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TRANSLATIONS FROM HOC TAP (STUDIES)

No. 1, 1966

- North Vietnam -

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FOREWORD

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TRANSLATIONS FROM HOC TAP (STUDIES)

No 1, 1966

- North Vietnam -

This publication contains translations of articles from the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), No 1, 1966. Complete bibliographic information accompanies each article.

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1966 NEW YEAR GREETINGS

Following is a translation
of a poem by Ho Chi Minh in
the Vietnamese-language peri-
odical, Hoc Tap (Studies),
Hanoi, No. 1, January 1966,
page one. -/

Greetings to the South shining with war victories,
To more Dau Tieng, Bau Bang, Pleime, Danang...
Greetings to the North that fights heroically,
To inflict heavier defeats to the U. S. in its escalation.

My fellow-countrymen, let us unite all as one;
On the front and in the rear, let all our people do our best.
Emulating in production, pioneering in combat,
Fighting the U. S., saving the country, we will surely win.

Ho Chi Minh

Spring, 1966

5598
CSO 3520-D

OUR PEOPLE WILL SURELY
DEFEAT THE U.S. AGGRESSORS

Following is a translation of an editorial in the Vietnamese-language periodical, Hoc Tap, Hanoi, No. 1, January 1966, pp. 2-7

Developments in the past year of the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, particularly the developments on the battlefield in South Vietnam, have proved effectively that the strategy of special war which U.S. imperialism has developed to its highest level has met with dismal failure. Developments have also proved that although the United States has sent its expeditionary forces to join the rebel forces in the fighting and to intensify the war of destruction against North Vietnam, it still cannot turn the tide of war in its favor. The U.S. aggressors and their lackeys remain in a hopeless predicament in Vietnam.

Early in 1965 when the U.S. imperialists developed their acts of sabotage into a war of destruction against North Vietnam, they were bogged down and had suffered defeats in the special war in South Vietnam. An important part of the rebel forces had been annihilated and has disintegrated, while the rebel administration was nearly paralyzed, a great part of the system of strategic hamlets had been destroyed. The temporary controlled cities were facing serious crimes. The scheme of the U.S. imperialists at the time was designed to combine the war of destruction in North Vietnam with the intensification of the aggressive war in the south and to put out deceitful arguments about peaceful negotiations in the hope of saving their strategy of special war and swiftly settle this war in a direction favorable to them. But they met with the extremely strong military and political resistance of our armies and peoples in the two zones.

After 10 months of attacking the north, not only have the U.S. imperialists failed to achieve the main goal of the war of

destruction--which is to save their critical situation in the south--but they have suffered heavier defeats in South Vietnam; not only have they been unable to break the determination of all of our people to conduct a national salvation resistance war, but they have also created conditions for this determination to develop to a high degree; not only have they been unable to extricate themselves from their strategic passiveness, but they have become strategically more passive; not only have they been unable to get out of their political deadlock, but they have become more than ever before politically isolated in the world--and right in the United States itself.

The U.S. imperialists' strategy of special war has fundamentally failed. The fact that the U.S. imperialists have been compelled to rush large numbers of expeditionary troops to South Vietnam is the most striking sign of this failure.

Up to December 1965, there were 180,000 American troops and 20,000 satellite troops in South Vietnam, apart from about 70,000 men of the U.S. Navy and Air Force who have been directly participating in the fighting. At present, the U.S. imperialists are energetically preparing to increase the strength of their expeditionary troops in South Vietnam to 250,000 or 300,000, or more.

Obviously, the U.S. imperialist war of aggression has entered a new stage, the main characteristic of which is that in this war of aggression U.S. imperialism relies not only on the puppet troops and puppet regime as a main instrument, but also on the American expeditionary forces, whose numbers are growing steadily.

The U.S. troops have been used in division and brigade strength to occupy many important strategic bases in South Vietnam. They have also directly participated in the fight against our people and have served as tactical and strategic reserve forces in the southern operation theater. Both the rebel military and administrative forces and the U.S. expeditionary troops are important, support each other, and combine their actions. The U.S. expeditionary troops are the core force of the war of aggression, serving simultaneously as the main strategic mobile force and a military buttress for the rebel army and administration. The rebel army, supported by the strength of the U.S. expeditionary troops, is an important and indispensable force for the war of aggression and at the same time is a mobile force on the battlefield and a main force for pacifying and controlling and oppressing the people.

Furthermore, it is a political buttress for the U.S. expeditionary forces. The rebel army and administration would

go to ruin without the U.S. expeditionary troops. Without the rebel army and administration, the U.S. expeditionary troops would not be able to develop their military and political effect. With respect to military strategy, by utilizing the rebel army and administration and the U.S. expeditionary forces, the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression in South Vietnam has exceeded the scope of a special war. But from the standpoint of political strategy, the war of aggression in South Vietnam is still designed to achieve neocolonialism, and in this war, the political role of the rebel army and administrative is still very important. As it enters a new stage, the U.S. imperialists' war in South Vietnam still retains its character of a war of aggression aimed at achieving neocolonialism.

The U.S. imperialists hope that by pouring their expeditionary troops into South Vietnam they can build up a new, triple supremacy: To have their strategic mobile force strengthened, to consolidate their military bases in important strategic points, and to double the strength of their air force.

With this triple supremacy, they would carry out their plot to mount new attacks to wipe out the South Vietnamese people's revolutionary armed forces, maintain a firm position, or send more troops to occupy important strategic positions, and then rely on them to intensify the pacification in important areas and attack the liberated areas. They would try to control and oppress the masses of people, reoccupy a number of lost areas, encircle and isolate the southern battlefield, and intensify the war of destruction against North Vietnam in order gradually to gain the initiative and to settle the war in a manner favorable to them while at the same time laying the foundation for any further expansion of their aggressive war whenever necessary.

Although the foregoing plot is very cunning, the U.S. imperialists can never turn the tide of the present war in South Vietnam. On the contrary, the situation will become ever more unfavorable to them and is bound to lead them to their ultimate doom. They may increase their expeditionary troops to hundreds of thousands, but basically they can never alter the present balance of forces between the revolution and counterrevolution in South Vietnam, nor can they alter the situation in which the South Vietnamese people are vigorously developing their offensive.

The root cause of this situation is that the U.S. expeditionary forces appeared in South Vietnam at a time when the U.S. imperialists had already suffered the most crushing defeats and our compatriots' movement of people's war was developing everywhere and gaining momentum on an unprecedented scale. From Quang Tri to Ca Mau, from the mountains areas to the delta, and from the rural areas to cities, the 14 million South Vietnamese

compatriots have stood up to fight the enemy to save the country with the heroism, cleverness, and creativeness which has been accumulated by our people for many generations, and with very vigorous and varied military, political, and troop-proselything measures.

The U.S. aggressors and their lackeys are besieged in the people's war waged by our compatriots in the south. The siege will smash the triple supremacy which U.S. imperialism hopes to build by sending large numbers of troops to South Vietnam. Since the people's war is becoming ever more vigorous and powerful, it has caused the enemy to face in his troop deployment an ever more acute contradiction between concentration and dispersion and has greatly restricted the capacity of the U.S. expeditionary troops and puppet army to increase their mobile forces. The steel belt of the guerrilla warfare around the U.S. military bases and the movement of people's war spreading to all battlefields in the south and containing and gradually sapping the strength of U.S. military bases and throwing them into endless confusion and complete isolation.

With the development of the people's war, the enemy air force, though strengthened considerably, will surely be scattered to a high degree and its role in the war will be greatly weakened.

In short, heavily besieged by the people's war, U.S. imperialism will witness the inevitable change of its triple supremacy into three weak points, with the result that its already critical situation will become increasingly critical.

The resistance forces of the people in both parts of the country have become much stronger in the course of the war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, and they will continue to grow stronger and stronger. Today, in South Vietnam the NFLSV has a broad, steady basis among the workers and peasants and has been able to gather a large majority of compatriots from all walks of life behind it. It is holding firmly and raising high the banner of independence and democracy.

It has become the main political force in the south and enjoys very high prestige both at home and abroad. The southern compatriots have been forged and trained in the course of more than 10 years of continuous revolution and have drawn rich experiences from their political and armed struggles.

The South Vietnam Liberation Armed Forces are growing by leaps and bounds, imbued with a heroic fighting spirit. They possess a high level of tactical and technical knowledge and are well versed in both guerrilla fighting and mobile warfare. They

have stood firmly on almost all important strategic centers and been spread throughout South Vietnam. The battles fought last year in Van Tuong, Thuan Ninh, Da Nang, Plei Me, Bau Bang, and so forth were evidence that they are fully capable of annihilating large, crack U.S. expeditionary forces.

The liberated areas, which contain the bulk of the population, are being consolidated each day. As the superiority of the democratic system is being brought into play, they are becoming the direct and solid rear of the liberation war in the south.

After more than 10 years of carrying out the socialist revolution and construction, North Vietnam has become a steady, firm base for the revolution in the entire country, with a transcendent political regime and with an increasingly powerful economic and national defense force. Since the U.S. imperialists unleashed the war of destruction against the DRV, our people in the north, in response to the call of the party Central Committee, the government, and President Ho Chi Minh, have been firmly resisting the U.S. aggressors to save their country. Carrying on both construction and fighting at the same time, they have achieved initial success in defeating the U.S. war of destruction. At the same time, they have given more energetic support to the cause of liberation of their fellowcountrymen in the south and have contributed enormously to the victory of the whole nation. However numerous the reinforcements U.S. imperialism may continue to send to South Vietnam, however fierce the U.S. war of destruction against the north may be, and however the U.S. war of aggression may develop, our people in the north are strong enough and fully capable of defeating the U.S. bandit aggressors.

Throughout the world, the just war of our people, designed to protect the north, liberate the south, and advance toward the reunification of the country, has increasingly enjoyed the positive support and strong assistance of the socialist camp, and the sympathy and wide support of nationalist countries and peace-loving peoples, including the American people.

Our people have come to realize that at present, in the south as well as in the entire country, our people's revolutionary undertaking is on the offensive, that this offensive continues to develop, and that none of the reactionary forces can check it. Because of the heavy defeats of the enemy and of the continuous growth and great victories of our forces, and although the U.S. imperialists have sent tens of thousands of expeditionary troops to South Vietnam, and the war has become increasingly acute and violent, our people have a steady base for maintaining and developing their offensive on the battlefield; they have forces and conditions to foil any immediate or continuing scheme of the enemy.

U.S. imperialism is an international gendarme with the most powerful economic and military potential in the imperialist camp. However, it is obvious that the general situation in the world and the situation in the United States today do not permit U.S. imperialism to throw all its economic and military resources into the war of aggression against Vietnam as it pleases. It cannot send unlimited numbers of troops to South Vietnam without taking into account the difficulties in all fields facing them on the South Vietnam battlefield, in the world, in the southeast Asian area, and also right in the United States. The series of enormous difficulties in the military sphere--in combat, transport, and supply--and the worse difficulties which a large-scale and protracted war of aggression has brought it in the political sphere cannot fail to affect the United States in its effort to intensify the war of aggression in South Vietnam. Thus, the force which the Americans can use in the Vietnam war is still a restricted force. On the contrary, the weak points of U.S. imperialism are basic points which it cannot overcome.

So far, the greatest weak point of the Americans has still been in the political sphere. The more the U.S. expeditionary troops participate in the fighting in Vietnam, the more the land-grabbing faces of the U.S. imperialists and the country-selling faces of their lackeys will be exposed, and the more acute the contradictions between the Vietnamese people as a whole and the U.S. imperialists and between the U.S. and rebel forces will be.

The unjust nature of the war of aggression and the vigorous progress of our people's war inevitably result in low morale and low fighting capacity among the U.S. expeditionary forces and make them more and more passive strategically. However great their numerical strength and however modern their equipment, the U.S. forces are no match for our army and people, who are united in the fight. They cannot cope with the fierce onslaughts of the people's war. This does not include the practical characteristics of the South Vietnam battlefield and the fact that since the U.S. imperialists' modern expeditionary troops are ignorant of the terrain and are not used to the climate, they are compelled to fight under conditions unfavorable to them. In view of this, they are unable not only to achieve military victories, but also to save the rebel army and administration from inevitable collapse.

The larger the number of expeditionary forces the U.S. imperialists send to South Vietnam and the more the war of destruction against the north is intensified, the more isolated they will be in the world and in their own country. The movement of the people of the world against the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression is gaining momentum every day. The struggle of the American people against the war of aggression is spreading steadily. The internal differences of the U.S. imperialists are

becoming sharper and sharper. Other imperialist powers, taking advantage of the difficulties and the embarrassing situation the U.S. imperialists face in Vietnam, are going all out to struggle with the United States for markets and spheres of influence. With the war of aggression against Vietnam dragging on and becoming wider, the U.S. imperialists will face more and more difficulties, not only in Vietnam but also in other parts of the world and in the United States itself.

Obviously, hundreds of thousands of expeditionary troops crowding into the south cannot help the U.S. imperialists solve any one of the problems of the war of aggression. The U.S. imperialists are bound to fail and our people are bound to win. Such is our conclusion.

With this firm conclusion in our minds, we greet the year of 1966 in high spirits and full of confidence as victors in the war with the U.S. imperialists. We are ready to do whatever our country requires of us to defeat the U.S. aggressors, defend the north, liberate the south, and eventually reunify our country. We know that while intensifying the war of aggression in the south, the U.S. imperialists will carry the war of destruction against the north to a new height. They will widen the target area of their strikes and do their utmost to devastate the lines of communication, industrial bases, water conservation projects, and densely populated areas. At the same time they may encircle and attack one place or another, and so forth. The U.S. imperialists' war of destruction against the north will be fiercer. Nevertheless, whatever the circumstances may be, the U.S. imperialists cannot shake our people's determination to win complete victory in their resistance against U.S. aggression to save the country.

The entire party, the entire army, and all of our people must redouble their efforts, while striving to obtain the greatest possible international support and assistance, to resist the U.S. aggressors more resolutely to save the country, to foil the immediate and long-range schemes of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, and to create every opportunity to win resounding victories.

While our compatriots in the south are intensifying their armed and political struggles and dealing the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys deadly blows, our people in the north must work hard and take all effective measures to defeat the destructive war of the U.S. imperialists, defend and push forward socialist construction, give all-out support to the liberation war in the south, give positive support to the Laotian revolution, and at the same time do our utmost to be prepared at all times to meet all eventualities.

Our people in the north must be determined to fulfill their sacred duty and bring into full play the role of the great rear in support of the great front. To advance the anti-U.S. national salvation cause, we must endeavor to build a north strong both in economy and national defense and at all times master and implement well the policy of engaging both in production and fighting, and the fighting must be designed to protect production.

Also, under any circumstances, we must overcome difficulties, accelerate agricultural production according to the trend of intensive cultivation for high output, and at the same time resolutely develop local industries and handicraft, strengthen central industries, and strive to build in a practical manner the material and technical base for socialism. Along with increasing production we must eagerly practice thrift in order continually to develop the economic potential to serve the anti-U.S. national salvation fight satisfactorily.

It is necessary to continue to strengthen the people's armed forces, develop the people's war on a broad scale, achieve an all-people national defense, defeat the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction, protect the people's lives and property, and protect the economy and production. At the same time, we must positively resist the espionage and psychological warfare of the enemy.

Ideological and organizational work is the key to insuring the success of building a powerful economy and national defense in the north and to insuring the victory of our people's anti-U.S. national salvation cause. We must strive to strengthen ideological and organizational work and do the job still better.

Our people are engaged in the greatest revolutionary war in the history of our fatherland, in order simultaneously to achieve national liberation, to defend and build socialism, and to make positive contributions to the struggle of the people of the world for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism. This war is directing the main spearhead at the U.S. imperialists, the most ferocious enemy and the greatest menace to mankind.

In this great revolutionary war, our people are winning one victory after another, throwing our enemy into panic and fear, and gladdening our friends. These victories have not been won by chance; they are the natural outgrowth of a correct political line, of the revolutionary heroism of our army and people, and of the ideological and organizational work carried out very intensively under the banner of invincible Marxism-Leninism.

But the enemy of our people is still unwilling to admit his defeat. He is still engaged in a last-ditch struggle, in raids, and in deception; he may still create serious disasters before he is completely defeated. Our path of victory will be full of difficulties and obstacles. We must still work very hard and endure many sacrifices of no small degree. But the time when the U.S. imperialists could do as they liked has gone forever. The U.S. imperialists are bound to fail; our people's victory is certain. The cause of the liberation of our whole nation will certainly be crowned with success.

CSO: 3520-D

MESSAGES SENT TO THE EDITORS OF HOC TAP

[Following is a translation of some messages sent to the editors of the Vietnamese - language periodical, Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, published in issue No. 1, January 1966, pages 8-10.]

From the Editors of "Hong Ky" (Red Flag), the Theoretical and Political Organ of the Communist Party of China:

Dear comrades:

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the establishment of the periodical, "Hoc Tap," all the editorial staff of "Red Flag" extend to you all our warmest and most sincere greetings. For the last ten years, under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party, "Hoc Tap" has been raising high the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism and has made great contributions to the struggle against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys' clique, and to the socialist revolution and socialist building in Vietnam.

At present, in the struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors, for the defense of freedom and independence, and for the reunification of your fatherland, the heroic Vietnamese people have scored greater and greater achievements. The struggle of the Vietnamese people deals a heavy blow at the aggressive and war-provoking policy of the U.S. imperialists, and constitutes a strong support for the revolutionary struggle of the people of all countries in the world. We sincerely express our appreciation of and greetings to the firm revolutionary spirit and heroic character of the Vietnamese people.

Last September, the visit of a delegation of your periodical in our country further tightened the bonds of friendship and mutual fight between our two periodicals. We strongly believe that from now on, in our struggle, we will be more closely united and will fight for our common work.

We wish you, dear comrades, new greater achievements in your work.

We extend to you our revolutionary greetings.

9 December 1965

From the Editors of "Tien Ve" ("Advance Guard"), the Theoretical and Political Organ of the Communist Party of Japan:

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the publication of "Hoc Tap," the theoretical and political organ of the Central Executive Committee of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party, we sincerely extend to "Hoc Tap" and all its readers our warm greetings.

"Hoc Tap" is playing the brilliant role of an ideological weapon of the Lao Dong Party and the people of Vietnam, who are heroically fighting on the front against the U.S. imperialist aggressors; contributing to the defense of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the real unification of the socialist camp and the world communist movement; and fighting modern revisionism and modern dogmatism.

We strongly believe that the fraternal unity between "Tien Ve" and "Hoc Tap" will be further consolidated and developed under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Long live the tenth anniversary of the publication of "Hoc Tap."

Signed: Itaru Ionehara,
Editor-in-chief of "Tien Ve"

From the Editors of "Pruga e Partise" ("The Road of the Party"), the Theoretical and Political Organ of the Labor Party of Albania:

For the new year, 1966, we wish you comrades new victories.

Tirana, Albania, 30 December 1965

From the Editors of "Tarsadalmi Szemle" (Social Review), the Theoretical and Political Organ of the Socialist Workers' Party of Hungary:

Budapest, 6 December 1965

Dear comrades:

The editors of "Tarsadalmi Szemle" extend to you our new-year greetings. We wish you comrades more achievements in your work and many victories in the revolutionary struggle.

We send you comrades our fraternal greetings.

Signed: Iren Valery

From the Editors of "Lupta De Clasa" (Class Struggle), the Theoretical and Political Organ of the Communist Party of Rumania:

For the new year, we wish you comrades many victories in your activities to serve peace and socialism.

Bucharest, 1966

5598
CSO 3520-D

THE PEOPLE OF THE ENTIRE COUNTRY ARE OF ONE MIND
IN STEPPING UP THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR AND ARE
DETERMINED TO FIGHT AND VANQUISH THE U.S. AGGRESSORS

Following is a translation of an article by
General Vo Nguyen Giap in the Vietnamese-language
periodical Hoc Tap, Hanoi, No. 1, January
1966, pp 11-307

The U.S. imperialists are frenziedly pushing the aggressive war to a new stage:

The Vietnamese people are faced with an extremely serious situation: The U.S. imperialists, who have suffered heavy and continuous defeats, are frenziedly accelerating the aggressive war throughout our country by sending more than 200,000 U.S. and satellite troops to South Vietnam and at the same time recklessly escalating the war against North Vietnam.

The U.S. imperialists' acts of aggression are very brazen. At the end of 1964, a few months after they created the "Gulf of Tonkin incident" to get out of their deadlock in South Vietnam, they had in South Vietnam about 25,000 U.S. soldiers in the guise of "advisers." Early in 1965, after the great victory of the southern army and people in the battle of Binh Gia, the Americans became panic-stricken and sought ways to remedy their situation. In February 1965, they had the air force and navy begin the escalation by attacking the north continuously. A month later, for the first time they had U.S. Marine units land in Da Nang. On 10 March 1965, the U.S. National Security Council decided to accelerate the sending of U.S. troops to South Vietnam. Although they made new war efforts, the U.S. aggressors were unable to improve the situation, as they had hoped. On the contrary, their military and political situation in the south "went from bad to worse." The rebel army and administration were faced with the danger of collapse and disintegration.

Stubbornly pursuing their plot of aggression, in the middle of 1965 the U.S. imperialists took a further, extremely serious step: They increased the U.S. combat forces in South Vietnam on an ever larger scale. On 28 July 1965, Johnson decided to send an additional contingent of 50,000 U.S. troops to South Vietnam in a short period of time. In September 1965, the number of U.S. troops in South Vietnam increased to nearly 130,000; by the end of 1965, this number rose to as high as 185,000. Besides, there were a division of South Korean troops and Australian and New Zealand units. All this does not mention the U.S. forces of the Seventh Fleet and the U.S. Air Force units stationed in Thailand, Japan, Guam, and so forth, which have been permanently mobilized into the aggressive war in Vietnam.

To sum it up, the U.S. imperialists are now employing on the Vietnamese battlefield--especially on the South Vietnamese battlefield--a force of more than 700,000 troops, including the ground forces, air force, and navy, and including also more than 200,000 U.S. and satellite troops and more than a half million puppet troops trained, equipped, and commanded by the United States. At present, they are frenziedly preparing to continue to send many more U.S. troops to South Vietnam until their number will be half again or twice the present number, or even still larger in the time to come.

Simultaneously with increasing troops, the U.S. imperialists have stepped up the aggressive war in the south and the war of destruction against the north to an ever fiercer degree, directly and seriously endangering the security of the people in the Indochinese countries.

The U.S. expeditionary troops have invaded the south of our country and are repressing and massacring our people; the U.S. Air Force is striking the north of our country every day and sabotaging the building of socialism by our people; the U.S. imperialists are committing monstrous crimes against our country. It is obvious that all our people throughout the country are facing the danger of life or death for our country. In the face of the U.S. bandits' aggression, our people throughout the country should clearly realize the situation and the U.S. imperialists' machinations and acts, so as to further intensify their resistance against the U.S. imperialists and for national salvation, to advance to gain even greater victories and to reach final victory.

Why are the American aggressors bringing in massive troops of expeditionary corps for a direct invasion of our country?

By the end of July 1965, after General Taylor had to resign and when McNamara, back in Washington from Saigon, was busy pressing more troops for South Vietnam, the American press said:

"The reason for the new U.S. involvement is obvious ... because the Saigon army and government have lost the war." So the 500,000 puppet troops commanded by the Americans have not been able to cope with our people's patriotic war; our people's patriotic war has prevailed over the U.S. special war. The immediate dispatching of a U.S. expeditionary corps to the South Vietnam battlefield is an unprepared emergency move, a strategically passive move in an attempt to retrieve the worsening predicament of the puppet clique.

As has been pointed out over and over again, the U.S. imperialists' aggressive design is to try to turn South Vietnam into a U.S. new-type colony and military base for aggression. However, throughout the past 11 years, the process of realization of this aggressive policy in the south of our country has been also one of heavy and repeated setbacks for the U.S. imperialists, who have been driven deeper and deeper into a state of passivity and a morass.

In the south of our country, as in many parts of the world, faced with the growth of the socialist camp and the national liberation movement, to hide their aggressive nature the U.S. imperialists have applied neocolonialism with the customary policies and maneuvers, hoping to enslave our nation through their agents and by means of military and economic aid. All through the period between 1954 and 1959, since the day when they brought Ngo Dinh Diem to Saigon and staged the Republic of Vietnam farce, the U.S. imperialists sought every means to carry out those neocolonialist tricks. However, right from the start the southern people exposed the true colors of the U.S. imperialists and their stooges. They waged a persistent political struggle to demand correct implementation of the 1954 Geneva agreements on Vietnam, independence and freedom, and peaceful national reunification.

The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys mustered the puppet forces, used most vicious military measures to repress the people's political struggle, and launched a unilateral war throughout four or five long years. But far from being extinguished, the patriotic fire of the southern people blazed up higher with every passing day; by the end of 1959 the southern revolutionary movement shifted to the offensive, resorted to combined political struggle and armed struggle, and defeated the U.S. - Diem policy of pacification by violence. In the face of the revolutionary storm of the scattered uprisings of millions of peasants, the U.S. neocolonialist policy of aggression by traditional maneuvers in South Vietnam went bankrupt.

Continuing their scheme of aggression against the south, the U.S. imperialists had to resort to new war methods to reach their goal.

The use of war to achieve neocolonialism constituted a heavy setback for the U.S. imperialists. In their passivity they still try to hide their cruel nature under the disguise of an undeclared war; the so-called "special war." This is a kind of war that many American military theoreticians do not regard as a real war as far as the aggressor is concerned. As a matter of fact, this is a kind of war waged by a native stooge reactionary force, the puppet army and administration, equipped with arms, materiel, and other war means supplied by the United States following the American imperialists' plan and commanded by the United States with the purpose of crushing the revolutionary struggle and destroying the patriotic forces in the south of our country.

The first plan mapped out by the American imperialists for this war was the Staley-Taylor plan. They calculated that with their enormous material force they could pacify the whole south of our country within 18 months. But they met with the extremely heroic resistance of the southern people, led by the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation (NFLSV). The Staley-Taylor plan came to grief and was buried together with the Ngo Dinh Diem regime, which piteously collapsed on 1 November 1963.

In 1964 the U.S. imperialists put forward a new strategic plan, the Johnson-McNamara plan, designed to pacify South Vietnam within two years. Again they increased war means, military and economic aid, and advisers. They even stated that by the end of 1965, after their victory, the withdrawal of their advisers would begin, in an endeavor to force upon the American people and world public opinion the belief that it was not an American war. However, the resistance for national salvation of the liberation armed forces and people in the south gained strength and great successes, which culminated in the glorious Binh Gia victory. Soon the Johnson-McNamara plan shared the fate of the Staley-Taylor plan.

In the face of this failure and predicament the U.S. imperialists have taken a step farther in their adventurist aggression by raising their special war to its highest degree in the hope of retrieving this strategy when the initiative has been lost. Their scheme is:

1--To step up their aggressive war in the south of our country by reinforcing U.S. and satellite combat units on an ever larger scale while consolidating the puppet administration, strengthening the puppet army, and bolstering the puppet reactionary forces as the mainstay and a tool of the aggressive war;

2--To expand the war, mostly by intensifying their air-strikes against the north of our country, regarding it as a part of their neocolonialist aggressive war to threaten the north and save the situation in the south;

3--Together with this intensification and expansion of the aggressive war they are conducting a so-called diplomatic and psychological campaign with doubletalk about peaceful settlement and unconditional discussions in an attempt to dupe public opinion and cover up their dark design.

However, the American imperialists cannot shake the determination of our people in both zones to fight them for national salvation, cannot cause any decrease in the wholehearted assistance of the northern people to the patriotic struggle of the southern people, let alone stabilize the very critical position of the puppet army and administration.

In brief, in the south as well as in the north, in mid-1965 the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen were meeting a heavy setback;

In the face of the repeated offensives of the South Vietnam Liberation Armed Forces, the puppet army had been driven further into a passive situation, an increasing number of puppet battalions had been wiped out, and the morale of the puppet troops had been declining alarmingly.

The Saigon puppet administration had been ever more rotten, and after 13 coups it had become utterly inefficient in the hands of the unruly Young Turks;

The system of strategic hamlets was continuing to disintegrate while the people's movement in the towns was rising. In the meantime the powerful upsurge of the army and people in central and south-central Vietnam compelled the enemy to abandon part of his scheme to concentrate on pacifying the Mekong River delta. The rural areas controlled by the U.S. imperialists and their agents had been markedly reduced, while the liberated areas were being expanded and built into the firm rear of the liberation war;

In their escalation against the north, the U.S. imperialists, unable to shake our people's determination to fight them for national salvation, had been suffering heavy losses. The northern people's hatred for the U.S. imperialists had been all the more embittered and their emulation drive of production and fighting for national salvation had become the more resolute to defeat the U.S. imperialists aggressors, to defend the north, and liberate the south.

The situation described above shows that the U.S. strategy of special war developed to its highest degree had been foiled in the main. The fact that Johnson recalled Taylor in July 1965 while hurriedly dispatching troops to South Vietnam at an accelerated tempo evidences the U.S. imperialists' panic and passiveness in the face of their discomfiture. And it is due precisely to this failure and passiveness that they frenziedly stepped up their war efforts in a new strategy aimed at reversing the situation and wresting back strategic initiative in the south. This once again proves that the U.S. imperialists' scheme to occupy the south has not changed at all. Accordingly, the impudent nature of the U.S. aggressors has been fully laid bare. The U.S. imperialists have thrown off their last mask and appeared in their true colors as colonialist aggressors.

With the large-scale introduction of an American expeditionary corps into South Vietnam the U.S. imperialists have shifted their aggressive war to a new stage. It is not the case of an ordinary transfer from one stage to another but a shift to a new strategic stage of their aggressive war. The main characteristic of this stage is that the U.S. imperialists not only make use of the puppet reactionary armed forces--that is the puppet army--as the main tool of the war, but also bring in a U.S. expeditionary corps for a direct invasion of the south while continuing to expand the war of destruction, mostly by airstrikes against the north of our country.

In other words, on the South Vietnam battlefields, at present, the American imperialists are using a U.S. expeditionary corps together with the puppet army to wage their aggressive war. Both the American expeditionary corps and puppet army play an important part, helping each other and coordinating their actions.

The U.S. troops are the core, serving as the military mainstay of the puppet army and administration and the main mobile force, and as the occupying force in important strategic bases and the strategic and tactical reserve, taking a direct part in the combat in an attempt to wipe out our people's revolutionary forces on the southern battlefield.

The puppet army, which relies on the American troops to exist, consolidate, and develop, constitutes both the mobile force in the battlefield and the main force to control and pacify the people, while serving as the political mainstay of the U.S. troops. Clearly enough, in military strategy the American imperialists have gone beyond the limits and scope of the special war. Of course, while they step up their aggressive war according to their new strategy, the U.S. imperialists' purpose is to continue achieving neocolonialism in South Vietnam. No matter how many American troops they bring in, they must all the same actively

consolidate the native reactionary force, the puppet army, and administration as the necessary political and military mainstay of their colonialist aggressive war.

It is precisely in the process of the implementation of their new strategic plan that the Johnson clique harp on their alleged obligation to keep their commitments, to increase aid, and so forth, and frenziedly go ahead with most perfidious political, economic, cultural and social measures in the general line of neocolonialism. They maintain the puppet administration and strengthen the puppet army; together with the military methods of aggressive war, they feverishly resort to political schemes of neocolonialism. Hence, their war in this stage as in the former one, is still an aggressive war aimed at realizing the political aims of neocolonialism, a neocolonialist aggressive war.

The war that the U.S. imperialists have started and pursued in Vietnam with the south of our country as the main battlefield, whatever strategic plan they have followed and in whatever stage, is invariably aimed at occupying the south and turning it into a U.S. new-type colony and military base; therefore, by its nature, this war is an aggressive and unjust war. Having grasped the nature of this war, we clearly understand that whatever turn it may take, it cannot avoid the fundamental contradictions and the inevitable failure of the aggressive war and of neocolonialism in this era, especially in the specific conditions of the south of our country. The more obstinately the U.S. imperialists pursue and intensify this war, the sharper these contradictions, the worse their situation and the more pitiful their ultimate defeat will be.

Our people will surely vanquish the U.S. imperialist aggressors:

The U.S. imperialists' mad acceleration of the war of aggression throughout our country is confronting our people, our nation, with an urgent task; to mobilize and consolidate all the people in order to step up the great patriotic war and to fight and defeat the U.S. imperialist war of aggression resolutely under any circumstances, so as to defend the north, liberate the south, and to advance toward the reunification of the fatherland. As President Ho said: "At present, the resistance against the Americans for national salvation is the most sacred task of every patriotic Vietnamese."

Having experienced years of revolutionary struggles full of bravery and hardship and under the leadership of our party, our people had brought the August revolution to its success and the resistance against the French to victory, thereby liberating

one-half of our territory while putting the north on a course of steady advancement on the road to socialism. Today, our people's revolutionary struggle is being carried on; we have to mobilize our entire national force to vanquish the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys in order to protect the socialist construction in the north and to accomplish the nationalist, democratic, and people's revolution throughout the country. The protection of the north is the revolutionary task of our country, for the socialist north is the fruit of our people's revolution and the firm base of the Vietnamese revolution throughout the country.

The U.S. imperialists are at the present time deploying troops to invade directly the southern part of our country. To defeat the U.S. imperialists in the southern theaters of war is not only to liberate the south but also to protect the north in an active manner. For this reason, the missions of our people in both zones are closely allied. Not only must the northern people fight to defeat the U.S. imperialist war of destruction and be always ready to cope with the enemy and defeat him in case he wages a limited war throughout our country, but they must also wholeheartedly support the southern revolution, thus fulfilling the task of a great rear area for the whole country. The southern people have been continuously fighting with marvellous bravery for 20 years. Today, they have to strive harder to accelerate the war against Americanism for national salvation, not only to liberate the south but also to defend the north so as to deserve the title "the bulwark of the fatherland."

Our people's mission of fighting against Americanism for national salvation is a great mission, which may be long and arduous, but will certainly be successful. In this protracted resistance, our people ought to exert their utmost efforts to gain time in order to score ever greater achievements. We are fully capable of doing this, because we know how to estimate correctly the strength and scheme of the enemy as well as his strong and weak points; meanwhile, we also know how to assess correctly the strength and great capability of our people in both zones. It is on this objective and scientific analysis of the balance of forces between us and the enemy that we have asserted and displayed our determination to vanquish the U.S. aggressors under any circumstances, while recognizing the prognosis for the war of liberation for national salvation: Ultimately, the enemy will certainly be defeated; we will certainly triumph.

The U.S. imperialists are the international gendarmes, the topmost imperialists, with the most powerful economic and military potential of all the imperialists. By taking a direct part in the war of aggression, they hope to rely on their material strength to overcome all difficulties in manpower and politics

and thereby retrieve their perilous situation in the south. With a sizable expeditionary corps, which may eventually be increased, they hope to gain new advantages on the battlefield: First, to strengthen their military force in general, especially their strategic mobile force, thereby tilting the balance of forces in their favor; second, to control important strategic areas and set up firm bases as springboards to launch raids or attacks against the liberated areas; and third, to build up their air force, develop their air superiority to decimate our forces and to strike deep into the liberated areas.

Their scheme is to prevent the collapse of the puppet army and administration; to launch offensives aimed at wiping out the southern revolutionary forces, especially the liberation army; to strive to consolidate the areas still under their control and gradually to carry out a pacification of key areas, to attack the liberated areas and to wrest back some of the lost areas; to seek every means to encircle and isolate the southern battlefield; meanwhile, to intensify the war of destruction against the north and carry on their offensive moves in their deceptive peace negotiation campaign. Banking upon a force of more than 700,000 men that may eventually be increased, the American imperialists hope to realize the aforementioned scheme by applying more radical and efficacious measures. They calculate that they can gradually win military and political successes, thereby creating a strong position to enable them to end the war with a solution favorable to them, or to protract or expand the war of aggression when necessary.

The U.S. imperialist design is ambitious, their scheme very perfidious, and their military and political maneuvers extremely cruel and cunning. However, besides their definite strong points in material strength, the U.S. imperialists have quite fundamental weak points, whether political or military, strategic or tactical.

First of all, the U.S. imperialists are the enemy not only of the Vietnamese people but also of progressive people throughout the world. In the present situation, as the socialist camp is growing, the national liberation movement is surging, and the workers movement in the capitalist countries as well as the movement for peace and democracy are developing, the imperialist forces are declining; in general, the correlation of forces in the world shows that the U.S. imperialists are not in a strong position. Instead, they are in a weak one and have to scatter their forces to cope with attacks from all quarters. That is precisely why they cannot send to the south whatever number of troops they desire without considering their difficulties in every area of the world, as well as right in the United States and on the Vietnamese battlefield.

The dispatch of an expeditionary corps for direct invasion of our country is itself subject to weaknesses so fundamental that they cannot surmount them.

First, the more troops the U.S. imperialists bring in to invade our country, the clearer they expose their faces as aggressors and their lackeys as countrysellers, thus making the contradiction between the American imperialists and our nation ever sharper and fiercer. Stirred by their hatred for the aggressors, our entire people are broadly and firmly united within a national united front against the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen. All patriotic forces are determined to fight for national salvation. Moreover, many Vietnamese in the area temporarily controlled by the enemy, including those in the puppet army and administration and in the parties and organizations under the sway of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, who so far have been unaware of the nature and scheme of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, are now gradually perceiving the latter's true nature as invaders and countrysellers.

Second, the U.S. imperialists deploy their troops to invade our country at a time when the strategy of their "special war" has basically gone bankrupt, when our people's patriotic war has been developing with strong momentum, when the liberation armed forces are growing stronger, and when the liberated areas encompass the major part of the southern population and territory. Though they may bring in hundreds of thousands of troops, they still cannot avoid being driven into a defensive strategic position which compels them to scatter their forces for defense as well as offense, thereby making it hard for them to regain the initiative they long for. Instead, they are more liable to falter and fail.

Third, due to the politically and militarily passive position, mentioned above, no matter how modern the equipment the U.S. expeditionary corps may have, it cannot bring into full play its combativeness and cannot escape the inevitable defeat which is likely to befall any aggressive army facing a whole nation which is resolved to resist them. Due to the unjust character of its war, the U.S. expeditionary corps is fighting without an ideal and hence has low morale. On the southern battlefield it has to cope with a people's war; the strategy and tactics based on their bourgeois military outlook are of no use. The organization, composition, and training of the American army in general are not fit to tackle our entire people's revolutionary war; it does not take into account the great difficulties encountered in a strange terrain and climate, and the considerable demands in the fields of supply and logistics.

Fourth, the purpose of the U.S. imperialists' introduction

of troops into the south is to prevent the collapse of the puppet army and administration and to create new conditions for the consolidating and strengthening of their puppet forces; the U.S. imperialists, however, directly invade the southern part of our country at a moment when the puppet army and administration are seriously decaying. In such a situation, the more active the U.S. aggression is, the more isolated and divided the puppet army and administration will become, and the greater the contradictions between the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen will grow; thus, those who are in the ranks of the puppet army and administration but still have some national feelings will become more conscious and return to the people's side in ever greater numbers. Consequently, as the U.S. imperialists build up their military forces, not only will they be unable to retrieve the predicament of the puppet army and administration, but they will also accelerate the latter's collapse and annihilation in the face of our people's resistance. When the U.S. imperialist crack troops are defeated by our people, the disintegration and collapse of the puppet army and administration will surely be unavoidable.

Fifth, having started the war in the south, the U.S. imperialists are being condemned ever more strictly by the peace-loving people of the world. Now, as they openly send their troops to invade the south and use their air force to strike at the north, an independent and sovereign socialist state, the U.S. imperialists are encountering stronger opposition from the peoples of the socialist countries and from the world's progressive peoples, including the American people.

The U.S. imperialists' strong points are limited, whereas their weak points are the fundamental ones. In the process of development of the war of aggression, the weak points will become more and more visible and aggravated, and will surely lead the U.S. imperialists to ignominious failure.

The foregoing is a discussion of the U.S. imperialist strong points and weak points at a time when the U.S. imperialists have just introduced some hundred thousands of troops into the southern part of our country. On our side, we are a nation whose territory is not very large and whose population is not numerous, but we are united in rising up resolutely to carry out the just patriotic war to protect our right to survival and to regain independence and peace for the country. Facing so cruel an enemy as the U.S. imperialists and in a fierce and protracted revolutionary war, our forces have been unceasingly developed and have made our enemy often miserable. In spite of weaknesses in equipment and techniques and in the economic field, we have absolute political and moral superiority, a correct line of leadership, the strength of the people's unity, the invincible people's

war, and the strong sympathy and support of the peoples throughout the world. Therefore, it is certain that the more attacks we make, the more victories we will win and the stronger we will become. These are the basic factors deciding the final victory of our people in the sacred liberation war against Americanism and for national salvation. Though the U.S. imperialists will bring in hundreds of thousands of troops more, they can never change the rule of history; that is, in the end they will surely lose, and we will surely prevail.

First, we have the party's correct revolutionary line. This line is the condensed expression of the clever and creative combination of Marxist-Leninist general principles with the concrete realities of our country's revolution. This is the line of the people's national democratic revolution progressing toward socialism, befitting the case of a country which was once a colony and semifeudal state. Our party's line was once tested in our people's long and heroic revolutionary struggle and led our country's revolution from victory to victory. In the light of this line, the Vietnamese nation was the first among the colonies to rise up and defeat the mighty army of an imperialist power, the French imperialists, to liberate itself. The northern part of our country is also the first state to take the path of socialism in southeast Asia.

Today, our nation has the honor to be in the frontline of the fight against the chief of the imperialists--U.S. imperialism. The aforementioned correct line is also the line of revolutionary armed struggle of a small country which arises to fight and defeat an enemy many times stronger than itself. This is the line of people's war developed to a high degree with a creative and diverse content which is unknown in the annals of the national liberation struggle. A correct revolutionary line is the surest guarantee for our people's ultimate victory in their just war against the U.S. imperialists for national salvation.

Second, we are united in a bloc of all the people against the U.S. imperialists and for national salvation. The north and south are of one mind in their determination to defeat the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys. They are ready to make every sacrifice rather than lose their independence and be enslaved. This iron will reflects our entire people's tradition of indomitable resistance against foreign aggression. It has united and is uniting our people who, millions like one, are resolutely fighting to defend our country and to secure independence, democracy, reunification, and peace.

Our compatriots in the south have striven to close their ranks in the smoke and flames of the revolutionary struggle, have

fought for 20 long years, have overcome countless difficulties without slackening their pace before a cruel enemy, and have been resolute in their advance to fight to win. Today our people in the south have the National Liberation Front, an organization with a broad base and a correct line and program and enjoying high prestige at home and abroad. Our compatriots in the south, starting from spikeboards and mantis guns, have built up big and heroic liberation forces comprising three kinds of forces, having a high combativeness as well as a skillful strategy and tactics, versed both in guerrilla warfare and large-unit actions, and credited with annihilating ever bigger units of both the puppet and American troops. The heroic liberation armed forces have been developing everywhere and have been conducting ever more powerful operations on all battlefields of the south from the Ben Hai River to the cape of Ca Mau, from the high plateaus to the deltas, and even in the vicinity of the big cities.

At present the southern liberated zone includes the major part of the population and territory of the south. The front's policies are gradually being applied there. A new life under an independent and democratic regime is being built, and in fact the liberated zone has become the image of the south of tomorrow when it is completely liberated.

Meanwhile, the people in the northern part of our country are steadily progressing on the road to socialism with an ardent love for the fatherland and for socialism and with an unprecedented political and spiritual consensus. The north is not only a source of inspiration but also a firm rear for the struggle against the U.S. imperialists for national salvation of our entire people, endowed with an excellent political system and strong economic and national defense potential. This is a favorable condition which did not exist in our former resistance against the French imperialists.

Since the day the American imperialists extended their war of destruction to the north, our army and people there have stood up, fought resolutely, and inflicted initial defeats upon the enemy's war of destruction. In response to the call of the party Central Committee, the government, and President Ho, our people in the north have launched a movement against the U.S. imperialists and for national salvation to carry out production while fighting, to fight heroically in defending the north, to give wholehearted and all-out support to the liberation revolution in the south, and to make a substantial contribution to the common victory of the whole nation.

The Vietnamese nation has always had a tradition of unity and unbending resistance against foreign aggression, but if we look back over its several thousand-year-old history as well as

over the revolutionary struggle of the past years, we shall realize that never have all the people united so firmly and broadly as today and that never has the will to fight off aggression and to defend the country been promoted to such a degree as today.

Third, we have the invincible people's war and the experience to lead this struggle. If one can say that at present in the military field, apart from the great invention of the atomic weapon, there is a greater invention, the people's war, then one can safely say that the Vietnamese people have contributed to the devising and the efficient wielding of such an invincible weapon. People's war in our country has developed in the historical, political, and social conditions of Vietnam and achieved a very high standard with an extremely varied content. People's war in our country has developed according to the general law of revolutionary war, but also to the specific laws of the Vietnamese society and battlefields. Therefore, it is a nationwide and comprehensive revolutionary war, and at the same time it is a revolutionary war waged by a small nation on a small territory inhabited by a small population, having an underdeveloped economy, relying on the strength of its people's unity in the struggle, which will finally knock out an enemy originally many times stronger than itself.

People's war in Vietnam in general is a revolutionary armed struggle developing on the basis of the masses' political upsurge. Hence the revolutionary masses' boundless strength has pervaded the revolutionary armed forces and given them an extraordinary capacity to fight and to win. Moreover, the outstanding characteristic of the people's war in our country at the present stage is that in the midst of the fighting, armed struggle and political struggle are very closely coordinated and are mutually helpful and interacting. Thus the slogan "mobilize the entire people, arm the entire people, and fight the aggressors on all fronts" has become a most lively and heroic reality. Armed struggle in South Vietnam has budded forth from the political upsurge, and in guerrilla warfare or in limited regular warfare the operations of the armed forces have always been carried out in accordance with a principle of the very closest coordination with the political struggle--formerly in the scattered insurrections in the countryside and in the subsequent movement to destroy strategic hamlets, then in the past uprising of millions of peasants in Nam Bo and in the one of millions of peasants in southern Trung Bo recently.

Armed struggle in the south has another characteristic: In Guerrilla warfare or in limited regular warfare, the revolutionary armed struggle is fully capable of solving the question of outdoing an enemy equipped with modern weapons, like the U.S.

Armed Forces. In the south, not only the regular army but also the regional army and the militia and guerrillas can wipe out American and puppet troops and foil their most modern tactics. This is a new development of the revolutionary military art, the main content of which is to rely mostly on man, on his patriotism and revolutionary spirit, to bring into full play all weapons and techniques available to defeat an enemy with very modern weapons and equipment.

People's war in the north is presently also developing in the process of the heroic fight against the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction in the movement among the army and people to down American planes and to turn our north into a vast battleground to counter and foil the enemy airstrikes and inflict heavy losses upon the U.S. imperialists' modern air force. Later, they may attack more fiercely, but cannot by any means cut off our main communication lines, stop our people's production activities, or, still less, shake their determination to oppose the U.S. imperialists, save the country, defend the north, and give wholehearted support to the south.

People's war in Vietnam is not only the product of our people's resolute and indomitable revolutionary struggle, but also that of the revolutionary struggle of the world's people in this era. People's war has led our nation to splendid victories in the revolutionary struggle against the Japanese fascists, in the resistance war against French colonialism, and has brought our people great successes both in the south and in the north during these last years. Even if the U.S. imperialists beef up their expeditionary corps to hundreds of thousands, the great people's war of the Vietnamese nation will certainly prevail over the aggressive war of the American imperialists.

Fourth, we enjoy the warm sympathy and wholehearted support given us by the peoples of the brother socialist countries and the progressive peoples, throughout the world, including the Americans. Our people's struggle against the U.S. imperialists for national salvation aims not only at liberating a half of our country still enslaved, but also at defending the socialist north. This great struggle is the frontline of progressive mankind against American imperialism. It is making a great contribution to the world people's revolutionary struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism. That is precisely why the brother socialist countries have given their unreserved support to the stand and line of struggle against the U.S. imperialists for national salvation of our government and of the NFLSV and lent all-out assistance to our people to defeat the U.S. imperialists aggressors.

The working class and toiling people of the capitalist countries and the peoples of the nationalist independent countries also side with us and give us their sympathy and support. At all the great international conferences and recently at the tri-continental conference held in Havana warm feelings and powerful, encouraging words were expressed for the Vietnamese people's fighting and stern condemnations were voiced against the U.S. imperialist aggression. Right in the United States, the struggle movement launched by the American people against the Johnson administration's aggression against Vietnam is drawing ever broader strata, taking on bold forms such as self-immolation, the burning of draft cards, the holding up of transportation of troops to Vietnam This movement is spreading everywhere on an unprecedented scale. Never in the history of their revolutionary struggle have our people enjoyed so widespread and strong a sympathy and support from abroad as today.

Since the day the U.S. imperialists introduced their expeditionary troops into the southern part of our country on a large scale and, at the same time, intensified their air attacks against the north, how has the situation of the war on the Vietnamese battlefield evolved?

All our compatriots as well as all progressive mankind have clearly realized that in directly attacking our country the U.S. imperialists have unmasked their true face as invaders. The aggressive and unjust character of the war which they have waged has been completely laid bare before world opinion. The just cause of our compatriots' patriotic struggle has shone more brilliantly. The political superiority of our people has become increasingly obvious.

The U.S. imperialists themselves have realized that in introducing troops to attack our country directly, they have suffered a great political defeat. However, they believe that with their reinforced military power and with the superiority of their equipment and techniques, they can ignore the protests of world opinion, trample on all elementary principles of international law--which requires that the sovereignty and independence of various nations be respected--and surmount all political difficulties in order to achieve their ultimate goal: to conquer the southern part of our country.

The question is: Which--the U.S. imperialists, who pursue an unjust aggression, or our people, who uphold a just cause--will win in the end? Will our people or the U.S. imperialists win? Throughout the past 11 years, every time the U.S. imperialists launched a new aggressive scheme, that same question has been raised. The history of the liberation struggle of the heroic southern people has supplied an eloquent answer: Whatever trick

the U.S. imperialists may resort to, they will inevitably fail in the end. And the fundamental law of the great patriotic struggle of our compatriots in the south throughout the various stages is: The further the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys engage in their scheme to enslave the south of our country, the deeper they sink in their morass and the greater their defeats; whereas the more determined the Vietnamese people's struggle, the greater their victories.

Today the question as to which will win in the south is more pressing than ever, for at the present juncture there has emerged a new factor: the introduction by the U.S. imperialists of hundreds of thousands of troops. Can these massive reinforcements reverse the situation? Can the Vietnamese people--who have recorded many great victories in their just struggle--win new victories in the face of direct aggression by so modern an army as that of the U.S. imperialists? Can they defeat the U.S. expeditionary corps?

We have analyzed above the strong and weak points and assessed the strength and capacity of the enemy and our side and arrived at the conclusion that eventually the enemy will surely be defeated and we will surely win. This is theoretically speaking. However, despite the massive introduction of U.S. troops into the south during recent months, the realities of the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle of our people on the southern battlefield have cast more light on the problem and prove that the above theoretical conclusion is fully correct.

If in the past--when they brought Ngo Dinh Diem to power and began to realize the Collins plan or when they put forth the Staley-Taylor plan or the Johnson-McNamara plan--the U.S. imperialists were extremely optimistic and calculated that their dark design would be certainly achieved; today, when they begin to send a huge expeditionary corps to the south, they firmly believe that they can turn the tide.

They were confident that within a short time the pattern of the aggressive war would change, and that with their crack divisions and brigades and their strategic and tactical air force they would be fully able to change the balance of forces, set up solid defense positions, launch bold offensives, and push ahead their pacification with key points, thereby not only preventing the collapse of the puppet forces and administration, but also consolidating and strengthening the reactionary lackey forces. The Pentagonians hastily declared that "it was at the very moment when big U.S. combat units were introduced into the south and the war was intensified that there were wide prospects of a quick victory." When their first military operations did

not encounter any retaliation to speak of, they hastened to declare optimistically that they had shifted to the offensive and had compelled the southern liberation troops to disperse their forces and fight with small units. They also made dramatic preparations for attacks on all fronts in the coming dry season in order to wrest back the initiative and hold it more and more firmly and to drive the southern people into an ever more serious passive position.

However, reality has fallen short of the U.S. imperialists' expectations and purposes. From the point of view of general strategy on the southern battlefield, is the enemy applying a strategy of the offensive, or that of the defensive? Is he following the strategy of lightning attacks and lightning victory, or that of protracted war? As regards operations on various battlefields, is he making his major efforts on the coastal battlefield where he can bring into full play the power of his technical weapons, or on the hinterland battlefield where he dreads most to face defeat? Is he concentrating on the Nam Bo battlefield where lie great political and economic centers, or on the western high plateaus regarded as an important strategic position? As regards coordination with the puppet troops, is he concentrating on independent operations, or on joint operations? Those are many of the strategic questions to which the enemy himself cannot give clear-cut answers, for, strategically speaking, the U.S. expeditionary corps is proceeding in a blind tunnel.

The most outstanding feature of the military situation over the past few months is that not only have the southern liberation armed forces kept on stepping up guerrilla warfare, but they have also developed large-unit actions. If for the entire year of 1965 they wiped out over 200,000 enemy troops, including over 50 battalions neatly destroyed, since last August when large U.S. contingents landed in South Vietnam the enemy casualties ran to more than 100,000 men--among them over 20 battalions put out of action wholesale, including five U.S. infantry battalions and several U.S. armored units.

This hard fact shows that despite the introduction of hundreds of thousands of troops, the U.S. imperialists cannot reverse the situation. In the face of the widespread and powerful development of the people's war, they have no other alternative than to spread their forces thin over all battlefields, cannot avoid being driven onto the defensive, and find themselves unable to wrest back the initiative and bring into full play their troops' combativeness. The outstanding feature of the military situation on the southern battlefield is that not only have the southern liberation armed forces been developing the offensive trend successfully since the Binh Gia victory, but

right after a big U.S. expeditionary corps was introduced the southern liberation armed forces are still holding the initiative and promoting their vantage ground on an ever-larger scale.

No wonder that McNamara and the U.S. brasshats have expressed concern in the face of the heavy setbacks suffered by their expeditionary corps and now declare that "the war in Vietnam will be long," or "in case the U.S. Army attacks at all, it is only in sheer defense." This is not to mention the moral crisis of their troops who fear hand-to-hand fighting, leave the wounded and the dead to their fate when hard pressed, throw away weapons and ammunition when withdrawing, and are afraid of dense forest, sun, wind, malaria, and especially of the liberation fighters and even the ordinary Vietnamese, including old men and children--so much so that an American general, speaking of the U.S. expeditionary corps, said that "its upkeep is expensive but its combativeness poor." This is not to mention their great difficulties in logistics and supply, causing the U.S. press to write: "When the first combat units began to land in South Vietnam in accordance with President Johnson's new plan, signs of serious confusion in logistics also appeared. This confusion, growing daily, certainly aggravates U.S. economic and financial difficulties, the U.S. gold hemorrhage, and the effects of foreign competition on the world market."

At present it is evident that the U.S. imperialists are at sea as far as military strategy is concerned. But what about tactics? Though the U.S. expeditionary forces have been fighting the liberation armed forces for only a short time, the latter have proven able to best their enemy's tactics. The Van Tuong battle can be considered an Ap Bac for the U.S. expeditionary corps. The latter deployed a far superior force--crack troops supported by armored units, air force, and navy--to attack a unit of the South Vietnam Liberation Army. The result was that far from being wiped out, the liberation troops fought most valiantly and put out of action a large portion of the U.S. force. The Van Tuong battle, which the U.S. generals think can be compared to the fiercest World War II engagements, was a great victory of the southern forces and people, foreshadowing the tactical failure of the U.S. expeditionary corps. After it came Chu Lai, Da Nang, Dat Cuoc, Bau Bang, Plei Me, Dong Duong, and many other battles in which many Americans and puppets were wiped out. These resounding and repeated victories prove that:

The United States' most solid bases are not immune from attacks;

The U.S. imperialists' crack infantry units such as those belonging to the First Infantry Division can be wiped out and wiped out at the rate of one or several battalions in a single battle;

The U.S. imperialists' crack air cavalry units such as those of the First Air Cavalry Division, so highly vaunted by the U.S. defense secretary, can be put out of action;

The puppet units--although supported by the U.S. expeditionary corps--continue to be cut to pieces not only by the battalion, but by combat groups as at Plei Me, by several battalions in a single battle as at Dong Duong, or by a whole regiment as at Dau Tieng;

U.S. troops on the defensive or on the offensive can be wiped out not only by the liberation army, but also by the local army, the militia, and guerrillas.

These splendid exploits were accomplished at a time when the enemy was actively putting into use technical weapons--including B-52 strategic planes, which have made over 100 sorties--and when he was using chemical poisons to destroy vegetation and crops. In a number of battles, they showed their utmost savagery by using toxic gas against us. These exploits were achieved concurrently with the great feats performed by the northern forces and people in their continued efforts to bring to nought the superiority of the U.S. modern air force and defeat the U.S. air war of destruction against the north of our country.

The significance of these achievements in wiping out the Americans and puppets is that the liberation armed forces and people of the heroic south are fully able to put out of action crack units of the U.S. expeditionary corps, maintain and promote the initiative they have taken, and step up their attacks on all battlefields to win ever greater victories. Their purport is that the strategy and tactics of people's war can and will certainly prevail over the strategy and tactics based on the rotten bourgeois military conception of the American troops. Their implication is that in theory as in practice, the people's war of the heroic Vietnamese nation will certainly win over the neo-colonialist aggressive war of the U.S. imperialists.

The great victories of our forces and people in both zones since the U.S. imperialists started a direct aggression against the south of our country have been mobilizing and greatly encouraging all our people and enthusiastically inspiring our friends in all continents. We are not at all satisfied with these initial successes. We are absolutely not subjective and do not underestimate the enemy either, because the U.S. imperialists are a cruel and cunning enemy who has a great military potential, is extremely obdurate, and at the same time knows how to draw lessons quickly from experience to contrive ever fiercer and ever more ruthless fighting methods. However, the living reality of the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle over the last 11 years



has brought home to our people and people's armed forces in both zones that we shall certainly defeat the U.S. aggressors under any circumstances.

The heavy defeats of the U.S. expeditionary corps right in its first actions on the Vietnamese battlefield are causing the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys many more difficulties --not only military but also political and economic. Far from improving, the situation of the puppet forces and administration instead is deteriorating, since they have lost faith in their masters' modern army. The antiwar movement in the United States is developing daily, while the internal contradictions among the Washington ruling circles are increasing.

In view of this situation, the U.S. imperialists are scheming to send more reinforcements to the south and beef up the U.S. expeditionary corps one and a half, two, or more times. They are plotting to intensify their destructive air war against the north while threatening to expand the war to neutralist Laos and Cambodia. U.S. President Johnson talked about taking "hard steps" in Vietnam, while Secretary of State Dean Rusk stressed: "We will not withdraw from South Vietnam," for the United States must keep its commitments. The U.S. imperialists' familiar trick has been to couple the intensification of their aggressive war with ballyhoo about their good will for peace. This time, together with its preparations for new adventurous military moves, the U.S. administration has opened a large-scale, deceitful peace campaign. The Johnson administration's "peace efforts" are only aimed at placating public opinion at home and abroad, which has been energetically protesting against the U.S. aggressive policy in Vietnam.

However, whatever honeyed words the U.S. aggressors may use, they cannot deceive the Vietnamese people and peace-loving people throughout the world. There has not been the slightest change in the original design of the U.S. aggressors. They stubbornly want to cling to South Vietnam and keep Vietnam permanently partitioned. They stubbornly refuse to withdraw troops from the south and to recognize the NFLSV as the sole genuine representative of the South Vietnamese people. They cynically arrogate to themselves the right to bomb and strafe the territory of the DRV--an independent and sovereign socialist state--and go to the length of demanding from the Vietnamese people compensation for the halt in the bombing of North Vietnam. The essence of the "unconditional discussions" hoax is to compel our people to accept the U.S. aggressors' terms.

We must further heighten our vigilance toward the enemy's perfidious scheme. We must step up our entire people's patriotic war and resolutely fight until victory, no matter how many hundreds

of thousands of troops the U.S. imperialists may dispatch to South Vietnam and how far they may escalate their war of destruction against the north. Our people are determined not to shrink from any sacrifice to bring the great struggle against the U.S. imperialists for national salvation to final victory.

The north is resolved to fulfill its glorious task in the common task of the entire country:

In the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle of our nation, the north plays a very important role. Its duty is very heavy and glorious.

The Vietnamese fatherland is indivisible. The Vietnamese nation is indivisible. From north to south, all our people, all the Vietnamese patriots are tightening their ranks in an ever growing anti-U.S. national salvation front based on an increasingly solid worker-peasant alliance. Faced with the very cruel U.S. imperialists, who are frantically stepping up their aggressive war against both zones of our country, our fatherland and nation must surely mobilize all the national forces to defeat them. This requires great effort from our nation, great courage on the part of all our people who are determined to fight and defeat the enemy under any circumstance, to achieve ever greater victories, and to advance toward final victory.

Faced with these great requirements, the compatriots in the heroic south have clearly realized their duty and are determined to fulfill it. Faced with the pride and firm progress of our 14 million kith-and-kin compatriots from Cau Mau Point to the southern part of the temporary demarcation line, we are very proud, confident, and enthusiastic.

In the north, faced with the new situation our duty--as set forth by our party--is always to engage concurrently in combat and production and to mobilize all the manpower and wealth in order resolutely to defeat the enemy's war of destruction against the north and wholeheartedly support the revolution in the south. At the same time we must take precautionary measures against the U.S. imperialists' plot to enlarge the regional war to our entire country.

Under the leadership of the party Central Committee and government--headed by beloved President Ho--our entire party, all our people, and all our forces have struggled hard and scored many great performances in combat as well as in production; in building the material and technical bases of socialism in line with the new changes in policy and concrete measures as required by the new situation; in intensifying the task of building the people's armed forces, the people's antiaircraft task, the task

of building the rear, the task of building combat villages, and so forth; in serving the combat requirements of the armed forces and serving the people's livelihood; in mobilizing the people, especially the majority of the youth, to join the armed forces and the "three ready" movement, and the majority of women to participate in the "three responsibility" movement; in insuring communication and transport; in maintaining security and order, and so forth.

But these are only initial achievements. The anti-U.S. national salvation task will set forth urgent and great demands, especially as the U.S. imperialists have sent their expeditionary corps to directly invade the south of our country and are stepping up their ever-fiercer war of destruction against the north. All our people and forces must be animated by a strong and enduring desire to make progress in order to satisfy the requirements of the revolutionary task. They must understand the situation and their duties thoroughly and deeply; organize combat more satisfactorily in order to achieve ever greater victories; fulfill all the tasks aimed at achieving combat readiness so as to be able to defeat the enemy under any circumstance; organize production more satisfactorily; mobilize manpower and wealth more rationally, and so forth. Along with all the people, the people's armed forces must further heighten their determination to fight and win, prove that they are a steel force of a heroic nation, show themselves worthy of the Vietnamese fatherland and the southern compatriots, be determined to fight and surely defeat the U.S. aggressors, and so forth. In short, we must do everything which must be done to lead the anti-U.S. national salvation task to victory.

Faced with the development of the war of liberation on the southern battlefield, the north must--in order to fulfill its heavy and glorious duty during the present phase--hold higher the "determination to defeat the U.S. aggressors" banner in all fields, branches, circles, and localities. The key task for party leaders of all echelons consists of concentrating their efforts on carrying out the political education task and the ideological leadership widely and deeply. This task must aim at helping all the party, people, and forces clearly realize the ruses and capacity of the enemy and the present situation and duties of the Vietnamese revolution in both zones; heighten their patriotism and socialist consciousness; heighten their determination to fight and defeat the U.S. aggressors and to advance and fight to the end, unafraid of sacrifices and sufferings no matter how the war develops; and strengthen their confidence in party leadership and in final victory.

On the basis of satisfactorily satisfying the requirements of the political education task and ideological leadership as

stated above, the mobilization of all party members, people, and militarymen requires that the organizational task and work methods undergo powerful changes and be improved strongly in accordance with the war situation. Only in this way can efforts be concentrated on making the north strong and stable in the economic and national defense fields, on mobilizing all the forces for the anti-U.S. national salvation task, on developing the self-sufficiency spirit to the maximum, and on satisfactorily using the precious aid from the fraternal socialist countries, thus enabling the north in general as well as each province, city, and zone to have the conditions to fight successfully.

In daily life, the task of causing everyone, every branch, and every locality voluntarily and actively to make the greatest contributions to the people's war and all-people's national defense plays a decisive role in the success of the struggle against the destructive air war as well as all the other sabotage activities of the enemy.

As the large rear area of the fatherland in the sacred anti-U.S. national salvation task, the north must continuously participate in the "each one redoubles his effort" emulation drive, wholeheartedly support the southern revolution in all fields, and make a great and positive contribution to making the anti-U.S. national salvation forces of all our people grow quickly and firmly and be sufficiently strong to fight patiently and achieve great victories when opportunity occurs.

Johnsonism is the condensed expression of the neocolonialist aggressive policy which is the most brazen, brutal, and perfidious policy of U.S. imperialism. The U.S. imperialists' war of aggression in the coming period will be fiercer, while their tricks will be more cunning. Our people, however, will not be swayed by their power and will not cherish any illusion about their hypocritical arguments. We are determined to fight and we will certainly defeat them.

Throughout our history, our nation has fought against the most brutal invaders for ages and we have won.

For the past decades, under the correct and clear-sighted leadership of our party led by President Ho, our people have risen up to fight for our liberation. Vietnam was the first colony to defeat Japanese fascism, and it afterward defeated the aggressive army of French imperialism. Today the Vietnamese nation has the great honor to move ahead with bravery on the warpath against the aggressive armed forces of the U.S. imperialists.

We are aware that we are fighting against the most cruel and brutal chieftain of the imperialists in this era, who is not only the archenemy of our people but also the number enemy of all nations in the world and of peace, democracy, and socialism.

We are aware that our nation's struggle is a struggle full of sacrifices and hardship, but it is also full of glorious victories. This is the greatest mission not only of our people's history of revolutionary struggles but also of our nation's 1,000-year-old history of struggles against foreign aggressions. This legitimate mission meets the sacred aspirations of our nation and at the same time answers the desires of the revolutionary peoples in the world.

Never have our nation's traditions of unbending fighting and revolutionary heroism been displayed so strongly as today. Never has the warmth of our love for the fatherland, our socialism, and the hatred for the aggressors been so hot in the hearts of our people as today. Also, never has our people's revolutionary mission been supported and encouraged by all of progressive mankind as it is today.

To achieve independence and peace, to defend the north, to liberate the south, to arrive at the reunification of the fatherland, and to make an appropriate contribution to the revolutionary struggle of the world's people, the heroic Vietnamese people in both zones are determined to fight, to fight until the end, and to lead the great struggle against the U.S. imperialists for national salvation to splendid success. The neocolonialist war of aggression of the U.S. imperialists will surely be defeated. The ultimate victory will certainly be ours.

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THE VIETNAM PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY
PARTY AND ITS HISTORIC MISSION
OF LIBERATING THE SOUTH

Following is a translation of an article by
Hong Vu in the Vietnamese-language periodical,
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Vietnam is indivisible. The Vietnamese nation is indivisible. This is the truth and at the same time a legal principle which no reactionary power can reject and destroy.

The Vietnamese people have manifested their traditions of endurance and unsubmitiveness during the thousands of years of their history. In the old days, they united and struggled continuously to protect their national independence and sovereignty. After the invasion of our country by the French colonialists, the movement of struggle against foreign aggression for national salvation developed strongly and uninterruptedly. After 80 years of arduous and heroic struggle, all our people, under the clear-sighted leadership of the Indochinese Communist Party, finally overthrew the Japanese-French rule in 1945 to set up the DRV.

Soon after the establishment of the DRV, on 23 September 1945 the French colonialist returned and invaded our country once more. First they landed troops and occupied Nam Bo. Then they extended the war to rise up and undertake the resistance to save their country and protect their fatherland.

After nine years of heroic and arduous resistance, under the clever leadership of the Vietnam Workers Party and President Ho, the supreme leader of the nation, the Vietnamese people smashed the aggressive plot of the French colonialists and U.S. interventionists and forced them to sign the 1954 Geneva accords, recognizing the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of our country.

The Geneva accords stipulate clearly that Vietnam is temporarily partitioned into two zones--each one being managed by its respective side--and the unification of Vietnam is to be achieved through a consultative conference to discuss general elections which were to have been held on 20 July 1956 at the latest. The DRV Government continuously and strictly enforced the Geneva accords provisions. It repeatedly proposed to the southern authorities the holding of a consultative conference and discussion about free general elections for unifying the country, but the U.S. imperialists jumped in, took the place of the French colonialists, and rule South Vietnam. Relying on a clique of reactionary feudalists and bourgeois compradors, they set up a puppet administrative apparatus in South Vietnam to sabotage the Geneva accords brazenly, openly refuse to discuss general elections, intentionally partition our country forever, actively prepare for war, and use South Vietnam as a springboard for attacking North Vietnam, invading all Vietnam, and attacking the socialist camp.

In carrying out the above-mentioned aggressive, and war-seeking plots and measures in a comprehensive and systematic way and on an increasingly large scale, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have unmasked their reactionary, cruel, and wicked nature. Committing crime after crime against the Vietnamese people, the U.S. imperialists are the saboteurs of the Geneva accords. They are rudely trampling on our people's aspirations for peace, independence, and national unification. They are the cruelest enemy of our people and, at the same time, the most dangerous enemy of the peace-loving peoples the world over.

To carry out their aggressive and ruling plot, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys in the last 11 years ruthlessly repressed and killed our southern people. They resorted to every cunning and cruel trick, from the demagogic and deceitful tricks to the extremely savage terrorist and murderous activities such as burying people alive, mass poisoning, disemboweling, drinking human blood, and so forth. They were even more cruel and savage than the kings and princes of the Middle Ages and the Hitlerite fascists. In addition to confining millions of compatriots in camouflaged concentration camps, called "agrovilles," "resettlement centers," "strategic hamlets," and so forth, they waged an aggressive war--the largest hot war at present in the world--to exterminate our people in the south. Their wicked intention consisted of terror and war to destroy the good results which the August revolution and the resistance against French colonialism had brought to the southern people; to exterminate all the patriots, the progressive people, and all those who refused to follow them; and to make the southern people permanently serve them as slaves.

With the tradition of unsubmissiveness of our nation, however, the people in the heroic south were determined never to yield to them. Thanks to their personal experience, the southern people clearly realized that only through uniting millions like one and through resolutely opposing aggression and oppression could they achieve genuine independence for the nation and the right to live for themselves.

Thus together they rose up and fought valiantly against the enemy. With its slogans condemning terror, asking for correct implementation of the Geneva accords, asking for peace, national independence, democratic freedoms, and so forth, the southern people's patriotic struggle movement mustered an increasingly large number of people of all strata around a large national united front to defeat one after the other the reactionary policies of the enemy.

Powerless and frightened in the presence of this movement, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys early laid bare their fascist faces. They intensified their terroristic and war activities with the hope of maintaining their corrupt regime.

Faced with the fact that the enemy actively resorted to counterrevolutionary violence and mercilessly killed them, the southern people had no other path to follow than resolutely taking up weapons themselves. The war of liberation, which the southern people have been undertaking, is a revolutionary war by the masses which, being oppressed, unite themselves into a uniform bloc within the NFLSV and base themselves on the worker-peasant alliance to oppose the counterrevolutionary aggressive war waged by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. Thanks to the brilliance of its just cause and thanks to the enduring and indomitable combativity of the southern forces and people, this war of liberation has daily given proof of its powerfulness. It has dealt and is dealing deadly blows at the heads of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. It will surely and completely defeat their aggressive and unjust war. The people of the heroic south deserve to inherit and develop the glorious revolutionary traditions of the heroic Vietnamese people.

Inheriting the great revolutionary traditions of the working class of our country and of the international working class, born of and grown in the movement of class struggle and national struggle of the workers and people of our country, and equipped with the most progressive ideology of mankind, the partisans of Marxism-Leninism in the southern part of our country represent the basic interests of the working class and of all the exploited and oppressed people in the south. They are the most progressive, the most revolutionary, and the best organized group in the working class and population in the southern part of our country.

After the reestablishment of peace, the partisans of Marxism-Leninism in the south early realized who were the new enemy of the southern people and correctly assessed his wicked plots. They pointed out to the southern people that the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys were the present main enemy of the national democratic revolution in the south. At the same time, they proudly took to themselves the historic responsibility of standing in the van of enlightened people, mustering all the revolutionary forces, and directing the spearheads of the attacks of these enemies.

The followers of Marxism-Leninism in the south unmasked and defeated step by step the sinister designs of the U.S. imperialists' neocolonialism. That is why the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys felt strong hatred for them, regarded them as "the most dangerous objectives," and tried by all means to exterminate them. In addition to their vile campaigns of distortion and slander, they resorted to a series of terrorist measures, ranging from the assassination of former resisters and the bloody "anti-communist" and "communist denunciation" campaigns throughout the south to the fascist laws such as the 10/59 law, law No. 93 "outlawing the Communists" and placing the entire south under a "state of war", and so forth.

But the more they slandered and terrorized the followers of Marxism-Leninism, the more their faces as invaders and traitors were laid bare, the more the prestige of the followers of Marxism-Leninism was consolidated and heightened, and the more the southern people's struggle movement was maintained and developed strongly.

This is easy to understand because the southern people, who inherently had a very high level of political enlightenment and many experiences in revolutionary struggle, could not be easily deceived by the enemy. To assess the political attitude of a person and to differentiate friend from foe, genuine revolutionary for reactionary element, they usually based themselves on the following high norms: did he love the country and struggle against aggression, oppression, and exploitation? Through the challenges in war, the southern people have clearly realized that under any difficult and dangerous circumstance and anywhere the followers of Marxism-Leninism in the south have always adopted disdainful and unsubmissive attitude before the enemy and firmly stood in the van of the revolutionary struggle. They have clearly realized that the followers of Marxism-Leninism are absolutely loyal to the interests of the country and people. It is not accidental that the compatriots of various ethnic minorities on the western high plateaus said: "If we lack salt, we will burn thatch and eat it instead of salt. If we lack rice, we will dig out potatoes and other such plants and use them instead of rice. But if communists are lacking, there will be nothing to replace them."

Living among the people and wholeheartedly serving the people, the followers of Marxism-Leninism in the south always have the full confidence, protection, and obedience of the people. The followers of Marxism-Leninism are in fact the soul of the NFLSV and the center of the unity of the southern people. Therefore, though the enemy devises thousands of tricks and plots, and has any number of troops, policemen, secret agents, and so forth, he cannot strangle them.

The experiences of the world and our country's revolutions have shown that in order to win the greatest success, the national democratic revolution must be led by a workers' revolutionary party. Faced with the ever growing, keen, and decisive struggle of the southern people, the followers of Marxism-Leninism in the south have clearly noted the need of a thorough revolutionary party to act as a vanguard force for the southern revolution in order to insure that the revolution for the liberation of the south will succeed. Thus, the congress of the representatives of the followers of Marxism-Leninism in the south was held in late December 1961. It was decided to establish the Vietnam People's Revolutionary Party and passed the party's platform and statutes.

The People's Revolutionary Party was officially established on 1 January 1962. It assumed the historic mission of playing the role of vanguard body to the southern revolution. At the same time, it volunteered to become a faithful member of the NFLSV. This situation contributed to consolidating and strengthening further the front's leadership, to giving the southern revolution new qualities, and to causing the southern people's liberation struggle to make a new, much higher step forward. This was a great victory having a strategic significance toward the national democratic revolution in the south. The fact that the Vietnam People's Revolutionary Party was born with the historic mission of liberating the south was an objective necessity consistent with the rules of the development of the southern society and with the objective tendency of the present revolutionary movement in the world.

The Vietnam People's Revolutionary Party is a revolutionary party of the working class in South Vietnam, a Marxist-Leninist party. It has applied in a creative manner the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete situation of the south in order to set forth correct revolutionary policies, lines, and methods. Firmly confident in the inexhaustible revolutionary capacity of the masses, the party has cleverly associated its revolutionary line with the revolutionary eagerness of the masses. That is why the party has succeeded in educating, organizing, and mobilizing the masses to rise up and resolutely struggle against the enemy, thus causing the southern people to acquire a marvelous strength which no enemy has been able to resist.

Basing itself on the actual situation of the southern society, the party has asserted the nature of the present revolutionary struggle of the southern people: a national liberation struggle. The fundamental duty of the southern revolution during the present phase is to complete the national democratic people's revolution. The present main contradictions in the south are the contradictions between the U.S. imperialists aggressors and their country-selling lackeys on the one hand and the overwhelming majority of the southern people on the other hand.

To correctly solve these basic problems, the Vietnam People's Revolutionary Party immediately after its founding clearly stated its duties, policies, and actions in its 1 January 1962 statement as follows: "The immediate task of the Vietnam People's Revolutionary Party is to unite the workers, peasants, laboring people, and all the compatriots in South Vietnam and lead them in struggling to overthrow the rule of the imperialists and feudalists--at present, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys--liberate the south, set up a wide national democratic coalition government, achieve national independence and democratic freedoms, improve the people's living conditions, give land to the tillers, develop industry and trade, develop culture and education, bring a comfortable life to the people, advance toward national unification through peaceful means, and contribute to protecting world peace.

"The Vietnam People's Revolutionary Party warmly welcomes the manifesto and platform of the NFLSV and volunteers to join the front, actively carry out the front's tasks, and unite and collaborate closely with the democratic parties, religions, and patriotic organizations in the NFLSV in order to struggle for the carrying out of the front's platform.

In order to achieve national unity, the Vietnam People's Revolutionary Party holds that the legitimate rights of patriotic classes, political parties, and people's strata must be respected and that ethnic minorities must be helped in all fields on the basis of complete equality in rights as well as duties."

The Vietnam People's Revolutionary Party maintains that the revolutionary struggle of the southern people must necessarily use the revolutionary violence of the masses to oppose the counterrevolutionary violence of the enemy and advance toward smashing the reactionary government and replace it by a genuinely revolutionary government of the people. Straying from this path can lead only to failure.

The revolutionary war of the southern people develops under the condition that southern territory is small, southern

population is small, and southern agriculture is backward. The southern people have absolute political superiority over the enemy.

But temporarily they are weaker than he in the fields of material bases, equipment, and weapons. Yet they have to resist a top imperialists having powerful economic and military potentials. Basing itself on these characteristics, the party has set forth not only a correct strategy--fighting protractedly by mainly relying on one's own strength--but also versatile and creative combat forms and methods. This is the method of associating political struggle with armed struggle, firmly standing on three regions, attacking the enemy on three fronts, and so forth.

From its founding until now, although this space of time is very short, the Vietnam People's Revolutionary Party has scored many great performances. With the creative revolutionary line and policies as set forth by the party, the struggle for liberating the south has made firm progress. The southern people have achieved and are achieving many very great victories.

Now the southern people are the masters of a vast liberated zone, embracing the rural areas and the mountainous areas, embracing important strategic bases, and representing four-fifths of southern territory which is inhabited by 10 million people. In this liberated zone, 2 million hectares of land have been distributed to peasants. This great achievement has heightened the enthusiasm of the peasants--the main force of the southern revolution at present--and strengthened their confidence in the party and their determination to follow the party and fight to the end to liberate the nation, their class, and so forth.

Growing continuously, in all fields, the southern liberation armed forces have taken and are taking the initiative, in attacking the enemy on all battlefields. The recent resounding victories have marked a new big leap forward by the three forces. The "look for the Americans to strike at and exterminate them at the first opportunity" emulation campaign of the southern liberation armed forces is developing regularly. The ratio of Americans killed is very high. The already strong movement for exterminating the Americans in central Trung Bo is now more boiling than ever. In Nam Bo, during the two months of October and November 1965 the movement for exterminating the Americans began developing quickly and strongly.

If during the first nine months of 1965 the southern liberation armed forces wiped out completely 27 enemy battalions, including 8,081 U.S. aggressors, during the two months of October

and November 1965 the southern armed forces and people wiped out 19 enemy battalions, including 8,735 U.S. aggressors--that is, three-fourths of the total number of enemy battalions that were wiped out during the first nine months of the year. The total number of planes and armored vehicles destroyed or heavily damaged during the two months of October and November 1965 was more than half the total of planes and armored vehicles which were destroyed during the first nine months of the year.

On the night of 27 October 1965 alone in Nuoc Man and Chu Lai, the southern liberation armed forces destroyed and heavily damaged 163 planes. If in 1963 the southern armed forces and people, generally speaking, exterminated the puppet troops company after company, generally speaking in 1964 they exterminated the puppet troops battalion after battalion and in 1965 combat group after combat group.

Concerning U.S. troops, since early 1965 the southern liberation armed forces have advanced from exterminating them by small and isolated groups to exterminating them by companies, battalions, and combat groups, including infantry and armored units. This is a new notable progress; in the movement for exterminating the Americans, not only regular troops, but also regional troops, militiamen, and guerrillas have exterminated the Americans by platoons and companies.

Thanks to its brilliant and just cause, the southern revolutionary movement is being wholly supported by 17 million southern people and increasingly widely supported and helped by peace-loving people the world over, including the U.S. people, in both the material and moral fields. Now a wide movement of world peoples to support the Vietnamese people's struggle against the U.S. aggression and to protect peace has taken shape and is developing. This is an important victory for the southern revolution.

At present, the position of the southern people and of the people throughout the country is a rising position, the position of men who have achieved victory, are achieving victory, and will surely achieve complete victory. The position of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys is a declining position, the position of men who have faced defeat, are facing defeat, and will surely face complete defeat.

The ever greater victories of the southern revolution has consolidated and heightened more than ever the prestige of the Vietnam People's Revolutionary Party--a most faithful member of the NFLSV--among the southern people's strata. The greater the southern people's confidence in the party is, the higher their

determination to fight to the end against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys to liberate the south, protect the north, complete the national democratic revolution in the south, and advance toward national unification through peaceful means will be.

The Vietnam People's Revolutionary Party is actually the vanguard body of the southern revolution. It has shown itself worthy of the confidence of the working class, the peasantry, and other people's strata in the south, worthy of being the inheritor of the former Indochinese Communist Party in carrying out its glorious task. Under the clear-sighted leadership of the NFLSV, of which the Vietnam People's Revolutionary Party is the pillar, thanks to the common consent and effort of 17 million northern compatriots, and with the sympathy and support of the progressive people the world over, our southern people through their close solidarity and endurance in combat will surely and completely defeat the aggressors and their country-selling lackeys and achieve final victory in their great and glorious revolutionary work.

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CONSOLIDATE AND STRENGTHEN PEOPLE'S NATIONAL
DEFENSE AND LEAD THE ANTI-U.S. NATIONAL
SALVATION CAUSE TO COMPLETE VICTORY

Following is a translation of an article by Maj.
Gen. Hoang Van Thai in the Vietnamese-language
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In the history of war from long ago up to now and from east to west, the problem of the rear has always played a very important role. Lenin said: "To conduct a war seriously, there must be a steady and firmly organized rear" (Selected Works, Vietnamese, the Su Thai Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, Vol. 2, Chapter 1, Page 359).

The realities of the former resistance war of our people against the French imperialists also showed that the more the resistance war developed, the more the rear of the country was enlarged and that the more the rear was enlarged, the more the resistance war was pushed forward. The rear became one of the factors deciding the victory of the resistance war.

At present, the people of our entire country are faced with a great, historic, anti-U.S. national salvation task. The heroic South Vietnamese people are upholding their determination to defeat the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys to liberate the south, protect the north, and advance toward the reunification of the country. The North Vietnamese people, engaging in production while fighting, are enthusiastically building socialism and are determined to defeat the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction, to protect the north, and to serve as a solid buttress for the revolutionary war in South Vietnam. The fighting of the people in the two zones is closely coordinated according to the "South Vietnam is the large frontline, North Vietnam is the vast rear" spirit.

The north is the rear of the south. The DRV is an independent, sovereign country, a socialist country. Our northern people are carrying out the task of supporting the southern revolution, at the same time are directly resisting the war of destruction, and must make preparations in all fields to prevent a large war of aggression should the U.S. imperialists dare risk it. Therefore, endeavoring to build the northern rear at present also means building a strong people's national defense to serve the anti-U.S. national salvation cause.

This building task embraces the political, military, economic, and cultural fields. This is the common duty of our entire party, people, and army. To carry out this duty satisfactorily, we must solve a series of important problems, ranging from basic problems, such as viewpoints, lines, and principles, to a practical determination of tasks and their main content.

Our party's viewpoints in the preparations of the country to cope with the war of aggression are the viewpoints of people's national defense. The people's national defense viewpoints are the viewpoints of people's war applied in the building and consolidation of national defense and the building of the state's rear to conduct a revolutionary war. The people's national defense viewpoints of our party developed from the idea of building and protecting the revolutionary base as a buttress for the political force and the movement of the masses to wage an armed revolt during the period of the August revolution and from the idea of building and consolidating the rear of the resistance war to resist the French imperialists' war of aggression to the present idea of building and consolidating the socialist North Vietnam's national defense in order to meet the demands of the anti-U.S. national salvation cause. This process of development has reflected the growth of the revolutionary movement in our country and marked a new development step of our party's military ideology.

The people's national defense viewpoints have been pointed out by our party in many resolutions since the reestablishment of peace. It was reflected particularly in the most concentrated and fullest manner in the resolution of the 12th (enlarged) party Central Committee conference, second session. This resolution specified that to prepare the country to be ready to cope with a future war, we must strive to build the army and consolidate national defense. The problem of national defense in the conditions of modern war is not only a military problem; it is also a political, economic, and scientific problem. Therefore, the problem of people's national defense is essentially the problem of the rear in war, a problem of making preparations in all fields for the country to defeat all forms of aggressive war waged by the U.S. imperialists.



To apply the people's national defense viewpoints is to apply mass viewpoints, class viewpoints, and practical viewpoints in all fields of the building and consolidation of the northern rear. Generally speaking, between the rear and war there exists an organic relationship which develops according to a definite law. The more the war develops, the more it will require an ever greater contribution from the rear; the greater this contribution, the more complex the problem of building the rear will become. This of course, will have an adverse effect on the development of the war.

In all unjust wars of aggression, the following usual law will develop: the wider the war is enlarged, the more it will present many great demands for the rear and the more the rear will display many weak points, such as unstable political situation, weak and declining economy, financial exhaustion, and so forth, that might hinder the development of the war. The contradictions between the supply capabilities of the rear and the demands of the war will become increasingly acute and insoluble. This was proved in the French imperialists' war of aggression in our country and has now become very obvious in the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression in the two zones of our country.

Contrary to the foregoing law, in all people's wars led by the party of the working class, the following law usually develops: The more widely the people's war is enlarged, the more it will require the rear to develop quickly. The development of the rear will create many favorable conditions for the people's war to achieve greater and greater victories. There is absolutely no antagonism or contradiction between the demands of the war and the supply capabilities of the rear; rather, the rear and the frontline are a united bloc with the former providing a steady, firm guarantee for the latter.

This law was clearly reflected in our people's former war of resistance against the French. It is also clearly reflected in the current anti-U.S. national salvation struggle of our people. This is because on one hand, such a law is decided by the nature of the just war and, on the other, because our party has deeply applied the people's war viewpoints in the building and consolidation of the rear of the revolutionary war. Therefore, in the present anti-U.S. national salvation cause, the application of mass viewpoints, class viewpoints, and practical viewpoints in the building of people's national defense in the north is one of the fundamental problems.

Our party always holds that the victory of the war is achieved by the masses of the people. The people's war in our country will surely defeat any sort of war of aggression created by the U.S. imperialists because it has the extremely great

political, moral, and material strength of the masses. To apply the people's war viewpoints, to rely completely on the broad and great force of the masses, especially the masses of workers and peasants, and to base ourselves on our practical conditions to build a steady, firm people's national defense is precisely to make the strength of the people's war invincible. We did precisely that during the one year of struggle against the war of destruction.

Our party based itself on a correct analysis of the comparison between our force and that of the enemy and of their difficulties and advantages to develop to the maximum the political and moral strength of the masses and mobilize all branches and persons to work hard to build a people's national defense in accordance with our realities, thus satisfying the requirements of the people's war against the U.S. aggressors' war of destruction conducted mainly by their air force. The great victory of the people's war over the war of destruction of the U.S. imperialists during last year has reflected the great strength of the people's national defense in the northern part of our country. Our party has created this strength through a thorough understanding of mass, class, and realistic viewpoints.

It is general knowledge that if the U.S. imperialists dare wage a regional aggressive war throughout our entire country, our people will undertake a people's war to oppose them. It will be a people's war under modern conditions. This war will surely be fierce and arduous. It will require that the people's national defense of the north be stronger and firmer in all fields. To achieve this strength and firmness, it is basically necessary to apply thoroughly the above-mentioned viewpoints to the building and consolidation of our people's national defense.

Our party's concept of people's national defense has not only a national character, but also a deep class character. The building of a strong people's national defense is aimed not only at protecting the north and supporting the liberation struggle of the southern compatriots, but also at protecting the socialist camp, protecting peace in southeast Asia and the world, and developing the influence of the north over the revolutionary struggle movement of the oppressed nations.

Our party's concept of people's national defense reflects the highest degree of conformity of views between the nationalist stand and proletarian stand, between the love for the fatherland and the love for socialism, and between genuine patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

Being based on the above-mentioned viewpoints, the people's national defense in the northern part of our country follows this

line: "All the people and branches serve the protracted anti-U.S. national salvation struggle of the people throughout the country." The northern national defense must be an all-people national defense because it is built by all the people and is aimed at protecting the supreme interests of the people, which are national independence, national unification, and socialism. The national defense power does not depend exclusively on the power of the regular forces, but mainly on all the people, whose core is the people's armed forces. To develop the power of all the people is to develop the political and moral power of workers, cooperative peasants, socialist intellectuals, and other laboring people. The basic interests and fate of workers, peasants, and socialist intellectuals are closely associated with the sacred interests of the fatherland and the fate of socialism.

Workers, peasants, and socialist intellectuals strongly hate the imperialist aggressors, the exploiting classes, and the system of exploitation of man by man. They actually exercise their mastery over the new society and are capable in the political, military, economic, cultural, technological, and other fields. The people's national defense in the northern part of our country is a comprehensive national defense, embracing all aspects: political, economic, military, and cultural. The imperialists in general and the U.S. imperialists in particular want to use all-out war to invade other countries. As far as forms are concerned, they want to associate the political, military, economic, cultural, and other aspects. But in practice, the nature and rules of their aggressive war do not allow them to do so. That is why in the end their aggressive war continues to manifest itself in its most concentrated way in the form of military activities.

On the contrary, we continuously stress the necessity of using the all-people, comprehensive people's war to oppose them. We fight the enemy on the military, political, economic, and cultural fronts. The strength of the people's national defense in the north must be a combination of all these strengths: strength of men, masters of the community, of the progressive social system, and of the material and technical forces. In the building of the people's national defense in the north, only by achieving an all-people character can we achieve a comprehensive character, and vice versa. Moreover, the people's national defense in the north must directly serve the protracted anti-U.S. national salvation struggle of our people throughout the country with this spirit: "everything for the front, everything for victory." To build the people's national defense in the north along the above-mentioned line is to know how to rely on the fundamental strongpoints of our people and on the superiority of the socialist system to shift from a weak to a strong position,

turn our moral forces into our material ones, and turn the potentialities of our country and masses into an inexhaustible material strength.

Here is the method for building the people's national defense in the north of our country: to rely mainly on our own capacity and, at the same time, to take advantage of international aid. Our people's national defense is an independent, autonomous, and ever strong and firm one. Our party and state have done their best to exploit the potentialities of our country to build and improve our people's national defense.

At the same time, we know how to closely associate the self-sufficiency spirit at the highest degree and the spirit of taking advantage of the aid given our people by the entire socialist camp and by the peace-loving peoples the world over. We must mainly develop our self-sufficiency spirit and, on this basis, make the best use of the international aid. Making the best use of the aid from the fraternal countries and from the peace-loving peoples the world over is aimed at creating more favorable conditions so that we can by ourselves build an ever firm and strong people's national defense.

Last year's developments prove that the above-mentioned views, line, and methods about the building of a people's national defense are fully correct. The year 1965 was the first year during which the people's national defense of the north of our country was put to the test. The U.S. imperialists mobilized the major part of their Seventh Fleet Air Force and their 13th Air Force as well as almost all types of their modern combat jets and used all sorts of weapons, including guided rockets, to attack the north of our country. They associated war of destruction with psychological warfare and war of espionage in the hope of destroying the rear and shaking the morale of our people. In the south they continuously introduced more U.S. and satellite troops and enlarged their aggressive war on an increasingly large scale.

Faced with this situation, along with the southern people, the northern people resolutely rose up and opposed the U.S. imperialists. During last year, our people throughout the country won many great victories. In the south, after the Binh Gia and Ba Gia battles in which large numbers of puppet troops were disintegrated, there were the Dat, Cuoc, Bau Bang, Plei Me, Dau Tieng, and other battles in which many U.S. infantry battalions were completely wiped out. In the north, our people downed over 800 U.S. planes and exterminated or captured alive many U.S. pilots. Our people's determination to defeat the U.S. aggressors heightened daily. Socialist construction firmly entered the wartime phase and efficiently served the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle.

The brilliant achievements and exploits of the armed forces and people in both zones not only plunged the "superiority of the U.S. Air Force" into mud, but also smashed the prestige of the U.S. ground force and the so-called "offensive position" of the U.S. troops on the South Vietnamese battlefields. The above-mentioned achievements and exploits also prove that basing themselves mainly on their own economic and national defense potentialities, our people are fully able to defeat the U.S. imperialists--the richest and most powerful imperialists of capitalism.

The strength of our people's national defense is very great. It is the political and moral strength of over 17 million northern people, of those who actually hold the mastery over society, and of the complete consensus between the people, the party, and the government on the objectives of the revolutionary struggle and on the determination to defeat the U.S. aggressors. It is the strength of the people's armed forces having glorious fighting traditions, having rich fighting experiences, and having made quick progress after years of building. It is the strength of a socialist economy which, although young, had developed, under a correct leadership, to the maximum its impact on the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle. The strength of our people's national defense originates in patriotism, deep hatred for the enemy, and the superiority of the socialist system in the north. That is why the north has surmounted the first challenges set forth by the enemy, has grown daily in combat, and is firmly advancing toward fulfilling its historic mission.

Our people have the tradition of using a weak force to defeat a stronger one. During the 1945-1954 resistance against the French colonialists, although our rear was still very weak, our people were able to defeat the aggressive expeditionary troops of one of the advanced capitalist countries in Europe. This was not fortuitous, but was consistent with the rules of a people's war opposing an aggressive war. Now, although the situation is different, this rule will surely be reiterated; our people will surely win and the U.S. imperialists will surely be defeated.

Waging unjust aggressive war in Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists must fight not only against a "small" armed force, but must cope with an entire heroic nation, with the whole socialist camp, and with the peace-loving peoples the world over, including the U.S. people. The U.S. imperialists are rich. No one can deny it. To protect the hundreds of thousands of U.S. and satellite troops and half a million puppet troops in South Vietnam, they have spent tens of billions of dollars; sent millions of tons of weapons, technical equipment, and war materials and means to South Vietnam; built on the spot many military harbors, military airfields, and warehouses; and introduced a relatively large logistical force

into South Vietnam. But the above-mentioned efforts do not prove that they are strong; that is, sufficiently strong to avoid repeated defeats because, as Comrade Stalin once said: "The largest and best-equipped armies are generally dispersed and wiped out because they have no firm rear and do not have the sympathy and support of the rear and of the laboring people." Indeed, the U.S. imperialists' rear has a number of fundamental weak points which cannot be overcome.

1--This rear is permanently unstable politically. Waging aggressive war in Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists absolutely do not have the sympathy and support of the U.S. people and progressive mankind. The U.S. people, who by tradition love peace and democratic freedoms, surely can never let their bloodthirsty rulers Johnson and McNamara freely pour U.S. men and money into the aggressive war in Vietnam. The people of the colonies and dependents of the United States such as Japan, South Korea, the Philippines, Thailand, and so forth under various forms and in different degrees have risen to struggle against the U.S. aggressive war in Vietnam, especially against the traditional imperialist policy of using Asians to fight Asians. The struggle movement of the U.S. people and world peoples will surely produce a strong impact upon the fighting spirit of U.S. servicemen and those of satellite countries, and also upon the material preparations for the aggressive war of the U.S. imperialists.

2--Because of the aggressive policy and armaments race of the United States, its economy does not develop normally. Its industry is crippled. Its production is restricted and is constantly sabotaged. Its finance daily faces difficulties. The danger of inflation is threatening the U.S. economy. Unemployment exists on a permanent basis, and there is the danger that it may increase, and so forth. The foregoing are surely obstacles to the satisfaction of the ever great requirements of the U.S. aggressive war in Vietnam.

3--Because of their ambition to dominate the world, the U.S. imperialists have set up a front composed of over 2,000 military bases extending over hundreds of thousands of kilometers from east to west aimed at encircling the socialist camp and repressing the national liberation movements in various countries. Their economic and defense potentialities are dispersed to the utmost.

4--Attacking Vietnam which is tens of thousands of kilometers away from the United States, the U.S. imperialists can never solve the logistical problem quickly, thoroughly, and in time, no matter how rich in means of transportation they are.

5--Fighting in South Vietnam, a battlefield with which they are completely unfamiliar, the U.S. imperialists have encountered many difficulties; the topographic situation is unfavorable to the use of modern weapons and technical equipment and means; the weather does not suit the aggressors, the aggressors cannot find any safe place due to the fact that the people's war has developed to the maximum and become a war without a front, the southern people are the masters of four-fifths of southern territory, the areas where the Americans are safe have shrunk daily, the communication lines seem to be paralyzed, airfields and warehouses are continually attacked and destroyed, cities no longer supply them with manpower and resources, the puppet government and troops are facing irremediable disintegration, and so forth. All the above-mentioned difficulties have caused the U.S. imperialists to be at a loss to solve the logistical problem for their troops.

Generally speaking, the fighting spirit of the U.S. troops in South Vietnam, like that of any aggressor, is very low. Their main vantage point is their material and technical force. Faced with the ever greater difficulties encountered in insuring their rear as mentioned above, and faced with the ever strong attacks by the southern armed forces and people, U.S. troops will gradually lose their mobility. Their fighting spirit will be lower and lower. They will be unable to avoid complete extermination.

Our people are not subjective, do not underestimate the enemy. They can discern the weak points of the U.S. imperialists and deepen these weak points. At the same time, they are well aware of their inexhaustible force and have firm confidence in their own strength. They do their best to consolidate and reinforce the people's national defense in the north and resolutely advance the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle to complete victory. The construction of a people's defense system at present is in fact the construction and consolidation of the state's rear and is the improvement of one of the factors which commonly determine the success of a revolutionary war.

In this construction, it is necessary to understand thoroughly the leadership's concepts: "The south is the great front, the north is the great rear," "Vietnam is the front against the U.S. imperialists of the entire socialist bloc and of the peace-loving peoples in the world." Therefore, the tasks of the construction of the people's defense system in the north are to rely on the complete knowledge of the strategic revolutionary tasks as well as the strategic military ones so as to understand thoroughly our party's line in the people's war, and to rely on the political, spiritual and material powers of the socialist north in order to produce firm conditions and prerequisites for the defeat, step by step, of the U.S. imperialists' air war of

destruction, for the effective protection of the socialist north while assuring that the war of aggression against the north will be defeated if the U.S. imperialists ever dare to wage it; to support actively the struggle of the southern people against the U.S. imperialists for national salvation, for the liberation of the south, and for the advancement toward the reunification of the fatherland; and to strive to assist the national liberation movements of our sister countries.

Based on the above-mentioned tasks, the substance of the construction and consolidation of our people's defense system includes the following aspects:

Foremost is the construction in politics and ideology. The task of political and ideological construction is based on the need to make the entire population and army really understand the present situation and political tasks so that they will set their determination on the defeat of the U.S. aggressors and resolve to exert all of their mind and force to fulfill the historic mission of the nation. This is an intensive and long-lasting political campaign aimed at strengthening the will to fight, enhancing the standpoint and outlook of the proletarian class, and achieving a strong ideological and organizational change and change of habits to suit the new situation.

The principal substance of the political and ideological task in the present situation is to indoctrinate the cadres and people regularly with a steel-like confidence in ultimate victory; to develop to the highest degree revolutionary heroism, the idea of fighting and vanquishing the U.S. imperialists, and the idea of readiness for defeating any kind of war to the enemy; to train increasingly the will to overcome all difficulties and hardship; the idea of protracted fighting against the U.S. imperialists, the sense of self-reliance of the nation, and the spirit of self-sufficiency; and to continue to indoctrinate the outlook of the people's war and develop strongly the political factors as well as the spirit to defeat the power of the U.S. imperialists' weapons. Moreover, the indoctrination of the political and ideological struggle among the people must be concentrated in the destruction to the root of the idea of overestimating the enemy or of subjectively underestimating him, as well as the idea of relying on the assistance of the brother countries and of disbelieving in our own forces.

Our people have a tradition of unity against the invaders, and the national united front is the most vivid image of this fine tradition. The national united front is based on the alliance between the workers and farmers and, under the leadership of the working class, has made decisive contributions during the

past revolutionary stages. It will go on to fulfill its glorious mission in the struggle against the U.S. imperialists for national salvation at present. To keep strengthening the great national unity bloc is to strengthen a firm political base for the construction of a people's defense system in the north.

The people's administration which is carrying out the historic mission of the proletarian dictatorship in the struggle against the U.S. imperialists for national salvation at the present, particularly the administrations at the rural bases, in the mountainous region, and in vital areas must be firmly strengthened. Its main functions at this time are to be determined to exterminate the internal enemy and external aggressors, and to protect effectively the interests of the working people and of the socialist regime in the north while actively supporting the struggle for liberation of the southern compatriots.

The strengthening of the political indoctrination of the people and the consolidation of the national united front and the people's administration are the main aspects in the construction of the people's defense system in the political and ideological aspects. It is necessary, however, to be concerned with the intensification of the tasks of international propaganda and of diplomatic struggle in order to win over more sympathy and support from the entire socialist bloc and from the peace-loving peoples in the world, including the Americans. It is necessary to expose regularly and timely the hypocritical face and the barbarous and ruthless tricks of the U.S. imperialists in order to isolate them to the highest degree and to contribute to the enlargement of the united front against the U.S. imperialists of the peoples throughout the world. It is also necessary to make the Americans know more about the Vietnamese situation as an aid in accelerating the movement to demand the cessation of the war of aggression in Vietnam and the withdrawal of U.S. Armed Forces from South Vietnam.

Secondly, to build a strong and firm people's national defense in the north it is necessary to have a strongly developed economy. While building this economy, in order to satisfy the requirements of the anti-U.S. national salvation task it is necessary to pay special attention to the following three main aspects: agriculture, local industry, and communication and transportation.

Now more than ever, agricultural production plays a very important role in the national economy and is directly related to national defense. Its main duties are: To supply the people and troops with sufficient food and foodstuffs so that they can

eat their fill and defeat the enemy, to gradually increase the reserve stock of the state and people and to create conditions for developing the national defense forces and other economic branches; to step up agricultural production in the important areas in the delta, the middle region, and the mountainous region is to create favorable conditions to insure logistical support for the troops operating in these strategic areas. On the other hand, it is necessary--through the stepping up of agricultural production, improvement of cooperative management, introduction of science and techniques into agriculture, consolidation and perfection of the new production relations in the countryside, and so forth--to raise the levels of the peasant cooperative members and the militia and guerrillas in various respects, and create conditions for them to participate favorably in the main force troops and the regional troops.

Generally speaking, industrial production must be stepped up in order to accelerate the technical revolution in the entire people's economy, to serve agriculture, local industry and communications and transport, to contribute actively to building the young national defense, and to satisfy to the highest degree the requirements of production and combat under any circumstances. In particular, due to the topographical conditions and to the characteristics of the guerrilla war in our country, which are constantly to stick to the people and the land, local industry occupies an increasingly important role. Simultaneously with the production of production materials for agriculture and consumer goods, local industry must strive to produce weapons and other means necessary for the guerrilla war, repair weapons and technical equipment with the required standards, produce and repair the means of communications and transport, and so forth.

Together with the development of agriculture, local industry will contribute to enabling the economy of each zone to become more and more perfect, to meet by itself the basic economic and military requirements within the locality, and to advance toward settling the problem of insuring on the spot logistical support for the war. The building of local industry in the mountainous region plays an important role in the task of building and consolidating the mountainous region into a base which is stable in national defense and economically strong.

Communication and transport is the artery of the people's economy and national defense. One of the main objectives of the U.S. imperialists in carrying out the destructive war is to strike and destroy communication and transport, disrupting the communication and distribution network, and creating practical difficulties for us in the implementation of our economic and military plans, with a view to reducing our people's determination to

oppose them. Therefore, to insure communication and transport is one of the main objectives of the opposition to the destructive war, and is one of the central and long-lasting tasks of our entire party, people, and army.

The duty of the present communication and transport work is to concentrate the utmost force to insure that the lines of communication are completely open under all circumstances and anywhere, with a view to effectively serving the task of opposing the United States for national salvation. It is necessary to protect and repair the important lines of communication, to consolidate the existing lines and enlarge many new lines in necessary directions and, at the same time, to use fully the water, land, and railway lines of communication and to develop the system of local communication, rural communication, and communication in the mountainous region.

It is necessary to develop strongly and utilize fully the various types of rudimentary, semimechanized, and mechanized means of transportation in order to serve the frontline in time. It is necessary to concentrate forces to protect the bridges, ferries, and important sections of roads and, at the same time, to work out plans for the rapid and timely repair of the sections which were destroyed by the enemy. Our people, who inherently have "iron feet and copper shoulders," now also possess a relatively strong mechanized and semimechanized transportation force. What is necessary for us is to have a correct consciousness and high determination, to know how to exploit the people's transport capability, and to develop the spirit of self-help of each locality. Then the communication and transport problem will certainly be settled more satisfactorily.

In the military aspect, the substance of the building of the northern people's national defense is, on the basis of a thorough understanding of the party's military line, to wage the all-people and all-out war, and carry out the "each citizen is a soldier, each village, (ban, town, urban ward) is a fortress, each chi bo is a combat staff," slogan.

To generate the masses of the people to wage the national salvation war it is necessary, besides political and ideological mobilization, to intensify the building of the people's armed forces into increasingly powerful forces. It is necessary to build the main force troops into a regular and relatively firm modern force which is worthy of being our people's key force in opposing the U.S. aggressors' present war of destruction, and which is fully capable of defeating the U.S. troops in a general aggressive war if they dare adventurously create it in the future. It is necessary to build and train actively the regional troops to make them stronger and stronger so that they can satisfactorily

fulfill their functions in the immediate epoch as well as in the future; to organize more comprehensively and firmly the self-defense militia, and to intensify political and military training, training in the sense of organization and discipline, and the readiness to combat and to serve combat. More than ever, our people's armed forces must develop their glorious tradition of determination to fight and win, raise higher the determination to vanquish the U.S. aggressors, constantly and closely follow the fight of the southern people and strive to study the heroic southern liberation armed forces' experience in fighting and annihilating the U.S. aggressors, remain always ready to fight and fight valiantly, to annihilate the enemy, and successfully fulfill every task entrusted by the party and state.

To intensify the air defense force and the people's air defense work is an important aspect of military construction. Our present day air defense force is very great, and it includes the air defense forces of the main force troops, the regional troops, and the self-defense militia. In addition, there is a quite large combat-serving force constituted by the masses of the people. The above forces have been tried and trained during more than one year of countering the war of destruction and have rapidly matured.

These forces must be further strengthened both quantitatively and qualitatively, to insure that the enemy is attacked wherever he goes, and attacked with even stronger and heavier blows. Simultaneously with fighting the enemy, it is necessary to intensify the organization of precaution, initial dispersion, and protection of the lives of the people and the property of the people and the state, with a view of limiting our losses to the minimum, and safeguarding and improving our forces for conducting the protracted resistance war.

The building of combat villages (ban, chief towns, and urban wards) has an important strategic and military significance in the task of opposing the war of destruction at the present, as well as opposing the overall aggressive war should it occur in the future. Building combat villages is in essence building the people's national defense at the base. It is necessary to concentrate forces to build combat villages (ban, chief towns, and urban wards) along the important lines of communication, the strategic areas, and the crucial regions and, at the same time, to work out plans for expanding step by step the scope of construction, thus creating a situation in which "hamlets adjoin hamlets, villages adjoin villages, districts adjoin districts," and mutual support one another.

To strengthen the defense work and the maintenance of public security and order, to defeat the enemy's psychological

and espionage warfare, and to smash rapidly the enemy's ranger and raiding activities is one of the important duties of the local military work. It is necessary to educate the masses comprehensively as to the vicious schemes of the U.S. imperialists and the reactionary clique of their lackeys; to expose in time all of their psychological warfare arguments and tricks; and to intensify the education of the people in the prevention against enemy infiltration and preservation of secrets. Moreover, it is necessary to develop the function of the people's administration in suppressing reactionary elements, controlling bad elements, and educating backward persons. The regional troops, the people's armed security, and the self-defense militia must constantly remain vigilant and ready to put down any rebellion if it breaks out, to capture all of the teams of ranger spies sent by the enemy into the northern part of our country, and to smash rapidly any large or small raids of the enemy.

Apart from the above-mentioned political, economic, and military aspects, it is necessary to pay attention to the other fields, such as education, health, gymnastics and sports, literature, arts, and so forth, with a view to building a comprehensive people's national defense which adequately serve our people's task of opposing the U.S. for national salvation. It is necessary to associate closely our country's revolutionary education with the task of opposing the United States for national salvation, and to accelerate more rapidly the formation of a large pool of cadres who are virtuous and talented and can effectively serve the present production and combat tasks. It is necessary to bring our people's health system more deeply into production and combat and to work out plans for it to realistically serve production and combat. It is necessary to step up actively the gymnastics and sports activities in general, and the national defense sports in particular, with a view to improving the laboring people, the self-defense militia, and the youths so that they will become physically strong and attain a certain level of military techniques to efficiently serve production and communication and transport, and to join the troops.

It is necessary to strive to build and develop the anti-U.S. and national salvation literature and arts, to step up sound literary and artistic activities among the masses with a view to educating them in patriotism and hatred for the enemy, and to improve our troops' and people's revolutionary heroism.

Above is the substance of the building and consolidation of the people's national defense in the northern part of our country at present. To fulfill these tasks satisfactorily is to strengthen our people's forces in all respects in order to protect the socialist north and insure the defeat of any form of aggressive war waged by the U.S. imperialists, and to develop

the great impact of the large rear in the north upon the task of opposing the United States for national salvation.

The above-mentioned aspects are closely related. Political and ideological construction has the effect of thoroughly penetrating and guiding all other aspects. To build up the economy is to create a firm material base for the national defense undertaking, and for the development of the political and moral strength. The military construction, upon the basis of amalgamating the political and economic strengths, is aimed at bringing into existence mighty forces to defeat the enemy's military force. We build the people's national defense in the north in a situation where the entire country is at war. Therefore, we have simultaneously to build and to fight. Construction is aimed at raising our potentiality in all respects in order to insure a successful fight; and fighting is aimed at protecting the construction undertaking. These two tasks are equally important. They develop in parallel, and support each other.

In the building of the people's national defense in the north, it is necessary to settle satisfactorily the relations between the rear area of the central level and the rear of each zone and, particularly, to settle satisfactorily the problem of building the people's national defense in the mountainous region. Our party has hitherto paid constant attention to the building of the rear of the mountainous region in general, and of the people's national defense in the mountainous region in particular. Henceforth, we will realistically further step up this task in order to insure that the mountainous region of our country will always be a firm base whatever the circumstances.

The present building of the people's national defense in the north has very favorable fundamental conditions. Our party, by reason of its 36 years of leadership of the revolution, has correct political and military lines and possesses ample experience in guiding the war and building socialism in the north. Our people, who have been trained and tried in revolutionary struggle and in protracted revolutionary war, have a high level of national enlightenment and a profound class enlightenment. They have a tradition of unity and struggle against foreign invasion and ample experience in political and military struggle and in economic construction, and they are now masters of a new social system.

The northern part of our country has undergone 11 years of socialist revolution and of building socialism. Our socialist production relations have been increasingly consolidated, and our economic and national defense potentialities are growing day by day. The more new successes scored by the large frontline in the south in its task of opposing the U.S. for national salvation,

the more strongly we are encouraged to build the large rear in the north so that it will develop rapidly.

Furthermore, we also obtain the aid of brotherly countries and the sympathy and support of thousands of millions of progressive people in the world, including the U.S. people.

However, besides the above favorable conditions, on our new path of maturity we have definite weakpoints, difficulties, and shortcomings. In addition to this, the more the enemy is defeated, the more he furiously squirms and the more he will cause new difficulties for us. To strive to develop the favorable conditions and actively overcome all of the above-mentioned difficulties, to develop fully and channel the masses' spirit and energy into the intensification of the construction of the people's national defense in the north firmly and comprehensively--these constitute the correct and continuing path of struggle for our entire party, people, and army.

To complete the task of building the people's national defense, the central problem consists of strengthening party leadership. Party committees of all echelons must directly lead the war and the task of building the national defense in a comprehensive and wise way. To exert leadership over the task of building the people's national defense, first of all it is necessary to keep a firm hold on the basic problems, such as viewpoints, lines, guiding principles, leading ideology, tasks, and main contents. It is necessary to rely on the basis of education in politics, morality, and duties, and on the full calculation of advantages and difficulties continually to improve the anti-U.S. national salvation determination of cadres and people and to assert our determination to build the people's national defense in the service of the anti-U.S. national salvation enterprise.

On the other hand, it is necessary to set forth practical measures of organization and implementation and to work out plans to check, supervise, and help echelons completely achieve the people's national defense. There must always be systems of reviewing, initially recapitulating, and comprehensively recapitulating the work done in order continually to improve cadres of all echelons in the fields of dialectics and experience in organization and leadership and to improve the work methods in accordance with the new situation. What is of special importance is that the majority of the masses must be mobilized to participate in building a strong people's national defense.

To help party committees of all echelons fulfill the forthcoming tasks, it is necessary to perfect the agencies working for the party committees, especially local military agencies. Cadres working in these agencies must have high

political quality, adequate military and professional standards, high planning and organizational standards, and lively and appropriate manner and attitude.

Building and consolidating the anti-U.S. national salvation people's national defense is a very glorious duty of our entire party, people, and army in the present revolutionary stage. This is also a protracted, hard, and arduous undertaking requiring very great sacrifices and efforts of all of our people. Under the clear-sighted leadership of our party, led by the respected and loved President Ho Chi Minh, our people and people's armed forces will certainly fulfill this glorious duty, and the people's national defense in North Vietnam will certainly and firmly be consolidated, thus insuring the complete victory for the anti-U.S. national salvation enterprise.

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THE BIG ROLE OF MILITIAMEN AND SELF-DEFENSE CORPSMEN IN THE WAR AGAINST U.S. IMPERIALISTS

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I

The war of destruction against the north is a part of the aggressive war waged by the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam. According to White House and Pentagon calculations, this war of destruction is aimed at reducing our people's determination to fight for reunification of our fatherland and directly preventing the support of the north for the south. It mainly relies on air force, which is combined with naval activities, espionage war, psychological war, etc.

With a large number of modern aircraft, the U.S. imperialists hope to act with complete freedom over the north. But the reality is entirely contrary to their expectations. Wherever they "escalate" the war, our army and people deal heavy punitive blows at them. Their war of destruction against the north, in regard to its basic aims, has been a failure. Once more the people's war has been tested in our country, and has proved its invincible power.

It has been proved by reality that the recent victories of the regular army could not be separated from the big contributions of our militiamen, self-defense corpsmen, and people. In the fight against an enemy that has a lot of modern technical means, the role of the militiamen and self-defense corpsmen not only does not decrease, but is greatly developed.

One of the remarkable achievements of our militiamen and self-defense corpsmen was to contribute actively to downing enemy aircraft, to strengthen our country's antiaircraft fire net. According to incomplete statistics, the militiamen and self-defense corpsmen alone have downed thirty U.S. aircraft, mainly supersonic jets, with only infantry guns. Equipped with only ordinary weapons, with very little experience, our militiamen and self-defense corpsmen have been fighting hard and have won in many battles against the U.S. aircraft; this vehemently speaks for their fast progress. However, by only relying on the number of U.S. aircraft downed by our militiamen and self-defense corpsmen to evaluate their usefulness in the antiaircraft work, such

an evaluation is far from appropriate.

The antiaircraft system organized in the north consists of many layers of fire. The fact that the militiamen and self-defense corpsmen widely take part in shooting at enemy aircraft provides our antiaircraft fire net with both high and low layers; these two fire layers overcome the weakness of each other, and are closely coordinated with each other in combat. The air observation system and high-altitude fire power of the regular troops have inflicted losses upon the U.S. air force and have compelled the latter to develop a low-altitude striking method in order to maintain its surprise-attack quality and to reduce losses although such a method is not what modern aircraft are for. The low layer of fire, provided by the militiamen and self-defense corpsmen, is both difficult to detect and very dangerous for the enemy; it compels enemy aircraft to fly higher, thus giving our antiaircraft troops a chance to destroy them.

The fire power of our militiamen and self-defense corpsmen also creates a thick fire net over the whole of our country; it greatly reduces the high degree of mobility of enemy aircraft. In reality, the latter cannot move as fast as the militiamen and self-defense corpsmen who are already there to fight them; wherever these aircraft appear, and whenever they are in the range of infantry guns, they are fired at, and therefore lose the accuracy of their fire power. The fire power of the militiamen and self-defense corpsmen creates favorable conditions for our antiaircraft troops to concentrate their force, to have mobility in fighting the enemy, and to defend the key areas.

The activities of the U.S. air force are not solely military in character; in many cases, the enemy's aircraft flew very low so that the tremendous roar of their engines and their high speed would bend the trees and shake the houses, thus threatening our people. The fire net of our militiamen and self-defense corpsmen defeated that enemy plot.

Through their own feats of arms, the militiamen and self-defense corpsmen made a great contribution to lowering the U.S. imperialists' false air power, making our people have more confidence and speed their production and combat work. From the bitter test with the U.S. air force appeared tens of thousands of brave and intelligent men and women of the militia and self-defense corps, who have the ability to persuade the masses to take part in the "all our people shoot at U.S. aircraft" movement--the widest patriotic fighting movement in the history of our people's antiaggressive fight.

Our militiamen and self-defense corpsmen are also the main force that capture U.S. pilots. Although the commanders of the U.S. aggressive army do everything to rescue the pilots who survive, but most of those pilots who bailed out were captured by our people. In many places, the militiamen and self-defense corpsmen also shot down the enemy helicopters that came to the rescue of the downed pilots like in Le Thuy (Quang Binh), Huong Khe (Ha Tinh), etc. The increasing number of pilots who died in their aircraft or were captured alive led the enemy to a serious shortage of pilots; recently the enemy

had to get replacements from among the pilots serving as instructors or research workers.

In addition to taking part in fighting the U.S. aircraft, the militiamen and self-defense corpsmen, in cooperation with the police and other branches, also help to maintain order and security, to popularize state policies among the people, and to check in time the enemy's plots, attacks, and efforts to arouse banditry and riot in local areas.

In the war of destruction against the north, the U.S. imperialists mainly rely on an air force that has a relatively great destructive power and great mobility. Therefore, the problem of protecting lives and properties for millions of people, particularly in the areas of high population density, is quite a complicated and difficult one. Because we have succeeded in persuading the majority of people to take part in the people's antiaircraft work, of which the militia and self-defense force serves as a backbone, we obtain good results in the organization of our fighting the enemy and protecting ourselves from the enemy. With their well-organized ranks and members who are familiar with military matters, our militia and self-defense corps have set up an air observation network in cities and the countryside, alert the people in time, set good examples for the people to dig shelters for air raids, guide the people in the matter of avoiding and protecting themselves from enemy aircraft, and at the same time serve as the hard core force in the people's antiaircraft combat force.

The roads of communication and transportation are a target for the enemy's constant attacks. The fighting between us and the enemy is very bitter here. At the beginning, a number of local areas thought that we must have regular troops equipped with heavy antiaircraft guns in order to protect our roads of communication, and that if we wanted to overcome the bad consequences created by the enemy (for instance repairing broken bridges, deactivating bombs, etc.), we must have a specialized force having a good command of science and technology. However, because of the wide scope of the war of destruction, we cannot have specialized cadres and agents scattered everywhere, no matter how numerous they are, nor can they alone cope with the needs of the situation. In this situation, there is no other way than to rely on the force of the masses. In reality it has been proved that, ever since proper attention was paid to the people's role, there has been important progress in the communication-transportation work. The aircraft-hunting cells of our militia and self-defense corps that appeared on our roads of communication not only limited the enemy's destructive power, but also downed and damaged many U.S. aircraft; many militia and self-defense corps units that had the duty to protect medium and small bridges successfully fought enemy aircraft in their repeated attacks. The militia engineer units, despite their being newly established, were able to deactivate by themselves most of the time bombs the enemy dropped, and in cooperation with the state specialized units repaired many bridges. The system of alert and antiaircraft shelters along roads of communication already showed its usefulness; the traffic of ferry boats became faster and safer thanks to the active participation of our militiamen

an self-defense corpsmen. The latter are also the main force that now develop the local communication network, uses our rudimentary transportation means in order to serve better both production and combat work and to reduce concentration of vehicles on big roads, and creates favorable conditions for mechanized vehicles to travel faster and more conveniently.

The enemy's activities to destroy production are also as fierce as the activities to destroy our roads of communication and transportation. The enemy has been blockading our waters, bombing our factories, farms, irrigation works, etc.

With well-organized ranks, sound discipline and political understanding, our militiamen and self-defense corpsmen have been developing their active, exemplary role in production, even in the places and periods of difficulties and danger, with production and protection of production having to be done at the same time. As a result, the people feel encouraged, assured, and enthusiastic while speeding production. In some areas more frequently and fiercely attacked by the enemy (Vinh Linh, Quang Binh), production has not decreased, but has actually increased. This is an eloquent proof of the bravery, heroism, and limitless ability of the masses and the militia and self-defense force on the economic front.

On the basis of a continuous consolidation of the organization of the militia and self-defense corps, the task of supplementing the regular army has been properly carried out. What deserves our attention is the fact that the engineer, information, and fire-fighting units of the militia and self-defense corps, despite their being newly organized, have proved themselves realistically useful in local combat tasks, as well as in their cooperation with the regular troops. Our militiamen and self-defense corpsmen have devoted millions of work days to building fortifications for the regular troops, helping the artillery units to overcome difficult terrain, bringing supplies, carrying wounded men, etc., thus helping to raise the mobility, combat readiness, and fighting power of our regular troops and local troops.

The great contributions mentioned above prove that our militiamen and self-defense corpsmen, under the leadership of the party, in both wartime and peacetime, on the front and in the rear, always are an important element of the entire revolutionary force in general, and of the people's armed force in particular. In the present fight against the U.S. for national salvation, the militia and self-defense corps still remain a strategic force, and along with other revolutionary armed forces and the people resolutely fulfill the glorious historic task of limiting, repelling, and winning in the war of destruction, thus moving toward defeating any other aggressive plot and maneuver the U.S. imperialists may have.

II

Having suffered continual defeats in both the north and the south, the

U.S. imperialists will have recourse to more brazen and daring maneuvers. In addition to intensifying the aggressive war in the south, they will further extend the war of destruction to the north at a fiercer pace. In addition to using their air force, they will also use warships to shell, infantry to attack, and special forces on a large scale; at the same time cooperate with the reactionary inlanders to carry on espionage war and psychological war activities for the purpose of harassing and destroying our rear.

The militiamen and self-defense corpsmen in the north are hurriedly preparing themselves to cope with any unexpected situation that may develop. Trying to win in the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction is both defending the north and closely coordinating with the liberation struggle of our compatriots in the south, and at the same time preparing the ground for defeating the enemy if the latter dares to widen the aggressive war to the whole of our country.

The development of the present situation requires that our militiamen and self-defense corpsmen fulfill these new needs and tasks:

First, to contribute actively to destroying more enemy aircraft and the enemy's special forces and attacking forces.

This is the most important military task to be fulfilled by militiamen and self-defense corpsmen. Fulfilling this task well will create favorable conditions for the fulfillment of other tasks and deal a heavy blow at the enemy's aggressive will.

For over a year of fighting the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction, our militiamen and self-defense corpsmen shot down a number of aircraft and captured many enemy pilots. Today, after having acquired rich combat experiences and raised their ideological, technical, and tactical capacities, many units are more capable of winning even bigger victories. Military organs of all levels must pay attention to consolidating the cells in charge of shooting at enemy aircraft, securing combat readiness, and raising their own commanding capacity so as to make it full of wisdom, mobility, and flexibility.

In regard to the task of fighting against special forces and attacking forces, particularly against the former, our militiamen and self-defense corpsmen have gained a lot of experiences. In the time to come, it is possible that the enemy will use larger forces of that kind. If the militiamen and self-defense corpsmen are satisfied with their old capacities, they will find their task quite difficult to fulfill. In addition to continuously raising their technical and tactical capacities, they need to pay attention to further training in greater mobility, better cohesion in combat, and organizing of better information-collecting work leading to deeper understanding of the enemy's situation.

Second, to fulfill properly the task of serving as the hard core of

the people's base-level antiaircraft work.

Fighting resolutely and avoiding actively (enemy aircraft) are the two aspects of the people's antiaircraft work; however, for the people, the latter is the principal aspect.

Our experiences have indicated that if the militiamen and self-defense corpsmen were concerned only with fighting enemy aircraft while neglecting passive defense work for the people and for themselves, this would adversely affect our fighting the enemy ingeneral and would mean a failure on their part to protect the people's lives and properties. There must be appropriate attention paid to all the aspects of the passive defense work; in public places and where the population density is high, we must have enough shelters made exactly according to specifications, and at the same time improve the people's antiaircraft attacking force in order to reduce to the lowest limit the losses inflicted upon us by the enemy.

Third, to try to maintain safe, uninterrupted, and continuous communication-transportation.

Communication-transportation is the blood stream of the people's economy and greatly affects our national defense task. The north has thousands of kilometers of strategically important roads and railroads and also a pretty large network of sea transportation routes. The U.S. imperialists concentrate a great deal of their force upon destroying our communication-transportation system so as to disturb our people's economy and to prevent the circulation and movement of our army and people. In the time to come, the enemy will continue to bomb and to destroy our roads, thus causing us more difficulties.

The determination of our party and Government at the present time is to secure safe, uninterrupted, and continuous communication. It is also the determination of all our army and people to defeat an important part of the enemy's war-of-destruction plot, to safeguard the people's living, and to satisfy the ever growing needs for national defense.

Series of problems thus appear: to organize the fight against enemy aircraft, the protection from enemy bombings on our roads of communication, and the transporting and loading-unloading of merchandises; to camouflage bridges; to repair roads; to build secondary roads, etc. Only by relying on the big force of our militia and self-defense and of our people can we fulfill this task properly.

Fourth, to continue developing further the hard-core, attacking role in production.

Production and combat are the two principal tasks of all our party and people at the present time. Being the armed force in charge of both production and combat at the base level, the militia and self-defense corps must see more clearly their responsibility for this matter.

The more the enemy intensifies his destructive activities, the more the militiamen and self-defense corpsmen, along with the rest of the people, try to remedy the losses caused by the enemy and to destroy the latter while protecting their own force in regard to men, properties, machinery, etc. As soon as the enemy is gone, the militiamen and self-defense corpsmen turn to industrial and agricultural production, do their best to improve techniques, and raise labor productivity. Only by doing so can they actively contribute to strengthening the people's economic potentiality and driving our combat to victory.

Fifth, to take an active part in the struggle against the U.S. imperialists' espionage war and psychological war.

Espionage war and psychological war are closely combined with the enemy's war of destruction. They are aimed at undermining and harassing our ranks and paralyzing our people's will to fight. The enemy's maneuver is to deceive, to slander, to take advantage of our difficulties and weaknesses to carry on his destructive activities.

Our experiences indicate that the militiamen and self-defense corpsmen are a propaganda force that actively makes the people have a correct concept of the enemy's real nature and plot, and confidence in the party and Government. If we know how to use the vast limitless force of the militia and self-defense corps in the struggle against the U.S. imperialists' espionage and psychological wars, we will certainly build a politically stabilized and sound rear to help our army and people to devote all their efforts to fighting the enemy from without.

Sixth, to fulfill properly the task of a reserve force and to secure the combat-serving task in support for the main-force troops.

Our people's army today is a regular, relatively modern one. The more the main-force troops grow in strength and destroy the enemy, the more they help the militiamen and self-defense corpsmen to progress in all fields. At the same time, the heavier their combat task becomes, the greater the need of the rear and of other armed forces for such troops. This situation requires that the militiamen and self-defense corpsmen not only focus on their responsibility for daily combat and production, but also be ready to assign, if necessary, some of their men the task of serving combat or joining the main-force ranks without affecting the local productive and combat power.

III

The militia and self-defense corps must be consolidated in every way if they have to fulfill the heavy tasks mentioned above.

Strengthening the work of political education and ideological leadership is the most basic condition for raising the fighting power of our militia-

men and self-defense corpsmen.

The recent achievements of our militiamen and self-defense corpsmen are the unavoidable results of all those efforts to do political-education and ideological-leadership work and to raise the determination among their ranks to fight and to defeat the U.S. aggressors.

Under the conditions of our fierce, bitter fight against an enemy that has plenty of modern means, our militiamen and self-defense corpsmen have been responsible for outstanding feats of arms; the main reason behind such achievements is their deep hatred for the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their determination to defeat the U.S. imperialists so as to protect the fruit of the socialist revolution in the north, to liberate the south, and to move toward reunification of the country. The deep hatred for the enemy and the firm determination to destroy the enemy can be based only on the efforts to raise the understanding of class of the militiamen and self-defense corpsmen, to make them understand the evil nature of imperialism, the superiority of the socialist system, and the glorious responsibility of the people's armed forces for the great revolutionary work of the people.

Militiamen and self-defense corpsmen belong to different age groups; some of them used to be oppressed and exploited by the imperialists and feudalists; some others grew up under the new regime. The second group accounts for a larger and larger proportion in the militia and self-defense corps ranks. As a result, there is a need for paying proper attention to teaching them the concept of class and the way to distinguish friends and foes. We can do this in many ways and by different lively, yet profound, methods like encouraging people to recount their sufferings, comparing two ways of life, revealing the crimes committed by the U.S. imperialists against the people, etc.

A firm proletarian stand and a strong national spirit must be demonstrated in a thorough understanding and resolute implementation of all revolutionary standpoints and lines. Therefore, we need to teach the militiamen and self-defense corpsmen about the current events and policies; and to stress the task of fighting the U.S. for national salvation, defending the north, liberating the south, reunifying the country, and fulfilling international duties as the main content of such teaching. At the same time we need to teach them the revolutionary traditions and national virtues, such as the ability to bear hardships and to overcome difficulties; the will to fight bravely, continually, persistently; the spirit of initiative-taking and creativity; and to overcome any sign of subjective action and impatience, any fear of sacrifices and hardships, and all manifestations of other unhealthy tendencies among the militiamen and self-defense corpsmen.

Under the conditions of combat and production being carried on at the same time, we must cleverly use all propaganda organizations and measures and the teaching tools to mobilize the people in time at the places of production and on the battleground, thus making education lively and realistic.

To build and to consolidate the militia and self-defense corps along a steady and vast line.

The militia and self-defense corps can exist and develop their effectiveness only when the party echelons fully understand the line based on class to be adopted for their building and consolidation.

Recently many local areas launched different phases of the movement to consolidate the militia and self-defense corps. Many party committees of village, factory, and city quarter levels enrolled good party members, enthusiastic youth labor union members, and active soldiers satisfying all requirements in the ranks of our militia and self-defense corps. At the same time, under the real conditions of production and combat, there were measures taken to make them politically sound. However, in some places, many party members, union members, and active soldiers still remain outside the militia and self-defense corps, or if they have joined the latter, it was only a token act on their part, with no real effectiveness being felt. This situation must be put to an end soon.

Fully understanding the line based on class also requires that it be applied appropriately to the political situation of each area, with complete awareness of the adverse effects caused by lack of understanding and preconceived ideas. On the one hand, we must attach importance to political quality, and make sure that the militia and self-defense corps are really a revolutionary armed force of our country's working people; on the other hand, we need to attract all those who satisfy the requirements into this force so as to widen the movement to arm all our people for the fight against the U.S. for national salvation.

We must coordinate this movement with the "three readinesses" and "three resourcefulnesses" movements and, through other political campaigns, make the majority of the people willingly join the militia and self-defense corps. During the war of resistance against the French in the past, up to 15 percent of the population of Hung Yen Province, which was one of the many provinces that suffered the most from the enemy's terrorizing and mopping-up acts, joined the ranks of the militiamen and guerrillas. Today, as we are under more favorable conditions than before, we can organize a much larger body of militiamen and guerrillas.

In the building of the militia and self-defense corps, proper importance must be attached to the role of women. Because of our people's revolutionary struggle characteristics and traditions, the woman members of the militia and self-defense corps must constitute an organization we cannot afford to lack. In addition to developing the militia and self-defense corps activities among women, we must attach utmost importance to further improving and granting promotion to those women who show more potential capacities so that they could be given leadership work and made the commanding officers of the militia and self-defense corps.

Base level cadres have a decisive effect upon the movement. As we have a number of newly-appointed cadres, we must pay more attention to perfecting the body of base level cadres, particularly in vital places. More particularly, we must closely administer and constantly improve the guerrilla cadres and combat corpsmen, who constitute the hard core of our militia and self-defense corps.

Through our combat experiences, we find that the specialized units of our militia and self-defense corps like the engineer, fire-fighting, reconnaissance, information, first-aid units are very necessary and effective. Those units need to be consolidated so as to help serve combat in local areas and to be a source of support for the regular troops.

The militiamen and self-defense corpsmen are better equipped than before, but because of inappropriate distribution and use of equipment in some areas, their effect remains limited. We need to consider an adjustment of the use of equipment in accordance with areas of major importance, and the full use of the capacity of local industry in the manufacture of weapons for our militiamen and self-defense corpsmen to use; this way we shall create favorable conditions for them to fulfill even better their combat task.

At present, the militiamen and self-defense corpsmen must carry out quite heavy production, combat, and combat-serving tasks. Many of them are to face family problems and difficulties in their living. In spite of all that, they are fulfilling their tasks enthusiastically. Our party, Government, and people highly value such qualities. In order to create favorable conditions for them to work better in both production and combat, the responsible organs must study the necessary systems and policies that would help them to reduce the difficulties they face in their everyday life. In addition to the already-adopted policies and systems, there recently appeared new problems created by the wartime, such as the policies and systems to be applicable to the militiamen and self-defense corpsmen directly in charge of shooting at enemy aircraft, the protection of communication and transportation, etc. Generally speaking, the most correct line is still that of the people, which relies on the abilities of the local cooperative and people and at the same time the definite regulations prescribed by the state for certain work, for the purpose of properly consolidating and developing the militia and self-defense corps.

To raise technical and tactical capacities, as well as the ability to organize commanding work, in order to satisfy the need of the combat and security-maintaining task.

The purpose of training is to combat. In order to make the training of the militiamen and self-defense corpsmen effective, it must come from the need of the combat and security-maintaining task. In addition to fighting the U.S. piratical aircraft, there are different combat and security-maintaining needs; for instance, some areas must get prepared to fight the special forces, some other areas must fight the enemy along the coast, etc.

Therefore, the training program must suit each local area, and cannot be too ambitious or mechanical. Under any circumstances, the militiamen and self-defense corpsmen must be trained in such a way as to be capable of coping effectively with the enemy's war of destruction and remaining prepared to face more complicated happenings.

In a general way, the militiamen and self-defense corpsmen fight under the conditions of those who are few and fight an outnumbering enemy, who are weak and fight the strong, who use courage and wit to defeat the enemy's modern techniques and weapons. Therefore, while giving technical and tactical training, we must pay utmost attention to promoting courage, initiative, flexibility, and creativity in combat. Because of the need for fighting with the regular troops, in addition to their regular combat-serving activities, specialized units like antiaircraft artillery, regular artillery, engineer, etc. are very necessary.

To learn from experiences and to popularize in time all combat experiences is a very realistic and flexible training method. The extremely rich experiences gained in the struggle of the army and people of the south, the experiences obtained during the war of resistance, as well as the current experiences in our fight against the war of destruction in the north, must be widely popularized and creatively applied so as to heighten further the fighting power of our militiamen and self-defense corpsmen.

To consolidate the existing combat villages and to build more and more combat villages.

From the war against the U.S. imperialist aggressors, our people have created the form of combat villages. They are the fortress of the people's war. Under the leadership of the party, all the physical and moral forces of the people are gathered and fully developed to fight the aggressors, to defend our villages, and to turn to attacking the enemy for destroying him.

The U.S. imperialists' war of destruction is going on on a wider and wider scale and with the help of the most cruel and savage maneuvers. Therefore, the purpose of building combat villages (or combat quarters in cities, combat zones in the highland) is to defeat the enemy in his war of destruction and to prepare ourselves to cope with his plot to widen the war of aggression.

The strength of our combat villages, as it has been proved by reality, originates from all our people's will and determination to fight under the sound party leadership to destroy the enemy. The building of combat villages cover various aspects--political, military, economic. The prerequisite condition for this building work is to have good political bases, based on the party chi ho. Moreover, there must be a big force of militiamen and self-defense corpsmen, who fight bravely, do productive work enthusiastically; production must be developed on the basis of our consolidated cooperatives; combat fortifications must be good while shelters and trenches must be suf-

ficient and solid.

As building combat villages is a big job, it can be carried out properly only under the unified leadership of party echelons, with the wide participation of all branches and social groups. We must show the masses the immediate benefits, as well as the long-lasting effect, of building combat villages so that they would resolutely carry out such a job, secure good quality, and satisfy the combat needs of each local area.

To strengthen the complete, direct, and absolute leadership of the local party committees over the militia and self-defense corps.

The absolute, direct, and complete leadership of local party committees is the basic condition for our militiamen and self-defense corpsmen to win victory in all fields of building, combat, and production.

Implementing the party Central Committee resolution dealing with a shift of direction of organizational work, many local party committees have correctly resolved the relations between production and combat, and between economic building and national defense; paid proper attention to strengthening leadership; and assumed direct leadership over the building of the militia and self-defense corps force.

Our experiences have clearly shown that if the party echelons were willing to develop the role of our militiamen and self-defense corpsmen in production and combat, they should attach proper importance to leadership over the various fields of activities of the militiamen and self-defense corpsmen, such as building, training, production, and combat; and continually urge and supervise the militiamen and self-defense corpsmen to execute all the resolutions of the local party committees.

On the basis of a full understanding of the party military line, we must combine the building of "four good" chi bo with the consolidation and development of the militia and self-defense corps; teach all party members to show their pioneering and example-setting role among the militia and self-defense corps ranks, in accordance with the slogan, "party members go first, other people follow"; and make all government organizations, cooperatives, and local people's groups extend their encouragement and assistance to the militiamen and self-defense corpsmen. Those are the key problems in connection with strengthening the militia and self-defense corps ranks.

Local military organs, which serve as the staff of party committeemen in military matters, must be further perfected. Those cadres working in these organs must be improved and must raise their basic understanding of leadership and guidance in the war of destruction and guerrilla warfare, of the organization of the joint command among the three arms, and of the behavior and work of the revolutionary military cadres.

The militia and self-defense corps constitute one of the three kinds

of revolutionary people's armed forces. Whether the militia and self-defense corps are strong or weak directly affects other people's armed forces. Therefore, the main-force and local units, wherever they may be stationed, must have the responsibility for helping the militiamen and self-defense corpsmen in both building and combat work.

Our people's fight against the U.S. for national salvation is approaching a bitter decisive period. Party committees of all levels must strengthen the leadership over the militia and self-defense force and develop the latter's big role in the current revolutionary struggle so as to make an active contribution to defeating the U.S. piratical aggressors, defending the north, liberating the south, and moving toward reunification of our fatherland.

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PUBLICIZING AND UNDERSTANDING THE PARTY'S MILITARY POLICY

Following is a translation of an article by Brigadier General Le Quang Hoa in the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 1, January 1966, pp. 60 - 64.⁷

Under the leadership of the Party, our people have experienced precisely a quarter of a century of armed struggle. During those 25 years our people have created brilliant victories while simultaneously gaining very valuable experiences in high-level peoples' warfare. With this high-level peoples' warfare, our people have brought fear and disappointment to the American imperialists and their lackeys in spite of their many efforts to promote their aggressive war in our country.

Our Party is a party with a wealth of experience in armed struggle leadership and building of armed forces. Under the leadership of the Party, our soldiers and people have defeated the Japanese fascists; defeated the aggressive war waged by the old-style French colonial imperialists who had American backing; and are now defeating the war of aggression of the new-style American colonial imperialists, the leaders of the world imperialists.

The revolution of our people has been very impressively led by our Party and has been the source of experiences of inestimable value. However, the task of summarizing our experiences is still not developed to the point desired and still does not meet the demands of the revolution. These experiences are not only necessary for our needs at present, but are also necessary for our brethren in other countries.

From here on we must continue to summarize our revolutionary struggle experiences. The magazine Hoc Tap thus is continuing to bring up subjects of discussion to study and deliberate

in the press. How can these subjects be best brought to life? As for means, there are large-sized articles, medium-sized articles and small-sized articles. But the essential point is to assure that many people take part in the discussion. The process of discussion is also the process of preparing to summarize and summarizing.

In discussing and summarizing the important thing is the means of presenting the enlightened characteristics and ingenuity of our Party's military policy.

According to the concept of our Party, the contents of our military policy are:

- The function of military tactics,
- The concept of strategy,
- The concept of peoples' warfare,
- The concept of peoples' armed forces,
- The military technique of peoples' warfare and the subject of the rear line support of local bases.

The contents of each of the subjects mentioned above are of special significance for our country.

The function of military tactics is determined by the function of revolutionary strategy. It is clear that the Vietnamese revolution in its present phase has two basic strategic functions. In addition, our Party also has international obligations.

Based on this revolutionary strategic function, our Party also has two military tactical obligations. In addition, our Party also has international obligations from the military standpoint.

To achieve the strategic obligations, it is necessary to have a correct strategical concept.

Our Party has two revolutionary strategic obligations and two military strategical obligations, so there are also two principles of strategy.

Should the enemy be able to press his regional warfare into an aggressive attack on North Vietnam, then all of our country will be a battlefield. In this case, the Party would have the responsibility for the general military strategy for the entire country, for the entire battlefield.

And to carry out its responsibility for military strategy, the Party also has an appropriate strategical concept.

A party, a nation, an army at any given time has two revolutionary strategical functions, two military strategical functions and two strategic principles. This is the nature of the Vietnamese revolution.

Peoples' warfare in Vietnam is revolutionary warfare developed to its highest degree and it has this all-the-people and all-encompassing nature because it is warfare that it is being carried out by the people in the present historical situation and because it is being waged for the basic rights of the

people, especially the rights of the working people, the workers and the peasants, under the leadership of a party following the enlightened and correct policies of Marxism-Leninism.

According to the concepts of our Party, the preparations for the armed uprising of the Party in World War II and the August General Uprising as well as the resistance against the French (1945 - 1954) and the present resistance against the Americans to save the country, are all within the realm of peoples' warfare.

By the nature of the Vietnamese revolution, the proletariat class is not only the leading class but, along with the working peasants, it forms the powerful regular forces of the revolution. It is not the proletariat class alone or the working peasants alone who are the regular forces of the revolution. Thus the uprising to win our rights also has these characteristics of the revolution. We cannot only have an uprising in the city and then attract the countryside to follow, nor can we only stage a general uprising in the countryside and then move to surround the cities from the countryside. Our form of armed uprising is to move from regional guerrillas and partial uprising to an uprising which simultaneously seizes the authority in both the cities and the countryside over a wide area when conditions are ripe for it.

Our country is not a big country and we do not have many people; thus we cannot both strike the enemy and cover every mile of road nor can we both attack and build our forces over a large rear line area. We must promote guerrilla warfare, both attack and stay in place, and both attack and build on the spot. Guerrilla warfare must be carried out on the spot, thus it is all the more suitable for a poor country such as ours. Our guerrilla warfare does not have to wait to attack hundreds or thousands of people, but one hamlet can be hit, one team can be hit, even one person can be hit. Enemy boats can be attacked, enemy tanks can be attacked, and even the jet planes of the enemy can be attacked. Guerrilla warfare in our country is not only used for tactical objectives or for military strategy alone, but has developed into a form and method of armed uprising of the peasants for winning political power.

In South Vietnam at present, it is not an armed struggle alone nor is it only a political power play. In South Vietnam there are presently two legs: the political struggle and the armed struggle, and they stand side by side. Embodied in specific actions are three coordinated points: military attack, political struggle and psychological warfare.

Due to the requirements of the peculiarities found in the warfare and the revolution of Vietnam, we have the concept of three regions: the urban region, the delta region and mountain and jungle region. All three regions have political forces and armed forces. All three regions have political struggles and

armed struggles which vary according to specific historical conditions. All three regions are closely coordinated with one another to defeat the enemy bit by bit, to gradually throw back the enemy until complete victory is won.

The key factor in the concept of the three regions is the problem of local bases. Our Party not only builds local bases among the forest of trees but among the forest of people as well. We rely upon the heart of the people. We not only build local bases in those places where the enemy is relatively weak and defenseless but also right in their cultural, economic and political centers. In the heart of the enemy we build by starting with contacts among the masses and go on to develop them into guerrilla bases strong enough to defend themselves and to carry out attacks. The resistance hamlet is a basic part of the guerrilla base and the local base. These are the fortresses so feared by the enemy troops. The resistance hamlet is a bonding of the hatred, the intelligence and the strength of the Vietnamese people with their native habitat.

The present strength of the soldiers and people of North Vietnam is comprised of three elements blended together. These are: a new system, new people and rudimentary as well as advanced technology. For people to be strong they must have weapons and technology. Modern weapons or rudimentary weapons - they are still weapons and are a form of technology. In other words, military technology, regardless of how advanced it is, in the final analysis aims at three points: to kill as many of the enemy as possible, to be as mobile as possible and to be as precise as possible (as was stated by Comrade Le Duan at the Congress of the Resolution of All Soldiers to Win, held on 8 August 1965). Thus, American troops with modern technology cannot cope with Vietnamese guerrillas and their plain and rudimentary weapons.

As for killing as many of the enemy as possible, this is the very essence of guerrilla warfare whereby a wind develops into a storm which destroys ever increasing numbers of the enemy.

As for being as mobile as possible, the "flight of the phoenix", the "spreading of news" or even the "First Cavalry" is not as fast as the guerrilla because the guerrilla is everywhere at all times. Guerrilla warfare is on-the-spot warfare. When the enemy comes, we are ready to welcome him; when the enemy is not around, we produce and build.

As for being as precise as possible, although the "Bun pop", the "Ran duoi keu" and the "Huc" missiles are guided by "magic-eye radar", they cannot compare in precision to the destructiveness and brave spirit of the South Vietnamese guerrilla brethren.

These things comprise the strength and superiority of guerrilla warfare and they are, at the same time, the strength

and superiority of the resistance hamlet. Thus can we say that resistance hamlet is the base of guerrilla warfare and is also the support for conventional warfare.

These are the concepts that portray the enlightened nature of peoples' warfare in South Vietnam.

Our peoples' armed forces are the revolutionary armed forces of the working people, the workers and the peasants, who fight for the rights of the working people. They are organized, educated and led by the party of the working class.

Our peoples' armed forces did not come about by improving upon and revolutionizing the army of the feudal imperialists. They were also not built in another country and then brought back to fight along side the people to liberate our country. They also are not a great force that is built at a revolutionary base and then spread throughout the country to liberate the country wherever it goes and also to establish the Party and a government after the liberation. Our peoples' armed forces are evolved from and enlarged by the revolutionary struggle movement of our people in all the areas of our country. The armed struggle of our Party is the continuation of the political struggle and is coordinated with the political struggle. During their struggle movement, the masses have selected the outstanding brethren in the revolutionary groups to develop into the armed forces of the locality. At first these forces were semi-independent and later they gradually became independent and larger. When the revolution was at a high tide throughout the country, the various local party committees everywhere took it upon themselves to build up their armed forces. And when the opportunity came, when the regular armed forces (Vietnam Liberation Army) were also advancing, the various local armed forces along with the revolutionary masses, under the leadership of the various local party committees, heroically rose up and seized power in their own localities.

It is clear that our peoples' armed forces have evolved from the various political groups and increased during the revolutionary movement of the masses. From the very time they were born, our revolutionary armed forces have taken the form of three types of troops. And at any given time we can also disperse a part of the regular army back to the localities to be armed bases and to develop guerrilla warfare. When the peoples' guerrilla forces have developed and are stable, they can gradually be pulled out and built into concentrated guerrilla forces and a local troop. Once the local troops are able to operate on an independent tactical basis, the regular army troops can then go back to building the regular armed forces. In practice the war in Vietnam has clearly shown that if any one of the three types of troops are weak, the other two will be hampered in their efforts to fight and promote the resistance. Only on the basis of a powerful peoples' guerrilla force can we

have a great force of local troops. Further, only on the basis of the latter two forces can we have a well trained regular army force.

To bring revolutionary warfare to a successful conclusion, there must also be a correct military technique: This is the military technique of peoples' warfare. The basis of this military technique consists of the tactics, strategy and operational techniques of peoples' warfare and the principles of correct guidance of the war.

Our military technique is profoundly saturated with the spirit of the people, the spirit of revolution and the class spirit of revolutionary armed struggle led by our Party. It is a military technique the nature of which is to take the strength of the spirit and defeat material strength, to take the weak and defeat the strong, to take the rudimentary and defeat the modern. We consider the masses of the people as the most basic element for assuring the victory of the war; we take the patriotic and thoroughly revolutionary spirit of the working class and the determined spirit of the armed forces to defeat the modern army of the imperialist aggressors.

The basis of our military technique is certainly not at odds with our history and the military essence of our forefathers. On the contrary, it is an adjunct to and development of this essence to a new degree, in a new historical situation.

In the various armed struggles against foreign aggression, to maintain our independence, our nation gradually evolved an outstanding ingenuity for military thinking. We have taken charity and justice and defeated the strong and tyrannical; we have taken the weak and defeated the strong; we have taken few and defeated many. Ngo Quyen lured the enemy in deep and then annihilated him. Tran Hung Dao withdrew temporarily from the fortress and then selected the proper time and location to defeat the enemy army step by step until the land was liberated. Le Loi and Nguyen Trai raised troops for an uprising in the mountains and jungles, set up places which could endure sustained attacks, and went on to completely defeat the enemy army. Nguyen Hue stimulated the zeal of the peasants, established a powerful army thereby, and exterminated the great army of the enemy in military operations that relied upon surprise and boldness (according to the article "Thoroughly Understand the Military Policy of the Party..." by Comrade Vo Nguyen Giap in Quan Doi Nhan Dan (Peoples' Army), No. 12, 1964). The virtues of strength and perseverance of our nation, along with the military genius of our forefathers, have been the primary contributors to the building of the military policies and military techniques of our Party in modern history.

Above are the enlightened concepts of our Party's military policy. The Party's magazine Hoc Tap (Studies) will do its best to call attention to these concepts by writing a series of

articles to explain them. This will have a two-fold effect of systematizing the discussions and offering guidance in the practical activities confronting us, and will contribute to the task of summarizing our experiences later. These articles are therefore very essential to our cadres and party members and are also very essential to the sharing of our experiences with the various brethren countries.

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A MAJOR FACTOR DETERMINING VICTORY IN THE WAR

[Following is a translation of an article by Le Phong in the Vietnamese-language periodical, Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 1, January 1966, pages 65-70 and 78.]

The U.S. imperialists have been loudly claiming that they have the most modern weapons, such as phosphorous bombs, improved napalm bombs, germ bombs, poisonous gas tanks, supersonic aircraft bearing such terrifying names as "Thunderchief," "Phantom," "Skyraider," strategic B52s, which can drop thousands of tons of bombs in a single raid, etc. In order to exert pressure upon our people's morale, they have aggressively threatened to use "power, power on land, power in the air, power whenever it is necessary." (Johnson's reply in an interview with the newspaper, News Work, 25-7-1965.) In the aggressive war in our country, they have so far used all the modern weapons (except atomic bombs) they have, mobilized all "talented generals," and applied all the "new" strategies and tactics. But the results are poorer and poorer. Our people have been giving them deserving punishments and making them become more and more bogged down in the war they have created themselves. Although weapons would not save them from a shameful defeat, the U.S. imperialists still rely on weapons and consider the latter as their life-saving shield, for their reactionary, aggressive, and war-provoking nature and activities are completely contrary to the interests of the great majority of the people of the world, including the U.S. people. It is the U.S. imperialists' character going against the people and the revolution that prevents them from relying, and daring to rely, on men. On the contrary, as our army and people fight for noble ideals and stay ready to sacrifice ourselves for the good cause, we have a power that cannot be defeated. Further developing this factor of superiority, we can defeat the U.S. aggressors, no matter how modern their weapons are and what form of war they are waging.

While underlining the effect of human determination in war, we do not deny the important effect of weapons, for we clearly understand that weapons in the hands of politically-educated people would greatly increase the latter's fighting power; for instance, hero Huynh Van Danh in the south killed eighty-two enemies with eighty bullets, and hero Nguyen Viet Khai in the north downed four enemy aircraft with eight rifle bullets. However, while it is true that weapons constitute a means to fight a war, they can never determine the outcome of a war. Whether weapons can develop their effect is determined by men, who use weapons. A set of bamboo spikes, a rudimentary weapon by itself, becomes a weapon that terrifies the enemy when it is used

by the Vietnamese guerrillas; our infantry rifles have already downed U.S. supersonic aircraft. This does not mean that bamboo spikes are stronger than cannons and that infantry rifles are better than rockets, but they are powerful because of men. On the contrary, in the hands of the U.S. aggressors, modern weapons have only limited effects; in many cases, such weapons even have adverse effects upon their users. Even nuclear weapons, which have tremendous destructive power, cannot change the law and nature of war, nor can they solve the basic contradictions in society. Nuclear weapons cannot seize any territory; at the end, one must depend on men to obtain victory in war. Moreover, in the present world situation, nuclear weapons are not the kind that can be used in any war, on any battlefield.

In analyzing the victory of the Prussian army in the Austrian-Prussian war, after affirming the effects of weapons, Engels spoke very clearly of the decisive role of men: "...but those guns cannot shoot by themselves, and instead must be used by brave hearts and firm hands," "what leads to victory in combat is not guns, but men." ("Excerpts from the Military Essays of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin," Vietnamese edition, People's Army Publishing House, Hanoi, 1964, page 122.)

After the October Revolution, Lenin also said: "In any war, victory is ultimately determined by the morale of the masses who are shedding blood on the battlefield... The masses' understanding of the purpose and origin of war is greatly significant and is what guarantees victory." (Same book, page 116.)

The above Marxist-Leninist arguments about the effects of men and weapons in war have been proven completely correct by many historical facts.

In the Second World War, under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, led by comrade Stalin, the Soviet people and army defeated Hitler's army, which had had superiority in both equipment and weapons, and finally won victory. The revolution of China, led by the Communist Party of China and comrade Mao Tse-tung, was also victorious despite the fact that Chiang's army, aided by the U.S., had had great superiority in weapons and equipment. In the 1950-1953 Korean war, the U.S. imperialists and their clique were many times more powerful than the Chinese volunteers' army and the Korean People's Army in regard to weapons and equipment, and were extremely ruthless. However, at the end, the victors were the Chinese volunteers and the Korean People's Army, not the U.S. imperialists.

Before our August Revolution, although our people did not have weapons, under the leadership of the party, we dared to face the French imperialists' big force. And after the Japanese fascists had come to trample on our land with arrogant attitude backed by the so-called "invincible power of the Imperial Army," our party, headed by President Ho, pointed to our people who were our friends and who were our foes, and helped our people to see clearly the enemy's temporary strength and the upgoing trend of the revolution; thanks to that leadership, all our people rose up to fight, defeated both the French

imperialists and the Japanese fascists, and established the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV). As we started the war of resistance against the French, our people's military force was still weak; our army not only was small, but also had poor weapons and equipment, difficulties in logistic facilities, and just a few combat experiences. However, armed with a warm patriotism and a great determination, our army and people had been bravely fighting the enemy for nine long years and gradually gaining strength from weakness, and finally defeated the half-a-million-strong French expeditionary corps, equipped with all sorts of modern weapons and aided by the U.S. imperialists.

In the last eleven years, the heroic people of the south were continuing to develop that glorious tradition. With two empty hands at first, they have risen up to kill the enemy with weapons seized from the latter, have gained strength from weakness, and have been defeating all the aggressive plans of the U.S. imperialists. Despite the fact that the U.S. imperialists have mobilized up to 200,000 troops, more than one-fourth of their regular officers, more than one-fourth of their naval force, almost all of their strategic reserve force in the Pacific; have sent (to South Vietnam) even "the strategic reserve force in the mainland"; and have been using all kinds of technical means and modern weapons, they have been beaten by the army and people of the south. Ever since they started a war of destruction against the north, the U.S. imperialists have mobilized a very large air force to attack continually night and day, and have been using all kinds of shrewd tactics; but the number of U.S. aircraft downed in the north is larger and larger. The army and people of the north have buried the myth about the so-called "absolute supremacy of the U.S. air force."

The revolutionary work in the world and in our country and our people's victories in both the north and the south have clearly proven that men, and not weapons, are the major factor that determines victory in a war. With bravery and determination, with a deep hatred for the enemy and warm patriotism, with a correct line on war, the revolutionary people and army, though poorly equipped, are completely capable of defeating the imperialists', even the U.S. imperialists', army equipped with modern weapons.

Who are the men that play the major role in determining victory in a war? The bourgeois military theoreticians also talk about men whom they consider as one of the three basic factors (men, weapons and military supplies, and money) of war. However, according to their concept, men are only the number of troops and the talent of their officers, but not the masses.

The U.S. imperialists have already relied on the generals, like Taylor, who they said were "the most talented" ones, and already sent 200,000 U.S. troops and troops from satellite countries to the south. They hope that their troops who greatly outnumber the Liberation Army of the south would win victory just because of their size. But those mercenaries, having no ideals to

serve, cannot beat our army and people even if they are further reinforced; on the contrary, the more troops the U.S. imperialists send to the south, the more shameful their defeat will be. This fact has been clearly demonstrated in the Van Tuong, Thuan Ninh, Danang, Chu Lai, Bau Bang, Pleime battles, in which the U.S. aggressors were badly beaten.

In the past, the U.S. imperialists suggested to the Diem-Nhu clique the use of various kinds of moral poisons, such as "spiritual personalism," "labor promotion," and "social progress," in order to create the human factor. The results of such deceitful measures of indoctrination led to the appearance of a number of devils who, with all their human senses gone, were "Americanized" to such an extent that they ate human liver, drank human blood, and disemboweled children just for fun. With such a "new moral value," which they kept repeating, and such men, whom they relied on, how could the latter become a factor to determine victory in war?

The men who we think play a decisive role in war are the masses. They are only the ordinary people, but thanks to their noble ideals they have been winning glorious battles and making big achievements in production.

They are the men who fight the enemy daringly and with intelligence and have nothing to eat but leaves in the forest for six months without slowing down their fighting, the girls who beat the enemy with bare hands and some tricks, the mothers who throw themselves onto the path of the enemy's cannon balls, the children who fight the enemy by putting sand in the enemy's barrels, the people who have suffered for more than twenty years from the enemy's ruthless tortures and still maintain their loyalty to the revolution...

They are the soldiers who shoot straight at the enemy's aircraft, the mothers who operate their junks under enemy fire to bring supplies of ammunition to our troops, the cooperative directors who offer their bodies as cannon holders right in the field, the militiamen who match their rifles with the modern U.S. aircraft, the children who know how to sacrifice themselves heroically for their friends...

They are also the people who are sweating to build a solid rear in order to increase the economic and military potentialities, thus serving the front. They are the young men who are concerned night and day with developing initiatives and improving techniques for higher productivity, the young women who see their soldiers-husbands off right in their back yards where they can start productive work without losing time, the teachers who are so much devoted to teaching children, the physicians who treat their patients with all their heart, the intellectuals who patiently study science and technology--all who are determined to defend our fatherland and the socialist revolutionary work, who are ready to sacrifice themselves for the revolution, the fatherland. It is these people who determine our victory in the war.

When we say men play a decisive role in war, we do not mean the number of men in our army, but we talk mainly about the fighting and combat-serving

spirit of our army and people. The size (of the army) of course has a definite effect, just like the way weapons play an important role in combat; that is why our party is always concerned with providing our soldiers with more and more modern combat means. However, the decisive factor here is not the number of soldiers, but their political quality and spirit. Talking about the factors that permanently act upon war, Stalin dealt with "the number and quality of the divisions," "the equipment, weapons, and means of war," "the organizing ability of the commanding cadres"; however, Stalin clearly demonstrated "the solidity of the rear" and "the spirit of the army" which he considered the important decisive factors. (Stalin: "About the Great Patriotic War," Russian edition, the State Political Literature Publishing House, Moscow, 1952, p.42.)

The fact that the U.S. army is losing does not mean that it has few men, or is short of weapons, or lacks the ability to fight on the part of the U.S. soldiers. In the past, in the war fought for independence, the U.S. rebellion army was short of weapons and had poor technical ability, but its men finally defeated the British colonial army equipped with new weapons and pretty good war techniques because they were fighting for a good cause and for their own interests--this explains why they had been able to overcome their weakness. But today the morale of the U.S. soldiers is low because they fight not for their own interests or for U.S. honor, as Johnson has tricked them into believing so, but for the safes of the top U.S. monopolizing capitalists. Moreover, before they set foot on Vietnam, they have been pessimistic because of the failures in China and Korea and scared by the resounding effects of the Dien Bien Phu battle; then, as they have to face the unbeatable strategy and tactic of the people's war, as well as the clever fighting method of our army and people, they tremble at the first sight of darkness and get panic-stricken when they see our guerrillas. In them, men and weapons seem to be two separate things, with the degree of efficiency of weapons and war means getting lower and lower; in many cases, in their panic, they use the same weapons to kill one another.

As to the puppet soldiers, they cannot have courage in fighting because they are despised and badly treated due to the fact that they have blindly followed the aggressors to kill their own compatriots and serve as a shield for the U.S. imperialists to get a few dollars. In the face of the successive and great victories of our army and people, the majority of the puppet soldiers more and more recognize the invincible force of the people and the clemency policy of the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam; as a result, the phenomenon of desertion, mass desertions, uprising, and returning to the people with weapons is growing faster. Even Walter Lippman, the U.S. commentator, had this to confirm: "The army of the South (the puppet army) has not surrendered, but it has low morale and a great deal of desertions...", "money, medals are not the main ingredients for building a solid dike to hold the stream that always flows inside any Vietnamese soldier (of the puppet army)." (Newsweek, 12 April 1965.)

In order to win victory in our war of resistance against the U.S. for

national salvation, we must do our best to develop revolutionary heroism, to strengthen the revolutionary will and sentiments of our army and people, and to build the men in our society in such a way that they become solid fortresses unaffected by any U.S. weapons or psychological-warfare arguments.

Why can our soldiers fight more courageously and cleverly than any imperialist armies? Why have our people created such heroic masses as those at Con Co, Quang Binh, the Nguyen Viet Xuan Antiaircraft Company 3, the 7th Naval Squadron, air units, etc.; and so many extremely heroic acts, such as those demonstrated by soldier Liem, who tore off the eye hit by an enemy bullet and continued to move forward to kill the enemy; by hero Nguyen Kim, who had stepped on a spike, but carried it with him while jumping into an enemy post to kill the enemy; by Tru Van Tho, who used his body to fill a hole for the cannon to stand on; by Nguyen Viet Xuan, who asked his comrades to cut off his badly wounded leg so that it would not bother him, and continued to lead and to encourage the cadres and soldiers under his command to keep shooting at the enemy; by Dang Dinh Long, who continued to bring in more ammunitions and to encourage his fellow soldiers to keep fighting in spite of his wounds; by Tran Hanh, that brave, intelligent, active pilot who defeated many modern U.S. aircraft; and by so many heroes who set brilliant examples everyday?

First of all, we must say that the main reason is a deep understanding of the class and national interests. For those who now stand near the cannons, on a ship, or on a battlefield, they know that their parents, their brothers, or they themselves used to live miserably, shamefully under the ruthless rule of the imperialists and feudalists. They hate the enemy very much, hate the regime of oppression and exploitation, and are determined to destroy the enemy to gain and to protect the fruit of the revolution.

President Ho has said: "Our people has a warm love for our country. It is our precious tradition. Throughout our history, whenever our fatherland was invaded, that spirit was once more aroused. It formed into an extremely powerful wave that would break any dangers, any difficulties. It sank all the traitors and aggressors." (Ho Chi Minh: "Political Report at the Second Party Congress," Selected Works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, page 366.) Our people's patriotic tradition has been inherited and brought up by our party with the most progressive ideology of our times, the socialist ideas, and therefore is now many times stronger.

Compared with the level attained during the war of resistance against the French, the level of understanding of social classes and national matters among our people in the north is much higher. During that war of resistance, the working people of our country were barely liberated, but today the working people in the north are completely liberated--they are the masters of their own lives--and therefore find their strength not only in their being liberated but also in their being collectively organized. The new production relations in society, the relations among comrades and in the collectivity constitute an extremely important factor that helps create our people's revolutionary heroism of today. At present, our people not only understand that we are fighting

for freedom and independence for all our country, but also understand what the revolution and the socialist system have brought to us and that we are fighting to protect what have become ours today and to move toward a bright socialist future with plenty of food and clothing and a prosperous life.

We must also say that our people understand that they are fighting for the revolutionary work and the common work for peace of people all over the world.

Understanding the motivations behind our people's heroic acts, we need to strengthen further the heroic men so as to win victory in our war of resistance against the U.S. for national salvation. In the work of strengthening men, we must first heighten the proletarian stand and views; make our people be capable of distinguishing friends and foes, and recognizing the stubborn nature of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys and the good cause in our struggle; and consequently sharpen our hate for the enemy and heighten our will to fight and our confidence in victory. Our effort to heighten the proletarian stand and views must be combined with the teaching of patriotism and proletarian internationalism so that our people would know how to combine the national and class interests, and the revolutionary interests of our country and those of the world. Fully confident in the Marxist-Leninist views, we must do our best to step up political and ideological education among our cadres, soldiers, and people. On the basis of sound revolutionary stand and ideas, we must also mobilize our people's spirit and desire to understand fully the technical knowledge connected with both combat and production. Having good political stand and high spirit makes one's learning and use of techniques better; having superior techniques helps to raise further one's spirit, confidence, and determination, and consequently provides him with more favorable conditions so that he could fulfill all his tasks in both combat and production.

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PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE ISSUES
DIRECTIVE ON HOC TAP

Following is a translation of an unsigned article in the Vietnamese-language journal Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, January 1966, No 1, pages 71-74.]

On 14 December 1965 the Party Central Committee issued Directive Number 116/CT-TU on "Raising the quality of the journal Hoc Tap in order to serve the task of opposing the United States, saving the country and continuing to build the material and technical base of Socialism." In the directive the Party Central Committee reviewed the execution of its directive of 7 April 1962 on the subject of improving the Party's theoretical journal. The Central Committee indicated that the editorial board of Hoc Tap, the Party segments at the various echelons and branches had executed its directive of 7 April 1962 with the result that the quality of the journal had been raised.

In evaluating the performance of Hoc Tap during the past several years the Central Committee in its new directive pointed out that "the journal Hoc Tap has propagated in a relatively concise and timely manner the large policies and lines of the Party; it has propagated the policy of socialist revolution and of building socialism in the North; it has propagated the Party line on the revolution in the South and on the struggle for the unification of the fatherland; it has propagated the foreign policy of the Party and the viewpoint of the Party on important international questions, contributing to the struggle to preserve the integrity of Marxism-Leninism and resist modern revisionism and dogmatism. Hoc Tap has propagated the policy on building the Party, illustrating a number of facets of Party life and contributing to the synthesizing of the historical experiences of the Party. Since April 1965 Hoc Tap has propagandized the resolution of the Party on the urgent situation and task. The journal has actively served the central operational



tasks of the Party and helped raise the political and theoretical level of cadre, Party members and cadre outside the Party; because of these things it has helped strengthen the unity of the Party and people. The Party cadre at the various echelons and in the various branches have used the journal as a document for studying the Party policies and lines. Many readers at home and abroad have written letters to the editor on the usefulness of the journal in their studies, research and assignments. Many foreign newspapers and publishers have translated and reprinted articles from the journal." In addition to affirming the achievements of the journal the Central Committee pointed out weaknesses and shortcomings in the magazine. According to the Party Central Committee, "The greatest weakness of the magazine is that the joining of theory with reality has not yet reached success."

The directive pointed out that "At present the revolution in our country is in a new stage of transformation. The whole country is at war at varying intensity in each region. Our people have an urgent task to fight the United States and save the country. Hoc Tap must play an important role in the ideological operations of the Party with the aim of helping assure the success of the fight to vanquish the United States in both parts of the country and the task of continuing to build socialism under wartime conditions.

The Party Central Committee pointed out that "in order to fulfill its task in the new situation Hoc Tap must to the best of its ability conform its editorial operations to the following precepts:

- 1 - Use Marxist-Leninist theory to illuminate the policy of fighting the United States and saving the country and make everyone understand clearly the new situation and requirements of the revolution, correctly appraise the insidious schemes of the American imperialists and their lackeys against our country, analyze the balance of forces between the enemy and us and point out the inevitability of our victory and the certainty of the enemy's defeat; understand clearly the new guidelines and policies on political, economic, cultural and defense matters and the domestic and foreign policies which the Party has proposed in the new situation. Compile articles which are of great merit for peoples warfare and national defense through the work of the entire population. In so doing make everyone have absolute confidence in the Party's policy on fighting the United States and saving the country, in one's duty both to resist and construct, develop revolutionary heroism, raise every level of endeavor, do one's best for the revolution and bring to success the struggle against the United States and for national salvation.

- 2 - Use Marxist-Leninist theory to further illuminate the policy of socialist revolution and the position on continu-

ing to build socialism in the North under conditions of war. Serve well the work of building the material and technical base of Socialism in accordance with new rules which are in harmony with the new situation. Make clear the relationship between production and combat and between the work of building socialism and the work of fighting the Americans and saving the country. Serve well the three revolutions in the North: the revolution in production relationships, the technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution. Pay special heed to the technological revolution while at the same time focus on completing the revolution in production relationships and stepping up the ideological and cultural revolution.

While propagandizing the policies on socialist revolution and building socialism in the North it is necessary to use theory to bring light on the problem of the relationship between socialist reform and socialist construction, between industry and agriculture, between accumulation and consumption, between the economic base and building the superstructure, between building the economy and strengthening the national defense. In the new situation it is important to clearly define the status of central and regional industry, of the economy of the plains, of the economy of the delta, of the economy of the mountain areas, of production and distribution, of cultural and social work.

In concert with the work of teaching about the new situation and duty it is necessary to propagandize the campaign to improve the management of the cooperatives and to improve agricultural techniques, the campaign "three constructive things, three destructive things" in the branches of the state economy and the campaign to bring compatriots from the delta up to join in the economic and cultural development of the mountains, while at the same time propagandizing the movement of emulation "each person does the work of two", and the movement "three readinesses" and "three assumptions of responsibilities" with the objective of stepping up production, increasing labor productivity and operational efficiency and strengthening the work of preparing to fight and to fight well.

It must contribute to the consolidation and strengthening of the people's democratic dictatorial government, at the heart of which is the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the aim of building and preserving the socialist North, liberating the South and advancing toward the unification of the fatherland.

3 - Propagandize the Party's viewpoints on important international questions, actively participate in the work of preserving the integrity of Marxism-Leninism, struggle against modern revisionism which is the chief danger in the international communist movement while at the same time opposing dogmatism; restore and strengthen the unity in the socialist camp and in

the internationalist communist and workers movement; support the national liberation movement of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples; support the struggle movement for democracy and socialism of the working class and working people of the capitalist countries; struggle against the war-making imperialist gang led by the American imperialists, and contribute to the preservation of peace in Southeast Asia and throughout the world.

4 - Serve the task of building the Party in regard to ideology and organization; propagandize the policy on building the Party; point out the good types; at the same time, criticize examples of negativism in the life of the Party; struggle against rightist thinking and, chiefly, influences of modern revisionism and at the same time prevent and conquer leftist thinking and the sickness of formal and mechanical dogmatism.

5 - In cooperation with the organs responsible contribute to synthesizing the historical experiences of the Party with particular regard to the work of building the Party, the operation of a united people's front, armed struggle and building a people's armed forces, building the government administration, the August Revolution, agrarian reform etc.. By synthesizing the historical experiences of the Vietnam revolution make the cadre and Party members clearly see that our Party has creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of our country in determining the correct line of policy and in leading the revolution in our country from one victory to another. In this way increase the confidence of everyone in the leadership of the Party and encourage everyone to develop a spirit of constructiveness, initiative and creativity in his own work. The proper synthesis of the Party's historical experiences will be a positive contribution to the preparation for the Fourth Party Congress.

The revolutionary experience of both parts of our country is extremely rich. The experiences of building the material and technical base of socialism according to the new rule of action which fits the situation of the entire country at war with the United States, the experience in opposing the United States war of destruction -- principally by air -- in North Vietnam and the experience of armed struggle joined with political struggle in South Vietnam etc... must be synthesized by the responsible Party organs in order to illuminate the revolutionary line of our country and help strengthen the leadership of our Party. Hoc Tap must make positive contributions to this synthesis and it must mirror in a timely fashion the experiences which can be mirrored in the press.

The 14 December 1965 Directive of the Party Central Committee pointed out: "the new situation and new duty of the revolution demands that Hoc Tap raise its quality further, raise its combativeness and guidance, and at the same time assure

that its theoretical quality is uplifted. Hoc Tap must be of timely service to the immediate revolutionary task while, at the same time, maintaining its role as the theoretical organ of the Party. The responsibility of Hoc Tap is very heavy. Regardless of how intense the situation of struggling to oppose the United States and to save the country becomes Hoc Tap must overcome its difficulties and continue to publish in order to foster the theoretical development in the Party."

The directive pointed out "Hoc Tap must raise its quality in order to meet the needs of the new situation and task. The directive also proposes concrete measures for raising the quality of Hoc Tap."

In regard to the distribution of the journal the directive pointed out "It is necessary that Hoc Tap be disseminated to the basic organization of the Party in order to meet the study and research needs of the cadre and Party members." The Party Central Committee urges the Party committees at all echelons to stimulate and supervise the reading of Hoc Tap so that it will be of timely use to the operational tasks of the Party. 'Reading the journal is an obligation for Party cadre.'"

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PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE DIRECTIVE ON
NHAN DAN

Following is a translation of an unsigned article in the Vietnamese-language journal Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, January 1966, No 1, pages 74-76.]

Recently, the Party Central Committee issued a directive on "The responsibility of Nhan Dan to the new situation and task of the revolution." In extolling the achievements of Nhan Dan during the past several years the directive pointed out that "under the direct leadership of the Party Central Committee, with the records that have been reached Nhan Dan is the flag which flies above the press front of the Party." At the same time the directive pointed out shortcomings of Nhan Dan such as deficiencies in timeliness, thoroughness and conciseness.

After pointing out that the Vietnam revolution is taking a large step into a new period the directive stated: "in the face of the new situation, Nhan Dan, the central organ of the Party, must struggle to develop its propaganda, campaign and organizational abilities to the highest level in order to help the whole Party and all the people successfully carry out the aforementioned tasks."

The directive of the Party Central Committee pointed out: "The contents of the propaganda of Nhan Dan must embrace and satisfy the following three basic requirements:

"1 - Develop a new man with revolutionary thoughts and feelings, with a continually rising sense of patriotism and level of socialist consciousness. The chief element of this requirement is revolutionary heroism which embodies in particular a courageous will, self-denial for the sake of the fatherland and socialism, absolute loyalty to the fatherland and socialism, a sense of serving as the collective boss of the country, and as the collective boss of the enterprise, workcamp, farm, cooperative, cultural and social organ, government and community organ etc.; a spirit of self-sufficiency, of ironlike

will to overcome every difficulty, complete every task and defeat every enemy. This principal element must be seen as the premise and foundation for making everyone accept the revolutionary line of the Party and for transforming that line into the will of the masses and the self-conscious action of the individual.

"2 - Make the whole Party and all the people understand fully and firmly and with absolute confidence in the revolutionary line, policy and viewpoint of the Party including:

"a) The line on resolute struggle against imperialism, most importantly the current line on opposing the United States and saving the country, closely joined with the overall line of the Vietnam Revolution on opposing imperialism from before until now and from now into the future.

"b) The revolutionary line on socialism in the North, including the task of building socialism and completing socialist reform, carrying out the three closely-allied revolutions: the revolution in production relationships, the technological revolution and the cultural and ideological revolution.

"c) The viewpoint and position of our Party on the world revolutionary line, on strengthening the unity of the socialist camp and the international Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarianism, on the struggle to preserve the integrity of Marxism-Leninism, oppose its chief threat, revisionism, and oppose dogmatism.

"In propagandizing the line and viewpoint above we must try to make the great mass of Party members and people clearly understand that this line and point of view are the result of our Party having creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of Vietnam; they are the result of the correct union between Marxist-Leninist theory and the reality of the Vietnamese revolution; they are basic principles and concrete truths of the Vietnam revolution, the best and most accurate compass for all of our actions.

"3 - On the basis of the two aforementioned requirements step up every revolutionary activity concentrating on the struggle to defeat the invading American pirates; on the movement of emulation in production and construction aiming at completing the tasks of the government plans, especially agricultural and industrial production plans; on bringing the military into science, on bringing science to the masses and stimulating the masses (especially the great mass of workers and peasants of the cooperatives) to advance forward in their understanding and application of scientific and technical knowledge, while at the same time using their own practical experiences to enrich science and technology in our country."

The directive of the Party Central Committee pointed out that in order to properly accomplish its duties in conformity with the aforementioned requirements Nhan Dan must struggle to

raise the quality of its operations as seen in the use of the various news formats. The three principal formats are the discussion format which includes editorials, commentary and propaganda essays etc.; the news format which includes news, news agency items and detailed coverage etc.; and the reflective format which includes news features, investigative articles, and narrative articles, etc..

In regard to the discussion format, we must struggle to raise the quality of theory and join theory to reality in each specific situation; and relying on the rich and lively material from daily life and on new elements, the new type of man, and new work provide an insight to and faithfully mirror the viewpoint of the Party Central Committee and correctly answer the anxieties of the masses.

In regard to the news format, we must struggle to assure the intellectual aspect (in consonance with the position, point of view and propaganda policies of the Party), the aspect of timeliness (promptness and instancy) and the aspect of accuracy (correct data, correct scale, correct position). News must occupy a suitable portion of the paper and must represent a serious collective effort at editing and, at all costs, must not be done in a careless or expedient fashion.

As for the reflective format, we must attempt to probe deeply into the life and thinking of the masses, sensitively and faithfully mirroring the thoughts and feelings of the masses, uphold every manifestation of revolutionary heroism in the combat and production experience of the masses, hold high the new type of man and the new work, display every achievement of the masses, and at the same time, clearly show the difficulties and shortcomings and point out the direction of the efforts and the basic measures with the aim of overcoming the obstacles on the people's road to progress. The reflective format is of great importance in making Nhan Dan truly a newspaper of the masses. That format is chiefly designed for the masses to relate their own thoughts, feelings and undertakings, and for recording the voice of the masses.

The aforementioned three types of format must always be closely and systematically related and balanced, in every instance, they must embrace the central problems in order to portray the problems in a thorough and lively manner. Moreover, within fixed periods of time, Nhan Dan must treat exhaustively and present in a balanced fashion all of the basic subjects: fight to oppose the United States in the North and the South; step up agricultural and industrial production, especially agricultural production, and at the same time, give attention to regional industries and handicrafts, communications and transportation, and the implementation of economics; the technical revolution and the problem of advancing the military into science; the life of the masses in regard to the two aspects of

economics and culture; problems relating to the Party, government and revolutionary groups; the world situation and international events.

In addition to the aforementioned points on raising the quality of the various types of format, Nhan Dan must improve its literary style and raise its technical proficiency with regard to other matters such as pictures, photographs, illustrations etc..

The directive of the Party Central Committee pointed out "The duty of Nhan Dan to the new revolutionary situation and task is a very serious one. Nhan Dan must unceasingly struggle to uphold its role as the central organ of the Party in the realm of propaganda, mobilization, and political and ideological education." As for dissemination the directive said that Nhan Dan must reach all of the Party cells and people in the most expeditious manner. It must struggle to do well its task of serving as the collective organizational, campaign and propaganda instrument for the Party members and masses.

The directive pointed out that in order to raise the quality of the newspaper the cadre of the paper must study the arguments and gain an understanding of the lines and policies of the Party and of the production and combat experiences of the people and ceaselessly work to improve their qualities and virtues and raise their cultural, professional and political levels.

The directive clearly stated that Nhan Dan must have a broad reaching network of correspondents in all the regions; a network of collaborators and news agents in the branches and at the various echelons; it must pay special attention to mobilizing and stimulating the cadre and readers to write articles and supply news; it must actively compete for the work of writers and of the people who work on scientific and technical projects.

Under the close direction of the Political Department and Secretariat, and with the efforts and cooperation of the whole Party Nhan Dan will fulfill its serious and glorious duties in the new situation.

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STRENGTHEN THE INFORMATION AND AGITATION WORK

[Following is a translation of an unsigned article in the Vietnamese-language periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 1, January 1966, pages 77-78.]

The information and agitation work is an important part of the Party's ideological work. During the past several years the propaganda and education work of the Party and State has, generally speaking, made great progress, especially during the concentrated campaigns to propagandize the major stands and policies. The permanent information and agitation work among the broad masses, however, is still weak. Therefore, many concrete policies, many of the Party's viewpoints regarding many current domestic and foreign topics, many good experiences in production and combat, and many good examples in the mass competitive movements, have not been given timely and broad dissemination among the masses. The reason for this is that there is not yet a State organ responsible for seeing to it that there is concentrated and united leadership with regard to the contents, forms, and execution of the information and agitation work.

In order to correct the above-mentioned situation, the Party Central Committee and the Government have decided to establish a Main Information Office, and an information system encompassing the various echelons, in order to promote the permanent information and agitation work. The mission of the information sector is to contribute to introducing the lines, policies, and stands of the Party and State, and the decisions and viewpoints of the Party and State regarding important current affairs both within and without our nation, to the broad masses, in the most correct and rapid manner; to assure the good performance of all production and combat work; and to go all out in supporting the revolution in the South and meeting our international responsibilities.

The instructions of 23 December 1965 of the Party Central Committee regarding "strengthening the information and agitation work" established the mission of the information sector to be as follows:

1. To disseminate widely the lines, policies, and methods of the Party and State, the important domestic and foreign current events, and the major stands of the various echelons and sectors, in order to carry out the resolutions of the Party Central Committee and the Government and cause every citizen, at all times and in all places, to realize clearly the situation he is in and what he must do, and to voluntarily and positively achieve the lines and policies of the Party and State with regard to politics, economics, culture, national defense, etc.

2. To teach profound hatred toward the American imperialists and their lackeys, develop to a high degree among the people the spirit of heroism, and to cause everyone to unite closely, struggle heroically, and be resolved to fight and defeat the American imperialists under any circumstances, in order to defend the North, liberate the South, and advance to the unification of the Fatherland.

3. To propagandize and promote the technological revolution; to mobilize the masses, especially youths, to enter into science and technology; and to give timely dissemination to good examples, innovations, and experiences regarding production and combat.

The instructions of the Party Central Committee brought forth for the information work the following slogans:

1. "In accordance with the viewpoints, lines, and policies of the Party."

2. "Quickly, effectively, timely, and sharply."

3. "Appropriate to each objective and region, specific, lively, and attractive."

4. "Extensive and permanent among the masses."

5. "Strong enough to direct the activities of the masses."

The activities of the information are energetic and permanent, and are carried out in lively propaganda forms that have broad mass characteristics.

In the immediate future, the work of the information sector must be aimed toward providing materials on current events and the policies which must be disseminated timely and widely among the people; promoting broadcasting and transmission; giving guidance in radio listening and newspaper reading, and guiding the people in obeying the radio stations and newspapers; assuring the dissemination of the slogans regarding the principal missions of the Party and State; developing and improving the quality of activist posters, propaganda films, and organizing exhibitions which serve the principal missions of the Party and State; improving the meetings, demonstrations, and discussions; building a system of information offices, even down to the cooperative level; and organizing mobile information teams.

The instructions of the Party Central Committee reminded the various Party echelons to positively build an information system of various levels, especially at the district and local levels; to strengthen the leadership of the information work; to train and strengthen information cadres; to approve the information sector's propaganda stands of each period; and to assure the materials and facilities essential to the activities of the information sector.

The strict observance of the instructions of the Party Central Committee regarding the strengthening of the information and agitation work will facilitate the mobilization of our entire population to produce and fight, and will enable the struggle to resist America and save the nation to win a complete victory.

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GREAT VICTORIES OF THE HEROIC CUBAN PEOPLE

[Following is a translation of an article by
Nguyen Thanh Ha in the Vietnamese-language
periodical Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 1,
January 1966, pages 79-82.]

On January 1st of this year the people of Cuba observed, in an atmosphere of extreme happiness and enthusiasm, the seventh anniversary of the formation of their socialist Republic of Cuba. During the past several years the heroic people of Cuba have victoriously overcome countless difficulties and hardships, stand firmly on the front lines of the resistance to the American imperialists in the Western Hemisphere, and serve as a model of unyielding revolutionary struggle against imperialism for hundreds of millions of people in the Americas.

Today the Cuban people are truly the masters of their nation and of their destiny. By resolutely suppressing the internal counter-revolutionaries and annihilating all spies and guerrillas flung in by the American imperialists to engage in destructive activities, the Cuban revolutionary regime has become stronger and stronger. This victory proves that the Cuban people, educated by the Cuban revolutionary regime led by Premier Fidel Castro, have a spirit of vigilance, are prepared to fight, and always maintain their revolutionary unity against their Number One enemy, imperialist America.

Furthermore, the revolutionary regime of Cuba has, during the past several years, resolutely led the Cuban people in carrying out decisive social reforms. Today, the Cuban people have essentially eliminated the semi-colonial, semi-feudal production relations of the old regime and have essentially completed the building of new, socialist production relations. In the country-

side the Cuban revolutionary regime, in the course of a two-stage land reform (the first stage began at the beginning of 1959 and the second stage began at the end of 1963), and relying on the support and positive participation of the broad masses of the Cuban people, have essentially eliminated the system of land ownership by the great landlords, capitalists, and rich peasants, while building a state-operated sector which includes more than 80% of the total cultivated acreage.

In industry, the Cuban revolutionary regime has completely eliminated private ownership in most of the wholesale and foreign-commerce sectors, and have built a system of ownership by the socialist state.

In only a few years, therefore, the system of man exploiting man has been eradicated, and Cuba has become the first socialist nation in the Western Hemisphere, revealing to hundreds of millions of workers on that continent the path of constant revolution, from revolution for national liberation to socialist revolution, which is the path of eradicating poverty and hunger at their roots.

On the basis of the new, socialist production relationships, the Cuban people have made great advances in developing production and improving their living standards.

In agriculture, the Government and people of Cuba have paid their utmost attention to restoring land that has gone to waste, and to developing water resources, and have therefore increased the cultivated acreage of Cuba by more than half a million hectares over the pre-revolutionary total. In addition to increasing its acreage, Cuba has also made great efforts to achieve intensive cultivation, to improve agricultural and animal husbandry techniques, and to develop the water resources work in order to prevent floods and droughts.

Sugarcane has always been the principal agricultural product of Cuba. During the past year Cuba began to mechanize sugarcane harvesting and loading, and was therefore able to achieve rapid and complete harvests. In addition to the peasants' competitive movement to increase the efficiency of sugarcane harvesting, with its slogans of "Every stroke of the sugarcane-cutting knife is a blow against the American bandits," "One hand cutting sugarcane, one holding a weapon," etc., a movement to volunteer to go to the countryside to harvest sugarcane developed seethingly among the people of the cities, the cadres, and the troops. Therefore, good results were attained last year in growing and harvesting sugarcane, and Cuba's production of sugar in 1965 surpassed its goal of six million tons, increasing 37.6% over that of 1964.

Animal husbandry occupies the second position in Cuba's agricultural development plan. In order to develop this sector, the Cuban Government has taken the stand of making it more intensive. Before the revolution, the capitalists raised an average of about 12-13 cattle per caballeria (equal to 13.43 hectares), but now Cuba raises an average of from 50-60 cattle on one caballeria. Some demonstration animal husbandry stations have achieved a productivity of 60 cows per caballeria, and have attained 720 liters of milk per day. In addition to stock-selection and building good breeding lines, Cuba has also endeavored to lower animal husbandry production costs by growing more grass, thus reducing and gradually eliminating the need to import animal feed. Cuba's struggle goal for the next six or seven years is to increase the number of its cattle to about 12 million, so that it can export meat and milk. Cuba's chickens and ducks have also increased in number, and provide 70 million eggs a month.

With regard to rice, before the revolution Cuba produced only 100,000 tons a year; but now it produces about 200,000 tons and meets half of its needs, and has therefore appreciably reduced its food imports.

Cuba's production of beans and corn has also increased over that of the pre-revolutionary period; specifically, the production of corn is 20 times greater than in 1959. Furthermore, Cuba also pays attention to developing such non-rice food crops as taro, manioc, etc.

With regard to fishing, Cuba pays attention to developing its fishing fleet, in order to increase its catch of fish, and urges its people to eat fish instead of meat.

Cuba has deposits of such valuable minerals as iron ore, nickel, chromium, cobalt, copper, etc. The Cuban people have a seething revolutionary spirit and a spirit of enthusiastic, creative labor. These are very advantageous conditions under which Cuba can develop a national, independent, and autonomous economy. Cuba's yearly output of electricity, which before the revolution was 600,000 kilowatt/hours, has risen to 900,000 kilowatt/hours, and in the future will increase to 1,200,000 kilowatt/hours. Cuba's steel production, which is now 100,000 tons a year, will in four years increase to 350,000 tons a year. Its yearly cement production is now 800,000 tons. Cuba also has mechanical and chemical industrial bases which serve agriculture.

With regard to external commerce, sugar accounts for about 70% of the total value of Cuba's exports, minerals account for about 7%, and tobacco accounts for about 5%. The principal imports are raw materials and equipment, the other imports consisting of foodstuffs and consumer goods.

Because of the development of production, the lives of the Cuban people have been clearly improved during the past seven years. Unemployment, which in the past was a social disaster which kept nearly 400,000 Cubans and their families half dead and half alive, has been completely eliminated. The housing shortage in the cities has been notably alleviated. In the countryside, tens of thousands of unsanitary houses of scrap tin have been replaced by tens of thousands of new brick houses. Before the revolution, only 11% of Cubans could drink milk, but now nearly all do. Before the revolution, the Cuban people consumed only about 200,000 tons of sugar a year, but now they consume from 400,000 to 450,000 tons.

Culturally, Cuba is the first nation in the Western Hemisphere (including North America) to have completely eliminated illiteracy. Cuba is now developing an advanced education with the slogan of uniting education with productive labor. Pupils and students both study in schools and engage in manual labor and study at state farms and in factories and enterprises, or in the schools' own shops. In many technical schools, students have on-the-job training three days a week. Many general-education agricultural schools have been opened to provide general education to students while training them to be agricultural workers with knowledge of agricultural science. Because the cultural level of the Cuban people has risen constantly, during the past several years Cuba has printed many more books than were published in Cuba throughout the whole interval before the revolution.

The development of Cuba during the past seven years proves that it has many favorable natural and social conditions for building by their own efforts an independent, autonomous, and prosperous nation. Cuba's accomplishments in all fields, and its very existence during the past seven years, have a very important significance. Cuba is the first truly free and independent nation, and the first socialist nation, in the Western Hemisphere. In heroic Cuba there is a seething spirit of revolutionary struggle against imperialism, and a spirit of enthusiastic labor to build a new way of life that is truly free and happy. Cuba is a model and a source of inspiration for the people of Latin America, the colored people, and the workers of North America, in their struggle for their rights and for bright futures.

The more the Cuban people become bound to their revolution, and the more resolutely they defend the results of their revolution and win the sympathy and support of the people of the Americas and the workers of the world, the more angry and insane the American imperialists and their reactionary lackeys become, and the more they endeavor to annihilate the Cuban revolution. The American imperialists will never resign themselves to the permanent loss of Cuba, which they in the past regarded as their

"sugar bin" and "bathing beach." Nor will they ever allow the rays of the lighthouse of the Cuban revolution to light the way to liberation for millions of miserable Latin Americans and for millions of hungry, threadbare, unemployed Negroes and workers in America. Whether it be the Eisenhower administration, the Kennedy administration, or the Johnson administration, the American imperialists have used every cruel, wily trick in attempting to strangle Cuba.

But all of the vengeful plans of the American imperialists and their lackeys regarding Cuba have been smashed by the heroic people of Cuba. During the past seven years the socialist Republic of Cuba has not only continued to exist, but has become stronger every day in every way.

The people of Vietnam are proud to have such close friends as the heroic people of Cuba. Although they are thousands of miles apart, they stand together on the front lines of the struggle against America and man the outposts of the socialist bloc. The people of Vietnam and Cuba have, during the past seven years, always been close to each other, have supported each other, and have made each other's victories in the struggle to oppose America and build socialism sources of mutual encouragement and stimulation in production and combat. The Government and people of Cuba completely support the four-point stand of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Five-Point Declaration of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam regarding the Vietnamese situation. The people of Cuba follow daily and hourly, and with profound feeling, the struggle to resist America and save the nation of the people of North and South Vietnam. The resounding victories of our people at Binh Gia, Van Tuong, Bien Hoa, Bau Bang, Plei Mei, Plei Me Rong, Con Co, Bach Long Vi, Vinh Linh, Quang Binh, Nghe An, etc., are remembered by the Cuban people, who recall them with special feeling, for they are similar to such historic events of the Cuban revolution as Moncada, Sierra Maestra, Giron, Goranma, etc., which are familiar to the people of Vietnam. The name of the heroic martyr Nguyen Van Troi has been engraved deeply in the hearts of all Cubans, and has entered into each factory, state farm, factory, school, and army unit, constantly encouraging the soldiers and people of Cuba to devote all their revolutionary ardor to production, study, and military training. There are, furthermore, many other beautiful and moving images of the brotherhood between the peoples of Vietnam and Cuba. Tens of thousands of Cuba have donated their clothing, and have volunteered to work after-hours to launder them and pack them for shipment to the people of Vietnam. Thousands of Cuban youths have registered to go to fight alongside the people of Vietnam against the American bandits, the common enemy of the two nations. Most moving of all were the events of 8 June 1965, when the Antonio Ghitera Sugar Refinery (Oriente Province) was

sacking the last sugar of Cuba's 1965 production plan of six million tons of sugar. Premier Fidel Castro went personally to that sugar mill and sent the final sack of sugar to the people of Vietnam as a symbol of the accomplishments in labor and combat of the peoples of the two nations.

Commemorating this year's National Day of Cuba, the Vietnamese people are extremely happy and enthusiastic over the great victories won by the Cuban people during the past seven years. The people of Vietnam hope that the people of Cuba win many new, even greater victories in their struggle to oppose the American imperialists, defend their national independence, and build socialism.

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ALL PROGRESSIVE PEOPLE SUPPORT
US AGAINST THE AMERICAN AGGRESSORS

[Following is a translation of an article by
Luu Quy Ky in the Vietnamese-language period-
ical Hoc Tap (Studies), Hanoi, No. 1, January
1966, pages 83-88.]

In the process of waging their dirty war of aggression against our nation, the American imperialists have not only run up against the heroic, resolute resistance of our people, but have also run up against the strong opposition of the peace-loving, justice-loving people of the world. During the past several years, every time the American imperialists have taken a step forward on their path of criminal armed aggression against Vietnam, the world movement supporting Vietnam against America has developed more strongly and deeply. The more victoriously our people's just struggle develops, the more it wins the sympathy and support of the people of the world, and the more isolated the American imperialists become.

Although the American imperialists try to whitewash their aggressive plots with other tricks, they cannot conceal from the people of the world their true selves -- the aggressors against Vietnam, the Number One enemy of peace and democracy, and the most cruel international military policeman.

Since 5 August 1964, when the American imperialists madly expanded their war of aggression to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, an autonomous, socialist nation, the indignation of the democratic, progressive forces, and of the people of the whole world, has become very strong. A movement opposing the American imperialists' aggression has risen on a scale never before seen in the world. That movement has become stronger and stronger all over the world, in rich, lively forms, and has led to the

actual formation of a united international front opposing the aggressive American imperialists. It may be said that this is the greatest international movement ever to support the struggle movement of a nation. And this is also an eloquent proof of the nature of the present revolutionary age.

From the point of view of the scale of the movement supporting the Vietnamese people against the aggressive American imperialists, we may note the following points:

In only a short period of time, the movement has rapidly spread to all nations of the world. In these nations, there are at least representative newspapers and individuals which protest the Americans' war of aggression in Vietnam. In other nations, where the movement has developed more strongly, there are mass organizations and student, intellectual, and religious circles which organize meetings and demonstrations, and which march shouting slogans and urging support for Vietnam against the aggressive American imperialists. Many governments of nations outside the socialist bloc have condemned the aggressive acts of America and support the stands of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam regarding the Vietnamese situation. In a period of only two months (from 22 March to 22 May 1965), the Declaration of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam won the official support of 22 governments, 12 international organizations and regional organizations, and hundreds of parties and mass organizations in 92 nations. And the National Liberation Front has established relations with the political organizations and governments of 44 nations.

The nations of the socialist bloc all support Vietnam spiritually, politically, and materially, and even in the nations outside the socialist bloc the movement supporting Vietnam has won the participation of the various social classes. In addition to the workers and young students, usually the forces which march in the vanguard in the struggles against America, the movement has also won over many people of the middle and upper classes, including those who are socially active and politically progressive as well as well-known scientists, writers, and educators. The mass adherents of such religions as Buddhism, Christianity, etc., in many capitalist nations, who had previously seldom participated in open political struggles, have also struggled strongly against the crimes of the American imperialists in Vietnam.

A matter of great significance is the fact that the movement has developed rather strongly even in strategic areas, the safe "rear area" which is supplying manpower, financial support, and material support for America's aggressor army, such as America itself, such "dependable allies" of America as England, Canada,

Japan, and West Germany, and such vassal states as Australia and New Zealand, etc., which are contributing to America's aggressive plot in Vietnam.

Furthermore, America's policy of aggression in Vietnam has been attacked and condemned at many international conferences, in many newspapers and periodicals, and on many television stations. On these lecture platforms the American imperialists have been exposed as an aggressor, the Number One enemy of mankind, which is now more isolated than ever.

A strong spirit of struggle, rich struggle forms, concrete and practical struggle slogans, and an international mission which is closely bound to the separate revolutionary missions of the people of each nation -- these are also characteristics of the movement to support Vietnam against America.

After only a little more than a year, since 5 August 1964, and especially since 7 February 1965, when the American imperialists officially expanded the war to North Vietnam, the struggle spirit of the people of the world has been mobilized to the point where every act of the Americans to increase their armed aggression and commit crimes in Vietnam is immediately protested by world opinion. When the Americans bombed the Ban Thach dam and the Quynh Lap hospital in the North, and used poison gas, used B-52 strategic bombers to destroy large areas, and cowardly executed heroic Nguyen Van Troi in the South, they were condemned and opposed immediately.

Depending on the situation and specific conditions of each nation, the people of the various nations have used such lively, practical struggle forms which manifest the knowledge and deep sentiments of the masses as demonstrating; destroying American embassies and information centers; "surrounding" and "attacking" the war-mongering chieftains of the American Government whenever they dare to expose themselves before the masses; striking, stopping work, and refusing to transport American arms to Vietnam; organizing large conferences to debate the Vietnamese situation; contributing medicine, money, clothing, etc., to the Vietnamese people; obstructing trains carrying American soldiers bound for Vietnam; burning draft cards and demonstrating before the American Department of Defense, and even burning themselves up in protest; inaugurating national movements to study Nguyen Van Troi and increase labor productivity in order to produce more with which to help Vietnam (such as in the socialist nations: China, Korea, Cuba, etc.); and registering to volunteer to fight in Vietnam against the American aggressors, and in some places even forming units and fully arming themselves so that whenever need be they can go to fight in Vietnam.

When acting in support of Vietnam against America, the people of many nations have paid attention to uniting their international obligation with the revolutionary missions of their own nations. Therefore, the movement has progressed strongly and constantly, from one stage to another. In Cambodia, for example, the condemnation of the American imperialists' aggression in Vietnam is united with the condemnation of the violation of Cambodia's border by the American imperialists and their lackeys, and their killing of Cambodians and intervention in Cambodia's internal affairs. In Laos, the support of the Vietnamese people against America is united with the struggle for a peaceful, neutral, ethnically integrated Laos, and with opposition to the American imperialists' aggression in Laos. In Indonesia (in the past), support for Vietnam was manifested by the expropriation and nationalization of a number of American enterprises and plantations. In Japan, the struggle to oppose America and support Vietnam is united with opposition to American military bases in Japan, to the reactionary Japanese government's alliance with the American imperialists, to the signing of the Japanese-American security treaty, to the Japanese-South Korean treaty, to America's establishment of submarine bases in Japan, to the amendment of the constitution, etc. In Venezuela, support for the hero Nguyen Van Troi was manifested by the capture of an American officer. In the Democratic Republic of Germany, support for Vietnam is united with opposition to the West German fascists and revanchists. In America, support for Vietnam is united with opposition to military conscription, to racial discrimination, to the anti-democratic rule of the Johnson administration, etc.

In recapitulation, if the movement is in a socialist nation, it usually takes the form of a campaign to help Vietnam resist America which teaches the people to have a spirit of vigilance against America, to promote the building of socialism, to strengthen national defense, and to be prepared to fight.

If the movement is in a nationalist nation, it usually takes the form of a movement supporting Vietnam against America which promotes that nation's patriotic struggle against America and strengthens its autonomy and national independence.

If the movement is in a nation still dependent on America, it usually closely unites the struggle against American aggression in Vietnam with the mobilization of the masses against the American imperialists' plot to enslave their nation, opposes the policies of the reactionary lackeys of America, and demands the achievement of national and democratic slogans.

If the movement is in an imperialist nation it usually closely unites the struggle against the war of aggression in Vietnam with a campaign to rally the progressive democratic forces

against the rule of the monopoly capitalists, and demands democracy and improved living standards.

The appearance and increasingly broad development of the world-wide front supporting Vietnam against America, which is closely bound to the increasingly seething struggle of the people of each nation to achieve the immediate slogans and the long-range struggle goals, have a very great actual significance.

As regards the people of our nation, which is standing on the front lines in the world struggle against America, the world movement to support our people is a strong source of activation and encouragement. The people of our entire nation feel that although their struggle against America is very difficult, it is also a glorious one, that not only can they not become isolated, but have the entire socialist bloc and all progressive people by their sides and behind them. Therefore, they have increasingly strong confidence in their ultimate victory, and are increasingly enthusiastic in fighting and producing to resist America and save the nation. Our people, of course, consider their own efforts as the decisive element, but they highly value the political, spiritual, and material support of their friends all over the world. We are sincerely grateful toward everyone who has supported us.

With regard to the American imperialists, however, the world-wide movement to support the Vietnamese people is a heavy blow against their aggressive plots. The movement of the people of the world has placed America in a very isolated position in which they are attacked from all directions, and which causes them to gradually lose their "allies," removes all of their masks, and reveals more and more clearly their despicable true nature, that of the most cruel aggressor in the world. Perhaps never before have the American imperialists been as isolated as they are now, and never before have they had to bear such heavy military and political defeats, and be helplessly attacked all over the world, as they are now. The opposition of the people even in America and in American base areas and its "allies" and vassal nations, is creating more and more difficulties and confusion for its mobilization of mercenary troops, its use of military bases, and its mobilization of means to pursue its war of aggression in Vietnam.

The world-wide movement supporting the Vietnamese people against American imperialism also has a great significance in that it can gradually lead to strengthening the unity of the revolutionary forces in the world, on the basis of resisting international imperialism, which is led by the American imperialists. The situation in Vietnam has illuminated a truth noted in the Declaration of the Party Congress of 1960, that the American imperialists are the Number One enemy of mankind, the ring-leader

and main bastion of international imperialism, and the cruellest military policeman in the world today. The people of the world, while following the Vietnamese situation closely and supporting the Vietnamese people against the American imperialists, have come to see more and more clearly the extremely reactionary and wicked nature of the American imperialists, and have seen more and more clearly their strengths and weaknesses, and the ability of the people of the world to defeat them. Therefore, they are uniting more and more closely, in both thought and action, in the struggle against American-led imperialism.

The people of our nation are not only struggling for their independence and territorial integrity, but are also contributing to the struggles for independence and freedom of all peoples, and for peace in Southeast Asia and the world. The results of our struggle not only influence the destiny of our nation, but also influence the struggles to win national independence, democracy, and peace of the people of the world. Our country is now the place where the struggle between the revolutionary forces and the international counter-revolutionary forces is the most fierce, and since it is the place where the most profound contradictions of this era are concentrated, and where must be resolved the contradictions between imperialism and oppressed peoples, the contradictions between feudal landlords and peasants, the contradiction between imperialism and socialism, etc. From the struggle of our people against the aggressive American imperialists, therefore, there will result experiences that will contribute to promoting the advance of the world revolutionary movement. Since our people's struggle to resist America and save their nation has such an international significance, it is highly valued by the people of the world, who follow closely and support it. The people of the world regard assistance for the Vietnamese people as an international obligation, and also as a matter which is of direct benefit to the revolution in their own nation. It is not surprising that an American friend told us that "The struggle of the Vietnamese people has created conditions under which the people of America have gained full knowledge of the imperialist regime in America, and is awakening our revolutionary sentiments. We regard the war of our Vietnamese friends as being closely related to the people's revolution in America, which it stimulates.

The world movement to support the Vietnamese people against the American imperialists is certain to develop more and more strongly and resolutely, until the American imperialists are thrown out of Vietnam. The reason for this is that that movement is based on the following basic facts:

1. Our people's struggle to resist America and save our nation is a just struggle which is bound to the most basic goals of mankind in the present era, and that struggle is contributing

positively to gradually pushing back, and eventually defeating completely, the Number One enemy of the people of the world.

Our struggle has as its goals the resolution of the contradiction between our people, on the one hand, and the American imperialists and their lackeys, on the other hand, and the achievement of a peaceful, united, independent, democratic, and strong Vietnam. That struggle is part of the struggle of the people of the world to resolve the present world-wide contradictions: the contradiction between nations struggling for freedom and independence against aggressive colonialists and imperialists, the contradiction between the socialist forces and the imperialist forces, the contradiction between the forces of peace and the forces of war, etc. Our struggle to resist America and save our nation is a high point in the over-all struggle of the forces of nationalism, democracy, peace, and socialism against international imperialism, which is led by the American imperialists.

2. The more our people's struggle is victorious, the more it is supported by the people of the world. If we are to gain the support of others, we must first of all be capable of existing and developing. The continued existence and development of the revolutionary forces in the South during 10 years of barbarous terrorism of the American bandits and their reactionary lackeys, followed by the formation of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the Armed Forces of Liberation in the South, have been basic conditions for winning the support of the people of the world. When the American imperialists madly intensified their war of aggression in the South and expanded the war to the North of our nation, the continual victories won by the people of both North and South served to strengthen the confidence of the people of the world in the certainty of our victory and in the certain defeat of the American imperialists.

3. Our Party has correct lines and stands in the struggle to resist America and save the nation, and has correct external policies, so it has won the increasingly widespread sympathy and support of the people of the world. Our Party has concentrated its attack against the Number One enemy of our people and of the people of the world -- America -- and has resolutely resisted America and borne every sacrifice and hardship in order to win ultimate victory, while paying attention to rallying the anti-imperialist forces, completely isolating the American imperialists, and splitting the ranks of the imperialists. Our Party has strengthened and is strengthening its unity with the forces of nationalism, democracy, socialism, and peace in the world, in order to repel imperialism and defeat it bit-by-bit. For several years now our Party has gone all out in doing that, and has therefore contributed to the creation of an increasingly extensive world-wide front against America.

4. The more insanelly the American imperialists struggle the clearer their true reactionary, cruel nature becomes, and the more the people of the world struggle against them. The cynical plots of aggression of the American imperialists and their extremely barbarous crimes they have committed in the North and South of our nation have caused all people of conscience in the world to become seethingly indignant, and this element of sentiment has been a source of stimulation for the world-wide movement against America.

All progressive people are favoring and supporting us. That is a very important objective condition which will help us to be victorious.

The more enthusiastic we become because of the sympathy and support of the people of the world, the more we will struggle to fight and defeat the American imperialists.

We will develop to the highest degree our positive spirit with regard to our glorious international duty of defeating the American imperialists on the front lines of the revolution.

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