties towards the resistance.

Organizationally, we have adequately solved the relation between production and combat, and in replenishing the regular forces and setting up on the spot combat forces, with an adequate mobilization rate for each region. The selection of men for the armed forces was well done wherever this task was combined with that of giving a strong impetus to other regional works: fostering and developing nuclei of

* The three "ready's": ready to fight (U.S. aggression) and to join up, ready to overcome all difficulties to drive ahead production and study in all circumstances; and ready to do any work, to go anywhere, when requested.

** The three "responsibilities": responsibility in production, in family task and in the fighting.

regional forces ; building militia and self-defence corps ; building reserve forces, ensuring strong on-the-spot combat forces with adequate mobilizable reserves ; paying full attention to the carrying out of policies vis-à-vis members of the armed forces in the rear.

Over the past years, *the overwhelming majority of the youth enlisted have proved to be courageous and staunch fighters, faithful to the Party, dedicated to the people, apt to rapidly master military knowledge, worthy of being the cream of the youth of the socialist regime, patiently educated and trained by the Party. This was another achievement creditable to our beautiful socialist system.*

The various regions should ceaselessly strive to heighten the quality of their selective services, so that every soldier and cadre setting out should be a fighter with high resolve, courage and military skill, eager to join the fighting and able to fulfil his duty after only a short training period. To this end, they should pay still greater attention to the political education of the youth, use and develop such good experience gained as that which consists in actively educating the youth ever since they join the militia and self-defence corps, raising the all-sided quality of regional complementary training, building at regional level whole units with good quality to replenish the regular forces, organizing reservist sections at the grassroot level, etc.

b) In the high tide of the resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, *regional armed forces grew up by leaps and bounds, in terms of organization and equipment, and acquired new fighting abilities.*

The militia and self-defence units increased in number though many were incorporated in the regular forces, and their quality enhanced. Self-defence units rapidly developed in enterprises, offices and city-wards. The percentage of Party members, Labour Youth members and women in militia and self-defence units also went up. They got more and better equipment. Many villages set up gunners' groups and special groups (like engineer, liaison, intelligence, first-aid groups) or even a mobile combat force. Militia and self-defence members learned to man many kinds of weapons and equipment—both rudimentary and sophisticated — brought down enemy planes, shot ablaze enemy vessels, disposed of tens of thousands of modern bombs and mines.

The regional forces rapidly grew up, in terms of organization, equipment and fighting ability. Many provinces boast anti-aircraft units which have grounded enemy planes, artillery units which have sunk or set ablaze enemy vessels and commando boats, or engineer units which have made a great contribution to keep traffic flowing. Many regional infantry units also knocked down enemy planes, and in some places performed most admirable feats of arms.

Regional military services at all levels made noticeable progress in helping Party Committees, in leading the armed forces and in guiding the militia and self-defence movement.

The above facts show our actual capacities to build very strong armed forces comprising: strong and wide-spread militia and self-defence regional armed forces with high quality, required arms and appropriate organization ;

and regional military services consolidated at all levels. Those regional armed forces, which have specific functions and tasks, adequate organization and equipment, appropriate training and especially a high fighting spirit, knowledge of the terrain, population and climate of their areas and suitable tactical methods, can fight successfully with a small force and few munitions and can fulfil their important functions and tasks with the best results.

Strong armed forces constitute a solid nucleus for the nationwide and all-out people's war in the regions. Only with strong regional armed forces and a strong regional reserve force, can one have firm bases to vigorously and rapidly develop the regular forces when necessary.

3. TO CHANGE THE ECONOMIC ORIENTATION, SET UP AND DEVELOP LOCAL ECONOMY, CONTINUE TO PUSH AHEAD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND BRING INTO FULL PLAY THE SUPERIORITY OF THE SOCIALIST REGIME, INSTIL A BIG STRENGTH INTO PEOPLE'S WAR IN ALL REGIONS

In face of the U.S. imperialists' "limited war" in the South and war of destruction in the North, our Party Central Committee pointed out that the North had to carry out production while fighting to defend itself, support the South with might and main and continue to push ahead socialist construction in accordance with the new situation.

The resistance to U.S. aggression, for national salvation, and the continuation of socialist construction

constitute the revolutionary task of our people in the new situation. Only if we successfully carry out the resistance for national salvation can we safeguard the building of socialism in the North and, together with our compatriots in the whole country, bring to completion the national democratic revolution in the South.

On the other hand, only if we continue socialist construction in the North can we strengthen our economic and national defence potentials, serve the resistance against U.S. aggression in the most efficient way, and bring it to victory.

To fulfil this task, our Party advocated a change in the economic orientation by setting up and developing regional economy. Economic construction and development in the North must conform to the wartime situation in order to meet the fighting requirements of the moment as well as in case of U.S. expansion of the "limited war" to the whole country, and at the same time must be consistent with the long-range orientation of socialist construction after our successful resistance against U.S. aggression. This was a perfectly sound and creative policy of our Party.

Despite the enemy's fierce attacks, together with the fighting and supplying of the front, the regions strove hard to implement the new economic orientation of setting up and developing their own economy in line with their situation. They went on with the revolution in the relations of production, the technological revolution, and the cultural and ideological revolution to build and consolidate the socialist regime in war time, and to promote the superiority of the socialist system

and step up people's war in their regions. These are new and most valuable experiences of our Party as well as of the regional Party organizations in this war.

The struggle on the production front, the development of education, culture and public health, the improvement of the living standards, and the building of socialism constitute a real epic which exalts the Vietnamese people's courage, creative labour, cleverness and thirst for learning. *In all regions, our armed forces and people are heroic not only in combat but also in production and in the building of a new life under enemy bombing and strafing.* This also is a characteristic of our people's revolutionary heroism. It spells out the greatness of our resistance and justifies the fact that the socialist Vietnamese can take a pride in themselves. Civilization has triumphed over violence. This is why the U.S. war of destruction has lamentably failed. For all our weaknesses and shortcomings, our achievements are, indeed, considerable. A Western journalist has referred to the economic achievements in the North as a "Vietnamese miracle". The U.S. imperialists who have caused difficulties to and inflicted losses upon us, have nevertheless failed in their scheme of shattering our economic potential to weaken our fighting capacity and disrupt the people's life in North Viet Nam. *In war time, our regional socialist economy was preserved and continued to expand, efficiently serving our war effort.*

In agriculture, the socialist relations of production have been consolidated and developed. The number of households having joined the co-ops and that of advanced co-ops have increased during the war years. Far

from weakening, the co-ops evinced great vitality. They mobilized manpower, organized combat forces, ensured supplies, solved the problem of remuneration and other policies concerning production, combat, combat serving, and civilian air defence tasks, ensure regional transport and communications, stabilized the life of their members. Were it not for the existence of co-operatives and the socialist regime, it would be very difficult for the various regions to fulfil their heavy and complex wartime duties as they have done in the past years.

Agricultural production has been maintained, even developed in some regions; in spite of fierce enemy attacks, part of the work force has been taken out of the agricultural sector. The various regions have striven to be self-sufficient in food, considering it to be a strategic problem.

The technological revolution in agriculture continues to receive a great impulse. The number of mechanical workshops is on the increase. In many provinces, the areas mechanically ploughed have expanded. A movement for "attaining three targets in agriculture" has appeared in war time. Under bombs and shells, in many regions the co-operative peasants observe the "straight rows" method in rice-transplanting. This shows the indomitable spirit and the determination to improve technique of the new peasantry, the collective peasantry in the socialist North.

The development of *regional industry* is an important feature of regional economy during the past few years. Many enterprises have been built and commissioned-

In war time, a network of regional industry with thousands of medium and small-sized enterprises has taken shape in the North. The various regions have succeeded in turning out goods which they had previously been unable to produce even in peace time. Regional industry has contributed to serving agriculture, transport and communications, the life of the people and the armed forces, and at the same time national defence at regional level. Part of the technical services for the army and the repair of ordinary weapons are ensured by regional mechanical workshops.

In wartime conditions, *educational, cultural, and health work* in all regions has also developed. School enrolment at all levels has increased several times; classes are held in underground shelters or at night. Our educational work in war time has made great efforts in keeping with the requirements of production and combat. Almost all villages have a health station, with an assistant doctor. Village health stations and district and provincial hospitals have turned to serving the fighting, contributing their share in first-aid care and giving medical treatment to armymen and civilians.

With the development of regional agriculture, industry and medical work, the on-the-spot logistical base of people's war was substantially strengthened.

War is a hardest trial for a social system. Thanks to the new economic orientation to suit wartime requirements and to the stepping up of the three revolutions in various regions, *the socialist regime in the North continued to be built, consolidated and developed during the*

war, and turned to account its superiority to push ahead the resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

The reality in the various regions over the past years of war has made it plain that the elimination of the exploitation of man has brought about among the labouring people *increasing political and ideological oneness of mind*. Hence people's war could rely on the immense capabilities of the broad masses of workers, collective peasants and socialist intellectuals. Our armed forces and people displayed a high sense of collective mastery, courage in combat and production, and solidarity in face of fierce enemy attacks. One cannot list all the examples given by ordinary working people of heroism and selflessness in combat, of industriousness in production, or of the sense of responsibility as regards the affairs of the co-operative, the village or the country, caring for these even more than for their own.

Socialist ownership under the two forms of ownership by the entire people and collective ownership has been consolidated and perfected step by step in various areas. This constituted an objective favourable factor to scientifically organize people's war. Between the labouring people there were not only sympathy and revolutionary consciousness but also new organizational relationship. Many combat and production units emerged and operated with efficiency thanks to the socialist relations of production and to the existence of co-operatives. Militia and self-defence groups to keep watch and to defuse bombs, co-op teams concurrently devoted to

building shelters, co-op gangs concurrently devoted to carrying out production and the fighting, etc. revealed the great capabilities of the socialist regime in many fields and in organization in particular.

Before the war broke out, the regions had laid some *material and technical bases for socialism*. These were strengthened and gradually modernized in war time. They provided new facilities for people's war to meet its logistical needs on the spot, raised labour productivity and liberated manpower for the fighting, thereby contributing to the increase of combat potential and services to the front of the regional armed forces and people. In plane-hunting, civilian air defence, maintenance of communications and transport, the various regions required substantial material and technical contributions from co-operatives, enterprises, state offices and people.

The superiority of the socialist system in the North is embodied in *the new man, the socialist Vietnamese* with ardent patriotism, genuine proletarian internationalism, a spirit of collective mastery, a high fighting spirit, a continuously improving cultural level, good health, a loyal, simple and sound way of life. Regional young people, labour youth members and Party members who joined regular units set bright examples in the life-and-death struggle against the enemy, which are a source of pride for the socialist regime. Our militia and self-defence members are not only courageous but also clever in the handling of many kinds of modern weapons and equipment. Our workers and co-op members are industrious, good

organizers and show great ability and ingenuity in improving technique, increasing labour productivity, in production and in the service to the front.

Clearly enough, *the socialist regime has made the most of its superiority to step up people's war in politics, organization, material and technical bases, and in ideology, intelligence and human qualities*. These are new capabilities, a great source of strength of people's war in the regions. Any region able to develop and use all potentialities to the full and to perform a skilful division of labour and a rational combination of all forces can fulfil brilliantly at regional level all the complex tasks of the all-sided war involving the entire people, with the highest quality and effectiveness.

4. TO STRENGTHEN THE LEADERSHIP OF LOCAL PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

If people's war in the various regions developed a great force and scored brilliant successes, it was due primarily to the leadership of the regional Party organizations which strictly followed the correct policy of the Party Central Committee. Those Party organizations upheld the radical revolutionary spirit of the working class, brought into full play the cleverness of Party members and of the masses, did their best to grasp the Party's line and policies, and successfully fulfilled all the tasks assigned to their areas in our great national resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation. They took care to give overall leadership while seeing with particular attention to

the accomplishment of the military tasks entrusted to their areas and attaching special importance to political education, ideological guidance and organizational work, thereby making the most of the great strength of the socialist system so as to push people's war ahead.

Leadership in the war does not imply only military leadership but also overall leadership, co-ordinating military affairs with economic affairs, the fighting with production, the front with the rear. *The achievements of the regional Party organizations lie in the fact that they intimately coupled production with combat, discharging their task of mobilizing manpower and resources to meet the resistance needs, while fulfilling their production and combat duties on the spot, in accordance with the specific situation of their areas under different circumstances.* That is why, under all circumstances, in general the regions were able to keep up production, fight effectively and perform satisfactorily all the military and other tasks set by the central authorities. These accomplishments speak volumes for the high sense of political responsibility and also the practical organizational ability of, progress made in many fields by, the regional Party organizations.

The Party organizations credited with the fulfilment of their tasks in war time were those which *paid due attention to military leadership, providing guidance to both combat and production, and displayed great ability in leading production amidst fierce fighting.* This has become a new requirement from the leadership of all Party organizations.

Many regional Party organizations, especially those in the areas worst hit by the enemy, met this requirement with distinction and drawn many experiences, the main ones of which they have summed up as follows:

— Provincial Party committees must strengthen their leadership over the regional military services and promote the latter's role;

— In order to give the best help to the Party committees the regional military services must be not only expert in military affairs but also conversant in economic affairs, grasp the main problems of socialist construction in the area and ably co-ordinate military with other affairs;

— All regional services and branches of activities must grasp the military requirements, and closely co-ordinate the fighting with production, and economic affairs with national defence affairs;

— One must raise the military knowledge of Party members and cadres; the work and way of life of all branches and services must be militarized;

— One must closely co-ordinate the activities of all branches and services under the overall leadership of the regional Party committees.

In order to fulfil the task of leading and guiding people's war in the regions the Party committees attached the greatest importance to *consolidating themselves* in every aspect: political, ideological and organizational. In the provinces, the number of Party members has increased and their quality has been enhanced. In war time, in many provinces, particularly in the Fourth Military Zone, there emerged many

outstanding Party members and many Party cells that staunchly and ably led the people in combat and production, worthy of being the standard bearers, the steel fortresses, the efficient general staffs of people's war. They are the pride of the regional Party organizations of our entire Party. In sum, *regional Party organizations have been tempered, have grown up in the gruelling fight and made a worthy contribution to the great achievements of our entire Party.*

II

*RESOLUTELY MARCH FORWARD,
GIVE PRACTICAL REINFORCEMENT TO
REGIONAL MILITARY WORK AND STRIVE
TO FULFIL ALL TASKS SUCCESSFULLY*

The successes won by people's war in all regions are very brilliant ones. The strength of people's war in the various regions of the socialist North is truly immense. Those successes have brought a worthy contribution to the common victories of the population and armed forces of the North and to the common victories of our people throughout the country.

At present, the American imperialists have been forced to put an unconditional end to their bombing of the North. This bespeaks not only the complete failure of their war of destruction but also the bankruptcy of their "limited war" strategy in the southern part of our country.

An American politician has written that when President Johnson spoke on March 31, 1968, of the Viet Nam issue before the American people, he did not only declare the end of the military escalation, the step up of the search for negotiations and his renunciation to stand for presidential elections but also spelled out the fiasco of a policy and, may be, even the termination of a period.* He thereby means the end of the period in which the American imperialists considered themselves to be a super-power, and the collapse of their role in the world.

Our people's resistance to American aggression, for national salvation, has not yet come to a close; we have not yet achieved complete victory, but *it is clear that we have won and that the American imperialists have lost. The Vietnamese people's victory is an extremely important one, on account of its significance both as regards our nation and vis-à-vis the world revolutionary movement.* The failure suffered by the American imperialists on the Vietnamese battlefield is one of their heaviest failures in the history of their wars of aggression.

In the recent years, Viet Nam has become for the American imperialists their number one problem. Johnson has declared that the Viet Nam war is a crucial trial and has an importance equal to any war waged so far by America. That is why the American imperialists have sent more than one half million troops

* Arthur Schelesinger Jr., a former adviser to President John F. Kennedy, in an article in *Harpers'* magazine, N° 3, 1969.

for aggression to Viet Nam. Counting puppet and satellite troops, they have mustered over one million troops. With such a great military force, the American imperialists' aim is to commit aggression against the southern part of our country, but they also nurture other perfidious designs.

Viet Nam is now standing in the van of the national-liberation movement. The American imperialists' hope is that, if they won in Viet Nam they would be able to defeat the national-liberation movement of the world's peoples. Viet Nam is also standing in the front-line of the socialist camp against the imperialist chieftain. It is the American imperialists' hope that, if they won in Viet Nam they would have struck a great blow at the socialist camp. That is why they have shown the greatest frenzy and truculence in rushing headlong into a military venture with a colossal force, in spite of the extremely heavy price in wealth and manpower, the military and political costs, and also the costs to American honour and future. They never anticipated that in this "crucial trial" the Vietnamese people would be the victor and they the vanquished.

The victory of the resistance to American aggression, for national salvation, will bring our people independence, freedom and the reunification of their country, and will play an ever-greater role in mobilizing, encouraging and uniting the world revolutionary movement. The victory of the Vietnamese people means the victory of the world peoples' national liberation movement and that of the socialist camp. Our victorious resistance is a great historic event in the latter half of the 20th

century, an important milestone in the collapse of imperialism in its role of world gendarme, marking the upsurge of, and opening up bright prospects for, the common struggle waged by the world's peoples for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. That is precisely why the Vietnamese people's valiant struggle has been looked upon as the hope, the conscience and honour of all progressive mankind.

Ever since the American imperialists put an end to their war of destruction against the North, our fellow-countrymen and the Liberation troops in the heroic South have repeatedly attacked them in the military, political and diplomatic fields. On the battlefield, the recent powerful onslaughts prove the great strength and stamina of the South Viet Nam liberation troops, who, fighting with great skill, have inflicted extremely heavy losses on the enemy and foiled the American scheme of increasing military pressure while cutting casualties. At the conference table, the ten-point solution put forward by the N.F.L. has driven the enemy into a state of passivity and confusion. The subsequent coming into being of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam has won extremely great sympathy and support in the international arena.

Clearly, the American imperialists cannot continue their war of aggression with the present scope and intensity for a long time. Nixon himself has said that the Viet Nam war is the most difficult ever for the Americans.

However, they remain very obdurate. Although they are seeking to extricate themselves from the war, they want to do it from a position of strength and to keep the southern part of our country within their neo-colonialist orbit. They are actively carrying out a scheme of "de-Americanization" and "Vietnamization" of the war, nurturing the illusion that, while American troops withdraw, the puppet army and administration would grow stronger. The American imperialists were insane when they rushed into a war of aggression now considered their greatest strategic mistake by the American rulers. At present they are proving themselves to be even more insane by seeking, following their heavy failure, to "Vietnamize" the war in the hope of getting out of it, American style. Surely they will sustain even more pitiful failures.

The present resistance against American aggression, for national salvation, is the greatest war against foreign aggression in our national history. *To be resolved to carry on the resistance until final victory, for the independence and reunification of our country, for the fulfilment of our lofty internationalist duty, such is the most sacred task of every Vietnamese citizen.* President Ho Chi Minh has said: "So long as a single aggressor remains on our soil, we must fight on to sweep him away." The complete victory of the North over the enemy's war of destruction has created favourable conditions for its building and consolidation and for the strengthening of its forces in all fields. The armed forces and people of the North are well aware that so long as the more than one million American and

puppet troops are trampling on the South, all activities by our people should follow the watchword: *"Everything to defeat the American aggressors!"*

The military task of the people in the North remains very heavy. In all regions they should continue to show vigilance and stand ready to fight in order to defend the North and fulfil the duty of the great rear area towards the great fighting front. We must continue to raise the fighting standard of the armed forces, shoot down all enemy reconnaissance aircraft, smash all enemy sabotage activities, destroy all enemy commando units, maintain security and order, and watch out for any enemy comeback.

In order to accomplish successfully the military tasks of the various regions in the present situation, *we must give real reinforcement to regional military work and keep it abreast of the Party's policy of regional economic construction with a view to building our provinces, militarily and economically into ever-stronger basic units of people's war.*

Regional military work is an important part of our Party's military work. Its strategic position, hitherto already important, will grow ever more so in both the general revolutionary struggle and the armed struggle of the Party.

First, regional military work embodies our Party's views on people's war. It is closely connected with the just character of the wars for the defence of the fatherland and for national liberation waged by our people on their soil.

To defend the fatherland and liberate the nation, our Party holds that the entire people should engage in fighting the enemy, using the people's armed forces as a nucleus. The setting up of the three categories of armed forces is the most adequate form of organization for the people's armed forces, aimed at mobilizing and organizing the entire people in the fight against the enemy, for national salvation. That is why the regular troops assume a very important role, while that played by the regional troops, the militia and self-defence corps is also very important. The task of regional military work is to rely directly on the regional people's political and economic bases, directly develop the people's forces in an all-sided manner, organize regional armed forces to fight on the spot, destroy the enemy, safeguard the people's lives and property, protect the people's regional power, firmly preserve the rights of the local people as the masters in their own areas.

Second, in the present resistance to American aggression, for national salvation, regional military work assumes an even more important role. This is because our enemy is an extremely truculent imperialism, with a numerous army, up-to-date weapons and a high degree of mobility; moreover, in modern warfare it is hard to make a clear distinction between front and rear.

In those conditions, the requirement that we should hit at the enemy in time, effectively and wherever he comes, so as to destroy them, defend our rear, and safeguard the people's lives and property, becomes all the more urgent and permanent. That is why regional military work should be reinforced, strong regional

troops and militia and self-defence corps should be organized everywhere, the people should be mobilized and stand ready to hit back at the enemy. If the entire people and the entire army are valiant fighters, we can defeat any enemy however truculent. On-the-spot forces in all regions constitute an advantageous feature of people's war against a highly mobile enemy, for the man on the spot is the most mobile of all, as admitted even by the bourgeois military.

Third, on account of the new potentialities of the regional armed forces regarding technique and equipment and on account of the new development of military art in revolutionary warfare, regional military work becomes all the more important.

In the North the regional troops, militia and self-defence corps are now equipped with weapons and means to bring down enemy jets, sink or set afire enemy vessels, defuse and blow up enemy bombs and mines of the most modern types. In the South, the guerillas not only annihilate enemy infantry but also can cope with armoured vehicles, tanks and helicopters. The regional troops have been able to fight relatively important annihilation battles.

Our way of fighting has undergone new development: using few troops to fight many, fighting big battles with few troops, hitting hard and smarting blows, striking at nerve centres and logistic bases with a view to destroying precious vital strength and up-to-date war equipment. With this creative fighting style, the regional troops and guerillas have acquired new fighting power and progressed by leaps and bounds.

In face of the new situation, we must further strengthen regional military work and bring the potentialities of the regional armed forces into full play. In the conditions of modern warfare, guerilla warfare should be brought to an even higher level, thus creating favourable factors for regular warfare to defeat the enemy. The regional armed forces should be all the more broadly and powerfully expanded. In this way the regular forces will see their mobility and striking power increased. The harmonious co-ordination at a high level between the three categories of armed forces, between the armed and political forces, creates new offensive power for people's war, which attacks the enemy without respite, by all means and ways, with forces of various sizes, everywhere and at all times, depriving them of effective striking power in spite of their numbers and driving them into dispersion, passivity and defeat.

Fourth, the ever-growing importance of regional military work also springs from the development of all regions, especially the provinces, in wealth and manpower, economic potential and logistic capabilities as regards people's war.

In the North, ever since the Party Central Committee set forth the policy of regional economic development and building the provinces into ever-stronger economic units, new favourable conditions and new potentialities have been created for regional military work. Generally speaking, the provinces of the North have fairly wide areas and populations of varying numbers, from one to two millions. In keeping with the rate of socialist building, agriculture has been expanding, regional industry growing, transport and

communications widening, the material and technical bases of socialism in the various regions ceaselessly strengthened.

Hence, the point is to give real impetus to regional military work in order to use all latent forces in each region, combine economics and national defence within the regional framework, build each province all-sidedly in both the economic and military fields and turn the province into an ever stronger basic unit of people's war at regional level.

Fifth, regional military work is closely connected with the important role played by the reserve forces in people's war and all-people national defence.

Only by reinforcing regional military work can we build strong reserve forces, qualitatively and quantitatively, stand ready to fight in peace time, and rapidly expand and strengthen the armed forces in war time.

Over the past war years, regional military bodies have actively organized, managed and trained reserve forces and effectively carried out wartime mobilization with a view to replenishing the permanent forces. Thanks to this, our standing forces have developed by leaps and bounds within a short time. We constantly have at our disposal reserve forces in order to ceaselessly expand our armed forces and meet the new requirements of the resistance.

In future, following the complete victory of our resistance, and the restoration of peace, we shall, parallel to maintaining a not-too-big standing force, have to activate regional military work all the more,

so as to adequately organize, manage and train reserve forces. Only so, while concentrating on peacetime economic construction, shall we be in a position of combat readiness and be fully prepared to carry out mobilization and expand our forces should war break out.

And so, *we may aver that, under all circumstances, whether in peace or war, we must set great store by regional military work.* To raise our awareness of the important position and role of regional military work is a foremost problem, if an even stronger change is to happen in the thinking of leading cadres at all levels of the Party, the armed forces and the administration. To make light of regional military work is to stray from the viewpoint of people's war and to commit a serious mistake.

Having acquired a correct viewpoint on regional military work we must, when tackling *practical work*, continue to build, consolidate and heighten the quality in all fields of the militia, self-defence corps and regional troops; we must also raise the quality of, build and manage adequately, the reserve forces, and carry on with the building of combat villages, with points of priority. On the basis of a good combination of the regional economy with the requirement of national defence, we must strive to build material and technical bases and logistic bases of people's war at regional level, parallel to the building of common rear bases for the armed forces. An important point, which should be fully carried out by authorities at all levels, is the application of policies in the rear

regarding the armed forces, for instance concerning wounded servicemen, soldiers' families, war martyrs' families, etc.

To carry out the above-mentioned tasks, we must really *strengthen the leadership of regional Party organizations, consolidate regional military bodies* at all levels, especially at provincial and grassroot levels, which does not mean that the district level should be made light of; we must *foster and train regional military cadres* who are not only proficient in political and military matters but also familiar with the local political and economic situation, and who know how to closely combine military work with other regional works.

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The greatest resistance war in our national history has reaped extremely important victories. We are facing a heavy but extremely glorious task: *our entire people are of one mind and are resolved to carry on the resistance and bring the struggle against American aggression, for national salvation, to final victory.*

The American imperialists have suffered crushing defeats. Whatever their truculence, perfidy and stubbornness, they will not be able to retrieve the situation and escape total failure. Our people are firmly determined to resist until victory, for the sake of the independence, freedom and unity of the fatherland, and for the sake of socialism. This fighting resolve is the most precious spiritual value of the Vietnamese people. It has sprung, and has been tempered from one generation to another, in the course of the history of national

resistance to foreign aggression. This will to fight and win, this "nothing-is-more-precious-than-independence-and-freedom" spirit, is creating the invincible strength of people's war.

In this hard struggle against a cruel enemy, whose economic and military potential is many times greater than ours, our people, under the correct leadership of our Party, headed by President Ho Chi Minh, have shown both determination to resist the aggressors and defend the country, and high fighting skill. Not only have they set brilliant examples of revolutionary heroism, they have also evinced great military talents and creative originality. The fight in the various regions of the socialist North against the enemy's modern air and naval forces engaged in a war of destruction, is one instance of that creative originality.

The experiences gained in people's war in general, in military work in particular, in both parts of our country, are extremely valuable ones. Their timely review will help Viet Nam's military science make another step forward and enrich our Party's military line. They also contribute to strengthening the fighting capacity of our armed forces and people so as to bring the resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, to its final victory and also to make good preparations for the building of our armed forces and for the consolidation of our national defence in the future.

We are resolved to preserve our beloved Viet Nam, now and for ever, for all generations to come, for the heroic Vietnamese nation.

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