

DS 531
U58 +

JPRS 49878

18 February 1970

TRANSLATIONS ON NORTH VIETNAM

No. 679

Hoc Tap, No. 12, 1969



JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE

NOTE

Unless otherwise indicated items are complete textual translations of the original.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views, or attitudes of the U. S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the Clearinghouse for Federal Scientific and Technical Information, Springfield, Va. 22151. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in U.S. Government Research & Development Reports issued semi-monthly by the Clearinghouse for Federal Scientific and Technical Information, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U. S. Government Publications available from the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 20401.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, Building Tempo E, 4th and Adams Drive, S. W., Washington, D. C. 20443.

18 February 1970

TRANSLATIONS ON NORTH VIETNAM

No. 679

Hoc Tap, No. 12, 1969

Complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party published in Hanoi.

CONTENTS	PAGE
The Heroic Army of a Heroic Nation (Editorial)	1
Party Central Committee Letter	10
President Ho Talks about Building Up the Armed Forces and about Armed Warfare (Excerpts)	12
The Great Works of the Brilliant Stalin	24
General Giap Article on Party Military Rule (Vo Nguyen Giap)	28
Vietnamese Military Arts Constantly Develop and Triumph under Party Banner (Van Tien Dung)	96
Erratum	128

MS

W273755
101

THE HEROIC ARMY OF A HEROIC NATION

[Editorial; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, Number 12, December 1969, pp 1-9]

The peoples' army was 25 years old on 22 December 1969. It was born and grew up during a revolutionary struggle campaign of all of the people. The heroic and dauntless blood of the people runs through its veins. The army enjoys the whole hearted compassion and assistance of the people under the brilliant leadership of the party and President Ho. It had performed brilliant battlefield exploits and has gloriously traveled the road of history.

Right from the early days of its founding, our army has fought with extreme heroism with its mausers, swords and spears, and bamboo sticks. It has played an assault role in the general uprising of all of the people, crushed the ruling yoke of fascist Japan, and led the August (1945) revolution to victory. When it was 10 years old, the army and all of the people fought and performed outstanding battlefield exploits on all battlefields from North to South Vietnam. At the end, it won the great victory at Dien Bien Phu, thereby concluding the long lasting resistance against the colonialist French, who had the help of the United States. When it was just 20 years old, the army began the anti-United States resistance for national salvation and clearly demonstrated the extraordinary strength and great capability of the peoples' armed forces of Vietnam. On the great front lines of the Fatherland, the liberation army of South Vietnam manifested the glorious traditions of the peoples' army of Vietnam. Together with the compatriots of the heroic South, it continuously defeated more than 1.2 million U.S., puppet, and satellite troops. It set the example for a revolutionary army by growing stronger with each fight and by winning greater victories in forceful battles.

Having passed through one quarter of a century of fighting, the army is entering the vigorous period of its twenty-fifth year with enthusiasm, dignity, and a high degree of revolutionary optimism. The army has grown from a group of foot soldiers with ordinary weapons and bags of rice into

the heroic peoples' armed forces. It is large in numbers and has three branches which include many modern military organizations. It has good politics and ideology, skillful tactics and strategy, is well equipped and organized, and serves as the stable nucleus in the armed warfare of all of the people. The soldiers in our army are young and healthy, brave, intelligent, and disciplined. They have attained high standards in tactics. The cadres in our army are the loyal children of the party and the people. They are ethical and talented and have an abundance of leadership and command experience. The campaign "to improve quality and manifest the combat strength of the peoples' armed forces" enables all three branches to make new progress.

Manifesting the heroic traditions of our ancestors through 25 years of training and maturing in the fires of revolutionary war under party leadership, the peoples' armed forces have fully acquired the beautiful nature of a revolutionary army. "It is loyal to the party, faithful to the people, and ready to fight and sacrifice for the freedom and independence of the Fatherland and for socialism. It will complete any mission, overcome any difficulty, and defeat any enemy." (1)

The entire party and all of the people are totally proud of the armed forces. It is a determined revolutionary army which has always completed any mission assigned to it in an outstanding manner. It is worthy to be the assault force of all of the people on the armed warfare front, worthy to be the sharp and trusted tool of the party, and worthy of the praise of the party, and the national assembly and President Ho: "Our army is a heroic army of a heroic nation."

The rapid growth and the brilliant battlefield exploits of the army during the past 25 years have been closely tied to the proper and creative leadership of the party. It has been closely tied to the extremely great efforts of President Ho, the great leader of the Vietnamese revolution and the beloved father of the peoples' armed forces of Vietnam. Together with the central committee, President Ho established and led our army from nothing to something and from a small group to a large one which became stronger with every fight and won more great victories with every battle. He outlined the victorious road for the army by educating and caring for it in every respect. He forged the character and beautiful revolutionary traditions of the army so that it would make glorious combat accomplishments.

In the process of leading the revolution, the party outlined the people's democratic and national revolution line and moved ahead in the socialist revolution in our country. At the same time, it asserted that we must use the strength of the revolution to overpower the strength of anti-revolutionaries, return authority to the people, and lead the revolution of our country to victory. The basic form of the revolutionary force in our country was the combination of armed struggle with political struggle to overpower the enemies of the nation and the classes. It was also a unique and proper concept for attaining the goals of the revolution in our country. The party formulated its military line by reliance upon the

revolutionary line and the above-mentioned revolutionary force viewpoint. That line demonstrated a full understanding of the total revolutionary spirit of the working class and the aggressive revolutionary spirit of our times. It emanated from the conditions in our country; that is, a small country without a great many people, but whose people were rich in heroic bearing and who had a lifetime tradition of struggle against external aggression. As a result, that line manifested patriotism, combat unity, creativeness, and cleverness to defeat invading armies which were much stronger materially and technically. That line combined our sense of self determination and self reliance with a spirit of greatly treasuring the help of fraternal countries and the support of all progressive mankind.

The military line of the party is a line of building up the armed forces, carrying out the peoples' war, and organizing the peoples' national defense. The line has motivated all of the people toward fighting the aggressor, "Those having guns, using guns, those having swords using swords, and those not having swords using hoes, shovels, or bamboo poles." (2) Everyone brought all of his talent and strength to bear to destroy the enemy for national salvation. The people fought the aggressor wherever he appeared on our soil. Every citizen was a soldier. Every village, every street, and every enterprise was a fortress. Every party chapter was a staff element and all of the people combined into one heroic revolutionary army including millions of people. The power of a totally armed population was an absolute advantage to us in defeating all enemies. That power guaranteed a brilliant victory for our people in the campaign against Japan and in the long lasting resistance against colonialist France; and now, it is also a stable guarantee that our people will totally defeat the U.S. aggressor.

The party clearly recognizes that in order to develop the strength of the peoples' war it is necessary to build a nucleus; i.e., the peoples' armed forces. Because it was precisely for that reason that the party and President Ho were especially attentive to building up our army into a new model army of the working class and a sharp tool of the party so that it could fight against all enemies of the revolution and attain the goals of the revolution in our country during each phase. Our army came from the people and it is the people for whom it must fight. Our army is an army of the people. It is the substance of industry and agriculture, led by the party. The peoples' armed forces must have a strong will to fight, be constantly loyal to the party, be close to the people, be tightly united, and have strict discipline. The peoples' armed forces includes three branches (main force units, local units, and militia, guerrilla, or self-defense militia units). They must have adequate numbers, high-quality, technical standards, skillful tactics, strong organization, and cadres who are ethical, talented, and rich in combat and leadership experience.

Based upon Lenin's position, "In any war, ultimate victory is decided by the spirit of the masses who are spilling their blood on the battlefield"(3), the party and President Ho were regularly concerned with

the building up of the peoples' armed forces from a standpoint of politics and ideology. The combat posture of a revolutionary army is determined by the integrated strength of quality and quantity, ideology and technology, and men and weapons. However, the most decisive factor is the individual who is aware of combat goals and revolutionary ideas. Only with people who have a strong ideological viewpoint and a high combat spirit can the capacity of all kinds of weapons in their hands to destroy the enemy be bravely, cleverly, and creatively manifested. Primarily for that reason, the party and President Ho constantly used Marxism-Leninism, the total revolutionary nature of the working class, the traditional tirelessness of the nation, and party lines and policies to train and building units and to instill a determination to fight and win and strong ideological viewpoints in cadres and unit members and to forcefully develop revolutionary heroism in combat, training, and all other areas of work. As a result, the army has become a collectivized group, men of steel who are loyal to the party, faithful to the people, who fight continuously and win, and successfully complete every mission assigned by the Fatherland and the people.

The party developed Vietnamese military arts to new heights and contributed to enriching the stores of military theory of the working class in modern times while building up the peoples' armed forces and leading the peoples' war. The military arts of the party were developed in close association with the art of revolutionary struggle leadership; that is, a close association between armed struggle and political struggle, attacks by the military and uprisings by the masses, and between the three pronged attack: political, military, and troop proselyting, thereby creating an integrated strength with which to win. The party strengthened the proper thoughts about military arts appropriate to the special conditions of the Vietnamese battlefield. That was an attitude of determination of attack and destroy the enemy through brave, clever, active, offensive, and secure combat behavior. That is an ideology of fighting with all three branches of the armed forces, fighting continuously, and fighting throughout the mountains, the countryside, the delta, and the cities. It is conducting operations while accelerating troop proselyting, tearing the enemy while destroying all of his combat equipment, effectively helping the people with their political struggles, fighting against enemy terrorism, securing the right of collective ownership, and expanding and strengthening liberated areas. It is an ideology of fighting for a long time, using a little to win much (4), and using weaknesses to win decisive victories (5). But it is also knowing how to concentrate forces in a strong attack when necessary and knowing how to use crack troops in forceful attack. Under the brilliant leadership of the party, the peoples' armed forces have creatively and fully applied many active tactics with a high degree of combat effectiveness. Those are the tactics of a revolutionary army which must know how to develop its absolute strengths, which include bravery, creativeness, the compassion and assistance of the people, and attacking the fundamental weaknesses of the enemy, which are its weakness of spirit, political isolation, and strategic and tactical impasse. The army has highly developed

the strength of all of its weapons, from the basic to the modern. It has fought skillfully while fighting independently and while fighting in joint operations with all of the branches of the armed forces. The tactics of the army are illustrated in organizational standards and a most appropriate distribution of labor. They are illustrated by its tactical and strategic standards and by its extremely short combat capability. Those tactics are highly revolutionary and deeply scientific in nature; and they broadly reflect the nature of the masses. As a result, the army becomes more skillful with each fight, becomes stronger with each fight, and becomes more victorious with each fight.

The party and President Ho were totally attentive to the building up and strengthening of the rear area. They consider it as a problem of great strategic importance in the leadership of armed combat and the building up of armed forces. The stability of the rear area is one of the important routine factors which decisively affects victory in war. The rear area provides the front lines with manpower and materials, weapons, ammunition, food, and war material. It is also a source of spiritual strength to the front lines. Therefore, the party was attentive to building up the rear area, uniting it politically, stabilizing it ideologically, and strengthening it economically. The party has strengthened every relationship between the front line and the rear area and between the army and the people. It has unified the great strength of the entire country and all of the people in the resistance for national salvation. Under the leadership of the party and President Ho, the people in the rear area are kind, thrifty, and helpful mothers who nourish the peoples' armed forces and wholeheartedly support the front lines. The people are first of all the workers and peasants who have given their precious children to the peoples' armed forces. They have intensified production, economized, provided supplies to the front lines, and stood shoulder to shoulder with the peoples' armed forces to defeat the aggressor.

The 25 year history of combat and growth of the army is also the history of party leadership over armed struggles and the building up of the revolutionary armed forces. Lenin said, "Only with a proletariat class can we create the seeds of a heroic revolutionary army which is strong in theory, discipline, and organization, as well as heroic in combat." (6) The army has rapidly grown into an army which always wins and a new model revolutionary army of the working class because it was built up, educated, and trained by the party and President Ho. It fights constantly for the independence and freedom of the Fatherland, socialism, and the liberation of the oppressed people and the workers throughout the world.

The anti-United States struggle for national salvation of our people has won great victories and is developing advantageously. It is clear that U.S. imperialism has lost. But it is very belligerent and obstinate and has not yet abandoned its plot to invade South Vietnam and prolong the division of our country. It is making great efforts to implement the "Vietnamization" of the war, which substantially means the

continued use of an important element of U.S. troops to support the puppet army and prolong the war; and to make great efforts to strengthen the puppet army and government in hopes of implementing the neocolonialism of the United States in South Vietnam. Therefore, the anti-United States struggle for national salvation of our people must still face many difficulties before total victory is won.

In his will, President Ho said, "The resistance against the United States may be prolonged. Our compatriots may have to sacrifice a great deal of material and many men. Nevertheless, we must be determined to fight the U.S. aggressor until total victory is won." In compliance with the teachings of President Ho and to transform grief into revolutionary action, the people are determined to continuously charge ahead in forceful attacks and to continue on all political, military, and diplomatic fronts, among which the military front is entering a most violent period, during which it will also play a most decisive role. "Everything to defeat the U.S. aggressor." That is the ironclad will of the entire party, all of the people, and the whole army. That is the sacred responsibility of all groups and sectors during the current phase of the revolution.

In order to fulfill that heavy and glorious responsibility, we must concentrate every effort to intensify the building of the socialist North. We must cause North Vietnam to be the stable foundation for the liberation of South Vietnam and the unification of the Fatherland under any and all conditions. North Vietnam is the geographical base of the revolution for the entire country and the vast rear area of the anti-United States resistance for national salvation. North Vietnam defeated the U.S. war of destruction and thereby obtained advantageous conditions for the even more stable building up, strengthening, and reinforcing of the armed forces in every respect. Therefore, the entire party, the whole army, and all of the people must make great efforts to strengthen North Vietnam politically, economically, and militarily with a view toward creating great spiritual and material forces with which to totally defeat the U.S. aggressor and successfully build socialism.

All echelons of party committees must make great efforts to consider the importance of leadership in the war along with economic leadership. They must fully understand the concept of closely combining economics with national defense. They must lead military efforts and be concerned with building up the peoples' armed forces. The primary source of strength of our army is the masses, led by the party. In war, as well as in peace, the most important strength of the army is the people. Therefore, all echelons of party committee must be concerned with teaching the people to clearly understand the situation and responsibilities. They must make great efforts on that basis to do well in every aspect of work in the rear area in order to insure that the army has the conditions necessary to defeat the enemy. The mobilization of manpower and materials to support the front lines must receive the regular attention of all echelons of party committees; and it must be carried out with perfect planning. With a

spirit of compassion and respect for our revolutionary armed forces, we must make great efforts to fully implement party and state policies relative to the armed forces, such as: the policy on the wounded and hospitalized; and the policy on military families, families of war dead, and so forth. This is necessary in order to create enthusiasm in the rear area and peace of mind on the front lines and so that our soldiers at the front can enthusiastically kill the aggressor, perform meritorious battlefield exploits, and fulfill the glorious responsibility of revolutionary fighting men in the anti-United States undertaking for national salvation.

On the other hand, in order to insure that the armed forces can fight continuously, implement the concept of growing stronger with each fight, and defeat any enemy under any conditions all echelons of party committees must do well in local military tasks with a view toward beating the requirements of expanding main force units and continuously building up, strengthening, and improving the quality of local, militia, and self-defense units. We must rely upon the political and economic bases of the localities, directly manifest all strengths of the people, and instantly organize the armed forces on a broad basis in the spirit of the peoples' war in order to protect the rear area, the lives, and the property of the people. Moreover, local military forces have a new combat posture at present and they have a great combat capability. If that combat posture and capability is developed, the reserve forces will grow stronger, the source of supply for manpower and material to main force units will be greatly enriched, and the strength of the revolutionary armed forces will double.

As the assault unit of all of the people on the armed warfare front and the sharp tool of the party, our army must fully understand that its basic function is to fight. It must see that its responsibility lies on the battlefield and that its glory is to defeat the aggressor army of the imperialist United States, the richest country of the imperialist bloc. Only by dealing decisive blows to the enemy and crushing its will to invade can the final victory be won. Therefore, all echelons of party committees must be concerned with building up a truly strong peoples' army to a point where it can defeat the enemy under any conditions. All of our armed forces must earnestly and greatly improve combat posture in every respect. They must enable all three branches to make outstanding progress to be politically and ideologically strong, and to be skillful in tactics, training, and technology. They must be attentive to building up the peoples' armed forces well in every respect. But at the same time, they must fully understand that the fundamental problems are to reinforce the revolutionary nature of the peoples' armed forces, to strengthen the absolute, overall, and direct leadership of the party over the peoples' armed forces, and to be constantly attentive to political and ideological efforts, considering them as the life blood of the peoples' armed forces. Along with political strengthening, it is necessary to devote attention to building up the peoples' armed forces militarily, to properly resolve all relationships

between quantity and quality, considering quality as primary, and to properly resolve all problems of organization, equipment, and the processing and safeguarding of all materials. At the same time, they must intensify research in military science, provide technical and specialized training, and advance to a position of mastery over modern science and technology.

The peoples' armed forces must also actively participate in strengthening rear area while they are performing their missions of building up, training, maintaining combat readiness, and combat. They must actively contribute to building up the socialist economy in North Vietnam, strengthen unity between the army and the people, actively help the people in production and in their lives, properly enforce all party and state policies, maintain order and security in the localities, and uphold the glorious traditions of the peoples' armed forces.

They must especially establish a corps of high quality cadres and members in the peoples' armed forces. That corps must have a high degree of combat determination, fully understand military science, and be talented in organization and command. It must have a strong will to fight and must assimilate the lofty ethics of President Ho. When he was still alive, President Ho was constantly concerned with education relative to revolutionary ethics for the entire party, the whole army, and all of the people. He said, "As with a river, there can be water only with a source. If there is no source, the river dries up. Plants must have an origin and without that origin they wither. Revolutionary men must have ethics. A man cannot lead the people without ethics no matter how skillful he may be." (7) In his will, President Ho said, "Each party member and cadre must truly assimilate revolutionary ethics and he must be totally honest and impartial." With regard to the army, President Ho often taught that it must be "loyal to the party and faithful to the people." That is a brief summarization of the teachings of President Ho on revolutionary ethics for cadres and party members in the peoples' armed forces. It also represents the most basic conditions necessary for the peoples' armed forces to fulfil their obligations. President Ho also taught that we must love our compatriots, comrades, and fellow unit members. He was extremely fond of the army and was regularly concerned with the material and spiritual lives, thoughts, and feelings of its members. In leaving behind "total compassion" for the entire party and the whole army when he died, President Ho reserved a worthy part for the peoples' armed forces.

The peoples' armed forces must greatly strengthen unity, compassion, and mutual assistance among comrades and fellow unit members and they must greatly solidify the ties between the army and the people while studying and complying with President Ho's will.

In celebrating 22 December, the major holiday of the peoples' armed forces, we are very proud of the great successes of the party in its

leadership over armed warfare and building up of the armed forces. We are very proud of the great strength of the peoples' armed forces and we strongly believe in the ultimate victory of the anti-United States resistance for national salvation and the building of socialism. We are determined to uphold President Ho's banner of total victory, to enthusiastically move ahead without fear of sacrifice or adversity, and to persist in and intensify the anti-United States resistance for national salvation until the final victory under the proper and creative leadership of the party central committee and with the unbeatable strength of the united bloc of all of the people and the heroic peoples' armed forces. We will realize the final dream of the beloved President Ho: "To build a peaceful, united, independent, democratic, and prosperous Vietnam and to make a significant contribution to the world revolution."

FOOTNOTES

- (1) Words of praise spoken by President Ho during a meeting to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the army (22 December 1964).
- (2) Ho Chi Minh: "Appeal for nationwide resistance," (20 December 1946), collected works, Su That Publishers, Hanoi, 1960, p 248.
- (3) Lenin: discussions on the red army, Vietnamese, Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishers, Hanoi, 1964, p 104.
- (4) Many here means many with regard to the number of concentrated units.
- (5) Strong here means strong materially and technically strong.
- (6) Lenin: "Between two wars," collected works, published in Vietnamese, Su That Publishers, Hanoi, 1964, Vol 9, p 550.
- (7) Changing working methods, Su That Publishers, Hanoi, 1954, pp 30-31.

6794

CSO: 3520-D

PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE LETTER

[Article; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, Number 12, December 1969, pp 10-11]

Hanoi, 21 December 1969

To the cadres and soldiers of the People's Army of Vietnam with affection,

Dear comrades,

On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the founding of the People's Army of VN, the Party Central Committee conveys to the entire armed forces its cordial greetings and warmly congratulates them for having fought valiantly, grown up quickly, and recorded brilliant feats while developing the revolutionary qualities and heroic traditions of our army. The party Central Committee also extends its cordial wishes of good health to the wounded, the sick, military families, and families of war dead.

The process of growth of our army is a process of continuous fight and glorious victories. Born in the stirring revolutionary movement of the nation, under the clear-sighted leadership of the party and President Ho Chi Minh, the people's armed forces, together with the entire people, fought the French, chased the Japanese, and brought victory to the August Revolution in 1945. After that, during the 9 years of a protracted and arduous resistance, upholding the spirit of indomitable and persistent fighting, our army and people defeated the French colonialists' aggression backed by the U.S. imperialists and recorded many glorious exploits, culminating at the great victory of Dien Bien Phu.

Embarking on the anti-U.S. resistance for national salvation and coping with the most ruthless and brutal imperialist chieftain--U.S. imperialism--our armed forces, together with the entire people defeated the U.S. war of destruction and recorded a victory of great strategic significance while doing their best in fulfilling the responsibilities of the great rear area toward the great front lines as internationalist obligations.

For longer than the past ten years in South Vietnam, the Liberation Armed Forces, together with the entire people, have fought valiantly and have defeated step by step the U.S. neo-colonialist war of aggression. Especially, since the early spring 1968, the armed forces and people in South Vietnam have attacked continuously, risen up continuously, dealt stunning blows at over 1,200,000 U.S., puppet, and satellite troops, ushered in a new period of the anti-U.S. sacred resistance for national salvation, and are rushing forward to completely defeat the U.S. aggressor.

Our army fights well, works well, and takes an active part in production activities, always upholds patriotism and proletarian internationalism, and unceasingly develops revolutionary heroism. It is worthy of the trust of the party and people and worthy of being the heroic army of a heroic nation.

Our people's revolutionary cause is winning great victories. The imperialist United States has met with big defeats, but stubborn and bellicose by nature, it has not given up its aggressive design against our country.

Before he died, President Ho said, "The resistance against the United States may be prolonged and our compatriots may be required to sacrifice a great deal of material and many men. Nevertheless, we must be determined to fight the U.S. aggressor until total victory is won."

Loyal to the revolutionary cause of our party and our people, acting upon President Ho Chi Minh's testament, let our peoples armed forces:

--Uphold President Ho Chi Minh's banner of determination to fight and to win, constantly heighten revolutionary vigilance, stand ready to fight and to fight well to defend socialist construction in the North, and together with all of the people, persevere in and intensify the anti-U.S. resistance for national salvation until total victory is won.

--Endeavor in study and training, unceasingly raise their combat capacity, preserve and vigorously enhance the revolutionary qualities and splendid traditions of the Vietnam People's Army, and always remain worthy of President Ho Chi Minh's commendation: "Our army is loyal to the party and the people and is ready to fight and make sacrifices for the independence and freedom of the fatherland and for socialism. It has accomplished any task assigned, overcome whatever difficulty and defeat whatever enemy."

Let our entire armed forces valiantly march forward!

CSO: 3520-D

PRESIDENT HO TALKS ABOUT BUILDING UP THE ARMED FORCES AND ABOUT ARMED WARFARE
(EXCERPTS)

[Article; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, Number 12, December 1969, pp 12-21]

Our resistance is a resistance of all of the people and we must mobilize all of the people and arm the entire army.

"Directive on the establishment of the Vietnam unit on propaganda for military liberation," (December 1944, collected works, Su That Publishers, Hanoi, 1960, p 200.)

Whether the individual is male, female, young, or old, and without regard to religion, political affiliation, and nationality he must stand up and fight colonialist France to save the Fatherland if he is a Vietnamese. Those who have guns should use guns; those who have swords should use swords; and if they have no swords they should use hoes, shovels, or bamboo poles; but everyone must make an effort to fight colonialism for national salvation.

"Appeal for nationwide resistance," (20 December 1946), collected works, Su That Publishers, Hanoi, 1960, p 248.

All Vietnamese people have only one thought: they are determined not to be slaves. They have only one will: they are determined not to lose their country. They have only one goal: they are determined to resist and fight to unite and free the Fatherland.

"Appeal on the sixth month anniversary of the resistance," (19 June 1947) collected works, Su That Publishers, Hanoi, 1960, p 273.

31 million of our compatriots in both regions, whether they are young or old, male or female, must be 31 million heroic soldiers who kill Americans for national salvation. They must be determined to win ultimate victory.

"Speech made in a solemn meeting commemorating the founding of the peoples' army of Vietnam, 22 December 1944 and the day of nationwide resistance against colonialist France," (19 December 1946) Nhan Dan, 26 December 1967.

Cause every citizen to be soldier and every hamlet to be a fortress.

Cause the aggressor army to be harassed, attacked, and destroyed and insure that our army is helped fully both materially and spiritually.

"Report to the Guerrilla army," (1949), President Ho with the peoples' armed forces, Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishers, Hanoi, 1962, p 74.

Countless peoples as one.
A good army and good people.
The plant only grows with a good root,
Victories are built upon the people.

"Twelve items of advice," (5 April 1948), collected works, Su That Publishers, Hanoi, 1960, p 291.

Our army is an army of the people. It was born of the people and it fights for them. It is patriotic and loves the people and therefore bears sacrifice.

"Sent to main force, local, and guerrilla units on the anniversary of the founding of the liberation army," (22 December 1949), President Ho with the peoples' armed forces, Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishers, Hanoi, 1962, p 84.

Our army is the peoples' army and a revolutionary army. It has traditions of heroism, fortitude, perserverence, diligence, humility, dauntlessness in the face of extreme danger, and a determination to get things done. Those are the traditions, ethics, and attitudes which must be constantly maintained and expanded.

"Conversation with representatives of the army, the wounded, and discharged soldiers in the President's office," 29 January 1957 President Ho with the peoples' armed forces Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishers, Hanoi, 1962, p 187.

Our army has been unbeatable strength because it is an army of the people established, led, and trained by the party.

"Said during a celebration of the army's twentieth anniversary," Nhan Dan, 23 December 1964.

A skillful civilian or military army is an unbeatable army.

"Sent to all units in regions 2 and 3," (24 February 1948), President Ho with the peoples' armed forces, Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishers, Hanoi, 1962, p 46.

Strengthen the armed forces (main force units, local units, and militia-guerrilla units) in every respect. Organize, train, and continuously raise the political and technical standards and the combat posture of the army.

"Report before the third session of the national assembly of the democratic republic of Vietnam," (December 1963), collected works, Su That Publishers, Hanoi, 1960, p 468.

While concentrating upon forces in order to establish the first army, it is necessary to maintain armed forces in all localities which will cooperate with and help those localities in every area. Main force units on the other hand have a responsibility to help cadres of local forces. They must help in training and help with weapons where possible, whereby allowing these units to constantly grow.

"Directive on the establishment of the Vietnam unit to propagandize for military liberation," (December 1944), collected works, Su That Publishers, Su That, Hanoi, 1960, p 200.

The militia, self-defense, and guerrilla units are the forces of all the people. They are an unbeatable force and an iron wall of the Fatherland. Whatever vicious enemy comes up against that force and that wall will be destroyed.

"Sent to the male and female soldiers of militia, self-defense, and guerrilla units throughout the country," (27 May 1947), appeals, Su That Publishers, 1956, Vol 1, p 185.

It is necessary to expand and strengthen militia and guerrilla units in every respect. This includes organization, training, leadership, and combat posture. We must allow these forces to become the widespread and strong iron nets in which the enemy will be caught wherever he touches them.

"Political report (read in the second nationwide congress of representatives of the Vietnam Lao Dong party)," (February 1951), collected works, Su That Publishers, Hanoi, 1960, p 366.

We must intensify the political and military aspects while building up and expanding the army. It is necessary to increase political awareness, techniques and tactics, and the self discipline of the army. We must enable the army to become a genuine peoples' army.

"Political report (read in the second nationwide congress of representatives of the Vietnam Lao Dong party)," (1961 collected works, Su That Publishers, Hanoi, 1960, p 366.

Politics must be studied. To think of the military without considering politics is like a plant without a root in that each is useless without the other. Our army is a peoples' army. The people have the leadership of the party and the party has policies and programs. In order to be a peoples' army, it must study the policies of the party first.

"Conversations in the middle level army political school," (25 October 1951), President Ho with the peoples' armed forces, Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishers, Hanoi, 1962, p 122.

Victory is certain if the men have stable ideology, strong politics, good techniques, and good health. In short, if the men are politically aware but lacking in military knowledge, or if military and political knowledge are equal but health is bad, they cannot win.

"Conversations in the middle level army political school," (25 October 1951), President Ho with the peoples' army, Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishers, Hanoi, 1962, p 123.

Continue to study and improve your ideological viewpoints and technical standards. Technology is making constant progress and if you do not make efforts in your study you will fall behind. You must make great efforts to build a regular army orderliness within the units. Our army must absolutely make progress toward regular and modern status.

"Address during middle and high level political training class of the ministry of national defense and in middle level classes of the general directorate," (May 1957), appeals, Su That Publishers, Hanoi, 1958, Vol 4, p 77.

Technology must be studied because technology makes constant progress and the individual must study to keep up. In order to be absolutely certain that our army becomes strong, we must make great efforts to study politics and technology.

"Conversations with units during military inspections in Hanoi on 1 January 1955," (December 1954) [sic] President Ho with the peoples' armed forces, Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishers, Hanoi, 1962, p 170.

All cadres and soldiers must make great efforts to study politics, military affairs, and culture. They must improve their viewpoints and ideologies relative to the working class. They must fully understand the military line of the party, make great efforts to train in technology and tactics, and constantly improve their vigilance. They must defend the Fatherland, protect the people, participate in productive labor and economize. They must tighten internal unity and unity with the people and they must absolutely enforce all party and government policies and lines.

"Address during government ceremonies held to promote some high ranking army cadres to general officer rank," (1 September 1959), appeals, Su That Publishers, Hanoi, 1960, Vol 4, pp 248-249.

It is necessary to organize tightly, train completely, and prepare perfectly. We must fight whenever there is an enemy. We must fight skillfully, boldly, forcefully, and continuously and we must destroy the aggressor.

"Sent to civilian and military cadres in the second term of the Le Binh school," (January 1949), President Ho with the peoples' armed forces, Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishers, Hanoi, 1962, p 69.

In order to win, we must be active, take the initiative, maintain security, act quickly, be determined, and persevere; and we must attack only when certain of victory.

But we absolutely must not underestimate the enemy.

"Sent to main force and militia-guerrilla cadres and soldiers during the Hoa Binh campaign," (November 1951), President Ho with the peoples' armed forces, Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishers, Hanoi, 1962, p 127.

You must all know that the European and African soldiers are few in numbers while the number of puppets is great. Many of the puppets have been forced into the army by France. If you can attract those people by proselyting, that is also a good way to destroy the enemy's power.

"Address in the conference of cadres preparing for the Tay Bac campaign" (9 September 1962), President Ho with the peoples' armed forces, Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishers, Hanoi, 1962, p 138.

Our army is loyal to the party, faithful to the people, and ready to sacrifice and fight for the independence and freedom of the Fatherland and for socialism. It will complete every mission, overcome any difficulty, and defeat any enemy.

"Said during a meeting to celebrate the army's twentieth anniversary," (22 December 1963), Nhan Dan, 23 December 1964.

The National Defense Army is the peoples' army which protects our compatriots and defends the Fatherland. The National Defense Army newspaper is a nucleus from which to improve the army's spirit and discipline. The National Defense Army newspaper will always mention the following twelve points and will encourage each and every soldier to follow orders from high authority.

1. Everything must be done in accordance with orders from higher authority.
2. The use of public property for private affairs is absolutely prohibited.
3. Do not touch one single needle or a piece of thread belonging to the people.
4. When stationed in homes of the people, you must clean up the house and garden upon departure.
5. Speech and behavior must be courteous and you must respect the elderly and love children.
6. Purchases must be equitable.
7. Borrowed items must be returned.
8. Compensation must be made for damaged items.
9. You must help the people in all small and large matters.
10. The same fate must be shared by the entire army from top to bottom.
11. Do not chase women, drink to excess, gamble, or smoke opium.
12. You must help military families in the area where you are stationed and you must help them to increase production.

That is the foundation for victory in the national construction resistance.

That is the primary responsibility of the National Defense Army newspaper.

"Sent to the 'National Defense Army' newspaper," (27 March 1947), President Ho with the peoples' armed forces, Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishers, Hanoi, 1962, p 29.

Now there is one very important point. It is also a point familiar to mothers and a matter which if properly implemented will insure that the good give birth to good children: it is unity. By that, I mean unity at all levels, among cadres and soldiers, between North and South Vietnam, within and outside of the party, between the army and the people, and broad unity with all countries of the socialist bloc and the peace loving people of the world. It is necessary not only to talk about unity but to practice it in work and in studied. We must engage in good criticism and self criticism in order to obtain unity. This means that emanating from unity, we must criticize and self criticize in order to attain greater unity. That is a very important point.

"Address in a middle and high level political training class of the ministry of national defense and in all middle level classes of all general directorates." (1957), appeals, Su That Publishers, Hanoi, 1958, Vol 4, pp 78-79.

The National Defense Army and militia-self defense forces must constantly develop an iron clad discipline and a spirit that is as stable as copper. They must develop a totally victorious determination and develop such virtues of the working class, as intelligence, bravery, honesty, and loyalty.

"Commemorating the founding of the liberation army of Vietnam," (22 December 1947), appeals, Su That Publishers, Hanoi, 1956, Vol 1, p 238.

Diligence, thriftiness, honesty, and righteousness are the virtues of revolutionary soldiers. We must all possess those virtues.

"Conversations in the middle level army political school," (25 October 1951), President Ho with the peoples' armed forces, Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishers, Hanoi, 1962, p 125.

It is necessary to acquire a collective spirit of performing meritorious accomplishments. You must cooperate with the people and with other units of the peoples' armed forces in order to record many greater accomplishments and to make a significant contribution to the defeat of the U.S. aggressor.

"Letter praising the peoples' air force," (20 July 1966), Nhan Dan, 22 July 1966.

Cadres and soldiers should love each other like brothers and should share joys and sorrows. The army and the people are like fish and water; they should be united in one heart, study together and help each other.

Our army has a genuine patriotic spirit. It also has a high spirit of proletarian internationalism and constantly maintained unity with the army and people of other socialist countries, the people in countries struggling for national liberation, and the peace loving people of the world.

"Said during a celebration of the army's twentient anniversary," Nhan Dan, 23 December 1964.

A cadre without unit members or a leader without the masses has nothing to do. Therefore, he must love the unit members. From the squad leader on up and from the general headquarters on down, it is necessary to be concerned with the material and spiritual lives of unit members.

It is also necessary to know how the unit members are eating and drinking and to understand their hopes and problems. Cadres cannot eat themselves before the troops have eaten. Cadres cannot be concerned about how cold they are if the troops do not have adequate clothing and they cannot be concerned about their fatigue if the troops do not have adequate quarters. This is truly democracy, unity, and ultimate victory.

"Address in a conference to critique the route 18 campaign," (May 1951), President Ho with the peoples' armed forces, Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishers, Hanoi, 1962, p 103.

General officers in the army have a responsibility to be intelligent, brave, compassionate, faithful, honest, and loyal.

Honesty means having a clear mind with which to understand all matters and to make appropriate decisions.

Faith means causing people to believe in him. For example, a promised reward must be given. Faith also means confidence in ones' self but not to a point of self satisfaction or haughtiness. Bravery is the opposite of cowardice. It requires courage and the daring to do those things which must be done and the courage to fight those battles which must be fought.

Compassion means compassion for all ranks and the sharing of the same fate. With regard to enemy troops who surrender, we must be lenient.

Honesty means not coveting property or power for he who covets power is often choked by it. It also means not coveting a reputation of life.

Loyalty means absolute loyalty to the Fatherland, the people, and revolution, and the party.

"The ways of a general," (August 1946), President Ho with the peoples' armed forces, Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishers, Hanoi, 1962, pp 65-66.

Political officers have an important influence upon the soldiers. If the political officer is good, the unit will be good. If the political officer does not fulfill his responsibility, the unit will not be good.

"Sent to the conference of political officers," (May 1948), President Ho with the peoples' armed forces, Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishers, Hanoi, 1962, p 50.

Military booty is not something which the enemy just gives us. It is won by the sweat and blood of the unit. Before we attack and take it, it belongs to the enemy. But after we attack and take it, it belongs to us. Therefore, with regard to military booty, those things which should go to the men, must go to them and those things which should be turned over to the government must be turned over. Whatever reward is to be given to the unit must be equitably distributed and there must be no corruption or waste.

"Address in a conference of cadres preparing for the Tay Bac campaign, (9 September 1952), President Ho with the peoples' armed forces, Quan Doi Nhan Dan, Hanoi, 1962, p 138.

All organizations within the army must cultivate the grow their own food and animals to whatever degree is possible in order to preclude their becoming a burden to the people. Although their specialty remains primary, they must make an effort to expand. This expansion might well be in the form of a unit defeating the enemy and gathering a great deal of military booty.

"Extracted from an address given during the first all-army middle level conference in 1951," (September 1951), President Ho with the peoples' armed forces, Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishers, Hanoi, 1962, p 114.

The enemy becomes more vicious with successive failures. The enemy is like a wild beast which is about to die, at which time it will madly fight worse than before. The closer victory approaches the more difficult it becomes.

Our resistance is lengthy and difficult but we will surely win. All of you must assimilate this view point and enable all cadres and compatriots to do the same. Only in this way can we attain the necessary faith and overcome all difficulties in order to win the ultimate victory.

"Conversations in the middle level army political school," (25 November 1951), President Ho with the peoples' armed forces, Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishers, Hanoi, 1962, p 120.

In order that the armed forces, together with all of the people, can fulfill the sacred obligations to resist the United States for national salvation, it must properly implement the five following points:

-Develop the glorious traditions of determination to fight and win and uphold a spirit of patriotism and a love of socialism.

-Constantly maintain alertness, be combat ready, and fight bravely. Make great efforts to destroy the enemy and fulfill every mission handed down by the party and by the state.

-Fight, build up, fight skillfully, train skillfully, and build many more "determined-to-win-units."

-Maintain good democracy, strict discipline, good internal unity, and good unity between the army and the people.

-Manage the army well and guarantee the material and spiritual lives of the men in the army under all conditions.

"Speech in the 'determined to fight and win over the U.S. aggressor' emulation conference of the peoples' armed forces," (August 1965), Nhan Dan, 10 August 1965.

President Ho reminds all of you that:

1 - You must make great effort together with the localities, to do better in your responsibilities relative to the great rear area serving the great front lines in order to defeat the U.S. aggressor. That is a responsibility of the first order.

2 - You must build up the armed forces truly well and make it of the highest quality. You must be constantly vigilant and combat ready and you must fight well and defend the socialist North. Be attentive to economizing on men and materials and properly maintain weapons and equipment.

3 - The army must wholeheartedly help the people and it must participate in strengthening the rear area so that it constantly grows stronger. Together with state organizations and groups, it must properly enforce all policies relative to the wounded, the hospitalized, the families who have contributed to the resistance.

"Conversations with high ranking cadres throughout the army," (May 1969), Nhan Dan, 23 May 1969.

It is abundantly clear that the imperialist United States has lost but it has not yet abandoned its hope of occupying South Vietnam. The army and the people of the entire country, millions of people as one, are upholding revolutionary heroism. They are unafraid of sacrifice, unafraid of difficulty, and determined to persist in and intensify the resistance. They

are determined to fight and win and fight until the U.S. troops must be totally withdrawn. They will fight until the puppet army and the puppet government is completely overthrown. They will liberate South Vietnam, defend North Vietnam, advance toward the peaceful unification of the country.

"Appeal of 20 July 1969," Hoc Tap,
August 1969, p 3.

The anti-United States resistance for national salvation may be prolonged. Our compatriots may be required to sacrifice a great deal of property and many people. Nevertheless, we must be determined to fight the U.S. aggressor until the final victory is won.

When we defeat the U.S. aggressor we will build up the country 100 times better.

Our people will surely win total victory in spite of the greatest difficulties. The imperialist United States will surely be forced to withdraw from our country. The Fatherland will surely be united.

"The will," (10 May 1969), Hoc Tap,
special issue, September 1969, p 7.

6794

CSO: 3520-D

THE GREAT WORKS OF THE BRILLIANT STALIN*

[Article; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 12, December 1969, pp 22-25]

Today is the 90th birthday of Stalin--Lenin's pupil, comrade in arms, and heir, a seasoned Marxist-Leninist theoretician, and a great leader of the Soviet Union and the international communist movement.

Born on 21 December 1879 to a Georgian cobbler-peasant family heavily oppressed and exploited by the Russian czars, landlords, and capitalists, Stalin was revolution-conscious while he was a teenage student. In 1898, Stalin joined the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party and began working actively for the workers movement. From 1900, although he had not yet met Lenin, Stalin warmly approved of and increasingly understood the views expounded by Lenin in revolutionary papers. After his meeting with Lenin in 1905, Stalin became Lenin's most loyal comrade in arms, wholeheartedly devoting his efforts and energies to the task of building, consolidating, and developing the Bolshevik Party, the task of organizing and leading the revolutionary movement, and the task of preserving the purity and developing the creative power of Marxism. During 20 years of activities before the October Revolution, Stalin was sent into exile seven times by the reactionary authorities. He was sent several times to remote and desolate areas in Siberia or near the North Pole. But no difficulties or hardships could shake his steel-like will. On the contrary, imprisonment succeeded only in hardening his will. Sent into exile, he escaped and engaged in revolutionary activities. Sent into exile again, he escaped again and again engaged in revolutionary activities. Finally, Stalin won. Leaving prison for the last time after the February 1917 Revolution, Stalin and other comrades stepped up the struggle for power in the Soviet organization in accordance with Lenin's views, then actively made preparations for the armed uprising which, under Lenin's clear-sighted leadership, led to the glorious victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

* Editorial from Nhan Dan, 21 December 1969.

As member of the Politburo of the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Socialist and Democratic Workers' (Bolshevik) Party, which later became the Russian Communist (Bolshevik) Party, and as people's commissar in charge of the Ministry of Nationalities in the Soviet state -- the first dictatorial proletarian state in the world -- Stalin efficiently contributed to the liberation of the czar-oppressed nationalities as well as to the founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Concerning the international communist and workers movement, Stalin received from Lenin the mission of actively working with delegates from other countries to set up the Third Internationale -- that is, the communist internationale -- which was officially founded in early March 1919.

During the years of the internecine war waged by the Russian counter-revolutionaries and the interventionist war waged by 14 imperialist countries Stalin was one of the most outstanding leaders of the Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet state. Organized, commanded, and led by Lenin and Stalin, the Red Army, overcoming countless difficulties and hardships and fighting in an extremely glorious fashion, completely defeated both internal enemies and the foreign aggressors.

In 1922, while Lenin was seriously ill, Stalin was elected secretary general of the Soviet (Bolshevik) Communist Party. On 21 January 1924, Lenin died. Since then, as head of the (Bolshevik) Communist Party, Stalin and Lenin's most loyal disciples have led the entire party and people in constantly accelerating the development of the October Revolution along the path indicated by Lenin.

Under the leadership of the Soviet (Bolshevik) Communist party headed by Stalin, the Soviet Union successfully fulfilled the first and second five-year plans aimed at building socialism. From a poor, backward country protractedly ravaged by World War I, the civil war, and the interventionist war, the Soviet Union, after more than 10 years of peaceful construction, became an advanced, rich, and powerful country. It vigorously developed and served as a firm, strong base area for the world revolution. On the momentum of this development, laborers in various countries became increasingly enthusiastic, whereas the imperialist aggressors and the international reactionary forces became even more panicky and hostile.

In World War II, the Hitlerite fascists concentrated their most powerful, numerous, and ferocious forces on the eastern front, hoping to annihilate the Soviet Union. Although fighting the Nazis as allies of the Soviet Union, the malicious U.S. and British imperialists wanted both the Soviet Union and Germany to become exhausted. But, under the leadership of the Soviet Government headed by Stalin, the Soviet army and people annihilated the bulk of the German forces on Soviet territory, annihilating Hitler and company in the center of their den in Berlin and decimating the Kwantung Army, the Japanese militarists' most seasoned aggressor army on the Asian continent. These were the most important victories that determined the total victory of all the anti-fascist forces.

Following World War II, together with the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and the Soviet Government, Stalin concentrated his efforts on leading the entire party and people in rapidly healing the wounds of war, positively developing the socialist economy, building and perfecting socialism, and taking preparatory steps toward building the material and technical bases of communism. Before he passed away on 5 March 1953, Stalin, representing the Soviet Communist Party, the Soviet Government, and the great Soviet people, always represented the vanguard motivating the socialist camp, the world communist movement, and all progressive mankind to unite and struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Stalin's merits and undertaking were extremely glorious. His life encompassing 55 years of revolutionary struggle was a revolutionary life fully dedicated to class, the people, the country, and the marvelous, noble communist ideal. As Lenin's disciple, comrade, and comrade in arms, Stalin was unswervingly loyal to Lenin. Firmly grasping the theories set forth by Lenin, Stalin played an outstanding role in organizing the struggles against czar, the landlords, and the bourgeoisie, working for the liberation of the working class and the laborers, fighting in the victorious war against the counterrevolutionaries who were kindling the civil war in collusion with the imperialist interventionists, in liberating various peoples oppressed by the czar, in establishing the Soviet Union, the first socialist state in the world, and leading the national defense war against fascism.

After Lenin had died, Stalin, the inheritor of Lenin's great undertaking, constantly held aloft Lenin's glorious banner in building socialism amid capitalism's encirclement. Stalin's merits in the victorious war against the German and Japanese fascists were of extremely great significance, not only to the Soviet Union, but also the world revolution and mankind.

In the ideological field, Stalin unceasingly struggled to preserve the purity and develop the creative power of Marxism-Leninism and opposed opportunism under every color. In his well-known works, he scientifically expounded and creatively applied the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, further enriching the theoretical treasure of the international communist and workers movement.

Within the sphere of the entire world and in the Communist Internationale from 1919 to 1943, as well as in his relations with the revolutionary movements in various countries, Stalin permanently and strongly supported the international communist and workers movement, the struggle movement for national independence in colonies and semi-colonies, and the struggle movement for peace, democracy, and social progress everywhere.

For this reason, like the Soviet people, all progressive mankind highly evaluates Stalin's services and undertakings. All communists in the world consider him as an outstanding communist leader and a great proletarian revolutionist whose life and renown have been attached to invincible Marxism-Leninism.

Struggling under the ever-victorious banner of Marxism-Leninism, the communists, our working class, and Vietnamese people feel more deeply grateful to Stalin for his merits. More than 16 years ago, after Stalin's death, President Ho, our talented leader and great teacher, told his comrades and friends worldwide that "the very victory of the Soviet Red Army commanded by Stalin had smashed Hitler's fascism and Japanese militarism in World War II and contributed to the success of Vietnam's August Revolution." (1) He also asserted that the Soviet Union, advancing vigorously under the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party headed by Stalin, had "lighted our path, shown us a brilliant future, and encouraged us to overcome all difficulties." (2)

Since our party's birth, in the light of Marxism-Leninism and international proletarianism, we have more clearly realized that Stalin, as the leader of the Soviet Communist Party and state, has shown his concern over our people's revolutionary undertaking. We always remember Stalin's appeal resounding in the West right after the October Revolution: "The East must not be neglected." As analyzed by President Ho, this very appeal has "urged the Russian people, who had just won, and the world proletariat to necessarily and tightly link their struggles with the oppressed Asiatic peoples to resist the common enemy, which is imperialism." (3)

We consider it a historical necessity of the present era and a source of strength for our people's victory. The more we thoroughly understand this truth, the more we are grateful toward Lenin, Stalin, and the great Soviet Communist Party.

Stalin's 90th birthday anniversary is a good occasion to motivate us to eagerly advance in every aspect. Under the Party Central Committee's leadership, the entire party and all of the people in the North are determined to strongly step up the emulation for fulfilling the duties of the great rear area toward the great front lines and to continue to struggle for socialist construction, thus creating a new offensive revolutionary atmosphere. Under NFLSV leadership and in the bastion of the fatherland, our people are determined to strongly step up the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance, advance toward scoring increasingly greater success, and move toward total victory.

Making intensive efforts to learn from Stalin's revolutionary spirit of persistent struggle and valiant attack, and tightly linking this with learning from and implementing President Ho's testament, our entire party, armed forces, and people will certainly overcome all difficulties and fulfill all immediate and glorious duties.

Footnotes

- (1) Ho Chi Minh: Comrade Stalin, the Great Friend of the Vietnamese, Published in a report on "For a Lasting Peace and for the People's Democracy," April 1953.
- (2) Op. Cit.
- (3) Op. Cit.

GENERAL GIAP ARTICLE ON PARTY MILITARY RULE

[Article by Vo Nguyen Giap: "The Party's Military Line is the Ever-Victorious Banner of People's War in Our Country"; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 12, 1969, pp 26-88. Material enclosed in virgules stressed in original.]

This year we are enthusiastically celebrating our VPA's 25th founding anniversary and are preparing for the celebration of our great party's 40th founding anniversary.

In a seething revolutionary spirit, all our armed forces and people in both the north and south are resolutely striving to implement President Ho's historic will. With great victories, the south, the fatherland's heroic great frontline, is staging constant attacks and uprisings. With proudful achievements in protecting and building socialism, the north is wholeheartedly fulfilling the great rear's duties toward the kith-and-kin south.

Under the glorious banner of our party and great leader Ho Chi Minh, our people have been struggling constantly over the past 40 years, scoring very great victories along the national liberation path, opening a new era--the era of the fatherland's independence and freedom and of socialism in our country--and making worthy contributions to the world revolution. Born and raised in the people's revolutionary tide and enjoying the party's clear-sighted leadership, Uncle Ho's solicitous care, and the people's wholehearted assistance, our People's Armed Forces have developed from nothing into a great, powerful, heroic, and steellike revolutionary army endowed with a tradition of very glorious victory. This is due, above all, to the fact that our people and armed forces possess this invincible weapon: our party's Marxist political and military line.

/As an organic part of its political line, a creative application of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the war and army to our country's concrete conditions, and a recapitulation of numerous practical experiences in the all-people uprising and people's war of the Vietnamese revolution, our party's military line has inherited, developed, and improved our nation's age-old traditional strategic ability to a new level while selecting and accepting the experiences of advanced military struggle of the world revolution./ In the past, at present, and in the future this line has remained and will remain as an ever-victorious banner of our armed forces and people.

On these historic anniversaries, let us further understand our party's military, revolutionary, and scientific line and advance toward defeating U.S. aggression completely.

/I--The successful people's war against three imperialisms/

Our people's revolutionary struggle for national salvation, independence, and freedom opened the road for the Vietnamese society to move toward socialism, and it is a continuation of our nation's heroic several thousand-year struggle to defend and build the country. Our party's military line in this revolutionary struggle is not separated from our nation's long-standing military tradition.

Due to its important position in Southeast Asia and since its founding by King Hung, our country has had to rise up constantly to struggle against invasion. The process of this struggle is continuing at present, thus making our people's history an epic replete with numerous heroic feats of arms in the struggle against aggression to safeguard the nation's existence and the fatherland's independence and freedom. From the beginning of the Christian era to the 18th century, our people waged more than 20 fierce nationwide wars to liberate the country or to safeguard national sovereignty.

During 1,000 years under the foreign feudalist yoke, our people staged successive /uprisings/ to regain national independence, beginning with the Trung sisters' heroic and successful nationwide uprising, and then with the /uprising/and/wars of national liberation/ under the leadership of Ba Trieu, Ly Bon, Mai Thuc Loan, and so forth. Finally, Ngo Quyen's glorious victory on Bach Dang River in 938 ended the 10-century-long period of foreign domination and opened a long period of independence and self-governing for our people.

Since then, in nearly 1,000 years of independence, our people always had to conduct /many wars of national defense/ against foreign aggression in order to safeguard our national sovereignty.

These wars included the resistance under the Ly Dynasty with the staunch and bold offensive conducted by Ly Thuong Kiet, who first took the initiative in frustrating the enemy's aggressive scheme and later counterattacked and annihilated the Sung troops on Nhu Nguyet River, thus dooming their aggression.

Such was the resistance under the Tran Dynasty, in the 13th century--the most symbolic resistance which, under Tran Hung Dao's command, thrice defeated in over 30 years the aggressive army of the Mongolian aggressors, famous for their cruelty and combat efficiency, who, although having repeatedly won from Asia to Europe and conquered nearly half the world, were completely defeated thrice in Thang Long.

Such was the Lam Son uprising which, under the leadership of Le Loi and Nguyen Trai, was turned into a 10-year-long staunch and persevering /war of national liberation/ and which finally ousted the Ming Army from the country and regained independence after 20 years of foreign domination.

Such was the resistance under Nguyen Hue with the new strength of the widespread peasants' revolutionary movement which arose and successfully struggled against feudalism and rottenness in the country--this resistance was later turned into a war of national defense which, in a blitzkrieg of only 7 or 8 days, annihilated

200,000 Manchu troops, thus dooming the last aggressive war conducted by foreign feudalism in our country.

Generally speaking, these popular uprisings, wars of national liberation, and wars for the defense of the fatherland were led by a feudal class, but all of them were obviously people's wars in which our people voluntarily played the active role in arising and unitedly fighting for national salvation. It can be said that /these uprisings and wars were of popular character/ in our country. Throughout such a long and continuous struggle, our people's intelligent and valiant military tradition was shaped. It accumulated and developed our ancestors' rich strategic knowledge.

In modern times, in the middle of the 19th century, the French colonialists began invading our country. Despite the Nguyen Dynasty's cowardly surrender, our people valiantly arose throughout the country and waged resistance wars successively led by Truong Cong Dinh, Nguyen Trung Truc, and so forth in the south, and by Phan Dinh Phung, Nguyen Thien Thuat, Hoang Hoa Tham, and so forth in the north. It took the French colonialists some 30 years to occupy our country. Later, their rule was continuously shaken. In the old days, our people constantly had to face aggression by great foreign powers, which, like our country, were under feudal regimes. There was only a slight difference between their economic, cultural, and technical levels and ours. But now we have to face a war of colonialist aggression waged by a capitalist power far superior to us, not only in numbers but also in economy, technology, equipment, and weapons.

Our party was born to shoulder the historical task of leading the Vietnamese revolution in this new era of mankind, a transitional period from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale initially marked by the Great October Russian Revolution. Under these historical circumstances, our party, headed by President Ho, the Vietnamese communist who first creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of our country, set forth a correct revolutionary line--the line of a people's democratic national revolution advancing toward socialist revolution without passing through the phase of capitalist development. Our party has led our national liberation struggle to advance along a completely new path. With its correct political line which was set forth at the outset in the 1930 political program, our party succeeded, in the process of its revolutionary leadership, in mobilizing the extremely great revolutionary forces of the working class and the working peasants--the basic forces of the national, democratic revolution--to build a strong worker-peasant alliance bloc under the leadership of the working class, and used it as a base for the broad United National Front. It is on the basis of these correct political lines that the party's military lines were shaped up and have been gradually improved through the realities of our people's protracted revolutionary struggle.

Right from the beginning of our party, a revolutionary storm of the masses, whose peak was the 1930-1931 Nghe-Tinh Soviet movement, was surging throughout the country. For the first time in our country, the peasants' movement was closely combined with the workers'; the worker-peasant alliance was achieved; and the sole leadership of the working class, represented by our party, was asserted in practice. Under the

leadership of the local party chapters' organizations, the workers and peasants in Nghe An and Ha Tinh arose and conducted /uprisings/ and used revolutionary violence along with combining the political and armed struggles to topple the local colonialist rulers, officials, and local authorities and to set up the worker-peasant administration in a number of rural areas.

In the 1936-1939 democratic movement, our party cleverly combined the overt, legal, semiovert, and semilegal struggles with secret and illegal activities and started a seething political struggle movement from the cities to the rural areas to oppose the colonialist reactionaries and the feudal clique of the emperor and his henchmen, to demand freedom, democracy, and a better life, to oppose aggressive fascism, and to protect world peace. This building of political forces and launching of the political struggle movement constituted a basis for advancing toward the new revolutionary struggle era which ensued.

During World War II, our party, faced with a new situation, asserted that national liberation was its main task and considered the /preparation for an uprising/ to be the central task at that time. The party founded the United National Front in order to muster all forces on a broad basis. Under the party's leadership, the masses' revolutionary movement proceeded from the political struggle toward armed struggle and from the masses' political organizations toward the building of revolutionary armed organizations, cleverly combining the political and armed struggles, /launched limited guerrilla warfare and piecemeal uprisings/, gave rise to a seething revolutionary high tide countrywide, and advanced toward a general uprising to seize power.

/The August Revolution/ in 1945 was a /general uprising/ of our entire people. In a short period of time, the revolutionary masses under the party's leadership concertedly arose in the cities and the rural areas in both the north and south, smashed the ruling yoke of the Japanese fascists and the pro-Japanese administration, seized the administration countrywide, and founded the DRV--the first people's democratic state in Southeast Asia. /The August Revolution was the first success of Marxism-Leninism in a colonial and semifeudal country. Our people succeeded in grasping an extremely favorable historic opportunity and in using the armed uprising form to score success countrywide./

From the 1930-1931 revolutionary high tide to the August Revolution in 1945--throughout the 15 years of our people's brave struggle for seizing the administration--/our party's military lines were basically shaped/.

Immediately after the success of the August Revolution, our people had to conduct a resistance against the French colonialists who were aided by the U.S. interventionists and who returned to our country and invaded it. /The first sacred resistance/ lasted 8 to 9 years and was concluded with the great success in the 1953-1954 winter-spring period, whose peak was the historic Dien Bien Phu campaign which caused the French colonialists to sign the Geneva agreements and to re-establish peace in Indochina on the basis of the signatory countries' recognition of the independence, sovereignty, unification, and territorial integrity of the Vietnamese, Khmer, and Laotian peoples. The northern part of our country was

completely liberated. This resistance is a continuation of the August Revolution, a national liberation war, and our people's war to defend the fatherland. This is the resistance of a small underdeveloped agricultural country which defeated a professional aggressive half-a-million-man army of an imperialist power much more powerful in equipment and technique and enjoying U.S. aid which provided 80 percent of war expenditures. In this resistance, our people had the very important international support of the newly formed world socialist network. /The success of our anti-French resistance was the initial great success of the war for colonial peoples' liberation/.

In this resistance, /our party's military line was further developed and improved in every respect/.

As soon as their first protracted resistance ended successfully, our people had to continue the struggle against U.S. imperialism replacing French colonialism in the aggression against the southern part of our country. The U.S. imperialists have plotted to turn the south into their neocolony and military base from which to attack the north, to oppose the socialist camp, and to check the revolutionary development in Southeast Asia. This time, our country's aggressive enemy is none other than ringleader U.S. imperialism, which is the most prosperous and powerful one in the imperialist camp, which possesses an impressive, modern war machinery and great economic and military potential, and which is an international gendarme and the enemy number one of all mankind.

Under the NFLSV flag, the heroic South Vietnamese, standing firmly on the fatherland's forefront, have heightened their very brave revolutionary spirit and have been writing the glorious pages of history of our nation.

After several years of very stalwart, fierce political struggle, the 1959-60 /spontaneous uprising/ erupted in the vast rural areas of South Vietnam. This was a very valiant and creative uprising of millions of our compatriots who, with the masses as their main political force and with a very small armed force, rose up to smash the enemy's oppressive yoke in villages and hamlets and to wrest back mastery from an enemy possessing more than 200,000 troops and a great oppressive apparatus, thus causing the collapse of the fascist Ngo Dinh Diem regime. The successful spontaneous uprising developed into /a revolutionary war, a war of national liberation against the U.S. "special war"/ waged by half-a-million puppet troops and more than 30,000 U.S. "advisers" who applied the latest experiences of international imperialism in repressing the national liberation movement to counter-attack the southern revolution. Our people have been conducting /the second sacred resistance/ against aggressive U.S. imperialism. In only 4 years, the heroic southern armed forces and people annihilated and eroded a great part of the puppet army and administration, defeating the U.S.-puppets' "strategic hamlet state policy" and basically foiling the U.S. imperialists' "special war" strategy.

Since the bogged-down U.S. imperialists sent U.S. expeditionary and satellite troops rushing to directly invade the south and to wage the war of destruction against the north in order to avoid its failure in the south, our armed forces and people nationwide, responding to President Ho's sacred appeal, have unanimously and

resolutely risen up to struggle against U.S. aggression to save the country, liberate the south, protect the north, and proceed toward national reunification. This is /a revolutionary war, a war of liberation against the greatest and most brutal limited war in the history of U.S. imperialism/, which has achieved a high "escalation" with more than a million U.S., puppet, and satellite troops, with several hundred billion-dollar war expenditures, and with modern weapons of all types, excepting only nuclear weapons. With matchless gallantry, our people were determined to develop an offensive position. The more they fought the more they won and the stronger they became. Therefore, after only 3 years, the southern armed forces and people achieved the Mau Than spring general offensive and uprising, creating a turning point in the history of the war and forcing the enemy to be on the defensive on all battlefields, to tacitly recognize the bankruptcy of their "limited war," and to passively adopt the "de-Americanization" or "Vietnamization" of the aggressive war. The revolutionary war in South Vietnam moved to a new phase scoring greater and more comprehensive successes than ever before and proceeding toward complete victory.

The southern revolution and revolutionary war are synthesizing and applying and developing by one new step the experiences of the August Revolution, the resistance against the French, as well as all previous Vietnamese revolutions.

The northern armed forces' and people's struggle completely defeated the war of destruction essentially perpetrated by modern U.S. air power, /a people's land-based anticraft war never known before in our country/. For the first time, we carried on /a war of self-defense in the socialist north, making use of perfected state institutions to fight the invaders, to strongly safeguard the socialist north, and to fulfill the task of being our country's great rear/. We realized an entire people's war, coordinated resistance, strongly stepping up the people's air defense, resisting while continuing socialist building, fighting while producing, guaranteeing satisfactory transportation and communication, maintaining order, and defeating all U.S. war "escalations," thus completely defeating their war of destruction after 4 years of valiant fighting.

/Our all-country anti-U.S. resistance has been the great and the most glorious antiaggression resistance in our people's history./ It is the vanguard front and the apogee of the world's people's present anti-U.S. imperialist common struggle. In this resistance, /our party's military line has been developed by one more step with many rich experiences in many aspects/.

/Under the party's leadership/, continuing our nation's indomitable struggle tradition, /our people unremittingly struggled during scores of years, successively defeated three great imperialist countries' aggressive armies, actively contributed to collapsing old colonialism and are strongly pushing the failure and bankruptcy of neocolonialism in the world/. Just as President Ho said: /"Our nation is a heroic nation. We defeated the Japanese fascists, the French colonialists, and are now determined to defeat the aggressive U.S. imperialists."/ (President Ho's appeal on 20 July 1965) Our people may be proud of being one of the nations possessing the most valiant antiaggression and the most staunch anti-imperialism struggle traditions.

/II--The entire country has fought the aggressors under the vanguard party's leadership/

In the process of protractedly fighting under the party's leadership, our people have accumulated rich experiences in various respects.

/Regarding the enemy and his forms of war of aggression/, our people have gained experiences by using armed uprisings and revolutionary war to successively defeat /three great imperialist powers/ on three continents: the Japanese fascists--the cruel fascist in Asia--the French colonialists--a great colonialist power in Europe --and the imperialist U.S.--the top imperialist and international gendarme.

We have thwarted /all their forms of aggressive war/, from the old colonialist wars of aggression of the French colonialists and the Japanese fascists to the U.S. imperialists' neocolonialist war of aggression, and from the U.S. neocolonialist policy of ruling by means of fascist maneuvers through a puppet lackey administration to the U.S. "special wars" and "limited wars" as well as the war of destruction by means of the U.S. Air Force and Navy.

/Regarding methods of struggling and of using revolutionary violence/ to regain and preserve administrative power, liberate the nation, and defend the fatherland, our people have become experienced in staging /nationwide uprisings/, uprisings in rural and in urban areas, and piecemeal and general uprisings throughout the country; experienced in protracted /people's war/, using armed struggle as the main instrument to oppose old-style colonialist wars of aggression; experienced in waging people's war, or revolutionary war, against the various forms of neocolonialist war of aggression, combining military struggle with political struggle, and combining military offensives with uprisings in war; and experienced in waging a people's ground-to-air war to defeat the U.S. war of destruction.

/Regarding our conditions, our historic conditions at home and abroad/, our people have been experienced in waging people's war, or revolutionary war, under greatly different historic conditions: before they had a revolutionary administration, and when they seized local or national power; sometimes relying on the strength of the emerging people's democratic regime, sometimes relying on the superiority of the socialist regime under construction; sometimes applying throughout the country a unified revolutionary strategy--the people's democratic, national revolutionary strategy--and when the country was divided into two, carrying out two different revolutionary strategies; sometimes during a world war, with imperialists fighting one another on a worldwide scale, and sometimes arising and fighting a resistance war in the absence of world war; sometimes being obliged to fight a resistance war while being surrounded in all directions by imperialism, when we were still immature and weak, sometimes being able to steadily rely on the vast socialist camp, and so forth.

This situation has been reflected in the /protracted, hardship-filled, complicated, and violent character/ of our people's revolutionary struggle. Because of the extremely important strategic position of the Vietnamese revolution in Southeast Asia, the international imperialists--from the French to the Japanese, then the

French again and the Americans and their satellites--for scores of successive years, have intensively and continuously used counterrevolutionary violence to repress our people. Faced with such strong and cruel enemies, our people, our nation, under the party's glorious banner, have heightened their /stalwart and unyielding spirit of resistance and their thoroughly revolutionary spirit in firmly maintaining and developing the offensive character of the revolution/, leading our country's revolution from victory to victory, scoring marvelous achievements in our nation's history, and making worthy contributions to the world revolution. This situation has also been reflected in the /very inspiring practical basis/ of the party's revolutionary and military lines which require us to have a very highly /independent, self-governing, and creative spirit/, incapable of simply copying foreign experiences or of resting on the experiences we have acquired.

From these points, we can point out the following /basic characteristics/ of the war which our people are waging under our party's leadership:

/1--This is a just war, a national liberation war, or a war to protect the fatherland, aimed at implementing the party's political lines and at achieving the revolutionary objectives for the sake of the people, the Vietnamese people and the world revolution, opposing the unjust, aggressive war being waged by imperialism./

War is a continuation of politics. Our party's revolutionary lines determine the political objectives of the revolutionary war and the just nature of the war being waged by our people. Conversely, the colonialist, aggressive political lines of the imperialists determine the unjust, counterrevolutionary nature of their war.

The military tradition of our forefathers and fathers was in essence the tradition of waging a just war to save and protect the country. For our people's survival and benefit, the feudalistic class which led the uprisings and national liberation wars in our history, hoisted high the banner of the great cause of saving the country and the people and for materializing various definite democratic forms in an effort to achieve national unity to save the country. Although limited in the framework of the feudalistic regime, this military tradition has permeated the great ideology of the just war aimed at protecting "the mountains and rivers of Vietnam" (Ly Thuong Kiet), the policy that "the entire country cooperates in war," and the policy of "strengthening the people" and of considering this "the best means to protect the country" (Tran Hung Dao), and the policy of "using a great cause to doom cruelty and of using intelligence and kindness to doom violence" (Nguyen Trai). It is due to the goal of saving our country and race from national destruction that our people's just war has succeeded in mobilizing an invincible force, namely our people's patriotism and unity.

In the present era, the national liberation revolution is an inseparable component of the world's proletarian revolution. Our party's revolutionary lines have pointed out that the basic objectives of the revolution are national independence, people's democracy, and socialism. These basic objectives also constitute the political goals of the uprising and the national liberation war or the fatherland-protecting war which our people have conducted through various phases of development of the revolution. Our present revolution and revolutionary war have closely combined the

national liberation problem with the problem of the people's struggle for democratic rights, closely combining the national liberation path with the socialist path, and closely combining the Vietnamese revolution with the world revolution. President Ho said: "To save the country and liberate the people, there can be no other path than that of proletarian revolution." Our party's national salvation banner has closely combined the national and class factors and the national and international factors. This has been reflected in the law governing the objective development of Vietnamese society in the present era. This has also been reflected in basic interests and deep aspirations of the working class and our laboring people and entire people, which are consistent with the interests of the world revolution. Therefore, with its just nature, the national liberation war or the fatherland-protecting war being waged by our people under our party's leadership has acquired /a new qualitative meaning and an entirely new strength/. Our just cause has vigorously mobilized the forces of our entire people and our entire country to stand up to resolutely fight, to liberate our people, and to protect our fatherland. The just cause and success of our revolutionary war have succeeded in mobilizing the forces of the progressives worldwide to support us. This constitutes our inexhaustible source of strength which the enemy can never evaluate. This constitutes the basis of the absolute superiority of our party's military lines.

/2--This is a national liberation war, a war to defend the fatherland of a people whose country is not very vast and populous, which once was a semifeudal colony, and which still has an underdeveloped economy, and who, endowed with a longstanding tradition of fighting invaders, are building a new regime--a people's democratic regime, a socialist regime. This is a war of a brave, intelligent, stalwart, and resourceful people who use few, small, and weak resources to fight and defeat the many great, and strong, to defeat the aggressive armies of imperialist powers whose countries are vast and populous and who possess great economic and military potential and modern technical equipment./

At present as well as in the history of our people's anti-invasion wars, we have always had to struggle against invasion by powers possessing more vast and populous lands and a greater army.

What was different in previous epochs was that these big aggressive countries were then under a feudal regime, just as our country was. Nowadays, the aggressors are imperialist powers, which are far superior to us not only in population and in area, but also in having highly developed industries, great economic and military potentiality, and modern weapons. Our country is not very vast or populous and was once a semifeudalist colony with an underdeveloped economy. However, differently from our ancestors, our people are proceeding toward being, or are, masters of a new socialist regime--a people's democratic regime--a socialist regime which is definitely superior to the aggressors' reactionary and rotten one. We are endowed with the great strength of our progressive socialist regime and of the new Vietnamese who are masters of this regime.

Proceeding from these characteristics of our enemies, in order to win the present national liberation war, a war for safeguarding our fatherland, our people are relying on the sympathy of the people, on taking advantage of our terrain and

climate, and on highly developing the new strength of the progressive socialist regime and of the Vietnamese in this new era, in order to defeat the enemy. On this foundation, our people have continued and further developed the anti-invasion tradition of our intelligent and valiant people, who have known not only how to "use weakness for defeating strength" and to "use the few to defeat the many" in new conditions, but also how to use civilization to defeat ruthlessness, how to use our definite superiority in political and spiritual strength for winning over the enemy's iron and steel, and how to combine modern weapons with relatively modern and rudimentary weapons to win over the enemy's modern weapons. On the basis of our people's determination to win, their sagacity and creativity, we have used our fundamental and special strengths for limiting and mastering the enemy's superiority and for intensifying the enemy's fundamental weaknesses, thus developing the combined strength of the people's war in the new era for attacking and defeating the enemy.

/3--This is a national liberation war, a war to defend the fatherland, being carried on in the extremely advantageous international conditions of the present era, an era of success for the socialist and national salvation revolutions, when revolutionary forces are stronger than antirevolutionary forces on the international plane and when world revolution is constantly on the offensive against imperialism./

In the old days, our fathers, struggling in the feudal era, had to completely rely on their own resources, for no one supported and assisted them. Nowadays, our people are carrying on the liberation war, a war to defend the fatherland, in completely different international conditions.

The great success of the Russian October Revolution gave birth to a new era in mankind's history, the era of capitalist ruin and of socialist victory worldwide. It united the working class' socialist revolutionary movements in developed capitalist countries with the oppressed nations' national liberation revolutionary movements. The Vietnamese revolution led by our party is an inseparable part of the world revolution winning the collaboration and broad support of revolutionary movements in various countries, especially after World War II when the Soviet victory over the fascists created advantageous conditions for the revolutions in many European and Asiatic countries to succeed. The world socialist system was born and has become the decisive factor of the development of world revolution. The socialist camp is the fortress and firm support of national liberation struggles in this era. With the success of the Chinese revolution and the foundation of the Chinese People's Republic, the world revolutionary forces, the core of which is the socialist camp, became stronger than the antirevolutionary imperialist forces. The world revolution is attacking imperialism continually and from many directions and is achieving many great victories. This international situation is very advantageous to the revolution and revolutionary war in Vietnam in the present epoch.

Nowadays, our people are building and defending socialism in the north, while undertaking the anti-U.S. resistance to liberate the south and advancing toward national unification. Our revolution has reflected the association between the two revolutionary currents of our epoch--the socialist revolution and the national liberation revolution. This is our very fundamental strong point. It has increasingly

strengthened the position of our revolution in the world revolution. In the protracted and arduous struggle to defeat the big and powerful imperialist aggressors, our people--with our party's correct revolutionary line and correct line of international solidarity based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism--have been making positive contributions to the common cause of world revolution. Simultaneously, our people have been receiving increasingly great aid from the Soviet Union, China, and other fraternal socialist countries and enjoying active support from the progressive people of the entire world, including the American people. This is a very important factor in the success of the revolutionary struggle in our country.

As for the imperialist aggressors, they represent the reactionary social system which has been condemned by history. They are endeavoring to regroup their forces, frantically opposing the attacks of the world revolution. However, along with other reactionary forces, the imperialists are being driven into an increasingly weakened, defensive, and defeated position. They are being increasingly strongly opposed by people in their own countries and isolated in the world. Their internal contradictions are becoming increasingly fiercer. This is one of the fundamental weaknesses of the imperialist aggressors in our present era. It is also a great advantage for our people's struggle. During the previous war of aggression against our country, the Japanese fascists were defeated by the Soviet Union and allies. Defeated and losing their country during World War II, the French colonialists were rehabilitating themselves. Now, the U.S. imperialists--leaders of the imperialist camp--are encountering all kinds of difficulties and contradictions, sustaining repeated defeats, and declining.

These characteristics of our revolutionary war are deeply reflected in /our party's military line/.

/Our party's military line is the line of people's war. It originates from and is subservient to our party's political line. It is the line of people's war of our Vietnamese people of today who are struggling for national independence, people's democracy, and socialism. Applying the Marxist-Leninist views on revolutionary violence, our party's military line has the following fundamental principles: The entire country fights the enemy under the leadership of the working class, the fighting power of all the people is developed, and uprisings of all the people and people's war are launched to defeat the imperialists' large aggressive forces./

The founders of Marxism-Leninism spoke of /people's war/ long ago. Engels held in high esteem the French people's struggle during the 1793 bourgeois revolution and called it "a mass uprising, an uprising of all the people," and "a people's war." (Engels, Defeat of the Piedmontese Troops, Collected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol 6, p 413, in Russian) Engels also called the Chinese people's struggle against the British colonialists in the mid-19th century "a people's war for preserving the Chinese nation," and "in the last analysis, a genuine people's war." (Engels, English Colonial Wars, Tuyen Van Quan Su [Collected Military Works], Hanoi, Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishing House, Vol 1, pp 98-99)

In our country, our people have the tradition of launching uprisings of the entire people and people's war to liberate our nation and defend our territory. In the history of our struggle, there have been both people's wars against foreign aggression led by the feudal class and people's war developing from the revolutionary movement launched by the Tay Son peasants against the corrupt feudalists in the country and the aggressors from abroad. Now, we have people's war led by the working class.

Our people's wars in the past--whether they derived from peasant revolutionary movements or were feudal-led--were historically limited as to their objectives, as well as in the leadership forces and conduct of the wars. Today, /our people's war, led by the working class, is a war fought "by the people" and "for the people," in the fullest sense of the terms in the new era./ The revolutionary line of our party --the party of the Vietnamese working class--is aimed at achieving national independence, people's democracy, and socialism in our country and at making our people's war most fully combine the goal of "national salvation" with "saving the people," combine the liberation and protection of the fatherland with the laboring people's liberation. Therefore, basing themselves on our party's political line, the nationwide forces which are now fighting the aggressors are the most powerful and broadest forces of our entire people that have stood up to fight. Our party has mobilized and organized the nationwide unity bloc, joined in the broad, united national front, and used the worker-peasant alliance as a basis in order to, under the working class' leadership, closely unite with the working class and the people worldwide. This constitutes the new invincible strength of the people's war. Deeply enlightened with regard to their revolutionary task and the war goal, the forces countrywide now fighting the aggressors possess the great strength of national consciousness and Vietnamese patriotism and tradition with the new aspects of the present era. This is patriotism united with the democratic spirit and the love for socialism and proletarian internationalism. This is our people's ardent patriotism combined with the working class' thoroughly revolutionary spirit.

With the new strength of the entire country now fighting the aggressors in the present era, our people's war mainly /relies on its own resources/ and fights the aggressors in our country with the resources of the Vietnamese people and the progressive socialist regime of Vietnam, /while leaning on the extremely great support and aid from the world revolution centered around the socialist camp/.

/Our military line consists of creatively adopting the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint of revolutionary violence/, considering revolution the masses' undertaking, and regarding revolutionary violence as the masses' violence. Thus revolutionary violence must combine the masses' political forces with the people's armed forces, and the armed struggle with the masses' political struggle, thus turning them into /nationwide uprisings and nationwide war/. Only by correctly and thoroughly understanding the correct view of violence can we organize and mobilize the forces of all our people and entire country to fight the aggressors. Not only do we possess armed forces to fight the aggressors, but our people also fight them with every appropriate means. Our people not only step up production and support combat, but also directly engage in fighting the enemy. We not only conduct an armed struggle, but also possess the masses' fierce political struggle. We also attack the enemy

through troop-proselyting and enemy-proselyting activities. We not only conduct military attacks, but also have uprisings of the masses on every scale and in various forms, employing both nationwide uprisings and people's war to fight the aggressors. /Our present nationwide fight against the aggressors bears new characteristics; a high sense of national consciousness and class consciousness among the masses, a very scientific, tight, and widespread organization, and very flexible struggle methods. All this has truly made all our people--the 31 million Vietnamese people--become valiant combatants to kill the aggressors for national salvation./

The line "the entire country animated by the same mind and all the people fight the aggressors" is reflected in the following /main subjects/:

--Organize and mobilize all the people to fight the aggressors, and build the people's political and armed forces, using the people's armed forces with the three categories of troops as the core forces for all the people to fight the aggressors.

--Rely on the masses' political forces, build up area and rear bases of the people's war from shortage to abundance, from small to big, and from imperfect to perfect everywhere, combining the local rear with the rear countryside while relying on the international rear, namely the socialist camp.

--Stimulate creativity in methods of waging war and the military art of revolutionary war, fighting larger enemy forces with smaller forces of ours, using weak forces to fight strong forces, attacking the enemy with the combined strength of the armed and political struggles in various strategic operational theaters both in the rural areas and in the cities, defeating the enemy step by step and advancing toward completely defeating them.

--Strengthen the party's leadership over the war, and consider this the main factor deciding success.

In general, our experiences are essentially /experiences in armed uprisings and revolutionary war, in national liberation war/ to gain power, or to overthrow the imperialist yoke. They are partially those of the /war to defend the fatherland/ when we had an integrated state fighting foreign aggressors. We should strive to further study and develop our experiences, not only to serve the immediate struggle to completely defeat the U.S. aggressors, but also to defend the fatherland for a long time to come.

Our party's military line originates from our party's correct political line, from the Marxist-Leninist theory of war and armed forces, from the intelligence and strategic abilities of our ancestors, and from the experiences of the progressive revolutionary struggles of the world revolution. It profoundly reflects the realities of our people's multiform revolutionary struggle for the past 40 years under our party's leadership.

This military line, since its formation and in the process of its development, has proved itself to be always correct and to have an invincible strength, because it

originates directly from and is always guided by our party's correct political line, and because it always relies on the tremendous force and inexhaustible creativity of the masses. The strength of the revolutionary war is the centralized manifestation of the all-out strength of the revolution. /From the correct revolutionary tasks to the correct political objectives of people's war, from the scientific disposition of the great revolutionary forces to the line of building powerful forces of the people's war, and from the correct view of revolutionary violence to that of nationwide uprisings and nationwide war/, it is the principal manifestation. All the dialectical relationships between the party's military and political lines are the source of the strength of the military line, the strength of our people's revolutionary war.

In the situation of a continuous war, our party's military line has always been thoroughly examined through the realities of the war, and has been constantly improved and developed and has scored repeated successes in theory as well as in practice. It is the invincible weapon of our people to defeat all imperialist aggressors and their rotten and reactionary military science and theories.

/III--The mobilization and organization of the entire people to fight the aggressors and the building of the powerful political and armed forces of the revolutionary war and uprising/

To conduct a people's war, it is necessary to adopt a correct line in building forces. This is the line of /mobilizing, arming and motivating the entire people to participate in uprisings and war under all forms, building a widespread mass political force, and building the three categories of people's armed forces as nucleus forces to stage a nationwide struggle against aggression/.

This line is a creative application of Marxist-Leninist thoughts on mobilizing and arming the entire people and building a new type of revolutionary army to our country's concrete conditions. It is a manifestation of the understanding of the concept that revolutionary violence is violence of the masses in building the forces of revolutionary war. It inherits and develops to a new level the tradition of nationwide anti-invasion struggle in which "everyone is a soldier," and "every woman must fight the enemy whenever he invades her home." This is a longstanding tradition in the history of our people's heroic wars for national liberation and defense.

To conduct a people's war, it is necessary to mobilize the entire people. This is a very basic concept in our party's line of building forces for people's war. Lenin said: "To conduct war, it is necessary to mobilize all forces of the people, to turn the entire country into a revolutionary bastion, to devote everything to the war." (Toan Tap Le-nin [Complete Works of Lenin], Vol 28, pp 342-343) "We must use all forces and national resources to protect the revolution." (Toan Tap Le-nin, in Russian, Vol 27, pp 13-14)

/To mobilize and organize the entire people to participate in uprisings and war is our party's method of educating and organizing the masses widely, deeply, and constantly, from the low to high levels, and in accordance with the correct revolutionary line./

The method of our party's revolutionary campaign since its birth has been to direct propaganda, organize and lead the masses to struggle from the lower to the upper levels, and motivate them to rise up and regain administrative power through revolutionary violence. Due to the widespread mobilization and organization of the masses to vigorously struggle in the 1930-31 revolutionary movement, in the 1936-39 democratic campaign period, and in the 1940-45 national liberation campaign period, the entire people's great forces were able to rise up to fight aggression during the August Revolution as well as during the anti-French resistance and the present anti-U.S. resistance.

In /partial uprisings/, our party, based on secret political bases, and secret armed organizations, motivated the bases in each locality to valiantly arise to overthrow the enemy's local administration and establish the revolutionary administration, then to promote local guerrilla warfare, to step up political and armed struggles, to speedily develop the revolutionary armed forces of the masses, and to strongly boost a countrywide revolutionary high tide preparing for the general upswing to wrest political power by force. /In the general uprising/, the party motivated all

northern and southern people to adhere to the broad national united front and to simultaneously arise throughout cities and rural areas in order to smash the imperialists' and feudalists' yokes and to regain power for the people. After carrying on the /revolutionary war/, possessing an improved and steady rear and the people's administration, the mobilization and organization of the people for combat were more gigantic, comprehensive, and organized. With the "Entire People's Resistance and Comprehensive Resistance" and "Everything for Victory" slogans, all the people's forces were mobilized to the maximum to serve the task of defeating the aggressors. Even during the war, our party emphasized propaganda to motivate the organization and improvement of people's forces, unremittingly broadened the people's political force, and developed the people's armed forces, aiming at mobilizing the entire people to participate in the war. To motivate the entire people to take part in the uprisings and war, it was necessary to build the mass political force along with building the people's armed forces.

/Our political force is an all-people force participating in uprisings and wars in an organized manner under the vanguard party's leadership/. It includes revolutionary classes, patriotic elements, and nationalities in our country assembled in a broad united national front which uses the worker-peasant alliance as a foundation under working class leadership. Our political force is a firm, steady basis for building and developing comprehensive forces for the revolutionary war, including both the material and moral forces, on the political, military, economic, and cultural fronts both on the frontline and in the rear.

/The political force is the basis for the emergence and development of the revolutionary armed forces of the people./ The people's armed forces cannot exist nor grow strong without the revolutionaries or the people's strong political force, whose core is the worker-peasant class organized and led by the party. From the first worker-peasant self-defense units in the Nghe-Tinh Soviet movement in 1930-31 to the national salvation troops, the Vietnam propaganda units of the Liberation Army, the Ba To guerrillas, and thousands of self-defense and combat self-defense units in all localities in the pre-August Revolution period, to the powerful people's armed forces of today, the people's armed forces have developed from nothing and from weak to strong forces during the period of implementing the systems of voluntary and compulsory military service. They have come from enlightened and organized revolutionaries. Relying on these firm, numerous political forces, our armed forces, under the party's leadership, have displayed a fine revolutionary spirit. In the face of great opportunities in the revolution and turning points in the war, we have steadfastly and rapidly developed and strengthened our people's armed forces.

Realities emerging from the revolutionary struggle in our country have clearly shown that the /mass political forces also constitute an offensive force attacking the enemy with revolutionary violence/, both in uprisings and in the revolutionary war, especially in uprisings. Our political forces have been coordinated with our people's armed forces in extremely diverse and flexible forms.

Continuing and further developing the experience acquired in the August Revolution and in the anti-French resistance under new historical conditions, the southern masses' political forces under the NFLSV banner have developed their extremely great

strength in the protracted, resolute struggle against every domination attempt and every form of the neocolonialist, aggressive war of the U.S. imperialists. It is reasonable to say that the southern people's political forces are more powerful than ever. They played the main, decisive role in the victory of the great spontaneous uprising. In coordination with the people's armed forces, they have defeated the "special war" strategy and are defeating the limited war strategy of the U.S. imperialists.

The "political struggle army's" appearance in war has been a striking initiative in the organization of forces in the present South Vietnam revolutionary war. The "political struggle army" was organized and based on the masses' strong political force and on workers and farmers. It includes excellent and valiant elements of mass organizations, of all social strata, and of all ages, having bases throughout plain, mountainous, and rural areas, and cities. It is carefully organized and militarized, struggling in a very revolutionary and scientific manner by using extremely diverse and flexible means of struggle. It is the core force of the masses' political struggle in the present South Vietnam revolution and revolutionary war.

Armed uprisings and revolutionary wars are the highest struggle forms in revolutionary struggles for wresting and maintaining power. In talking about uprisings and wars, we cannot leave out the armed forces. Therefore, to prepare for and to carry on our armed uprisings and revolutionary war, along with building a political force, our party particularly put emphasis on /building people's armed forces as the nucleus for all our people's fighting against aggressors/. Under the party's glorious banner, our people's armed forces were born and raised in the entire people's fierce, revolutionary struggle, relying on the political force of the people. /Our army is truly a people's army, born of the people and fighting for them./ During the past 30-odd years, our people's armed forces have gradually developed from guerrilla units and masses' self-defense units into independent armed organizations, from small guerrilla cells into increasingly large concentrated units and encompassing main force, regional, and militia and self-defense units, and from poorly equipped infantry units into armed forces with numerous, increasingly modernly equipped branches and services. In the course of this, our party's line and stand toward building the people's armed forces have been constantly improved.

/The problem of class nature and revolutionary substance of the armed forces is the key one in our party's theory of building armed forces./ As asserted by our party, our armed forces belong to the people, especially laborers, workers, and peasants led by the party of the working class. They include outstanding elements of the revolutionary class, above all and in essence from the worker-peasant alliance, and from the people of various nationalities on Vietnamese territory. They serve as a tool for the party and revolutionary state to conduct the revolutionary struggle and armed struggle in order to carry out the party's revolutionary tasks. As the armed forces of the people's democratic state, they previously assumed the functions of worker-peasant dictatorship and are now carrying out the historic tasks of proletarian dictatorship. Their duty is to protect the fruits of the revolution and the people's administration and to resist every internal and external enemy. It is a combating as well as a working and producing army. It is of working class nature. Its stand and thoughts are those of the working class and of Marxism-Leninism.

In all circumstances, when our armed forces were mere guerrilla units as well as when they became stronger with modernly equipped branches and services, our party constantly /emphasized the strengthening of the army's class nature, considering it the best guarantee and fundamental factor for creating the armed forces' fighting strength/. This becomes more important in a country where the majority of the people are peasants and petty bourgeois while the leading class--the working class--is limited in number.

In the first days of building the Red worker-and-peasant army, Lenin considered the strengthening of the working element one of the most important measures for strengthening the revolutionary nature of Soviet armed forces. In our country, starting from the concrete conditions of our Vietnamese society and armed forces, our party considered the strengthening of its leadership vis-a-vis the armed forces, of the teaching of proletarian thoughts, and of the building of the armed forces' political stand, along with strengthening the working-and-farming element, especially among the armed forces' cadres, as essential measures for strengthening the armed forces' revolutionary nature.

The essential problems of the building of our armed forces in the political field which emerged in the course of our armed forces' development have been how to:

Unremittingly consolidate and strengthen the party's absolute, direct, and comprehensive leadership vis-a-vis the people's armed forces, considering it the most fundamental principle.

Unremittingly strengthen the political task, considering it the source of strength and a principle of building the people's armed forces.

Extremely emphasize the task of political teaching and thought-leading in the army, so that all cadres and soldiers will be keenly aware of the party's political line and task, military line and task, and stands and policies and state laws, teach Marxism-Leninism, increase class awareness in close coordination with national awareness, teach patriotism, love of socialism, and the international proletarian spirit, and, on this basis, unremittingly heighten the armed forces' combativeness and determination to fight and to win.

Unremittingly consolidate the party's system and organization and the system and organization of political tasks from top to bottom.

Actively build and train an army of cadres absolutely faithful to the party's revolutionary enterprise and expert in leading, organizing, and commanding.

Implement a centralized democratic regime and a severe, just, and self-awareness discipline, that of a revolutionary army, on the basis of broadening internal democracy.

Firmly strengthen internal solidarity, the solidarity between army and people which must be similar to that between fish and water, and the sincere international solidarity.

In this way, our people's armed forces developed a satisfactory revolutionary character, being "loyal to the party and faithful to the people, ready to fight and sacrifice themselves for the independence and freedom of the fatherland and for socialism," and from the point of being the tool of the workers' and peasants' dictatorship during the people's national and democratic revolution phase, they have advanced toward successfully carrying out their task of being the tool of the proletarian dictatorship during the socialist revolution phase.

On the basis of building the armed forces politically, our party must successfully settle the problem of /building them organizationally/.

Experience in carrying out the people's war over the past 25 years in our country has proved that the /three categories of troops--main-force units, regional forces, and guerrilla and self-defense and militia forces--are the most appropriate organizational form to mobilize all people to fight the enemy. Great attention must be paid to building main-force units as well as regional forces. The building of main-force units must be closely associated with the building of regional forces, and the building of stationary forces with mobile forces./ In building our armed forces, we have developed all the traditions of our forefathers of organizing an all-people force for the war.

/Self-defense and militia forces/ are the broad armed forces of the laboring people who are still engaged in production. They are an instrument of violence of the basic people's administrations. They are organized according to the combat tasks, conditions, and characteristics in hamlets, villages, industrial enterprises, and city wards. They form a steady, strong, and widespread force throughout the country, ready to fight and fight well with all kinds of weapons, from rudimentary to modern ones, and with highly efficient fighting methods. They have satisfactorily carried out the tasks of directly protecting the people, firmly maintaining and developing political bases, effectively carrying out assault tasks in production, and supplying regional forces and main-force units with good cadres and combatants.

/Regional forces/ are core forces of the armed struggle in localities. They are activated according to the tasks and practical conditions of each battlefield and locality to become strong units of high quality with the necessary armed branches and are capable of concentrated fighting in localities in close coordination with self-defense militia and main-force units and are capable of outstanding fulfillment of such tasks as annihilating the enemy, initiating a guerrilla war, protecting the local people and administrations, and firmly maintaining the local people's mastery.

/Main-force units/ are mobile armed forces which operate nationwide or in a number of definite strategic areas. They have the necessary armed branches and services, particularly very strong infantry units, and also proportional air and naval forces. Main-force units must be of very high combat quality. They must be strong enough to fight important annihilating battles and deal the enemy increasingly heavy blows. They must be ever victorious and must swiftly and neatly annihilate increasingly big enemy units in order to change the battle situation in our favor.

Therefore, the people's armed forces must satisfactorily carry out not only their main duty to annihilate the enemy, but also the tasks of protecting the people and contributing toward and participating in the building and development of the masses' political forces which serve as a core of an all-people war against the enemy. In view of the characteristics of the revolutionary war in our country and of the increasingly fierce war conditions, especially when the enemy implemented a neo-colonialist aggressive policy, along with building main-force units of increasingly high combat quality, we must take interest in activating really strong regional armed forces. Only then will the three categories of troops be able to develop to the utmost their combat strength, to achieve close coordination in annihilating the enemy, to effectively protect the people's comprehensive forces, to firmly maintain our mastership, to strongly and comprehensively develop the people's war, and to win ever greater victories.

Closely combined with the political force and the people's armed public security force, the three troop categories have been organized and built according to a /suitable and proportionate scope/ and /rationally deployed/ in each strategic theater, battlefield, and locality to insure that /in-place and mobile forces are both strong and to combine closely and specifically in-place forces with mobile forces at the area and national echelons./ This is a typical feature of the problem of building forces in a people's war and, at the same time, an outstanding advantage of the people's war in our country. Having strong in-place forces, we can attack the enemy everywhere with units that have a very firm knowledge of the local area, keep a firm hold on the enemy situation and hit him accurately and, furthermore, attack the enemy as soon as he arrives anywhere and erode, annihilate, disperse, and tie down enemy troops everywhere, creating conditions for mobile forces to launch concentrated blows to annihilate the enemy wherever gaps are exposed. Because our territory is narrow, our people's war widespread, and the enemy has a high mobility and a large troop strength, such an organization and deployment is able to restrict the enemy's strength and develop our own, creating a steady strategic deployment position of a people's war to maintain our initiative in attacking the enemy under any circumstance. It ensures that we constantly have enough forces to attack the enemy everywhere while being able to mass a strong regular force capable of defeating his strategic mobile army and successfully winning greater and greater victories in the war without having to possess a permanent troop strength superior or equal to that of the enemy.

Along with the development of the revolution and the maturity of the armed forces, /our army has proceeded from the voluntary military service system to the compulsory military service system/, advancing the mobilization of the entire people to participate in building the people's armed forces and strengthening the national defense a new step.

Initially, our army was merely composed of small guerrilla groups born in the process of the people's revolutionary struggle and arising to resist imperialism and its lackeys with bare hands. We then advocated relying on the people's consciousness to build the army through the voluntary military service system which we applied throughout the anti-French resistance war.

After peace was restored, the completely liberated north advanced toward building socialism with a perfected state and every institution of an independent nation. Faced with the requirements of the revolutionary task in our country which called for strengthening the all-people national defense with a permanent, crack regular army coupled with a really strong reserve force, combining economy with national defense, advancing the armament of the entire people and the militarization of all the people a new step, fully developing the people's mastership right, realizing an equitable contribution among the entire people to the task of defending the fatherland, and, at the same time, aiming at overcoming the weakness due to the long application of the entirely voluntary military service system, the party advocated advancing toward a compulsory military service system. This was a new development and a new success in the undertaking of building the people's army, arming and militarizing the entire people, and consolidating our people's national defense. Along with realizing the compulsory military service system, we also intensified general military training and the national defense physical training and sports movement, built a military style of living, and disseminated military knowledge widely among the entire people, especially among youths, in order to practically prepare them to do their military duty and duty of defending the fatherland.

/Weapons and equipment/ are the material and technical bases of the armed forces' fighting power and are the fundamental factors of their strength. To increase the armed forces' fighting power, it is necessary to /constantly improve their equipment/. Applying the Marxist-Leninist view of the relationship between men and weapons that, if men are the factors deciding victories in war, weapons and equipment are very important and indispensable, and basing itself on our country's concrete conditions and on the realities of our revolutionary war, our party settled the problem of our armed forces' weapons and equipment.

Our party correctly decided that the masses are the /source of our armed forces' equipment. Our armed forces must arm themselves with any available equipment, produce it themselves, take weapons from the enemy to kill him, and, when conditions permit, obtain aid from fraternal countries/ in order to constantly improve their equipment.

During the first phase of the building of our armed forces, due to the fact that our economy was backward, due to the nonexistence of weapon manufacturing bases, and due to the fact that our country was completely encircled by the imperialists, our armed forces encountered many difficulties in equipping themselves. Relying on the masses and applying the motto "fight with any available weapon," our party mobilized our people to do their utmost to provide our armed forces with any necessary equipment to fight the enemy. Simultaneously, it surmounted all difficulties to produce part of the needed weapons and ammunition. Moreover, our party clearsightedly urged our armed forces to find a /source of equipment on the frontline, taking weapons from the enemy to arm themselves and using enemy weapons to shoot at the enemy's head/. During the anti-French resistance, our armed forces were mainly equipped with modern weapons taken from the enemy. We received aid from fraternal socialist countries only later, as of 1950.

Since the restoration of peace, we have relied on our ever-growing socialist economy and on the great assistance from the fraternal socialist countries to improve on a large scale our armed forces' equipment along our modernization trend. Thus, during the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle, despite the underdeveloped situation of our national defense industry, we have quickly achieved /big leaps forward in qualitatively improving our armed forces' equipment and techniques/. Along with doing this for our infantry, we have quickly developed other modern military services--such as the anti-aircraft force and the air force--to defeat U.S. aggression.

Relying on the above-mentioned sources of equipment, taking into account the concrete situation of our country, the all-people-fighting-the-enemy-line, and the military objectives and military art of the people's war, and in order to develop our strong point--the fact that we are fighting the enemy in our own country--our party advocated the necessity of /associating modern and relatively modern weapons with rudimentary weapons and, within the equipment structure of the armed forces, continually improving and modernizing our weapons and equipment in an appropriate way/ in order to increase the fighting power of our three forces and all our people. Our regular and regional troops have been mainly equipped with modern and relatively modern weapons and equipment. But rudimentary ones must be exhaustively used in training and combat. Our self-defense militiamen have paid great attention to developing rudimentary weapons. Simultaneously, they have gradually, appropriately, and partially equipped themselves with relatively modern and modern weapons--especially for their core units. War realities in our country have demonstrated that if modern weapons play an important role in the annihilation of the enemy, rudimentary weapons are very efficient in helping all our people participate in annihilating the enemy. Along with improving weapons and equipment, we have endeavored to /heighten the level of organization and management of various categories of weapons and improve the capacity to handle these weapons/ in accordance with the military line and ideology of our party and the concrete situation on the battlefields in our country.

/The building and training of a cadre organization/ is a very important problem, a key point in the task of building the armed forces.

Our armed forces, developed from nothing, have a large cadre organization which is absolutely faithful to the revolutionary enterprise of the party and people. They have been and are constantly being trained and seasoned in the revolutionary struggle and the long and hard armed struggle and have successfully completed the tasks entrusted them by the party and people. Based on the masses' strength, the cadre organization built and improved by the party has met the requirements, both quantitatively and qualitatively, of the regular and reserve forces, in peacetime as well as in wartime, and has served in time all the complicated building and combat tasks of the armed forces in the war. This is the great achievement of our party's cadre program.

In building the cadre organization our party set forth a correct line for the task concerning cadres and set and improved the /class trend and the norms and policy toward army cadres/.

Our party has always firmly held to the class trend, considering the workers and farmers as the core. Our party attaches importance to the selection, improvement,

and promotion of outstanding cadres taken from the worker-peasant class; at the same time, it selects, improves, and promotes cadres from among outstanding intellectuals having close relations with workers and peasants and having wholeheartedly served the revolution. In carrying out our party's policy and task concerning cadres, we have fought all tendencies to deviate from class policy, have fought neglect in the task of improving outstanding persons from the worker-peasant class, and have fought narrowminded sectarianism.

Our party has constantly trained and improved our armed forces cadres to make them /both virtuous and talented/, to consolidate their class standpoint, to strengthen their intense patriotism and readiness to fight and sacrifice their lives for the independence and freedom of our fatherland and for socialism, to strengthen their absolute loyalty to the revolution, to constantly keep a firm hold on and resolutely implement the party's political and military line, to establish close relations with the masses, to heighten their technical and specialist level, to fully understand modern military theories, and to improve their ability to cleverly organize the execution of all tasks under difficult and complex conditions. In each phase, our party has actively applied appropriate measures to improve cadres. It has continually paid special attention to training cadres in the realities of the revolutionary struggle of the masses, especially combat realities, basing itself on this training to constantly improve our body of cadres qualitatively and quantitatively.

With regard to building our people's armed forces, we have satisfactorily solved the /problems of quality and quantity, paying attention to both, but regarding quality as more important/. The view that quality is more important is an important feature in our people's military tradition. "Crack troops are not needed in large numbers" --this was the familiar view of Tran Hung Dao and Nguyen Hue, national heroes who used their well-trained armies to defeat the aggressors' much larger armies.

The quality of armed forces is the result of a combination of the factors of men and weapons and of various factors--military, political, logistical, ideological, organizational, equipment, and fighting methods--with /human, political, and moral factors being the most decisive ones/.

Army-building and combat realities have clearly shown that a high-quality army is one which possesses a high combat morale, an intense determination to attack the enemy, excellent technical and tactical levels, skillful fighting methods, neat, light, and strong organizational patterns, good equipment, and a cadre corps and command units possessing firm organizational capabilities, a high sense of organization and discipline, a staunch perseverance and high mobility in all terrains and under all weather conditions, and whose material and technical requirements are adequately and satisfactorily met.

In qualitative improvement, the three troop categories have different requirements. The self-defense militia organization must be very widespread, firm, and strong. The regional forces and main force units must be highly seasoned and must possess adequate strength.

Our population is not very large. Our standing army is usually smaller than the aggressor army. Therefore, our army's quality must be demonstrated by its great strategic effectiveness and high combat efficiency/. Strategically, we use a usually smaller army to fight and defeat a more numerous and better-equipped enemy army. In campaigns and in combat, we use forces possessing smaller strength and fewer weapons than the enemy to extensively annihilate him and win great victories.

If all of our units possess a high quality and are capable of fighting the enemy with high combat efficiency, we can greatly increase the combat strength of our limited armed forces and, at the same time, reduce organizational and leadership problems, replenish our forces, meet our armed forces' material requirements, and use our forces economically. This represents a major problem of strategic importance.

To insure that the more our armed forces fight, the greater vitality they acquire and the greater victories they win in a protracted, resolute struggle, we have implemented the motto "fighting while building and developing our forces." We fight in order to build and develop our forces. We build and develop our forces in order to fight vigorously and win greater victories. We have coordinated the gradual development with the rapid development of our forces in order to seize every opportunity to advance the war toward victory.

Our party's armed forces building line was formulated and has been developed more and more perfectly in our people's protracted revolutionary and armed struggles. Implementing this line, our armed forces have developed and matured rapidly and steadfastly, acquiring an invincible combat strength and winning glorious victories.

This represents the essence of our party's viewpoint on building forces in the people's war. Realities emerging from the revolutionary war in our country have proved that this viewpoint is completely correct. The enormous strength of this correct viewpoint has been demonstrated by the fact that by basing ourselves upon this viewpoint we have mobilized, trained, and organized the forces of all our people and nation into a firm bloc, a steellike body which has insured a highly scientific distribution of combat tasks, forming a great combat force for continuously attacking the enemy and defeating every aggressor army, no matter how cruel and how numerous it may be and no matter what modern equipment it may possess. This viewpoint was demonstrated most substantially and lucidly in President Ho's great appeal in which he said: "Our 31 million compatriots in both parts of the country, regardless of age and sex, must be 31 million courageous American-annihilating, national salvation combatants who are determined to win final victory." (President Ho's talk at a solemn meeting held in 1967 to commemorate the anniversaries of the founding of the Vietnamese People's Army and of the National Resistance Day)

/IV--The development of the political bases and the building of a great base and strong and stable rear area for people's war/

"To really wage a war, it is necessary to possess a steadily organized rear." (Lenin, Collected Works, Vol 27, pp 54-55) The rear is a permanent factor for success because it is a source of supply for human and material resources for the war and a source of political and spiritual motivation and encouragement for the frontline. Without a steady rear, the frontline cannot defeat the aggressors. This is the general law for every war.

The problem which our party faced was how could our people, barehanded, without an inch of free land as a base, with only a small country and population, and with a backward agricultural economy, struggle to liberate themselves and to build steady bases and rears for the people's war to defeat the imperialist aggressors.

Our party creatively resolved this problem, and, in the process of its long, revolutionary struggle, accumulated many valuable experiences in how to build political bases, and bases and rears, for the all-people uprising and the people's war and the revolutionary war under the concrete conditions and circumstances in our country.

/1--To thoroughly rely on the people and to proceed from building the political bases of the masses to building bases and rears, from "have not" to "have," from small to big, and from imperfect to ever more perfect/.

In our national history, every time our people fought to gain or protect their national independence, our forefathers and fathers knew how to build their bases. They paid attention to the /friendliness of the people and the favorable terrain features/. At times, they established their bases in forests, mountains, and, sometimes, in the swampy plains. At times, they favored the deltas, gathering capable men and material resources among the people to build and develop their forces.

With the emergence of our party and since it set a revolutionary path through violence--the path of armed uprising and revolutionary war--which was designed to seize the administration and to topple the enemy of the class and the people, the problem of building bases was also posed. In line with the revolutionary struggle development, we have /proceeded from building political bases toward building bases and rears and creating increasingly larger rears, from "have not" to "have," from small to big, and from fragmented to interlinked and increasingly broad. We now have a perfect all-people national defense foundation in the socialist north./

It can be said that at the outset, when our party set forth the policy of preparing for the armed struggle and uprising, we did not have a single inch of free land. At that time, /our sole prop was the people's revolutionary organization and the already enlightened people's patriotism and boundless loyalty/ toward the revolutionary undertaking. Relying on this patriotism, our party did its best to conduct a revolutionary drive to educate, mobilize, and lead the masses in their political struggle in various forms, and, through this, to develop its and the masses' political organizations, to build /political bases/ everywhere, and to see to it that wherever the masses were, there would be a political base and a revolutionary organization. It was from those

political bases, using the motto that "armed political propaganda is more important than military matters"--which President Ho set forth for the first guerrilla units --that our party did its best to build /secret armed bases/ and to step up political struggle in combination with armed struggle, from bottom to top. Following this, our party advanced toward guerrilla warfare and the phased armed uprising and building of the /Viet Bac Liberation Zone/ and a number of /guerrilla bases/ in other localities, while vigorously and broadly developing political bases countrywide, stepping up the masses' revolutionary high tide, and advancing toward successfully conducting the general uprising, seizing the administration countrywide, and founding the DRV. During the long resistance against the French imperialist aggressors, we did our best to defend and consolidate our /vast free areas/--using them as the firm rear for the people's war--while fighting to continually enlarge the /guerrilla areas and guerrilla bases everywhere in the enemy's rear./ The resistance's increasingly and comprehensively consolidated rear was a source of great political and moral encouragement, a source of supplies to satisfy the increasingly growing needs of the frontline. In the /areas under the enemy's temporary control/, basically the building of bases followed this pattern: through various forms of struggle--from illegal to legal struggle, from economic to political and armed struggle--and through the fierce struggle against the enemy, the clandestine political bases of the masses gradually turned the areas under the enemy's temporary control into /guerrilla areas and guerrilla bases/ which, small and isolated at first, became linked together into increasingly vast areas.

Nowadays, the southerners--who rose up to liberate themselves--have a large and solid rear, which is the socialist north. They are also endeavoring to build their own bases and rear, which are the liberated areas. These increasingly enlarged liberated areas have been developing their increasingly great and diversified effects upon the southern revolutionary war. Creatively adapting and developing the past experiences on how to build the bases and rear to the new historic conditions, the southerners have not only built solid bases in the mountainous areas and deltas, but have also succeeded in building solid footholds even in strategic areas near cities, where the enemy has set up military posts everywhere, and which are crisscrossed by rivers and canals, and in a number of cities. The "liberated areas where enemy posts still exist" have appeared close to the enemy's large bases. These are the areas where the U.S.-puppets still have their military posts, sometimes in relatively large numbers. Although the enemy has resorted to many cruel military or crafty political tricks, he has been unable to set up machinery for oppressing the people. On the contrary, by their resolute, courageous, and creative struggle, the southern people have succeeded in maintaining their mastership there, seriously encircling and threatening the enemy's bases and rear.

After the victorious resistance against the French colonialists, the north entered the socialist revolutionary phase. It has become an independent and socialist state having a complete national structure. It has endeavored to reinforce, its forces in all fields and consolidate the all-people national defense system. It has become the stable and powerful revolutionary base for the entire country. During the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle, the north has become the great rear to the great southern frontline. It has developed its great impact on the anti-U.S. national salvation undertaking of our people.

/2--To rely on the revolutionary strength in both rural and urban areas, build solid bases and rears in rural areas while building revolutionary bases in cities, and associate the on-the-spot rears everywhere with the common rear of the entire country/.

Our revolutionary war depends on the entire people's strength and on regular forces comprised of workers and peasants fighting the enemy right on our territory and coordinating attacks by all means in rural and urban areas. For this reason, we can and must rely on our revolutionary strength in these areas and build steadfast bases in the countryside and revolutionary structures in the cities.

In /rural areas/ (including the jungles, mountains, and plains), we have a revolutionary force, including the bulk of peasants and laborers or 90 percent of our total population, equipped with revolutionary determination, a self-sufficient and self-supplying local economy independent from the cities and very suitable for launching and maintaining our people's war against the aggressive war, despite the enemy's material and technical predominance, and a terrain favorable for our people's armed forces' struggle. The enemy's ruling machinery however has proved to be relatively weak and has revealed many deficiencies. /The countryside, jungles, and mountains/, with their dangerous terrains, are important military strategic areas where the ethnic peoples are very eager for and loyal to the revolution, and where the enemy is usually weakest and most vulnerable. Relying on these very steadfast bases of the revolution and revolutionary war, our people can maintain, build, and develop their forces, and persist in a protracted struggle under the most difficult circumstances. These bases can serve as a steadfast springboard from which we can expand our struggle to the plains. The /rural and delta areas/ are densely populated areas which have enormous resources and which the aggressor enemy has constantly tried to occupy so he can scrape up human and material resources and, thereby, implement his policy of "using Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese" and using war to support war.

Through gaining mastership over the rural areas, the revolution will acquire a firm basis for mobilizing human and material resources to develop its forces for protracted combat, to insure that the more the revolutionary forces fight, the more powerful they become--thus bankrupting the enemy's policy of scraping up human and material resources, "using Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese," and using war to support war--and to create favorable conditions for the rural, delta, and mountainous areas to vigorously support the urban revolutionary movement and attack the enemy at his nerve centers and in his dens.

Obviously, the /rural areas constitute the firm, long-term prop and battleground of the revolutionary war in our country. Firmly relying on the rural areas and building firm strongholds in the rural, mountainous, and delta areas represents a strategic requirement of the revolutionary war in our country/.

While building firm, strong bases in the rural areas, our party has attached great importance to building revolutionary bases in the urban areas. The /urban areas/ are the places of concentration of the working class, which possesses the highest revolutionary spirit and which is both the leading class and the force which, together with the peasants and laborers, forms the main-force army of the revolution. The urban areas also are the places of concentration of numerous strata of laborers, students, and progressive intellectuals, the forces which have a fairly high patriotic,

anti-imperialist spirit. The urban areas, especially the major cities and townships, are the enemy's political, military, economic, and cultural centers, where his leading organs and his dominating, repressive facilities are concentrated. The urban areas represent the enemy's strongpoints, compared with the rural areas. But the enemy also has political and military weakpoints in the urban areas, especially in the political field.

The enemy's basic scheme is to strenuously build the urban areas into the safe rear base of the aggressive war. To advance the revolutionary war toward victory, it is necessary to positively build revolutionary bases in the urban areas, create conditions for attacking the enemy right in the cities in every suitable form and, thereby, deprive him of a safe rear base. It is also necessary to insure a close coordination between the urban revolutionary forces and the rural revolutionary forces in order to attack the enemy right in his dens, insure that the revolutionary war annihilates more and more extensively his military and political forces, extend the people's mastership from lower to higher echelons and from small to large areas, and advance toward winning final victory.

The coordination between building firm strongholds in the rural areas with building revolutionary bases in the urban areas contributed toward creating the unique uprising feature of the Vietnamese revolution, as demonstrated by the August Revolution, and toward successfully executing the strategy of fighting on a protracted basis, relying on the rural bases and, at the same time, stimulating the urban struggle movement during the anti-French resistance. This coordination has made and is making an important contribution to the great victories in the three strategic areas of the southern revolutionary war.

In compliance with the rule governing the development of the revolutionary war's rear base and to exploit, mobilize, and highly develop the comprehensive forces of our country, we have advocated /combining the building of on-the-spot rear bases everywhere with the common rear base/ of our entire country.

Our experience has clearly shown that it is necessary not only to build common strongholds and rear bases for the entire country, but also to build on-the-spot strongholds and rear bases everywhere, on every battlefield, and in each locality.

The tasks involved in building the immediate strongholds and rear bases of every locality, battlefield, and echelon, from the basic echelon upwards, are closely associated with our party's line on mobilizing all the people and the entire country to fight the aggressors and with the policy of building firm, strong, on-the-spot forces everywhere for the people's war. This conforms with the conditions of our country, which is not very large, and with the methods of waging our people's war in which our people have stood firm, attacked the enemy everywhere, and not budged even 1 inch. We have fully used and successfully developed the strength and mastership of our people and of the new social system which has taken shape and is being consolidated in the liberated areas, to meet rapidly and in time the local combat requirements.

In our present anti-U.S. national salvation fight, we have combined the on-the-spot strongholds and rear bases in the south with the vast rear bases of the entire country, the socialist north, which is linked with the vast socialist camp. This coordination insures the development of the strength of all our people, of the socialist regime in the north and the new social regime in the liberated area of South Vietnam, and of the strength of the entire revolutionary achievement of our people in the past 30-odd years of continuous struggle to defeat the imperialists' ringleaders. This basic point clearly shows that in the present resistance war, our people are strong enough and are able to stand steadfastly, as in the previous resistance against the French.

/3--Develop strongly the active offensive spirit, strive to develop comprehensively the strongholds and rear bases, positively struggle to defend our rear, and at the same time actively attack the enemy rear areas and turn the enemy rears into our forefronts, and constantly expand our strongholds and rear bases./

As far as the revolutionary war is concerned, in the process of building our strongholds and rear bases, starting from nothing, the creation of the first strongholds is only an initial success. To strengthen and develop this success, to help strongholds and rear bases stand fast against all challenges and ever more strongly develop their effects toward the war, it is absolutely necessary to constantly and comprehensively strengthen our strongholds and rear bases.

According to the people's war viewpoint, the strengthening of the strongholds and rear bases primarily depends on political, economic, military, and geographic factors, of which the most important are the political and people factors and the nature of the social regime. Therefore, /the building of the rear bases must be comprehensive/ --including the various political, economic, military and cultural aspects. It /is first necessary to build a sound political position/, to strengthen the political and moral unanimity among the people, to strive to constantly develop the supremacy of the new social regime in various aspects, political, economic and cultural, to gradually and actively achieve democratic reforms, to improve the material and spiritual life of the people, and to constantly develop the latent potentials of the rear bases, with which the rear bases will be able to defend themselves and, at the same time, develop comprehensively their great contributions toward the war.

The strongholds and rear bases of the people's war constitute a constant threat for the enemy, and are thereby the objectives of the enemy's repeated and violent attacks. Therefore, the question of strengthening the strongholds and rear bases must be closely connected with the /struggle for the defense of the rear bases and the expansion and development of the comprehensive contributions of the strongholds and rear bases/. It is necessary to strongly develop the active offensive spirit, and to closely coordinate the active struggle for defending our rear bases with the active attacks against the enemy rear areas, thus transforming the enemy rear areas into our battlefields. Attacks and strong attacks are the best way to defend and broaden our rear bases, to shrink the enemy rear areas and to develop strongly and comprehensively the contributions of our rear bases. This is also the essential requirement of the building of the strongholds and rear bases of the liberation war,

starting from nothing, from small to larger scale, and aiming at regaining, maintaining, and developing--from partially to comprehensively--the mastership right of the people.

In the resistance against the French, the basic motto to defend our freedom was to step up attacks against the enemy rear areas and develop the guerrilla warfare in close coordination with the constant strengthening of our rear bases in a comprehensive manner, and the active struggle for the defense of the free zones against all enemy attacks. Thanks to this, our free zones could be secured and strengthened, the guerrillas bases and areas could be constantly built in the enemy rear areas, and our rear bases could be constantly developed while the enemy rear areas increasingly shrank.

These experiences are being creatively applied and developed by the southern armed forces and people in the southern revolutionary war. With a fierce offensive spirit in actively consolidating the liberated areas in every respect and in positively and persistently struggling to defeat every enemy plot, scheme, attack, encroachment, raid, and sabotage activity, our southern armed forces and people have resolutely brought the war to his rear, combining the armed struggle with the political struggle, coordinating combat with mass uprisings, regaining and expanding the people's mastership by several degrees in many forms in areas behind the enemy line, disturbing his rear, and gradually turning it into a battlefield and our rear.

In the past years, the north, the great rear of the entire country, has been heavily protected and has developed its very great effect on our people's nationwide anti-U.S. national salvation undertaking. This has been due to the fact that the northern forces have been strengthened in every respect to cope with and defeat the enemy's war of destruction. But, what is important is that the southern revolution has constantly grown up, unceasingly developing its offensive strategy and scoring successive victories on the great frontline.

/4--Building and consolidating the great rear of the socialist north./

Since the Dien Bien Phu victory, North Vietnam has been entirely liberated, moving toward socialist construction and becoming a steadfast rear and base area for our people's nationwide revolutionary undertaking. This event marked a great turning point and a forward progress in the process of building and developing the base area and rear of the people's war in our country. Since our party's assumption of leadership over the Vietnamese people's struggle for independence and freedom, our people, with half the country being entirely liberated, are for the first time, advancing toward successfully building socialism which is the most advanced social regime in our nation's several-thousand-year history, thus perfecting and consolidating this base area of our nationwide revolution.

Right after the successful anti-French resistance, our party stressed the need to consolidate and make the north steadfast and strong in every respect. According to the resolution of the third party congress, "the more strongly the north advanced toward socialism, the further all northern forces would be strengthened, thus benefiting the revolution for liberating the south, the development of our nationwide

revolution, and the maintenance and consolidation of peace in Indochina and in the world. The north is the common base area for our nationwide revolution." (from the Congress documents, Vol 1, p 32)

The comprehensive consolidation and strengthening of all northern forces has further consolidated the north's national defense, an /all-people national defense/ built by the entire people and depending on the people's comprehensive strength to protect the people's interests, the revolutionary fruit, and the socialist regime. The views on the all-people national defense were expressed for the first time in the resolution of the 12th party congress in 1957. This is the understanding of the concept of people's war and the task of defending the north and making it ready and able to smash every aggressive scheme of imperialism while developing the effect of the north as a rear base of the nationwide revolution. This is a new progress in our party's theory on building the rear and base of our people's war under the new conditions.

The building of the all-people national defense in the north must be comprehensively conducted.

To secure a steadfast, strong all-people national defense, politically it is necessary to unceasingly consolidate and strengthen the party's leading role, the proletarian dictatorial state, the socialist regime, and the unity and singlemindedness of the laboring people, workers, collective peasantry, and socialist intellectuals on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance. It is necessary to constantly heighten socialist consciousness, patriotism, love for socialism, the collective mastership spirit, and determination to reunify the country. It is necessary to satisfactorily carry out the party policies on mobilization and enlistment, toward wounded and sick combatants, toward dead heroes' families, toward soldiers' families, and so forth; and on this basis, to mobilize all our people in the struggle to step up production and build socialism while being prepared to fight, and fight bravely, to defend the north, to fulfill their obligations toward the southern revolution, and to contribute to fulfilling international obligations.

The all-people national defense of the north must rely on a sound /socialist economy/ and on this basis the economic construction may have great significance. While building our economy, we should coordinate economy with national defense, associate the requirements of peacetime with those of wartime, immediate requirements with long-range requirements. The awareness of coordinating our economy with national defense must be reflected not only in the common plan of the state but also in the plans of each branch (agricultural, industrial, communications, transport and so forth) not only in the plans of the central echelons but also in those of the regional echelons, thus turning each step of economic development into a new step of development in national defense potentials, by which, in case of war, we will be able to quickly turn our peacetime economy into wartime economy. Moreover, we must have a correct, timely line in changing the trend of economic building in accordance with the requirements of wartime and hold fast the guideline which closely connects production with combat to insure accelerated production, economic development, and service to combat and the people's life in war.

The strength of all-people national defense requires that the north be consolidated /militarily./ Military strength is not only that of a regular army but also that of the entire people with the people's armed forces as the nucleus which depend on the comprehensively steadfast new social regime. The military construction task consists of positively stepping up the arming and militarizing of the entire people, intensifying the building of the people's armed forces including the three troop categories, the seasoned regular force, and the powerful reserve force, gradually building combat villages, hamlets, and wards, and intensifying the maintenance of security. It is necessary to ready the country in every respect and to constantly heighten the vigilant spirit and combat readiness of the armed forces and people so that every aggressive move and scheme of imperialism can be smashed. Moreover, it is necessary to stress the importance of every strategic area in national defense, to concentrate all forces on accelerating the comprehensive building and consolidation of particularly important areas, and to strengthen the leadership of the party and administrations at all levels over the consolidation of national defense and army building.

The development of culture, education, science, technology, public health, physical training, sports, and so forth is of great significance vis-a-vis the consolidation of national defense and the building of the economy and army, especially the formation of new men and cadres and fighters possessing a high revolutionary consciousness a fair cultural, scientific, and technical knowledge, and good health.

In sum, the entire northern people's national defense strength has been based on the comprehensive strength of the socialist regime and on achievements by the socialist revolution being carried on in the north. This strength has been tested in our people's struggle against the savage U.S. war of aggression mainly perpetrated by air power against the north. U.S. bombs and shells could not subdue the northern people. In this struggle, our entire people's spiritual and political solidarity has been consolidated more than ever before. Production has been maintained and developed. Communications and transportation have been guaranteed. Cultural, educational, and public health activities have continued to develop. People's lives have been basically stabilized. The military requirements of the troops have been assured. The national defense forces have been consolidated and have developed by leaps and bounds. The DRV is still proud, steadfast, and victorious, continuing to score successes for socialism and fulfilling all duties toward the south, the great front. Thus, the socialist regime has clearly displayed its definite superiority, and the entire northern people's national defense has displayed its great strength on various fronts--political, organizational, material, technical, as well as spiritual, intellectual, and ethical.

/5--To rely on the socialist camp, our broad and large rear./

The Vietnamese revolution is an integral part of the world revolution and since its early days has enjoyed the latter's support. This support has been increasingly strengthened as our people carried on uprisings and wars. From being encircled by imperialism, we have advanced by firmly relying on socialism.

Today our people's anti-U.S. national salvation resistance is proceeding along with the socialist camp, which has developed by leaps and bounds, having a billion-plus

population and strong economical and matchless national defense powers. This is a steadfast foundation to be relied upon. It is our people's and world peoples' steadfast wall and moat in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

Our people are vanguards in the world people's struggle against imperialism, headed by the U.S. imperialists. The DRV is a component and the southeastern outpost of the socialist camp. Therefore, while basically relying on our own strength, we can and must strive to gain the sympathy, support, and assistance of the socialist camp in every aspect. This is a very important factor which vigorously strengthens our people's struggling force aiming at completely defeating the U.S. aggressors.

Possessing an increasingly broad and steadfast rear, the nationwide and local rears, and relying on the generous capabilities of fraternal socialist countries, our people are able to develop the economic and military potentials of our country to the maximum, along with intensively taking advantage of actual opportunities to push the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance toward complete victory.



/V--The creative adaptation of the war-waging formula and military art of people's war/ (Toan Tap Le-nin [Complete Works of Lenin], Vol 28, pp 54-55)

Our party's military line holds that, to lead the people's war to victory, it is necessary to have a correct and creative war-waging formula and military art.

Our party has relied on the revolutionary nature and just cause of our people's national liberation war of national defense, on the concrete situation of the balance of power between the enemy and us in our country and in the world, and on battle-field characteristics in our country to correctly and creatively solve the problem of /mobilizing all our people to fight the enemy/ until victory.

Born from the realities of our people's glorious struggle under party leadership, a war-waging formula and a military art having great power and rich content have been shaped and perfected day by day.

These are the /war-waging formula and military art of the people's war, of the all-people and comprehensive war of a small country having a small population and struggling against large, aggressive imperialist armies. These are the formula and military art of waging military uprisings and revolutionary war, of resolutely attacking the enemy with both military and political forces, in both rural and urban areas during a long process of associating the annihilation of enemy forces with the securing and preservation of the people's mastership right and the protection and improvement of our own forces so that the more they fight, the stronger they become and the more victories they win, so that they can drive back the enemy step by step, annihilate him by large chunks, and advance toward complete victory. Carrying out this formula and art, we must mainly rely on our own forces, to develop the power of the just cause and the advantages of the national liberation war or the national defense war being fought in our own country, and simultaneously endeavor to win world sympathy and support/, and develop all the advantages of our epoch so as /to create the combined power of people's war, defeat the enemy, and liberate and defend our country/.

The following are the main points of our /people's war-waging formula/:

/1--To wage the all-people and comprehensive war and associate military forces with political forces, armed struggle with political struggle, and armed uprisings with revolutionary war./

The main content of our party's military line consists of mobilizing all the people to fight the enemy by waging armed uprisings and revolutionary war. Because the imperialists use their armed forces to invade our country and rule our people, we must arm all our people, organize our armed forces, and use armed struggle to defeat them. This is inevitable. However, to develop the great power of all our people to defeat an enemy who has more troops and more powerful weapons, but who is engaging in an unjust aggressive war and encountering many contradictions and weakpoints, we must fight him comprehensively, in the military field as well as in the political, economic, cultural, diplomatic, and other fields. We must use various forms of struggle, including the most basic ones--that is, armed and political struggle. /The

combination of the armed forces with political forces, the armed struggle with political struggle, and the armed uprising with revolutionary war constitutes the main content of the "waging an all-people and comprehensive war" formula./

In their long history of building and protecting the country, along with using the army to fight the aggressors, our people knew how to mobilize the people countrywide to arise and fight, combining the army's combat with the people's uprising. In shifting from the political struggle to the armed struggle in an effort to achieve the political objectives of the revolution, our people, under the party's leadership, combined the armed forces with political forces, the armed struggle with political struggle, and the masses' uprising with the armed forces' combat.

/Armed struggle is an aspect of basic struggle, directly playing a decisive role in annihilating the enemy's military forces./ Along with the task of annihilating the enemy's military forces, the armed struggle is also dutybound to protect the people, to win them over, to combine with the political struggle, and to support the revolutionary masses in conducting their political struggle, in arising, in gaining the right to mastership, and in scoring the greatest successes for the revolution. The more fiercely the war develops, the more important the armed struggle. At a time when the enemy has intensified the use of armed forces to invade our country and enslave our people, the use of armed struggle to counter their armed aggression has become increasingly important and imperative. It is necessary to annihilate the enemy's military forces, to doom all his military strategies, and to militarily defeat him so as to score success for the resistance.

/Political struggle is an aspect of basic struggle. It is always a base for armed struggle to develop and also a formula for attacking the enemy./ The purpose of political struggle is to mobilize and organize the people, to lead the people in the struggle against the enemy, from bottom to top, to expose and doom every deceitful enemy trick, to disperse and weaken his military forces, to confuse his rear, and to protect the people's livelihood and production and the revolutionary bases. During the uprising and war, the political struggle has incessantly developed into armed struggle and has closely combined with it to score the greatest successes for the revolution. The people's political forces have advanced from the ordinary aspects of political struggle toward conducting an armed uprising under certain conditions and cooperating with the armed forces in directly deciding the formation of the revolutionary administration.

The combination of political forces and armed forces, political struggle with armed struggle, and armed uprising with revolutionary war is of a universal nature and is a /law/ governing revolutionary violence in our country. Our people have cleverly utilized this combination, in conformity with each concrete situation. /The political force now plays the main role with the armed forces acting as a prop-- associating political struggle with armed struggle to advance toward a nationwide armed uprising. The military force now plays the main role in the all-people war-- in association with political force--associating armed struggle with political struggle and fighting with uprising, using armed struggle as the main form of struggle in carrying out a protracted revolutionary war. The military force is

now associated with the political force in conducting the armed struggle along with the political struggle and the armed uprising along with the revolutionary war./

In the general uprising of August 1945, supported by the Liberation Army, our people's strong mass forces resorted to widespread armed uprising to regain administrative power in urban and rural areas throughout the country. "The success of the August Revolution was basically due to the fact that our people's political force seized in time the most favorable opportunity to start the uprising to win administrative power for the state. But the revolution would not have been achieved promptly if our party had not beforehand built the armed forces and vast base areas as a prop for the political force and the political struggle movement and if it had not quickly launched the armed uprising when the conditions were ripe." (Political report by the party Central Committee to the third party congress on 5 September 1960)

In the anti-French resistance, all our people rose up to fight the enemy, using the people's armed forces as the nucleus. In the coordination of armed struggle with political struggle, armed struggle was the main form of struggle. The armed forces conducted guerrilla warfare and, on this basis moved toward regular warfare. In this process, they constantly and closely coordinated their combat activities with the political struggle and partial uprising of the masses behind the enemy lines. Here, where the enemy had achieved old-style colonialism, the revolutionary masses in many urban and rural areas resolutely conducted face-to-face, multiform struggles against terrorism, massacre, strafing, pillage, military conscription, and force labor, demanding the return of their husbands and sons, motivating puppet troops to come back to the revolution, coordinating combat with military proselyting, annihilating spies and villains, staging partial uprisings, overthrowing the enemy's basic administrations in the countryside, and so forth.

The present revolutionary war in South Vietnam is coordination, at a new level and under new historic conditions, between armed and political forces, between armed and political struggles, and between armed uprising and revolutionary war to overthrow the neocolonialist, aggressive war. This is a very great stride in the development of the /comprehensive all-people war/. All the 14 million southern people are rushing toward the frontline, attacking the U.S. aggressive troops and the puppet army and administration in the military, political, and troop-proselyting spheres, conducting widespread uprisings in war, and coordinating the political struggle with armed struggle and armed uprising with revolutionary war. The military proselyting task, aimed at enlightening puppet troops and attracting them to the revolutionary side, has become a strategic offensive spearhead of the revolutionary movement to achieve the "worker-peasant-troop alliance" slogan of the southern revolution.

In war, on the basis of a widespread struggle movement and with the coordination of the people's armed forces in attacks against enemy troops, the mass uprising movement can be launched even more vigorously on various occasions. An uprising can help widen the terrain, increase war forces, and accelerate the war, whereas the war can make the uprising conditions more mature and stimulate the uprising to expand unceasingly. Each different from the other, uprising and war, as Lenin remarked, cannot be separated and are "difficult to distinguish." (Military Strategy and Tactics in the October Revolution, Su That Publishing House, p 269)

In our entire people's comprehensive war, besides the two fundamental military and political struggles, the economic struggle also plays a very important role, especially when we have bases and rears, when the liberation war is developed and broadened, or when we carry on a national defense war. Along with motivating a war economy, we must resolutely carry on the economic struggle against the enemy, coordinate political and military struggles with economic struggle to harass the enemy's economic foundations, to drive its economy into disorder and stalemate, to safeguard and develop our economy in wartime, to safeguard the people's lives, to strongly boost production and saving, to defeat all of the enemy's maneuvers harassing our economy, and so on.

/2--To steadfastly quarter in rural areas, to carry on the people's war in mountains, lowlands, and cities, closely coordinating attacks against the enemy in these three strategic areas under appropriate tactics./

By skillfully coordinating armed force with political force, armed struggle with political struggle, uprisings with war, we can highly develop the enormous strength of the entire nation, which is determined to fight, to attack the enemy throughout strategic areas, from mountains to plains and from rural areas to cities.

/To attack the enemy in all the three strategic areas--mountains, lowlands, and cities--with appropriate tactics/ is a very important point in our method for carrying out our revolutionary war. Therefore, one of the strategic problems of revolutionary war in our country is /to correctly determine the respective positions of rural areas and cities, to steadfastly quarter in rural areas, to attack the enemy in rural areas as well as in cities, to closely coordinate the attacks against the enemy throughout the three strategic areas, to coordinate armed struggle with political struggle and uprisings with war, according to the concrete conditions of each area. We must also focus guidance on this or that area in accordance with the concrete conditions and the different periods of armed uprisings or of our revolutionary war./

During World War II and the period preceding the August 1945 general uprising, the revolution in our country was carried out primarily in the rural and mountainous areas in the form of limited guerrilla warfare and limited uprisings. However, the revolutionary movement in the vast rural and delta areas and in the urban areas continued to develop in various suitable forms of struggle. As a result, when great opportunities presented themselves, our people won the greatest victory in the August Revolution by insuring coordination between the urban and rural revolutionary movements and between our political and armed forces and staging timely, victorious general uprisings in both the urban and rural areas.

Following the steps of the allied forces, the French expeditionary corps again invaded our country. The anti-French resistance initially broke out in the urban areas. Subsequently, for a long period of time, our people's anti-French war, in which armed struggle was the main form of struggle, was waged mainly in the rural areas. But our political struggle and armed activities in the rural areas, in the enemy's rear, and in the urban areas, also developed in close coordination with the armed struggle in the rural, delta, and mountainous areas.

The 1959-60 "spontaneous uprising" in the southern revolution broke out in the rural areas and, subsequently, developed into a guerrilla war in which our people coordinated their attacks against the enemy in the rural areas with the urban political movement. Specifically, from 1963 to early 1965, the armed struggle and uprisings, aimed at destroying "strategic hamlets" in the rural areas in coordination with the urban mass movement, enabled our people to acquire a great combined strength which defeated the U.S. imperialists' "special war."

During the 1965-67 period, the southern armed forces and people continued to develop their strategic, offensive position, vigorously attacking the enemy in all the three strategic areas--the mountainous-rural, rural-delta, and urban areas--through armed and political struggles, coordinating their armed and political struggles in varying degrees and in different operational areas. The rural, mountainous, and delta areas were the main battlefields on which armed combat and uprisings were coordinated. Meanwhile, in the urban areas, the political struggle developed and armed activities were carried out to a certain degree. Through their first general offensive in early spring 1968, the southern armed forces and people acquired an offensive position from which they have launched concerted attacks and staged widespread uprisings in both the urban and rural areas, winning increasingly great victories.

As pointed out in the above analysis, in the armed uprisings and revolutionary war in our country, both the rural and urban areas are important, though having different positions/. By coordinating armed and political struggles, combining combat with uprisings to appropriate degrees and in various strategic operational areas, maintaining a firm foothold in the rural areas, regarding the rural areas as firm battle-grounds, developing the urban revolutionary forces, and regarding the urban areas as crucial operational areas, we can vigorously attack the enemy in both the rural and urban areas and in all the three strategic areas, and compel him to spread out his forces everywhere. We can also coordinate our activities in various operational areas, continuously attack the enemy everywhere and at any time, sow chaos in his rear base, and direct powerful blows at him. We can defeat the enemy in a protracted war. We also possess conditions to create opportunities, bide for time, direct timely, vigorous blows at the enemy, and win increasingly great victories. In the people's war in our country, only by attacking the enemy in all the three strategic areas can we successfully develop the enormous strength of all our revolutionary forces, whose main-force army consists of the workers and peasants, develop the strength originating in the coordination between armed and political struggles and between the war and uprisings, and, thereby, achieve the greatest victories for the revolution.

When we have an integrated nation with its urban and rural areas and when our country's industry is increasingly developed, in building the people's national defense or in waging a national protection war, the positions of the urban and rural areas will not be as completely identical as they were. The coordination between the rural and urban areas in a national defense war displays distinct features which are different from those of a national liberation war. For example, the recent people's war against the war of destruction against the north afforded some experience. In this situation, the coordination between the rural and urban areas is a matter of rule in comprehensively developing the strength of our regime and country in order to defeat the enemy.

/3--To thoroughly understand the strategic-offensive ideology in armed uprisings and in the revolutionary war./

Mobilizing all the people to fight the aggressors and coordinating armed and political struggles in every strategic operational area, we have mustered an enormous strength in the people's war in order to attack the enemy.

Revolution is attack. The history of our people's 40-year-long, party-led struggle, as a whole, is a process during which our people have attacked the enemy resolutely, continuously, and victoriously. Arising from domination to topple the oppressive yoke of imperialism and its lackeys and to regain and maintain mastership over their country, our people have /thoroughly and profoundly understood the strategic-offensive ideology of the revolution/.

/Uprising is attack. Revolutionary war, viewed in its whole process, is attack. At times and at certain places, the revolutionary war may be in a defensive position. But this defensive position is only partial and temporary while conditions are created for resuming the offensive./

In the 1940's, moving from political struggle into armed struggle, our people determined to attack the enemy. Especially since March 1945, our people have waged partial uprisings to overthrow enemy administrative organs in vast areas, along with attacking the enemy everywhere by using appropriate struggle forms. Our people also have unremittingly broadened partial uprisings and local guerrilla warfare, strongly stepped up seething political struggle throughout the country, and advanced toward the glorious August general uprising to carry out the most comprehensive, vehement, determined, and opportune offensive to overthrow the enemy's administration and regain the power for the people throughout the nation.

Soon after the successful August Revolution, the French colonialists again invaded our country. Our party launched the entire people's national salvation resistance. In the early days of the nationwide resistance, facing the aggressive army's temporary strength, we aimed at "preserving our main force" by "avoiding disadvantageous battles and retreating to a certain degree" (Lenin, Complete Works, Vol 27, pp 54-55) while actively trying to attack the enemy everywhere and "to attack and destroy the enemy's separate elements" (excerpt from the resolution of the 3 to 6 April 1967 Second National Cadre Conference), then, aiming at "driving the enemy onto the defensive" (15 October 1947 Central Committee directive), we launched guerrilla warfare, deeply penetrated the enemy's rear, and turned it into our vanguard. We have gradually intensified our offensive by guerrilla, as well as regular, warfare. Following local counterattacks, since the border operation in 1950, we advanced toward carrying out the winter-spring 1953-54 great strategic counterattack, the apogee of which was the glorious Dien Bien Phu operation that successfully ended the resistance, liberating half of the nation.

In the southern part of our country, in the process of struggle against the U.S. imperialists' extremely cruel neocolonialist ruling yoke, the southern revolution shifted to a strategic offensive position through the 1959-60 general uprising movement and later incessantly developed its offensive position, enlarged the masses'

phased uprising and political struggle, developed guerrilla warfare, and proceeded from guerrilla fighting toward concentrated fighting, simultaneously applying military and political formulas, and dooming the U.S. imperialists' "special war" strategy. When the U.S. imperialists massively sent in hundreds of thousands of their modern militarymen to directly invade our country, our army and people did not hesitate for a moment, resolutely and firmly maintaining their initiative, continuously attacking the enemy, carrying on their strategy of attacking him in the limited war, and frustrating every enemy plot. The early Mau Than spring general offensive and simultaneous uprisings vigorously pushed forward the strategic offensive position of our army and people, thus bringing the development of the war to a new phase.

In short, in the entire process of conducting their uprisings and war, our army and people have incessantly developed the proletarian thoroughly revolutionary spirit and have constantly and thoroughly grasped the "offensive strategy" ideology of the revolution and revolutionary war.

The present offensive ideology of our party, armed forces, and people cannot be disassociated from our nation's traditional military ideology. In our national history, generally speaking, the victorious uprisings and national liberation wars led by the Trung sisters, Ly Bon, Trieu Quang Phuc, Le Loi, and Nguyen Trai represented various processes of continuous offensive aimed at toppling the foreign feudal ruling yoke. The victorious country-protecting wars led by Ly Thuong Kiet, Tran Hung Dao, and Nguyen Hue comprised various necessary defensive phases and strategic withdrawals at the outset; but in these wars, the prominent ideology constantly remained the offensive ideology with glorious counteroffensives on the Nhu Nguyet River, in Van Kiep, on Bach Dang River, in Dong Da, and elsewhere.

How could our people resolutely and continuously attack an enemy possessing economic and military potentialities far greater than ours and drive him into a passive, defensive position and defeat him?

Our army and people, who conducted armed uprisings and the revolutionary war, possess a very high offensive ideology. /The attack ideology is the ideological basis of the Vietnamese revolutionary strategy and revolutionary war./ It originates from the thoroughly revolutionary nature of our party's political and military lines, from the ardent patriotism and the extremely creative and heroic activity of our Vietnamese people, who have fought for independence, freedom, and socialism.

Our offensive ability is closely associated with /our correct assessment of the characteristics and the development of the balance of forces between us and the enemy/ in the fight between the two sides. Our enemy not only has strengths but also weaknesses -- many very basic weaknesses. Our people not only have weaknesses but also strengths -- many very basic strengths. This is the strength of an entire people who stood up to protect their country. This is the strength of the just war in the present era. We can absolutely develop our strongpoints and aim at the enemy's weakpoints to attack him.

The great offensive ability of our army and people is also closely associated with our /leadership art in the people's war/ and with various /forms of struggle/ coupled

with unique and creative /combat methods/ of the people's war in our country. Because we know how to attack the enemy comprehensively, through armed and political struggles, combining military operations and mass uprising, and guerrilla warfare and conventional war, our army and people have, therefore, developed all our capabilities to attack the enemy. Because we know how to creatively devise various appropriate and highly effective methods, our armed forces have highly developed their offensive strength to attack and annihilate the enemy.

/4--To apply the protracted war strategy while striving to create opportunities and gain time to score even greater victories./

Our nation's history is replete with successful uprisings and wars defeating stronger adversaries who subjugated our people or invaded our country. The time for staging these uprisings and wars depends on many concrete conditions, especially on the balance of forces between us and the enemy and on our art of conducting the war. Some wars ended successfully within a relatively short time while some national liberation wars were protracted.

Under the Tran Dynasty, the three resistances against Chinese invaders lasted 30 years, but each of the successful resistances took place in only a few months. Hero Nguyen Hue's marvelously fast troop movement won a great victory within a very short time. Meanwhile, the liberation war led by Le Loi and Nguyen Trai ended victoriously after 10 years of hard struggle. For this reason, our people inherently possess a tradition of persistent resistance, an art of defeating the enemy in protracted wars, and experiences in creating and taking advantage of all favorable conditions to win success within a relatively short time.

At present, under an advanced political regime and with a steadfast all-people solidarity bloc led by the party, we can highly develop all the material and spiritual strength of our people and our country. Moreover, we enjoy the valuable aid of our brotherly socialist countries and the sympathy and support of progressives in the world. Because our country was a semifeudalist colony and is small, unpopulous, and economically underdeveloped and because our enemy is by nature a very stubborn, perfidious imperialist whose country is vast and populous and who possesses a greater economic and military potential and a numerous, modern army, there exists not only an imbalance of numerical strength and population, but also an important imbalance of technical equipment. Under these circumstances, we must have time to gradually exterminate and weaken enemy forces, to restrict his strength and aggravate his weaknesses, to gradually strengthen and develop our forces, and to overcome our deficiencies. So, the more the enemy fights, the weaker he will become and the more we fight, the stronger we will become. For this reason, /the people's war strategy is a protracted one/. The more we fight, the stronger we will become, the more numerous will be our victories, and we will advance toward final victory. The realities of scores of years of relentless struggle and glorious victories of our people have proved the correctness of our party's protracted war strategy.

/In general, the process of a protracted struggle is that of continuously attacking the enemy, gradually repelling him, partially overthrowing him, defeating every one of his strategic schemes, gradually scoring victories, and moving toward defeating him completely./

The length of the war depends on changes in the balance of forces between us and the enemy and on the war leadership of both sides. Our people's war experience shows that, in a long war process, when the war moves from one phase to another, there often are fluctuations by leaps and bounds as outcomes either of our efforts, of the enemy's mistakes, or of favorable objective conditions. The development rule of every movement process is to progress from step-by-step into leap-and-bound developments. Uprisings and war are fierce competitions and life-or-death struggles between us and the enemy. Therefore, this rule appears more clearly in uprisings and war.

In uprisings and war, if we know how to highly develop our subjective efforts, to take advantage of all advantageous objective conditions to the maximum, to develop the enemy's weaknesses and mistakes and to turn them into profit, to create excellent tactics, to aim at right targets, to look for opportunities, to deal heavy blows, to gain great military victories, and to skillfully coordinate armed struggle with political struggle and military operations with uprisings, we will be able to create favorable conditions for carrying out more important leaps and bounds to gain great successes in war. Therefore, /on the basis of persistent counterattack, we must always try to make the utmost efforts in every aspect to create opportunities, to gain time, and to score greater successes/.

/5--To coordinate enemy-annihilating with the gaining and maintaining of administrative power for the people, to actively destroy the enemy's forces, and to maintain and improve our forces so that the more we fight the stronger we become./

The fundamental problem of every revolution is that of government. The fundamental problem of every war is that of annihilating the enemy's armed forces. Our war is a revolutionary war. In using war as a means of struggle for gaining administrative power, we must aim at annihilating the enemy's armed forces as well as at solving the problem of smashing the enemy's government and of regaining administrative power for the people.

During the uprisings and revolutionary wars in our country, our people have closely coordinated armed struggles with political struggle, wars with uprisings. Therefore, /there have been the people's armed forces' military actions for annihilating the enemy as well as the masses' uprisings for regaining administrative power. The problem of the people's gaining of the right to mastership is that of toppling the enemy's administration and of seizing the administration for the people, at varying degrees, in conformity with various concrete conditions, and in definite zones, in the long process of offensive against the enemy./ The exercise of this right to mastership can be manifested at varying degrees and in various forms, with the aim of creating necessary conditions for attacking the enemy through various appropriate forms in the protracted fight against him.

In the process of attacking the enemy, the armed forces' annihilation of the enemy must be closely associated with the masses' uprising to gain the right to mastership. It is necessary to annihilate the enemy in order to support the masses in arising and in gaining the right to mastership. It is necessary to arise and gain the right to mastership in order to acquire more operational theaters and offensive forces to annihilate the enemy. Therefore, /combining the annihilation of the enemy

with the gaining and firm protection of the right to mastership by the people is a victory-winning law governing the armed uprising and the revolutionary war in our country./

In the general uprising in August 1945, the masses' uprising to gain the right to mastership and, especially, control of the state was a main task. However, it was necessary for the masses at that time to be supported and backed by the armed forces charged with annihilating the enemy.

In the anti-French resistance, the armed forces' use of armed struggle to annihilate the enemy was a main task, but the masses also arose, destroyed the puppet administration, eliminated villains, seized the administration in areas in the enemy's rear, built, consolidated, and developed guerrilla zones and bases in the enemy's bosom. Our army and people also actively and comprehensively built and consolidated the free zones, built and consolidated the people's administration, defeated enemy's counteroffensives and offensives, and firmly protected our free zones.

In the present southern revolutionary war, the problem of combining the annihilation of the enemy with the gaining and firm protection of the people's right to mastership has further developed. The southern liberation armed forces have actively attacked and annihilated the enemy, while supporting the people's political struggles and uprisings to gain the right to mastership. The masses' political forces have actively attacked the enemy through appropriate forms and have coordinated with the armed forces in conducting phased uprisings to topple the administration at basic levels, to gain the right to mastership at varying degrees, to form the revolutionary administration in one form or another, and to create more favorable conditions for the armed forces to annihilate the enemy. In the liberated areas, it is necessary to actively fight to protect the people and to build and consolidate the people's right to mastership in the political and economic fields.

In order to meet the requirement of the law governing the combination of the annihilation of the enemy with the people's gaining and protection of the right to mastership, it is necessary to thoroughly understand the ideology of /"actively annihilating enemy forces and of protecting and strengthening our forces/."

/Annihilating enemy forces/ means annihilating his military and political forces. It means annihilating not only the foreign aggressors' military and political forces, but also annihilating or disintegrating the lackeys' military and political forces.

/Protecting and strengthening our forces/ means protecting and strengthening the forces of the army and the people and the military, political, and economic forces.

Only through keeping a firm hold on and correctly applying the rules governing the association between annihilating enemy troops and regaining the mastership right for the people and only through fully understanding the necessity of annihilating the enemy forces and preserving and improving our own forces, can we carry out the motto, /The more we fight the stronger we become; the more we fight the more victories we win,/ make our forces increasingly mature, enlarge our operational areas

day by day, develop the comprehensively offensive position of the revolutionary war day by day, and advance toward defeating the enemy's military forces and strategies, crushing his administration at all levels, and regaining the entire authority for the people.

In the national defense war, we must annihilate the enemy's military forces in order to preserve our national sovereignty. We must actively regain the authority in the areas under the enemy's temporary control and actively associate the annihilation of enemy troops with the preservation and improvement of our own forces. Carrying out the motto "The more we fight the stronger we become" is a very important strategic problem in the national defense war as well as in the national liberation war.

/6--To mainly rely on one's own forces and simultaneously endeavor to win over international support./

This is also a rule governing the success of the Vietnamese revolution and revolutionary war in our present era. This rule marks a new step in the development of our party's war leadership art, compared to the previous historic phases. It reflects the view which regards revolution as the work of the masses. It reflects our party's unshakable confidence in the strength of our nation and people. Moreover, it reflects the view which regards the Vietnamese revolution as part of the world revolution, continually associating our revolution with the world people's revolutionary movement. It tends to develop the advantages of this era in order to achieve the success of our revolution and revolutionary war, thus enabling our people to make positive contributions to the revolutionary work of other people worldwide.

Our party holds that the success of our revolutionary war mainly depends upon internal causes--the correct line of our party, the efforts of our troops and people on the battlefield, the political, moral, and material capacities of our people, and the favorable weather, terrain, and popular support of the national liberation war or national defense war which is taking place in our country.

Therefore, with the highest sense of political responsibility toward the nation's destiny and a self-reliance spirit, our party has creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to the situation of our country to set forth a revolutionary line and the line to correctly and independently carry out the revolutionary war, to mobilize, organize, and employ all the strength of our nation and people to achieve victories. We have thoroughly understood that the Vietnamese people must undertake by themselves alone--rather than asking other people to do it for them--the resistance for regaining the Vietnam fatherland's independence and freedom. Our people's great victories have been mainly and primarily the results of the sacrifices and extremely heroic struggle of all our party, army and people.

In the August revolution, in the resistance against the French colonialists and in the present resistance against the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, our people have by themselves alone arisen to fight and defeat the powerful enemies and have fought for a long time in a situation when our country is surrounded on all sides by

the imperialists. These great victories clearly prove the great strength of our people who have firmly held to the self-reliance principle.

These great victories also cannot be separated from the support and assistance of the revolutionary people worldwide. The world revolutionary movement has created objective and very favorable conditions for the revolution and the revolutionary war in our country. Although our country is still surrounded by the imperialists, we are not, however, isolated from the socialist brotherly countries, and thus we have continued to enjoy, directly or indirectly, the political and spiritual or even material support and assistance of the brotherly socialist countries and the revolutionary people worldwide.

Thanks to our party's correct international solidarity policy, our people have gained the strong and broad sympathy and assistance of our friends in the five continents. In the present day, the socialist camp has become a decisive factor for the development of mankind's society, and the seething struggle movements for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism in the world. The imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists, are being attacked everywhere. Our people should and can fully develop the advantages of the time, in order to create a strong posture and strength in the war to defeat the aggressors.

The international assistance can develop its effects only through the objective efforts of our people and party. Therefore, while attaching great consideration to international assistance, we should always rely on our own efforts and closely associate the fact of relying on our own efforts with the strong development of international assistance.

/VI--To creatively apply the war-waging formula and military art of people's war/

In the war-waging formula, /the military art/ is an extremely important component whose task is to solve the problems of armed struggle in the people's war. Our military art reflects the laws of revolutionary armed struggle in general and of revolutionary armed struggle in our country in particular. Due to the characteristics of the revolutionary armed struggle in our country, our military art also reflects the close relationships between armed struggle and political struggle and between revolutionary war and armed insurrection.

Our military art correctly determines the organic relationship and interaction among /strategy, campaign, and tactic/, which are the components that make up this art, and correctly determines the role of each component. Strategy is the main component. A correct military strategy creates the fundamental condition for the favorable fulfillment of the tasks in campaign and combat. Conversely, only by successfully solving problems relating to campaign and tactics and successfully fulfilling all the tasks of combat on the battlefield do we have a basis for achieving the objectives set forth by military strategy.

Our military art is always deeply imbued with the basic content, viewpoints, and thoughts of the party's military line and of the formula for carrying out a revolutionary war as presented above.

1--Proceeding from the basic content of the party's military line--that is, the whole country of one mind, the entire people fight against the bandits--our military art is first and foremost /the military art of the entire people fighting against the bandits/. As President Ho pointed out in his appeal to the entire nation to carry out resistance in December 1946: "Every Vietnamese, regardless of sex or age, irrespective of religion, party affiliation, or nationality, must stand up and fight the French colonialists in order to save the fatherland. Let anyone who has a gun use the gun and anyone who has a sword use the sword. Those who have no swords should use picks and sticks. Everyone must exert efforts to fight against the colonialists and save the country."

Our military art guides the fighting activities of the armed forces and, at the same time, guides the military activities of the people, who stand up with weapons in their hands to fight the enemy, overthrow the enemy's administrative power, and cause his armed forces to disintegrate. Grasping this requirement, our military art must correctly determine the tasks of the armed forces and armed struggle in our people's all-out war. Parallel with the annihilation of the enemy's military forces, the armed struggle should create favorable conditions for the building and development of a military base, step up the political struggle of the masses, and push forward the work of military proselyting, creating conditions for the masses to rise up to wrest back their sovereign right. On the other hand, the armed struggle should make full use of the victories of the political struggle and of the work of military proselyting so as to develop the military offensive, thus succeeding in annihilating more of the enemy. To do so, the armed struggle should grasp the task and requirements of the political struggle in each region and actively meet these requirements.

For this reason, /closely coordinating military affairs with politics, fighting with military proselyting, and the annihilation of the enemy's military forces with the launching of the masses to wrest back their sovereign right/, have for a long time now become the guiding combat principles of our armed forces.

In the people's war, the people's armed forces comprising the three categories of troops are the core of the struggle against the bandits by the entire people. To develop the strength of all the people, our military art should guide the fighting activities of the main force troops and should, at the same time, guide the fighting activities of the regional armed forces. Only by /closely coordinating the fighting activities of the main force troops, regional troops, and self-defense and militia, coordinating guerrilla attack with concentrated attack, and coordinating small offensive with medium and large offensive/, are we able to firmly maintain and victoriously advance the revolutionary war of all the people.

2--Our military art is /permeated with the idea of active attack on the enemy. It is mainly the art of attack/. Imbued with the strategic idea of offensive in the revolutionary war, let us in our armed struggle actively attack the enemy in a resolute, continuous, and all-inclusive manner with all forces and weapons, in all forms, on all scales, everywhere, and at all times. Our military art, being an art of all the people fighting the bandits and capable of developing its strong points and striking at the enemy's shortcomings, is fully able to create a balance of forces that is favorable to us for attacking the enemy, and to develop the offensive from a small attack to a big one and from a localized attack to a generalized attack. In the adoption of different forms of fighting, including offensive and defensive, major attention is given to offense. When necessary, there are places and times when we carry out defense to support the offense, but the defense is merely a function to insure that the majority of our forces carry out the offensive, and something temporary to create conditions for moving to the offensive. Each and every defensive task must be carried out with an active and undaunted spirit of constantly seizing the initiative to attack the enemy.

Permeated with the idea of offense, our military art emphasizes /developing political superiority and the valiancy and resourcefulness/ of the Vietnamese, of the Vietnamese nation, who have a high degree of political consciousness, the spirit of close solidarity, and a tradition of undauntedness and talent in strategy. Our military art develops the strong points of the new social regime, and the just struggle taking place on our land. It /fully utilizes all weapons/, from rudimentary to modern ones, and establishes many highly efficient combat measures to /defeat aggressor armies that in number and in technique are strong/ but have many fundamental shortcomings in politics, morale, and even military affairs. By constantly raising political consciousness, developing human bravery and intelligence to a high degree, correctly solving the relationship between man and weapon, and giving priority to the human element--the political and moral aspects--while also attaching importance to the weapon element--the material and technical aspects--our military art has created for our armed forces and people extremely great capabilities for attacking the enemy.

3--Our military art is the /art of using a small force to fight a big force/. The realistic situation of national liberation war and patriotic wars at present as well

as in the past, has posed to our people, a people whose population is not very big and whose territory is not very large, the strategic requirement to defeat enemies having large armies and economic and military potentialities many times greater than ours. Confronted with this strategic requirement, our forefathers, to achieve victory, created the art of "using the weak to oppose the strong, using the few to fight the many," and "using guerrilla forces to defeat protracted war," often totally destroying the huge aggressive forces of the enemy. In the present situation of the balance of forces between us and the enemy, particularly in the number of troops and technical equipment, we must be all the more imbued with the idea of using a small force to fight a bigger one to defeat him.

Permeated with the strategic idea of using a small force to fight a bigger one in our campaign and combat, we must know how to use a small force to fight a bigger one, while knowing how to concentrate our forces rationally when necessary to fight the enemy and annihilate him. Using a small force to fight a bigger one means using a small force to win big victories. It does not mean carrying out only small offensives, but also medium and big offensives. Our ancestors, using a small force to fight a bigger one, wiped out in one battle thousands and tens of thousands of the enemy. The South Vietnam armed forces and people, using a small force to fight a bigger one in their anti-U.S. resistance for national salvation, have used a small but well-trained force to annihilate or put out of action in one battle regiments and brigades of the enemy or destroy dozens of his aircraft, hundreds of armored vehicles, and thousands of tons of materials and ammunitions. Making use of the idea of using a small force to fight a bigger one to counter the enemy who carried out the war of destruction in North Vietnam, our air defense and air forces in many battles knew how to use small militia forces, antiaircraft troops, or the air force to victoriously cope with the numerous air forces of the enemy, and to use a small amount of ammunition to down the enemy's aircraft.

In addition to using a few to fight the many, we must know how to concentrate the forces rationally when necessary to fight the enemy. A very fundamental requirement of our thought guiding our combat performance is that in each battle, by organizing appropriate forces, developing valiant and resourceful behavior, creating a favorable fighting position and a good fighting technique, and creating and maintaining conditions that prevent the development of the enemy's power and strong fighting methods and that drive his forces into passivity in which they receive our blows, we must attain the advantage of /fighting the enemy from a position of strength, achieving superiority, and creating a combined fighting strength greater than that of the enemy so as to annihilate him/. When concentrating the forces, we must closely calculate, conserve the forces, and use them in the most rational way, creating the greatest fighting power in order to overwhelm the enemy and continuously attack to annihilate him until the task is completed. The fewer the forces, the better.

4--Our military art is deeply imbued with the /idea of actively annihilating the enemy./ Developing the offensive concept of using a small force to fight a bigger one, we must achieve the primary objective of all battlefield activity: wiping out the enemy's military forces.

In war, parallel with wearing out and annihilating small portions of the enemy in widespread guerrilla actions, the most concentrated armed forces--particularly the

main force units--must resolutely wipe out increasingly more important parts of the enemy. They must /resolutely attain the requirement of completely annihilating increasingly larger units of the enemy, capturing prisoners of war, seizing weapons, and mastering the battlefield, while sustaining few losses on our side/.

The enemy's military force consists of his /numerical strength and war means and rear bases./ His numerical strength is the most important component, but the war means and rear bases are also a very important component in the fighting power of an imperialist army. That is why, parallel with the annihilation of the enemy's strength, we must destroy his war means and rear bases, making sure to wipe out the most important parts of his strength, war means, and rear bases.

In conjunction with the annihilation of the enemy's military forces, our armed forces should coordinate with our political forces to smash the enemy's administrative power at various levels, shatter his oppressive forces in the regions, and cause the disintegration of his armed "civil" organizations.

By wiping out or causing the disintegration of the enemy's military and political forces and his main and regional forces, by annihilating his strength and destroying his war means and rear bases, and by wiping out both his regular and first line forces, we shall weaken the enemy from all sides. With a certain force, we may be able to deal the most telling blows to the enemy, causing him the heaviest losses, restricting his strong points, and defeating his strong fighting methods, thereby powerfully pushing forward our people's all-out resistance. This is also the way to rationally determine our objectives so as to be able to develop the strength of all of our forces and effectively defeat an enemy with a large army and many modern technical means.

5--Our military art is the art of fighting the enemy in an /active, resolute, flexible, resourceful, creative, secret, and unexpected manner/.

With a very high spirit of attacking and annihilating the enemy, our armed forces and people, in their armed struggle, are constantly upholding the spirit of actively looking for the enemy to fight him and fighting him resolutely. We must /actively attack enemy troops, attack them on our own initiative, and attack them resolutely; and we must always maintain our initiative and always fight the enemy from a position of strength/. To defeat a modern aggressor army with large numerical strength, with a mighty firepower, and with high mobility, an army that is at the same time stubborn and perfidious, we must have the spirit of daring to fight the enemy, a very high determination, and perseverance in our struggle until the enemy is completely annihilated.

Each combat action of our armed forces and people in war has been imbued with the fighting thoughts of the Vietnamese revolutionary military art. At the same time, it has taken place in a very diverse and flexible manner, changing according to each stage of development of each war and according to the concrete conditions relative to the enemy, to us, to our people, and to the terrain and climate of each battlefield. Creative resourcefulness is an important requirement of our military art. Only by developing to a high degree creative resourcefulness on the basis of the

proletariat's thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit and ardent patriotism and love for socialism can we successfully materialize the concept of the offensive and the use of a small force to defeat a larger one under all circumstances.

In our art of fighting against the bandits both in the past and at present, secrecy and unexpectedness are outstanding points. Possessing a strong determination to annihilate the bandits, having an intelligent and creative mind, knowing how to rely on the people, and having a high consciousness of organization and discipline, our armed forces always act unexpectedly in fighting the enemy, unexpectedly in their direction of attack, target, time, use of force, scope of attack, manner of attack, and so forth. While disagreeing with the assertion of imperialism that "surprise is the factor that determines victory or defeat in war," we highly appreciate the effect of the element of surprise in annihilating the enemy. Carrying out surprise attacks on the enemy strategically as well as tactically, our armed forces and people have scored great victories in their national salvation war.

Permeated with the aforementioned viewpoints and thoughts, the military art of the Vietnam people's war has successfully solved many problems of /strategy, campaign, and tactics/ in accordance with different concrete conditions.

1--First of all, our military art consists of /stepping up the fighting of the three categories of troops as the core of the fight of all the people against the bandits, carrying out guerrilla and regular wars, and closely coordinating guerrilla war with regular war/.

If the coordination of the armed forces with the political forces, armed struggle with political struggle, and armed insurrection with revolutionary war is the main content of the formula for carrying out the all-people and all-out war, then in the field of armed struggle, in the waging of guerrilla and regular wars, the coordination of guerrilla war with regular war is the most fundamental content of the art of launching all the people to fight the bandits in our country.

/Guerrilla warfare/ is a form of armed struggle of the masses of the people. Due to the characteristics of the people's war in our country, where all the nation is of one mind and all the people fight against the bandits, the guerrilla war develops in a very widespread, powerful, and varied manner. The different strata of our people and the various nationalities in our country adopt guerrilla warfare to fight the enemy right in his regions, with all kinds of weapons and all methods, fighting him everywhere and at all times. Therefore guerrilla war has developed its extremely great strategic effect in wearing out, annihilating, and dispersing the enemy forces to a high degree, disturbing his strategic arrangement, creating a strategic position that is favorable to us, and protecting and training the revolutionary masses. In our country, not only does the guerrilla war have an important effect in military strategy, it has very great significance in the fulfillment of the strategic task of the revolution. /Guerrilla warfare is a formula of the revolutionary masses for carrying out insurrection part by part and wresting the basic administrative power back for the people./

At the beginning of a national liberation war, when the revolutionary people rise up to carry out insurrection part by part and when they have only small armed forces, they can only carry out a guerrilla war. To maintain their offensive impetus and defeat the enemy's counterattack, they must ceaselessly develop the guerrilla war and partial insurrection. From regional armed forces, they must build increasingly stronger main force troops and incessantly develop the guerrilla war into regular war. Only through /regular war/ in which the main force troops fight in a concentrated manner and the armed services are combined, and fighting in coordination with regional troops, militia guerrillas, and the political forces of all the people, can they annihilate important forces of the enemy, liberate vast areas of land, score increasingly greater victories, and create conditions for great strides in the war.

After the emergence of regular war, regular war and guerrilla war must be closely coordinated in order to defeat all the enemy's offensive and counteroffensive efforts and create conditions for the guerrilla war to consolidate itself and develop. Only in the situation where the guerrilla war grows and thrives does the regular war have favorable conditions for developing its powerful force and for advancing incessantly. When the three categories of troops coordinate closely among themselves and when the two forms of war assist each other, help each other develop, and are coordinated with the political struggle and other facets of struggle, they will bring about the powerful development of the great force of the people's war.

In the long-term revolutionary war, /the guerrilla war must advance to the regular war stage, and these two must be closely coordinated/. This is the law for achieving victory in the people's war in our country. The big question in guiding the war is to know how to transform guerrilla war into regular war at the correct time and correct place, closely and appropriately coordinating guerrilla warfare with regular warfare in each stage and on each battlefield, causing them to grow incessantly and to develop their increasingly great strategic effects.

Should the enemy recklessly unleash an aggressive war with his ground forces against the northern part of our country, the regular war and guerrilla war, under the conditions of maturity of the three categories of troops, would appear simultaneously and at the very beginning, closely coordinating with each other.

2--In order for all forces of war to develop their greatest strength, we must seek to /build the strategic position/ of the people's war. The development of guerrilla and regular warfare, along with the development of the political struggle and armed insurrection, create favorable conditions for building a strategic position favorable to us and unfavorable to the enemy. /To build a strategic position of the people's war that is favorable to us and holds the enemy in an unfavorable strategic position/ is a very important part of the military art.

In warfare, the strategic force of each participant needs appropriate expansion in order to be able to develop its strength. Imperialism, which wages an aggressive war, relies on its regular army with many weapons and modern technical means and maintains a large organization. This force must be expanded in accordance with a battle position having a frontline in order to develop its great strength. Waging

a revolutionary war, we rely on the force of the entire country, using the people's armed forces as a core, while fighting the bandits right on our land. Organizing all the people to fight the bandits, we have created a /position on encircling and attacking the enemy politically and militarily/ right in the areas under his temporary occupation. By coordinating political struggle with armed struggle, armed insurrection with revolutionary war, guerrilla war with regular war, and the fight against the enemy in the three strategic zones, we have created a /dovetailing and very irregular war position/ in which the enemy's modern army is split up, encircled, and attacked from four directions, everywhere, thus, making it impossible for him to find any area that he can call safe in a war where there is no front, no rear, and no definite frontline, and where any place can be a battlefield. Surrounded in the great ocean of the people's war, the enemy finds that his eyes and ears are covered. He fights without seeing his opponent, he strikes without hitting, and he is unable to display his strong fighting method. It is for this reason that even though he has many troops and means, his forces are scattered, weakened, and unable to develop their impact as he wants. Our armed and political forces, however, can constantly encircle the enemy and rise up to fight him everywhere. Under such circumstances, our forces can develop their powerful effect, always hold the initiative in striking at the enemy, fight him anywhere, at any time, and at their own choosing, hit him each time they strike, and wipe him out in increasingly greater numbers.

In such a war position, even though the enemy has many troops and means, he cannot put up a solid defense everywhere. /His scattered and passive strategic position will always show many weak spots and exposed areas./ Our armed forces can take advantage of their favorable strategic position and use appropriate forces to deal unexpected, very dangerous, and painful blows to him.

In the course of the development of our armed and political forces, the three categories of troops will gradually grow on all battlefields. In order to defeat an enemy with high mobility, we must create the right /strategic position for the three categories of forces/--the main force troops, the regional armed forces, and the political forces which are developed in vital strategic areas and which closely coordinate among themselves. In this strategic position, we may be able to actively deal the enemy powerful combined blows in important areas. As for the enemy, wherever he goes he will be counterattacked by us. Despite his modern means, the enemy will still be unable to move as fast and be as combat ready as our local forces. It was because of this arrangement that in 1965, when the American troops massively invaded our country, our armed forces and people immediately attacked the enemy everywhere, firmly maintaining and developing their offensive strategy, causing him great losses, and successively defeating his two dry season counteroffensives.

In war, only when we have strong forces organized in an appropriate manner and with high combat quality, can we annihilate the enemy. When we have strong and well-trained forces and when we are able to create a favorable position in strategy as well as in campaign and combat, we will be able to develop to a high degree the combat efficiency of our forces, use a small force to defeat a larger one, create a great fighting strength from a small force, and constantly fight the enemy on our own initiative and from a position of strength to annihilate him. Conversely, being held in an

unfavorable strategic position, the enemy can use only a small part of his troops despite his large army, cannot hit his opponent despite his strong firepower, and can display only poor mobility despite his large means in this field. Although he has great strength, he cannot develop its effect. Although he is very belligerent and perfidious, he is always passive and on the receiving end of our blows. In other words, although he is numerous, he is outnumbered; although he is strong, he is weak.

/3--The question of correctly determining the direction and opportunity for attack is an important question in the military art./

From the practice of insurrection and revolutionary war, we can see that with a certain force, if we attack from some direction, we may be able to wipe out a certain enemy force, but this will not greatly influence the general situation and the victory achieved is only at the campaign and tactical level. On the other hand, if we attack from another direction, the blow we deal to the enemy becomes very redoubtable and it can result in a victory of strategic importance. Looking back at the course of our people's armed struggle, we can see many examples of success from the correct determination of the direction of attack in insurrection and in war. Clearly the choice of direction of attack is, strategically, a very big question of the military art.

Parallel with the art of choosing the direction of attack is /the choosing of the opportunity for attack/. It has a decisive importance in insurrection and is also very important in war. Seizing the correct opportunity, we may be able to attack the enemy while his forces are still scattered, when he is not on guard, or when he is in a confused situation, thus making it impossible for him to cope with us, rendering him vulnerable for annihilation, and enabling us to score great victories.

/4--In war, the choice of the appropriate form of warfare and the proper organization of armed forces and their use responding to the requirements of the forms of warfare are an important problem in the military art./

In leading the armed struggle and establishing a strategy, our party has always paid attention to the forms of warfare and the organizing of armed forces appropriate to our armed forces' actual development under the comparison of strength between the enemy and our side and the consideration of other strategic conditions of each stage.

In the process of preparations for the August Revolution and in order to carry out the strategy of waging a guerrilla war, our party mapped out the form of guerrilla warfare with tactics such as "turning a disadvantageous position into an advantageous one," "ambush," "hitting from the rear" and so forth, and forms of organizing such as secret armed cells, guerrilla subcells, and guerrilla squads. During the early years of the resistance against French colonialists, the strategy of starting and stepping up guerrilla warfare behind the enemy line was carried out by various forms of armed propaganda and guerrilla activities with various forms of organizations: armed propaganda squads, independent companies, and concentrated battalions. These guerrilla activities gradually developed into small guerrilla operations behind the enemy's lines with the participation of main force regiments and in cooperation with local armed forces. Later, big military operations were launched by using various

forms of warfare, such as attacks against mobile forces or fortified positions along with guerrilla activities. In order to respond to these forms of warfare, the main forces were organized into brigades, the core of which is infantry combined with technical branches.

In the present war of liberation in South Vietnam, our armed forces and people, in their process of stepping up warfare and uprising, have used rich and efficient formulas of warfare appropriate to the realities on the battlefield. As the war has developed, various kinds of military operations with new contents have been applied in each stage. Military operations by guerrillas and main forces, combined with local armed forces and political forces from the masses, have been launched against every enemy strategic position. Along with these forms of warfare, the organization and use of armed forces are appropriate.

In the north, the creative forms of warfare of the air defense forces from the three kinds of people's armed forces and the proper organization and use of forces have contributed an important part to our victory over the U.S. war of destruction.

The realities of our people's conduct of war prove that only /proper forms of warfare and appropriate organization and use of forces can achieve good results in strategic tasks of war on the battlefield/.

By mapping out in time an /appropriate form of warfare/, we can boost our armed forces' capability in attacking and destroying the enemy and step up the war. With a good form of warfare which is well applied on the battlefield, our armed forces can favorably destroy a large number of enemy forces and defeat the enemy's warfare methods and his tactics, and thereby defeat his strategic plans. An important requirement in the military art is the skillful combination of forms of warfare to respond properly to the concrete situation of each place and time. Every form of warfare must be appropriate to the relation of strength between the enemy and our side and to the strategic situation of each stage of war. We must pay attention to the development of these forms so that they can respond to the requirements of each period. When it is necessary, we must change in time out-dated forms of warfare, taking up new ones which are more appropriate. It is because of this that the organizations which carry out our military operations and attacks have always been developed from war. We must know how to apply already obtained experiences with the aim of better development and always consider the practical aspects on the battlefield in order to constantly improve our strategic, campaign, and tactical guidance. We should not apply old experiences mechanically or reapply outmoded forms of warfare.

Along with the mapping out of forms of warfare, we must also solve the problem of proper /organization and use of forces/ and by constantly paying attention in time to improving the organizational method in order to respond to the needs of the forms of warfare can we have a basis for organizing the proper implementation of these forms of warfare on the battlefield. Under the present circumstances, the level of political consciousness of our armed forces and people is increasingly rising, and our armed forces' equipment is constantly being built up. Therefore, our forms of warfare, as well as our organizational methods and use of forces, are becoming increasingly more diverse. Forms of warfare combining various branches of services

are also becoming increasingly effective. Attention must be paid to the good guidance of the organizational method and the use of forces in order to fully develop the role of various branches of services and units as well as all kinds of troops in the armed forces in response to the increasingly developing demands from combined operations by various branches of services and troops.

5--On the basis of a correct assessment and an intelligent application of the above points, our armed forces and people have solved the /problem of raising all our armed forces' combat efficiency/. This is also a factor in our people's military art.

Analyzing past wars, we note that the imperialist aggressors in Vietnam mobilized great war machines which could not accomplish their strategic tasks, and in the end were defeated by our armed forces and people. The enemies have often fielded a large force on the battlefield, which could not destroy our force or achieve the objectives of their military operations. On the contrary, our army and people--under various circumstances and with a certain size force--could defeat a larger and better equipped enemy force, destroy the opponent's force, frustrate his plans, and inflict heavy losses on him. Realities on the battlefield show that the enemy cannot develop his combat efficiency, while we can fully develop ours.

/Our armed forces can fully develop their combat efficiency due to our rational organization of force, the appropriate size and high quality of each unit, and the favorable conditions we always create to attack the enemy and the superior fighting methods we have in exploiting our strong points and his weak points to destroy him./ We have also prevented the enemy from developing his combat efficiency by holding the combat initiative with our skillful, secret, and sudden attacks.

Thus, whenever we launch an attack, we hit right to the target and destroy the enemy, whereas the enemy cannot hit the right target in order to destroy us. He has a great force but can develop little efficiency.

In assessing troops' combat efficiency, we do not just look at the results of each engagement. In general, in every battle we must use our force rationally and have superior fighting methods so that we can destroy many enemy troops and suffer as little as possible. However, sometimes in war there are crucial battles in which, whatever the difficulties may be, we must be determined to overcome them to destroy the enemy at all costs. The victories of these battles will create favorable conditions for the success of the entire campaign. In these cases, considering the entire campaign, the important victorious battles are those revealing a high combat efficiency.

The aforementioned points are also drawn from the history of our people's military art for national defense. Fighting small skirmishes in order to grow in strength and engaging in big battles to achieve victory in a protracted war, combining small attacks by local forces with big offensives by regular troops, trying to create favorable conditions for an offensive to weaken and destroy a large enemy force, choosing a right place and moment to deal the enemy a decisive blow, using a bold fighting method, and swiftly mobilizing a big force to suddenly deal a decisive blow at the enemy nerve center in order to gain a great victory in lightning

attacks are typical examples of the successes in military art applied by Ly Thuong Kiet, Tran Hung Dao, Le Loi, Nguyen Trai, and Nguyen Hue. In new conditions of history, the military art of people's war has developed to a new level. Because of the military knowledge and talent of our people, the people's war in our country in contemporary times has an invincible strength.

These are the main contents, the guiding principles, and the rules of the formulas for waging war and of the military art of people's war in Vietnam, which have been drawn from the realities of war during the past decades. These contents are closely related and combined into an inseparable system. It is necessary to stress that these are mainly experiences of armed uprisings and revolutionary wars, that is, wars for national liberation to gain power and national independence.

War is a most violent clash of force, a most violent competition in strength and efforts between two sides on the basis of certain objective conditions. Our party's correct war guidance has fully analyzed various objective conditions of war, correctly assessed the strength of two sides, steadily held to the law of development of war, successfully applied our formulas for waging wars and our military art, and exploited decisive factors in defeating wars of aggression by three imperialist countries.

In war, correctly assessing the enemy's strength and ours is a very fundamental problem. A strong point in our party's war guidance is /scientific assessment and comparison of strength between the enemy and ourselves/.

The experiences of our people indicate that the comparison of forces between us and the enemy must be /total and substantial, not only on the military side but also on the political front, not only quantitatively but also qualitatively, seeing not only troop strength but also the strength of the people's revolution, seeing not only the enemy's strong points and our side's weak points but also all our strong points and all his weak points./

Assessment of the two sides' war-waging capability means a /comparison of not only sheer force but also position, not only real strength and position of the two sides but also the enemy's combat efficiency and ours, and not only the two sides' strength in the entire country but also on each battlefield. We must also compare the strength between the enemy and us in the world and in the contemporary times./ Only by such a total comparison can we correctly assess the enemy's capability and potential and ours on the battlefield.

/Comparison of strength also must be based on dialectic viewpoints/, seeing all developments and changes in the situation between the enemy and us.

The most important point in addition to the comparison of strength and position between the two sides is: /correct assessment of the role of the enemy's leadership and ours and a comparison of the great effects of our correct line and the enemy's false line, and of our superior art and the enemy's reactionary and outmoded art./

It is on the basis of a correct and objective assessment of the strength between the enemy and us that our party has led our people to rise up and fight the enemy, has developed its outstanding ability in leading the war to defeat him, and has led the people's war in the right direction to complete victory.

In the wars waged on our soil, we and the enemy have /relied on different forces. Both sides have different strong and weak points, different fighting methods, and different strategic viewpoints. Each side has attempted to develop its strength and strong points to defeat the opponent./

The outstanding point in our military art has been the knowledge of how /to develop our strength and advantageous fighting methods, and prevent the enemy from developing his strength and strong points. We use our strong points to fight his weak points, continually destroying the enemy's force and his strategic plans on an increasingly bigger scale to defeat him completely./

Helpless before the superior military line and correct and creative war guidance of our party and confronted by our people's great strength, the enemy wants to fight swiftly but has to face a protracted war. The enemy wants to create a war with definite frontlines but has to accept one with dovetailing and irregular frontlines. He wants to concentrate his forces, but has to scatter them. He wants to hold combat initiatives to develop his strength and strong points, but is put in a passive position to face our strength and advantageous fighting methods. He wants to launch attacks, but is put in a defensive position. He wants to destroy our force, but his force is destroyed by us. He wants to use his strength to destroy our potentials, but his potentials are greatly reduced. His strategies have gone bankrupt one after another. The more he tried to exert great effort, the heavier his defeats; and he exerts even greater effort only to have more disastrous results, and so on to his final defeat.

Thus, a big country with a big aggressive force equipped with ultramodern weapons can be impotent and completely defeated by a small nation with /courageous and intelligent people who are determined to fight and know how to fight/.

Along with the defeats on the battlefield is the bankruptcy of the U.S. imperialists' outmoded belief that a "large force, modern equipment, and the strength of an air force could achieve victory." And following suit is the collapse of the myth about "the unimaginable strength" of U.S. troops.

With the aforementioned war-waging formulas and military art and the proper application of them according to different conditions, the heroic Vietnamese people have continually achieved great victories in implementing brilliantly the wise thoughts of Engels, presented 120 years ago: "A nation which wants to gain independence must not restrict itself to conventional war-waging formulas. To have uprisings by the masses, revolutionary war, and guerrilla bands operating everywhere is the only formula. Thanks to this, a small nation can defeat a big country and a moderately armed force can resist a strong and better organized army." (Engels; "Defeat of the Piedmont People," NEW RHINE RIVER newspaper, 1849)

/The Party leadership is the main factor deciding the victories of the all-people uprising and people's war/

During our party's extremely glorious process of leading the revolution, President Ho said:

"Right after its birth, the party organized and led the very heroic struggle of the Nghe Tinh Soviet.

"At age 12, it organized the guerrilla movement fighting the French and the Japanese.

"At age 15, it staged and led the successful August Revolution. At age 17, it led the resistance war which it won at age 24."

Our people are now waging the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance war, the greatest war of resistance in their national history.

Experiences from our country's history of national liberation struggle for the past 100 years and more have demonstrated that in our time, national liberation wars, revolutionary wars of a true people's nature, can be launched on a uniform basis and can win complete victory under the leadership of the party and working class. /Our party's leadership constitutes the essential condition and the main factor determining the success of the all-people uprising/ and the people's war in our country, paving the way toward socialism, and preserving /the fruit of the socialist revolution/.

This is because our party /is the Vietnam workers new-style party/ having a thoroughly revolutionary spirit, a scientific Marxist-Leninist theory, a strict and disciplined organization, and close relations with the masses.

Our party's emergence resulted from a combination of Marxism-Leninism with the Workers' movement and the Vietnamese national liberation movement. Ever since its birth, our party has assumed the unique leadership over the revolution in our country. It is the party of the working class and of the Vietnamese people as well. Today, only the workers party--the most resolutely revolutionary class representing the socialist solution formula, the basic interests of the masses, the large ranks of workers and laborers, and the basic and long-range interests of our people--can be our people's legitimate leader, can hoist high the national and democratic banner, can lead the national democratic revolution toward complete success and the country toward socialism, and mobilize and lead our people in arising and in pursuing the revolutionary war until victory.

Only through our party can we have revolutionary courage to resolutely mobilize the masses, from bare hands, to stand up to attack the colonialist and feudalistic imperialists' ruling yoke, to overcome every difficulty and hardship, and to defeat the cruel and powerful aggressor imperialists, including the U.S. imperialists--the ringleader imperialists and the No 1 enemy of world people. Fulfilling, at all costs, the revolutionary tasks, our party has become a party experienced in leading the all-people uprising and war. It possesses correct and creative revolutionary lines. It has /firmly grasped the laws governing the revolution and the revolutionary war/.

exercising resolute, bold, and scientific leadership over the implementation of political and military lines.

The party has closely associated itself with the masses, forming a steadfast nucleus for the all-people great unity bloc. As a result, the party has further mobilized the large and great forces countrywide to closely unite around it, to overcome every challenge, and to lead the revolutionary offensive toward victory.

The party's leadership over the all-people uprising and the people's war has been reflected primarily through determining correct political and military lines, setting forth /the tasks/ and the basic and urgent /goals/ of the revolution, and determining and leading the implementation of revolutionary methods, the forms for organizing forces, the struggle measures and tricks, and the most appropriate, sharpest, and the most effective and revolutionary combat methods, as mentioned above. Party leadership has also been demonstrated by the following points:

/1--To continuously and vigorously carry out political motivation among all the party, army, and people, cultivate and highly develop Vietnamese revolutionary heroism, cultivate the spirit of determination to fight and win, build the greatest political and moral strength in order to defeat the enemy, and achieve by every means the objectives set forth for each period and the revolutionary objectives./

Lenin said that "in the final analysis, victory in any war is determined by the spirit of the masses shedding blood on the battlefield. The masses' awareness of the objectives and cause of the war is of very great significance and is a guarantee for victory." (Lenin, Complete Works, Vol 31, p 115, in Russian) [paragraph continues]

While leading the people's war, /our party/, complying with Lenin's teaching, /has constantly given top priority to educating the masses regarding the war line and the revolutionary tasks and political objectives of the war, constantly motivating the masses politically, and strenuously enhancing the political and moral factors of the revolutionary war/.

/The political and moral strength of the war is determined primarily by the revolutionary line and the political objectives of the war./ The party's revolutionary line and the political objectives of the revolutionary war reflect the law governing the development of history. They also reflect our people's profound aspirations, primarily those of the masses of workers and laborers. Once this line has deeply permeated the masses, it is translated into an intense revolutionary determination or will and into an extremely great motive force underlying the revolutionary war. In the war, our party has persistently and systematically educated the party members, army, and people regarding the revolutionary line and tasks, the objectives of the war, the correct assessment of the balance of forces and the development trends existing between us and the enemy, and the protracted, arduous, yet inevitably victorious character of the revolutionary war. Our party has constantly intensified political education and strengthened ideological leadership in the army and among the people, educating them regarding the sense of class and national consciousness, intensifying their love for the country and for the new system--the people's democratic and socialist system--and enhancing their proletarian, internationalist spirit. [paragraph continues]

our party has disseminated among the masses President Ho's great principle: /"Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom"/ and determined-to-fight spirit: /"Prefer to sacrifice everything rather than let the country be lost and serve as slaves."/ Developing the determined-to-fight-and-win spirit and the spirit of sacrifice for national salvation, our party has constantly conducted an ideological struggle against erroneous tendencies, especially the rightist thought and the tendency to fear a protracted war, hardship, and so forth.

One of our party's great successes has been /to improve the Vietnamese revolutionary heroism/ and collective heroism which have been highly developed and have become new ethics and fine qualities permeated among millions of people and combatants, from the frontline to the rear, in all combat positions, and in all struggle aspects of the revolutionary war.

The Vietnamese revolutionary heroism is the crystallization of the working class revolutionary character and our people's fine virtues: It is the high spirit of heroically and courageously making sacrifices and of not shrinking before any enemy authority or any difficulty and danger. In coordination with intelligence and resourcefulness, it creates revolutionary methods and tricks to defeat the enemy in all struggle aspects. It is reflected in a concentrated manner in President Ho's commendations to our people's armed forces and our heroic people: /"Fulfill any task, overcome any difficulty, and defeat any enemy."/

The Vietnamese revolutionary heroism is the will and determination of our people to win independence and freedom and to protect the results in all fields of the revolution, results which our people have won under party leadership. Our people, who endured countless suffering and misfortunes under the old regime, have enjoyed boundless happiness in an independent and free life under the new regime. Therefore, our people have all the more resolutely fought to the end in order to gain and protect independence and freedom.

The Vietnamese revolutionary heroism is the synthesized result of the deep education and daily training in various aspects of consciousness with regard to revolutionary ideology, intellect, and feelings. This constitutes a concentrated manifestation of enlightenment regarding revolutionary tasks, the war goal, the strong patriotism, the deep hatred for the enemy, the determination to fight and win, and the absolute confidence in our party, President Ho, the people's strength and heroic tradition, the class, and the combat ability of the community and of every individual.

The Vietnamese revolutionary heroism is the great spiritual force of our people, our nation, and the Vietnamese people in the new era and the new social regime. We fought fiercely for national liberation, for the protection of the fatherland, and for national protection and building. The formula for prosecuting the war and the heroic and intelligent military art of our party have been built, shaped, and developed from the realities of the great struggle conducted by millions of new Vietnamese people bearing revolutionary heroism. Only by relying on and highly developing the Vietnamese revolutionary heroism can the party's formula for prosecuting the war and its military art become the masses' actual revolutionary acts and bring about practical successes in the war. The marvelous feats of arms of our army and people, from the frontline to the rear, have been so far the feats of arms of the

vietnamese revolutionary heroism and our party's great achievement in political mobilization and ideological building and in building the new Vietnamese people.

/2--To fully mobilize the potentialities of the people's war, while stepping up the prosecution of the war, gradually fulfilling the revolutionary tasks, strengthening the victorious factors of the war, and insuring the leading of the war toward final victory./

Lenin said that "whichever has more reserves and human resources and whichever can stand more firmly among the masses and people will win victory in a war." (Lenin, Complete Works, Vol 30, p 55)

In our national liberation war, we have attacked strongly and won great victories, and we have defeated large enemy forces with small forces. In order to win victory, we must know how to acquire greater strength than the enemy and how to use the forces of our entire people and country to defeat the imperialists' large, aggressive armed forces in our country. Therefore, on the basis of politically mobilizing all our people, our party has paid special attention to fully mobilizing the potentialities of the people's war and to strengthening the victorious factors of the war.

In the previous anti-French resistance, President Ho pointed out: "The victorious key task of the resistance consists of consolidating and broadening /the united national front/, of consolidating /the worker-peasant alliance/, of consolidating the /people's administration/, of consolidating and developing /the army/ (Ho Chi Minh, Tuyen Tap [Selected Works], p 464) and of consolidating /the party/ and strengthening its leadership in all fields." Today, in the anti-U.S. resistance, President Ho also pointed out: "Our lines and policies are correct, our entire people are united and singleminded, and our armed forces are matchlessly heroic. We are also wholeheartedly aided by the brotherly countries in the socialist camp and greatly supported by friends worldwide. Therefore, we will certainly win, and the Americans will certainly be defeated." (Speech at meeting commemorating the People's Army and National Resistance Day, 1967) This is the comprehensive, adequate recapitulation of the factors and conditions which insure the victory of the people's war, the revolutionary war in our country in the present era.

In the process of war, our party has endeavored to comprehensively and systematically build and improve these factors and conditions of success, thus creating a national force as great as possible and obtaining broad and active support from world people to defeat the enemy.

A very basic matter involved in this objective is that our party has always /grasped and correctly settled the relationship between stepping up the revolutionary war and carrying out step by step revolutionary tasks right in the process of war/.

It has asserted that the party-directed revolutionary war is the most decisive means to guarantee the implementation of strategic missions of the revolution in case the invading imperialism used counterrevolutionary war to oppose our people's revolutionary war. It is necessary to firmly grasp the political objective of the war and to resolutely pursue revolutionary war until victory and to overthrow the ruling yoke of the imperialists and their lackeys in order to achieve the basic objective of the

revolution. On the other hand, in order to strengthen the force of the revolutionary war and improve the factors of success and the force of war in all respects, our party has relied on concrete conditions to lead the people to carry out, step by step, revolutionary tasks right in the process of war. This is precisely the question of grasping the relation between revolution and revolutionary war in the process of directing and guiding the war.

During the anti-French resistance war, our party set forth the policy of /"simultaneously resist and build the country,"/ fighting the three enemies: famine, illiteracy, and foreign aggression. In order to improve the people's strength during the resistance war, especially that of peasants, the greatest force of the resistance, our people led them to carry out democratic reforms, gradually implement its land reform plan, and advance toward motivating the masses to thoroughly reduce land rent and realize /land reform/. This is a correct and inventive policy of our party.

In the present anti-U.S. national salvation resistance war, in the north, our party has advocated /simultaneously carrying on the resistance and continuing to accelerate the building of socialism/ while changing the economy-building direction according to war conditions with a view to strengthening the economic and national defense potential of the north, stabilizing the people's life, and developing the comprehensive superiority of socialism so as to defeat the enemy in the people's war against his war of destruction and to fulfill the great rear's duty toward the great frontline. This is another correct and inventive policy of our party.

In the liberated areas in the south, under the leadership of the NFLSV and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, our people have fought bravely, regaining and preserving revolutionary achievements and /building while fighting/ a people-mastered political, economic, and cultural new life.

These policies of our party have established steady economic and political bases for improving the people's strength comprehensively during the resistance war, consolidating the worker-peasant alliance--an alliance between the working class and agricultural laborers in a national democratic revolution and between the working class and the class of collective peasants in a socialist revolution--the people's administration, and the united national front, heightening the fighting strength of the people's armed forces, and consolidating and strengthening the party's leadership.

In wartime, /the coordination between accelerating the resistance and carrying out step by step revolutionary tasks also means coordination between intensifying the frontline and consolidating the rear, between fighting the enemy and building and improving our forces so as to make them ever strong as they fight/.

The gradual implementation of revolutionary tasks /in wartime is also a very basic measure to improve and develop the masses' great political and spiritual strength/ and highly develop Vietnamese heroism, building for it a firm basis on the new production formula of the people-mastered new social regime.

/3--To build and consolidate the party's leadership system, from central to local organs, among the people's armed forces and among all other masses' organizations, and in the military, political, economic, and cultural struggle realms, in order to insure the party's comprehensive, concentrated, and united leadership in wartime./

The party's leadership is the decisive factor for success in the war. This is true and necessary not only vis-a-vis the whole war, but also vis-a-vis each locality and struggle aspect. Our revolutionary war attacks the enemy using the synthesized strength of all revolutionary means and every other means to fight the enemy everywhere while building forces in every aspect. Therefore, in a long struggle process, our party must build and improve its leadership system, from top to bottom, among the people's armed forces and all forces, on the military front as well as in all other struggle aspects, according to the requirement: "the party's leadership is where the masses' struggles are" and "insure the party's comprehensive, concentrated, and united leadership."

Our party has /built and consolidated the party's leadership system, from central to local organs/, from the party Central Committee to party echelons on battlefields and in provinces, districts, and townships. In the regular army, the organizational system of the party extends from the Central Military Affairs Party Committee to company basic party chapters. Moreover our party set forth four relations between the party's army organs and local leading organs, thus insuring the party's concentrated and united leadership vis-a-vis all the forces and regional as well as nationwide struggles.

In rural areas, the township is the fundamental unit of the people's war. The township party chapter and party committee constitute the staff of the people's war in townships. In the anti-French resistance as well as in the present anti-U.S. resistance, we made each village a bunker and each township party committee and chapter a staff of the people's war. The township party chapter has led the people in building combat villages, developing guerrilla warfare, strongly stepping up political struggle, safeguarding the people, regaining and maintaining local revolutionary administrative power, and in coordinating their own combat with that of main force troops, along with leading the people in developing production, building a new life, consolidating the rear, and providing the front with manpower and supplies. All the party Central Committee's wartime lines and policies have been carried out in townships. Without the local party chapters' resolute and active leadership, we would never have a strong and persistent anti-aggressive national movement. To lead the people's war, /every echelon's leadership must be comprehensive/, encompassing all struggle aspects which are essentially military, political, and military and enemy proselyting struggles. It also must build strength in all aspects--military, political as well as economical--along with consolidating the people's mastership while fighting. The long war has made it necessary for our party to have a well-formed organization. Each of the party's leading ranks has much experience in organizing leading organs for struggling and building--organs which materialize the party's comprehensive, concentrated, and united leadership vis-a-vis the people's war as a whole. This is the key condition for creating an efficient synthesized strength leading the people's war in each locality.

Since the August Revolution's success, our party has become the ruling party. The people's administration, led by our party, is our party's and people's important and unique tool for organizing and carrying on the revolutionary war. Our party has unceasingly strengthened the leadership of the people's armed forces, the people's administration, and the united national front from central to regional echelons, developed to the utmost the functions and resources of these organizations under the united and centralized leadership of the party. Only by so doing could we satisfactorily ensure the mobilization and organization of the strength of all our nation and people to fight the enemy.

To strengthen party leadership in the war, it is necessary /to step up the building of the party, the training and improvement of cadres and party members, and to constantly strengthen and improve the party chapters./

/The cadres and party members/ have the duty to propagandize, educate and organize the masses to carry on the party's lines and policies in the war. Therefore, the training and improvement of cadres and party members is a key problem in understanding the party's leadership in the war and an important point in the party building task. It is necessary to constantly have a strong--both quantitatively and qualitatively--cadre organization to meet the requirements of the leadership task in the development of the war. It is necessary to positively develop the strength of new party members, to consolidate the leadership strength everywhere, and to guide the masses in the struggle to win victories on every battlefield.

In the training and improvement of cadres and party members, /primary consideration must be given to the improvement of the class and vanguard character of cadres and party members./

In the war, the /cadres and party members must have the sound stand and ideology of the worker class and Marxism-Leninism, patriotism, revolutionary eagerness, a staunch fighting spirit for the sake of national liberation and communism/, and a willingness to rush ahead in the class struggle and the violent struggle of our people. For scores of years, our cadres and party members have raised high their heroic fighting spirit under all circumstances, attracting the affection and confidence of the people. Many of our cadres and party members have heroically sacrificed themselves for the fatherland's independence and freedom, for socialism, and for the revolutionary enterprise of our party and people. This is a pride and an honor for our party.

To fulfill the leadership task in the war, /the cadres and party members must be capable of leading the masses in the military struggle and in other fields of activities/ of the all-people and comprehensive war. Military training has become an urgent problem for cadres and party members in the army as well as for other cadres and party members. In the preparations for an armed uprising, the party Central Committee called on cadres and party members to actively undertake military training. In the anti-French resistance and when the war entered a violent and decisive phase, the second party congress held in 1951 issued a resolution on "the military training in the party" (Second Party Congress Document) and "the direction for the activities of all branches in the service of the resistance" (Third Party

Congress Document). In the present anti-U.S. resistance, our cadres and party members have rapidly matured, gaining numerous experiences on the military front and having many opportunities to carry out their tasks, thus insuring communications and transportation, economic building, and cultural, educational, and public health development under fierce war circumstances.

The contingent of cadres and party members trained in this protracted war constitutes very valuable capital for our party to lead the war to final victory and to constantly step up the revolution.

As the cells of the party and a part of the masses, party chapters must connect the party with the masses and lead them in accelerating the revolutionary war at bases and to stalwartly and resourcefully struggle against the enemy on all fronts, every day and every hour, under every difficult circumstance. It is necessary to improve the tasks of party chapters, to set up strong party chapters in the army, localities, and rural and urban areas, from the frontline to the rear, in the enemy lairs, and in heavily embattled areas, and to strengthen them so they can lead the masses at bases and reinforce party leadership in war. /A party chapter is a leading nucleus of the resistance in bases. Without strong, stalwart, and skillful party chapters, people's war cannot develop strongly and widely on all fronts./ Local party chapters in the army must constantly hold aloft the party's leading banner, stand firm under every circumstance, skillfully lead combat and other struggles, and achieve comprehensive, concentrated, and unified leadership in localities as well as in army units.

/It is necessary to consolidate and improve party chapters in every respect, to pay major attention to the link of educating and developing party committees, to improve the leadership task of party chapters/, to closely connect the consolidation and perfection of party chapters with the task of leading localities and army units to struggle successfully and to satisfactorily carry out other tasks, to consider the fulfillment of the leadership task of party chapters in war as an objective, and to consolidate and perfect party chapters through the completion of this task.

During scores of years of resolute struggle of our party, many stalwart party chapters emerged, worthy of being steel bastions, leading banners, and a solid nucleus of people's war at bases, in localities, in many army units, on the frontline, in the rear, in combat, and in the service to combat. Our people's heroic, resourceful struggle has tempered and trained stalwart, able party chapters for our party.

Through practical experiences and with their warm revolutionary sentiments and reason, our people have manifested their absolute confidence in our party. Our people are very proud of our party and of the great leader Ho Chi Minh. Our party is closely connected with the masses. Our people are closely united around our party and remain its faithful followers. Only our party can correctly combine class interests with national interests, /combine the class factor with the national factor, and genuine patriotism with lofty international proletarianism/, carry on our national glorious traditions, and open the way for our people to advance toward a brilliant future. Only our party can mobilize the greatest strength of the nation

and win the greatest support from the world revolution to defeat the imperialist aggressors. The fact that our party's leadership has been constantly consolidated and strengthened constitutes the essential condition for victory in the all-people uprising and the people's war.

/Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom! Hold high President Ho's glorious banner and bravely advance toward defeating completely the U.S. aggressors./

The past dozen years represent but a short period of time in the national history, but during this short period, under the party's leadership, our people, our nation, have won repeated great successes. The face of our country and our nation has changed completely. The era of independence, freedom, and socialism for our country has begun. The Ho Chi Minh epoch, the nation's most glorious epoch, has been inaugurated.

Our people's successes have all resulted from the party's stalwart and clear-sighted leadership and correct political and military lines, associated with the name of President Ho, the founder, trainer, and leader of our party and the beloved father of our people's armed forces.

President Ho was a great leader of the working class and our nation, a talented strategist, a national hero, and an outstanding combatant in the international communist movement and the national liberation movement of this century. He was "a noble symbol of the thorough combination of genuine patriotism and international proletarianism" (party Central Committee's oration read by Comrade Le Duan, party first secretary, at the solemn memorial service for President Ho). President Ho was the first communist to apply Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of our country, setting forth a revolutionary line filled with an independent, autonomous, valiant, and inventive spirit and helping our people to advance steadily. We are extremely proud of our party's and President Ho's revolutionary line, a people's democratic national revolutionary line, a socialist revolutionary line, the people's war line in our country, and a correct international line. Along this line, our country's revolutionary undertaking will continue to advance steadily toward complete victory.

President Ho was a "symbol of the Vietnamese people's essence, of their stalwart and unsubmitting spirit throughout their 4,000-year history" (the party Central Committee's oration read by Comrade Le Duan, party first secretary, at the solemn memorial service for President Ho) and of the thoroughly revolutionary spirit and the constant revolutionary spirit of the workers class. President Ho stated: /"Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom." "We will sacrifice all rather than lose the country and live as slaves."/ He also said: /"Only socialism and communism can liberate the oppressed peoples and the workers worldwide from the yoke of slavery"/ ("The Path Leading Us to Leninism"). This is the consolidated truth from the long process of national struggle to our national liberation. This is the truth of the present era, in which the workers class, which is the genuine leader of the national liberation struggle, opens the way toward socialism. This is the indomitable spirit of our nation and our people's unshaken revolutionary determination. This

thought of President Ho is a vigorous spiritual motivation and encouragement for our people who have overcome and are overcoming countless hardships and sacrifices, determined to gain independence and freedom.

President Ho told us: /"Our people's anti-U.S. national salvation struggle, although it must undergo many more hardships and sacrifices, will certainly be completely victorious. This is certain."/ (President Ho's testament)

The anti-U.S. national salvation resistance is the **greatest** resistance in our national history. This is the fierce confrontation of forces on the battlefield in our country between the most revolutionary forces and the most reactionary forces in the present era. Our people's successes are also the common successes of the revolutionary forces and progressives worldwide. Fighting the U.S. aggressors until complete victory is our people's present sacred national duty and lofty international obligation.

The U.S. imperialists have been seriously defeated and are going downhill. Yet they remain very stubborn in their plot to invade the southern part of our country and in playing their evil role as international gendarmes. Nixon's policies, since his accession to power and, especially, his 3 November 1969 speech, have exposed the U.S. imperialists' evil design and stubbornness. Through the "Vietnamization" policy, the U.S. ruling clique still continues to seek a military solution from a position of strength, to turn "Johnson's war" into "Nixon's" and to stubbornly pursue its aggressive war. The Nixon administration continues to plunge deeper and deeper into the military adventure in Vietnam. This is a challenge to our people, the revolutionary forces, the peace forces worldwide, and American progressives.

Our people have repeatedly defeated the U.S. imperialists, from the neocolonialist ruling policy represented by the Ngo Dinh Diem's fascist regime to their model "special war" and the strategy of the "limited war" during the highest U.S. escalation. How can the U.S. imperialists, on the verge of defeat and decline, hope to win victory by continuing to prolong their aggressive war, by carrying out symbolic U.S. troop withdrawals, and by reverting to a modified and patched-up "special war?"

The U.S. imperialists have committed and are committing many "unpardonable" crimes against our people. They have perpetrated many barbarous massacres of our compatriots, such as in Ba Lang An and Son My, and many other new Oradour and Lidice cases everywhere in the southern part of our country. They are like the cruel Huns and are the most barbarous fascists in the 20th Century.

With deepening hatred for the landgrabbers and countrysellers, the southern compatriots and the liberation troops on the great heroic frontline, under the leadership of the NFLSV and the Republic of South Vietnam's Provisional Revolutionary Government, are upholding their determination to fight and frustrate all war schemes of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, to achieve, at all costs, independence and freedom, and to advance toward peacefully reunifying the country.

Our entire party and all our troops and people are resolved to implement our oaths of honor before President Ho's soul: /"We will forever carry aloft the banner of national independence, resolved to fight and defeat the U.S. aggressors to liberate the south, to defend the north, and to reunify the country with a view to meeting President Ho's desire." "We are determined to completely defeat the U.S. aggressors and successfully build socialism."/ (Central Committee's oration read by First Secretary Le Duan at President Ho's memorial service)

The protracted revolutionary struggle full of hardship, sacrifices, and also glorious victories has forged our people and army. Our people are very heroic. Our country is a heroic one. Our army is a heroic one. As for our party, as President Ho said: "With all the modesty of a revolutionary, we still have the right to say that /our party is really great."/ (Ho Chi Minh, Tuyen Tap [Selected Works], p 764)

The strength of militant solidarity of our people nationwide under President Ho's glorious banner is invincible. All brother socialist countries and progressives worldwide are daily following our people's struggle and heartily stimulating us. No reactionary power can prevent our people from steadily advancing toward victory.

Thoroughly imbued with the /"nothing is more precious than independence and freedom"/ thought of President Ho and firmly holding on to the invincible weapon which is the party's correct political and military line, our people's armed forces uphold revolutionary heroism and the determined-to-fight-and-win spirit and, together with all people, persevere in and accelerate the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance struggle until complete victory, advancing toward building a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous, and powerful Vietnam, and holding on forever to the beautiful land of the heroic Vietnamese people.

Our people will certainly win!

The U.S. imperialists will certainly be defeated!

CSO: 3520-P

VIETNAMESE MILITARY ARTS CONSTANTLY DEVELOP AND TRIUMPH UNDER PARTY BANNER

[Article by Colonel General Van Tien Dung; Hanoi, Hoc Tap, Vietnamese, No 12, December 1969, pp 89-115]

Having a 4,000-year history, our Vietnamese nation has maintained a tradition of very valiant armed struggle. Faced with aggressors having strong military and economic potentials and vast armies equipped with numerous weapons, our people have had to conduct many liberation or self-defense wars to regain and safeguard their independence and freedom. In the process of our struggle against foreign invasion, Vietnam's military art came into being, developing unceasingly and making important contributions to the nation's victories. The armed uprisings and liberation and self-defense wars led by the two Trung sisters, Lady Trieu, Ly Bon, Mai Thuc Loan, Phung Hung, Ngo Quyen, Le Hoan, Ly Thuong Kiet, Tran Quoc Tua, Le Loi, Nguyen Trai, Nguyen Hue, and others were immortal feats of arms representing our nation's stalwart, unyielding spirit and military art.

Since the emergence of our party, which assumed leadership over the Vietnamese revolution, our people have inherited and developed in one new step our nation's age-old military art bearing the nature of the working class, on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist position and viewpoint and of our people's revolutionary struggle under the leadership banner of the party and working class in the new era, the era of victory of the socialist revolution and national liberation revolution, thus responding to the requirements of a successful struggle against the imperialists' modern aggressive armies invading our country.

The great victories of the general uprising of August 1945, of the 1945-1954 resistance against aggressive French colonialism, and of our people's present anti-U.S. national salvation undertaking have demonstrated the superiority of Vietnam's military art over that of any imperialist aggressor.

In the 1945-1954 resistance, our people alongside their people's administration and their young people's armed forces, rushed forward and defeated 480,000 troops (including 240,000 expeditionary troops) equipped

with modern weapons of the aggressor French colonialists. Though assisted by U.S. imperialism, French colonialism could not avoid defeat in this aggressive war. The more our armed forces and people fought, the stronger they became, and they constantly developed their offensive stance, staging attacks from a small to a large scale and from a regional to an all-out basis. The 1953-1954 winter-spring military campaign with the notable, historic Dien Bien Phu battle, constituted a mortal blow smashing the French-U.S. aggressive plan and was also a step of high development of the military art of our people's war in this resistance.

In the present anti-U.S. national salvation undertaking, Vietnam's military art, on the basis of experiences gained in the 1945-1954 resistance, has constantly developed in a brilliant way unprecedented in our nation's history. Following the great 1959-60 general uprising, our southern compatriots, under the NFLSV's glorious banner, have been conducting the people's war valiantly and defeating the U.S. imperialists' "special war" strategy. Shifting to the "limited war" strategy in 1965, the U.S. aggressor dispatched major U.S. and satellite army units en masse to South Vietnam, while waging the war of destruction against the North.

They have thrown into this limited war more than one-half million expeditionary troops, composed of 68 percent of its infantrymen and paratroopers and 60 percent of its marines; 32 percent of its tactical air force (including 75 percent of its "actually effective" U.S. wings and 50 percent of the remaining U.S. combat planes to be used to recoup losses on the Vietnamese battlefield); 20 percent of its strategic air force; 36 percent of the Navy's air force; and 66 percent of the U.S. Navy's aircraft carriers. But the U.S. imperialists have sustained ignominious defeats. According to still incomplete statistics, in the 4 years of the "limited war," U.S. casualties reached 650,000; 20,000 planes were lost, (including those downed in North Vietnam); and about 40,000 military vehicles, over 2,000 warships and combat launches, and thousands of cannon were destroyed. The U.S. aggressors have sustained heavy defeats and are headed for total defeat. Our troops and people countrywide have won and are resolutely advancing toward final victory. The realities of the past 4 years' victorious fight have reflected the courage and fighting ability of our troops and people countrywide. Faced with a cruel enemy -- U.S. imperialism, the richest and more powerful imperialist in the imperialist camp -- all our people have not only dared to fight him, but also have been determined to fight him and known how to fight him. In the north, the military art of the people's war has defeated the U.S. aggressors' war of destruction waged mainly with its air force. In the south, the military art of the people's war has defeated its "special war" and "limited war." Our military art has been continuously improved, making big leaps forward, and has won increasingly big victories. This is pride for our nation and our generation, for the revolutionary line and military line of our party, and for the Vietnamese military art of the great Ho Chi Minh era.

The Source of the Basic Strength of the Modern Vietnamese Military Art

The Vietnamese military art's strength and constant progress and development originate from the following bases:

1 -- The party's political line, military line, and leadership are the decisive factors of the formation of the source of strength and constant progress of the modern Vietnamese military art.

We are very proud of our military art which is imbued with our best national traditions. Our military art is the art of waging the armed struggle in self-defense wars or liberation wars in our country -- a country small in terms of territory and population -- to defeat the enemy aggressors who are much stronger than us in the fields of economic and military potential and who can concentrate a large quantity of weapons, equipment, and troops on the battlefield. It is the military art of a just struggle waged on the territory of our fatherland.

War is a continuation of politics. Our revolutionary war is aimed at carrying out our party's political line and revolutionary tasks. Our party's political line is the line of the people's national democratic revolution advancing toward socialist revolution in Vietnam. It reflects the creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the realities of the Vietnamese revolutionary struggle. It reflects the close association between national liberation and class liberation and between patriotism and proletarian internationalism. It reflects the close association between the nation and international obligations of the Vietnamese revolution in the present era. Our party's correct political line and leadership not only has mobilized, encouraged, and organized all our people to arise and struggle for the implementation of this political line, but also has helped us win the sympathy, support, and assistance of the socialist camp and revolutionaries worldwide. The progressives of the countries which have sent their troops to invade our country also have arisen to protest against their own authorities, protest against the imperialist aggressors' war in Vietnam, and support the Vietnamese revolution. Our revolutionary undertaking, like our revolutionary war, is an organic part of the international revolutionary movement. They have relied on the great advantages of the world revolution's present offensive posture and on the sympathy, support, and assistance of fraternal socialist countries and world revolutionary forces. The ever-great victories won by our revolution and revolutionary war have stimulated and contributed to the development of these factors' influence upon our revolutionary war, thus increasing our advantages and the enemy's disadvantages.

Our party's political line and leadership have stimulated our revolutionary forces and governed their organization. They are the bases of the military ideology, line, and art of the Vietnamese revolution and revolutionary war. As a people who lost our country, we rise up empty-handed to carry out the revolution, a war of liberation. We can defeat the enemy who is stronger and better organized than us only if we use all the struggle forms and methods of all the revolutionary forces of all our people.

Our troops and people have resorted to the most appropriate, most advantageous, most resolute, and fiercest forms and methods to struggle against the enemy, creating a combined power and a combined position of strength to defeat him. We have struggled with the power of all our people and our armed forces -- composed of the three forces -- on all fronts. We have struggled against the enemy on the military, political, and diplomatic fronts, through attacks by the armed forces, uprisings by the masses, and military proselyting, through attacks by small guerrilla and large units, and through small-sized, middle-sized, and large-sized attacks. We have attacked the enemy in the mountainous areas, the rural areas, in the delta, and the cities.

By fighting the enemy with self-reliance, we have simultaneously learned how to gain international help and to use it most correctly and efficiently. While attacking and annihilating the enemy, we have realized our people's right of collective ownership. This right of collective ownership has been realized not only in liberated areas, but also, to a varying extent, in areas temporarily under the enemy's control, including cities. We must realize the people's right of collective ownership where they are. Only by realizing the people's right of collective ownership while annihilating the enemy can we develop our strength. The more successful the realization of our people's right of collective ownership, the stronger is the development of our strength; the more intensified the annihilation of the enemy, the broader is our offensive position. We have known how to persistently fight along with unremittingly and strongly stepping up our struggle to increasingly gain greater victories so as to advance toward finally victory.

We have known how to learn from experiences, improve them, and creatively use the experiences of our brother countries. Our procedure for waging the war as well as our armed struggle methods has entirely originated in our country's concrete revolutionary struggle conditions in the present era. We do not bind ourselves to any fixed form or method of struggle. We have been deeply influenced by Lenin's teaching: "Marxism differs from all primitive forms of socialism in that it does not bind the movement to any unique and fixed form of struggle. It admits the most completely different forms of struggle, but, at the same time, does 'not make them up.' It only starts from the revolutionary classes' spontaneous forms of struggle which appeared in the course of the movement to synthesize, reorganize, and make them be conscious."(1)

In the 1945-54 resistance against the French colonialists as well as the present resistance against the U.S. imperialist aggressors, our people and people's armed forces throughout the country have creatively and actively used very rich forms of organizing forces and methods and forms of struggle to attack the enemy in all aspects. The reality of the war waged according to correct political and military line has trained and improved our organs and methods and forms of struggles, thus increasingly strengthening our forces, which have matured rapidly. The more

developed and coordinated our different aspects of struggle, the greater is our combined strength, which will attack and harass the enemy, step by step gain great and comprehensive successes, and drive the enemy into deadlock and failure.

Armed struggle is a fundamental aspect of our revolutionary war. Armed struggle must be able to destroy the enemy's military forces in order to coordinate and to create conditions favorable for the development of other struggle aspects so that our revolutionary war can achieve comprehensive and great successes. We fight the aggressors by using the strength of the entire people and of three-force armed forces. Therefore, our armed struggle does not use only one fixed form, method, or scale. Various forms, methods and scales are to be used, developed, and closely coordinated in order to actively, resolutely, and continuously attack and annihilate the enemy in each locality, on all battlefields, and in each phase as well as during the entire period of the war.

On the basis of the political line, the assignment and organization of revolutionary forces, the party's revolutionary method, and the people's war military line and art has made constant progress and been abundantly developed, thus contributing to scoring successes in the previous anti-French colonialist and the present anti-U.S. imperialist resistances.

Following are the outstanding points of the Vietnamese military art:

Our military art is that of fully understanding the offensive spirit of our country's just war of defense or of liberation in the present era, the spirit which aims at defeating the aggressive army of powerful imperialists on our fatherland's territory. With our comprehensive offensive position being sympathetically supported by the world's progressive people, we have been defeating the imperialists' absurd war of aggression on our country's battlefields, as well as in their country and in the world.

Our military art is that of the people's war, the military art of the entire people who fight by using armed forces divided up into three primary types of troops. It is the art of coordinating guerrilla warfare with regular warfare, widespread battles with concentrated battles, and small-scale battles with medium and large-scale battles. It is the art of using the enemy's weakness to win great victories, the few to defeat the numerous, and of unremittingly developing our forms, methods, and scales of attack so that our offensive position develops from being modest and regional to being strong and general, thus overwhelming the enemy and advancing toward complete victory.

Our military art is that of closely coordinating armed struggle with all other forms of struggle in order to create the combined strength and position from which to continuously attack the enemy and gain increasingly steadfast and comprehensive victories.

Our military art is that of attacking the enemy in the way chosen by us and which does not allow the enemy to make use of his favorite forms of fighting.

It is clear that the present state of the Vietnamese military art is that of one which has been victorious and developed to a significant degree during the people's greatest war in our nation's history against the aggressive war waged by U.S. imperialism, the top imperialist and the most cruel enemy of the times.

2 -- Our present military art has inherited and developed our nation's valiant, stanch, and indomitable armed struggle tradition.

In our history, since the foundation of our nation by the Hung kings, our nation has had to carry on scores of great anti-aggressor wars. Our Vietnamese people have always held a spirit of fighting and sacrificing for independence and freedom, a spirit of national solidarity and patriotism, and a spirit of persistent struggling against all powerful and cruel aggressors throughout years and generations. Thus, our tradition of armed struggle for safeguarding the fatherland or liberating the country was formed and developed very early.

In the old days, in their resistance against aggression, our ancestors fought enemies who were stronger than they, but both sides were feudal regimes having agricultural economies. Therefore, despite great discrepancies in economic potentials and the sizes of armies, there were no great differences in equipment and weapons. Today, our enemies are the imperialists who possess a modern industry, massive material and technical foundations, numerous troops, high logistic capabilities, strong and rich firepower, and rapid replacement. As for us, from an agricultural country and a colony which fought for national salvation, we have gradually built a number of fundamental defense industries and received material and technical help from fraternal socialist countries. However, we are still inferior to the enemy in regard to concentrated armed forces, economic potentials, material and technical foundations, and modern equipment and weapons. Therefore, the old and present conditions of war greatly differ from each other. However, since we possess our party's correct political and military lines and leadership, our present military art has not only inherited but has, by leaps and bounds, developed our nation's valiant, stanch, indomitable, and resourceful struggle tradition.

From the uprising led by the two Trung sisters, a widespread mass movement which overthrew the domination administration and established an independent, national administration, to the successive armed uprisings, the Vietnamese nation has had a glorious tradition of uprisings for overthrowing aggressors' yokes. This tradition was strongly developed in the new era in the Nghe-Tinh Soviet movement, in the Bac Son uprising, in the Nam Ky uprising, and especially in the August 1945 general uprising which regained national mastership throughout our entire territory and led to the founding of the DRV.

From the uprising led by Phung Hung to the Lam Son uprising, our nation began a tradition of opening liberation wars by uprisings; then, coordinating military with political struggles, attacks with uprisings, and proselyting among the enemy, our people had continuously, over long periods of time attacked the enemies to achieve complete success. This tradition was strongly developed in the 1945-54 anti-French colonialist resistance and has been particularly developed in the present anti-U.S. aggressor resistance.

From the Trung sisters' uprising to Nguyen Hue's battles, the outstanding traits in the history of our people's military art had been fantastic schemes and clever stratagems, (Tran Quoc Tuan period), patience and endurance (Trieu Quang Phuc, Phung Hung, and Le Loi period), and speedy and fierce attacks (Ngo Quyen, Le Hoan, Ly Thuong Kiet, Nguyen Hue, and so forth). All these outstanding traits have been stepped up to a new level under the new conditions of the present military art. The latter has an increasingly sound scientific basis and has been tested in realistic and victorious struggles.

From surprise attacks during the Trieu Quang Phuc period, and Tran Quoc Tuan's generals Da Tuong's and Yet Kieu's unique attacks using one man to penetrate the enemy's naval bases where they drilled holes in and sunk their combat boats, using the few to defeat the numerous and coordinating small battles with large battles, to the annihilation of Lieu Thang's elements and the complete annihilation of Ton Si Nghi's 200,000 troops. Using the few to defeat the numerous in great battles, our nation developed the tradition of using the enemy's weakness to win great victories, the few to resist the numerous, and winning over strong enemies in small, medium, and large battles. This traditional military art of using the enemy's weakness to win great victories, and the few to defeat the numerous in strategic operations, occasionally concentrating troops definitely stronger than the enemy's according to the need of each battle, was developed step by step to fit the recent resistance against the French colonialists, as it was in the present revolutionary war against the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression.

Since the late 1959 general uprising, our southern compatriots' and NFLSV have synthesized and highly and creatively developed the experiences from the August revolution and the 1945-1954 resistance as well as our people's experience and generations-old traditions and the world people's struggle experiences.

By successfully solving the military struggle problems for defeating U.S. imperialism, the strongest aggressor in the era, our present Vietnamese military art has become the most distinguished and progressive one in our people's history. This is due to our people and people's armed forces who, under the party's leadership, have known how to use the era's most progressive and scientific thoughts and reasoning -- those of Marxism-Leninism and the party's political, ideological, and military lines -- to illuminate

the inheritance and development of our people's resourceful and valiant traditional military art. Also, along with selectively assimilating our fraternal countries' experiences, we must unremittingly improve our military art in the war process.

3 -- The steadfastness and the definite superiority of Neosocialism, the popular democratic regime, and socialism are the foundations for the certain victory of the Vietnamese military art.

Our military art relies upon two fundamental elements: One is man, the other is material and technical foundations; but man is the most fundamental element. Voluntarily taking part in struggles, men -- including the masses and the army -- will highly develop their capabilities in all aspects and in many excellent struggle ways to defeat the enemy. Men's attitude vis-a-vis war is always closely linked with political goals and with the social system to be achieved by this war and to be built after victory. Aimed at liberating the oppressed peoples and classes and building a new social system, revolutionary wars will surely be joined by the great masses and will create new fighting methods having a great winning power. As noted by Lenin, "Once the oppressed laborers actually participate in a revolutionary war and pay attention to it, and once this war makes them conscious of the necessity to struggle against the exploiters, this revolutionary war will surely stimulate their eagerness and help them accomplish extraordinary deeds." (2) The power of the revolutionary military art originates from here.

Our people's revolutionary war under party leadership was aimed at overthrowing the colonialist and feudalist regime, setting up a people's democratic regime, and advancing toward socialism, thus contributing to the world people's revolutionary undertaking. That is, it was aimed at liberating our working class, laboring people, and all our people. That is why it succeeded in mobilizing all our people -- especially the majority of our workers and peasants -- to arise and struggle, in developing all the material and moral forces of our people and country, and in winning over the all-sided assistance from the socialist camp and world people. Our people's unique and creative military art, which took shape, developed, and improved day by day during past decades, is the military product of our people's national democratic revolution and socialist revolution, undertaken under party leadership. Its strength originates in the correct revolutionary line of our party and in the strength of the people's democratic regime set up in our country after the August revolution and of the socialist system built up in the north after the victory in the anti-French resistance. As correctly predicted by Engels, "the liberation of the proletariat will also have its own military manifestations and will create its new special fighting methods." (3)

The new social system creates great political and moral powers, new organizational capacities, and new material and technical -- first of all and mainly, political and moral -- conditions in order to continually develop the military art and its power.

Indeed, during the forties, to overthrow the colonialist and feudal rule and achieve national independence and people's democracy, our people arose, organizing our own forces, using all available weapons, undertaking guerrilla warfare and partial uprisings, and quickly advancing toward general uprising in the early days of August 1945. Obviously our people's military art during the August general uprising drew its power from the fact that our people, countrywide, voluntarily arose. Under party leadership, the masses organized their own forces in the shortest time and invented many lively and varied fighting methods in order to attack the enemy's administration and military forces and regain power for the people.

Due to new conditions -- such as, the people's democratic administration was building the new system, our political and economic forces were developing, and our military forces were composed of three forces -- our military art made a big leap forward during the people's war against the French colonialists. When the People's Republic of China came into existence, the rear of our resistance war was linked with socialist countries, the material bases of our armed forces were improved, the precious combat experiences of fraternal countries were appropriately applied, our troops' combativity was strongly strengthened, and so forth. Thus, our military art made a new step forward. In particular, when our party launched the mass movement to reduce land rent and carry out land reforms, our peasants were mobilized, the national united front was consolidated, the worker-peasant alliance was reinforced, and our troops and people were improved materially and morally on the frontline as well as in the rear. The military art of our people's war further developed its great strength, especially during the 1953-1954 winter-spring campaign, and primarily during the Dien Bien Phu campaign.

During the present anti-U.S. national salvation resistance, the new social system in the southern liberated areas, where the people are the masters, and the socialist system in the north have created new great strengths to quickly develop our Vietnamese military art.

It is the strength of the militant solidarity of 31 million Vietnamese people who, under the leadership of a correct political and military line, are resolutely fighting for the independence, freedom, and unification of the fatherland and for socialism. It has been brilliantly reflected in this teaching by President Ho: "Thirty-one million of our compatriots in both zones regardless of age and sex must be 31 million combatants who heroically annihilate the U.S. aggressors to save the country and who are determined to achieve final victory!"(4)

This is an organized strength of the masters of the new social regime. Depending on the new regime, our people can organize their forces scientifically and rationally, mobilize all forces quickly, create numerous ways of using forces and many skillful fighting methods, develop the combat posture of all forces to the highest degree, and fight the enemy in a most effective way.

This is the material and technical strength brought by the new social regime (produced by ourselves with the assistance of brotherly socialist countries). Due to that we can constantly improve and increase the modern equipment for the three troop categories of the people's armed forces, further develop new military branches and forces, increase the firepower, mobility, and assault might of the people's armed forces, the people's ability in combat and in the support services, and the potentials of the people's national defense, and constantly develop the military art of people's war.

The strength of the new social regime is concentratedly manifested in the new men. Now our troops and people, our cadres and combatants have a high political and ideological level and a relatively high educational level. Thus they can quickly assimilate known military knowledge and cleverly use all weapons and equipment, both modern and rudimentary. They are also in good health. Thus they can fulfill arduous and complex tasks under present war conditions. These are fundamental factors creating the invincible power of our military art.

The great military victories of the people's war over the "limited war" in the south and of the people's war over the war of destruction in the north in the past few years are evidence of this invincible power. These victories have been constantly connected with the all-sided power of the people's democratic regime in the southern liberated areas and of the socialist regime in the north and with the power of the socialist camp and the revolutionary forces worldwide.

4 -- The heroic combat spirit and creative intelligence of our troops and people has constantly enriched and perfected our Vietnamese military art.

The Vietnamese military art is the national salvation, anti-aggression, and national defense military art of a people whose territory is not large and whose population is not numerous, but who are resolute in resisting a bigger and more powerful aggressor. Its moral basis is our people's age-old traditional stanchness, courage, and intelligence, associated with the Vietnamese working class thorough revolutionary spirit and great creative spirit. Only by operating on such a basis can we give birth to an art consisting of using a weak force to defeat a stronger force and a small force to defeat a bigger force, invent unique fighting methods and create a strong position and force to attack and defeat an enemy who is stronger than us from a standpoint of numbers and technical material and equipment. During the decades-long process of our people's revolutionary struggle, armed uprisings, and national salvation war, our party succeeded in mobilizing and improving the greatest moral power of our people, especially our workers and laborers. This power is composed of the deep consciousness of the revolution's objectives and the war's political goals set forth by our party, the class consciousness and national consciousness, the intense love for the country and socialism, and the association between

patriotism and proletarian internationalism. All these components have been reflected in these simple and immutable truths that the great President Ho taught us: "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom" and "we prefer to sacrifice everything rather than lose our country; we are determined not to become slaves." It is thanks to this highly enlightened combativity that in the face of a bigger, stronger, and cruel enemy, our troops and people have dared to fight him, have fought him resolutely and well, and have won.

Faced with each required objective in the attack and with each and every enemy soldier, only he who dares to attack and is determined to attack can apply fighting methods and invent new fighting methods to supplement and develop his old fighting methods. Yet if he is determined to fight, but does not know how to fight, he not only cannot achieve victories, but also cannot avoid losses; he cannot become stronger and cannot fight for an extended period of time. If he does not dare to fight, he cannot apply any good military art; nor can he mobilize powerful military potentialities to defeat the enemy. If we have both enlightened combatants and a good military art, we will surely defeat an enemy who is stronger than us in the fields of numbers, equipment, weapons, and techniques. We can invent new fighting methods and enrich and perfect our military art only if we have an enlightened fighting spirit.

The heroic fighting spirit and wonderful intelligence of our troops and people have caused each of our people, combatants, and cadres, when facing an enemy, to continually discover the enemy's gaps and weak points and find the most efficacious fighting methods in order to annihilate the largest number of enemy troops, while restricting our losses to the minimum. Our military art is imbued with the mass viewpoints and practical views of our party; thus, it has paid special attention to studying and recapitulating the creative combat experiences of the masses in order to perfect them and disseminate them widely. Our army and people are united. They have learned from one another and have constantly heightened the degree of their military art in order to win. Our military art has fully used and has upheld, organized, and combined all brave and resourceful combat methods of our army and people. It has been victorious in every battle, every locality, every campaign, every military situation, and in the entire war. Wherever the enemy is, every citizen, every combatant, every three-man cell, and every unit of our armed forces has constantly heightened its positive and active spirit, determined to search for and annihilate the enemy. With his experiences available, everyone has constantly and creatively devised new combat methods which certainly can help defeat the enemy. Wherever the enemy is, our army and people have taken the initiative in attacking him with the combined strength of the people's war. With these combat methods and with this combined strength, we can materialize a position stronger than the enemy's on the battlefield, even though he has superiority in terms of military strength and modern weaponry and equipment. From this base, we have constantly developed our offensive strategic position, from small to large scale and from localities to the entire country. The

southern compatriots and liberation troops, with their self-conscious combat spirit and their intelligence and creativeness, have rapidly materialized a position stronger than the U.S. aggressors' in order to continue to attack them right at the time when they massively rushed 180,000 to 400,000 and more than 500,000 U.S. troops into the southern part of our country. The southern compatriots and liberation troops have painfully defeated and bogged the U.S. troops down, forcing them to retreat deep into a strategic defensive position and to suffer one heavy defeat after another right at the time when the enemy possessed more than 1 million troops on the battlefield.

The high self-conscious combat spirit and the intelligence and creativeness of our army and people constitute a source of unique features of the Vietnamese military art. We are very proud of the mass nature of our Vietnamese military art.

5 -- The long and experience-rich armed struggle process constitutes a practical base from which to rapidly and properly develop our military arts.

Under our party's leadership, our people and people's armed forces have undergone a long combat process from the masses' glorious uprisings in the Soviet-Nghe Tinh movement and the Bac Son and Nam Ky uprisings to the limited guerrilla warfare, the phased uprisings during World War II, the general uprising in August 1945, and the long resistance against the French colonialists and then the present anti-U.S. resistance. The realities of the revolutionary struggle in general and the revolutionary armed struggle in particular of our people are very inspiring in many forms. Judging from the enemy's combat objectives and forms of aggressive war and from our internal and external conditions, each phase and period possessed many completely different characteristics. We fought the enemy at a time when our armed forces were still small, possessed only bamboo sticks, machetes, and shotguns; shared with one another sweet potatoes and salt; and were surrounded by imperialism from four directions. We have fought the enemy at a time when our armed forces matured, when we had the North, which is building socialism, as the vast rear area of the entire country, when we were positively aided by brotherly socialist countries, and when we were supported by the world people's movement.

Because it has firmly grasped the law governing the revolutionary war and that governing the revolutionary armed struggle, and because it has constantly met the requirements in developing the realities of the revolutionary struggle, our military art has constantly progressed, has constantly made leaps and bounds in the scope of strategy, the art of conducting campaigns, and tactics, and has, through each phase of the revolution and the revolutionary war, led our armed struggle in incessantly scoring even greater victories.

In the resistance against the French colonialists, from 1945 to 1954, if the border campaign was our leap-and-bound progress with regard to the

art of conducting campaigns, in this campaign, the tactics of attacking and annihilating the enemy in the Dong Khe stronghold and of destroying the Lo-Pa and Sac-Tong units marked a leap-and-bound progress which led this campaign to victory; if the 1953-54 winter-spring military situation marked a leap-and-bound progress of the strategic leadership art, the campaigns conducted in this military situation, such as those which annihilated the 100th mobile unit, which liberated Kontum, which were conducted deep in the enemy's rear area, in the Bac Bo and Nam Bo Deltas, and so forth, and, especially the historic Dien Bien Phu campaign, marked a new development of our art of conducting campaigns. The 1953-54 winter-spring military situation, whose peak was the Dien Bien Phu campaign, decisively influenced the successful conclusion of the 1945-54 resistance.

In the present Southern revolutionary war, from the period of defeating the U.S. "special war" strategy to that of defeating the U.S. "limited war" strategy, the heroic southern army and people have, under the NFLSV banner, created leap-and-bound progress in the area of strategic leadership as well as in the art of conducting campaigns and in tactics.

In both resistances, our revolutionary forces in general and our people's armed forces have developed constantly and vigorously. Our military art has constantly succeeded in setting forth the most advantageous struggle directions, consistent with every step of development of our armed forces. This art leads our armed activities in effectively serving the development of the resistance forces and in making the most positive contributions of the armed struggle to the strength and the general, combined struggle actions of the resistance in order to win victories before the stubborn, dishonest, and cruel enemies possessing superiority in terms of firepower, mobility, and the strength of concentrated troops.

Our enemy, the form of his war of aggression, the social, political, economic, and cultural conditions, the national characteristics, and the space and time factors of our fight have inherent characteristics which are different from those of other countries. These practical conditions require us to be constantly creative in learning from the experience acquired by the fraternal countries in fighting the aggressors. The practical conditions of our fight also constantly change and, therefore, do not permit us to mechanically utilize our own combat experience which is no longer practicable. In our military art, which must be really courageous and skillful, we must use weakness to defeat strength, use limited capabilities to counter superior capabilities, insure that the more we fight the more powerful we become and the greater victories we win, and advance toward winning total victory.

The realities emerging from our resistance against U.S. aggression have proved that the imperialist U.S. reactionary nature, its political line, and its counterrevolutionary, aggressive war line have determined the adventurous character of its military strategies in Vietnam. The adventurous nature of these military strategies has dictated the subjective, erroneous political decisions and the decisions on leadership over

the war of aggression taken by the imperialist U.S. which has blindly thrown its troops, weapons, and money into the war, thus "escalating" its "limited war" far beyond its initial assessment and, consequently, suffering disastrous defeats. But, though obviously defeated, the imperialist U.S. has remained very stubborn, squirming frenziedly in the hope of achieving an "honorable conclusion" and an "honorable peace." It has persistently prolonged the war by implementing the "Vietnamization" of the war policy through very insidious, perfidious schemes and tricks. This situation requires us to constantly develop our people's military art, correctly and creatively solve strategic and tactical problems and the problems related to the art of conducting campaigns, and insure that our armed forces and people constantly improve their combat efficiency in order to continue to thwart every stubborn, adventurous enemy scheme and act and to win increasingly great victories.

Our party's political and military lines and leadership are correct. We possess traditions of indomitable, stalwart struggle. Our revolutionary social system is firm and unexcelled. Our armed forces and people are courageous, skillful, and heroic. We enjoy the great assistance of the fraternal socialist countries and of progressives worldwide. Our military art has always been a progressive, victorious one. Our Vietnamese people have won and are winning. They will certainly win complete victory. The imperialist U.S. has been and is being defeated, and will certainly be swept away from Vietnam.

Some Unique, Creative Features of the Vietnamese Military Art

The strength of the Vietnamese revolutionary war is the combined strength of our armed and political forces, of the highly inspiring and rich forms of revolutionary struggle, and of all aspects of our struggle, primarily the military and political struggles. The art of leading our revolutionary war is that of fighting the enemy with the strength of an entire people who have arisen with a determination to regain independence and freedom. This art reflects the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary-violence viewpoint and the contents of the revolutionary methods adopted in our country. This is an art of coordinating various aspects of struggle in attacking the enemy in both the rural and urban areas; coordinating annihilation of the enemy and restoration of mastership to the people; and applying and developing the Vietnamese revolution's offensive strategic ideology from the common offensive, strategic position of the world revolution.

The Vietnamese military art is a component of the art of leading the Vietnamese revolutionary war. This military art is deeply imbued with the revolutionary methods and the ways of waging the revolutionary war in our country. Though dependent upon the rules of revolutionary war, it has its own rules.

1 -- The Vietnamese military art is the offensive art of the entire people's armed struggle in all the three strategic areas.

The Vietnamese military art is that of leading the armed struggle in the uprisings and in the revolutionary war. It is essentially an offensive art.

The Vietnamese military art fully reflects the total revolutionary spirit of the working class and our people's stalwart, indomitable spirit which has been demonstrated by their spirit of taking the initiative in actively, resolutely, and continuously attacking and annihilating the enemy.

The spirit of attacking and annihilating the enemy is the nature of the proletarian military ideology, the ideological basis of revolutionary and military strategies, and the soul of our military art. The ideology guiding every act of our revolutionary armed forces and guiding our armed struggle is that of taking the initiative in resolutely and continuously attacking the enemy, strategically, in campaigns, and in combat. The defensive is only temporary, partial, and supplementary to the offensive. It creates conditions for launching attacks.

Any self-defense or liberation wars we have waged to date have been aimed primarily at resisting the foreign aggressors and firmly maintaining our country's independence and freedom, or at toppling their yoke of domination and restoring to our people their sacred right to national independence. To achieve this objective, it is primarily necessary to defeat the enemy's aggressor army possessing superior troop strength and technical equipment and to crush its aggressive determination. In the present era, with thorough understanding of revolutionary methods and of the ways of waging the revolutionary war in our country, we must fight the enemy with the strength of all our people and in all fields of struggle, primarily armed and political struggles. We must closely coordinate all aspects of our struggle and must take the initiative in actively, resolutely, and continuously attacking the enemy everywhere and at any time. Only by comprehensively attacking the enemy can we acquire a generally stronger position than the enemy's, and create conditions for the constant development of our armed struggle to annihilate him. Armed struggle is a special feature of war. Armed struggle plays the main, decisive role in annihilating enemy military forces. Only by extensively annihilating the enemy and winning great victories can armed struggle create conditions for and stimulate the development of the struggle in the political and other fields and can it drive the enemy troops into a position of total defeat.

Faced with an enemy army possessing superior troop strength, firepower, and mobility, only by closely coordinating armed struggle and other aspects of the struggle and by taking the initiative in actively, resolutely, and continuously attacking and annihilating the enemy can we compel him to regularly disperse his armed forces to cope confusedly and passively with the situation, and drive him into a situation in which his numerous forces

remain insufficient, his massive forces become thinly spread, and his strong forces become weak and incapable of providing timely mutual reinforcements, nor of knowing where and when his forces should be concentrated and how his mobile forces should be employed. Thereby, we can create favorable conditions and opportunities for our armed forces to concentrate their strength and, thereby, acquire a combat strength which is more powerful than the enemy's wherever and whenever necessary, in order to attack him and annihilate more and more extensively his strength and war equipment, successfully develop our offensive military position, and advance toward final victory. Even when our armed forces are still small, we could and should attack and annihilate the enemy in order to develop our forces and change the balance of forces increasingly in our favor. We have eliminated every military formula which states that attacks can only be launched when we possess more numerous armed forces and more powerful weapons and technical means than does the enemy. The most outstanding lesson on the success of the Vietnamese military art, which has been drawn from our people's two sacred resistance wars, is that of taking the initiative in actively, resolutely, and continuously attacking and annihilating the enemy everywhere, at all times, with all our forces, on every scale, and through every measure, and constantly developing our small, limited offensive position into a widespread, comprehensive one. The southern armed forces' and people's general offensive and concerted uprisings since early Mau Than spring represent a new development in the art of launching military attacks in coordination with mass uprisings, and in the spirit of taking the initiative in actively, resolutely, and continuously attacking the enemy -- strategically, in campaigns, and in combat. The enemy forces have sustained very extensive losses. Their fighting determination has seriously declined. They have been driven deeply into a passive, defensive position throughout the battlefield in the South. Their great efforts to extricate themselves have only resulted in their sinking deeper into the peril surrounding them.

Keeping a firm hold on the Marxist-Leninist dialectical methods and guided by the view that it is necessary to correctly and comprehensively assess our forces and those of the enemy, the Vietnamese military art has continually developed our strong points and penetrated the enemy's weaknesses in order to attack and defeat the stronger enemy.

In a very fierce and complex war against an enemy with great economic and military potential, such as the U.S. imperialists, the problem of correctly assessing our forces and those of the enemy is not simple. Only through clinging fast to the total revolutionary stand of the working class and strengthening our revolutionary offensive spirit and determination to fight the U.S. aggressors to the end until complete victory can we clear-sightedly and correctly assess our strong and weak points and those of the enemy, clearly realize the might of the inevitable victory of our revolution and people, and base ourselves on these observations to draw up accurate conclusions. To assess our situation and the enemy's correctly, we must set the war between our people and the U.S. imperialists against the characteristics of the present era -- the era of transition from capitalism to

socialism on a world scale. The international socialist system is the firm prop of the movement of struggle for national independence, democracy, and peace. The international revolutionary forces are clearly stronger than the international counterrevolutionary forces, of which the United States is the main fortress. The world revolution is on the offensive. The revolutionary strategy is aimed at destroying each war policy, then the entire war-seeking plan of the imperialists; and at driving imperialism back step by step, destroying it chunk by chunk, then destroying it completely. In our present era, the brilliant just cause of our people's heroic, persevering, and certainly victorious anti-U.S. national salvation undertaking has won over the sympathy and support of the progressives the world over. Our resounding victories on the battlefield and the brilliant victories of our people's military, political, and diplomatic struggle against the U.S. imperialists have increased the power of our just cause and won over the strong support of our camp and all the progressives worldwide. The Americans are boisterously struggling in protest against the U.S. authorities, demanding that they end the war of aggression in Vietnam. The imperialist U.S. has sustained and is sustaining heavy defeats on the Vietnamese battlefield and it is being opposed by the Americans and condemned by and isolated from the world.

Keeping a firm hold on the Marxist-Leninist views on revolutionary violence, the Vietnamese art of leading the revolutionary war and the Vietnamese military art regard revolutionary violence as the violence of the masses and as a close association between military forces and political forces and between armed struggle and political struggle. The revolutionary war in the South is a comprehensive attack against the entire rule of the imperialist U.S. and its lackeys in South Vietnam and is not a purely military attack. The power of the South Vietnamese revolutionary war is the combined power of the revolution and the people's war and is not a purely military force. Therefore, it is necessary to keep a firm hold on the revolution's fundamental problems -- such as revolutionary line, objectives, driving power, and methods, and the mass nature of violence, and so forth -- and the characteristics of the present era in order to correctly assess the power of the revolutionary war, in general, and of the armed struggle, in particular, of our revolution.

The imperialist U.S. believed that in massively introducing 180,000, then 400,000, then 500,000 troops into South Vietnam, it could change the situation, turn defeat into victory, and drive the South Vietnamese troops and people into a defensive position. But through correctly assessing the balance of forces, the southern compatriots and liberation troops have maintained and developed their strategically offensive position and crushed all the U.S. strategic counterattacks, driving the U.S. aggressors into a stalemated, defeated, defensive position. The southern compatriots and liberation troops launched the general offensive and simultaneous uprisings and won unprecedentedly great and comprehensive victories at a moment when the imperialist U.S. "limited war" had reached its climax and when it had more than 1 million troops on the battlefield.

We have correctly assessed the great power of the revolutionary war and the revolutionary armed struggle, correctly assessed the fundamental political and military weaknesses of the enemy's unjust and very reactionary war of aggression, drawn up accurate conclusions concerning the balance between our position and power and those of the enemy, and determined the trend of the inevitable outcome of these factors on the battlefield. Thus, the Vietnam war's art of leadership over war and its military art has perseveringly developed the concept of offensive strategy under very complex circumstances; fully developed the power of the attacks by all the troops and people and all the political and armed forces in cities, rural areas, and mountainous areas; launched continuous, comprehensive and widespread attacks against the enemy; and strongly stepped up the armed struggle in order to win glorious victories. This offensive position has caused the balance of power during the war to develop quickly along a trend increasingly favorable to us and unfavorable to the enemy.

The Vietnamese military art is the art of combining the three branches of the armed forces into a nucleus for armed struggle by all of the people.

Organized at all levels -- from hamlets, villages, factories, and wards to the national level -- our revolutionary armed forces are composed of three forces: the regular force, the regional force, and the self-defense militia. These three forces have used all weapons and equipment (modern and rudimentary) to attack and annihilate the enemy. The task of combining these three forces during the armed struggle is a strategic problem of great significance to deciding the victories of the armed struggle in our people's anti-aggression war.

Our armed forces are often inferior to the enemy in the numerical strength of concentrated troops and in technical equipment. But due to the close association between the military struggle and the political and proselyting struggle in our revolutionary war and due to the skillful coordination of our three troop categories in the strategic, campaign, and combat spheres on all battlefields, we can acquire a position of synthesized strength in which we can keep the initiative in successive offensives, thus forcing the enemy to resist passively, tensely, and wearily. With this coordination on all battlefields, we can always have a force at our disposal to attack the enemy relentlessly, permanently, and successively. We can fight everywhere without dispersing our forces. We can fight vigorously and protractedly at the same time. We can stage permanent attacks while organizing strong activity drives. All units of the three troop categories can take turns at fighting so as to constantly solidify and strengthen their combat posture. Thus, the more they fight, the greater will be their victories and the stronger they will become. With the revolutionary forces' strategic deployment, all of our three troop categories can develop harmoniously and further increase their quality, especially their offensive capacity. Since they are rationally deployed in every strategic area, especially in strategically important areas, they stand in a position from which they can constantly exert a great pressure on the enemy everywhere,

especially in important areas. In all localities and even in areas under temporary enemy control, our strong regional troops and self-defense militia force are present and can serve as a basis for the development of mobile forces in a locality or on the entire battlefield. Despite his very great mobility, the enemy cannot cope with our three troop categories. Since we keep the initiative in using our forces on a suitable scale, we can have favorable conditions to deal surprise blows at the enemy at will. This offensive stance prevailing over the enemy insures that our revolutionary armed forces can operate freely, create opportunities, and choose areas and suitable ways to attack the enemy, especially in strategically important areas, thus making him act according to our will and our movement in the fields of strategy, campaigns, and combat. In South Vietnam, U.S. commanders sadly admitted that our Southern armed forces and people "fight at a time, in a place, and with a force of their choice"(UPI, 16 June 1969).

The Vietnamese military art is that of coordinating armed struggle with other aspects of struggle, mainly political struggle and mass uprisings, and of coordinating the annihilation of the enemy with securing the people's right of collective ownership with a view toward developing armed struggle to its apogee and strongly stepping up the general offensive position of the revolutionary war.

The military art must closely coordinate armed struggle with political struggle and other aspects of struggle and solve the armed struggle problems in armed uprisings and revolutionary war. It is a characteristic of our Vietnamese military art.

Today, on Southern battlefields, the close coordination between armed struggle and political struggle for realizing strategic, operation, and combat tasks is going on under various forms to attack the enemy in three fronts: military, political, and military proselyting. It involves close coordination of all forces and measures to fight the enemy on the battlefield and forming a great combined strength in revolutionary war in general and in armed struggle in particular. To effectively support the political struggle, the revolutionary armed forces are actively, resolutely, and continuously attacking and annihilating the enemy on battlefields and unremittingly speeding up and broadening the scale of concentrated attacks on the basis of widespread guerrilla warfare in all of the three strategic regions. The greater, the more numerous, and the more continuous the military successes, the faster the development of the masses' political force and struggle. This will increasingly create conditions favorable for the masses' political struggle to carry out the task of uniting with armed struggle for foiling the enemy's "pacification" plans, disturbing the enemy's rear area, consolidating and broadening ours, disintegrating the puppets' troops and administration, narrowing the areas under the enemy's control, smashing the enemy's scheme of "using Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese" and regaining and broadening the people's right of collective ownership.

To be closely coordinated with the political struggle, the leadership and implementation of the armed struggle must fulfill the following requirements:

The armed struggle must develop decisive actions in annihilating the enemy's military force and consider it as the main undertaking in support of the political struggle. It is necessary to be thoroughly aware of the political struggle tasks on battlefields, in each area, and each phase, thus being able to coordinate armed struggle with political struggle.

The armed struggle must make intensive efforts to thoroughly use and develop the masses' political struggle and uprising successes, take advantage of opportunities to resolutely and actively heighten the level and scale of attacks which annihilate the enemy's military force, speed the disintegration of the puppets' administration and troops, and stimulate the development of political struggle and uprisings at higher levels.

The armed struggle must be active in coordinating with and supporting the political struggle, by continuously attacking and annihilating the enemy, in order to form a position stronger than the enemy's on the battlefield.

In the anti-French resistance, armed struggle played a very important role. Under such a condition, in many areas and localities, especially on the battlefields located deep into the enemy's lairs (in the Bac Bo delta and Nam Bo area), mass uprising, in coordination with the armed forces' offensive to eliminate local administrators and traitors and to expand and consolidate guerrilla sectors and bases, occurred successively and resolutely, effectively support the extermination of enemy troops and enabling the armed struggle to develop successfully. At present, the Southern revolutionary war, originating from general uprisings, constitutes a means to regain revolutionary administration. In war, mass uprisings and armed struggle are coordinated and support each other. The extermination of the enemy and the regaining of the people's right of collective ownership develop according to each locality and each period. These two events are inseparable throughout the war process and are closely correlated. As a rule, it is necessary to closely coordinate the annihilation of the enemy with the regaining of the people's right of collective ownership, to annihilate the enemy in order to regain the people's right of collective ownership, and to regain, build, and extend this right in order to step up the extermination of the enemy. The essential function of armed struggle and our people's armed forces is to exterminate the enemy.

Influenced by this relationship, the military art of the revolutionary war must help to satisfactorily settle the problem of closely coordinating the annihilation of the enemy with the regaining and expansion of the people's right of collective ownership. The armed forces must know how, where, and when to exterminate the enemy in order to support the people's uprisings to regain the right of collective ownership of rural and urban areas. This fact has a deep impact on the guidance of combat of armed forces, from the choice of an operational area to the determination of objectives and targets

of the offensive and the use of assault forces in every activity drive, campaign, and battle... However, the armed forces must constantly grasp the particular rule of military struggle, make constant efforts to stage simultaneous attacks on an even larger scale and with a higher quality, and exterminate even more numerous important enemy military forces. Along with annihilating the enemy's armed forces, it is necessary to eliminate the wicked local administrative personnel and spy servitors of the enemy. Only in this way can armed struggle assist the relentless regaining and broadening of the people's right of collective ownership, narrow the areas under the enemy's control, and consolidate and unremittingly develop our offensive forces and operational areas.

As shown by experience, armed struggle must be harmoniously connected with the masses' uprisings to regain the right of collective ownership in order to be able to strongly develop its offensive force, operational areas and initiatives on battlefields, always possess a combat strength stronger than the enemy's, and always attack the enemy from a position of strength and initiative. Only in this way can we satisfactorily carry out the task of annihilating the enemy and improving the process of annihilation on the battlefield. When the people's right of collective ownership is broadened and consolidated from highland to lowland and from rural areas to cities, this not only creates new strength, new capability, new force, and new opportunity for developing by leaps and bounds the military offensive position, but also creates a great pressure upon the enemy so that he cannot resist our blows despite his superiority in troops, weapons, and war means.

2 -- The Vietnamese military art is the art of using the few to defeat the numerous and using quality to defeat quantity.

Our people's history of building and defending the country for thousands of years has been the history of a people whose country is small and not heavily populated and who always have had to fight aggressive forces that were better equipped and far more numerous. In the old days, our people were brave, unsubmissive and very clever and had outstanding initiatives in strategies and tactics. As a result, they succeeded in repeatedly and very gloriously defeating a great feudalist country, achieved outstanding exploits, and creating a unique military art. This is the art of "using the few to defeat the numerous and using the weakness of the enemy to win great victories," which brilliantly reflected the heroism intelligence, and creativeness of our people. Our ancestors often said "The enemy relies upon the battlefield, while we rely upon hand-to-hand combat to attack that battlefield, a common occurrence in military tactics." (5) Or they said, "Wise men manufacture strength from weakness and use small forces to defeat large forces." (6) The history of our people's military art is the history of an art of using the few to defeat the numerous, the seasoned combatants to history of an art of using the few to defeat the numerous, the seasoned combatants to defeat a great army.

Since its emergence, and in the leadership of the Vietnam revolution, our party has creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to the concrete situation

of our country, set forth correct political and military line, inherited and developed to a new phase our people's fighting traditions, and at the same time, carefully learned a number of selected experiences from the brotherly socialist countries. In our country, our part has developed to a high degree our military art of using the few to defeat the numerous, and quality to defeat quantity and has improved it under new circumstances.

The art of using the few to defeat the numerous has become popular and has proven brilliantly successful in the present anti-U.S. national salvation resistance. In the South, the PLAF are perfecting the method of annihilating the enemy on a lesser on a lesser scale and with better quality, coordinating annihilating attacks on a part of enemy forces, disintegrating all of his strength, and frustrating combat measures and tactical forms in the "special war" and "limited war" of the imperialist U.S.

Our art of using the few to defeat the numerous has constantly progressed. Strategically, our people have so far used the few to defeat the numerous with respect to concentrated armed forces. However, in the realms of campaign and combat, our armed forces and people have vividly applied the art of using the few to defeat the numerous according to different concrete conditions. Sometimes, our forces are more numerous than, or equal to, the enemy's. Generally, they are less numerous but can win a stronger position from which to attack and annihilate him. In the anti-French resistance, our concentrated armed forces simultaneously used the few to oppose the numerous and the numerous to fight the few, thus coordinating these two fighting methods. In the decisive strategic Dien Bien Phu battle, we concentrated our predominant forces to successfully fight a great destructive battle. At present, in South Vietnam, the art of using the few to defeat the numerous in combat and military campaigns has been applied vividly and developed extensively. The characteristics of defeating the "special war" differ from those of defeating the "limited war" of imperialist U.S. In the direct fight against U.S. troops, an enemy having a great war potential and plentiful, modern technical equipment, the military art of using the few to fight the numerous in the revolutionary war undergoes a new development according to the new conditions under which the fighting spirit, experiences, and combat capacity of our armed forces and people are heightened, our material bases are strengthened, and the enemy's fighting methods are very cunning and constantly changing, and so forth.

The concept of using the few to defeat the numerous and the small to defeat the great is also connected with the need to rationally concentrate forces to exterminate the enemy. Our military art vividly applies and coordinates all combat scales, finding no opposition between the use of the few to fight the numerous and the launching of major attacks to score great victories and the rational concentration of forces to exterminate the enemy. Formerly, with the concept of using the few to defeat the numerous, our forefathers achieved famous military feats, exterminating thousands of enemy troops in every battle. At present, our art of using the few to fight the numerous is that of using a small army to fight a big battle under a unified

plan and command and score a great victory against a specific objective. This is the art of developing and perfecting guerrilla attacks and concentrated attacks, and of constantly raising the level and scope of annihilating attacks in concentrated combat on various battlefields. The determination to concentrate the force necessary to win a great victory is dependent upon the specific requirements and conditions of each battle, the various important points of each locality, and each area of operations. Lenin said: "It is necessary to show that one possesses a stronger force at a decisive moment and in a decisive place; it is necessary to triumph."(7)

Obviously, Vietnam's military art is the art of using a small army to defeat a large army, using a high-quality army to defeat a larger army, developing our strong points to the maximum while restricting the enemy in a protracted resistance war, and reinforcing our army through combat. These points are consistent in theory as well as in practice. Using a small army to defeat a large army has become a principle for our armed forces and military struggles to win in fighting against strong aggressive enemies.

It is due to the following reasons: First, the Vietnamese military art knows how to thoroughly use and develop the comprehensively advantageous strategic position of the revolutionary war and to create a militarily advantageous strategic position in order to use the few to defeat the numerous. In the present anti-U.S. national salvation war, our advantageous strategic position is, first of all, the active and winning position which bears the latent and certainly victorious strength of a just and revolutionary war against an unjust and counterrevolutionary one. It is the strong position of our entire people's revolutionary forces which have arisen to fight for the independence, freedom, and reunification of the fatherland in the correct revolutionary line and revolutionary war which is being sympathetically supported by progressive mankind, including U.S. progressives.

This strategically advantageous position closely linked with the characteristics of the era, relies on the common offensive position and the increasingly combined strength of the world revolution which, from many sides, is attacking imperialism headed by the Americans. It is the U.S. imperialists who, defeated in Vietnam, are encountering difficulties and being defeated in the United States and in the capitalist world, and who are more isolated than ever before. The balance between the revolutionary and counterrevolutionary forces in the world is increasingly advantageous to us.

In the country and on the battlefield, this advantageous position is created by the strength of the comprehensive war waged by the entire people who fight the enemy right in their territory, thus benefiting from wholeheartedness, geographic advantages, and opportunities. This is the unusual position of our people's war against the U.S. for national salvation. This is a war of combtooth tactics to strategically encircle and divide the enemy and one of continuous and increasingly strong attacks of the general offensive and simultaneous uprisings throughout the three strategic regions

of the South. The battlefield is a maze which requires the enemy to greatly disperse his forces. Because of this, despite his many troops, strong firepower, and logistics capability he is short of men everywhere. There are weaknesses and cracks everywhere, all points are threatened, and he can be attacked and destroyed. These are the advantageous conditions for the people's armed forces to use fewer forces than the enemy's to create a struggle strength stronger than his, in order to continuously attack him from a strong position in campaigns as well as combat.

The strategic superiority of the revolutionary war is a very important factor deciding the development of the fighting strength of revolutionary armed forces to use the few to defeat the numerous. In the meantime, the increasing victories in various campaigns and combat, in which the revolutionary armed forces increasingly annihilate the enemy, and the masses' uprisings for regaining the right of collective ownership, increasingly consolidate and develop this strategic superiority of the revolutionary war.

Therefore, the art of creating a combat posture superior to the enemy's in strategy, campaigns, and combat, using the few to defeat the numerous, must, first of all, be that of thoroughly using and developing our strategically advantageous position. It is also the art of every locality, unit, and combat in achieving comprehensive, steadfast, continuous, and increasingly greater successes, in order to maintain and develop our strategically strong and winning position. President Ho, the great master of the Vietnamese revolution, a brilliant strategist, clearly and outstandingly discussed strategic position, the dialectical relationship between position and strength, and that between advantageous position in war and the art of using the few to defeat the numerous. He used a weight to explain to us the enemy's and our present positions. Essentially, he said: "In an advantageous position, the force of a weight of only one kilogram enormously increases and is able to lift a weight of some hundreds of kilograms. This is position winning over strength. In fighting the Americans, we can use the few to win over the numerous thanks to our very advantageous position. Obviously, our position is winning, the enemy's is failing."

Especially, President Ho's following verses, excerpted from his poem "Learning To Play Chess," most concentratedly expressed the leading thought of our people's revolutionary struggle, revolutionary war in general and military art in particular:

 "Watch covertly and resolutely and unremittingly
 Think over your offensive position;
 In clumsy stratagems you will waste your cards
 But in favorable opportunities you will succeed with one soldier
alone."(8)

Second, the Vietnamese military art fully develops the offensive strength of our armed forces composed of three troop categories, using our

higher quality to defeat the enemy's greater quantity. Aggressive forces are usually abundant in troops and weapons. In South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists have had on hand more than one million troops and a large quantity of very modern weapons and war material. But they have lost more and more heavily. Why? Because militarily, the initially low quality of this aggressive army has dropped increasingly due to the unjust nature of the war, the repeated defeats suffered on the battlefield, the increasingly confused situation in the rear, and other reasons. The U.S. imperialists have no other choice but to rely on their large quantity to recoup their low quality and to use weapons instead of men to cope with our people. Our art of using the few to defeat the numerous is no other than that of using our higher quality to defeat the enemy's greater quantity.

In the past, our ancestors attached great importance to using seasoned troops to defeat larger aggressive forces. Tran Quoc Tuan said: "In the military art, what counts is quality, not quantity." Nguyen Trai summarily put it: "Thus, using half strength, we score double achievements." Using higher quality to defeat greater quantity has become our people's tradition and military specialty. At present, our armed forces and people, fighting the United States in both parts of the country, have set many outstanding typical examples of using higher quality to defeat greater quantity. In the North, during the people's war against the war of destruction, our militia and self-defense combatants used rifles to repeatedly shoot down modern jet aircraft, while our air force deployed in small formations to defeat the U.S. Air Force's large formations and so forth. In the South, PLAF combatants, although many times fewer than enemy troops, have rushed into the enemy's lairs, destroying airfields, storage facilities, military bases, and tanks. They sank vessels and annihilated ever greater units of the forces considered as favorite sons of the U.S. expeditionary corps. These marvelous achievements have constituted a brilliant manifestation of a wonderful valiant spirit and an intelligent and skillful fighting method in making use of the art of using higher quality to defeat greater quantity in combat and military campaigns.

Through practical experience, our armed forces and people have further developed their experiences in using the few to fight the numerous and higher quality to defeat greater quantity in small, medium, and great attacks, in battles, and in military campaigns. These experiences help to satisfactorily settle the relation between quantity and quality in building forces and carrying out combat, with quality always being considered the main factor.

Our armed forces' combat quality is the combined strength from these factors: political and military, ideological and organizational, men and weapons, tactics and techniques of all the three troop categories, of which men, political, and spiritual factors are the most important. The combat spirit is the basis on which to develop our ever-victorious military art.

The high quality of troops must be demonstrated by their combat capacity; by brave, wise, stalwart, and vigorous offensives; by crack soldiers, talented and skillful generals, and steadfast organizations; by active and resolute commanders who can exterminate the enemy when engaged in combat; and by their high combat efficiency and their ability to fight many battles within a short time, to attack relentlessly, to take the initiative in searching the enemy to neatly annihilate him, and to score resounding victories. To this end, it is necessary to develop the method of fighting bravely, wisely, and secretly, staging surprise attacks, destroying much of the enemy's strength with a small force, defeating his combat measures and tactics, and frustrating, therefore, his objective in every battle, in every military operation, and in the entire war. Through this fighting method, the more we fight, the stronger we will become, and we can conduct a protracted fight against the enemy and defeat him in every situation and under every complex circumstances.

Third, the Vietnamese military art highly develops the subjective effectiveness of our officers and men, getting each officer, enlisted man, and unit to act resolutely, strongly, wisely, and resourcefully and score the greatest achievements under difficult and complex circumstances.

War is a contest of subjective efforts between the two warring parties on the basis of definite, objective conditions. The subjective effort decides the victory or defeat of war. It is the concentrated reflection of our will, talent, courage, heroism, and resourcefulness. It can transform our forces which are small but of high quality into large ones, make our militant strength stronger than the enemy's and weaken and minimize the large, strong enemy forces constantly caught by surprise and defeated by our offensive blows.

Our military art highly develops the subjective activity, reflected chiefly in the will to attack and destroy the enemy, courage, heroism, positiveness, activeness, resoluteness, intelligence, and creativeness of our entire army and people. In the old days, military strategist of genius Nguyen Hue said: "The fact that a victory is cleverly achieved is due to flexibility and not to the use of the strong to defeat the weak and of the numerous to crush the few."(9) By flexibility, we mean resourcefulness and liveliness in fighting leadership. Our present using-the-few-to-defeat-the-numerous military art is one which compels the enemy to passively cope with our fighting methods and prevents him from developing his strong points and superiority. It requires of our officers and men great efforts, unusual courage, heroism, resourcefulness, mobility, and flexibility and not dogmatism and conservativeness in applying fighting methods. It requires that we choose appropriate offensive directions and objectives, avail ourselves of good occasions to attack the enemy when and where he is negligent, and know how to choose important enemy positions to deal decisive blows. It requires that we highly develop the factors of surprise and secrecy so that when we strike, our blows will be like lightning and thunder, making it

impossible for the enemy to foresee and cope with them. In striking, we should avoid large enemy troop concentrations, while attacking where the enemy is negligent. We should apply the "using a big stone to smash an egg" method, one which can smash any enemy.

Obviously, theoretically as well as in reality, strategically as well as in a campaign or a battle, continually increasing subjective efforts is a key point in the development of the military art of using the few to defeat the numerous and small forces to defeat the larger ones. The stronger the subjective effort, the greater the strength to fight. The more fighting, the greater combat effectiveness becomes; and greater victories are won.

3 -- The Vietnamese military art fully and creatively applies and combines many methods and forms to attack and destroy the enemy and to conduct comprehensive and continuous attacks.

Under our party's leadership banner, the process of development of the all-people uprising and the people's war is that of the offensive art of the revolutionary war which defeated the Japanese fascists and the French colonialists and is now defeating the U.S. imperialists. On the South Vietnam battlefield, under the NFLSV's leadership banner, the heroic Southern army and people have defeated and are gloriously defeating the large U.S. war of aggression in the forms of "special war" and "limited war" along with their latest combat and tactical measures, bankrupting an important step to further U.S. imperialism's global military theory: "Flexible response." In the North, our army and people, enjoying the great assistance of the socialist camp, have gloriously triumphed over the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction, mainly by air power. We have destroyed part of the strategically significant U.S. Air Force composed of modern aircraft and professional pilots, many of whom were "crack" pilots of the U.S. air and naval forces. We have defeated a series of new tactics and techniques of the U.S. Armed Forces. The U.S. Air Force's prestige has sharply declined, and the "myth about the might of U.S. air power" has gone completely bankrupt in North Vietnam.

Our people's war strategies and tactics have strongly developed through these violent tests. We can say in the history of our people's struggle against foreign aggressors, never before have we adopted such a fighting method, full of creativeness and effectiveness, as the one we are now using. In the violent confrontation between our armed forces and people's fighting method and that of the enemy on the anti-U.S. battlefronts in both zones of the country, our fighting method has emerged triumphant.

In the North our people and armed forces have creatively applied many fighting methods, effectively organized defensive measures and gained valuable experiences in various fields: Fully understanding the characteristics, rules, activity schemes and technical functions of the various kinds

of bombs, shells, aircraft and warships of the enemy; to offensive and defensive measures; to mobility and combat; to the close coordination among various forces and army branches -- from the air-defense units, air force, missile units to the regional and people's militia forces -- coordination between the enemy-annihilating task and the defense of our positions and the preservation and strengthening of our forces, and so forth. We have exhaustively employed all kinds of weapons and technical means: Using rifles, submachine guns, and heavy machine guns to destroy the enemy at low altitudes, and using anti-aircraft guns, airplanes and missiles to destroy the enemy at low, middle and high altitudes. We have fully employed all defensive measures and means to reduce our damages to the minimum. Our people's fire network to intercept the enemy and defensive system are the combination of many effective fighting forms, filling the enemy with great fear and reducing the greatest efforts of the U.S. Air Force and Navy to impotence and bitter setbacks. As for our fighting methods, they have constantly and creatively developed.

In the South, our armed forces and people have fought the enemy with all categories of troops, all kinds of weapons and war means, from rudimentary to relatively modern weapons and war means. The Southern armed forces and people have fought the enemy in every way and on every combat scale, adopting highly diversified tactical forms and attacking him everywhere, at all times, and in all the three strategic areas. We fight the enemy under all circumstances and in diversified terrains, that is, in mountainous and delta areas, on hills, in coastal areas, and along waterways, attacking him regardless of whether he is advancing or retreating. We strike not only at the enemy's weak and vulnerable points, but also at his strong points and at the points where and when he has taken precautionary measures. The Southern compatriots and liberation troops have constantly taken the initiative in actively searching for and attacking the enemy. The compatriots and liberation troops on every battlefield, in every locality, and in every unit have constantly and creatively adopted new fighting methods based upon their common experience in order to constantly increase their efficiency in annihilating the enemy. Specifically, during the general offensive and concerted uprising period, the Southern armed forces and people developed their revolutionary tactics in an inspiring manner.

The outstanding success of the Vietnamese military art in creatively adopting and applying various offensive forms and methods has been demonstrated by the two following major points:

-- Closely combining the widespread combat methods of small detachments of regional forces, militia and self-defense forces, and armed masses with the combat methods of the concentrated armed forces; combining small, medium, and large-scale attacks in order to constantly raise the level of destruction inflicted upon the enemy, while broadening the gaining of the right to collective ownership by the people in the strategic zones.

In our national anti-foreign aggression history, our ancestors often cleverly combined the small-scale, widespread combat methods with the large-scale, concentrated combat methods. They had, therefore, succeeded in gloriously defeating the powerful enemies coming from afar.

The history of development of our people's armed struggle, under the party's leadership, began with and progressed from small-scale, scattered attacks and the guerrilla warfare. The guerrilla warfare, with small-scale, widespread combat methods of detachments of regional forces and militia and self-defense forces or, at times, with dispersed regular units, has played a very important strategic role. Years before the August revolution, President Ho himself wrote the book "Guerrilla Tactics." He wrote: "Guerrilla warfare is a method of fighting the enemy by the oppressed peoples opposing imperialism... This time, we conduct an armed uprising to fight the French and Japanese. We will mainly adopt the guerrilla warfare method to fight the enemy. If we know how to conduct the guerrilla warfare, we will certainly win." He also set forth four conditions for insuring victory for guerrilla warfare, which are: It is necessary to have a correct political path, it is necessary to rely on the masses' bases, it is necessary to have steady and well-secured organizations, it is necessary to have a talented combat method... President Ho also said: "It is thanks to this talented combat method that the guerrilla forces have defeated the enemy. The guerrilla forces are a multiform and outstanding army. If we cleverly adopt this combat method, we will be invincible."

To date, through guerrilla and concentrated attacks, both the guerrilla warfare and conventional warfare have developed to a degree completely different with regard to nature from that of ancient eras. Both these combat methods have played an important strategic role. The combination of these two combat methods in the entire war, on each battlefield, and each phase of activity constitutes a problem of decisive significance for the development and success of the armed struggle. These two combat methods with small, medium, and large combat scales rely on one another, support one another, and stimulate one another to develop.

Therefore, the Southern army and people have stepped up the armed struggle of the masses, the militia and self-defense forces, and the regional forces in the entire zone. Especially, the Southern army and people have developed the strategic role of the militia and self-defense forces and the armed masses in small-scale and widespread attacks in both the rural areas and the cities, while endeavoring to develop concentrated attacks on all battlefields, developing the role of the concentrated regular units and regional forces, constantly raise the level of destruction inflicted upon the enemy in concentrated attacks in order to create conditions for the small-scale combat methods and the guerrilla warfare methods to develop vigorously, closely combining small- and medium-scale attacks with large-scale attacks, and using small- and medium-scale attacks as a base for the large-scale attacks by appropriately concentrated forces to win great victories.

--Flexibly combining and using various combat formulas and tactical forms to annihilate the enemy and doom the enemy's combat measures and tactics.

Our army and people have created many unique Vietnamese combat formulas and tactical forms through the practical experiences of war. The Southern army and people possess many redoubtable combat formulas. They have succeeded in destroying much enemy potential and, in increasingly greater numbers, many of his nerve centers, rear bases, and war equipment thus causing him heavy losses in potential and material bases and weakening his fighting spirit. Various ways of attacking lines of communications and bases, as well as combining operations with troop proselyting, have had a great effect upon the constant changes in and development of the forms of tactics.

The Southern army and people have not only highly developed the power of each formula but have also closely combined many combat and tactical formulas in various phases of activity, campaigns, and coordinated attacks, thus creating an increasingly greater offensive strength.

Tactics are the most changing component of the military art. In the present anti-U.S. national salvation resistance, the tactics of our people's war have developed and are developing in an extremely vivid fashion, with many new forms and tricks designed to step up the annihilation of the enemy. In the South, the tactical forms, such as ambushes, raids, attacks on bases, shellings, attacks on airborne landing troops, attacks on the enemy on streets, destruction of posts, attacks on communications lines, and so forth, have constantly changed, thus meeting the ever-increasing requirements as well as developing the armed struggle and combat formulas, especially in the period of general offensive and concerted uprisings. In the North, numerous combat forms were applied and developed in the fight of our antiaircraft and air forces in the people's war against the war of destruction. On the basis of past experiences, the enemy constantly changed his fighting methods and improved his technical means to prevent or avoid our offensive blows; he resorted to many cunning and brutal maneuvers, especially his firepower to cause us many difficulties. Highly developing man's political and spiritual strength, our tactics, on the basis of our determination to fight and win and to positively attack and annihilate the enemy, make wise and skillful use of all weapons and means available and of topographical features and weather of our country, and hold fast to the enemy's situation and activity rules to actively and resolutely stage successive attacks to annihilate enemy army units having numerous, modern weapons and technical equipment. The enemy's tactics are based on quantity instead of quality, thus turning infantrymen into "supporters of aircraft and artillery." Such is the present situation of U.S. troops in the South using modern weapons and means to make up for their weak spirit and combat capacity. Using high quality to defeat large quantity, our tactics develop our spiritual strength and combat capacity, make rational use of all forces and weapons available, and secretly and unexpectedly attack the enemy's weak points to destroy his strong units.

Our tactics are the coordination of the three troop categories, of army branches and forces, and between the active, vivid, bold, secret, and unexpected guerrilla warfare methods and the organizational, disciplined, resolute, and accurate concentrated combat methods. With these tactics, we adapt ourselves to circumstances and operate actively and ingeniously to positively annihilate the enemy. Our tactics highly develop the bravery and subjective activity of each cadre and fighter to achieve plans and objectives. Every person, every team, and every unit knows how to actively fight the enemy so as to coordinate with and reinforce team mates and to win a strong position in every battle and campaign, and in the entire battlefield.

With our tactics, we take the initiative in offensives, resolutely applying fighting methods of our choice, preventing the enemy from applying his skillful combat methods, and making his reactions untimely and his tactics passive and patched up. As a result, the more he fights, the more numerous will be his defeats.

The above characteristics are also the main substance and necessary trend of development of our tactics, manifesting their superiority and inevitably victorious might over the enemy's tactics and having an impact on all tactical forms. As a result, the more we fight, the more successful will be the tactics of people's war, and the more we win, the further they will change and develop and the more creative they will become, thereby satisfactorily fulfilling all requirements in the development of our art, campaigns and strategy.

In war, "At the beginning, both sides are of equal strength, but one wins over the other afterwards." (10) This voices the winning side's strategic skill. Wars in which the bitterly defeated enemies are many times stronger than us in economic and military potential and in the quantity of troops and modern weapons and equipment concentrated on battlefields -- previously the case of the French colonialists and presently that of the U.S. imperialists -- have even proven that our war leadership in general and military art in particular are correct, creative, and definitely superior to the enemy's.

Our people's great successes in our nation's two sacred resistances have proved the present era's brilliant truth that: a nation with not a very vast territory, not a very numerous population, and not a highly developed economy can surely create a procedure to carry on the war and a modern and progressive revolutionary military art for defeating any cruel and great aggressive army. This includes the U.S. imperialists, the top imperialists having the greatest economic and military potential in the capitalist world. But it must resolutely arise and struggle to liberate itself by using the matchless strength of the spirit of "nothing is more valuable than independence and freedom," under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party having correct political and military lines, and know how to essentially rely on its own strength, along with thoroughly benefiting from international help.

President Ho, the leader of genius and the great master of the Vietnamese revolution, together with our party, creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to the realities of our country and opened the "Ho Chi Minh era, the most brilliant era in our people's glorious history. This is the era of our fatherland's independence and freedom and of socialism in our country." (11) Our party's leadership has constantly developed the modern Vietnamese military art which bears the era's sure winning strength to defeat any aggressive enemy.

How proud we are of our party's clear-sighted leadership, a staunch and eminently experienced Marxist-Leninist party which is leading the revolutionary war. How proud we are of the heroic Vietnamese nation's staunch and ir-domitabile tradition and adroit and creative genius.

The U.S. imperialists are being defeated by our people and cannot avoid complete defeat. No matter how stubborn, crafty, and fiery, they will not be able to resist the pattern of historical development, according to which the U.S. imperialists will certainly be defeated and our people will certainly and completely win.

FOOTNOTES

- (1) Lenin: "Marx-Engels, Marxism," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, p 184.
- (2) Military Essays of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin," Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishing House, p 122.
- (3) From "Engels' Complete Works," 'On the Capacity and Prospect of the Anti-French War Waged by the 1952 Holy Alliance.'
- (4) From a speech in a solemn meeting to commemorate the founding of the People's Army of Vietnam (22 December 1944) and the day of national resistance against the colonialist French (19 December 1946), Nhan Dan, 26 December 1967.
- (5) "Outline of the General History of Vietnam," Van Su Dia Publishers, Hanoi, 1958, Volume 5, p 99.
- (6) Nguyen Trai, Collected Works, Khoa Hoc Xa Hoi Publishers, Hanoi, 1969, p 93.
- (7) Lenin's Complete Works, Vol 25 -- Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, p 235.
- (8) President Ho's "Jail Diary," Van Hoa Publisher, Cultural Institute 1960, p 46.

- (9) Tay Son, Volume on relationships.
- (10) Ho Chi Minh: "Prison Diary," (Second Printing), Van Hoa Publishers, Cultural Institute, 1960, p 46.
- (11) From Party Central Committee Funeral Oration ready by First Secretary Le Duan during solemn funeral ceremonies for President Ho, Hoc Tap, Special Issue, 9 September 1969, p 29.

CSO: 3520-D

ERRATUM

Please correct the second line of footnote on page 27 to read "Central Committee between 15 and 20 May 1969." This appeared in serial No. 659, JPRS 49613 dated 14 January 1970.

- END -

