

Wason  
DS531  
USF+

JPRS 64263

7 March 1975

A S I A

TRANSLATIONS ON NORTH VIETNAM

No. 1654

Hoc Tap, No. 12, 1974



U. S. JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE

#### NOTE

Items are complete textual translations of the original except when designated excerpt(s) or summary, when the overall heading "News Briefs" is used, or when editorial compression or compilation is obvious, as in the case of biographic lists and editorial reports.

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

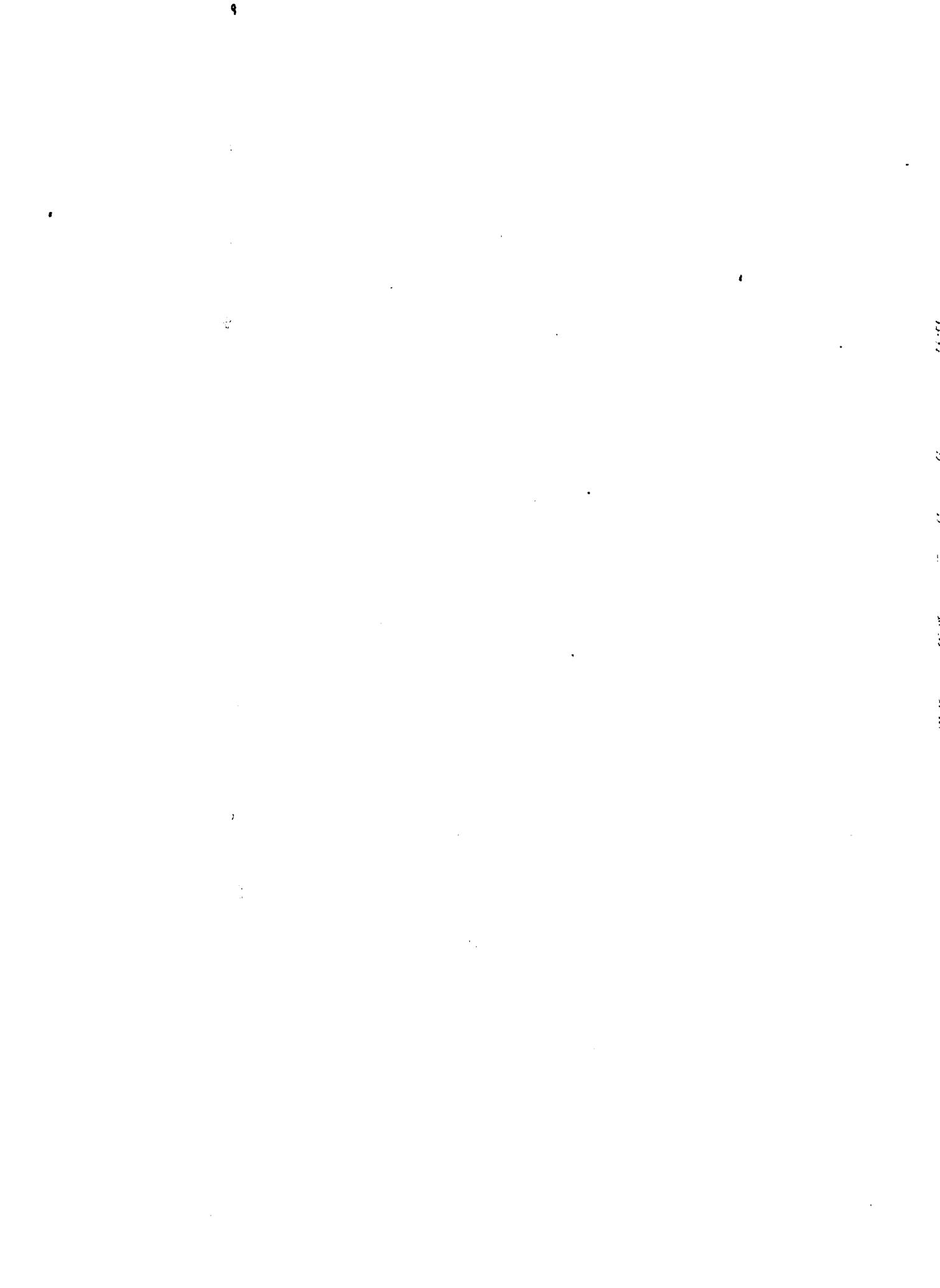
#### PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 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 Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

<b>BIBLIOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET</b>	1. Report No. JPRS 64263	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.
4. Title and Subtitle TRANSLATIONS ON NORTH VIETNAM, No. 1654  Hoc Tap, No. 12, 1974		5. Report Date 7 March 1975  6.	
7. Author(s)		8. Performing Organization Rept. No.	
9. Performing Organization Name and Address  Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201		10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.	
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address  As above		11. Contract/Grant No.	
13. Type of Report & Period Covered		14.	
15. Supplementary Notes			
16. Abstracts  The report contains information on military, political, sociological, economic, and technical developments in North Vietnam, selected from North Vietnamese and foreign newspapers and periodicals.			
17. Key Words and Document Analysis. 17a. Descriptors  North Vietnam Military sciences Political sciences Sociology Economics Culture (Social Sciences) Ethnology  17b. Identifiers/Open-Ended Terms  17c. COSATI Field/Group 5C, 5D, 5K, 15			
Availability Statement  Unlimited availability. Sold by NTIS Springfield, Va. 22151		19. Security Class (This Report) UNCLASSIFIED	21. No. of Pages 109
		20. Security Class (This Page) UNCLASSIFIED	22. Price



7 March 1975

## TRANSLATIONS ON NORTH VIETNAM

No. 1654

Hoc Tap, No. 12, 1974

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

CONTENTS	PAGE
Making Every Effort To Build a Heroic and Strong People's Armed Forces (Editorial).....	1
Quotes of President Ho-Chi-Minh.....	8a
The Invincible Strength of the Vietnamese People's War in the New Era (Vo Nguyen Giap).....	9
Several Problems Involved in Coordinating Economic Development and the Consolidation of the National Defense System (Van Tien Dung).....	46
Upholding the Revolutionary Nature and Traditions of the Vietnamese People's Army (Song Hao).....	66
The Fight To Liberate the City of Hue During Mau Than Tet (1968) (Truong Sinh).....	89

MAKING EVERY EFFORT TO BUILD A HEROIC AND STRONG PEOPLE'S ARMED FORCES

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 74 pp 1-9

[Editorial]

[Text] The emergence of the Vietnam People's Army was a very important event in the course of the revolution in our country. It marked an important step in the building of the revolutionary forces and the conduct of our people's revolutionary struggle under the party's leadership. For the first time in history, the working class, laboring people and people of various nationalities in our country, who were oppressed and exploited under foreign rule, built their own army from nothing. Their army was an instrument of force to fight for the independence, freedom, socialism, and complete national liberation and lasting happiness for the working people.

Since its founding, our army has spent 30 years developing itself and fighting under the party's skillful and clear-sighted leadership and with the wholehearted support and devoted care of the people. It has grown strong and won very glorious victories.

Our army has a revolutionary nature and fine traditions and is absolutely loyal to the fatherland, the party and the people. Our soldiers have displayed a steadfast determination to fight and win, maintained strict discipline, and achieved close solidarity within the army, close unity with the people, and sincere international solidarity. They study very eagerly to make constant progress. They have taken pains to train themselves in order to constantly improve their political and military knowledge and combat skills, fulfill all tasks and defeat all enemies.

Our army possesses comprehensive fighting strength, it is strong militarily, politically, ideologically and organizationally and in terms of revolutionary resolve and knowledge, combat will and talent, material facilities, weapons and equipment.

Together with our people, our army has defeated one aggressor army after another, regardless of whether it was an imperialist army or a lackey army.

It has defeated the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialists, the ringleader imperialists and the strongest in the imperialist camp, the cruelest enemy of all of mankind.

Our army has matured quickly and won glorious victories, primarily because of the fact that it has been built, led, educated and trained by our party. Our party has constantly adhered to the Marxist-Leninist concept of violent revolution and has affirmed that the inevitable path of the revolution in our country is violent revolution. Since its founding and throughout the process of its leadership over the revolution, our party has pointed out: only by resolutely using revolutionary force to smash the counterrevolutionary force of the colonialists and imperialists and their lackeys will national and class liberation be achieved, power be won and maintained, and a new social regime be shaped and defended. Therefore, in any historical epoch--when our country suffered from foreign domination as well as when part of the fatherland was free and independent, when the people engaged in the armed struggle as well as when they engaged in political struggle, when our country was at war as well as when it was at peace, and when our country's revolution had one strategic task as well as when it had two strategic tasks--our party has constantly and firmly controlled and strengthened the tool of revolutionary force by making every effort to build the revolutionary armed forces, a revolutionary army, our party has considered this task a highly important matter of decisive significance in frustrating the enemy's schemes of aggression and enslavement, firmly protecting all of the gains of the revolution, as well as leading the revolution to total victory.

Our party has overcome all the difficulties encountered in building the people's armed forces, organized a revolutionary army and closely led and painstakingly educated and trained it. Our party has shaped the revolutionary nature of our army and provided guidance over all of its development and combat tasks on the basis of the party's political and military lines, the line on people's war and the line on building up the people's armed forces. Our party has determined the ideal, objectives and combat tasks of the army on the basis of the party's revolutionary line, objectives and tasks. Our party has educated and trained the army on the basis of Marxist-Leninist military dialectics and the party's military line. Our party has improved the revolutionary heroism of cadres and soldiers on the basis of the working class' spirit of thorough revolution and of the people's stalwart and indomitable traditions. As a result, our army has adopted correct combat objectives, possesses the fine revolutionary nature of the working class, manifests a steadfast determination to fight and win and has acquired superior scientific and military knowledge and stalwart combat skill.

Our army has won successive victories and continues to strengthen and develop because our people have positively participated in building the armed forces and have wholeheartedly loved, protected and supported our army. Our people are inherently patriotic and fond of independence, freedom and national unification. Because they have an army of their own that has made sacrifices in the struggle for the independence and freedom of the fatherland and for socialism, our people have not spared any effort or sacrifice in

supporting their army. Over the past 30 years, our people have continually sent their sons and brothers to the army, cared for and protected the army with all their heart, given spiritual and material support to it and closely cooperated with it in successfully waging the people's war and further consolidating the national defense system. It is clear that our army's growth and victories have always been linked with our people's strong encouragement, wholehearted assistance and close cooperation. The fact that our army was born of the people and fights for the people has become a source of invincible strength for it.

In the process of building and leading the army, our party has constantly demonstrated that our army's strength is the combined strength of many factors. To create the greatest strength to defeat professional aggressor armies that are bigger than our army in terms of numerical strength and equipment, it is necessary to constantly maintain the political-spiritual factor, which must be considered the most fundamental factor and must be closely coordinated with the factors of weapons, techniques, organization and fighting methods. At the same time, the strength of the armed forces must be coordinated with the strength of the entire people, this is the most correct way to create an invincible strength, a strength with which our army can win every battle.

During 30 years of tests of strength with many enemies, our army has always used the small to prevail over the large, the few to win over the many, and rudimentary weapons to triumph over modern weapons... because our army is a revolutionary and new-type army of the working class and is equipped with the most advanced military theory and political ideology of the era under the clear-sighted leadership of a stalwart Marxist-Leninist party. Our army, with its absolute political and spiritual superiority, knows how to grasp and develop the most fundamental factors in the process of creating combat strength and how to coordinate spiritual strength with increasingly expanded material strength. It has highly developed its bravery and intelligence, constantly improved its knowledge of military science and tactics, and skillfully utilized all available weapons, including the modern weapons and equipment provided by the fraternal socialist countries and the weapons seized from the enemy. Despite all fierce and difficult trials, our people's armed forces, or our people's army, with its combined strength, have won successive glorious victories. On the other hand, the aggressor and puppet armies, despite their greater numerical strength and the fact they have been equipped with more numerous and more modern weapons, have been defeated by our armed forces and people because they are nothing but land-grabbing or mercenary armies of the imperialists and because their morale has been shattered.

This reality affirms that particular attention must be paid to strengthening our people's army politically and morally so that it can become a powerful army. Thus, it is necessary to constantly strengthen our party's leadership over the army. Developing a strictly revolutionary spirit, a revolutionary offensive spirit, a determination to fight and win and an absolute loyalty to the fatherland, party and people among our troops; constantly improving

the network of organizations of our party and of the youth union in the army; consolidating the systems of political tasks and command organizations; and improving and developing a corps of cadres who have well-founded strong political qualities and good leadership and command ability--all of these factors are decisive for the constant improvement of our army's combat strength at present as they have been in the past and will be in the future.

Along with strengthening our army politically and morally, it is necessary to make it militarily strong. Striving to develop and improve the material and technical facilities of our army; improving the organization and strength of the three troop categories and of the armed branches and services in the main force army; constantly increasing the knowledge of military science and the ability to utilize modern weapons and technical equipment; and giving our cadres and soldiers a thorough understanding of our party's ideology and military line and the military tactics of the Vietnamese people's war--all of these very important factors are aimed at insuring that our army constantly maintains a great combat strength and successfully fulfills all missions.

Our people's heroic anti-U.S. national salvation resistance won a great victory. Despite their heavy setbacks, the U.S. imperialists are still unwilling to relinquish their aggressive designs against our country. Over the past 2 years, they have seriously and systematically violated many important provisions in the Paris Agreement on Vietnam and have continued the war according to a new strategic plan, plotting to maintain U.S. neo-colonialism in South Vietnam and permanently divide the fatherland. The Saigon army, supported and aided by the United States and acting on U.S. orders, has launched repeated "pacification" and encroachment operations with a view to eliminating the existence of two administrations, two armies, and two zones of control in the south and destroying all the gains of our people's revolution. Our southern compatriots and soldiers, seriously implementing the Paris Agreement on Vietnam and determined to counterattack the U.S.-Thieu clique's "pacification" and encroachment war and protect the gains of the revolution, have foiled to a great extent the U.S. strategy of Vietnamizing the war under the new conditions.

The U.S. imperialists are still stubbornly and actively strengthening the Saigon army in terms of weapons and equipment and continuing to use military advisers in the guise of civilians to command this army in accelerating the "pacification" and "landgrabbing" war in the south. Meanwhile, they are maintaining a sizable U.S. military force outside our country to intimidate our people and impede their struggle to achieve peace, independence, democracy and national concord and advance toward the peaceful reunification of the country. Moreover, their aircraft have made provocative reconnaissance flights over North Vietnam and violated its airspace. The U.S. imperialists have continued to provide money and weapons to the Phnom Penh puppet clique to oppose the struggle of the Cambodian people for independence and freedom. They have tolerated the Vientiane reactionary ultrarightists' plotting to jeopardize the peace and national concord of the Lao people.

We must closely watch and promptly expose all the dark schemes of the U.S. imperialists in the face of the development and advance of the revolutions in our country, Laos and Cambodia.

Our party has pointed out: "Our entire party and all of our people must constantly heighten their revolutionary vigilance and be ready to cope with all eventualities," and it has established common tasks for the north in the new stage: "achieve unity of all the people, struggle to maintain the peace and endeavor to carry out the socialist revolution; closely coordinate economic development with the consolidation of the national defense system, heighten our vigilance, be ready to frustrate all the schemes of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, and make every effort to fulfill our duty in the revolutionary struggle to achieve independence and democracy in South Vietnam and the peaceful reunification of the fatherland, and fulfill our obligation toward the Lao and Cambodian revolutions."

Therefore, in the new revolutionary stage, building truly strong and large revolutionary forces in both parts of the country--including both political and armed forces and economic and national defense forces--is an urgent requirement for pushing our national revolution forward.

In the current requirement for strengthening the revolutionary force, striving to develop powerful people's armed forces is a very important task.

In the war, our people's armed forces outstandingly fulfilled their key role in supporting our people's struggle against the enemy. Today, they must be worthy as a key force in safeguarding the peace, maintaining the revolutionary gains already obtained and providing a firm base of support for our people's struggle to compel the enemy to implement the Paris Agreement, complete the national democratic revolution in the south, and advance toward the peaceful reunification of the country. Our armed forces must not only fulfill their immediate tasks, but they must also be ready to fulfill all political and military tasks of our national revolution under all circumstances.

The situation and revolutionary tasks in the new stage require that a step forward be taken in the improvement of the combat quality of our armed forces in order to insure victories over all enemies and the fulfillment of all revolutionary tasks.

The people's armed forces of North Vietnam must be strong to defend the socialist north, be ready to foil all the schemes and acts of aggression and sabotage of imperialism and its lackeys, and help the north become strong in all respects and fulfill its duty to fraternal South Vietnam and its international duty. We must heighten our combat readiness while intensively building a strong, seasoned, modern and conventional people's army and developing strong and widespread popular armed forces.

Under the leadership of the NFLSV and PRGRSV, the PLAF are striving to increase their fighting strength, fighting stalwartly and foiling the Saigon

army's "pacification" and "landgrabbing" operations to protect the people's lives and property and the revolutionary administration, defend the liberated areas, maintain the great revolutionary gains and, together with the people, continue to push the southern revolution forward.

The strength of our people's armed forces and people's army originates in the correct revolutionary line and the clear-sighted leadership of our party, in the through support and great assistance of our people, and in the sympathy and support of the people of the fraternal socialist countries and of the peace- and justice-loving people in the world.

This strength has been created on the basis of highly developing all political, military and economic potentials in close coordination with building a firm national defense system. It has been the result of the joint efforts of our entire party and all of our soldiers and people. The fact that our entire army makes tremendous efforts, that all of our people participate positively in building up the army, and that our army and people are of one mind and are closely united under party leadership is a factor deciding success in building a large and strong people's armed forces.

Among the tasks related to the development and strengthening of our people's armed forces at present, that of continually stepping up the building of our army into an increasingly powerful, modern and conventional people's army is decisive to the protection of the gains of the revolution and our army's readiness to defeat all enemies of our nation and class at present as well as in the future. Encouraging their husbands, sons and brothers to join the army to protect the fatherland is a very fine tradition of our people. Enthusiastically joining the army and voluntarily rushing to the frontline to defend the fatherland are brilliant manifestations of the revolutionary heroism and noble qualities of our youth. These qualities and traditions must be constantly promoted and developed. Recruiting activities, which were satisfactorily carried out in wartime, must be constantly stepped up to meet the new requirements of the present task of developing our people's army. As its ranks are reinforced by youths who have grown up under a new social regime, who are politically enlightened, enthusiastic and patriotic, whose military, cultural, scientific and technical knowledge has been constantly improved and who are in good health, our army has more favorable conditions to increase its combat strength and build technical armed branches and services while possessing a source of abundant manpower to develop our party membership in the army and train cadres.

In the new situation, there are favorable conditions for the north to restore and develop its economy and accelerate the building of the material and technical bases of socialism. All of our armed forces and people, adhering to the party's guideline on closely coordinating economic building with the consolidation of the national defense system, must strive to increase the economic and national defense potentials of the country so as to insure the fulfillment of economic tasks and the requirements of the military task.

The military strength of people's war is the strength of the army as well as the people. This is the strength of the people's armed forces, including the main force, local force, and self-defense militia force, which are the nucleus. The strength of the main force army is intrinsically linked with the combined strength of the three troop categories. For this reason, along with positively participating in building a powerful people's army, it is necessary to strive to develop the armed forces of the masses vigorously and broadly. This is the direct responsibility of party committee echelons, administrative and mass organizations and the local people.

If the local armed forces are not strong in peacetime, they will be unable to assume the key role in wartime in the all-people movement to fight invasion in the localities and will also be unable to serve as a stable base for developing the main force army. In the development of the army, if the reserve force is not organized and trained, it cannot stand ready to promptly serve as reinforcement for the standing army in case of emergency.

Coordinating the building of the armed forces of the masses with developing the people's army and the building of a reserve force with developing the standing army is a rule of development of the people's armed forces of our country. The party organizations, administrative organizations, mass organizations and local people must thoroughly understand, comply with and strongly develop this rule in the present situation at a time when our people are simultaneously implementing the two strategic tasks of accelerating socialist construction in the north and struggling to achieve independence and democracy in the south.

Each success in building the armed forces and consolidating national defense requires the great contributions of the masses under the leadership of the party or under the direct guidance of party committee echelons in the localities. If the party committee echelons' responsibility for leading military activities is heightened, if the administrative agencies and local military agencies carefully organize the implementation of these activities and if the participation of the people from all walks of life is positive, the local armed forces will be developed vigorously and widely, the reserve force will be powerful, production will be accelerated, public order and security will be maintained properly, and large numbers of youths will join the army to fulfill their military service.

Along with the aforesaid tasks, leading and organizing the entire people to implement the state and party's policy on disabled veterans and war dead is an important duty of the present military activities.

The party committee echelons, administrative agencies and mass organizations in various localities must concentrate on organizing the proper implementation of these policies, first of all, it is necessary to receive wounded and ill veterans very well, improve the professional skills of those who have recovered their health and of demobilized or discharged soldiers and assign suitable jobs to them, and quickly create conditions for them to fully develop abilities in labor and work and be worthy as the key force

in all revolutionary tasks in the localities. Particular attention must be given to caring for the families of war dead; assisting their old, weak parents who have no helpers at home; and educating and supporting their children, especially those who need direct care, thus making the families of war dead, wounded veterans, and active troops develop the noble revolutionary tradition of parents, husbands, sons and brothers and strive to become exemplary families in their localities.

Performing these jobs well can greatly help encourage the frontline and motivate the rear. This is also a practical way to participate in developing the army and consolidating the national defense system.

Building a powerful people's armed force is a major task aimed at protecting the gains of the revolution and developing the revolutionary undertaking of our people.

The present revolutionary situation and task have raised new requirements while creating new conditions and possibilities for intensively increasing the strength of our people's armed forces.

Our entire party, people and army are determined to build a powerful people's armed force and a strong national defense system and further heighten the comprehensive strength and combat readiness of the people's armed forces.

The heroic revolutionary armed forces of our country, with their stalwart and revolutionary nature and with their tradition of fighting resolutely and triumphing gloriously, are moving forward to satisfactorily complete all revolutionary tasks in the new stage while standing ready to cooperate with the entire people in defeating any enemy who prevents our people from advancing to build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and powerful Vietnam.

In coordination with the emulation movement for "productive labor and to diligently and economically build socialism" among our people, the "determined to win" emulation movement is seething in the people's armed forces. On the frontline as well as in the rear, in combat as well as in construction, for the independence and freedom of the fatherland and for socialism, our cadres and soldiers are devoting all their will and abilities to constantly increasing their combat strength, endeavoring to inculcate a strict self-imposed discipline and build and implement the systems of a conventional army, enthusiastically participating in labor and production, and practicing economy in order to record achievements to celebrate the three major anniversaries in 1975; the 45th anniversary of the founding of our party, the 85th anniversary of the birth of President Ho, and the 30th Independence Day of the DRV. All our armed forces are determined to heighten their combat readiness, fight victoriously, cooperate with the entire people in holding high the "determined to fight and win" banner, fulfill the task of building and protecting socialism in the north, and contribute positively to completing the national democratic revolution in the south and peacefully reunifying the country.

QUOTES OF PRESIDENT HO-CHI-MINH

Our army is a people's army, born of the people and for the people, it fights, is patriotic, loves the people and therefore makes arduous sacrifices.

22 December 1949

Our army has incomparable strength because it is a people's army built by our party and indoctrinated and led by our party.

22 December 1963

Our army is loyal to the party, faithful to the people and ready to make sacrifices in combat for the independence and freedom of the fatherland and for socialism. It completes all tasks, overcomes all difficulties and defeats all enemies.

22 December 1963

THE INVINCIBLE STRENGTH OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE'S WAR IN THE NEW ERA

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 74 pp 11-43

[Essay by Sen Gen Vo Nguyen Giap]

[Text] Part I: Great Victories

We are marking the VPA 30th anniversary and will mark the 45th founding anniversary of the glorious Lao Dong Party following our people's very great victory in the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance, the most glorious in our nation's struggle history against foreign aggression.

For our people and our Vietnamese people's armed forces, the past 30 years have been a period of continuous fighting and glorious victories in the all-people revolt and the people's war against the most truculent powers of the era--from the Japanese fascists to the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialists--for the fatherland's independence and freedom, for the people's plentiful and happy life, for the national cultural and moral values, and for the revolutionary cause of other peoples throughout the world.

The brilliant victories won by our people have been closely connected to our nation's greatest historic period which began with the emergence of the Vietnamese working class party founded and led by President Ho. Applying Marxist-Leninist theory to the specific realities of the Vietnamese revolution, our party set forth the line of the people's democratic national revolution followed by the socialist revolution, thereby guiding our national liberation undertaking along the sole correct path opened for the working people and oppressed peoples throughout the world by the Soviet October Revolution. Our party has also set forth a correct military line for leading wars to liberate and protect the fatherland and staging nationwide uprisings and people's wars in order to achieve the party's revolutionary objectives and defeat the aggressors and their reactionary henchmen in the country.

Through the realities of their struggle and their successive victories over the most wicked imperialist aggressors, our people have proved the great invincible strength of the Vietnamese people's war in the new era.

Our Vietnamese nation has a history of several thousand years of building and protecting the country. In contrast to many countries in the West which emerged with the disintegration of feudalism and the appearance of capitalism, our Vietnamese nation was born in very ancient times in the process of struggle to overcome natural adversities and resist foreign aggression for survival and development. Our Vietnamese nation has successfully staged many just struggles, uprisings, and national wars for the independence and freedom of the fatherland and established a very glorious tradition of heroic struggle against foreign invasion, of which we can be very proud.

There were victorious fights to defend the country during many of the centuries preceding the birth of Christ. There were many uprisings and liberation wars during the 10 centuries of domination by foreign invaders, from the general uprising of the Trung sisters to the people's uprising in Khuc Thua Du's time and Ngo Quyen's heroic military exploit on the Bach Dang River that ended the rule of foreign feudalists.

There were struggles to protect the fatherland and national liberation wars during the 10 centuries of independence and sovereignty of the independent, sovereign Dai Viet country which was built on the basis of the developing feudal system. In particular, the war waged to defend the fatherland in the 13th century by our people who, under the leadership of national hero Tran Quoc Tuan, completely smashed three wars of aggression waged by the Nguyen and Mongol aggressors, the cruelest enemies of mankind at that time, whose cavalymen trampled on Asia and Europe and conquered many countries in the world.

Our national history also includes successful peasant uprisings which developed into revolutionary wars waged by the peasantry against feudalism in the country and evolved into liberation wars which, at the same time, were wars to defend the fatherland against foreign aggression. Under the leadership of Nguyen Hue, a peasant leader and national hero, our people--relying on the strength of the peasant revolutionary movement coupled with the strength of the national liberation movement under the historic conditions of the 18 century--toppled three reactionary feudalist cliques in the country (Nguyen, Trinh and Le), smashed two wars of aggression waged by the Siamese and Ching feudalists, defended our national independence, and achieved national reunification. These wars reflected the coordination of our people's struggle against foreign aggression with the class struggle inside our country at a time when feudalism was declining.

The victories of these just wars and these uprisings and wars for the fatherland's independence and freedom, waged primarily under the feudalists' leadership against the aggressor enemies who were much stronger than themselves, testified to the very great strength of the all-people uprisings and the Vietnamese people's war in past eras. Using the just cause to triumph over the unjust cause, the great cause to triumph over tyranny, humanitarianism to triumph over cruelty, limited resources to triumph over superior resources, a small force to fight a larger force, and a weak force to beat a strong

force are obviously unique Vietnamese military traditions with which our people have successfully defended our beautiful country through many centuries.

Nevertheless, the world situation and our national situation in modern times have undergone very important and profound changes that have raised many new problems to be solved in the life-or-death struggle for national independence and freedom waged by our people, as well as by many other peoples in the world.

As we know, a few centuries ago the Industrial Revolution and the emergence of capitalism marked an outstanding development of productive forces. The volume of material wealth produced in a short historical period of a few centuries far exceeded that produced in all of the preceding periods. In the production of weapons, a big leap forward was made from the use of primitive weapons, such as spears and scimitars, to the production of modern weapons and war materiel, such as assorted weapons, artillery pieces, and warships which were products of capitalist industry. This changed and even upset all military affairs and drastically increased the capabilities of the soldiers and armies equipped with these new weapons and their superiority over adversaries not so equipped.

With these achievements, the capitalists triumphed over the feudalists on a worldwide scale. Engels pointed out: "The walls of the thus far unconquerable fortresses of aristocracy have now collapsed under the impact of bourgeois artillery rounds and the capitalists' infantry rifle bullets have broken through the knights' armored vests."<sup>1</sup>

With these achievements and through cruel colonial wars, only a few capitalist countries, which were very small in population and area but had a developed industry, succeeded in conquering nearly all of the underdeveloped nations in the world and imposed their yoke of colonialist domination on nearly all parts of the world. The underdeveloped nations, although they had ample courage in their just struggle to protect their national independence and sovereignty, could hardly use spears, scimitars, and medieval guns and war vessels to resist the expeditionary armies of the small capitalist countries, which had modern weapons, artillery pieces, and warships. The capitalist "law of the jungle" prevailed over the world. The just cause was trampled. The struggle of various nations entered a dark, hopeless period.

Obviously, a very pressing and difficult problem arose in the struggle for national liberation: How could the small, weak, and economically underdeveloped nations which did not have modern armies and weapons, or which had small, underequipped armies destroy the yoke of colonialist domination and defeat the war of aggression waged by the big imperialist powers which possessed great economic and military potential and professional armies equipped with large quantities of modern weapons and war material produced by capitalist industry?

---

<sup>1</sup>Engels: "Anti-Duhring," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, Second Edition, 1960, p 281.

Our Vietnamese people also faced the same pressing and grave problem.

In the middle of the 19th century, the French imperialists invaded our country. The enemy aggressor was no longer the feudalists, but the imperialists. The feudalist regime in our country had declined. The ruling feudalist clique intensified its ruthless oppression and exploitation of the people, discarding the national banner. The artillery rounds fired from the French imperialists' warships smashed the fortresses of the cowardly king and mandarins of the Nguyen Dynasty. Our people were afflicted with a new disaster: The country was lost and homes were destroyed!

Our people repeatedly arose in struggle against the yoke of domination of the imperialists and their feudalist lackeys. Many patriotic feudalists repeatedly arose, recruited troops and procured horses to fight for national salvation. A number of progressive members of the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie staged rebellions to seize power. However, all of these struggles were sunk in bloodbaths. Some patriotic notables, such as Nguyen Xuan On and Phan Dinh Phung, sought ways to use locally made weapons to cope with the French colonialists' modern weapons, but this, too, failed.

History entrusted our party, the party of the Vietnamese working class, with an extremely important mission: to seek ways to save the country, lead the national liberation revolution, regain independence and freedom for the fatherland, and build an independent, unified, prosperous and powerful Vietnam. Our party had to solve the problem of waging a just war for the liberation and defense of the fatherland by using small forces to fight large forces in a new situation: We did not have to fight and defeat big feudalist enemies, as our forefathers did, but to defeat highly populated imperialist enemies which had greater economic and military power, and powerful, large armed forces equipped with modern weapons.

This problem had never arisen in our forefathers' struggles. It should be added that in the 20th century, following the two world wars, especially World War II, more modern weapons and material were produced--tanks, aircraft, nuclear bombs and missiles--and many achievements were scored in military science and technology as a result of the scientific and technological revolution. Despite the fact that the imperialists no longer had a monopoly over these scientific and technological advances, they strove to take advantage of them to intensify their aggression, oppression and enslavement of various peoples. Thus, the problem appeared insoluble.

It is a great victory for our party that it was able to solve this vital problem, a problem of decisive importance to the destiny of our people and fatherland and one of the major problems of our era. By applying Marxist-Leninist theory and proletarian military doctrine to the specific conditions of our country and developing the indomitable, antiaggression traditions and strategic skill of our forefathers and with its line of the people's democratic national revolution and of advancing toward socialism and its correct political and military lines, our party led our people in the successful

revolutionary struggle, in staging armed uprisings and in waging the revolutionary war in different situations, defeating many cruel imperialist enemies.

The victory of the 1945 August revolution was the initial proof. The Japanese fascists were a powerful imperialist power in Asia. The Japanese Army was a modern one consisting of naval, air and ground forces famous for their seasoned troops which had earned the characterization "fighting like the Japanese" and which were imbued with Samurai traditions; in World War II, it invaded and conquered many countries to establish the Japanese Greater East Asia empire. In only a few days, the Japanese fascists toppled the yoke of the French colonialists to assume total control of Indochina. When our people were preparing for the General Uprising, the Japanese had 60,000 troops, assisted by 30,000 civil guardsmen who served as a tool to readily repress the revolutionaries. At the beginning, our people had no army or weapons; the process of preparing a general uprising, our people had only self-defense and guerrilla units equipped with staves and spearheads and a number of liberation troop units equipped with very crude firearms. How could our people arise to topple the Japanese and French and regain power under such conditions? Many of our people thought an uprising was only an illusion. Yet, the August 1945 General Uprising ended in glorious victory. Taking advantage of the Japanese fascists' defeat in World War II, our people, in only about 10 days, overthrew the yoke of the Japanese fascists, put an end to the French colonialist domination of nearly a century, and smashed the oppressive yoke of thousands of years of feudal rule.

Could our people, who seized a particularly favorable opportunity to stage the uprising that overthrew the fascists' yoke of domination, use war to defeat the imperialist aggressor army? That was another new problem. The French imperialists, the oldtime imperialists of Europe, had longstanding military traditions and extensive experience in colonial rule and colonial wars. The French aggressors' expeditionary army and the local puppet army, approximately 450,000 men strong, were equipped with relatively modern weapons and equipment, including artillery, tanks, aircraft and warships; aid from the U.S. imperialists accounted for some 80 percent of French war expenditures in the last years of the Indochina war. At that time, our country had just freed itself from the yoke of colonial domination, and its economy was a backward agricultural economy; our people's army was a newly organized, small army consisting of approximately 5,000 men in the initial stage. Despite the development of its numerical strength, it was far inferior to the enemy and lacked military experience. Its inadequate weapons consisted mainly of infantry rifles seized from the enemy; it had neither tanks nor aircraft and, in the last years of the anti-French resistance, only a few dozen artillery pieces. However, at the end of a fierce 9-year test of strength between our people and the enemy in the form of a protracted war and armed struggle, it was not the few Vietnamese people who were defeated but the French imperialists and their lackey clique which represented the pro-French reactionary landlords and comprador bourgeoisie.

Could our people, who had defeated the war of aggression waged by the French imperialists, also defeat a war of aggression waged by the U.S. imperialists?

That was the new problem posed when the U.S. imperialists became the major enemy of the Vietnamese revolution, particularly when the Americans sent their modern ground, air and naval forces to invade both parts of our country.

We say it was a new--very new--problem because, although the U.S. imperialists are basically imperialist, they are far different from the French imperialists. The Americans are archimperialists, international gendarmes and the cruelest enemy of mankind. The French were weakened as a result of World War II, but the Americans had greatly enriched themselves during the war. The Americans have the greatest economic and military potential in the capitalist world and an annual gross national income 10 times that of the French. The U.S. national defense budget alone nearly equals France's national income. The United States has the most powerful military forces in the imperialist camp, an army of several million men, including infantrymen, sailors, airmen and marines equipped with ultramodern weapons and materiel--products of the most modern war industry in the capitalist world. The bellicose Americans, with their atomic bombs, have boasted constantly about their so-called "un-imaginable" military strength with a view to bullying and threatening others, ruling the roost, increasing their aggressive acts, and oppressing, exploiting and enslaving other peoples. Bourgeois military experts have propagandized the "weapons" theory of bourgeois military science and magnify the potency of jet aircraft, missiles and other modern equipment. A number of unsteady revolutionaries, feeling dazzled by the extraordinary development of modern weapons and materiel, lost confidence in the strength of the masses and even denied, the decisive role of man in modern warfare. Deemphasized, fear of the United States at one time prevailed in the world! Even in Vietnam, a few people among those who had defeated the French imperialists wondered anxiously whether our people, determined to fight the Americans with their own strength, would be able to defeat the aggressive war of the U.S. imperialists.

In its aggression against our country, the United States applied various aggressive war strategies. It gradually introduced into our country military forces several times more numerous than those it had originally envisaged to wage an aggressive war; although they called it a limited war, it was the cruelest, longest and fiercest large-scale war in the history of U.S. aggression: The United States used almost all of the ultramodern weapons and materiel of its war industry, such as automatic rifles, automatic guns, automatic heavy guns, helicopters of all types, F-111 jet aircraft, B-52 strategic bombers, teleguided bombs, laser bombs, modern electronic devices, etc. The quantity of bombs dropped on Vietnam was treble the total amount expended on all battlefields in World War II. Up to 1.2 million U.S., puppet and satellite troops were mustered on the small South Vietnam battlefield. The number of U.S. troops reached a height of 540,000; 800,000 men including those aboard 7th Fleet ships and at nearby U.S. military bases. The United States mobilized several million American youths for the Vietnam battlefield and spent several hundred billion dollars on the war. It gradually escalated the war on the battlefields of both zones of Vietnam,

even in Laos and Cambodia. Certain that its brutal escalation would shift the balance to its advantage, the United States sent hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops to South Vietnam to wage the local war, it intensively attacked and blockaded North Vietnam, dropped bombs to destroy our strategic transportation routes, used B-52 strategic aircraft to demolish Hanoi and Haiphong, etc. The U.S. imperialists mobilized much of their economic and military potential for a limited war of aggression. As for our agricultural country, its economic and military strength was but a fraction of the U.S. might; despite their outstanding progress, our people's armed forces were inferior to the U.S. and puppet armed forces as regards numerical strength and equipment, especially modern equipment; in particular, the U.S. air and naval forces maintained absolute superiority. Nevertheless, the U.S. imperialists were ignominiously defeated. The four very modern armed services of the U.S. military forces in Vietnam--the Army, Air Force, Navy and Marine Corps--and the puppet army, which was organized and armed by the United States, were all defeated. Thus, the Vietnamese people's war defeated the U.S. imperialists' large-scale war of aggression.

It is obvious that through 30 years of glorious struggle and the victories of the August Revolution, the anti-French resistance and the anti-U.S. resistance, our party and people have added proud new chapters to our nation's history.

For the first time, our party successfully directed a nationwide general uprising. The revolutionary administration was set up throughout the nation. The DRV, the first people's democratic state in Southeast Asia, was founded ushering in an era of independence, freedom and socialism in our country. This initial victory of Marxism-Leninism in a former colony, a semifeudal country, indicates that in their just struggle a people can use a nationwide uprising to end the domination of a powerful imperialist country and regain political power for the people.

For the first time, our party successfully directed a war to liberate the nation and defend the fatherland. The French imperialists' war of aggression was defeated. This successful offensive against the fortress of colonialism indicates that, in their struggle for independence and national sovereignty, a people with a backward economy and agriculture and a small, poorly equipped army can use a people's war to defeat a war of aggression by powerful imperialist countries with large armies and modern equipment.

For the first time, our party successfully directed a war to liberate a nation and protect a socialist regime. The U.S. imperialists' neocolonialist war of aggression was defeated. Our people's marvelous struggle dealt the archimperialists in the imperialist camp a heavy blow. This great victory proves that a small, economically backward country can use a people's war to defeat a war of aggression by an imperialists, including the U.S. imperialists, who have the greatest economic and military potential in the capitalist camp and armed forces with the most modern weapons and materiel, provided that the people of the country achieve solidarity, fight the enemy

resolutely, equip their armed forces and have vigorous, great international support and assistance.

The victories of our people over the past 30 years are very great.

The victory of the anti-U.S., national salvation resistance is truly a great victory.

At the beginning of the 1960's, President Kennedy advocated using Vietnam as a proving ground for U.S. might, for a test of strength with the socialist camp and for testing U.S. methods of suppressing the national liberation movement. This policy was implemented most frantically by Presidents Johnson and Nixon, Kennedy's successors, by mobilizing the largest forces that could be mobilized. Nevertheless, the U.S. imperialists suffered a most tragic setback. Assisted by fraternal socialist countries and the progressive people of the world, our people knocked out the U.S. archimperialists, thereby helping to upset the global strategy of the international gendarmes, putting an end to the myth about the "unimaginable military strength" of the United States, dissipating the fear of the United States and crushing the ultimate weapons theory of capitalist military science. U.S. neocolonialism and the U.S. imperialists suffered a fatal blow. It was mainly because of the failure of the war of aggression against Vietnam that the U.S. imperialists have been driven into a very serious descending position and a critical and declining period never before seen in U.S. history, a period which has been termed by Western strategists as the "post-Vietnam era of the United States."

The great repeated victories, each greater than the previous one, in the just struggle for independence, freedom and socialism against powerful imperialist enemies, with each enemy more powerful than the last, and even against the U.S. imperialists, the most powerful imperialists in the imperialist camp, obviously reflect the very great, inestimable and growing strength of the Vietnamese people's war in the present era. The world already considers the Vietnamese people's war a 20th century epic, a great invention which ranks among the other great inventions of mankind in social struggle and the conquest of nature.

Successfully resolving the problem of how a small nation can wage a just war against and defeat a big imperialist enemy in the new era clearly reflects the invincible strength and development of the all-people uprising and the Vietnamese people's war under the leadership of our party. This success is of decisive significance for the revolutionary cause of our people. It heightens the unshakeable confidence of our armed forces and people in the correct leadership of our party and the inevitably victorious future of our nation. It has provided us with many very valuable experiences which will enable us to continue the people's national democratic revolution throughout the country, protect the socialist north, prepare our national defense on a long-term basis and defeat wars of aggression of all imperialist enemies, no matter how powerful they might be.

This is also an acute problem for many nations, especially small nations, in the present era of the struggle to achieve or protect independence and freedom and oppose all forms of the oppressive, exploitative, aggressive and enslaving yoke of imperialism. Therefore, our people's experience in revolutionary struggle and revolutionary armed struggle, nationwide uprisings and people's wars is considered by peoples of nations throughout the world as an important contribution to the national liberation movement and the revolutionary movement in general throughout the world.

## Part II: The Causes of Success

The invincible strength of the nationwide uprising and the people's war in Vietnam, under the leadership of the party, has deep roots in the age-old history of our nation and in the new factors of the present era, an era in which the working class is playing a key role, an era of the victory of the socialist revolution and the national liberation revolution throughout the world.

Our Vietnamese people won great victories in 30 years of fighting against imperialist aggressors much stronger than we. Our victories were possible because we have a new-type party led by the working class, a heroic people and a superior social system, new-type people's armed forces, creative methods for conducting warfare and a creative military art, as well as great assistance from the peoples of nations throughout the world.

The new-type party of our working class is the organizer of all victories of our people and our people's armed forces. Our party is the party of the Vietnamese working class--the working class of a very revolutionary and heroic people. During the period of foreign annexation, our people were ruled and repressed very barbarously by the imperialists and feudalists. The working class in our country suffered from ruthless class and national oppression, exploitation and enslavement. As a result, our country's working class had a very high revolutionary spirit, it quickly accepted Marxism-Leninism, and it quickly became aware of its class and national rights and realized the close relationship which exists between national rights and class rights as well as the relationship between the rights of their class and nation and the rights of the proletariat and other oppressed nations in the world. Our party, the vanguard unit of the working class, founded and led by President Ho, saw, at an early date, that the course of complete national liberation was the course of the proletarian revolution and it determinedly led our people in the struggle for independence, liberty, and socialism.

The great success of our party was due to the fact that it set forth the correct revolutionary line at the very outset: the line of the people's national democratic revolution followed by a socialist revolution without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. As a result, the party quickly established its right to lead our people's revolution and advance the nation of Vietnam along a correct course of development, one consistent with the laws of development of society in the new age. The revolutionary



line of the party involves the creative application of Marxist-Leninist theory to the realities of the revolution in our country on the basis of correctly analyzing the fundamental antagonisms of Vietnamese society and the overall situation in our country and the world. The independent and creative revolutionary line of the party is the most basic and decisive factor underlying the victory of our country's revolution, the decisive factor underlying the victory of the armed uprisings and revolutionary wars of our people in the fight against strong imperialist powers.

By thoroughly applying the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint of revolution by force and the laws of revolutionary force in our country, the party set forth a correct military line designed to lead the nationwide general uprising and people's war for the purpose of achieving the objectives of the revolution. The military line of the party is the application of the military theory of the proletariat to the realities of the armed uprising and revolutionary war in our country; it represents the continuation and development of our nation's patriotic tradition and skill in the use of small forces to defeat large ones in past stages of history. The military line of the party is the banner of many battles and many victories of the Vietnamese people's war in the new era.

In other periods of our country's revolution, the party, in the face of turning points of the nation, made very brave and correct historic decisions. The order to stage the general uprising, the decision to resist the French, and the decision to fight the United States obviously were policies of decisive importance to the process of the victorious development of our country's revolution and the long range future of the nation of Vietnam.

The party has not only set forth the line, strategy, policy, methods, and stages of development of our country's revolution, it has also organized and led all our people, our entire country, each force of the revolution, the forces of the people, the people's armed forces, and so forth in developing the strength of the new social system in order to complete the tasks of the revolution, carry out a victorious nationwide uprising and people's war, and defeat each aggressor enemy and their lackeys.

Our party has experienced many challenges in the process of leading the revolution and gained much valuable experience under different historical conditions. It has led the revolution when not in political power and when in political power. It has carried out a single revolutionary strategy on a nationwide scale and simultaneously carried out two different but closely related revolutionary strategies. It has led the revolution under the conditions of the people's democratic system and the conditions of the socialist system. It has carried out a limited guerrilla war and an uprising which gradually developed into a general uprising and carried out on increasingly developed and large-scale people's war of an increasingly modern nature. It has experienced many challenges and gained much valuable experience when building the country, developing the economy, and consolidating the national defense system in peacetime and in organizing and leading the economy under wartime circumstances.

Our party is a genuine Marxist-Leninist party. The leadership of the party is the most decisive factor underlying each victory of the revolution and the revolutionary war in our country. Our army and people are very proud of and confident in the leadership of the party, the legitimate representative of the nation of Vietnam in the present era, a party which is totally loyal to Marxism-Leninism, the interests of the working class and nation, and the revolutionary cause of the peoples of the other nations of the world.

The political objectives of the people's war are national independence, popular democracy, and socialism.

Under the leadership of the party, our people have staged a nationwide uprising and waged a people's war to gradually achieve the objectives of the revolution set forth by the party: national independence, popular democracy, and socialism. These objectives of the revolution are the political objectives of the present day Vietnamese people's war, they are the banner which has rallied, mobilized, and organized our entire country, all of our people, to arise and kill the enemy and save the nation. These political objectives determine the just nature, the ability to mobilize forces, and the process of the inevitably victorious development of the uprising of all the people and the people's war.

Our party has always brandished the banner of national independence in order to advance the Vietnamese revolution. For the Vietnam fatherland, independence and liberty are an aspiration, a feeling, and the vital interest of each patriotic Vietnamese citizen. The people of Vietnam lived for thousands of years in the misery of slavery and occupation and lived happy lives in many centuries of independence and liberty. Our people have experienced countless victorious fights for independence and liberty. The fight for the survival of our fatherland has won very great victories but this fight must continue. Therefore, our people, more than anyone else, clearly understand the happiness of an independent citizen and the misery of one who has lost his liberty. "There is nothing more precious than independence and liberty"; these immortal words of President Ho are a great truth of the age, a truth which is deeply imbued in each Vietnamese citizen, young and old, male and female alike. For this reason, the banner of national independence which our party has constantly brandished over the past several decades has mobilized and inspired all of our people, our entire country, to arise and destroy all country-robbers and their traitorous lackeys.

According to our party's revolutionary line, national independence is linked with popular democracy. In the previous centuries of our country's history, to motivate the people to rise up to kill the enemy and save the country, the progressive feudalist cliques formulated the policy of administrators issuing orders to the people and achieved a certain number of democratic features within the limitations of the feudalist system. The war to liberate the nation and protect the fatherland led by national hero Nguyen Hue had the new strength of peasants' uprisings and the coordination of the national liberation movement with the peasants' movement for democratic freedoms.

The democratic national revolution presently advocated by our party is a people's democratic national revolution led by the working class. In its 1930 platform, in addition to the slogan stressing the need for a national liberation revolution to eliminate imperialism, our party also adopted the slogan "agrarian reform" to overthrow the feudalist clique and supply the tillers with land. Therefore, our party quickly won the right to exert leadership over broad sections of peasants, set up a firm, solid worker-peasant bloc, and thereby asserted its right to lead all the people. The nationwide uprising and people's war directed by our party were aimed not only at restoring national independence, but also at giving land to the peasants and democratic liberties to the people and at building a people's democratic regime in our nation. For this reason, all of our people, particularly our workers and peasants, who constitute the hardcore element, fought very heroically to protect the supreme interests of the fatherland and set up a new social system in Vietnam. They created a new, very great force that patriotic intellectuals and patriotic representatives of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie of the anti-French period could not achieve because of their failure to include the "land to peasants" slogan in their national salvation platform.

The people's democratic national revolution led by our party is completely different from the democratic national revolution led by the bourgeoisie. The objective of the people's democratic national revolution is to advance toward socialism. It is socialism that will end foreign domination; do away with oppression and class exploitation; completely liberate workers, peasants and the working people; bring about social justice; and build the best society that mankind has always longed for: the socialist and communist society. Under the party's leadership, our people have participated in the struggle to bring independence and freedom to the fatherland and build in our country a society in which everyone can enjoy a decent life and study as he likes, where the national character is maintained and developed, everyone's talents and abilities are developed and human dignity is respected.

Thus, the political objectives of Vietnamese people's war in the new era have obviously developed in terms of quality and class substance as compared with the earlier uprisings and national warfare in our country's history. Herein originates the invincible strength of people's war. The more these political objectives have reflected the objectives of the revolution set forth by the party, the larger were the forces mobilized for resistance wars. The anti-U.S. national salvation resistance was a fierce test of strength between the most revolutionary forces in our country and the world and the most reactionary forces. Our people in both zones of Vietnam have arisen to fight to liberate the south, complete the people's democratic national revolution throughout the country, protect the socialist north, proceed toward peaceful national reunification and contribute to the revolutionary undertaking of the world's peoples. The objectives of national independence, popular democracy, and socialism in this resistance had the effect of highly mobilizing all national, democratic and socialist forces in our country. The new social system--the system of socialism and popular democracy--has developed vigorously. The forces of peace, national independence and

socialism in the world have supported and assisted us. The "for the people and of the people" nature of the people's war of Vietnam has developed to an unprecedented degree.

In the realities of the uprisings and warfare waged to achieve the objectives of the revolution, our people's patriotism has made new progress. During previous epochs of our protracted struggle for the independence and freedom of the fatherland, Vietnam's patriotism took shape and developed vigorously and served as a great spiritual force behind our people's uprisings and national warfare against the ruling yoke and invasion of foreign feudalists. This was a spiritual heritage, a priceless ethical heritage, bequeathed to us by our forefathers. Today, under our party's leadership, while national independence is linked with popular democracy and socialism, patriotism is linked with love for socialism and the new social system--the system of popular democracy and socialism; genuine patriotism is linked with proletarian internationalism. This is a new patriotism--a product of the new era--that appears only when the path of national liberation is linked with the path of socialism and when the working class rises up as a whole nation and plays the leading role in the fight to regain and protect the independence and freedom of the fatherland.

Our people's patriotism is also manifested in the struggle to save, defend and reunify the country, as well as in the building of a prosperous and powerful country in which all people stand ready to defeat all aggressors. Our nation is endowed with the precious tradition of fighting while producing and defending the country while building it. Deepening our patriotism and love of socialism, being determined to struggle for the independence and freedom of the fatherland, for national reunification, for a decent, happy life for our people, and for the complete liberation of the working people, and actively building a prosperous and powerful country and the system of socialism and people's democracy, this is the correct stand of our working class and the proper attitude of all patriotic Vietnamese at present. It is also a manifestation of the spirit of ownership of the citizens of an independent, sovereign country.

The new patriotism of our people constitutes a great source of strength that generates the fighting will and revolutionary heroism of our armed forces and peoples. This is the absolute superiority of the people's war--a just war--over aggressive war--an unjust war of imperialism. Thanks to this patriotism, our armed forces and people have overcome untold difficulties and hardships and fierce trials in the war, even under the circumstances of modern warfare, to defeat the enemy. Thanks to this patriotism, the people's war of Vietnam has displayed extraordinary strength and created many brave and intelligent combat tactics with which to defeat enemies with greater numerical strength and modern weapons. Thus, we can say that this new patriotism is also an important political and ideological basis for the military science of people's war of Vietnam in the present era.

## The Strength of the Nationwide Fight Against the Aggressors, the Strength of the New Social System

To wage a people's war and defeat big, powerful aggressor enemies, it is absolutely necessary to rely on the strength of all of the people, to bring into full play the comprehensive strength of the country and the new social system, and to muster maximum combined strength to fight and defeat the enemy.

Motivated by the noble political goals of the people's war, and under the party's correct leadership, the forces of our entire country and all our people who engaged in fighting the aggressors in the Vietnamese people's war have been completely transformed qualitatively and quantitatively and are more scientifically organized than before. These are the forces of the revolutionary masses and of all patriotic classes and strata, primarily the masses of workers and peasants, who gathered together in a broad, united national front based on the worker-peasant alliance and under the leadership of the working class and rose up and struggled to liberate the country, protect the fatherland, gradually destroy the yoke of class exploitation and oppression and build and protect a new social system in our country.

Intensively educated, motivated and organized by our party through the various stages of the revolutionary struggle, numerous powerful political forces have emerged in our country comprising tens of millions of people to fight the aggressors with every means. These political forces served as a basis for organizing and comprehensively developing the people's armed forces.

The nationwide forces engaged in fighting the aggressors in our country, which have developed along with the continuous development of the new social system--the people's democratic and socialist system--have been gradually built, consolidated and developed in the course of the successful development of the people's uprisings and war. These forces developed by leaps and bounds through the historically significant successes of the revolution.

The success of the August revolution resulted in the founding of the DRV and the first people's democratic system in our national history. This success transformed our colonial and semifeudal country into an independent, democratic country in the vanguard of the nations of the world and transformed our enslaved people into the masters of their society and country.

Our people rapidly built their new state, the people's democratic state, which served as a sharp tool in crushing the resistance of the internal enemy and foreign aggressors, preserving the success of the revolution, and building and developing the new social system. During the anti-French resistance, our party and state led our people in simultaneously carrying out the resistance, rebuilding the country, and developing the resistance economy in order to improve the people's strength and increase the war potentials. The party's agrarian policy was implemented gradually. The agrarian reform was carried out in the course of the resistance, eliminating the landlords' illegal

ownership over ricefields and giving land to the peasants. In the free areas of the fatherland, and even in the guerilla bases, from Nam Bo and Trung Bo to Bac Bo, the peasants' age-old dream--land to the tiller--came true for the first time in our nation's history. Famine was eradicated. Illiteracy was wiped out among 14 million people. As a result, the peasants' tremendous forces were mobilized even more vigorously, the national united front was further consolidated and the worker-peasant alliance was further strengthened. Production was accelerated, the living conditions of the people and armed forces were improved, the resistance economy successfully met the requirements of the war; the people's armed forces were developed and their combat performance was steadily improved. The more our forces fought, the more powerful they became and the greater were the victories they won; ultimately, they won the historic Dien Bien Phu victory.

Obviously, the success of the anti-French resistance was a success of the people's democratic system, a system that liberated the people from the yoke of imperialist and feudalism; brought land to the peasants; and restored the fundamental, realistic rights to all our people. As a result, the people deeply cherish the new regime and have fought courageously and sacrificed to defend it to the end.

The great victory of the anti-French resistance resulted in the restoration of peace in Indochina and the complete liberation of half of our country. Another extremely important change occurred in our nation's history: The north was completely liberated and proceeded to the socialist revolutionary phase; the people's democratic state began to assume the historic mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat; but because South Vietnam was still under colonialists' and feudalists' domination, our people had to continue to carry out the people's democratic national revolution throughout the country.

After the land reform, the North Vietnamese people began to carry out the socialist reform and socialist construction. Under the influence of the three revolutions--the production relations revolution, the technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution--profound changes have occurred in the north. The system of man's exploitation of man was eliminated; the social class structure underwent new development. The new production relations were established and have constantly been improved. The material and technical bases of socialism have gradually been built. The love of the country and socialism, the sense of collective ownership and the cultural and technical level of the people have improved constantly. The relationship between national construction and national defense and between economic construction and the consolidation of national defense has been correctly established by our party.

This new situation has created favorable conditions for our people to gain increasingly great assistance from fraternal socialist countries.

These profound changes created conditions for the national anti-U.S. national salvation forces to take an unprecedented step forward.

The north quickly shifted from a peacetime to a wartime footing, the people were mobilized, the people's armed forces were expanded, and economic construction was reoriented to meet the requirements of the war. In the socialist north, to cope with the U.S. imperialists' naval and air war of destruction, our people successfully carried out a highly developed ground-to-air people's war: They fought against aircraft and warships, assumed the people's air defense, insured smooth communications and transportation operations, foiled the enemy blockade, fought while engaging in production and defended the rearbase while supporting the frontline. The whole country was turned into a vast battlefield on which our people fought heroically against the enemy. Braving millions of tons of U.S. bombs and shells, the north fulfilled its duty of assisting the great frontline in every respect, thus fully developing its role as the revolutionary base area of the entire nation.

The U.S. imperialists vainly hoped to use their ruthless might to knock out the north and drive it back into the Stone Age and thereby realize their sinister schemes. But the north stood proudly and firmly. Despite the fierce war, the north constantly continued to build and consolidate its potential in every respect. Agricultural production was firmly maintained. Local industrial production was developed. Many central industrial sectors continued to turn out various products to meet the demands of combat, production and the people's livelihood. Educational, medical and cultural activities continued to develop vigorously. The people's basic needs for food, clothing, housing, medical care and movement were met.

It is obvious that the socialist regime has developed its superiority and unconquerable vitality through the people's war and proved itself to be the best form of social organization for developing the economy or motivating and organizing the national forces to fight against the aggressors.

In the south, the success of the revolutionary war has led to the formation of enlarged liberated areas where the revolutionary administration and people's democratic regime have been set up and constantly consolidated. The liberated zone has exerted a great effect on the successes of the revolutionary struggle and revolutionary war through various phases. With the north serving as its great rearbase and the liberated zone as its immediate rearbase, the southern revolutionary war has made full use of the strength of the nation, the socialist regime and the people's democratic regime to fight the enemy. As a result, it has gained enormous strength and successfully coped with every frenzied war escalation step by the U.S. imperialists.

If we speak of the organization of all our people in the struggle against the enemy on the basis of the new social system, we must also mention the role of the new man, or the role of the Vietnamese people, in the present era. During their protracted struggle against the aggressor enemies, our generations have brought forth very respectable men. Nevertheless, never

before have our people developed their moral and intellectual values as highly as they are doing now in the revolutionary struggle. This new man of the new social system--the superior socialist system--has a high sense of collective ownership, he is conscious of the interests of both the nation and class; displays profound love for the country and socialism; clearly understands the proletarian international spirit; has increasingly broad cultural and technical knowledge; and is always brave, intelligent and creative in combat and production. He is the author of the marvelous deeds of our country.

Obviously, the success of the anti-U.S. resistance is the success of the new social system, or the people's democratic system, and the socialist system. Socialism has triumphed over the war of aggression of imperialism.

Reality itself proves that the forces of all-people--which relied on the new social system, on their comprehensive political and moral strength and on their existing material-technical bases in fighting the aggressors in a just war here in Vietnam--were enormous forces; whereas the forces employed by the imperialists in their war of aggression, despite their great economic and military strength, were limited. When their aggressive war efforts against our country climaxed unsuccessfully, they had to resign themselves to defeat.

The law governing the development of the Vietnamese revolution indicates that, following each historically significant victory, the revolution acquires new, favorable conditions for developing its forces. Our people must develop the absolute superiority of the new social system, strengthen the forces of the revolution and bolster the national defense forces to meet all revolutionary requirements and fulfill all revolutionary tasks in each stage of the revolution. We must attach special importance to educating and improving our new man and must constantly and firmly maintain and develop the noble virtues of the Vietnamese people in the present generation as well as in future generations. We must insure that all of our people struggle wholeheartedly and constantly to fulfill the two strategic tasks of the Vietnamese revolution and never forget the task of liberating, defending and building the country. We must insure that all of our people--workers, collectivized peasants and socialist intellectuals--are able not only to carry out economic construction and cultural development but also able to fight well. We must also insure that all VPA soldiers fight the aggressors well while at the same time engaging in productive labor.

#### The People's New-Type Armed Forces

It is absolutely necessary to organize the armed forces in order to stage uprisings and wage a war. Men and weapons constitute two basic factors in the combat strength of the armed forces. Although these two factors play a major role, men constitute the basic, decisive factor. Therefore, in building up the armed forces, we must establish guidelines for mobilizing and organizing men and correctly resolving the problem of weapons and equipment

in order to fully develop our human and material resources and build an armed forces with great combat strength.

In our country's specific situation in which our people have longstanding traditions of struggle to kill the aggressors and win national salvation as well as an intense revolutionary spirit but very limited ability to acquire weapons and equipment, how must the problem of organizing the armed forces be resolved so that we have a truly strong army capable of defeating all enemies?

Our party's great success is due the fact that, at the very outset, it based itself on the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint and on the specific conditions prevailing in our country in correctly and scientifically setting forth a fundamental theory on building the revolutionary armed forces and on the specific forms of the organization of military forces in the various stages of the revolutionary war. This fundamental theory calls for mobilizing, organizing and arming all the people and building a new-type armed forces of the people.

As we know, the Marxist-Leninist theory on the organization of revolutionary military forces underwent many stages of development—from Engels' fundamental theory on arming the masses to Lenin's guidelines for building the Red Army of workers and peasants following the October Revolution.

Our party's success is due to the fact that, at the very outset, it not only set forth a fundamental theory on organization of military forces, but also rather fully defined the objectives of this theory. These objectives consisted of simultaneously arming the revolutionary masses, building the people's army and, on the basis widely of arming the revolutionary masses, developing the people's army into an increasingly large and powerful force and organizing the three troop categories.

In accordance with these correct and creative guidelines, our people's revolutionary armed forces have developed steadily from small to large units and from weak to strong units through the various turning points of the revolution and in the course of development of the revolutionary war.

The revolutionary masses' armed forces were developed from self-defense and combat self-defense teams which at the outset were formed only in areas where the masses' political organizations existed. Subsequently, they developed rapidly and on a large scale, especially after our party seized power, and in the course of the two glorious resistance wars. The masses' armed forces now comprise millions of courageous and resourceful youths of both sexes organized into militia and guerrilla teams in all villages, cooperatives and production teams in the rural areas and into self-defense and combat self-defense units in all urban wards, factories, schools, etc.

Our people's army—which used to be the vanguard mainforce platoons and local army squads and developed into an army of a few thousand soldiers in the

August revolution and a few hundred thousand in the two wars of resistance-- has become a modern regular army with the greatest numerical strength and best equipment in our history.

The Vietnamese people's armed forces and VPA testify to the brilliant success achieved in building people's military organizations of a revolutionary nature and with large numerical strength, as anticipated by the founders of proletarian military science. They said: Only a revolutionary people can have really numerous military forces.

Founded, educated and led by the party of the working class and fighting under the banner of the party and President Ho for national independence, people's democracy and socialist and communist ideals, our armed forces and army include in their ranks the people's outstanding children of all nationalities and patriotic classes--primarily the working class and peasantry. Our armed forces and army have heightened their political awareness, national enlightenment, class enlightenment, love of country and socialism, and genuine proletarian internationalism. These forces served as the party's principal tool in fighting to seize power and are the reliable tool of the people's democratic and socialist state and the proletarian dictatorship in opposing the internal enemy and foreign aggressors and in protecting the achievements of the revolution and the legitimate interests of the people and fatherland.

Thus, our armed forces and army have the fine revolutionary nature of the working class. Our party has deeply concerned itself with enhancing our army's revolutionary nature because it is the basis of its fighting spirit and revolutionary heroism. Party organizations and the political action system in the army have regularly carried out sweeping political education, thus steadily enhancing the fine political nature of our army. Born of and fighting for the people, our armed forces and army are truly a new type of armed forces and a new type of army of the people. They have very high morale, a very high sense of organization and discipline, good internal unity and army-people unity, and glorious traditions of combat and victory; they stand ready to struggle selflessly to excellently complete all tasks.

In building up the people's armed forces, our party has always attached importance to steadily upgrading their equipment and weapons and increasing their material-technical bases because it considers weapons and equipment fundamental factors in boosting the combat strength of the armed forces.

Before we seized political power, we had practically no weapons and equipment. After we seized power and in the first years of the anti-French resistance, our armed forces' equipment and weapons were still inadequate. Our weapons were primarily spears and scimitars and over 20 different kinds of infantry rifles; there was a very serious shortage of ammunition. Under the backward conditions of our national economy, our ability to produce and supply weapons and equipment to the armed forces was very limited. Our party set forth correct guidelines for solving our equipment problem: relying on the people, equipping the armed forces with any weapons available, using

weapons captured from the enemy and, at the same time, striving to produce weapons locally as conditions permitted. For a long time, our main source of equipment remained the frontline. Subsequently, we gradually increased our capability of producing equipment and weapons and received steadily growing assistance from the fraternal socialist countries. As a result, our armed forces' weapons and equipment have been steadily improved and gradually modernized. Today, not only has the VPA been provided with increasingly more modern weapons and equipment, but the militia and self-defense forces have also been provided with a certain quantity of modern or relatively modern weapons and facilities.

Relying on this source of equipment, in accordance with the line of all the people fighting the aggressors, and with the application of the military art of the people's war, our party advocates combining modern and relatively modern weapons with primitive weapons in arming our armed forces. While being armed mainly with various types of modern and relatively modern weapons, mainforce and local army units must also fully utilize all rudimentary means. While paying attention to developing primitive and improved weapons, the militia and self-defense forces are also armed with a certain quantity of modern and relatively modern weapons.

In a situation in which the enemy's equipment is more modern and numerous than ours, we must be able to expertly use and maximize the power of all types of weapons at our disposal--modern as well as relatively modern and primitive weapons, the most up-to-date types as well as old types, and weapons produced by our camp as well as those seized from the enemy. We should not overlook old-type and rudimentary weapons or discard weapons captured from the enemy.

In the people's war in our country, especially in the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance, our people in both parts of the country skillfully brought into full play the strength of all troop categories and the power of all types of weapons and equipment, ranging from booby traps, spears, scimitars and arrows to modern and relatively modern weapons and the latest scientific and technological advances of the 20th century, such as artillery, missiles, supersonic aircraft and so forth, to annihilate the enemy, thus creating a combined power that frightened them very much.

The armed forces' combat strength lies in the fighting spirit of the cadres and combatants, in the quantitative and qualitative standards of army units, in the status of their equipment and weapons, and especially in the cadres' leadership and command standards. Because our population is not large and because we must cope with big aggressive armies, the constant improvement of our armed forces' combat strength and ability must be considered a very important requirement or policy. The most important thing is that an army be seasoned, not that it be big. We must pay great attention and develop this valuable experience of our nation.

In improving the armed forces' combat ability, the establishment and development of their organizational structure and the specific form and scale of organization are highly significant. During each stage of the revolutionary war, our party solved these problems according to the requirements of the quantitative development of the armed forces, the status of their equipment and the strategic and combat tasks. Our party has also made correct and scientific changes in the organization of the armed forces.

From the early small guerrilla and self-defense units, our armed forces have developed into a powerful army with three categories of forces: main force, local army, and self-defense and militia units.

The main force, the mobile armed force of the entire country, is used to conduct conventional warfare. The local army is the nucleus of the armed struggle in a locality. The self-defense and militia forces, a broad armed force at the basic level, participate in production activities and are closely linked to the political forces of the masses. The local army and self-defense and militia forces are in charge of conducting the people's war in the localities.

Every category of force plays a strategic role in the people's war. These three categories must be developed in a balanced manner so that in every period each force can fulfill its strategic mission while coordinating with other forces in supporting and stimulating each other's progress, stepping up the smooth development of guerrilla warfare and conventional warfare, continuing to develop the great impact of the armed struggle, and increasing the great offensive strength of the people's war as well as of the political and other struggles. We must firmly adhere to the principle of harmonious development of the three categories of forces.

The realities of the past several decades of struggle reveal that the organization of the revolutionary armed forces into three categories is the most suitable way to mobilize all the people to fight aggression, thus implementing the principle of arming the entire people, or the revolutionary masses, while building up the people's army.

We correctly determined the form of organization of our armed forces in the process of their development from a small army into a great one and from an army of infantrymen alone to one with numerous branches and services. As a result, our army is scientifically organized and has won successive victories in the process of advancing from small-scale to large scale warfare and to conducting coordinated combat campaigns with higher combat standards and increasingly large campaign and strategic goals. We also correctly solved the problem of scientifically organizing the armed forces of the masses in order to fully utilize and develop their great capabilities in the people's war. Our main force has advanced from battalion or regimental units in the early days of the anti-French resistance to strong multiregiment units capable of fulfilling all tasks in large-scale campaigns. The local army in the provinces and districts, which is larger than before, includes along with its

infantry, a number of branches which, in cooperation with the self-defense and militia forces and local people, can steadfastly protect localities. The militia, guerrilla, self-defense and combat self-defense forces at cooperatives, enterprises, industrial and agricultural worksites, and agencies are organized into powerful units and, in case of need, will be reinforced by elements of appropriate branches. Only when they are organized efficiently can our armed forces, especially our army, intensify their combat effectiveness.

In addition to the need for a scientific organization, improved political education and military training, heightening the sense of organization and discipline, improving management skills in all fields, including the area of material-technical bases, strictly observing all orders and regulations, and so forth are also matters of great importance in improving the combat quality of our armed forces. Our army must receive a good political education and military training and must display a very high sense of organization and discipline.

The development of our people's armed forces is also related to the success of our party in developing the corps of cadres in the people's armed forces. As the armed forces have gradually developed, our party has set forth correct cadre lines and successfully developed a sound corps of cadres, thus meeting the demands of three troop categories and the standing forces and reserve forces both quantitatively and qualitatively in all stages of development of the armed forces.

The cadres of the people's armed forces come from worker or peasant families and the working people and are absolutely loyal to the revolutionary cause of our party and people; they are enlightened politically and are close to the people; they have increasingly broad technical and professional backgrounds and thoroughly grasp the lines, science and art of people's war; they possess good organizational and command skills and have commanded and led our people's armed forces in excellently completing each political and military task of the party. They are now making every effort to study in order to thoroughly master modern military knowledge, improve their leadership and command skills, and insure that our army can fulfill all tasks of the people's war under modern circumstances.

Under the banner of our party and President Ho, our people's armed forces constantly display the revolutionary nature and fine traditions of the new military organization of the people. They always try their best to improve their standards in every respect, increase their combat strength and resolutely fulfill all missions outstandingly to prove themselves always worthy of President Ho's commendation: "Our army is loyal to the party and the people, stands ready to engage in combat and make sacrifices for the sake of the fatherland's independence and freedom and the socialist cause, and is capable of fulfilling all missions, overcoming all difficulties and defeating all enemies."

## Methods of Waging War and the Creative Military Art of People's War

War is a life-or-death struggle between two sides. It proceeds in a very tense and complicated situation in which each side does its best to gain the initiative on the battlefield, drive the other into a defensive position and create surprise factors for victory. War is also a social phenomenon with its own rules. The fundamental concept of the methods of waging war and military art lies in the fact that we must analyze the concrete situation so as to detect and firmly grasp the rules of the war. We must base ourselves on those rules in order to formulate correct policies to be implemented to defeat the enemy and lead the war to victory.

In the course of the wars fought in our country in past centuries, our ancestors discovered the rules of national salvation and national defense war. As a result, they developed ingenious military tactics and strategies to liberate and defend the nation.

Applying Marxism-Leninism to the concrete circumstances in our country, and thoroughly understanding the common rules of war and rules of armed uprisings and revolutionary wars, our party has discovered and gradually gained a full understanding of the rules of the people's war in Vietnam. It then devised the methods of conducting the war and the military art of the people's war and set forth correct concepts to be observed in the whole process, as well as in every step, of the national liberation war in our country.

Our conduct of a war is based on the party's strategic viewpoints on the people's war in our country. We hold that our war strategy does not embrace purely military affairs. The people's war strategy must be a comprehensive and combined strategy. Therefore, in conducting the people's war, we must not only study the rules governing revolutionary warfare, but also those governing armed uprisings, political struggle and the overall struggle in war.

In the people's war our party has held fast to the rules of war, and thereby constantly improved the art of leadership in order to achieve victory.

The political goals of the war--national independence, popular democracy and socialism--are the basic aspirations of all our people. Confronted by an aggressor with powerful armed forces, we could not rely solely on our armed forces to defeat him, rather, we had to rely on the forces of all the people. Furthermore, the imperialists who invaded our country have consistently waged an all-out war, attacking us relentlessly. Therefore, the people's war in our country must be an all-out war of all the people. This is a fundamental rule.

Adhering to this rule to lead the war to victory, we have had to organize and develop the armed forces to fight the aggressors and, at the same time, have had to insure that all the people and the entire country engage in fighting the aggressors, using the people's armed forces as core forces.

Unlike wars in which only the armed forces fought the enemy, in the wars in our country, our armed forces and people throughout the country rise up with their weapons to fight. All citizens are soldiers; all villages and wards are fortresses and our entire country is a vast battlefield on which the enemy is besieged, attacked and defeated.

We attack the enemy not only on the military front but also on the political, economic, cultural and diplomatic fronts. We attack him not only in the armed struggle but also in all other forms of revolutionary struggle. By attacking the enemy all-out, we acquire better conditions for developing the combined strength of all the people in order to lead the war to victory.

In our country, the people's political forces and armed forces are the two basic units engaged in waging the revolutionary war. Therefore, the rule governing revolutionary violence in our country calls for coordinating the armed forces with political forces, armed struggle with political struggle, military attacks with mass uprisings and revolutionary war with armed uprisings.

Our people have applied this rule flexibly but correctly on the basis of the specific conditions prevailing in each stage of development of the revolutionary struggle and the balance of forces between us and the enemy in each period. Sometimes the political forces played a key role and were supported by the armed forces. Sometimes political struggle was coordinated with armed struggle and mass uprisings with military attacks in order to proceed toward an armed uprising throughout the country. Sometimes the armed forces served as core forces in the people's overall fight against the aggressors and were coordinated with the political forces. Sometimes armed struggle was coordinated with political struggle and military attacks with mass uprisings. Sometimes armed struggle was adopted as the principal form of struggle to wage a protracted revolutionary war. And sometimes the armed forces and political forces were used simultaneously and in coordination. Sometimes the armed and political struggle were waged simultaneously, and sometimes the revolutionary war and armed uprisings were conducted simultaneously.

During our people's armed uprisings and revolutionary war, we have scientifically combined the rule governing uprisings with the rule governing war in different historical periods and situations. Sometimes the rule governing uprisings played the predominant role and other times the rule governing war. Close coordination of the two rules has been consistently insured to achieve the greatest victories for the revolution.

When enemy forces dominated or invaded our country, wherever they went our local people arose and fought them. The forces of all our people, the workers and peasants serving as regular forces, have been developed throughout the country, from the rural to the urban areas. Therefore, a fundamental rule governing the people's war requires that we attack the enemy throughout the three strategic zones--the mountainous rural areas, rural delta and urban areas.

Each strategic zone has its own military, political and geographical conditions; therefore, depending upon the balance of forces between us and the enemy, our armed forces and people have developed their strong position to varying degrees to attack enemy troops. Observing this fundamental rule, our people have stood firm in the rural areas while simultaneously attacking the enemy in the rural and urban areas. Depending on our conditions and those of the enemy in each zone and in each strategic period or stage, we have correctly coordinated, to varying degrees, armed struggle with political struggle and the war with uprisings; we focus on one area or another depending on the specific conditions prevailing in each period or stage. This is a very important strategic principle in conducting the people's war.

The imperialist enemy who invaded our country is stronger than us economically and militarily. The forces of all our people engaged in fighting the aggressors are very great. However, time is needed to mobilize, organize and train them in order to fully develop their effectiveness. We also need time to annihilate the enemy bit by bit, defeat his strategies one by one, repel him step by step, gradually shift the balance of forces between us and the enemy, and win partial victories while proceeding toward total victory. Thus, the people's war strategy in our country is one of protracted fighting against the imperialist aggressor enemy. That is a basic rule. In leading the war, we must hold fast to this basic rule and inculcate in our people and armed forces the spirit of protracted struggle in the military arena as well as in economic construction and in building and consolidating the rearbase. In the protracted war, our own efforts, the enemy's errors and the interaction of other objective conditions usually give rise to favorable opportunities. Therefore, while fighting perseveringly and protractedly, we must constantly do our utmost to create opportunities, biding our time in order to achieve victory as soon as possible.

We must fight protractedly and, at the same time, strive to create opportunities to achieve great victories for the revolutionary war. This is an important strategic principle in the art of leading the people's war.

Political power is a basic problem in any revolution. A basic problem in any war is to annihilate the enemy's armed forces. Therefore, basic rule of the people's war in our country is to coordinate military and political activities with proselytizing enemy troops, launch three-pronged attacks, annihilate or destroy the enemy, annihilate him in order to regain and firmly maintain the people's control, regain and firmly maintain the people's control in order to develop him bit by bit, proceed toward annihilating or destroying him completely, regain control over one locality after another and proceed toward the complete liberation of the country.

Deeply imbued with the thoroughly revolutionary spirit of the working class and the "nothing is more precious than independence and liberty" ideal, our concept of strategic guidance is primarily an offensive concept. We must thoroughly understand the concept of offensive strategy in the course of armed uprisings and revolutionary war.

A revolution is offensive in nature. An armed uprising is offensive. A revolutionary war, generally speaking, is offensive. At given times and in given areas, the revolutionary war might be on the defensive, but this is only a fleeting and temporary condition pending the creation of conditions for it to resume the offensive.

The protracted liberation war is a process of attacking the enemy relentlessly, everywhere, at all times, with all forces, by all available means and in all forms of struggle. We must retain the initiative constantly, attack the enemy relentlessly, repel him step by step, destroy him part by part, and proceed toward final victory.

We have dealt with some problems concerning basic rules governing the conduct of the people's war and uprisings by all the people in our country. On this basis, we have successfully developed a correct and creative military art and successfully resolved many problems related to strategy--the art of conducting military campaigns and tactics. Only with a correct strategy can we have correctly conducted military campaigns and use correct tactics. Conversely, only with correct tactics can we successfully fulfill various tasks in military campaigns, and only with correctly conducted military campaigns can we successfully fulfill the strategic tasks set forth. This is the intrinsic relationship among the various components of the military art of the Vietnamese people's war.

Our military art is primarily one of taking the initiative in attacking the enemy. Therefore, strategically and tactically, in military campaigns, we attach the greatest importance to the form of attack and counterattack. Wherever tactical conditions and military campaigns so dictate, we can engage in defensive combat to support and create conditions for resuming the offensive.

Our people have waged guerrilla warfare and conventional warfare, closely coordinating one with the other.

Vietnamese guerrilla warfare demonstrated tremendous strength during the 30-year national liberation war. On the basis of the intensively and extensively developed guerrilla warfare, the conventional war emerged. It has developed outstandingly and, in coordination with guerrilla warfare, has contributed to fulfilling the strategic tasks of the people's war.

In the protracted liberation war, we have constantly attached importance to initiating, expanding and intensifying the guerrilla war in strategic areas. Guerrilla warfare also means local people's warfare which is a most appropriate form of combat performed by broad masses of the people and by the local armed forces. Guerrilla warfare is also a form of uprising staged by the masses to seize power in the course of partial uprisings conducive to the general uprising and in the course of development of the liberation war. Therefore, guerrilla warfare always plays a major strategic role in the liberation war. It is instrumental in extensively mauling or annihilating

the enemy, dispersing his forces, destroying his coercive control, upsetting his strategic position, protecting and training the revolutionary masses, and creating favorable conditions for conventional war and the political struggle to develop. Guerrilla warfare vigorously developed its strategic impact in the August revolution, in the anti-French resistance and in the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance.

We have also steadily accelerated the development of guerrilla warfare into conventional warfare and closely coordinated conventional warfare with guerrilla warfare and other forms of the people's struggle. We have developed conventional warfare to increasingly higher degrees, involving coordination among various services and branches on an increasingly larger scale. From the border battle in 1950 to the 1953-1954 winter-spring fighting and the Dien Bien Phu campaign and from the strategic offensive of the southern armed forces and people in 1972 to the Hanoi victory over the U.S. imperialists' strategic air blitz, the conventional war exerted a strong strategic impact on the various battlefields. The people's war, waged in the form of guerrilla warfare and conventional warfare, has developed its tremendous combined strength in gradually defeating the imperialist and lackey armed forces, which have had increasingly greater numerical strength and been supplied with an increasing volume of ever more modern technical equipment, thus creating an increasingly favorable situation for the revolution.

We have constantly attached importance to the art of adopting the appropriate form of combat and the appropriate form of organization of our forces to fight the enemy. Depending on the requirements of the strategic tasks to be carried out on the battlefield in the different stages of development of the war, the task of correctly determining the appropriate form of combat, tactically and in military campaigns, selecting the appropriate form or organization of forces and taking the initiative in adopting these forms in a flexible, secret and unexpected manner is a very important factor in annihilating the enemy and winning victories in the battle. More important still, the appropriate form of combat and organization of forces can help foil the enemy's combat methods and strategies and drive him into a strategically unfavorable position, while at the same time developing the combat skills of our armed forces, improving the situation and creating new conditions for our armed forces and people to fulfill their strategic missions on the battlefield.

Over the past 30 years, from the August revolution to the anti-French resistance and the anti-U.S. resistance, our people have conducted the liberation war, the most protracted war in our nation's history, in an effort to achieve the most fundamental objectives of the Vietnamese revolution throughout the nation. However, we have also acquired important experience from the war to protect the fatherland. In the course of the successful development of the revolutionary struggle, our people have regained control over more and more vast areas of the fatherland. The free areas in the anti-French resistance were developed into the socialist north, the vast rear base of the entire nation. The liberated areas in the south have been constantly broadened and

consolidated under the leadership of the people's democratic administration. The task of building, protecting and developing the vast rear base areas of the nation has become more and more important and exerted an increasingly great, decisive effect. In this situation, the forces engaging in the war to protect the fatherland have been constantly developed in the process of the protracted liberation war.

We have acquired very rich and valuable experience from the people's war against the U.S. imperialists' destructive air war against the north. If we take into account the north only, we can say that the objective of this war was to defend the socialist regime. We have also acquired experience from the struggle to protect the free areas in the anti-French resistance in the past and the current struggle to defend the liberated areas in the southern part of our country. The problem is that we must study, develop and improve this experience so as to correctly apply it to the concrete conditions of the war for the protection of the fatherland. It is an imperative demand and a very important point in the methods of conducting the war and in our military science and art.

A survey of the general situation and the entire process of war indicates that the balance of power and changes in this balance constitute the fundamental factor deciding the development of the war and final victory. That is why in the areas of leadership and command, we have always paid due attention to evaluating the balance of power and adopting measures to make it develop in a gradual and basic way to our advantage so we can achieve complete victory.

The economic and military potential of the imperialist countries that have waged wars of aggression against our country have been much greater than ours. Nevertheless, our people have defeated the aggressor armies of three powerful imperialist countries. The reason is that we have relied on revolutionary and scientific concepts in evaluating the balance of power between us and the enemy in each specific period of time and under each concrete circumstance, and because we have known how to apply the fundamental rules of people's war so as to make the balance of power constantly develop to our advantage in the entire process of the protracted revolutionary war.

The experience of people's war indicates that the change in the balance of power between us and the enemy must be comprehensively and profoundly reflected in every respect, both militarily and politically as well as quantitatively and qualitatively. We must realize the strength of both the army and the revolutionary people and the enemy's strongpoints and our weaknesses as well as the enemy's weaknesses and our strongpoints.

In assessing the combat capabilities of the two sides, we must not simply compare their strengths, but must also compare their positions; we must not only compare the real status of their strengths and positions of the two sides, but must also compare the combat efficiency of the enemy forces and of our own forces; and we must not only evaluate the balance of forces

between us and the enemy at home, but must also evaluate the balance of forces between us and the enemy in the world and in the present era. Only by making such a comprehensive comparison can we accurately assess the enemy's ability to utilize his potentials and our ability to utilize our potentials on the battlefield.

An assessment of the balance of forces must be made on the basis of the viewpoint of dialectical development and must take into full consideration the latent as well as the sudden changes in the enemy's real situation and our own real situation.

A very important factor is that while assessing the real status of the strengths and positions of the two sides we must accurately assess the role of our own subjective guidance and the enemy's and assess the great impact of our correct lines and the erroneous lines of the enemy and of our own superior art and the reactionary and obsolete art of the enemy.

It has been on the basis of the objective assessment of the balance of forces between us and the enemy, based on a correct standpoint, that our party has led our people in rising up and fighting the enemy and has brought into full play its ability to guide the conduct of the war in defeating the enemy and insuring that the people's war develops in accordance with its rules, until total victory.

An outstanding feature of our methods of conducting the war is that we have correctly and creatively observed the rules governing people's war. We have successfully adopted fighting methods that have made the enemy unable to develop the effectiveness of his strength and the fighting methods in which he is well versed; we have adopted fighting methods in which we are well versed to develop our own strengths, directed our attacks in the right direction and at the right targets, seized the most favorable opportunities, and brought our own strengths into full play in striking directly at the enemy's weak and vital points and defeating him. As a result, despite the fact that the enemy has had economic and military potentials greater than ours, he has been driven into an impotent situation, whereas we have constantly acquired a partially superior position, an increasingly developed, more important and more widespread position from which we have annihilated enemy forces more and more extensively, repeatedly frustrated his sinister schemes, and proceeded toward crushing his will of aggression completely annihilating his forces and leading the revolutionary war to total victory.

This explains why, by bringing courage and resourcefulness into full play, a political struggle force can check the advance of an enemy armored column, a guerrilla combatant armed with mines can destroy enemy tanks, an effectively organized combat village can defeat a large-scale sweep conducted by the enemy, a seasoned soldier armed with a light artillery weapon can destroy dozens of enemy jets on the ground, and a missile unit of our armed forces can down U.S. B-52's. This also clearly explains why we are heading for inevitable victory, whereas the enemy is heading for defeat. This is an



irreversible trend. We have defeated the enemy in many battles, from limited uprisings to the successful general uprising in August 1945; from the first anti-French struggles that broke out in Saigon in September 1945 and in Hanoi in late 1946 to the border campaign in 1950, the 1953-1954 winter-spring fighting and the historic Dien Bien Phu campaign in 1954; from the Ap Bac battle in 1963 to the Binh Gia battle in late 1964 and the Ba Gia battle in mid-1965; and from the Van Tuong battle in 1965 to the strategic offensive during the Mau Than Tet holidays in 1968, the Route 9 campaign in 1971 and the general offensive and great victory in 1972. In the socialist north, we have won great victories over the enemy, from the victory on 5 August 1964 to the great victory in Hanoi in December 1972.

These are some main points related to our methods of conducting the war and our military art. Because of their superiority, these methods and this art have successfully resolved a key problem that has always been posed in the revolutionary war in our country--the problem of using the just cause to triumph over the unjust cause, using small forces to defeat large forces and using primitive or relatively modern weapons and equipment. We have successfully developed the tremendous, combined strength of our entire country to defeat all aggressor enemies having armed forces and economic and military potentials many times greater than ours and have won great victories.

#### International Conditions in the New Era

The success of the Russian October Revolution opened a new era in the history of mankind and created a new situation in the world. The socialist revolutionary movement of the working class in the developing capitalist countries has been linked with the revolutionary movement for national liberation conducted by the oppressed peoples. The revolution in our country, led by our party, has become a part of the world revolutionary movement. Therefore, all the victories of the revolution and revolutionary war in our country have always been closely linked with the steady development of the world revolutionary movement. Our people have successfully taken full advantage of the favorable conditions created by the common struggle of world progressives. Our people have won the sympathy and increasingly great support and assistance of the world peoples. At the same time, our people, through their own struggle, have contributed positively to the revolutionary cause of the world progressives. Our forefathers did not enjoy these international conditions that are highly favorable to our people's present struggle. Even in the victorious fight against the Mongolian aggressors--the cruelest enemy of the world in the Middle Ages--our people relied completely on their own strength and did not enjoy any international assistance.

The first great victory of the Vietnamese revolution in the August 1945 general uprising was closely linked with the victories of the world peoples, especially the victory of the Soviet Red Army in the struggle against the fascists in World War II. While positively preparing their forces and creating decisive conditions for themselves, our people successfully took advantage of the favorable conditions created by the defeat of both of our

principal enemies, the French imperialists and the Japanese fascists, to rise up and seize power.

In the course of the anti-French resistance, when our country was still encircled on all sides by imperialism, our people also enjoyed the political and moral support of the world progressives. The existence and increasing strength of the Soviet Union, the first socialist country in the world, vigorously motivated our people. The struggle conducted by the French people under the leadership of the French Communist Party against the dirty war of aggression of the French imperialists in Vietnam and the strikes staged by the working class in France and French colonies, in the course of which workers refused to load or unload the war materiel shipped by France to Indochina, were brilliant examples of international solidarity with the anti-French struggle of our people. The increasing strength of the forces of socialism, national independence, democracy and peace in the world and the offensive of the world revolution against imperialism which started in the aftermath of World War II, contributed significantly to weakening imperialism and effectively supporting the struggle of our people against the French imperialists. Following the victory of the Chinese revolution and the victory of the 1950 border campaign in our country, imperialism's encirclement of our country was breached and, as a result, our country was linked with the socialist camp--the vast rearbase of our people's resistance. At that time, our people began to receive international material assistance with which they could intensify their resistance.

The U.S. imperialists waged a war of aggression against the southern part of our country and a war of destruction against the north--an independent and sovereign nation and a member of the socialist camp--thus challenging the entire socialist camp, the national liberation movement and the democratic and peace forces in the world. The anti-U.S. national salvation resistance of our Vietnamese people gradually became the center and the frontline of the anti-imperialist struggle of the world peoples. The front of the world peoples in support of Vietnam's anti-U.S. struggle took shape. Our people have enjoyed the sympathy and increasingly great political, moral, material and technical support and assistance of progressives throughout the world, especially the peoples of the Soviet Union, China and the other fraternal socialist countries. The volume of international material and technical aid met to a significant degree the requirements of our resistance. Owing to this international aid, we acquired more material conditions for waging and extensively developed people's war under modern conditions to defeat the cruel war of aggression of the archimperialists. The more the U.S. imperialists escalated the war, the more serious were the military and political setbacks they sustained in Vietnam, Indochina and other parts of the world, including the United States itself. When the double-dealing Nixon administration staged the extremely barbarous strategic B-52 blitz against Hanoi and Haiphong, the movement to support Vietnam's anti-U.S. struggle reached a climax. All of mankind indignantly condemned the renowned, cruel executioner. The revolutionary movement of the world peoples steadily developed, relentlessly attacked the positions of imperialism everywhere in

the United States itself, seriously weakened the U.S. imperialists and positively contributed to bankrupting the reactionary U.S. global strategy and creating more favorable conditions for the sacred resistance of our people.

The struggle of the fraternal peoples of Laos and Cambodia plays a particularly important role in the struggle of our people. The U.S. imperialists have persistently sought, as French imperialism did, to divide the Indochinese peoples in order to impose their yoke of domination on the Indochinese country as a springboard for aggression against another. The revolutions of the three Indochinese peoples are therefore closely interrelated. By struggling for their own national interests and, at the same time, intensively providing support and assistance to the struggle of the two neighboring peoples, our Vietnamese people have demonstrated genuine internationalism and positively contributed to the revolutionary struggle of the Lao and Cambodian peoples. In return, our people have received the wholehearted, comprehensive support and assistance of the peoples of these two friendly nations. The struggle of the Lao and Cambodian peoples has created highly favorable conditions for the struggle of our Vietnamese people. The militant alliance among the three Indochinese peoples, which has been built even with blood and bones, has been steadily consolidated and developed over the past decades. In the course of our people's anti-U.S. national salvation resistance, especially since the Nixon administration expanded the war of aggression throughout Indochina and turned Indochina into a battlefield, the militant solidarity among the three peoples has further developed. The coordination among the revolutionary offensives of the three Indochinese peoples has created a new political and military situation favorable to the anti-U.S. resistance of the Vietnamese, Lao and Cambodian peoples. Our people are eternally grateful to the fraternal Lao and Cambodian peoples for the great contribution that their revolutions have made to the struggle of our people.

Our party has adopted a correct international line which reflects a high spirit of genuine patriotism and noble proletarian internationalism and closely coordinates national interests with the revolutionary cause of the other peoples of the world. Our party is determined to fulfill its sacred international duty and contribute, to the best of its ability, to the struggle of the world peoples against imperialism, led by U.S. imperialism, for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. Our party advocates taking advantage of all favorable factors in the present era, relying mainly on our own strength and, at the same time, striving to win international moral and material support.

The struggle of the peoples of the world against imperialism, led by U.S. imperialism, and the sympathy, support and assistance of the world revolutionary forces to our people have obviously been factors contributing to the victory of the people's war in our country. Our Vietnamese people deeply appreciate and very highly value the assistance of the fraternal socialist countries and our friends throughout the world who have supported our protracted and difficult struggle for the sake of our sacred national duties

and our noble international obligations. The great victory of the Vietnamese people's war over the imperialist war of aggression also represents a brilliant victory for the militant solidarity among all of the anti-imperialist forces and a brilliant victory for the forces of socialism, national independence, democracy and peace in the world.

### Part Three: The New Phase and New Missions of the People's Armed Forces

Our people are living in a glorious, brilliant phase of our nation's history. Thanks to its extraordinary vigor, the Vietnamese revolution has constantly developed its offensive position to defeat the imperialists and their henchmen and exterminate oppression and exploitation in order to realize the noble objectives of the revolution: achieving national independence, people's democracy and socialism in our country and contributing to the revolutionary struggle of the people of the world.

For the first time in 15 years of heroic, persistent and creative revolutionary struggle since the birth of our party, our people's revolutionary offensive scored a great victory in the August general uprising. This event led to the founding of the DRV and opened up an era of independence, freedom and socialism in our country.

For several decades now, imperialism, led by U.S. imperialism and deploying increasingly large forces, has launched repeated, frantic counterattacks in an attempt to retake lost positions.

Our people's revolutionary offensive was developed into two great victorious people's wars to cope with the two cruel wars of aggression launched by two powerful imperialist countries--France and the United States.

Today, as a result of the great victories of the all-people uprisings and people's war, three-fourths of our nation has been liberated. In the northern part of our country and in the vast liberated areas in the south, our people have scored great achievements in reforming the old society and building a new social system--the socialist system and people's democratic system. These great achievements of the Vietnamese revolution have consolidated our revolutionary strength in every respect and created new, favorable conditions for our people to develop their revolutionary struggle.

The successes of the people's democratic national revolution, the socialist revolution, the nationwide uprisings and people's war under the leadership of the party and President Ho and the successes of the militant solidarity among the three Indochinese peoples, as well as the international sympathy, support and assistance they enjoy, have created a completely new situation in our country and on the Indochina Peninsula. This unprecedentedly favorable situation is a source of encouragement and pride.

The enemies of our people and class brought into full play their cruel strength in an attempt to cope with the situation; but they have gone from

one defeat to another and had to withdraw their forces from one battlefield after another. It was at the very moment they mobilized the largest forces that they suffered the most ignominious setback. For the first time in over 100 years foreign aggressor armies have been driven from our nation. The U.S. imperialists, the most powerful and cruelest imperialists who arrogantly selected our country as a proving ground for their prodigious strength, exerted tremendous efforts in their war of aggression against our country. Nevertheless, they suffered woeful setbacks and were forced to withdraw their forces from our country in shame. The aggressive designs of imperialism against our country were dealt a fatal blow. The reactionary forces who betray the fatherland, oppose the people and collude with the foreign aggressors can no longer enjoy the significant immediate support of a U.S. expeditionary army. The Saigon administration--a tool of neocolonialism and representative of the bourgeois, comprador, feudalist, reactionary, bureaucratic and militarist forces in the south--exists only by virtue of foreign support and assistance. This administration is being driven into a seriously deteriorating position. Its area of operation has been reduced. An overall political, economic and military crisis prevails in the areas under its control.

Meanwhile, our people's revolutionary forces have become more powerful.

In the south our people's liberated areas have been constantly consolidated and broadened. The powerful PLAF is in firm control of strategic areas. A sound revolutionary administration has been set up from the central to the local levels. The all-people broad solidarity bloc is gathering millions of people who display a thorough revolutionary spirit and have been tempered in the course of the protracted revolutionary struggle.

The socialist north has made outstanding progress and fully developed its decisive role as the revolutionary base of the entire nation. It is enjoying new, favorable conditions for accelerating the task of rehabilitating and developing the economy, building the material and technical facilities of socialism, and consolidating the national defense system. Building upon past achievements, the north has entered the period of postwar reconstruction and recorded very noteworthy achievements in economic rehabilitation. It is certain that it will make new progress in socialist construction, consolidating the national defense system and developing our nation into a powerful and prosperous socialist country.

The revolutionary forces in our country are demonstrably more powerful than the counter-revolutionary forces. We are in an ascending position, whereas the enemy is in a descending posture. This is the inevitable, irreversible trend. It constitutes a firm basis for our people to achieve complete victory.

The revolutionary struggles of the fraternal Lao and Cambodian peoples have also recorded great victories. The situation in the Indochina Peninsula has undergone very great changes and is developing to the great advantage of the revolutionary forces of the three Indochinese peoples.



Following the U.S. failure in Vietnam, many favorable conditions have evolved in the world situation for our revolution. The revolutionary forces in the world are continuing to strengthen and are launching unrelenting offensives against imperialism--which is being gradually weakened and driven into an overall crisis. In particular, the U.S. imperialists are meeting countless difficulties both at home and abroad as a result of their economic recession and political unrest. Their role as international gendarme has become less and less prominent.

Though a victim of heavy defeats, the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen remain very stubborn. They continue to pursue the neocolonialist war in the south according under a new strategy in an effort to destroy the gains of our people's anti-U.S. resistance, impose neocolonialism on the south and permanently divide our nation. The United States is continuing its military involvement in the south and its military and economic assistance to the puppet administration. The U.S. imperialists and the Nguyen Van Thieu administration are seriously and systematically sabotaging many fundamental provisions of the Paris agreement. The Nguyen Van Thieu administration is intensifying the war by conducting more nibbling and pacification operations and by bombing and attacking many liberated areas. It is ruthlessly trampling underfoot all democratic liberties of the people in areas under its control and is continuing to detain hundreds of thousands of patriotic southern compatriots.

On many occasions U.S. aircraft and warships have illegally encroached on North Vietnam's airspace and territorial waters. The United States maintains what it calls a deterrent force in many of its military bases in Southeast Asia while repeatedly resorting to insolent threats against the DRV.

It is prolonging the war of aggression in Cambodia and pursuing a plot to undermine the Lao revolution.

Far from realizing their evil schemes, however, the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen have suffered heavy setbacks. The development of the military situation in the past 2 years indicates that if the U.S.-puppets pursue the war and continue to sabotage peace and the Paris agreement they will court still more woeful setbacks.

Our people long for peace more eagerly than anyone else. However, it must be peace in independence and freedom. We demand that the U.S. imperialists live up to their commitments in the Paris agreement and fully respect our people's fundamental national rights and our nation's independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity, as specified in Article 1 of the agreement.

The current national and class struggles in our country remain protracted and arduous. Nevertheless, final victory will certainly belong to our people.

Our people must be ready to continue to fight. They must closely coordinate combat with construction in order to protect the gains of the revolution,

safeguard the Paris agreement and peace, build and defend the socialist north and the liberated areas in the south, completely defeat U.S. neocolonialism in the south, proceed toward the peaceful reunification of the fatherland, and fulfill our international obligation.

Under the leadership of the NFLSV and PRGRSV, the South Vietnamese armed forces and people continue to display the revolutionary offensive impetus and persevere in their just struggle. They are recording new and very important achievements. Developing upon their victorious position, they are endeavoring to build and defend the liberated areas and accelerate the struggle on the political, military and diplomatic fronts so as to defeat the new war strategy of the U.S. imperialists and the Saigon puppet administration, protect the Paris agreement, achieve national reconciliation and concord, and restore complete independence and freedom in our fatherland.

Our people in the north continue to display their love of the country and socialism, their spirit of collective ownership and determination to struggle for independence, freedom and the unification of the fatherland. They are engaged enthusiastically and creatively in labor and are striving to rehabilitate and develop the economy and culture and eliminate backwardness and poverty step by step. They are constantly heightening their vigilance and stand ready to defeat every one of the enemy's military adventures, to effectively defend the north, and fulfill all of their duties to the fraternal southern compatriots and soldiers.

In accelerating socialist construction, we must pay attention to consolidating the national defense system. We must endeavor to make the north firm and powerful in every respect--politically, socially, economically, militarily, scientifically and technologically. Our effort to coordinate the economy with the defense of the nation must be reflected in all economic policies, lines and plans and in all general economic activities and other specific economic and cultural activities at the central and local levels. In this way, every step in economic development will help improve the defense of the nation and every step in the consolidation of the defense of the nation will strengthen our ability to defend the nation and develop the economy.

Our people's armed forces must assume great missions in the new revolutionary phase. Cadres and soldiers of the people's armed forces must, together with the people, constantly heighten their vigilance and stand ready to fight and defeat all of the enemy's evil schemes and acts of war. The people's armed forces must constantly improve their political and ideological background, tactical and technical skills and sense of organization and discipline. They must turn the people's army into a conventional, modern powerful military organization and must vigorously and widely develop the masses' armed forces. They must achieve balance in building the main force, local army, and militia and self-defense forces and must develop crack standing forces and a powerful reserve force. Our armed forces must participate in national construction and economic development and assist and motivate the people to implement the policies and lines of our party and government.

To fulfill all military and political duties in the new stage, we must review the valuable experience our people have gained over a score of years in staging armed uprisings; in waging the revolutionary war, the liberation war, the war to defend the fatherland and the people's war; and in developing the national defense system. We must make every effort to learn from certain experiences of fraternal socialist countries and advanced experience throughout the world. We must improve our knowledge of modern military science and gradually develop and perfect Vietnamese Marxist-Leninist military science and our people's national salvation and defense science. This knowledge must be taught to cadres and soldiers and broadly disseminated among the people.

We affirm that in the present situation in our country and the world, which is more favorable than ever before in the wake of the great victory in the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance, our people are in a position to continue to fulfill the current important, glorious and historic duty set forth by the Vietnamese revolution. This duty is to build socialism in the north, complete the national democratic people's revolution in the south, and advance toward the peaceful reunification of the country.

No matter how long, hard, complex and violent the revolutionary struggle might be, our people and their armed forces, armed with absolute determination and unshakeable confidence, vow to unite and devote all their efforts and thoughts to the struggle to attain at all costs the lofty goal devised by the party and President Ho--building a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous and powerful Vietnam--and to contribute worthily to the cause of the world's people.

All of our troops and people will strive to build our Vietnamese fatherland into an inviolable fortress strong enough to protect its national sovereignty, territorial integrity and national security; firmly defend our land, air-space and territorial waters; and fight and defeat all imperialist aggressor enemies, however strong and cruel they might be.

Under the party's inevitably victorious banner, for the fatherland's independence and unification, for socialism and for the future and happiness of the younger generations, our people and their armed forces are determined to advance toward fulfilling all tasks outstandingly and to lead the great revolutionary cause of all our people to complete victory.

CSO: 4909

SEVERAL PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN COORDINATING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND THE  
CONSOLIDATION OF THE NATIONAL DEFENSE SYSTEM

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 74 pp 44-60

[Article by Sen Gen Van Tien Dung]

[Text] Under the correct leadership of our party headed by respected and beloved President Ho, all Vietnamese people rose up, successfully carried out the August revolution, smashed the oppressive and exploiting regime of the colonialists and feudalists, and built the DRV--an independent and free country united from Lang Son to the Ca Mau peninsula. They opened a new era--the era of independence, democracy and socialism in our country.

To firmly maintain their national independence and defend the territorial integrity of the fatherland, which we regained following the August revolution, all Vietnamese people have had to struggle relentlessly for the past 30 years against the imperialist aggressors and their henchmen. Under the glorious banner of the party and President Ho, our people have struggled while building up their forces; they have conducted wars of resistance while building the nation; they have attacked and annihilated the enemy to restore every inch of the sacred territory of the fatherland while maintaining and building the liberated areas; they have striven to restore and develop the economy urgently while strengthening the national defense forces in peacetime. Our people have grown stronger while fighting. We have gloriously defeated two great imperialist powers in succession--the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialist aggressors--as well as all their satellites and henchmen. Today, to achieve independence and democracy in the south, successfully and firmly defend socialism in the north, and proceed toward the reunification of the fatherland, our people in the two zones of the country still have to fight to smash the aggressive schemes and acts of U.S. imperialists and wipe out their neocolonialism in the southern part of the country.

Our people's revolutionary struggle over the past almost half century demonstrates that only by following the path of violent revolution and by firmly grasping the concept of revolutionary and mass violence will we be able to liberate the nation and our class and firmly maintain and defend the independence, freedom and territorial integrity of the fatherland. To do this,

our people must strive to build and strengthen the revolutionary forces in every field. We must strive to strengthen the economic and national defense potentials and concentrate in particular on building the all-people national defense force and a very powerful people's armed force.

#### I. Coordinating Economic Development With the Consolidation of the National Defense System, a Vital Requirement of Our People

From the first days of the country of Van Lang built by the Hung kings to the DRV of the Ho Chi Minh era, our people have always understood that building the country in coordination with defending the fatherland is important and shapes their future. Therefore, for 4,000 years our people have striven to defend and rehabilitate the country and resolutely resist foreign aggression, achieving brilliant military exploits. At the same time, they have done their best to combat natural calamities and improve natural conditions, boost production, develop their culture, and build their country into an increasingly powerful state.

From the time of the emergence of the feudal state to the time when the French colonialists invaded Vietnam, our people had to conduct dozens of wars of liberation and national defense. Victory or failure in these wars depended on the historical conditions of our country, and especially the political and social conditions prevailing at the time. When the ruling class was progressive and adopted anti-aggression policies and correct strategies and tactics, when it unified the people and mobilized the largest forces possible to wage liberation wars or wars to defend the fatherland, our people succeeded in defeating the aggressors and protecting the fatherland's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Tempered and tested in the struggle against natural calamities and enemy attacks, our people soon realized that the mission of each generation toward the next generation was to make the people prosperous and the country powerful and firmly maintain independence and freedom for the people in the land in which they were born and which they had developed. Our ancestors paid special attention to producing material wealth. They also always were fully aware of the aggressive nature of all enemies and clearly understood the requirements for protecting our people. Concerning their national policy, our forefathers always sought by every means to unite all our people, achieve unanimity among them, and use their strength as the firm basis for building a unified political foundation, achieving happiness and self-sufficiency for the people, and building a strong army. Troops took turns every month participating in production to build and develop the economy. The people served as troops, and the rural people, while engaging in agricultural activities, joined the local forces to develop the national defense forces in the localities and reduce the number of required peacetime regular troops. The systems and policies of coordinating national construction with national defense--such as teaching the art of boxing to youths, rotating troops so they could return to their families to cultivate ricefields, having the people take turns in joining the army, building roads and dredging rivers to serve the

people's daily life and facilitate troop movements, saving rations for the army, making weapons, and building trenches, fortifications and fortresses to defend villages--were increasingly improved generation after generation and dynasty after dynasty. The spirit of coordinating construction with defense was also reflected in festivals and the custom of inculcating the spirit of chivalry in the troops. This was manifested in competitions in archery, fencing, stick fighting, boxing, wrestling, rowing and cooking meals during military operations.

Through the study of Marxism-Leninism and the thousands of years of history of our people's national construction and defense, we realized ever more clearly that in order to survive, our people, in addition to struggling against natural calamities in order to develop production and build the economy to maintain and develop their daily life, also have had to fight resolutely against foreign aggression and defeat all aggressors. However, in order to bring all national liberation wars and wars to defend the fatherland to victory, our people must have powerful military forces; and, in order to have powerful military forces and a powerful national defense system, our people must have a strong enemy. Therefore, combining national construction and defense tasks, combining the development of our production, the building of a decent life, and the building and development of our economy with efforts to strengthen our national defense system and constantly prepare the country to defeat all wars of aggression have always been essential requirements for insuring the survival, independence and sovereignty of our Vietnamese people in the past as well as at present.

The way war is conducted depends on the economy, the status of production, and the nature of production relationships. The economy exerts an impact on the war in many fields. It produces and provides all material forces for the war, including manpower, finances, technical equipment, grain and other needs. The economic and social system exerts a great influence on morale and the ability to develop the political and moral strength of the army and people in wartime. The degree of development of production and the nature of the production relations of the warring countries in each period of history have a strong impact on the nature of the war, the methods by which it is conducted, the military art, the organization of the armed forces, the organization of the rear area, and even its scale and duration. In analyzing all the relationships between the economy and the war in the imperialist era, Lenin pointed out: "The relationship between the military organization of a country and its entire economic and cultural system has never been so close as it is now."<sup>1</sup> More than in any previous war against feudalists and aggressors in our people's history, the anti-imperialist war of the modern era required

---

1

Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1965, Vol 8, p 52.

the mobilization of very large armed forces and extensive manpower and the use of a huge amount of modern and expensive materiel and technical means. Losses in human and material resources, weapons and materiel were very great. The war was protracted, continuous, intensive, and extremely fierce. Such a situation required that our economy be strong in order to insure victory for our resistance.

The realities in our people's wars of resistance against the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialists have fully proved this fact.

In their 1945-54 anti-French resistance, our people began fighting when their economy was extremely backward and drained as a consequence of colonialist and feudalist rule. Completely blockaded by imperialism and suffering from enemy economic attacks, for 5 consecutive years our people faced a very difficult situation. The problem facing them at that time was that they either resign themselves to being crushed by the enemy or work diligently to develop their economic forces for the resistance. Complying with our party's economic line, developing the spirit of self-reliance, and with the sacrifices of our people, we fought the enemy while endeavoring to carry out production, develop the economy, and gradually implement our party's land policy to free production forces in the rural areas. We endeavored to develop agricultural production and build industrial bases to support the defense of the nation and small industries and handicrafts. We carried out trading and financial activities, communications and transportation, cultural and educational activities and so forth. At the same time, we waged an intensive economic struggle against the enemy. From a virtually exhausted economy, our people, while fighting, developed a people's democratic economy and basically met the requirements for grain, clothing, medicine, paper, and other essential needs of our armed forces and people during the resistance. Despite difficulties and privations, our national defense industry was gradually built and developed. Under combat conditions, it provided our armed forces with a significant amount of weapons and ammunition of various types, including relatively modern weapons. Not until 1950, when the Vietnam-China border was opened, did we begin to receive material assistance from the socialist countries. Our people's war continued to develop. Our armed forces grew strong, and their equipment and weapons were increased and improved. Our armed forces and people repeatedly conducted offensives on a larger scale which ended in the historic, strategic, decisive Dien Bien Phu battle.

In the anti-U.S. resistance, our people had to cope with an extremely belligerent, cruel archimperialist--the most powerful economic and military power in the capitalist world. After nearly 10 years of socialist revolution, socialist construction and concentrating on consolidating our national defense system, the forces of the north were further strengthened. In particular, our people's armed forces made enormous progress in terms of fighting strength. Along with the modern, regular people's army and the masses' armed forces, the reserve forces were vigorously and broadly organized. The battle between our people and the U.S. imperialists was an extremely fierce

historic confrontation between the most revolutionary and most reactionary forces of the present era. It was a fierce test of strength between two forces that differed vastly in terms of economic and military power. On one side was Vietnam--a small, sparsely populated country with a backward economy and agriculture and with limited economic and military power. On the other was the U.S. imperialists--the archimperialists whose country is large, has a large population, a developed economy, and much stronger military and economic power. This was a new kind of war. In scale, it was very large. So was the area on which the war was waged. The war was very modern, fierce, complex and protracted. Our requirements for human and material resources, equipment, weapons, and material and technical facilities far surpassed our requirements in the anti-French resistance both quantitatively and qualitatively. The U.S. imperialists deployed large air and naval forces--even used ground forces in the south--to launch extermination attacks against our rear area and economic potential. Despite this, in keeping with our party's correct wartime economic line, relying on the superior socialist regime, and enjoying our economic capabilities and the great material and technical assistance of fraternal socialist countries, our people maintained and strengthened our economic potential during the war. They developed our military forces constantly and vigorously. Our economy basically met our people's essential needs for food, clothing, health care, education, and transportation, thus helping to avert major disturbances in the people's daily life during the war. Under continuous and extremely fierce enemy attacks, we maintained smooth communications and transportation while constantly increasing our assistance to the frontline. Agricultural production was maintained. In many localities, agricultural productivity was high. Many industrial installations at the central and local levels produced large amounts of goods to support the defense of the nation, agricultural production, and the people's daily life. Our educational, cultural and medical activities were vigorously developed. Millions of outstanding male and female citizens joined the army and the assault youth units to fight and support the fighting on all battlefields.

In both resistances, especially in the anti-U.S. resistance, our people conducted the war by using the material and technical bases of a small-scale underdeveloped economy. It was a people's democratic, or socialist, economy. Moreover, thanks to the great assistance of the socialist camp and the valuable support of progressive people throughout the world, we succeeded in defeating imperialist aggressors with very great economic and military potentials. With advanced production relations and developing production forces, we were able to mobilize to the maximum the human and material resources of our entire people to conduct a people's war to oppose the war of aggression. Socialist production relations and the just cause of our resistance brought into full play the political and moral strength of our armed forces and people. The liberation of the work force and achievement of the right of ownership in production and economic management and the right of being masters of the country enabled our people to fight while building and developing our forces in every respect and meeting the requirements of the war. The increasingly efficient organization of the social work force in the agricultural,

industrial, communications and transportation fields helped our people to carry out military training and quickly build and develop the armed forces.

We won a great victory in our people's anti-U.S. national salvation resistance. However, the U.S. imperialists have not yet abandoned their scheme of aggression against our country. They are directing the Saigon lackey clique in sabotaging the Paris agreement and continuing the war under a new strategy in the south and threatening the north in order to maintain U.S. neocolonialism in the southern part of our country. Moreover, they have striven to achieve their aggressive scheme and undermine the struggle for independence and freedom of the fraternal neighboring peoples of Laos and Cambodia.

For this reason, we must coordinate economic development with the consolidation of the national defense system in order to cope with the U.S. imperialists' immediate and future aggressive schemes and acts. This is a vital need for our nation.

## II. Fully Understanding the Characteristics of the Revolution and People's War in Our Country and the Present Situation and Revolutionary Tasks in Coordinating Economic Development With the Consolidation of the National Defense System.

The coordination of economic development with the consolidation of the national defense system depends on the specific historical conditions of each nation and state, that is, on the political system, economy, economic potential, land, population, natural resources, military potential, combat strength of the armed forces, international assistance, the development of military science at home and abroad, the nation's experiences and traditions, and combat objectives.

Because political and social systems differ and the class nature of each state is unique, there are different lines, concepts and objectives related to the coordination of economic development and the consolidation of the national defense system. Because the level of economic development, land, and geographical position of each country is different, the procedures or ways of coordinating economic development with the consolidation of the national defense system cannot be the same.

Our socialist state is building the material and technical bases for socialism. It has gradually improved our people's living conditions, is conducting the undertaking of liberating and protecting of the country, and has contributed to the world people's revolutionary undertaking. We must build the economy and consolidate the national defense system in a coordinated and balanced manner and make these two tasks interact and develop concurrently. Economic development must strengthen the national defense system step by step. Meanwhile, the consolidation of the national defense system must create security for the economy to develop. It must increase the ability to protect the country and successfully cope with all sabotage and aggressive schemes of the imperialists.

To coordinate economic development with the consolidation of the national defense system successfully, we must fully understand the characteristics of the revolution and people's war in our country and the present situation and revolutionary tasks.

1. Our country is temporarily divided into two zones; our country's revolution involves two closely connected strategic tasks for the present: To complete the people's democratic national revolution throughout the country and successfully build socialism in the north. These two strategic tasks interact and complement one another in the process of leading our nation's revolutionary undertaking to complete success.

This interrelationship has a profound and strong impact on the coordination of economic development with the consolidation of the national defense system. Fully aware of this characteristic, we must build an increasingly prosperous and powerful north that possesses increased economic and military power and becomes a truly steady and strong rear base of the country's revolution. In this way, the north will have sufficient strength to build and protect socialism. It will fulfill its duties in the struggle for independence and democracy in the south and for the peaceful reunification of the fatherland as well as its international obligations.

In line with this characteristic, the guidelines and tasks related to the coordination of economic development with the consolidation of the national defense system must be determined correctly and comprehensively on the basis of the relationship between the two strategic tasks of our country's revolution in the new stage and on the basis of the relationship between national tasks and international obligations. In the process of the revolutionary struggle, these relationships have developed constantly and interacted vigorously. During a certain period, a certain problem is predominant, but in another period we may have to concentrate on solving another problem. At present, we must devote all our strength to building and developing the economy while strengthening the national defense system. But in another period, because the situation is critical, we might also have to concentrate all our efforts on meeting all the requirements of national defense and the war while building and developing the economy. Thus, those comrades in charge of the economic task as well as those responsible for the military task must always fully understand the party's political and military lines and the political and military tasks of the entire country as well as of each zone.

2. Our North Vietnam is advancing toward socialism by bypassing the stage of capitalist development.

We are advancing toward large-scale socialist production from a small-scale, backward production that lacked the material conditions and industrial bases for large-scale production--conditions and bases which many fraternal countries possess. We must build material and technical bases in order to gradually advance toward large-scale socialist production in accordance with



the party's socialist industrialization policy. Thus, the coordination of economic development with the consolidation of the national defense system must be carried out in the process of the advance toward large-scale production, in the process of building the material and technical bases of socialism, and in the process of socialist industrialization. Recently, our country went through a protracted war. Our economic restoration and development is a great and urgent task. Meanwhile, the build up of the armed forces and the consolidation of the national defense system in the new stage are also large tasks. This reality can give rise to many problems concerning invested capital, manpower and time for economic development and the consolidation of the national defense system. In many areas the economy cannot solve national defense problems, and some of these must be solved gradually. The national defense system must actively cooperate with the economy in solving problems concerning both spheres. There are also problems that cannot be solved within a short period. This difficult situation can be gradually overcome in the process of industrialization, in conducting the three revolutions, and in advancing toward large-scale socialist production in the north with the assistance of fraternal countries.

So that the coordination of economic development and the consolidation of the national defense system is in harmony with the aforesaid characteristic, we must understand our country's economic development task in the initial stage. We must correctly determine the guidelines, tasks, phases and procedures regarding the combination of economic development and the consolidation of the national defense system in every economic sector, locality, and sphere of activity in the country. We must grasp the general tasks and construction plan norms of various economic sectors in their early stage as well as the present urgent specific task of restoring and developing the economy. Meanwhile, we must adhere to the party's line on building the armed forces and consolidating the national defense system in the new stage of the revolution so as to determine the guidelines, tasks and plan for combining economic development with the consolidation of the national defense system in accordance with the law of economic development as well as with the laws of people's war and national defense in our country.

Thus, we must thoroughly understand the whole concept of large-scale socialist production. We must be aware of problems concerning the economy and national defense as well as the immediate and long-term basic requirements of developing and protecting the country. We must draw experience from the struggle against the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction against the north and pay adequate attention at this moment to combining economic development with the consolidation of the national defense system. In this way, we will take the initiative in defeating the enemy and safeguard all our economic installations.

3. Our people's war which uses a few to oppose the many and small forces to defeat large forces, has been highly developed and used the most modern means to oppose a very modern war of aggression waged by an enemy who possessed great economic and military strength.

We are living in an era in which man has made outstanding progress in production, science and technology. Everywhere in the world, large-scale production based on a modern industry is replacing small-scale production. Science has developed quickly and has produced unprecedented discoveries and inventions. Man has acquired advanced knowledge in work, production, science and the conquest of nature and now uses modern tools. More and more people are working and achieving greater labor productivity. As a result, warfare has undergone many changes. Large numbers of troops and modern weapons and arms with long-range, remarkable accuracy and great destructive power have been used to wage wars that develop on a large-scale basis and very quickly, fiercely and complexly. These characteristics of warfare influence the building of the economy and the consolidation of the national defense system of every state, regardless of its economic, political and social system.

Throughout the two resistances, particularly during the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance, the people's war in our country has been highly developed and employed increasingly modern means. It is a just people's war aimed at liberating the nation and defending the fatherland. We have developed and combined strength of the people and the three troop categories. We have combined various tactics, used a few to oppose the many and the small to prevail over the great, and utilized different modern weapons and means of war--some very modern--to oppose the aggressor imperialists who possess great numerical strength, ultramodern equipment and great economic and military power. All these facts point to the inevitable development of people's war in our country and reflect the common rules of warfare in the present era.

Experience in the recent anti-U.S. resistance indicates that our armed forces and people did their best to utilize in the most effective way all political, economic and military potentials provided by our socialist regime. The assistance of fraternal socialist countries was also necessary so we could develop our people's war into modern warfare in order to defeat the U.S. imperialists' brutal, ultramodern war of aggression.

This characteristic requires that we exert great efforts in combining economic development with the consolidation of the national defense system in order to gradually build an increasingly powerful and modern all-people national defense. The combination of economic development and the consolidation of the national defense system must reflect the general principles on preparing for and conducting a modern people's war under present conditions. Our production must quickly develop into a large-scale socialist production so we can gradually meet the increasing needs of national defense. Our agriculture, industry, communications and transportation must develop urgently to keep pace with the requirements of our economy and national defense. In this way, our all-people national defense can insure success in the people's war, in the national liberation war, and in the struggle to protect the fatherland and defeat the imperialists' wars of aggression.

4. Our country's revolution enjoys the support and great assistance of socialist countries and the world revolutionary movement and the militant solidarity of the Indochinese peoples in the struggle against the common enemy.

The socialist system in the world has become a decisive factor in the development of society. The appearance and development of the socialist system precipitated and strengthened the new relations of cooperation among countries within that system in the political, economic and national defense spheres. The maintenance and development of solidarity and cooperation within the socialist system are decisive to the survival and vigorous development of each country within the system, as well as of the system as a whole. This solidarity and cooperation has a great impact on the strong development of revolutionary movements throughout the world.

The Vietnamese revolution is part of the world revolutionary movement. The northern part of our country is a component of the socialist system. Our people continue to struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. We must constantly unite with the socialist system; strive to win the valuable and effective assistance of the fraternal socialist countries and the support of revolutionary people throughout the world; and fully utilize the strength of the present era to achieve national liberation, national reunification, the building and defense of socialism, and to frustrate all imperialist aggressive schemes and acts.

We must keep these points in mind while coordinating economic development with the consolidation of the national defense system. In determining guidelines, tasks and steps to be taken, we must bring into full play the spirit of self-reliance and autonomy. At the same time, we must take into account the assistance of the fraternal socialist countries. We must use this assistance well, in accordance with our party's political and military lines, so that its effect is maximized under the specific historical conditions of our country. In the course of receiving and using the fraternal countries' assistance, our people are dutybound to contribute to consolidating and developing international solidarity and unity among the fraternal countries and parties, defending the socialist system and increasing its strength, and accelerating the three world revolutionary trends.

In order to invade the three Indochinese countries, the U.S. imperialists assembled together and employed their lackeys in each of these countries. It turned them into tools to implement U.S. neocolonialism; transformed one country into a springboard for aggression against another; and, at the same time, resorted to many crafty tricks to divide the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and undermine their militant solidarity. Our people have assumed the glorious mission of greatly contributing to crushing this U.S. imperialist scheme. In the course of coordinating economic development with the consolidation of the national defense system, our people must fulfill their responsibility of intensifying the militant solidarity among the three peoples on this peninsula.

The aforementioned characteristics have a profound impact on our people's present coordination of economic development with the consolidation of the national defense system. Full awareness of these characteristics reflects a practical, class viewpoint in building and defending the socialist north, in the struggle to achieve independence and democracy in the south and proceed toward the reunification of the fatherland, and in fulfilling our international duty. In coordinating economic development with the consolidation of the national defense system in the present revolutionary stage, we must clearly realize all the requirements of the revolutionary tasks of the entire country and of each part of it. We must take into consideration our national and international duties; the requirements of construction, combat and improvement of the people's living conditions, and our country's capabilities in all fields, as well as the assistance of our brothers and friends throughout the world. At the same time, we must clearly realize the nature and immediate and long-term schemes of imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

### III: Some Main Points in Coordinating Economic Development With Consolidation of the National Defense System

Current coordination of economic development with the consolidation of the national defense system must be aimed at meeting the requirements of the revolutionary situation and the tasks of our country in the new stage. To this end, the guidelines, components, methods of implementation and steps to be taken must reflect the rules governing the socialist economy in the north, the laws that shape the people's war, and the requirements of consolidating all-people national defense in accordance with the characteristics of the revolution and the people's war in our country and with the present revolutionary situation and tasks noted above.

We must insure that both the economy and national defense are strong, that economic development creates increasingly strong material-technical bases for the consolidation of the national defense system, and that the consolidation of the national defense system permits the firm protection of economic development and contributes to developing the economy and successfully fulfilling the revolutionary tasks of our entire country in the new stage.

A. Economic construction must be coordinated with the consolidation of the national defense system in such a way that it is possible to build increasingly strong material-technical bases for socialism and meet the requirements of supporting the people's livelihood and creating material-technical bases of a modern national defense system.

The basic goals of socialist economic construction and development in the northern part of our country are to meet the requirements of expanded production; accelerate socialist industrialization; gradually meet the people's material, cultural and spiritual needs; meet the requirements of the consolidation of the national defense system and the defense of the north; and fulfill all the military tasks of the revolution in our country.



Our entire party and all our people and armed forces are striving to implement the various party resolutions and state plans on economic construction and development while paying attention to coordinating economic construction with the consolidation of the national defense system. The economy must support and be closely coordinated with the defense of the nation. We always consider this a basic, long-term task of the entire people's economy, not a temporary task to be carried out for a certain period by certain sectors. The economy must successfully meet the following basic requirements:

In peacetime, while meeting the requirements arising from the development of production, the building of material-technical bases of socialism and the people's livelihood, the economy must meet the requirements of the armed forces. It must promote the development of the people's armed forces, the consolidation of all-people national defense system, the creation of firm and stable sources of strategic material and technical reserves for war, and the formulation of plans to shift the economy from peacetime to wartime.

When a war breaks out, we must take the initiative in rapidly shifting the people's economy from a peacetime to a wartime footing. We must avoid the chaos that usually follows the outbreak of a war, minimize enemy-caused losses, and expeditiously meet the urgent and complex requirements of combat in the initial stage of the war.

In the course of the war, it is necessary to maintain and develop production, meet the increasing requirements of the war and the people's vital needs, help lead the war to victory, and create conditions for postwar economic rehabilitation and development.

To achieve these objectives and meet these requirements, we must clearly determine the problems that the national economy must solve so that it effectively supports and closely coordinates with the defense of the nation. These problems have many facets, and the scope of this coordination is very broad. We cite only some main points in this context.

1. The economy must support and coordinate with the defense of the nation. This must be reflected in the guidelines, tasks and plans for economic management. In the long-term and short-term economic development guidelines, tasks and plans, we must not only define the objectives of the development of production and acceleration of socialist industrialization but must also clearly define the objectives and requirements for supporting both the people's livelihood and the defense of the nation. These guidelines, tasks and plans must reflect the party's line, tasks and policies for economic construction and consolidation of the national defense system. They must be consistent with the capabilities of the national economy as a whole and of each economic sector in any given period and must insure that economic construction and the consolidation of the national defense system develop smoothly and in balanced manner. We must avoid attaching excessive importance to the

people's livelihood while slighting national defense and also avoid the opposite. This is a most important task because failure to clearly define guidelines, tasks and plans at the outset creates a situation in which various economic sectors and units have no clear-cut objectives and no basis for deciding on the use and distribution of manpower, financial resources, materials, and so forth. Coordination would be lagging or slipshot at the expense of national defense. We must pay attention to achieving coordination between economic construction and the consolidation of the national defense system when formulating economic plans. This coordination must not be delayed pending formulation of economic plans.

2. The economy must support and coordinate with the defense of the nation. This must be reflected in the entire structure of the national economy, as well as in each economic sector.

After guidelines, tasks and plans are established, an appropriate economic structure is needed to insure they are achieved. This is a rational, balanced structure capable of insuring satisfactory fulfillment of economic construction tasks and national defense support tasks.

While producing social wealth to meet the requirements arising from the development of production and the people's livelihood, our national economy gradually creates greater, modern material-technical bases for the task of consolidating the national defense system, defending the fatherland in peacetime and wartime in accordance with the requirements of a modern people's war, and defeating any modern war of aggression waged by imperialism. Material and technical requirements for national defense include such things as grain, foodstuffs, clothing, weapons, technical equipment, medicine, means of communications, fuel and raw materials, and the reserve stocks of these items. These items are produced according to long- or short-term plans formulated by the state for the various sectors and economic areas concerned. Therefore, the national economy should have a rational and balanced structure which includes heavy and light industries; industry at the central and local level, and agriculture, forestry, communications, transportation and postal service. In addition, each economic sector should have an appropriate structure.

Our people are striving to develop both heavy and light industries and the foodstuff industry. They are giving priority to the rational development of heavy industry, which includes the mechanical production, electrical, metallurgical, mining, construction materials and chemical sectors, with mechanical production playing the key role. In coordinating the economy with national defense activities in industry, we must primarily pay attention to coordinating guidelines, tasks and planning. Along with playing the key role in the national economy, industry must also intensively contribute to gradually developing our industry that supports national defense and, in the immediate future, contribute to repairing and producing spare parts, improving weaponry, and gradually developing the basis for advancing toward the production of a number of modern and relatively modern weapons

and equipment that we are capable of producing and thereby efficiently support the modernization of our army.

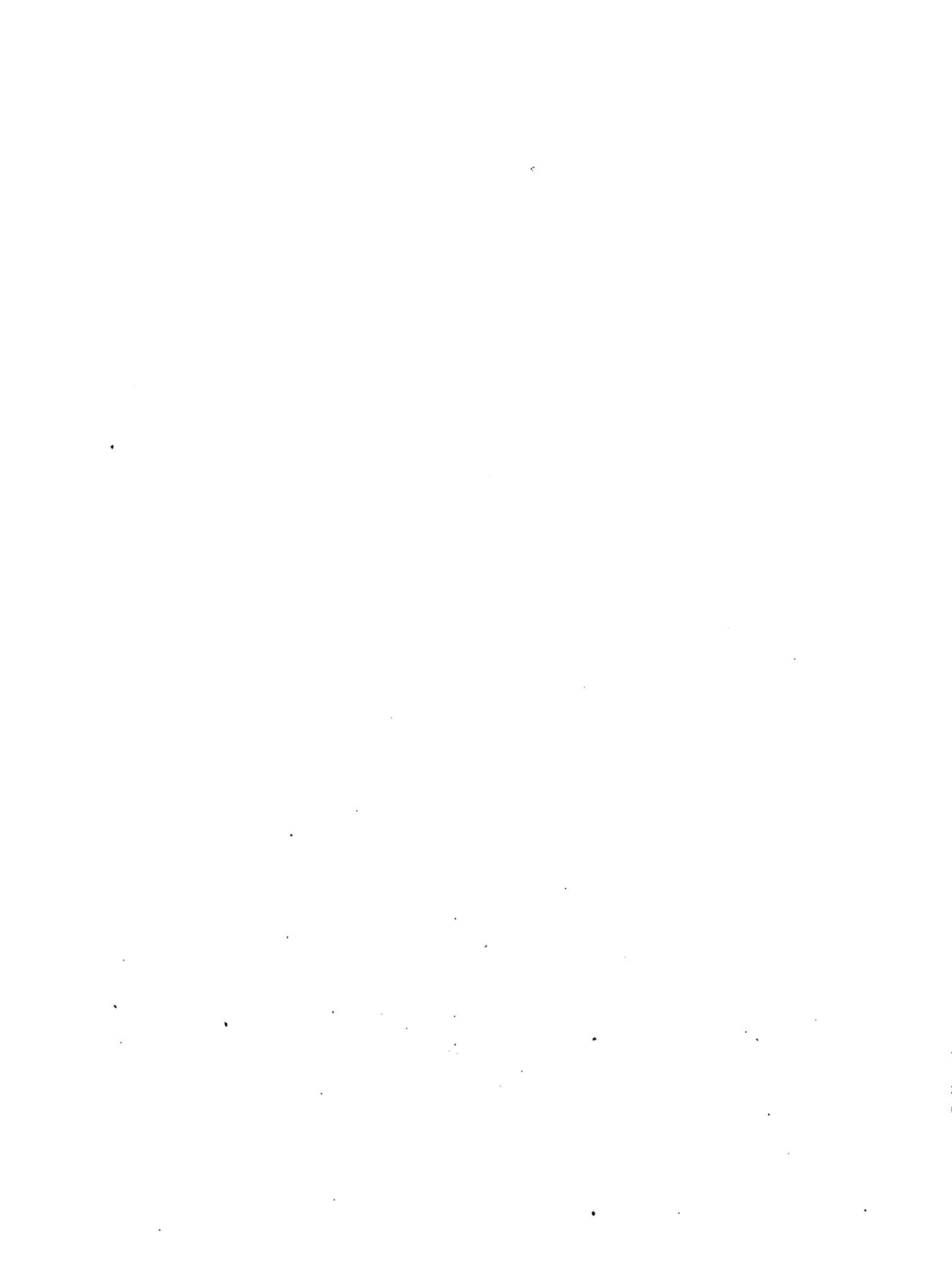
In agriculture, the coordination of economic with national defense activities must first of all be manifested in the coordination of guidelines, tasks, production plans, and the allocation of crops and livestock so as to create an abundant source of grain, foodstuffs and materials to insure that our armed forces and people have enough food and clothing and a sufficient reserve stock of these items in both peace and wartime. It is necessary to protect the forests, carry out afforestation and exploit forestry products according to plan in order to develop the economy while meeting national defense requirements on a long-term basis. It is necessary to protect and exploit our territorial waters, fishing areas, and sea resources while satisfactorily carrying out economic and national defense activities.

In communications and transportation, it is necessary to closely coordinate the planning of networks of roads, railroads, waterways, sea routes, pipelines and airlines and gradually create complete and uninterrupted communication networks between the nation's rearbase and the battlefields, including the most remote; between the cities, municipalities and various localities; between base areas at various levels; between the rearbase and border areas and islands; and between our country and the countries directly related to our fighting. In addition to developing the road network, it is also necessary to devise plans for developing storage facilities, docks, harbors and loading, unloading, repair and fuel stations.

3. The performance of economic activities in support of and coordination with national defense activities must be reflected in the selection and planning of economic areas and building and developing the economy at the central and local levels. This is a very important matter that helps to insure the vitality of our economy in a modern war. This is particularly important for our country which, because of its geographical position, is easy prey for division by the enemy in wartime. In addition, our economy has been affected by the irrationalities left us by the colonialist and feudalist regime. For example, most of the cities, industrial centers, vital communications lines, and people are concentrated in the delta and coastal areas.

Our economic network should be developed selectively and uniformly, with emphasis on the areas of strategic importance to our country. The network must not only be firmly established but also be mobile so it can avoid serious damage by a strategic enemy attack. It must improve the provision of local supplies to strategic areas and localities, maintain and vigorously develop the vitality of our economy, and efficiently support the requirements of combat and people's livelihood under any wartime circumstances.

The coordination of economic and national defense activities should be carried out after completing the building of each project so as to facilitate production in both peace and wartime and provide advantageous conditions for



for protection in wartime--particularly regarding such projects of primary importance as electrical, metallurgical and mechanical installations, major bridges, docks, harbors, train stations and post offices.

4. The coordination of economic activities in support of national defense must be carried out in the production planning and construction stages. While planning or making a machine, tool, vehicle, house, bridge, factory, school, township, municipality, industrial complex and so forth, we should, in addition to thinking of their capabilities in serving economic interests, concern ourselves with the national defense interests that they can serve in both peace and wartime.

5. The performance of economic activities in support of and in coordination with national defense activities must be manifested in the planning of manpower by the various economic sectors in support of national defense. According to plans formulated by the state, various economic sectors and units and the localities should regularly and positively implement manpower plans in a satisfactory manner in regard to quantity, morale, organization, professional, technical, and military levels, physical conditions, and so forth to meet the national defense requirements according of peacetime and wartime plans.

6. The performance of economic activities in support of and in coordination with national defense activities must also be manifested in the necessary practical preparations by the various economic sectors in peacetime so as to be ready for all emergencies and rapidly turn a peacetime economy into a wartime one when war breaks out.

We must work out a wartime economic plan to replace the peacetime plan. This plan must not be drawn up in a general manner, but must be strict, balanced, and comprehensive. It is necessary to correctly apply socialist economic rules in wartime conditions, set forth conditions and measures for carrying them out, and envisage wartime economic management procedures.

On the basis of the approved annual plan, we must expedite the implementation of a number of tasks in order to be ready to implement the plan when war breaks out, including such tasks as placing production facilities, equipment, material supplies, and grain in reserve; carrying out on an experimental basis the production of items which support national defense at a number of enterprises that have been assigned to produce these items when war breaks out; and conducting surveys for formulating policies and production and distribution systems in wartime.

It is necessary to work out air defense and evacuation plans while carrying out economic activities. It is necessary to solve such problems as working out evacuation plans to move people and property out of the cities, industrial centers, and populated centers in those areas where such evacuation is necessary; work out precautionary and evasive plans for the personnel of those installations who are unable to move to other areas and must stay at these installations

to carry out production; and work out plans to build in peacetime a number of shelter projects and underground shelters for very important installations.

B. Consolidation of the national defense must be coordinated with building the economy in such a way that we can be in a position to protect the building of the economy while fulfilling military duties and positively contributing to developing the economy, building the rearbase, and strengthening our country's economic and national defense potential.

The people's armed forces and national defense forces have the main duties of fighting to protect the state of the proletarian dictatorship, the economy, and the fatherland. In addition, they have other very important duties: To take part in productive labor, carry out tasks entrusted to them by the party and the state, join their efforts with all the people to successfully build socialism and a firm and strong rearbase, and strengthen their forces in every respect so as to enable our revolution to advance to increasingly greater successes. In satisfactorily carrying out these duties in the new revolutionary stage, our people's armed forces will positively contribute to the development of the country and the protection of the fatherland.

To contribute to building and developing the economy, the people's armed forces should fulfill their duties to protect the socialist undertaking, our people's revolutionary gains, and the fatherland. The armed forces must constantly heighten their vigilance and be ready to fight and to fight successfully. Our cadres and soldiers should strive to train comprehensively so as to improve their combat strength, continue to work toward a regular and modern army and meet military requirements in the new revolutionary stage. The various units, branches, and services should be vigilant and alert, act resolutely and accurately, and rapidly smash the schemes and acts of sabotage and aggression of the U.S. imperialists and the lackey clique. All three troop categories must be ready to successfully fulfill all their combat missions on all battlefields. The people's armed forces must bring their key role into full play and, together with all the people, fight and defeat the aggressors, protect our human and material resources, insure security to help further promote our socialist economy, and firmly protect the territorial integrity of our country from the border areas to the offshore islands as well as our airspace and territorial waters.

Our armed forces, particularly our main force troops, manage a large social work force and much property. Therefore, to contribute practically to building and developing our economy, the armed forces must practice thrift and achieve high efficiency in their use of the work force, weapons, technical equipment, and time during the process of discharging their army-building and combat duties. National defense involves expenditures. These expenditures are necessary to protect the production of material wealth in a situation in which the class and national struggle are still being pursued. However, it is absolutely forbidden to cite the necessity of national defense expenditures in order to indiscriminately use or waste the efforts, sweat, tears and property of the people. This goes against the revolutionary nature

and tradition of our people's armed forces. Therefore, when utilizing human and material resources and time, we must make scientific evaluations and calculations in a high spirit of responsibility in order to most rationally and economically utilize these resources and time and attain good results. We should accomplish our work with just half the amount of manpower ordinarily needed. We must only utilize what we need, we must not utilize what we do not need. It is necessary to make full use of every type of weapon and technical equipment on hand--new or old and made by us or seized from the enemy. It is necessary to maintain all weapons and technical equipment satisfactorily and avoid cases in which they break down before they should or are lost. This must become a task which all cadres and soldiers must strictly fulfill. It is absolutely forbidden to cite objective conditions, combat tasks or military tasks as an excuse for freely utilizing manpower and material assets in the army at one's convenience without respect to set managerial systems or principles. If this is carried out satisfactorily, our armed forces will improve their combat strength and at the same time reduce the people's contributions and contribute to overcoming all difficulties encountered in economic construction and development and strengthen the army-people solidarity.

In the process of fulfilling their build up and combat tasks, our armed forces must dedicate all their efforts to meet by themselves part of their material and technical needs. This is also a positive measure to contribute to economic construction and development. The primary task of our people's armed forces is to build up the army, achieve combat readiness and engage in combat. However, we still have conditions in which we must produce on a self-sufficiency basis part of the needed grain, food, clothing, medicine, weapons and technical equipment according to our capabilities and in conformity with our task of achieving combat readiness. This is a manifestation of the fine nature of our army. The people's armed forces must carry out this duty seriously in conformity with the tasks, plans and guidelines set forth by the Central Military Party Committee. We already have the tradition of and experience in participating in productive labor and contributing to economic development. Therefore, we need only to correctly understand this task and scientifically and rationally organize its implementation. If this is accomplished, our people's armed forces will be able to develop their manpower in the army in order to satisfactorily produce, step by step, part of the army's material needs themselves. At the same time, our people's armed forces must always be exemplary in enforcing the laws of the state, contribute positively to managing and stabilizing the market, seriously implement financial and commercial regulations, and resolutely enforce the laws on the protection of forests and the protection and exploitation of the fatherland's territorial waters.

The people's armed forces must also seriously implement the production task and plan entrusted to them by the state. This is a task of the armed forces in directly participating in socialist construction.

The regular and local forces must participate in economic construction and development in accordance with the plan entrusted to them by the State and in conformity with their task of building up the army, achieving combat readiness, and engaging in combat. After being entrusted with building a project, responsible units must carry out set plans by achieving good quality, low production costs and a high economic level and within a set deadline. In the process of productive labor, army units must improve their technical knowledge, enforce discipline, increase their productivity, and insure that every working hour and worker attains high labor efficiency and yields a practical economic value. Army units must eliminate the bad habit of considering their participation in labor and economic development as a temporary task and of carrying out set plans to build projects at their convenience and in a manner which wastes manpower, thus bringing about low economic efficiency. Army units must organize their production activities in accordance with their labor task, while meeting the requirements of the army's build-up, combat readiness, and combat.

The militia and self-defense forces, which are large forces directly linked to production, must fully develop their assault role in production. The cadres and soldiers in the militia and self-defense forces, no matter what production sectors and economic areas they are in, must struggle to become collective workers and peasants and state manual and office workers with an active labor spirit, a good labor technique, a sound labor discipline and a high labor productivity. They must be progressive labor comrades in the emulation movement to build socialism. We must draw experience from various localities concerning the concentrated use of the militia and self-defense forces to completely fulfill the major economic construction tasks in the localities, such as building water conservancy projects or reclaiming a large area within a definite period. Naturally, this must be accomplished in conformity with the local combat readiness and combat task.

The armed forces and the national defense forces must actively and positively coordinate with various economic sectors in meeting the national defense requirements as well as the economic requirements. Our present economic restoration and development task is very urgent, and our national defense consolidation task is also very heavy. In carrying out these two tasks, we will encounter definite difficulties. The national defense forces and the people's armed forces must actively and positively coordinate with various economic sectors in setting forth guidelines, tasks and measures to meet the national defense requirements and must clearly grasp the practical capabilities of our national economy so as to set forth appropriate needs and join in overcoming all difficulties.

C. Building men who excel simultaneously in production and combat is a very basic task aimed at accelerating economic construction and strengthening and consolidating the national defense system.

In the coordination of economic construction and the national defense system, as well as in any field of social activity, people always play a decisive



role. Therefore, the task of educating people and preparing them to acquire the ability to successfully build and manage a modern, large-scale system of socialist production must be combined with the task of educating them and preparing them to acquire sufficient ability to successfully wage a modern people's war to defend the fatherland. It is necessary to make all our citizens produce and fight well so as to serve both the economic and the national defense interests as well as the immediate and long-range interests of the fatherland.

The building and development of a modern, large-scale system of socialist production requires that we educate our people and turn them into socialist people--people who possess a high level of revolutionary awareness and the spirit of collective ownership, of laboring selflessly and diligently and thriftily to build the country; who fully understand and seriously implement party lines and tasks in economic construction and development; who possess a high level of economic management and good techniques in handling modern production tools; who enforce a sound labor discipline and attain high labor productivity. These people as citizens must also be educated and prepared to fulfill the task of protecting production and defending the fatherland and voluntarily and scrupulously fulfill their national defense obligation. The task of educating and preparing the people for a people's war against the imperialists' cruel war of aggression must be scrupulously carried out on a large scale even in peacetime.

To develop the Vietnamese people's tradition of laboring diligently and fighting bravely and motivate all our people to fulfill the task of building the economy and consolidating the national defense system, President Ho taught us: "Each citizen must be an enthusiastic laborer and at the same time a brave soldier, and he must simultaneously engage in building the country and defending the fatherland.<sup>2</sup> The economic sectors in which very large work forces are educated, managed and utilized must assume their heavy responsibility of educating and preparing the people for national defense and the people's war in defense of the fatherland. The economic and cultural sectors must scrupulously carry out this preparation and education in the process of building and developing production. The ideological education of manual and office workers must be coordinated with heightening of their socialist awareness and patriotism. They must be educated in a selfless labor spirit in coordination with strengthening their spirit of stalwart fighting and "determination to fight and win." It is necessary to coordinate to coordinate the improvement of their awareness of the party's economic construction line with their education of military lines, people's war, and all-people national defense of the party. The constant introduction of modern labor tools and techniques into production must be closely linked to the creation of conditions for developing a corps of cadres who fully understand modern military science and technology. While developing the sports and gymnastics movement in support of productive labor, it is

---

<sup>2</sup>Ho Chi Minh: "Unite and Advance To Win New Victories," HOC TAP, No 2, 1963, p 2.

necessary to combine it with the same movement in support of the defense of the nation and so forth.

The education and preparation of people for the development and protection of the fatherland is really a large revolutionary movement. This is linked to the three revolutions--the production relations revolution, the technological revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution--and depends on the results of these revolutions. We should concentrate on satisfactorily carrying out education to prepare for the economic and national defense sector a corps of cadres who are extremely faithful to the revolutionary undertaking of our party and people, who firmly grasp the rules of the economy and war, who have good economic management and military leadership skills, who have advanced scientific and technical standards, and who will be able to outstandingly fulfill all duties entrusted to them by the party and state in peace and wartime.

Our fatherland and people have existed and progressed for thousands of years and have had very glorious traditions of founding and protecting the nation. Under the party's leadership, the people throughout our country have proudly and undauntedly defeated all imperialist aggressors, labored valiantly and selflessly, developed production and the economy, and scored wonderful achievements in national liberation and in developing and defending the fatherland. Our armed forces and people have formed very fine traditions of carrying out the resistance while building the country, developing the economy and consolidating the national defense system.

Our revolution now enjoys unprecedented advantages and has great capabilities and extremely fine prospects. By strengthening the leadership of party organizations at various levels, increasing the managerial responsibility of government agencies, and developing the spirit of collective ownership of all our armed forces and people, we will certainly be able to successfully implement the tasks of coordinating economic development activities with national defense consolidation so as to successfully achieve the national and democratic revolution in the south, build socialism in the north, proceed toward the peaceful reunification of the fatherland, and fulfill our international obligations.

CSO: 4909



**UPHOLDING THE REVOLUTIONARY NATURE AND TRADITIONS OF THE VIETNAMESE  
PEOPLE'S ARMY**

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 74 pp 61-79

[Article by Col Gen Song Hao]

[Text] Under the leadership of the party and beloved and esteemed President Ho, the Vietnamese revolution has won successive extremely glorious victories for more than 40 years. Our people's revolutionary forces have continued to strengthen and develop. The birth of the VPA was a great historic fact, marking an important step in the progress of our working class and nation in building the revolutionary forces and conducting the revolutionary struggle.

For the first time in our country's history, the working class, laboring people, and the peoples of the various nationalities possessed a revolutionary army--a real people's army and a sharp weapon with which to liberate our nation and class, regain independence, and protect the fatherland.

In 30 years of continuous struggle, intensive development, and successive victories over one aggressive enemy after another, the VPA has recorded a history of valiant combat and development. With its revolutionary nature, beautiful traditions, and invincible strength, winning the confidence of our party, the affection of our people, and the respect and esteem of our friends, and frightening all enemies, the VPA has become a truly heroic army of a heroic nation.

Emerging from the seething revolutionary mass movement, the first units of our country's revolutionary armed forces, right in their early days, fought valiantly against the large professional armies of the French colonialists and Japanese fascists and triumphed, thus contributing to continually advancing our country's revolution. Developing rapidly in the struggle movement against the French and Japanese, our armed forces and people, under the leadership of the party, seized the good opportunity to arise and smash the ruling yoke of the feudal imperialists, regain political power for the people, lead the August revolution to brilliant victory, and found the DRV. This very important, historically significant initial success of our people's

democratic national revolution opened a new era--the era of independence and freedom of our fatherland, the era of socialism in our country--and raised the banner of national liberation in Southeast Asia and the world.

After the August revolution, at a time when our nation was faced with an extremely difficult and complex situation, when our administration was in its infancy, our army was still young, our country was encircled by the colonialists and the reactionary lackeys of foreign powers were attempting to overthrow the revolutionary administration by force, the French colonialists reinvaded our country. Our people and armed forces entered a new period of severe trials. In the light of our party's correct line of resistance, with the firm determination not to lose the country and become slaves, and in response to beloved and esteemed President Ho's appeal--"regardless of their sex, age, religious belief, political tendency, or nationality, let all Vietnamese rise up and fight the French colonialists to save the fatherland. Let them use weapons or swords if they are available. If they do not have swords, let them use hoes, shovels, and sticks. Everyone must strive to resist the colonialists to save the country, "--our armed forces and people unanimously rose up and fought the French colonialist army, which was equipped with heavy guns, tanks, warships, and aircraft. Our armed forces and people conducted the resistance while building the country. They fought the enemy while participating in construction and production activities. They achieved self-sufficiency in every aspect, determined to maintain the newly regained administrative power and protect the fatherland.

Under the party's correct leadership, protected by the people throughout the country, closely allied with the fraternal peoples and liberation troops of Laos and Cambodia in the struggle, and wholeheartedly supported and assisted by the socialist countries, the national liberation movement, and the world workers movement, our armed forces and people fought valiantly. The more they fought the stronger they became and the greater were their victories.

Faced with an enemy who had numerical superiority, our armed forces fought resolutely to exterminate him while stepping up their development, improving and developing their spiritual strength, increasing their material bases, using the enemy's weapons to kill him, overcoming all difficulties and hardships, striving to improve themselves in every respect, constantly increasing their combat strength, and winning increasingly great victories.

In the beginning, our army possessed only small units equipped with rudimentary weapons. Later, it fought the enemy with regimental-size units and multiregiment units and scored resounding armed exploits both in the mountainous areas and on the plains, in the countryside and in the urban areas and in the south as well as the north. With the 1947 fall-winter armed exploits in Viet Bac and the 1953-54 winter-spring armed exploits--of which the Dien Bien Phu victory was the most resounding--our army and people successfully defeated the French colonialists' professional aggressor army, which was known for its crack ground forces and such famous generals as Leclerc, Salan, De Lattre de Tassigny and Navarre. The French colonialists'

war of aggression--which enjoyed U.S. support and had a major part of its expenditures covered by the U.S. imperialists--was woefully defeated. Our people's sacred resistance against the French colonialists and the U.S. interventionists scored glorious successes.

Shortly after we had defeated the French colonialists, the U.S. imperialists moved in and continued the war of aggression against our country. Faced with the most powerful and cruelest enemy, who possessed the greatest economic and military potential in the capitalist world and employed a very pernicious counterrevolutionary global strategy, our armed forces and people throughout the nation were of one mind and determined to fight and defeat the U.S. aggressors.

In their tenacious struggle, with the determination to fight and win and with their intelligence and creativeness, our people's armed forces fought in an extremely valiant and self-denying manner and scored marvelous military exploits, thus writing a magnificent epic of the Vietnamese people's war that defeated the extremely brutal new-style war of aggression of the U.S. imperialists.

Following the 1959-1960 earth-shaking general uprising, our armed forces and people launched fierce attacks, causing the complete collapse of the dictatorship and despotic Ngo Dinh Diem regime, a tool of U.S. imperialism.

With their victories at Ap Bac, Binh Gia, Ba Gia, and Dong Xoai, our armed forces and people frustrated the U.S. "special war" strategy.

With the Van Tuong victory and other victories over the enemy's 1965-66 and 1966-67 strategic counteroffensives and by waging the Mau Than spring general offensive and concerted uprising, our armed forces and people bankrupted the U.S. "limited war" strategy.

By uniting and coordinating with the armed forces and people of two fraternal neighboring countries in defeating the 1/21 Toan Thang and 7/19 Lam Son military operations and by winning victory in the 1972 large-scale strategic offensive, our armed forces and people frustrated the "Vietnamization of the war" strategy.

In defeating the first war of destruction in Johnson's time and foiling the second war of destruction in Nixon's time, in which the strategic offensive by B-52 aircraft during the last days of 1972 was defeated, our armed forces and people completely bankrupted the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction and their blockade.

With their brilliant feats of arms in both zones of our country, our people's armed forces and compatriots nationwide defeated the aggressive U.S. imperialists and forced them to withdraw from South Vietnam all of their expeditionary troops, who had called themselves the most powerful army having unimaginable strength; end the bombing, strafing, and blockade of North Vietnam; and

pledge to respect Vietnam's independence, sovereignty, unification, and territorial integrity.

The longest, cruelest, most unpopular, and most costly U.S. war of aggression was pitifully defeated. This was the greatest defeat in the history of aggressive war of the U.S. imperialists in the 20th century.

The most valiant sacred resistance in the history of struggle of our Vietnamese nation against foreign aggression had won a great victory. This victory was a brilliant example set by the revolutionary army of a nation which was neither vast nor heavily populated--an army that, with its noble ideal of struggle, under the correct and talented leadership of the party of the working class, and with the assistance of the fraternal peoples and friends throughout the world, had defeated the aggressor army of the most powerful imperialist. This historically significant and epochal victory opened up bright prospects for our country's revolution with unprecedented advantages in the new stage.

With their glorious victory in the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance, our people's army is truly worthy as an ever victorious and invincible army. Today, after 30 years of brilliant victories and valuable experience in construction and combat, our people's armed forces have become one of the great revolutionary forces capable of fulfilling all of its duties and cooperating with all of the people in advancing our country's revolution toward complete victory.

Educated and trained by the party, born of the people and fighting for the people, our army has developed a revolutionary nature and very glorious traditions.

Our army always remains absolutely loyal to the party, the fatherland, and the people. It is equipped with a very high determination to fight and win and has proven to be valiant in combat, industrious in labor, zealous in all tasks, and intelligent and creative in action. It has achieved close unity in its ranks and true democracy. It maintains strict discipline, close army-people solidarity, and sincere international solidarity. It displays eagerness for study and progress and positiveness in training. It constantly heightens its revolutionary qualities and its power in action, endures all hardships, overcomes all difficulties, and has proven to be industrious and thrifty in construction and combat. It fulfills all duties and defeats all enemies.

Our army is truly worthy of beloved and esteemed Uncle Ho's praise: "Our army is loyal to the party, faithful to the people, and ready to fight and sacrifice for the fatherland's independence and freedom and for socialism. It can fulfill any duty, overcome any difficulty, and defeat any enemy."

These glorious traditions are the quintessence of our army's most beautiful revolutionary qualities. At the same time, they clearly reflect its military

skills and intelligence and creativeness in implementing the military line and tasks set forth by our party and in mastering military science and technology in order to achieve success in construction and combat.

Our army's traditions derive from our troops' sacrifices in struggle; from the great efforts of numerous heroes and dead combatants; from all of our people's great contributions, untold sacrifices, and affectionate assistance; and from the wholehearted support and aid of the fraternal countries and our friends throughout the world. These traditions have continued to develop and improve and are reflected in the thoughts, sentiments, actions, and daily activities of our cadres and soldiers as well as in combat, construction, and work. They are the result of the great efforts of our party, President Ho, and our people to educate and improve our cadres and soldiers. They are also the result of the toil and perseverance of these cadres and soldiers in their study and training and of the trials they have endured in the revolutionary struggle, especially in the revolutionary war replete with hardships, difficulties, and military exploits.

Our army's traditions are the continuation and development to a high degree of our nation's tradition of patriotic struggle against foreign invasion. In its life-and-death struggle against aggressive enemies, our nation has founded the traditions of ardent patriotism, heroism, unsubmitiveness, bravery, resourcefulness, creativeness, and resoluteness in struggle to defeat all aggressive enemies in order to regain and maintain our national independence and preserve our national sovereignty and natural resources, the gains of our people's labor, and all cultural and spiritual values of our nation.

Our fine national traditions have been inherited by our party, which is developing them in a new historical situation. Our party has always educated the people and army in our heroic national traditions, patriotism, the love of socialism and the spirit of proletarian internationalism, the spirit of thorough revolution, and the revolutionary offensive spirit; and it encourages everyone to strive to struggle to advance our revolution toward final victory.

Therefore, our army's revolutionary traditions have inherited the traditions of patriotism, stalwartness and unsubmitiveness of our people. At the same time, our army is imbued with the resolute and absolute revolutionary nature of our working class of which our party is the vanguard. These are the traditions of a revolutionary army, a new-type army, which has been developed, led and educated by our party, a genuine Marxist-Leninist party.

Our army's traditions, which have been created in the realities of combat and the performance of tasks, studies, and mass activities, have been formed and consolidated, developed and perfected in the process of revolutionary struggle. They reflect the positive revolutionary factors of our army in combat and in developing its forces. They guide all actions of our cadres and combatants and encourage everyone to develop to a high degree their spirit, energy, intelligence and talents, to know how to constantly enhance their strengths and overcome their weaknesses, and to advance toward

successfully fulfilling all missions entrusted to them. The noble revolutionary nature, acts of sacrifice and selflessness, talented combat ability, and outstanding achievements of our cadres and combatants and the glorious armed exploits of the various units have further enhanced our army's glorious traditions, increasingly improved them, and translated them into the strength of our army's actions aimed at successfully fulfilling all missions entrusted to it.

Fully aware of the fact that it originated from the people, has been developed, guided and educated by the party and is dutybound to fight for our party's revolutionary cause and the people's interests, our army has always displayed boundless loyalty to the party and to the fatherland and the people. It has heightened its determination to make sacrifices and fight until the end for the liberation of the country and the working class, and for independence, democracy and socialism.

All of our cadres and soldiers fully realize that their absolute loyalty to the party is proof of their loyalty to the fatherland, the nation, the people, the working class and the revolution. This is because our party represents most faithfully the fundamental interests of our working people and other people; because it has the greatest concern for the liberation of our nation and class, for the fatherland's independence and freedom and for socialism; and because it has always struggled to bring about a happy life for our people.

Since it came into existence, our party has fully realized the inevitable trends of development of the Vietnamese revolution and clearly understood the laws of social development and the realities of our revolution. It has set forth correct strategies and plans to lead the revolution to victory. It has organized and developed the revolutionary forces and has organized and used our army as a sharp instrument to help our revolution fulfill its political task. The revolutionary lines and objectives of our party are the objectives of our army's struggle. Our party has developed in the army the revolutionary nature of the working class and helped it acquire the knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory, the party's military lines and ideological concepts and the military art of people's war. It has helped our army learn from the traditions of heroic struggle of our people and the thoroughly revolutionary spirit of our working class in order to promote its revolutionary heroism. It has also helped our army learn from the solidarity and unanimity of party members in order to constantly promote its internal solidarity, the solidarity between the army and the people and its international solidarity.

As a result, our army has realized more and more clearly that the existence of the party is a prerequisite for the formation of our revolutionary army and people's army, and that only when the army is guided by the party can it constantly develop its strength, score victories and fulfill its functions and all revolutionary tasks. Our cadres and soldiers have developed more confidence in the party and are very proud to fight under its glorious banner.

They have realized more and more clearly that in order to manifest their sense of political responsibility and their deep feelings, they must remain loyal to the party, implement its policies and lines and strictly follow its leadership.

To manifest its absolute loyalty to the party and to the people and fatherland, our army is resolutely implementing the party's revolutionary lines and objectives: national independence, democracy and socialism.

Our army realizes that these revolutionary lines and objectives reflect the laws of the development of our society, manifest the most fundamental and deepest interests of our people, and are aimed at liberating our nation and class and bringing about independence, freedom, democracy and a bountiful, happy life for our people. They reflect both the interests of our nation and our working class, meet the sacred aspirations of the Vietnamese people and are fully consistent with the objectives of the revolutionary movement in the present age.

Our cadres and soldiers are the sons of the working people of a nation that has experienced the shame and misery of a people that have lost their country. They are victims of the oppression and exploitation of the imperialists, feudalists and capitalists. They greatly cherish independence and freedom and long for a bountiful, happy life. Therefore, they have always acted in accordance with the lines, objectives and ideals of our party and stand ready to fight until the end for the realization of these ideals. The great Uncle Ho has taught: "We would rather sacrifice everything than lose the country and become slaves;" "Nothing is more valuable than independence and freedom;" "So long as a single aggressor remains in our country, we must continue our struggle to drive him out;" "Our fatherland will certainly be unified. Our compatriots in the north and south will surely live together under the same roof." Harboring these feelings and aspirations, our forefathers proudly uttered these words: "We would rather die than live in slavery;" "We are always ready to overcome all difficulties and hardships in order to throw off the yoke of domination, regain national sovereignty, and fight the invaders to make them realize that the Vietnamese are the real masters of the country." Uncle Ho's sacred and precious teachings as well as these proud words of our forefathers are deeply engraved in the hearts and minds of our cadres and soldiers becoming the common aspiration, determination, feeling, and character of all our people.

Upholding its loyalty to the party and our nation's heroism, our army has always fulfilled its duties.

Our army has always undertaken the major mission of fighting on the battle-front and defeating all national and class enemies to regain and maintain administrative power and protect the gains of the revolution, the people, and the fatherland's territorial integrity. In fulfilling these duties, our army has manifested its loyalty to the party and people.

For the sake of the fatherland's independence and freedom and to fulfill its major mission, our army has fought valiantly and tenaciously in a protracted, continuous armed struggle for several decades, has successfully fulfilled all military tasks entrusted by the party in various historic periods, and has defeated one aggressor after another. In the August revolution as well as in the anti-French and anti-U.S. resistances, grasping the party's military line and tasks, our armed forces and people throughout the country stepped up the revolutionary war and won successive great victories, thus contributing to advancing our country's revolutionary undertaking.

Along with fulfilling its major duty in the armed struggle, our army has engaged in production and labor and has contributed to building the economy, developing the culture, increasing the economic and military potentials, and consolidating the rear base. Fighting well and producing well are thus the responsibilities and traditions of our army.

Our army has also positively carried out the task of motivating the masses to participate in our people's widespread revolutionary struggle in every aspect. Our army has positively contributed to the struggle to topple the class of feudal landlords, to carrying out socialist reforms, to motivating all the people to implement all party and state policies and lines, and to building and consolidating mass political bases in areas under temporary enemy control and the liberated zone.

Realities indicate that, under all circumstances, our army has always wholeheartedly served the fatherland and people, fulfilled all the functions and missions of a revolutionary army and fought for the sake of the people, thus proving to be worthy of the confidence of our entire party and all of our people.

Loyal to the revolutionary undertaking, our army has constantly developed and strengthened in accordance with the line or principle of building the people's armed forces, with a view to gaining invincible strength with which to successfully fulfill all the tasks entrusted by the party.

Under party leadership, in correctly and creatively implementing the military line and the line of building the people's armed forces and in grasping the idea of fostering industriousness and thrift in construction and combat, our army has matured and become staunch and politically, ideologically, and organizationally strong, and developed its consciousness of the revolution and its effectiveness in action so as to create a combined strength in construction and combat. As a result, our army has really become an army fighting for the people and reflecting the revolutionary nature of the working class. Being well organized, our army has applied advanced military tactics and has further developed its material and technical bases. Our cadres and soldiers cherish a noble ideal of struggle and an earnest desire for achieving the revolution, have demonstrated a spirit of making tremendous sacrifices in the fight and a brilliant combat ability, and acted resourcefully and intelligently.

Upholding its loyalty to the party, fatherland, and people, our army has frustrated all schemes, political offensives, and cunning psychological warfare maneuvers of the enemy; and at the same time it has strongly opposed all vile moves to incite it to seek material interests and all negative and backward phenomena. Our cadres and soldiers have always advanced and have never retreated. All phenomena of half-way revolution, irresoluteness in coping with the enemy, lack of revolutionary offensive spirit, lack of determination to overcome difficulties and hardships, and individualism are inconsistent with our army's revolutionary nature and traditions.

Developing these revolutionary traditions and nature, our army has constantly stepped up the building of a modern regular army, stood ready to fight victoriously and to brilliantly fulfill all tasks in the new situation, and has always remained loyal to the country and faithful to the people.

Determined to implement the party's revolutionary lines and objectives, our army has developed the "determined to fight and win" tradition, remained brave and creative in combat, unselfishly and intelligently fulfilled its assignments and diligently and resourcefully carried out its labor missions. It has overcome all difficulties, defeated all enemies and fulfilled all missions.

The "determined to fight and win" tradition of our army originated in its absolute confidence in the noble revolutionary ideals and objectives and the correct, creative revolutionary lines and measures of our party; in the "there is nothing more precious than independence and liberty" ideal, the thoroughly revolutionary spirit, and the offensive revolutionary thinking of the working class in coordination with our nation's tradition of heroic, unyielding struggle.

Over the past 4,000 years of historic struggle to build and defend the nation, our people have always displayed an unsubmitive will and a "determined to fight and win" tradition, giving birth to such national heroines and heroes as the Trung sisters, Trieu Au, Ly Thuong Kiet, Tran Hung Dao, Le Loi, Nguyen Trai, Quang Trung, Phan Dinh Phung and Hoang Hoa Tham.

Since our party came into existence, countless revolutionary heroes and heroines have emerged from the Vietnamese working class and people. They have put the interests of the party, the revolution, the working class and the nation above all; been unafraid of sacrifice and hardships; and resolutely fought the enemy to the end to create conditions for our party, our nation and our fatherland to achieve glorious victories. These heroes and heroines include Tran Phu, Ngo Gia Tu, Le Hong Phong, Nguyen Thi Minh Khai, Ha Huy Tap, Nguyen Van Cu and Hoang Van Thu.

The "determined to fight and win" tradition of our army is the continuation and development of the tradition of heroic struggle of our nation, our class and our party. It is a crystallization of the patriotism, love for the socialist regime and deep hatred for the enemy by our armed forces and people.

It is a combination of the stalwart revolutionary will and wonderful creativeness of our armed forces. Thanks to this "determined to fight and win" tradition, our army has constantly devised many creative combat methods to fight and defeat all enemies.

Upholding this tradition, our army resolutely defeated the Japanese fascists, the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialists--archimperialists possessing powerful military forces, modern weapons and equipment and very pernicious, cruel strategies, tactics and other dark schemes--who used a record quantity of bombs, shells and dollars never seen before in the history of U.S. imperialist war.

Experience and history have clearly shown our people and army that if they lose the nation and independence and freedom, they will lose everything: a prosperous life, their cultural and moral heritage and even the right to live. Therefore, whatever pernicious dark schemes the enemy may have resorted to and no matter how powerful he has been, our people and army have never retreated. On the contrary, they have always tried by all means to advance and have resolutely struggled and achieved victory.

Our army has strongly developed the revolutionary offensive spirit and has taken the initiative in launching relentless attacks against the enemy. It has remained brave, stalwart, perseverant and unflagging and has resolutely struggled and achieved victory. Engaging in revolution means launching offensives. Only when we launch offensives against the enemy can we defeat them, build and develop our strength, protect the revolutionary gains and defend the nation. In the course of the August revolution and the resistance against the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialists, our army highly developed its combat strength, repeatedly attacked and annihilated the enemy, and constantly developed our armed struggle from minor armed exploits to comprehensively great victories. Our army has always maintained the offensive spirit in guerrilla and conventional war, while fighting battles or engaging in military campaigns, while launching separate attacks or combined attacks, and while launching offensives or remaining on the defensive. Our units have repeatedly attacked the enemy everywhere, at any time and in any weather conditions. All our units, cadres, and soldiers have made every effort to stay close to and search for the enemy troops to annihilate them. All individuals and units have scored achievements in combat and have enthusiastically participated in combat activities on the battlefields. Our cadres and soldiers have displayed matchless heroism and set examples of the spirit of resolutely launching offensives to annihilate the enemy by setting themselves on fire with gasoline and then rushing into the enemy's lairs, breaking into his combat formations, carrying bombs, chopping off their sounded arms so as to be able to continue the assault against his blockhouses, cutting deep into his bases to annihilate his troops, covering loopholes in fortifications with their bodies so as to enable their comrades in arms to advance, standing up and firing at the enemy troops, setting out on the high seas to sink enemy ships, bravely intercepting waves of enemy aircraft, and fighting until their last drop of blood to maintain uninterrupted communications. Our armed forces have emulated in killing the enemy and scoring

military achievements, determined to fight and win, to fight until the last aggressor is swept from our country, and safeguard the fatherland's independence, sovereignty, unification, and territorial integrity. They have constantly developed their strength to promptly win the greatest victory. They have maintained the determination to fight and win even in a protracted struggle to build a decent and happy life for themselves and for present and future generations to create conditions for building a country 10 times more beautiful.

Giving full play to the determined-to-fight-and-win tradition, our armed forces have resolutely defeated the enemy on any battlefield, distant or near, replete with advantages or disadvantages. Our country is one, our nation is one. Each inch of land is part of the flesh and blood of the Vietnamese country. It is a sacred part of the fatherland that every patriotic Vietnamese must strive to protect. Our cadres and soldiers, buoyed by hatred, have advanced to exterminate the aggressors. Our armed forces have rushed to any place the enemy has been present. They have fought on battlefields in the jungles or mountains, on passes or slopes, on the plains, and on big rivers or in the swamps. They have operated in populated or remote areas. They have fought in vast rural areas or in densely populated but small cities. They have attacked the enemy on his outer defense lines or right in his lairs or nerve centers. They have fought on battlefields adjacent to their base areas or in areas under temporary enemy control. They have been present wherever the fatherland has needed them and have achieved glorious exploits. With a stalwart fighting spirit and crafty combat ability, with their strong legs and iron-like shoulders, and with their heavy rucksacks on their backs, our cadres and soldiers have walked thousands of miles to very distant areas. They have opened up paths across mountains and through jungles, fighting the enemy in order to advance, fearing no difficulties, hardships, privations, or dangers, constantly upholding the enemy, and fulfilling all duties.

The "determined to fight and win" tradition of our armed forces has been reflected not only in their brave and stalwart fighting spirit but also in their resourceful and creative combat skills. They have constantly developed their combat ability, seeking to apply the best fighting methods consistent not only with the enemy's combat position, but also with the situation of their equipment and battlefield and with our ancestor's combat traditions.

Our armed forces can correctly evaluate the situation of the enemy and can reduce his strengths and exacerbate his weaknesses to triumph. Being brave, resourceful and intelligent, our armed forces have come to areas which the enemy thought impenetrable and attacked places he believed unassailable. They have assaulted the enemy in areas within his hinterland and penetrated the very lairs of his key commanders, thus surprising and driving him into a position of passiveness, embarrassment and failure. Our armed forces have used a little to oppose the numerous, the small to prevail over the great, and one man to defeat 10 or 20 of the enemy. They have mustered a strong force to launch large-scale annihilation attacks, inflicting heavy losses

on the enemy, frightening him, and changing the balance of forces between us to our advantage. Our armed forces have always developed the effectiveness of all available weapons, including rifles, handgrenades, daggers, machetes, and heavy guns and of tanks, missiles, and aircraft, determined to fight and exterminate the enemy. In isolated attacks, in large-scale coordinated combat, in ordinary military campaigns, and in strategic offensives, our armed forces have applied skillful fighting methods and scored many glorious victories.

Their determination to fight and win has been reflected not only in combat but also in labor, production, and work. In any task, under any circumstance, our cadres and soldiers have always proven to be brave, industrious, and zealous, and have devoted all their spirit, strength, intelligence, and talents to win complete victory.

In their fierce struggle against the enemy, our cadres and soldiers have stood ready to sacrifice their lives for the revolutionary cause, have never retreated in the presence of any enemies or obstacles, and have always upheld the "determined to fight and win" spirit. In their struggle to bring about victory for our people and armed forces, they have set countless examples of matchless combat heroism and stalwartness. Many of them have fought the enemy for several decades in difficult, hard combat conditions, have persisted in the struggle, have wholeheartedly fulfilled all missions, and have achieved great performances. Many fallen heroes and heroines have displayed the "determined to fight and win" tradition of our army by setting examples of glorious fighting and sacrifices. Among them are Ngo May, Phan Dinh Giot, Nguyen Van Troi, Nguyen Viet Xuan, La Van Cau, Nguyen Thi Chien, Vo Thi Sau, Cang Lich, Nguyen Van Coc and Le Thi Hong Gam. They constitute the very noble image of our country, our people and our army. Their deeds have added a more brilliant note to the "determined to fight and win" banner that our army received from President Ho.

Developing the traditions of solidarity, democracy and discipline of the working class and our party, and inheriting the tradition of unity, our army has always achieved close unity. Our cadres and soldiers love each other as if they were of the same family. They are of one mind, share weal and woes, always observe democratic principles, constantly heighten their sense of self-imposed, strict discipline, and achieve unity of thought and action.

The traditions of solidarity, democracy and discipline are manifested in the revolutionary nature and working class character of our army. They characterize the internal relations of a revolutionary army and a new army of the working class, and mark the difference between our army and the army of the exploiting class. These traditions originate from the tradition of solidarity and unanimity of thought and action of our party, the tradition of solidarity in the struggle to build and defend the nation of our people, and the thorough understanding of President Ho's teaching: Unity, unity, great unity; success, success, great success.

Our army has always achieved close solidarity on the basis of the lines and policies of the party, the interests of the people, the duty toward the fatherland, the functions and missions of the army, and the equal political relations and revolutionary love between cadres and soldiers and higher and lower echelons.

All the members of our army form a united, solid bloc. There is deep attachment and close solidarity between higher and lower echelons, between party members and the masses, between cadres and soldiers, between individuals and units, between the units themselves, and between the armed services and armed branches. They all achieve combat coordination and collaborate with one another in carrying out the common tasks under the leadership of the party. In the rear base as well as on the frontline, for the sake of common interests, all individuals and units unite and help one another. They always create favorable conditions for one another and make joint efforts to overcome difficulties. They volunteer to assume difficult tasks and let others carry out the easy tasks, considering all achievements the result of their common efforts. They make joint efforts to develop their strongpoints and improve their shortcomings and stand ready to make sacrifices and join in the struggle to bring about victory for each individual unit as well for the entire army.

While in combat or building their units and while working or engaging in other activities, our cadres and soldiers sincerely assist one another and always use the revolutionary ideals, objectives, guidelines and missions and the experience they have gained from combat, work and daily life to help one another to improve, make progress and fulfill their duties. Our cadres and soldiers constantly and satisfactorily conduct criticism and self-criticism and help one another to improve their ideological stand and promote solidarity. In this way, they can tell right from wrong, firmly maintain good comradeship, promote solidarity and fulfill their missions more satisfactorily. If we achieve solidarity in an unprincipled, indiscriminate manner, not for the purpose of fulfilling our duties and revolutionary objectives, but only for the purpose of satisfying our individual feelings, our selfish interests or our tendency toward regionalism, we are not acting in accordance with the nature and traditions of our army.

In favorable conditions as well as under difficult circumstances, all of our cadres and soldiers always love, respect and assist one another and stand ready to risk their lives to protect and save their comrades in arms from danger. Our army is filled with a solemn, yet open-minded and intimate atmosphere. Each unit is a family in which our cadres and combatants treat one another as if they were of the same parents. Not only do they stand together in combat and work, but they share their feelings; thoughts, revolutionary will and work abilities. Each cadre and soldier always finds confidence and intimate revolutionary sentiments in his comrades and comrades in arms. Thus, internal solidarity has become a real strength with which our army can perform combat and carry out work.

In our army, our cadres and soldiers assume different tasks entrusted to them by the revolution. However, they have achieved close solidarity and have established correct structural relations. The internal democratic regime reflects the political equality between revolutionary fighters and serves as the basis for all democratic activities in our army. These democratic activities have been satisfactorily carried out in both leadership and command organization and mass organization, in basic units as well as at other levels, in ordinary situations as well as in combat situation and in the political and ideological tasks as well as in the military task, rear service activities and other special or technical tasks. Cadres profoundly love and respect soldiers to whom they have always been close. They listen to the views and pay attention to the feelings, aspirations, activities and work of soldiers and cadres under their command. They pay attention to developing their intellect and set examples for them to follow. Soldiers always respect and obey cadres and help them fulfill their missions. They unhesitatingly contribute constructive views to help them improve leadership and command, express their aspirations and viewpoints to cadres and higher echelons, and impartially criticize their strongpoints and shortcomings. All our cadres and soldiers are revolutionary fighters. Therefore, they all must enjoy democracy and equal treatment and must love, help and collaborate with each other so they will be able to fulfill both their private and common tasks. A bureaucratic, militarist or patriarchal attitude, failure to stay close to the masses, and such phenomena as disobedience and lack of respect for cadres, failure to help cadres fulfill their missions, or refusal to point out to cadres their shortcomings are inconsistent with the principle of building our army and the principle of political equality between cadres and soldiers.

The democratic activities in our army have highly developed everyone's sense of political responsibility to the revolutionary cause and to the task of our army in developing its strength and performing combat. These activities have brought into full play the intellect of the masses and constantly improved their knowledge. They have provided our units with tens of thousands of valuable initiatives for overcoming many difficulties, thus making an important contribution toward creating conditions for our army to successfully develop its strength and achieve victory in combat. These activities have also helped our cadres and soldiers promote mutual love and respect, increased their confidence in the strength of their units, and increased the solidarity and unanimity of thought and action in each individual unit as well as in the whole army.

Our army observes a self-imposed, strict discipline. From higher to lower echelons, in urgent, fierce combat circumstances and complicated, difficult working conditions, in peacetime as well as wartime, and in the rear base as well as on the battlefield, our cadres and soldiers have tried their best to strictly observe discipline. They have seriously observed the lines and policies of the party and government, the law of the state, and the regulations of the local administration. They have respected and protected the



party organizations, administrative agencies and mass organizations, and exemplarily observed and maintained social security and order and the people's customs and traditions. They have placed themselves under the leadership and command of higher echelons and thoroughly executed their orders and instructions. They have carried out the functions and tasks to be fulfilled by militarymen, strictly observed all army regulations, orders and systems, and resolutely fulfilled all combat missions and other assignments. Our army has firmly maintained discipline in its relations with the people. Our entire army has always remembered to act in accordance with the 10 VPA oaths of honor, and fulfilled its missions toward the revolution, the people, and the fatherland.

Under all circumstances, whether conducting concentrated attacks or carrying out their activities separately, whether acting under the guidance of their leaders or commanders, under collective control, whether discharging their missions without the direct management or supervision of their organization or higher-level authorities, whether carrying out their tasks under normal conditions or engaging in fierce combat, nearly all of our cadres and soldiers have voluntarily carried out orders from higher authorities and have always considered their task of developing the army's revolutionary nature and traditions and their readiness to make sacrifices so as to successfully fulfill all missions entrusted to them as a principle for their actions.

Our army's discipline is very strict, and, at the same time, self-imposed. In respecting and observing this discipline, our cadres and soldiers uphold their sense of responsibility and satisfactorily fulfill all missions entrusted to them. They remain closely attached to their units, while properly observing all the army's regulations and orders. Our army's discipline has great strength, which insures its unity in ideology, organization, determination and action; makes the troops of each army unit as well as our entire army--units of hundreds, thousands, or tens of thousands--act like one man on the battlefield; and creates an organized strength that helps defeat the enemy. Our cadres and soldiers should consider all tendencies to act freely and at one's conveniences, not to correctly carry out directives and orders, not to satisfactorily perform the missions entrusted, and not to observe the organization's regulations as actions which decrease for army's combat ability and which are contrary to the good ethics of the cadres and combatants of our revolutionary army.

Solidarity, democracy and discipline are factors related to the revolutionary nature and principles of development of our army. In the past and at present, as well as in the future, these valuable traditions will always constitute our VPA's source of strength that will help it fight and defeat the enemy and fulfill all missions entrusted to it.

Born of the people and fighting for the people, our armed forces are always attached to the people, serve the people with all their hearts and minds, rely on the people, are cared for and educated by the people, coordinate with the people in the struggle, and wholeheartedly protect, esteem, and assist the people.

This noble tradition established at the birth of our armed forces has been constantly developed over the past several decades. It reflects the very close relationship between our people and our armed forces--a relationship between people having the same struggle objectives, interests, desires, and enemy. It also reflects the kith-and-kin feelings and relations between our people and our cadres and soldiers--the children of the working people of various nationalities in the great family of the Vietnamese nation.

Our people are highly patriotic and eager for independence, freedom, national reunification, and socialism. They have spared no effort. They have loved and protected our armed forces with all their hearts, have constantly given them spiritual and material assistance, and have sent their outstanding children to the army to enable our armed forces to defeat all enemies. Moreover, our people have wholeheartedly taken care of and assisted the families of our troops, especially the families of war dead and disabled veterans, in every aspect. Our armed forces have fought for the interests of the people, for the independence and freedom of the fatherland, and for socialism. While in the army, many of our cadres and soldiers have served, respected, assisted, and protected the people with all their hearts and minds. After their return to the localities to participate in labor and production and in building the rear, or after they have been entrusted with other tasks outside the army, they have constantly upheld the revolutionary qualities of a people's army and continued to maintain and develop the beautiful tradition of solidarity with the people. Our people are the truly kind mother of our armed forces. For their part, our armed forces have made themselves worthy as faithful children of the people. This is the sharp difference between our armed forces and all reactionary armed forces, between an army assuming the noble mission of fighting for and serving the interests of the people and the armies of the feudalists and bourgeoisie whose duty is to repress the people and oppose their interests.

To serve the people with self-denial has become a slogan of struggle and a motto of action for all our armed forces. This is the most striking feature of our armed forces' tradition of army-people solidarity. The spirit of self-denial has been acquired through the consciousness of the objectives and the ideal of struggle, and has originated from our armed forces' political responsibility to the people and from the profound gratitude of our cadres and soldiers to the people for their deep affection and great assistance. Our cadres and soldiers always stand ready to endure all hardships, difficulties, and sacrifices in the struggle and to serve the people with all their hearts. This noble spirit has been displayed in their bravery and heroism in combat, their industriousness in labor, and their zeal in any task. Our armed forces have also beautifully manifested their spirit of self-denial by setting examples of heroic sacrifice, fighting bravely to their last breath for the people, rushing into the fire to save victims, or going to areas replete with difficulties and dangers to fight to protect the people or to participate in motivating and enlightening them and in building the bases of the revolution. Aware of their duty to serve the people unconditionally, our cadres and soldiers, no matter how great their sacrifices,

hardships, and achievements may be, have always behaved modestly and mildly, have never displayed an arrogant or haughty attitude nor boasted about their merits or held the people in disdain.

Our armed forces have always depended on the people to operate and progress and coordinated with them in construction and combat and in successfully conducting the people's war and consolidating national defense. Everywhere, under all circumstances, our armed forces have developed their advantages and solved many problems in their activities by relying on the people's assistance. Their political bases, their revolutionary spirit and the people's revolutionary feelings and warm support are steadfast props of our armed forces. The great forces of the people are their endless source of strength. Our armed forces' victories are linked to the people's strong encouragement, wholehearted assistance, and close solidarity and coordination. Our troops in general and our cadres and soldiers in particular have been assisted wholeheartedly by our people while operating under difficult conditions on the frontline or in the rear, after power had been achieved or while it had not yet been achieved. Many families have sacrificed their property and lives to protect our troops and to create conditions for them to operate, fight, and win.

Our armed forces have not only fought for the people and relied on them to fight, but have also encouraged, assisted, and protected the people. Under the party's leadership, before and after power had been achieved, our armed forces have always realized that their duty is to motivate the people to build the base of the revolutionary movement, organize and guide the people in the struggle, and cooperate with the people in protecting and building the country. Our armed forces consider the assistance and protection of the people as one of their responsibilities and duties. Our cadres and soldiers love and esteem the people, shared joys and sorrows with the people, given material assistance to the needy, highly regard the people's efforts and toil, properly and thriftily utilized everything supplied by the people, and increased production so as to reduce the people's food contributions for the troops. In the face of natural calamities and disasters caused by the enemy, our armed forces have fulfilled their responsibility and duty of rushing to dangerous places to assist and protect the people and cooperate with them in overcoming all difficulties in their activities and in production.

Our people love and highly regard our armed forces, not only because the latter have made sacrifices, endured hardships, and fought and worked well, but because large numbers of our cadres and soldiers have always held the people in esteem and observed strict discipline in their relations with them. In their contacts with the people in the countryside and cities as well as in the plains and mountainous areas, on the frontline as well as in the rear, in peacetime as well as in wartime, and in favorable or difficult situations, our cadres and combatants have always adopted a modest and polite attitude; manifested respect for old people, love for children, and a correct attitude toward women; united with youths in the localities; respected the

freedom of belief, customs, and habits of the people; and refrained from violating the property of the people. A complacent and haughty attitude toward the people, acts jeopardizing the people's lives, property, and happiness, and violations of public order and state laws that affect the people's livelihood and activities are all inconsistent with the nature of our armed forces, harmful to the army-people solidarity and severely criticized by all our troops. Our people have bestowed the noble appellation "Uncle Ho's troops" on our armed forces. Our compatriots throughout the country, from old people to children, in various localities and any place in the fatherland, have realized that Uncle Ho's troops are endowed with the good qualities of the combatants of an army of the people that fights for the people. This army has proven to be brave, intelligent, and modest; leads a simple life; nurtures hatred for the enemy; loves the people; has fought the enemy furiously; and has assisted the people wholeheartedly. To maintain this noble appellation is to manifest the revolutionary nature of our armed forces. This is a great responsibility and honor for every cadre and soldier.

Army-people solidarity is a beautiful image of which all of our armed forces and people are proud. This solidarity is a great strength of our armed forces. To maintain and give full play to this valuable tradition of army-people solidarity is to unceasingly increase the combat strength of our armed forces and enhance the revolutionary qualities of our cadres and soldiers.

As a new-style army of the working class, our armed forces have constantly upheld the spirit of proletarian internationalism; closely united with the people and armed forces of fraternal socialist countries, with oppressed peoples and progressive forces in a resolute struggle against the common enemy and have striven to fulfill their national and international duties.

The Vietnamese revolution is an inseparable part of the world revolution. It is the duty of our party to lead the revolution of our country and also its obligation to the international revolution. In the revolutionary struggle, our party and Vietnamese nation have established the beautiful tradition of international solidarity.

As an army of the proletariat, our armed forces must not only struggle for the independence and freedom of the fatherland, but must also cooperate with the revolutionary forces of the world in the struggle against the common enemy and for independence, democracy and socialism. For this reason, since their birth, our armed forces have been educated by our party to heighten their consciousness of national and class interests to develop their patriotism, cultivate love for socialism, acquire the independent and sovereign spirit and the international solidarity spirit, foster pure feelings of proletarian internationalism, avoid manifestations of nationalism of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, narrowminded nationalism, and great power nationalism, and be wary of and oppose all malicious, divisive maneuvers by the imperialists and their henchmen.

Our armed forces' tradition of international solidarity has taken shape and developed during the process of their struggle and growth and as our national and international obligations were carried out. To all our armed forces as well as to each cadre and soldier, international solidarity is not only a responsibility and duty, but an ardent sentiment and concept. Our armed forces and people have manifested their international sentiment not only through their views and thoughts, but also through their acts and sacrifices.

Our armed forces' tradition of international solidarity is reflected in their determination to fulfill all revolutionary tasks entrusted to them by the nation. They consider the fulfillment of these tasks a positive contribution to the world revolution. Our armed forces' great sacrifices and victories over the past 30 years have not only stimulated the Vietnamese revolution to make marvelous progress, but are also valuable contributions to the struggle to weaken the common enemy and strong encouragement for revolutionary struggle movements throughout the world. Further, these struggle movements and the powerful forces of the socialist camp have continually encouraged and assisted our armed forces and people, creating conditions for us to advance and score one victory after another. We consider the successes of the world revolution as our own successes and the scientific and technological accomplishments and equipment and weapons of fraternal assisting countries as the common strength of the socialist camp and the world revolutionary movement. Thus, international solidarity is a responsibility that has bolstered our armed forces.

Along with fulfilling the revolutionary tasks of our nation, our people and armed forces have constantly and wholeheartedly supported the world revolutionary movement. Thoroughly understanding the party's line regarding international obligations, our armed forces have constantly united with the peoples and armed forces of other socialist countries and fraternal Laos and Cambodia. They have fully supported the national liberation movement in colonies and satellite states and the workers movement in capitalist countries and have resolutely opposed the imperialists, colonialists and neocolonialists. In the August Revolution as well as in the resistance against the French and U.S. imperialists, our armed forces and people, educated by our party, made a clear distinction between the peoples of imperialist countries and the aggressive imperialists, between the French people and the aggressive French colonialists, and between the American people and the U.S. imperialists. They united constantly with the French and American peoples in the struggle against the common enemy.

Our armed forces' tradition of international solidarity is clearly reflected in the militant solidarity between our armed forces and people and between the armed forces and peoples of fraternal countries and revolutionary peoples of the world. Taking shape, developing, tempered and tested in the process of a protracted revolutionary struggle, this noble international solidarity has become a source of strength for our people and armed forces. It is a profound, inalterable and durable solidarity of people who have the same ideals and objectives--independence, democracy and socialism--and who have

struggled and triumphed together. Our armed forces have set numerous brilliant examples in enduring all hardships and sacrifices, overcoming all difficulties and trials, and standing ready to sacrifice their lives for the success of the common revolutionary understanding and to fulfill their noble international obligations. Our armed forces are determined to maintain and develop the precious tradition of international solidarity and to successfully implement their national tasks and international obligations.

To complete combat and construction tasks successfully, our armed forces constantly display a spirit of furthering studies and making progress. They have endeavored to improve their revolutionary qualities and ethics, constantly develop their combat and work abilities, and improve their scientific and technological knowledge.

For several decades now, from the period of infancy to the moment it developed into a powerful force, our army has always paid attention to conducting studies in the political, military, cultural, scientific and technological domains to improve its political and ideological level, revolutionary will, scientific and technological knowledge, educational background and organizational and work abilities. Our cadres and soldiers, our units and agencies have to engage in combat while building and developing their strength. Nevertheless, in the rear base or on the frontline, in peacetime or wartime, they have seized every opportunity to study and improve themselves by learning from documents, books and other sources while building and developing their strength or engaging in combat, while carrying out tasks or conducting other activities, both before and after fulfilling their duties. They have tried to learn from one another, from the people and from the experience of the armies of fraternal countries in an effort to master nature and the society, carry out the revolution, successfully build and develop their strength, and emerge victorious in combat.

In fact, our army is a big school; our units and agencies are permanent classes; and our cadres and soldiers are hard-working, diligent students who display the revolutionary offensive spirit. They manifest unflagging, resolute perseverance, heighten the "determined to fight and win" will and adopt scientific, advanced study methods.

Our cadres and soldiers consider study and training one of the duties, responsibilities, criteria and achievements of all militarymen. These activities are what allow them to increasingly improve themselves and enlarge their abilities, to constantly meet the requirements of the situation, and fulfill the tasks of the revolution and army. If we do not study or are afraid to study to improve ourselves, we will be unable to make progress, fulfill our missions, firmly maintain and develop the revolutionary nature and traditions of our army, and fulfill the responsibilities of cadres and soldiers. Members of our army have set countless shining examples of eagerness for study and training in order to fulfill combat missions and other tasks. Not only have our standing cadres and soldiers set examples of loyalty to the revolution, displayed bravery and stalwartness in combat, and scored outstanding

achievements in combat and work, but have also set examples of diligence and creativity in study and training. Thanks to study and training, many cadres and soldiers have acquired sound knowledge in many fields. At the beginning, many comrades possessed only rudimentary revolutionary knowledge; later, they acquired more and more profound knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory, the realities of the revolutionary struggle and the national, democratic revolutionary lines and socialist revolutionary lines of the party. At first, many comrades possessed only fragmentary, simple knowledge; later, they broadened their knowledge in many fields. In the past many comrades could command only small units; now they are commanding large units consisting of various armed branches. Many comrades have improved their educational background and have reached university or higher levels. They possess increasingly broad scientific and technological knowledge and have completed valuable research in military technology.

Studying to improve political and ideological background, knowledge of the political and military lines of the party, the military art of people's war, and cultural, scientific and technological levels in order to improve knowledge in every respect, heighten combat skills and satisfactorily fulfill all missions--all this is a process of very persistent, unflagging, brave and creative effort on the part of all members of our army. It is also a process of painstaking effort on the part of our cadres to study, conduct research and participate in training in order to constantly improve their revolutionary ethics and qualities, political and ideological background, leadership and command capabilities and technical and professional skills and meet the growing demands of our army to develop its strength and perform combat.

Our cadres' and soldiers' traditional eagerness to learn and progress and make positive efforts to improve themselves and expand their abilities has made a very important contribution to comprehensively improving the combat strength of our army. The development of these valuable traditions remains an important factor contributing to making our army successfully develop its strength and emerge victorious in combat.

Commemorating the 30th anniversary of the founding of our army this year, all our militarymen are very enthusiastic over and proud of the history of maturity and glorious victories and the fine revolutionary nature and traditions of our people's army.

The revolutionary nature and traditions constitute a source of combat strength and an extremely precious asset for our army in construction and combat in the past and present, as well as forever. In knowing how to firmly maintain and develop this nature and these traditions, we can create an extraordinary strength that will encourage our army to advance toward new victories in the new revolutionary stage.

At present, the revolutionary struggle of our people throughout the country, aimed at fulfilling their national and democratic revolutionary tasks,

building socialism and accomplishing their international obligation, is winning increasingly greater victories. The revolution in our country now has unprecedented advantages. Our revolutionary forces have obviously become comprehensively strong. In continuing to victoriously fulfill their revolutionary task, our people still must go through many hardships and sacrifices. Our armed forces must still fulfill very heavy and urgent combat and construction tasks. Our cadres and soldiers are determined to further vigorously develop the glorious revolutionary traditions of our army-- traditions that have deeply penetrated our hearts and minds. They are determined to do their utmost to make the traditions of our army remain a victorious strength.

Whether we have fought for years and devoted our efforts to contributing to the building of the glorious traditions of our army, or whether we have recently joined the army, all of us have the honor and responsibility to continue and develop the revolutionary nature and traditions of our heroic army and are responsible for making the glorious traditions of our army constantly develop their great effect in both construction and combat. We must turn our confidence and pride in the nature and traditions of our army into the most positive and brave revolutionary actions. In combat, our cadres and soldiers must be brave and clever and resolutely surge forward to win. In construction, we must dedicate all our revolutionary enthusiasm, talents and intelligence to devotedly performing our work, laboring industriously, studying constantly, improving the comprehensive knowledge of everyone as well as the combat strength of our entire units, and outstandingly fulfilling all tasks.

All our militarymen in the rear area as well as on the frontline must launch a vigorous revolutionary movement in all fields and score increasingly glorious achievements in the present determined-to-win emulation movement. Although our combat task still involves hardships and fierce challenges, and although our undertaking to build our people's army into a regular, modern army remains difficult, our army, with its inherent revolutionary nature and traditions, will together with our people certainly advance toward increasingly greater victories and lead the revolution in our country to total victory.

We are boundlessly proud of our party and always place our confidence in the leadership of our party which has been instrumental in leading the revolution in our country to every success; has built, led and educated our army; and has used the thoroughly revolutionary spirit of the working class, the Marxist-Leninist theory, the tradition of the indomitable struggle of our people and the working class and the revolutionary objectives, ideals, lines and tasks of our party to educate and train our army in acquiring the present fine revolutionary nature and traditions.

We remember the great meritorious service of the respected and beloved President Ho Chi Minh, the great teacher of the revolution in our country, the beloved father of the Vietnamese people's armed forces and the symbol of the

tradition of indomitable struggle of our people and the thoroughly revolutionary tradition of our party who devoted himself to building our army and turning it from small guerrilla units at the outset into the powerful army it now is.

We are deeply touched by the ardent love and great loyalty of our people, the devoted mother, who have wholeheartedly protected, fostered and aimed our army, who have always provided moral and material assistance to our army, and who have together with our army fought and won and built the extremely precious army-people solidarity tradition.

We are proud of our ancestors who transmitted the heroic blood, the unsubmitive, indomitable tradition, and the talented strategy of our nation in fighting the aggressors and defending the country to our people and army. We will remember forever the meritorious service of our heroes, war dead, cadres and soldiers--the outstanding sons of the people--who have devoted all their talents and intelligence to serving the cause of independence and freedom of the fatherland, supporting the construction and combat tasks of the army, and making a great contribution to the building of the glorious revolutionary traditions of our army.

We will forever uphold the international solidarity tradition of our party, our people and our army. We will remain forever grateful to the peoples and armies of the fraternal socialist countries for having stimulated the morale of our people and army and provided them with material assistance with which to fight and win. We are grateful to the progressive people throughout the world for having followed and vigorously encouraged and supported the struggle of our people and army.

The strength of our nation and people and the revolution in our country and the strength of the world revolutionary movement in the present era make victory inevitable. The strength of our army--strength that has been forged and tested through 30 years of continuous fighting and continuous victories --is invincible. With these great strengths and with its glorious revolutionary nature and traditions, our army will certainly victoriously fulfill every immediate or long-range task.

Our army is determined, together with the people throughout the country to continue to write glorious pages of history to further glorify the Vietnamese fatherland.

Let our entire army be worthy of the confidence of our party and people and be worthy of being a heroic army of a heroic people!

CSO: 4909

THE FIGHT TO LIBERATE THE CITY OF HUE DURING MAU THAN TET (1968)

Hanoi HOC TAP in Vietnamese No 12, Dec 74 pp 80-93

[Article\* by Truong Sinh]

Editor's Note: The men of the Liberation Army of South Vietnam are the brothers of the men of the Vietnamese People's Army. The Liberation Army of South Vietnam recorded brilliant feats of arms in the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation. On the occasion of the commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Vietnamese People's Army, we have printed the following article which is comprised of excerpts from the journal of Truong Sinh, a commander in the Liberation Army of South Vietnam; the article deals with the fight to liberate the city of Hue during the spring of 1968, one of the brilliant feats of arms of the army and people of heroic South Vietnam.

HOC TAP

[Text] While we were making preparations for our attack, the enemy was preparing its defenses. During the 2 weeks preceding the opening of our attack against Hue, the Americans and puppets reinforced Tri-Thien-Hue with 12 combat battalions including 10 U.S. battalions--5 battalions from the 1st Air Cavalry Division, 3 paratroop battalions from the 101st Division, and 2 U.S. Marine battalions--and 2 puppet paratroop battalions. As a result of these reinforcements, the number of U.S. battalions in Tri-Thien-Hue increased from 15 to 25 and the number of puppet battalions increased from 16 to 18, thereby increasing the total U.S.-puppet troop strength to 43 battalions or 77,000 men, including 49,000 Americans; the various enemy branches included 12 artillery battalions, 12 armored and tank companies, 7 engineer battalions, and 140 aircraft of all types, primarily helicopters. In addition, the enemy moved the headquarters of the 1st Air Cavalry Division from Phu Bai in preparation for moving this entire division, the best trained American division, to Tri-Thien. At the same time, they sent the U.S. commander in chief

---

\*This article was sent from South Vietnam.

in South Vietnam, Abrahms, to take command of the entire U.S. force in Tri-Thien-Hue. Abrahms set up his command post at Phu Bai.

However, the U.S.-puppet force was primarily concentrated along Route 9 and in Quang Tri; of the 43 U.S.-puppet combat battalions, 19 U.S. battalions and 10 puppet battalions, that is, 68 percent of their battalions, were deployed along Route 9 and in Quang Tri; in Thua Thien-Hue, that is, from My Chanh to the Hai Van Pass, they had only deployed 6 U.S. battalions and 8 puppet battalions.

Thus, in terms of the entire battlefield of South Vietnam, the enemy was most concerned with the Tri-Thien battlefield; more than one-third of U.S.-puppet forces were deployed there because it was there that they were under the greatest pressure, it was the area they were most concerned about, it was the key to their defenses in South Vietnam. But, within the Tri-Thien-Hue area, the enemy concentrated their forces in the north, that is, in defense of Quang Tri and Route 9. This was done because they thought we would launch a major attack along Route 9 and liberate Quang Tri. Thus, although the enemy gave attention to defending Hue and Phu Loc, Hue and Phu Loc were the two places where the enemy was weakest. All of our preparations were made in complete secrecy. When we attacked Hue, a U.S. Army officer named Sut-mit [Vietnamese phonetics] confessed: "The other side has been preparing to attack Hue since October 1967 but our forces did not know which areas they were preparing."

Thus, in this major attack we won a very important victory over the enemy: when the campaign began in Phu Loc and Quang Tri, the enemy knew nothing of our strategy; by the time our forces approached the city of Hue, the enemy still had not taken any specific defensive measures.

2000 hours, 30 January 1968:

The duty watch reported: all units moved out between 1000 and 1200 hours. At 1700 hours, the lead unit of the 6th Regiment left the jungle. After 1900 hours, the entire unit reached the Ong Am slope of Hill 138. The unit stopped here for its evening meal. Today, everyone ate dumplings, tet cakes, dried meat, and glutenous rice mixed with sugar. After eating, everyone was given one canteen of tea. Everyone's gear is in good order and many people changed into new khakis. The commander inspected the entire unit and the march resumed at exactly 2000 hours.

Here, the unit divided into three elements which took three different routes to different targets:

The first element, comprised of 40 crack troops and one company of hand picked infantry troops, went down to the Van Xa Trung Field, crossed Route 1, entered Doc So Village, waded across the An Hoa River, advanced to the northern wall of Hue, climbed over the wall without being seen, and prepared to attack Mang Ca.

The second element, comprised of the entire 6th Battalion, crossed the An Luu Fields and Route 1 where it prepared to attack and occupy the An Hoa checkpoint and bridge in order to block and attack enemy troops coming from Dong Lam and Tu Ha; the following morning, it sent a detachment down to attack and occupy Bao Vinh, the district seat of Huong Tra District, and take control of the Perfume River from the Thuan gate to Hue.

The third element, comprised of the majority of the 6th Regiment, crossed the An Luu Field and the Tien Giang and Ke Van Rivers and stopped near the western wall of Hue; its mission was to attack and open the Chanh Tay gate, the Huu gate, and the Thuy Quan sluice, occupy the Tan Loc airfield, the Dai Noi area, the Thuong Tu gate, and the Dong Ba gate, and coordinate with friendly units in attacking and occupying all of northern Hue and the Kim Long and Xuan Hoa area.

The command of the northern front and the various work units and political cadres accompanied this element.

Following the 6th Regiment was a mortar company which attacked Tu Ha and pinned down and destroyed the enemy troops at the command post of the 3rd puppet regiment; there was also one other infantry battalion which went down into the rural area of Huong Tra where its mission was to attack and liberate Huong Thai and Huong Thanh townships, surround Ru Lau, and block and attack enemy troops approaching from Dong Lam and Tu Ha in order to provide a rear base for Hue.

Until now, the entire operation had proceeded safely and nothing important had occurred. The enemy had not taken any significant actions.

2400 hours, 30 January 1968:

New Year's eve was truly a special one. We had "Thang Long" cigarettes and ginger marmalade sent down from Hanoi. We also had "goose" tea and sesame candy sent from Hue. However, at this tense moment, no one talked about tet. After listening to a New Year's greeting from Uncle Ho, we assembled in the operations room to follow the movements of the various units.

From the forward observation post on Chia Voi Mountain, K. assessed the situation of the operation on the southern front and reported:

Because of the length of the march, the large size of the formation, and the necessity of crossing the Ta Trach River in a few small ferries, the units of group 5 (the Hue City unit) had to march from the morning of 29 January 1968 to the evening when they assembled on the opposite bank of the Ta Trach River at Dinh Mon and Duong Hoa.

Another element comprised of the 2nd Sapper Battalion and the 10th Infantry Battalion which had the mission of attacking U.S. troops in southeastern Hue, had to march down to the Phu Vang liberated area during the night of

29 January and conceal its troops there until the night of 30 January when it would send its troops into Hue. This element marched all night on the 29th and nothing of importance occurred.

The second element, comprised of the 1st Sapper Battalion, the 4th Infantry Battalion, and artillery and mortar units, reached the bank of the river on the afternoon of 29 January where it was detected by the enemy and, after 2 hours of heavy artillery fire which wounded and killed a number of its troops, it had to retreat to the edge of the jungle to regroup; on the afternoon of 30 January, it resumed its operation as planned. This element was the main force in the attack on the enemy armored regiment at Tam Thai but because it was behind schedule, it did not cross the Ta Trach River until 2230 hours.

The third element, comprised of the 15th and 18th Battalions, had the mission of attacking and occupying the southern Hue triangle and the areas in the outskirts of the city along the Ben Ngu River; on 30 January, it concealed its troops in Dinh Mon.

During the afternoon of 30 January 1968, the entire force of the southern Hue front resumed its march and crossed the Ta Trach River near dusk. If they encountered no major obstacles, the unit stationed at Phu Vang could attack Hue this night as planned.

The command of group 5 and the cadres of the Ta Trach staff which went with their units had now crossed the river.

From his observation post overlooking Hue, K. said over his radio: the overall situation is as quiet as it was every other night. Electric lights are still burning. Vehicles continue to cross the Trang Tien Bridge. Red and green signal flares occasionally light the sky. In the directions in which our troops are moving, everything is quiet but there is scattered machine gun fire in the direction of the Lim Bridge about 3 to 4 kilometers from Nam Hoa.

0215 hours, 31 January 1968:

The entire force of the northern Hue front is safe. At 0115 hours, the first element climbed the northern wall about 200 to 300 meters from its target of Mang Ca and was making preparations for combat in complete secrecy. The second element safely approached the An Hoa Bridge at 0115 hours and companies infiltrated An Hoa Village. The third element, the regiment's main force, crossed the Tien Giang River at 2330 hours and stopped to organize for combat. At 0030 hours, a sapper unit took up position along Thong Nhat Road; one detachment moved to the foot of the western wall and one team took up position near the Thuy Quan sluice and was preparing to cut the strands of barbed wire there.

On the southern Hue front, news from the forward observation post told that the 1st Sapper Battalion had crossed the river late but was moving very rapidly; at 0030 hours, it reached Tu Tay and stopped to make preparations for combat; at 0210 hours, it moved to a point 50 to 100 meters from the position of the 7th Armored Regiment at Tam Thai.

0230 hours; 31 January 1968:

The plan stipulated: 0230 hours was G. hour, that is, the hour when all fronts would open fire. The command had ordered that the northern front was to open fire first, that the first shots were to be fired at the enemy troops at Mang Ca. If the northern front had not opened fire by this time, the southern front would open fire.

It was 0230 hours; we in the operations room sat looking at one another. There was not a sound in the room. Everyone was silent, silent and waiting. The operations room assistant had a radio in one hand, a pencil in the other, and his eyes were staring at the watch with the luminous dial he wore on his wrist.

But, 0231, 0232, and 0233 hours came and went and everyone's watches read the same. All of us in the operations room sat beside the radio awaiting reports from the various fronts. Th, the operations room commander who was normally very reserved and calm, stood nervously beside the radio signalling the forward observation posts to report. Seeing the very tense expression on Th's face, who had not yet said anything, Kh. took the radio and said directly to T. on the northern front:

"Do you see anything yet? Why haven't they opened fire, are there any problems?"

At the other end, T. was confused:

"I...I am following the situation...wait...Wait a minute."

Kh. called the forward observation post at Hon Dun. K. reported:

"I am awake, I am looking down at Hue...the lights of the city are still on, the sky is quiet, and nothing is happening."

All of looked at our watches counting the seconds; we were like a pregnant woman who had spent 9 months and 10 days nurturing the fetus within her and was waiting for that sacred moment to arrive without complications, waiting, waiting for that first cry...

Everyone sat in silence, not a word was said but everyone was thinking and worrying:

Had something happened, was the operation still secret and safe? Had the main forces lost their way? Are they being blocked by the enemy?

Or, are our watches fast?

I too searched for an explanation. I thought that minor unexpected problems frequently develop in war: a combat unit becomes lost, a commander hesitates, an artillery gun unit is deployed late, and so forth. These things could put the attack behind schedule even though this schedule was a very strict one.

At 0233 hours or slightly behind schedule, the two observer stations on both fronts reported:

Our rockets are hitting Phu Bai...

Our rockets are hitting the Tam Giac area, many rockets are hitting it at once.

All of Hue is aglow. Explosions can be heard at the Chanh Tay gate, within the city, at Mang Ca...

There is artillery fire and small arms fire at Tam Thai.

Gunfire can be heard at An Hoa...

Artillery fire, small arms fire, and explosions could be heard throughout Hue from Phu Bai and Dong Tra to An Hoa and Tu Ha, from the western wall to Gia Hoi and Mang Ca...all of Hue was aglow! All of Hue has arisen!...

We looked at one another, everyone's face showed relief. The duty watch cadre, who held the receiver in one hand and tightly gripped the radio with the other, repeated the news as he received it. The entire command sat there following the situation, some people were writing in notebooks while others looked at maps. As for me, I carefully wrote in a notebook given to me as a present by a friend in Hanoi:

0233 hours, 31 January 1968, the first day of the Lunar New Year, the first moments of the Mau Than Tet, sacred moments worth remembering...

This morning, no one took calisthenics. Cadres and soldiers gathered in groups of three's and five's along the bank of the stream to talk about the news of the attack on Hue. Everyone was talking about Hue. I turned on Radio Vietnam. The station began its spring greetings with a poem by Uncle Ho.

On the bank of the stream, a poet I was acquainted with composed the following lines:

"What could be more beautiful than to see  
On a warm sunny day, in the distant deep blue sky  
A red flag flying  
Over a Hue shining with triumph.

What could be happier than  
To awaken in the middle of the night  
And hear the guns of the revolution smashing the iron chains  
And open the gate at the break of dawn  
On the road to spring which brings the liberators in  
With stars of victory swinging on their chests.

Their banners are as big and beautiful as the fatherland,  
As they move along the crowded streets..."

On New Year's eve, Hue celebrated Tet in silence. The streets of the city were empty. The lights were not much brighter than they were any other night. The new year was not greeted with fireworks, flowers, or applause. Ordinarily, the black of the night is flooded with the green and red flares of soldiers on guard. The citizens of Hue could not be happy about this tet; perhaps they were preparing to celebrate a different tet, a tet of exploding artillery shells and flying flags which would shatter the chains of slavery.

Thanh led Hieu, Minh, and Quang through the streets. They all were wearing puppet uniforms and smoking "Ruby" cigarettes. Thanh and Hieu, members of the city's self-defense force, had already participated in a battle against the Americans in the Gia Hoi area of Chi Lang District; Minh and Quang were sappers. All four had been thoroughly trained in the war zone before being sent here a few days ago and all four were under the command of a cadre from the front which regularly operated within the city. The mission of this secret force was to attack and occupy the Chanh Tay gate a G. hour when it saw the flare fired in the air to signal the start of the attack and await the large unit coming in from the outside.

The surprise attack this night caused Thanh to recall countless past tets. Ah, the tets of Hue, the sad melancholy tets of tens of thousands of poor people next to plentiful, decadent tets of the few who were rich and privileged. They were tets when he and a number of youths went to see "The Dream Hidden in Darkness" at the Lido Theater. They were tets when there were thousands of orphans begging on the streets of Hue. They were tets when American and puppet soldiers took things without paying for them, when "crazed" puppet soldiers defeated on Route 9 and at Phong Dien and Quang Dien went around destroying everything in sight. Thanh's mother was a laundrywoman. His father had died. On the day of tet--Thanh remembered that she did it every tet without exception--his mother would buy a stick of incense, peel a hard boiled egg, fill a bowl with rice, and place them on the altar to worship his father. Thanh's father was imprisoned by Ngo Dinh Can in the prison of nine dungeons, he was tortured repeatedly and died there. When his mother brought his father's body back for burial, Thanh saw that it was terribly bloated, he burst into tears and could not bring himself to look at his father again. On every tet since then, his mother has bought a stick of incense, peeled a hard boiled egg, filled a bowl with rice, and placed them on the altar to worship his father; when she had finished, she would remove the offerings from the altar and she and her son would celebrate tet. But

these sad tets were in the past. During last year's tet, Thanh received permission to go to his mother's native village in the Phu Vang liberated zone. He and many youths from Hue listened to a speech by a front cadre, attended an entertainment program, read front newspapers and books, listened to Uncle Ho speak on New Year's eve, and so forth. Thanh considers this visit to his mother's native village a pilgrimage worth remembering. Then there was this year's tet, the tet in the war zone; Thanh and everyone else celebrated tet early: they had homemade dumplings and pickled scallions and ginger marmalade, Thang Long cigarettes, and flower tea sent down from Hanoi. They enjoyed themselves very much in the "pick flowers of victory" contest, target practice using a head of Westmoreland as the target, watching a psy-war entertainment program, viewing an exhibit, and so forth.

That was this year's tet, but what about tomorrow? Thanh hoped he could throw a hand grenade at the head of an enemy, that his entire team could celebrate tet, avenge their families, and repay their debt to the country by recording a feat of arms. Thanh hoped that tomorrow all of Hue would be aglow with the flag with the star, that tomorrow, the next day, and for many days to come Hue could truly celebrate tet with masses flooding the streets, with a revolutionary government, with the life of freedom now being enjoyed out in Phu Vang.

Hearing the wails of a funeral procession, Thanh asked himself: is that the wailing of a funeral procession for a citizen who has passed away or for the rotten Thieu regime? Through news related to him by compatriots, he learned that the enemy was very complacent, death was standing right behind them and they were completely unaware of its presence. Lieutenant Colonel Phan Van Khoa, the province chief and commander of the Thua-Thien sub-region, said to his officers while issuing the order which put puppet soldiers on the alert that morning: "According to an order from Thieu and Ky, we are to guard against an attack so we will; but, in actuality, the Viet Cong would not dare to do anything large scale, they are nowhere near strong enough to attack Hue!"

Thanh reminded his soldiers to put out their cigarettes and they secretly approached the Chanh Tay gate. That day, the gate was being guarded by 20 civil guardsmen and 1 "incendiary" truck was parked at the gate. While watching the enemy troops, Thanh heard a dog bark followed by scattered machine gun fire outside the city at the junction of the Tien Giang and Ke Van Rivers.

At 0233 hours, as soon as our signal flare brightened the sky, Thanh and the others with him moved up to the enemy's guardhouse. Without the enemy suspecting a thing, they opened fire with a machine gun at the wall. Thanh and his entire team opened fire, threw grenades, and fired thier machine gun at the enemy troops gathered at the base of the wall. The enemy screamed in panic; some fell over dead and others turned and fled. A group of enemy soldiers on patrol on the bridge in front of the gate quickly ran and pulled strands of barbed wire across the road to block it. Firing repeatedly,

Thanh and Quang advanced to open the gate and signalled with a flashlight for the Liberation Army troops to advance toward the wall. The two sides shouted slogans of recognition to each other:

Hai, comrades!

Advance, Advance for independence and freedom.

The troops on the outside replied:

We are determined to die so the fatherland can live!

We are determined to die so the fatherland can live!

The soldiers cheered, embraced the Liberation Army troops, and gathered around the company commander; their eyes were filled with tears, they were as happy as a son reunited with his mother after being far away for many years.

The entire group of brave soldiers advanced into the city; they marched with confidence, they felt strong, as though no force could stop them.

By the time the signal flares were blazing red paths straight into the sky, the sapper unit had finished cutting the strands of barbed wire at the Thuy Quan sluice, an underground sluice which connects the Ke Van and Nhi Ha Rivers and divides the inner city in half. Following the bank of the Nhi Ha River, some soldiers advanced to the southwest corner of the Tay Loc air field and attacked and occupied the billet area of the troops defending the air field; another group moved from the Chanh Tay gate along Thai Phien Road and occupied the communications area and ammunition warehouse on the western edge of the air field. Both groups coordinated to attack and occupy nearly one-half the air field and destroy several helicopters, reconnaissance aircraft, and transports.

Having been taken by surprise, the enemy offered no strong resistance. A number who escaped being killed ran to the ammunition dump on the eastern edge of the air field, joined forces with the technicians there, and returned the fire from fortifications. The heavy enemy fire enveloped the entire air field. By dawn, our troops were still unable to advance. We faced a major difficulty: should we advance or withdraw? If we tried to advance we would not succeed because we lacked the firepower to control the pockets of enemy fire. If we withdrew, it would be very difficult to launch an attack later. We decided to make use of the communication trenches and existing obstacles to hold onto the air field and maintain the position we had occupied. A day of intermittent firing passed after which both sides were still clinging tenaciously to the air field.

On the night of 31 January, the regimental command assembled an entire infantry battalion which launched a second attack on the air field. The battle lasted half the night until 0500 hours on 1 February: we defeated the enemy, occupied the entire air field, destroyed 40 aircraft of all types, 100



vehicles, an ammunition warehouse, and a fuel dump, and captured many weapons and pieces of military gear. At 1100 hours that day, the enemy launched a counterattack from Mang Ca and retook the air field; that night, we attacked the air field once again. The battle for the Tay Loc air field raged throughout the time the Liberation Army occupied Hue.

At 0240 hours on 31 January, we took control of the Huu gate. From there we launched three attacks:

The first force attacked the Ngo Mon gate and the flag platform. The enemy had a platoon there but only eight men were on duty that day. One of our squads sneaked in and destroyed the enemy in a matter of several minutes. We occupied the Ngo Mon gate and flag platform at 0600 hours and occupied the ordnance depot which included two 12.7 millimeter heavy machine guns.

The second force followed Yet Kieu and Le Huan Roads and attacked and occupied the Dai Noi compound. Along the way, they captured a puppet policeman. Persuaded to go along with them, he led the troops directly into the main sluice from which they launched a surprise attack against the enemy post. They destroyed one spy company and one police company, captured prisoners, and took control of the entire Dai Noi compound, the place where the emperors of the Nguyen Dynasty sat on the gold throne and ruled the country hundreds of years ago. To appreciate the full satisfaction of this glorious victory, many Liberation Army troops took turns sitting on the ancient throne in the Can Chanh Palace; everyone sat in it for 1 or 2 minutes, some for 3 minutes. They had a good time mocking the gold feudal throne by sitting in it and pretending to be emperor for a few moments. This small thing symbolized the change of rulers in the age of revolution, which is driving over declining systems.

The third force comprised of two infantry platoons was led by a guerrilla team within the city down Yet Kieu and Mai Thuc Loan Roads where it occupied the Thuong Tu and Dong Ba gates; it then attacked and occupied the Thanh Long Bridge on the northeastern edge of the city and the Trang Tien Bridge and occupied all of the services and warehouses within the city. The striped flag with three branches was lowered and the green and red flag with the five-pointed star, one measuring 54 square meters (6 meters long and 9 meters wide) was raised up the Ngo Mon flagpole at 0800 hours, 31 January 1968. It was Nguyen Van Truyen, a brave soldier in the 3rd Company of the 2nd Battalion, 6th Regiment, who, with the help of other members of his unit, raised the flag of the Front, the flag dyed with the blood of countless revolutionary fighters and heroes, up the highest flagpole in the city. From that day, the glorious banner of the people of heroic South Vietnam flew high over the ancient city of Central Vietnam, casting a red shadow on the beautiful Perfume River and, through the river, on Vy Da, Sinh intersection, the Thuan An gate, the entire country. The waving flag beckoned to the people to arise, it beckoned to youths to take up weapons, it called for the birth of a revolutionary government, it stirred the souls and consciences of countless people.

"Oh flag flying so high  
Our troops have entered the city  
Spring has come with them.  
Oh Hue, our Hue.  
Although it is not summer, the trees are in bloom  
The flag of victory has warmed the sky  
Our hearts are bursting with joy."

(Thanh Hai)

The northern wall which was supposed to serve as a bridgehead for 40 sappers attacking the Mang Ca post had collapsed some time ago and this was not taken into consideration in the combat plan. There was a thick fence of barbed wire at the base of the wall and our troops were unable to carry out their attack as planned. Abandoning the high wall, they went around the outside of the post's western wall, attacked the main gate, and under cover of the heavy mortar fire we were directing at the post, they attacked and occupied four bunkers.

At the same time, a force of sappers and other infantry troops rapidly moved from the An Hoa gate to the western edge of Mang Ca, cleared a path for the attack, and put 12 soldiers inside the post. The two forces joined, fought bravely and tenaciously; by dawn they had occupied the re-education center, the psychological warfare room, and the offices of the military medical company and taken control of one-third of Mang Ca. At 0600 hours, the regimental command sent an assistant commander and one infantry company with four 75 millimeter recoilless rifles to reinforce the assault force. However, because the enemy had dispersed their forces in order to defend against the attack and because their armored vehicles had control of the gates, our troops on the outside were unable to reinforce the forces within the post. The battle became very fierce; by 1100 hours on the 31st, our troops had been driven from Mang Ca.

On 31 January, we assembled our forces for a second attack on Mang Ca but because of a lack of firepower and an insufficient number of forces and because the enemy had enacted a defense plan, the attack could not be carried out.

The failure of the attack against Mang Ca greatly influenced the entire situation in Hue. Because, Mang Ca was the command post of the 1st puppet division; it was a large post which contained many buildings and underground fortifications and a supply road from the Perfume River which we could not cut. As a result, Mang Ca became a pocket of enemy resistance. They assembled many forces here, brought in troops and supplies by helicopter, and then launched continuous counterattacks against the Tay Loc air field and other vital places.

The attacks of the Liberation Army in the northern outskirts of the city were going smoothly. In the space of only one-half hour, the 6th Infantry Battalion had occupied An Hoa and Doc So Villages, occupied the An Hoa Bridge

and checkpoint, captured practically all civil defense troops alive, and captured many weapons. At 0600 hours on 31 January, the 7th puppet paratroop battalion and an armored unit from An Lo which were proceeding along National Highway Number 1 to rescue the puppet troops in Hue were surrounded and attacked by the 6th Battalion at An Hoa. Our troops defeated many enemy assaults, killed hundreds of enemy troops, destroyed five M113's, captured three M113 crews alive, and used the machine guns on the enemy vehicles to attack the enemy again. The 7th Paratroop Battalion fled to Bao Vinh; it then took the road through the Hau gate and withdrew to Mang Ca.

Another infantry unit attacked and occupied the "New life" hamlets of Que Chi, La Chu, An Hoa, Bon Tri, and Bon Pho, destroyed one puppet company and killed 70 hoodlums and civil defense troops, captured hundreds of troops, confiscated all weapons, and mobilized the masses to seize control. The following morning, the entire civil defense platoon at Trieu Son surrendered with their weapons to the Liberation Army.

Another infantry battalion infiltrated, attacked, and occupied Ke Van and Kim Long Hamlets. The puppet troops here, in addition to a civil defense platoon and hoodlums who were there to control the masses, also included one infantry battalion from the 11th Regiment which was defeated at Gio Linh and sent here to rest and regroup. Attacked without notice, the enemy fled to Van Thanh and we pursued and killed several of them. This battalion had been sent to Mang Ca 2 days before. On the night of 31 January, we attacked the Bach Ho police station; at this post were a civil guard company and a field police battalion which had been defeated at Gio Linh and been sent here to rest and reorganize. Because of the large number of enemy troops and the bunkers they were using, we could not break their defenses on the first night and had to surround and control the station. On the night of 1 February, we launched the second attack. After using firepower to attack and destroy the bunkers, infantry troops launched an assault. Some of the enemy troops were killed, some fled, and 60 were captured.

On the night of 30 January, a commando unit comprised of 14 soldiers secretly entered Bao Vinh in northern Hue, crossed the Perfume River at Ha Linh Village and entered Tien Non Village, and then left Tien Non and crossed the Perfume River once again to attack the Gia Hoi Ward (the 4th ward). With the help of guerrillas already in place, the commando unit rapidly occupied the ward police station and the district seat. At dawn the following day, the commando unit became an insurrection unit; it divided into many armed propaganda teams which hoisted flags, spread the news, and appealed to the masses to arise and take control of the entire 4th ward.

At the same time, a secret guerrilla unit and another commando unit attacked and occupied the Dong Ba Street police station and spread out to occupy Tran Hung Dao Street; at 0800 hours, it took control of the Dong Ba Market, destroyed the M113 of the enemy forces counterattacking from the Trang Tien Bridge, rapidly developed upon the victory, and mobilized the masses to rise in rebellion.

Thus, after 2 days and nights of continuous fighting on the northern front, the Liberation Army had occupied the inner city area, Dong Ba and Gia Hoi, and many townships in the outskirts of the city and Huong Tra District from Van Xa and La Chu to Kim Long and Xuan Hoa with the exception of Mang Ca and Bao Vinh in Huong Tra District which were important places still being held by the enemy.

The attacks on southern Hue were carried out by many forces which employed many very different forms of tactics. The attacks and uprisings lasted for several days.

The sapper unit concealed its troops in the Phu Vang liberated zone where it celebrated tet with its compatriots and was taken by them to the ferry which "carried wounded to the Hue Hospital." That afternoon, they again celebrated tet in Vinh Luu and Giang Dong B. They moved out at night, crossed the Loi Nong River, and entered southeastern Hue at 0231 hours. There, they divided into many smaller forces and, under the cover of heavy artillery fire against the Tam Giac area, they launched a series of attacks against enemy strongholds. One unit attacked and destroyed the Phan Sao Nam station (the supply unit station) and advanced to the Huong Giang Hotel. The second unit attacked the Thuan Hoa Hotel where U.S. advisors were billeted. At 0400 hours, it attacked and occupied the various buildings on the ground; the remaining enemy troops moved into underground bunkers and put up a resistance. One unit attacked the Hue Secret Service Office, occupied the interrogation jail, and freed 107 compatriots who were being detained. A small detachment attacked and occupied the Cong Market, the athletic field, and the 7th bridge. A commando unit comprised of 14 soldiers entered An Cuu, destroyed two "pacification" groups, and rapidly expanded its attack to the Kho Ren Bridge where it destroyed three armored vehicles and captured nine policemen and a number of trucks.

The second force moved down from Duong Hoa. The 1st Sapper Battalion, together with artillery and mortar units, attacked and destroyed the 7th Armored Regiment at Tam Thai. In the first several minutes of the battle, we occupied two large bunkers on a hill and launched an attack from the hill at the main camp. The enemy offered weak resistance and by dawn we had occupied nearly the entire camp and destroyed 30 armored vehicles and tanks. There was still one enemy platoon and a tank in the corner of the camp waiting to be rescued by Americans from Phu Bai. The destruction of the armored regiment smashed the mobile assault units of the enemy and caused the enemy to lose all of the key forces defending Hue.

The 4th Infantry Battalion became lost and did not cross the Kho Ren Bridge until 0600 hours. From there, a unit attacked the police station at the five point intersection on Duy Tan Road at 0800 hours but did not occupy it until 1100 hours. Another unit attacked and occupied the Sap Phang Giong six-point intersection, occupied the post office and bank, and then attacked and destroyed the Hue Broadcasting Station near the entrance to the Trang Tien Bridge. Another unit had the mission of attacking and destroying the

transportation battalion at the Le Loi camp in An Cuu; however, it arrived late and was unable to launch the attack. On the night of the 31st, this unit carried out its attack destroying the entire enemy transportation battalion and more than 100 vehicles.

The third force occupied the Ben Ngu Bridge and Nam Giao Bridge at 0600 hours. From those positions, our soldiers rapidly advanced to occupy the Quoc Hoc and Dong Khanh Schools and the residence of the province chief. Another large flag of the front was raised at the residence of the province chief and it waved in unison with the flag flying over the Ngo Mon gate.

To give a clearer picture of the specific situation on this front, I would like to include a few lines from the journal of Kh., a Hue cadre who was part of the southern front command:

"...That night, I led my unit down to Dinh Mon and headed toward Hue; we crossed the Ta Trach River at 0600 hours. The march was moving very quickly and by 2400 hours we had reached Nguyet Bieu Phuong. We went past Ngu Tu Tay and the prison of nine dungeons and, at 0200 hours, we met the commandoes at Cu Chanh but we were doubtful about launching the attack because we were afraid we had been seen. After 0230 hours, when we saw our firepower hitting Hue, we decided to attack the enemy in order to move forward. By 0430 hours we had destroyed the enemy and quickly moved toward Hue. By dawn, we were at the Ben Ngu Bridge. We opened fire against the bunkers protecting the bridge. The enemy resisted for awhile but then fled. One of our cadres was killed in the middle of the bridge. We entered the Ben Ngu Market. Our troops continued the attack. I and a number of political officers remained behind to work with the masses. At first, we were only able to assemble a few dozen people but gradually the crowd became larger; however, many people stayed inside their houses looking out probably because they were stunned and startled and did not understand what was happening. When we explained our policies, they understood that we were the Liberation Army and more and more people started arriving at the meeting. Many youths volunteered to lead our troops or help dig trenches and build fortifications. A woman who sold beef and noodles at the market informed us that the assistant province chief, Tran Dinh Thong, had been gambling at the market all night and had returned near dawn. She led us to the residence of U.S. CIA personnel who were captured by our troops."

"We advanced to occupy the residence of the province chief. The fighting was rather complex. The civil guardsmen defending the residence were unable to mount a defense and had to surrender immediately; however, the assistant province chief, Tran Dinh Thong, obstinantly continued to resist. We called for him to open the door; Thong's wife came out carrying a baby and politely said that her husband had gone somewhere else. From the second story Thong threw a grenade and shot and wounded a security soldier. In the rear, some Americans with a 12.7 millimeter machine gun fired down from the top of the house. The battle dragged on; they did not surrender until 0800 hours when we collapsed the house. Our compatriots were enthusiastic, they helped with everything, and they cooked meals for the troops."

"Dat and Ngoc led their troops to continue the attack and occupy Dong Khanh and Khai Dinh Schools, attacked and occupied the offices of the Central Vietnam government representative, that is, the offices of the former Central Vietnam People's Delegate, and set up a command post there. They attacked the tribal training school, that is, the training school for Montagnard commandoes. They fought back for a while and then moved into underground bunkers from which they mounted a resistance; we had to fight for 2 days and 2 nights to resolve the situation. On 2 February, we captured one U.S. advisor and 50 Montagnard commandoes.

Two squads attempted to attack the Thua Phu jail but, unable to launch an attack, they had to surround the jail and called for its surrender. The jail was large and generally used to detain more than 2,000 people including political prisoners, economic prisoners, and puppet deserters. It was guarded by a civil guard company, was surrounded by high walls, and very tightly defended. The warden, Hoang Ngoc Bich, was an infamous hoodlum. He used deserters and immoral adventurers to beat and mistreat his prisoners. He placed claymore mines around the political prisoner section and gave orders to his soldiers to set off these mines when we attacked in order to kill all the political prisoners. But, the political prisoners detained here were tightly organized and led. They had established many self-defense units and other combat organizations. They had a plan for coordinating with the Liberation Army and secretly cut the wires of the mines."

"On the night of 1 February, we launched the second attack against the jail but failed and had to fight the enemy counterattacking us from the Trang Tien Bridge. The next day, the situation became more difficult. The unit reported that it was out of ammunition and supplies. There was no ammunition in the area, consequently, the unit could not be resupplied. It had only two B 40 rounds. There were only a few dozen rounds of ammunition for each AK. During the night of 2 February, I went down to the unit; we held a party chapter meeting, remolded the unit's thinking, and organized a new attack. Everyone agreed that we had to attack, had to liberate the several thousand of our brothers who were suffering and dying within the prison. We received ammunition, grenades, and explosives. We drew up a plan for removing the shutters from the windows of the Dong Khanh School and making many ladders to scale the walls. The meeting lasted until 2230 hours. After making the necessary preparations, we left at 2330 hours. At 2400 hours, a deserter named Tran Van Phien surrendered with his weapon, he told us that there were very many enemy troops, and led our troops to the place of the attack. We approached in secrecy, occupied the guard station and coordinated with those within the jail who were staging an uprising to attack and occupy the entire jail and liberate the 2,200 people detained there. They happily embraced the troops of the Liberation Army. Countless emotional scenes unfolded: fathers met sons, wives met husbands, brothers met, and so forth. Everyone reassembled at the Tu Dam Temple asked to join the Liberation Army. The others joined work units and led the way for the attacking Liberation Army."

"We continued to expand our attack to the Hue Railroad Station and surrounded the Bo Ghe camp at which one engineer battalion was stationed. On 4 February, we attacked and occupied the Quang Trung ordnance depot and the Le Loi camp, confiscating 2,000 weapons of all types including hundreds of heavy machine guns, six tanks, and many pieces of military gear. Outside the city, we attacked and destroyed the puppet engineer camp at Nam Giao and the Phuoc Qua and Phu Cam camps. On 6 February, we ambushed and destroyed a convoy of 12 U.S. vehicles on Ngu Binh Mountain which included two 'Ontose' tanks, each of which was equipped with six large recoilless rifles."

As a result of being shown the way by the masses, we captured many U.S. advisors and CIA agents and many leading Vietnamese traitors including four of Thua Thien's assistant province chiefs:

Tran Dinh Thong, the assistant province chief in charge of administration; he had a touring car, jeep, bus and an automobile. He was living very well.

Nguyen Khoa Bao, the assistant province chief in charge of internal security.

Nguyen Xuan Bao, the assistant province chief in command of the armed forces. He was killed in the attack on the residence of the province chief.

Buu Loc, the assistant province chief in charge of the economy.

The province chief, Phan Van Khoa, assumed a disguise and disappeared for several weeks.

In addition, we also captured one lieutenant colonel, one major, one chairman of the provincial council, six service heads, two district chiefs, four assistant district chiefs, 38 captains, 60 1st lieutenants, and so forth.

The strategic attack on Hue ended in victory after 4 days of continuous fighting. We attacked and occupied practically all of our major targets. But, the enemy was not completely destroyed. On the northern front, they stubbornly defended Mang Ca and the ordnance depot and reoccupied the Tay Loc air field from which they launched counterattacks against us. On the southern front, the Americans reoccupied the Thuan Hoa Hotel, the puppets reoccupied the Phan Sao Nam subsector and the Tam Thai and Nam Giao bases, stubbornly defended Bo Ghe, and so forth.

We continued to occupy and hold Hue, continued to mobilize the masses to establish a revolutionary government and build up their forces, and continued to fight the counterattacking enemy. This stage was a stage of political attacks and military resistance; the fighting was decisive, heroic, prolonged, and very heavy in the city and its outskirts.

Hue was changing rulers: the puppet army and government had been routed and pursued everywhere and the people were rising to throw off their shackles and seize the right of ownership.

More and more workers, laborers, youths, women, students, and pupils were filling the streets: there were hundreds on the first day, thousands on the second. They spread the news of the victory, they opened food counters at the Dong Ba gate to feed troops and cadres, and they carried the wounded on stretchers. They brought tables and chairs down to the streets to be used as obstacles to block the enemy troops attacking from Mang Ca. Many joined the self-defense unit and took up weapons to fight beside the Liberation Army.

The Hue Youth Front, comprised of education, medical, and law students, young workers, and young Buddhists, was established. They established their headquarters at the Dong Ba gate post office at the head of Mai Thuc Loan Road.

In response to an appeal made by the Youth Front, student committees were established; the first was established in the 2nd ward and was comprised of 57 people and a 5-member executive committee. A student committee was then established in the 3rd ward. By the afternoon of 9 February, the Association of Ward Youths, Students, and Pupils had assembled more than 300 people. All of them participated in work very enthusiastically. The headquarters of the council were established at the Quang Tri Club which is located on Huynh Thuc Khang Road and overlooks the Dong Ba River.

They made contact with friends and relatives of theirs who were puppet officers and soldiers and appealed to them to join the revolution and not work as mercenaries for the Americans and puppets any longer. On a wall they wrote four lines of poetry which became their combat motto:

"Life is more precious than gold  
Love is priceless  
For the liberation of South Vietnam  
We vow to sacrifice everything."

On 3 February, 127 youths volunteered for work units. The street self-defense platoon was the first unit to be established. The uprising committee held a ceremony to give them their weapons and administer them the oath at Phu Hoa Hall, number 37 Huynh Thuc Khang Road. They then proceeded to march down Phan Boi Chau Street and Hang Be Road in an atmosphere of deep pride. They were taken to Gia Hoi for training and immediately began participating in combat.

A revolutionary people's committee was established within the city under the chairmanship of music professor Van. The people of the Tay Loc, That Trach, and Phu Hoa neighborhoods and the people of Thong Nhat Road held meetings to establish revolutionary governments for their neighborhoods.

Gia Hoi is the area where the strongest mass uprising occurred. The area has a population of 32,000 people, the majority of whom are laborers, small merchants, and the families of officials and soldiers and many people are engaged in agriculture. After the police station was destroyed and the district seat

was occupied, work units coordinated with local guerrillas and, relying upon the masses, tracked down hoodlum reactionaries and mobilized thousands of puppet soldiers and officers to join forces with the revolution. The uprising propaganda unit used automobiles and motorized bicycles to go throughout the streets and hamlets of workers reporting the news of the victory and explaining our policies; in only a few hours, the scene in the streets changed completely. Having gained their freedom after being shackled for 28 years, they gathered in the streets shouting, they raised flags, and paraded through the streets. At all stores public offices, crossroads, intersections, everywhere there were new slogans, signs, and flags; the orders of the uprising committee, the 10-point program of the Front, and the eight rules of discipline of the Liberation Army were distributed to the masses at all intersections and public offices.

Thousands of people marched to the Gia Hoi Middle School to hear a cadre talk about the victory and explain our policies. Everything was like new, there was singing and laughter everywhere, everyone wore new clothing and attractive scarves. Everyone was busy, everyone wanted to help. The masses were organized on the basis of trades and areas of residence. Mothers and daughters established resupply units and units to rescue the wounded, cook meals for self-defense troops and cadres, and care for the wounded. Drivers and stevedores established transportation units which transported grain and medicine and transported the wounded. One bourgeois family in which the husband was a doctor and the wife operated a pharmacy joined a unit rescuing the wounded and volunteered to give their supply of medicine to the revolution. Tailors and fabric stores used their machines to sew flags, sew uniforms for self-defense troops, and sew cold weather clothing for the Liberation Army. The various propaganda units assembled hundreds of students, pupils, teachers, and artists who, under the direction of an uprising cadre, divided into groups and wrote slogans, painted signs, and used loudspeakers to mobilize youths to join the resistance. The psy-war entertainment unit of the Liberation Army, which was sent to perform at Gia Hoi and Dong Ba, brightened the atmosphere in the wards.

By 9 February, the Gia Hoi area had established five self-defense platoons. A formal ceremony was held at the Gia Hoi Elementary School to give these platoons their banners, weapons, and missions. Many mothers and brothers cried with joy and were happy that their sons and younger brothers could take up arms for the revolution and join the fight to protect their native city. No one was as happy as the hundreds of youths who went to the athletic field each morning to practice firing their rifles and throwing grenades under the direction of liberation cadres. They stood guard, conducted patrols, helped attack U.S. ships on the Perfume River, and helped track down and punish hoodlum ringleaders. A few hours after it was established, the 4th Self-Defense Platoon shot down an aircraft and set a jeep afire in the fight against the enemy counterattack on Dong Ba street.

Associations of patriotic dissident soldiers comprised of many puppet soldiers who had joined the revolution were established in all wards. The

Association of Patriotic Soldiers and Policemen in Gia Hoi Ward assembled more than 1,320 people. The association's executive committee, which was comprised of 13 members under the chairmanship of a dissident captain, issued an appeal to puppet soldiers to desert the enemy's ranks and join the revolution. Each day, they worked at the association's headquarters where they received many soldiers who signed their names, turned in their weapons, and signed pledges not to support the United States and Thieu or kill their compatriots any more. As a result of relying upon the eyes and ears of the masses and the combined forces of the associations of dissident patriotic soldiers, the troops staging the uprising captured some important officers and lackeys still in hiding, such as Lieutenant Colonel Huynh Van Khuong and Major Tu Bo Khang, the head of the Thua Thien Province "pacification" committee.

After its establishment, the revolutionary government immediately began to organize the life of the city, establish forces and organize the fight against the enemy, maintain order and security, protect the life and property of the masses, distribute grain, provide famine relief to poor families by confiscating the granaries of the puppet government and army and giving grain to the masses, and sell grain on the market at low prices. In areas under heavy enemy attacks and bombings, such as the inner city area and the 2nd ward, the masses were temporarily moved to Gia Hoi or evacuated to the Huong Tra area.

The mass uprising to seize the right of ownership in the areas outside the city was also strong. In Huong Tra, we liberated 61 villages with a total population of 40,000 people and established revolutionary governments in 28 villages and three townships in the space of only 1 week. In Huong Binh (the Kim Long and Xuan Hoa area), 600 puppet soldiers turned in their weapons and asked to join the revolution in only 3 days.

In southern Hue, political action units quickly began their work within the city and the Huong Thuy and Phu Vang areas outside Hue. Huong Thuy District, which had liberated 25 villages and 20,000 people, now liberated 35 more villages and 35,000 more people. Phu Vang District, which had liberated six townships comprised of 61 villages and 40,000 people, now liberated 43 more villages and 46,000 more people.

Guerrilla and self-defense units were quickly established everywhere and joined by thousands of young men and women. The associations of patriotic revolutionaries assembled 3,200 puppet military personnel who joined the revolution, 200 of whom were officers. The number of enemy deserters who would join our army reached 6,000. We took 1,700 enemy prisoners.

The fight to liberate Hue during the Mau Than Tet (1968) was one of the brilliant feats of arms of the army and people of heroic South Vietnam.

7809  
CSO: 4909

END