

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

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

During the 1965-67 period, the Southern armed forces and people continued to develop their strategic, offensive position, vigorously attacking the enemy in all the three strategic areas--the mountainous-rural, rural-delta, and urban areas--through armed and political struggles, coordinating their armed and political struggles in varying degrees and in different operational areas. The rural, mountainous, and delta areas were the main battlefields on which armed combat and uprisings were coordinated. Meanwhile, in the urban areas, the political struggle developed and armed activities were carried out to a certain degree.

Through their first general offensive in 1968, the Southern armed forces and people acquired an offensive position from which they have launched concerted attacks and staged widespread uprisings in both the urban and rural areas, winning increasingly great victories.

As pointed out in the above analysis, in the armed uprisings and revolutionary war in our country, both the rural and urban areas are important, though having different positions. By coordinating armed and political struggles, combining combat with uprisings to appropriate degrees and in various strategic operational areas, maintaining a firm foothold in the rural areas, regarding the rural areas as firm battlegrounds, developing the urban revolutionary forces, and regarding the urban areas as crucial operational areas, we can vigorously attack the enemy in both the rural and urban areas and in all the three strategic areas, and compel him to spread out his forces everywhere. We can also coordinate our activities in various

operational areas, continuously attack the enemy everywhere and at any time, sow chaos in his rearbase, and direct powerful blows at him. We can defeat the enemy in a protracted war. We also possess conditions to create opportunities, bide for time, direct timely, vigorous blows at the enemy, and win increasingly great victories.

In the people's war in our country, only by attacking the enemy in all the three strategic areas can we successfully develop the enormous strength of all our revolutionary forces, whose main force army consists of the workers and peasants, develop the strength originating in the coordination between armed and political struggles and between the war and uprisings, and, thereby, achieve the greatest victories for the revolution.

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

3. - Thoroughly Understand the Strategic-Offensive Ideology in Armed Uprisings and in the Revolutionary War.

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

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

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

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

Soon after the successful August Revolution, the French colonialists again invaded our country. Our Party launched the entire people's national salvation resistance. In the early days of the nationwide resistance, facing the aggressive army's temporary strength, we aimed at "preserving our main force" by "avoiding disadvantageous battles" and retreating to a certain limit (12), while actively trying to "attack the enemy everywhere and to attack and destroy the enemy's separate elements" (13), then, aiming at "driving the enemy into the defensive" (14), we launched guerrilla warfare, deeply penetrated the enemy's rear, and turned it into our vanguard. We have gradually intensified our offensive by guerrilla as well as regular warfare.

Following local counterattacks, since the border operation in 1950, we advanced toward carrying out our Winter-Spring 1953-54 great strategic counterattack, the apogee of which was the glorious Dien Bien Phu operation that successfully ended the resistance, liberating half of the nation.

In the southern part of our country, in the process of struggle against the U.S. imperialists' extremely cruel neocolonialist ruling yoke, the Southern revolution shifted to a strategic offensive position through the 1959-60 general uprising movement and later incessantly developed its offensive position, enlarged the masses' phased uprising and political struggle, developed guerrilla warfare, and proceeded from guerrilla fighting toward concentrated fighting, simultaneously applying military and political formulas, and dooming the U.S. imperialists' special war strategy. When the U.S.

(12) Lenin's works, loc cit.

(13) From the resolution of the Second Central Cadres' Conference (3 to 6 April 1947)

(14) Instruction of the Central Committee, 15 October 1947.

imperialists massively sent in hundreds of thousands of their modern militarymen to directly invade our country, our army and people did not hesitate for a moment, resolutely and firmly maintaining their initiative, continuously attacking the enemy, carrying on their strategy of attacking him in the limited war, and frustrating every enemy plot. The early Mau Than Spring General Offensive and concerted uprisings vigorously pushed forward the strategic offensive position of our army and people, thus bringing the development of the war to a new phase. In short, in the entire process of conducting their uprising and war, our army and people have incessantly developed the proletariat's thoroughly revolutionary spirit and have constantly and thoroughly grasped the offensive strategy ideology of the revolution and revolutionary war.

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

How could our people resolutely and continuously counterattack an enemy possessing economic and military potentialities far greater than ours and drive him into a passive, defensive position and defeat him? Our army and people who conducted armed uprisings and the revolutionary war possess a very high offensive ideology. The offensive ideology constitutes an ideological basis of the Vietnamese revolutionary strategy and offensive. It originates from the thoroughly revolutionary nature of our Party's political and military lines, from the ardent patriotism, and the extremely creative and resolute combativity of our Vietnamese people who have fought for independence, freedom and socialism.

Our offensive ability is closely associated with our assessment of the characteristics and the development of the balance of forces between us and the enemy in the fight between the two sides. Our enemy not only has strongpoints, but also weakpoints, many very basic weakpoints. Our people never have weakpoints. They have strongpoints, many very basic strongpoints. This is the strength of an entire people who stood up to protect their country. This is the strength of the just war in the present era. We absolutely can

develop our strongpoints and aim at the enemy's weakpoints to attack him. The great offensive ability of our army and people is also closely associated with our leadership over the people's war and with various forms of struggle coupled with unique and creative combat methods of the people's war in our country. Because we know how to attack the enemy comprehensively, through armed and political struggles, combining the masses' uprising, and guerrilla warfare and conventional war, our army and people have, therefore, developed all our capabilities to attack the enemy. Because we know how to creatively devise various appropriate and highly effective methods, our armed forces have highly developed their offensive strength to attack and annihilate the enemy.

4. - Apply the Protracted War Strategy While Striving to Create Opportunities and Gain Time in Order to Score Even Greater Victories.

Our nation's history is replete with successful uprisings and wars defeating stronger adversaries who had subjugated our people or invaded our country.

The time for staging these uprisings and wars depends on many concrete conditions, especially on the balance of forces between us and the enemy and on our art of conducting the war. Some wars ended successfully within a relatively short time while some national liberation wars were protracted ones.

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

At present, under an advanced political regime and with a steadfast all-people solidarity bloc led by the Party, we can highly develop all the material and spiritual strength of our people and our country. Moreover, we enjoy the valuable aid of our brotherly socialist countries and the sympathy and support of progressives in the world.

Since our country was a semi-feudalist colony and is small, unpopulous, and economically underdeveloped and since our enemy is by nature a very

stubborn, perfidious imperialist whose country is vast and populous and who possesses a greater economic and military potential and a numerous, modern army, there exists not only an imbalance of numerical strength and population, but also a great imbalance of technical equipment.

Under these circumstances, we must have time to gradually exterminate and weaken enemy forces, to restrict his strength and aggravate his weaknesses, to gradually strengthen and develop our forces, and to overcome our deficiencies. So, the more the enemy fights, the weaker he will become and the more we fight, the stronger we will become. For this reason, the people's war strategy is a protracted one. The more we fight, the stronger we will become, the more numerous will be our victories, and we will advance toward final victory.

Realities of scores of years of relentless struggle and glorious victories of our people have proved the correctness of our Party's protracted war strategy. In general, the process of a protracted struggle is that of successively attacking the enemy, gradually repelling him, partially overthrowing him, defeating every one of his strategic schemes, gradually scoring victories, and moving toward defeating him completely.

The length of the war depends on changes in the balance of forces between us and the enemy and on the war leadership of both sides. Our people's war experience showed that in a long war process, when the war moves from one phase to another, there often are fluctuations by leaps and bounds as outcomes either of our efforts, of the enemy's mistakes, or of effective objective conditions.

The development rule of every movement process is to progress from step-by-step into leap-and-bound developments. Uprising and war are fierce competitions and life-or-death struggles between us and the enemy. Therefore, this rule appears more clearly in uprising and war.

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

5. - Coordinate Enemy- Annihilating with the Gaining and Maintaining of Administrative Power for the People, to Actively Destroy the Enemy's Forces, and to Maintain and Improve Our Forces so that the More We Fight the Stronger We Become.

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

During the armed uprisings and revolutionary wars in our country, our people have closely coordinated armed struggles with political struggle, wars with uprisings. Therefore, there have been the people's armed forces' military actions for annihilating the enemy as well as the masses' uprisings for regaining administrative power. The problem of the people's gaining of the right to mastership is that of toppling the enemy's administration and of seizing the administration for the people, at varying degrees, in conformity with various concrete conditions, and in definite zones, in the long process of offensive against the enemy.

The exercise of this right to mastership can be manifested at varying degrees and in various forms, with the aim of creating necessary conditions for attacking the enemy through various appropriate forms in the protracted fight against him. In the process of attacking the enemy, the armed forces' annihilation of the enemy must be closely associated with the masses' uprising to gain the right to mastership. It is necessary to annihilate the enemy in order to support the masses in arising and in gaining the right to mastership.

It is necessary to arise and gain the right to mastership in order to acquire more operational theaters and offensive forces in order to annihilate the enemy, combining the annihilation of the enemy with the gaining and firm protection of the right to mastership by the people is a victory-winning law governing the armed uprising and the revolutionary war in our country. In the general uprising in August 1945, the masses' uprising to gain the right to mastership and, especially, the administration, was a main task. However, it was necessary for the masses at that time to be supported and backed by the armed forces charged with annihilating the enemy.

In the anti-French resistance, the armed forces' use of the armed struggle to annihilate the enemy was a main task, but the masses also arose,

destroyed the puppet administration, eliminated villains, seized the administration in areas in the enemy's rear, built, consolidated, and developed guerrilla zones and bases in the enemy's bosom. Our army and people also creatively and comprehensively built and consolidated the free zones, built and consolidated the people's administration, defeated enemy's counter-offensives and offensives, and firmly protected our free zones.

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

In the liberated areas, it is necessary to actively fight to protect the people and to build and consolidate the people's right to mastership in the political and economic fields. In order to meet the requirement of the law governing the combination of the annihilation of the enemy with the people's gaining and protection of the right to mastership, it is necessary to thoroughly understand the ideology of actively annihilating enemy forces and of protecting and strengthening our forces.

Annihilating enemy forces means annihilating his military and political forces. It means annihilating not only the foreign aggressors' military and political forces, but also annihilating or disintegrating the lackeys' military and political forces. Protecting and strengthening our forces means protecting and strengthening the forces of the army and the people and the military, political, and economic forces.

Only through keeping a firm hold on and correctly applying the rules governing the association between annihilating enemy troops and regaining the mastership right for the people and only through fully understanding the necessity of annihilating the enemy forces and preserving and improving our own forces, can we carry out the motto "the more we fight, the stronger we become; the more we fight, the more victories we win," make our forces increasingly mature, enlarge our operational areas day by day, develop the comprehensively offensive position of the revolutionary war day by day, and advance toward defeating the enemy's military forces and strategies, crushing his administration at all levels, and regaining the entire authority for the people.

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

6. - Mainly Rely On One's Own Forces and Simultaneously Endeavor to Win International Assistance.

This is also a rule governing the success of the Vietnamese revolution and revolutionary war in our present era. This rule marks a new step in the development of our Party's war leading art, compared to the previous historic phases. It reflects the view which regards revolution as the work of the masses. It reflects our Party's unshakable confidence in the strength of our nation and people.

Moreover, it reflects the view which regards the Vietnamese revolution as part of the world revolution, continually associating our revolution with the world people's revolutionary movement. It tends to develop the advantages of this era in order to achieve the success of our revolution and revolutionary war, thus enabling our people to make positive contributions to the revolutionary work of other people worldwide.

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

Therefore, with the highest sense of political responsibility toward the nation's destiny and a self-reliance spirit, our Party has creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to the situation of our country to set forth a revolutionary line and the line to correctly and independently carry out the revolutionary war, to mobilize, organize and employ all the strength of our nation and people to achieve victories.

We have thoroughly understood that the Vietnamese people must undertake by themselves alone--rather than asking other people to do it for them--the resistance for regaining the Vietnam Fatherland's independence and freedom. Our people's great victories have been mainly and

primarily the results of the sacrifices and extremely heroic struggle of all our Party, army and people. In the August Revolution, in the resistance against the French colonialists and in the present resistance against the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen, our people have by themselves alone arisen to fight and defeat the powerful enemies and have fought for a long time in a situation when our country is surrounded on all sides by the imperialists.

These great victories clearly prove the great strength of our people who have firmly held to the self-reliance principle. These great victories also cannot be separated from the support and assistance of the revolutionary people worldwide. The world revolutionary movement has created objective and very favorable conditions for the revolution and the revolutionary war in our country. Although our country is still surrounded by the imperialists, we are not, however, isolated from the socialist brotherly countries, and thus we have continued to enjoy directly or indirectly the brotherly socialist countries and the revolutionary people worldwide.

Thanks to our Party's correct international solidarity policy, our people have gained the strong and broad sympathy and assistance of our friends in the five continents. In the present day, the socialist camp has become a decisive factor for the development of mankind's society, and the seething struggle movements for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism in the world.

The imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists, are being attacked everywhere. Our people should and can fully develop the advantages of the time, in order to create a strong posture and strength in the war to defeat the aggressors. The international assistance can develop its effects only through the objective efforts of our people and Party. Therefore, while attaching great consideration to international assistance, we should always rely on our own efforts and closely associate the fact of relying on our own efforts with the strong development of international assistance.

VI

CREATIVELY APPLY THE WAR-WAGING FORMULA AND MILITARY ART OF PEOPLE'S WAR.

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

Our military art correctly determines the organic relationship and interaction among strategy, campaign, and tactic, which are the components that make up this art, and correctly determines the role of each component.

Strategy is the main component. A correct military strategy creates the fundamental condition for the favorable fulfillment of the tasks in campaign and combat. Conversely, only by successfully solving problems relating to campaign and tactics and successfully fulfilling all the tasks of combat on the battlefield do we have a basis for achieving the objectives set forth by military strategy.

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

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

Our military art guides the fighting activities of the armed forces and at the same time guides the military activities of the people who stand up with weapons in their hands to fight the enemy, overthrow the enemy's administrative power, and cause his armed forces to disintegrate. Grasping this

requirement, our military art must correctly determine the tasks of the armed forces and armed struggle in our people's all-out war.

Parallel with the annihilation of the enemy's military forces, the armed struggle should create favorable conditions for the building and development of a military base, step up the political struggle of the masses, and push forward the work of military proselyting, creating conditions for the masses to rise up to wrest back their sovereign right.

On the other hand, the armed struggle should make full use of the victories of the political struggle and of the work of military proselyting in order to develop the military offensive, thus succeeding in annihilating more of the enemy. In order to do so, the armed struggle should grasp the tasks and requirements of the political struggle in each region and actively meet these requirements. For this reason, to closely coordinate military affairs with politics, fighting with military proselyting, and coordinate the wiping out of the enemy's military forces with the launching of the masses to wrest back their sovereign right, have for a long time now become the guiding combat principles of our armed forces.

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

2.-Our military art is permeated with the idea of active attack on the enemy. It is mainly the art of attack. Imbued with the strategic idea of offensive in the revolutionary war, let us in our armed struggle actively attack the enemy in a resolute, continuous, all-inclusive manner with all forces and weapons, in all forms, on all scales, everywhere, and at all times.

Our military art, being an art of all the people fighting the bandits and capable of developing its strong points and striking at the enemy's shortcomings, is fully able to create a balance of forces that is favorable to us for attacking the enemy and develop the offensive from a small attack to a big one and from a localized attack to a generalized attack. In the adoption of different forms of fighting, including offensive and defensive, major attention is given to the offense. When necessary, there are places and times

when we carry out defense to support the offense, but the defense is merely a function to ensure that the majority of our forces carry out the offensive, and something temporary in order to create conditions for moving to the offensive. Each and every defensive task must be carried out with an active and undaunted spirit of constantly seizing the initiative to attack the enemy.

Permeated with the idea of offense, our military art emphasizes developing political superiority and the valiancy and resourcefulness of the Vietnamese, of the Vietnamese nation, who have a high degree of political consciousness, the spirit of close solidarity, and a tradition of undauntedness and talent in strategy. Our military art develops the strong points of the new social regime, and the just struggle taking place on our land. It makes full use of all weapons from rudimentary to modern ones and creates many ways of fighting with high combat efficiency in order to defeat aggressor armies that have as strong points their number of effectives and techniques but have many fundamental shortcomings in politics, morale, and even military affairs.

By constantly raising political consciousness, developing to a high degree human bravery and intelligence, correctly solving the relationship between man and weapon, and giving priority to the human element--the political and moral aspects--while also attaching importance to the weapon element--the material and technical aspects--our military art has created for our armed forces and people extremely great capabilities for attacking the enemy.

3.--Our military art is the art of using a small force to fight a big force. The realistic situation of national liberation wars and patriotic wars at present as well as in the past, has posed to our people, a people whose population is not very big and whose territory is not very large, the strategic requirement to defeat enemies having large armies and economic and military potentialities many times greater than ours. Confronted with this strategic requirement, our forefathers, in order to achieve victory, created the art of using a weak force to fight a strong enemy, using a small force to fight a bigger one, and waging short battles, to win protracted wars. On many occasions, they completely annihilated very big enemy aggressor armies.

In the present situation of the balance of forces between us and the enemy, particularly in the number of effectives and technical equipment, we must be all the more imbued with the idea of using a small force to fight a bigger one in order to defeat him. Permeated with the strategic idea of using a small force to fight a bigger one in our campaign and combat, we must know how to use a small force to fight a bigger one while knowing how to concentrate our forces rationally when necessary to fight the enemy and annihilate him.

Using a small force to fight a bigger one means using a small force to win big victories. It does not mean carrying out only small offensives, but also medium and big offensives. Our ancestors, using a small force to fight a bigger one, had wiped out in one battle thousands and thousands of the enemy. The South Viet-Nam armed forces and people, using a small force to fight a bigger one in their anti-U.S. resistance for national salvation, have used a small but well-trained force to annihilate or put out of action in one battle regiments and brigades of the enemy or destroy dozens of his aircraft, hundreds of armored vehicles, and thousands of tons of materials and ammunitions.

Making use of the idea of using a small force to fight a bigger one to counter the enemy who carried out the war of destruction in North Viet-Nam, our air defense and air forces in many battles knew how to use small militia forces, antiaircraft troops, or the air force to victoriously cope with the numerous air forces of the enemy, and to use a small amount of ammunition to down the enemy's aircraft.

In addition to using few to fight many, when necessary we must know how to concentrate our forces in the most rational way in order to fight the enemy. A very basic requirement of our tactical leadership is that, in each battle we must, by appropriately organizing our forces, by developing the spirit of heroism and cleverness, by creating advantageous fighting conditions and using good fighting methods, and by creating and maintaining conditions to prevent the enemy's strength and elements of superiority from being employed, keep the enemy's large forces in a passive position in which they receive our blows, we must attain the advantage of fighting the enemy from a position of strength greater than that of the enemy in order to annihilate him. When concentrating forces we must make careful calculations, economize our forces, use our forces in the most rational manner, and create the greatest combat strength in order to have sufficient strength to overcome the enemy and continually attack and annihilate them, until we have fulfilled our mission; as for numbers, the fewer the better.

4.--Our military art is deeply imbued with the idea of actively annihilating the enemy. Developing the offensive concept of using a small force to fight a bigger one, we must achieve the primary objective of all battlefield activity, namely, wiping out the enemy's military forces. In war, parallel with wearing out and annihilating small portions of the enemy in widespread guerrilla actions, the most concentrated armed forces--particularly the main force units--must resolutely wipe out increasingly more important parts of the enemy. They must resolutely attain the requirement of completely annihilating increasingly larger units of the enemy, capturing prisoners of war, seizing weapons, and mastering the battlefield, while sustaining few losses on our side.

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

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

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

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

With a very high spirit of attacking and annihilating the enemy, our armed forces and people, in their armed struggle, are constantly upholding the spirit of actively looking for the enemy to fight him and fighting him resolutely. We must actively attack enemy troops, attack them on our own initiative, and attack them resolutely; and we must always maintain our initiative and always fight the enemy from a position of strength. In order to defeat a modern aggressor army with large numerical strength, with a mighty fire power, and with high mobility, an army that is at the same time stubborn and perfidious, we must have the spirit of daring to fight the enemy, a very high determination, and perseverance in our struggle until the enemy is completely annihilated. Each combat action of our armed forces and people in war has been imbued with the fighting thoughts of the Vietnamese revolutionary military art. At the same time, it has taken place in a very lively manner, changing according to each stage of development of each war and according to the concrete conditions relative to the enemy, to us, to our people, and to the terrain and weather of each battlefield.

Creative resourcefulness is an important requirement of our military art. Only by developing to a high degree creative resourcefulness on the basis of the proletariat's thorough-going revolutionary spirit and ardent patriotism and love for socialism can we successfully materialize the concept of the offensive and the usage of a small force to defeat a larger one under all circumstances.

In our art of fighting against the bandits both in the past and at present, secrecy and unexpectedness are outstanding points. Possessing a strong determination to annihilate the bandits, having an intelligent and creative mind, knowing how to rely on the people, and having a high consciousness of organization and discipline, our armed forces always act unexpectedly in fighting the enemy, unexpectedly in their direction of attack, target, time, use of force, scope of attack, manner of attack, and so forth.

While disagreeing with the assertion of imperialism that surprise is the factor that determines victory or defeat in war, we highly appreciate the effect of the element of surprise in annihilating the enemy. Carrying out surprise attacks on the enemy strategically as well as tactically, our armed forces and people have scored great victories in their national salvation war.

Permeated with the aforementioned viewpoints and thoughts, the military art of the Viet-Nam People's War has successfully solved many problems of strategy, campaign, and tactics in accordance with different concrete conditions.

1.-First of all, our military art consists of stepping up the fighting of the three categories of troops as the core of the fight of all the people against the bandits, carrying out guerrilla and regular wars, and closely coordinating guerrilla war with regular war. If the coordination of the armed forces with the political forces, the armed struggle with the political struggle, and the armed insurrection with the revolutionary war is the main content of the formula for carrying out the all-people and all-out war, then in the field of armed struggle, in the waging of guerrilla and regular wars, the coordination of guerrilla war with regular war is the most fundamental content of the art of launching all the people to fight the bandits in our country.

Guerrilla warfare is a form of armed struggle of the masses of the people. Due to the characteristics of the people's war in our country, where all the nation is of one mind and all the people fight against the bandits, the guerrilla war develops in a very widespread, powerful, and varied manner. The different strata of our people and the various nationalities in our country adopt guerrilla warfare to fight the enemy right is his regions, with all kinds of weapons and all methods, fighting him everywhere and at all time.

Therefore, guerrilla war has developed its extremely great strategic effect in wearing out, annihilating, and dispersing the enemy forces to a high degree, disturbing his strategic arrangement creating a strategic position that is favorable to us, and protecting and training the revolutionary masses.

In our country, not only does the guerrilla war have an important effect in military strategy, it has very great significance in the fulfillment of the strategic task of the revolution: Guerrilla warfare is a formula of the revolutionary masses for carrying out insurrection part by part and wresting the basic administrative power back for the people.

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

After its emergence, regular war and guerrilla war must be closely coordinated in order to defeat all the enemy's offensive and counteroffensive efforts and create conditions for the guerrilla war to consolidate itself and develop. Only in the situation where the guerrilla war grows and thrives does the regular war have favorable conditions for developing its powerful force and for advancing incessantly.

When the three categories of troops coordinate closely among themselves and when the two forms of war assist each other, help each other develop, and are coordinated with the political struggle and other facets of struggle, they will bring about the powerful development of the great force of the people's war. In the long-term revolutionary war, the guerrilla war must advance to the regular war stage, and these two must be closely coordinated. This is the law for achieving victory in the people's war in our country.

The big question in guiding the war is to know how to transform guerrilla war into regular war at the correct time and correct place, closely and appropriately coordinating guerrilla warfare with regular war-

fare in each stage and on each battlefield, causing them to grow incessantly and to develop their increasingly great strategic effects.

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

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

In warfare, the strategic force of each participant needs appropriate expansion in order to be able to develop its strength. Imperialism which wages an aggressive war, relies on its regular army with many weapons and modern technical means and maintains large organization. This force must be expanded in accordance with a battle position having a frontline in order to develop its great strength. Waging a revolutionary war, we rely on the force of the entire country, using the people's armed forces as a core, while fighting the bandits right on our land. Organizing all the people to fight the bandits, we have created a position of encircling and attacking the enemy politically and militarily right in the areas under his temporary occupation.

By coordinating political struggle with armed struggle, armed insurrection with revolutionary war, guerrilla war with regular war, and the fight against the enemy in the three strategic zones, we have created a fresh, diverse war position in which the enemy's modern army is split up, encircled, and attacked from four directions, everywhere, thus, making it impossible for him to find any area that he can call safe in a war where there is no front, no rear, and no definite frontline, and where any place can be a battlefield.

Surrounded in the great ocean of the people's war, the enemy finds that his eyes and ears are covered. He fights without seeing his opponent, he strikes without hitting, and he is unable to display his strong fighting method. It is for this reason that even though he has many troops and means, his forces are scattered, weakened, and unable to develop their efficiency as he

wants. Our armed and political forces, however, can constantly encircle the enemy and rise up to fight him everywhere.

Under such circumstances, our forces can develop their powerful effect, always hold the initiative in striking at the enemy, fight him anywhere, at any time, and at their own choosing, hit him each time they strike, and wipe him out in increasingly greater numbers.

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

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

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

Conversely, being held in an unfavorable strategic position, the enemy can use only a small part of his troops despite his large army, cannot hit his opponent despite his strong firepower, and can display only poor mobility despite his large means in this field. Although he has great strength, he

cannot develop its effect. Although he is very belligerent and perfidious, he is always passive and on the receiving end of our blows. In one word, although he is numerous, he is outnumbered; although he is strong, he is weak.

3.-The question of correctly determining the direction of and opportunity for attack is an important question in the military art. From the practice of insurrection and revolutionary war, we can see that with a certain force, if we attack from some direction, we may be able to wipe out a certain enemy forces, but this will not greatly influence the general situation and the victory achieved is only at the campaign and tactical level. On the other hand, if we attack from another direction, the blow we deal to the enemy becomes very redoubtable and it can result in a victory of strategic importance.

Looking back at the course of our people's armed struggle, we can see many examples of success in the correct determination of the direction of attack in insurrection and in war. Clearly the choice of direction of attack is, strategically, a very big question of the military art.

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

4.-In war, the choice of the appropriate form of warfare and the proper organization of armed forces and their use responding to the requirements of the forms of warfare are an important problem in the military art. In leading the armed struggle and establishing a strategy, our Party has always paid attention to the forms of warfare and the organizing of armed forces appropriate to our armed forces' actual development under the comparison of strength between the enemy and our side and the consideration of other strategic conditions of each stage.

In the process of preparation for the August Revolution and in order to carry out the strategy of waging a guerrilla war, our Party mapped out the form of guerrilla warfare with tactics such as turning a disadvantageous position into an advantageous one, ambush, hitting from the rear, and so forth; and forms of organizing such as secret armed cells, guerrilla cells, and guerrilla squads.

During the early years of the resistance against French colonialists,

the strategy of starting and stepping up guerrilla warfare behind the enemy line was carried out by various forms of armed propaganda and guerrilla activities with various forms of organizations: armed propaganda squads, independent companies, and heavily armed battalions. These guerrilla activities gradually developed into small guerrilla operations behind the enemy's lines with the participation of main force regiments and in cooperation with local armed forces.

Later, big military operations were launched by using various forms of warfare, such as attacks against mobile forces or fortified positions along with guerrilla activities. In order to respond to these forms of warfare, the main forces were organized into brigades, the core of which is infantry combined with technicians.

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

In the North, the creative forms of warfare of the air defense forces from the three kinds of people's armed forces and the proper organization and use of forces have contributed an important part to our victory over the U.S. war of destruction. The realities of our people's conduct of war prove that only proper forms of warfare and appropriate organization and use of forces can achieve good results in strategic tasks of war on the battlefield.

By mapping out in time an appropriate form of warfare, we can boost our armed forces' capability in attacking and destroying the enemy and step up the war. With a good form of warfare which is well applied on the battlefield, our armed forces can favorably destroy a large number of enemy forces and defeat the enemy's warfare methods and his tactics, and thereby defeat his strategic plans.

An important requirement in the military art is the skillful combination of forms of warfare to respond properly to the concrete situation of each place and time. Every form of warfare must be appropriate to the relation of strength between the enemy and our side and to the strategic situation of each stage of war. Therefore, we must pay attention to the development of these forms so that they can respond to the requirements of each period. When it is necessary, we must change in time out-dated forms of warfare,

taking new ones which are more appropriate. It is because of this reason that the organizations which carry out our military operations and attacks have always been developed from war. We must know how to apply already obtained experiences with the aim of better development and always consider the practical aspects on the battlefield in order to constantly improve our strategic, operative, and tactical guidance. We should not apply old experiences mechanically or reapply outmoded forms of warfare.

Along with the mapping out of forms of warfare, we must also solve the problem of proper organization and use of forces. Only by solving rationally problem of proper organization and use of forces and by constantly paying attention in time to improving the organizational method in order to respond to the needs of the forms of warfare can we have a basis for organizing the proper implementation of these forms of warfare on the battlefield.

Under the present circumstances, the level of political consciousness of our armed forces and people is increasingly rising, and our armed forces' equipment is constantly being built up. Therefore, our forms of warfare, as well as our organizational methods and use of forces, are becoming increasingly more abundant. Forms of warfare combining various branches of services are also becoming increasingly effective.

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

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

Analyzing the past wars, we note that the imperialist aggressors in Viet-Nam have mobilized their great war machines but could not accomplish their strategic tasks, and that in the end they were defeated by our armed forces and people.

The enemies have often fielded a large force on the battlefield, but they could not destroy our force or achieve the objectives of their military operations. On the contrary, our army and people--under different circumstances and with a certain sized force--can defeat a larger and better equipped enemy force, destroy the opponent's force, and frustrate his plans, inflicting heavy losses on him.

Realities on the battlefield show that the enemy cannot develop his combat efficiency, while we can fully develop ours. Our armed forces can fully develop their combat efficiency due to our rational organization of force, the appropriate size of each unit, and the fact that we always create favorable conditions to attack the enemy and that we have superior fighting methods by exploiting our strong points and his weak points to destroy him.

Along with the development of our combat efficiency, we have also prevented the enemy from developing his by holding the combat initiative and by our skillful, secret, and sudden attacks. Thus, whenever we launch an attack, we hit right to the target and destroy the enemy, whereas the enemy cannot hit the right target in order to destroy us. He has a great force but can develop little efficiency.

Assessing troops' combat efficiency does not necessarily mean looking at the results of each engagement. In general, in every battle we must use our force rationally and have superior fighting methods so that we can destroy many enemy troops and suffer as little as possible.

However, in war there are important battles and whatever the difficulty may be, we must be determined to overcome it at all costs to destroy the enemy. The victories of these battles will create favorable conditions for the success of the entire campaign, in these cases, considering the entire campaign the important victorious battles are those revealing a high combat efficiency.

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

In new conditions of history, the military art of people's war has developed to a new level. Because of the military knowledge and talent of our people, the people's war in our country in contemporary times has an invincible strength.

These are the main contents, the guiding principles, and the rules of the formulas for waging war and of the military art of people's war in Viet-Nam, which have been drawn from the realities of war during the past decades.

These contents are closely related and combined into an inseparable system. It is necessary to stress that these are mainly experiences of armed uprisings and revolutionary wars, that is wars for national liberation to gain power and national independence. War is a most violent clash of force, a most violent competition in strength and efforts between two sides on the basis of certain objective conditions.

Our Party's correct war guidance has fully analyzed various objective conditions of war, correctly assessed the strength of two sides, steadily held war objectives, successfully applied our formulas for waging war and our military art, exploited decisive factors in defeating wars of aggression by three imperialist countries.

In war, correctly assessing the enemy's strength and ours is a very fundamental problem. A strong point in our Party's war guidance is correct and scientific assessment and comparison of strength between the enemy and ourselves. Our people's experiences show that the comparison of strength between the enemy and ourselves must be total and substantial, not only on the military side but also on the political front, not only quantitatively but also qualitatively, seeing not only troop strength but also the strength of the people's revolution, seeing not only the enemy's strong points and our side's weak points but also our strong points and all his weak points.

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

The most important point is: along with the comparison of strength and position between the two sides, we must also correctly assess the role of the enemy's leadership and ours and compare the great effects of our correct line and the enemy's false line, our superior military art and the reactionary and outmoded art of the enemy. It is on the basis of correct and objective assessment of the strength between the enemy and us that our Party has led our people to rise up and fight the enemy and has developed its outstanding ability in leading the war to defeat him, leading the people's war in the right direction to complete victory.

In the wars waged on our soil, we and the enemy have relied on different forces to wage the war. Both sides have different strong and weak points,

different fighting methods, and different strategic viewpoints. Each side wants to develop its strength and strong points to defeat the opponent.

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

Helpless before the superior military line and correct and creative war guidance of our Party and confronted by our people's great strength, the enemy wants to fight swiftly but has to face a protracted war. The enemy wants to create a war with definite frontline but has to accept one without frontlines. He wants to concentrate his force, but has to scatter it. He wants to hold combat initiatives to develop his strength and strong points, but has to be in a passive position to face our strength and advantageous fighting methods. He wants to launch attacks, but has to be in a defensive position. He wants to destroy our force, but his force is destroyed by us. He wants to use his strength to destroy our potentials, but his potentials are greatly reduced. His strategies have gone bankrupt one after another. The more he tries to exert great effort, the heavier his defeats; and, he exerts even greater effort only to have more disastrous results, and so on to his final defeat.

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

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

With the above war-waging formulas and military art and by applying them properly according to different conditions, the heroic Vietnamese people have continually achieved great victories in implementing brilliantly the wise thoughts of Engels, presented 120 years ago:

"A nation which wants to gain independence must not restrict itself to conventional war-waging formulas. Uprising by the masses, revolutionary war, and guerrilla bands operating everywhere is the only formula. Thanks to this, a small nation can defeat a big country and a moderately armed force can resist a strong army with better equipment."

VII

THE PARTY'S LEADERSHIP IS THE MAIN DECISIVE FACTOR OF  
SUCCESS FOR ALL-PEOPLE UPRISING AND PEOPLE'S WAR.

Praising our Party's extremely glorious process of leading the revolution, President Ho said: 'Right after its birth, the Party organized and led the very heroic struggle of Soviet Nghe-Tinh at age 12, it organized the guerrilla movement fighting the French and the Japanese; at age 15 it staged and led the successful August Revolution, and at age 17, it led the resistance war which is won at age 24.' Our people are now waging the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance war, the greatest war of resistance in their national history. Experiences from our country's history of national liberation struggle for the past 100 years and more have demonstrated that in our time, national liberation wars, revolutionary wars of a true people's nature, can be launched on an uniform basis and can win complete victory under the leadership of the Party and working class. Our Party's leadership constitutes the essential condition and the main factor determining the success of the all-people uprising and the people's war in our country, paving the way toward socialism, and preserving the fruit of the socialist revolution. This is because our Party is the Viet-Nam workers' new-style Party having a thoroughly revolutionary spirit, a scientific Marxist-Leninist theory, a strict and disciplined organization, and close relations with the masses. Our Party's emergence resulted from a combination of Marxism-Leninism with the workers' movement and the Vietnamese national liberation movement. Ever since its birth, our Party has assumed the unique leadership over the revolution in our country. It is the Party of the working class and of the Vietnamese people as well.

Today, only the workers Party--the most resolutely revolutionary class representing the socialist solution formula, the basic interests of the masses, the large ranks of workers and laborers, and the basic and long-range interests of our people--can be our people's legitimate leader, can hoist high the national and democratic banner, can lead the national democratic revolution toward complete success and the country toward socialism, and mobilize and lead our people in arising and in pursuing the revolutionary war until victory. Only our Party can have revolutionary courage to resolutely mobilize the masses, from bare hands, to stand up to attack the colonialist and feudalistic imperialists' ruling yoke, to overcome every difficulty and hardship, and to defeat the cruel and powerful aggressor imperialists, including the U.S. imperialists--the ringleader imperialists and the number one enemy of world people.

Fulfilling, at all costs, the revolutionary tasks, our Party has become a Party experienced in leading the all-people uprising and war. It possesses correct and creative revolutionary lines. It has firmly grasped the laws governing the revolution and the revolutionary war, exercising resolute, bold, and scientific leadership over the implementation of political and military lines. The Party has closely associated itself with the masses, forming a steadfast nucleus for the all-people great unity bloc. As a result, the Party has further mobilized the large and great forces countrywide to closely unite around it, to overcome every challenge, and to lead the revolutionary offensive toward victory. The Party's leadership over the all-people uprising and the people's war has been reflected primarily through determining correct political and military lines, setting forth the tasks and the basic and urgent goals of the revolution, and determining and leading the implementation of revolutionary methods, the forms for organizing forces, the struggle measures and tricks, and the most appropriate, sharpest, and the most effective and revolutionary combat methods, as mentioned above.

Party leadership has also been demonstrated by the following points:

1. - Continuously and Vigorously Carry Out Political Motivation Among All the Party, Army, and People, Cultivate and Highly Develop Vietnamese Revolutionary Heroism, Cultivate the Spirit of Determination to Fight and Win, Build the Greatest Political and Moral Strength in Order to Defeat the Enemy, and Achieve by Every Means to Objectives Set Forth for Each Period and The Revolutionary Objectives.

Lenin said that "In the final analysis, victory in any war is determined by the spirit of the masses shedding blood on the battlefield. The masses' awareness of the objectives and cause of the war is of very great significance and is a guarantee for victory."(15)

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

(15) Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 31, p. 115, (Russian-language edition).

objectives of the revolutionary war reflect the law governing the development of history. They also reflect our people's profound aspirations, primarily those of the masses of workers and laborers. Once this line has deeply permeated the masses, it is translated into an intense revolutionary determination or will and into an extremely great motive force underlying the revolutionary war.

In the war, our Party has persistently and systematically educated the Party members, army, and people regarding the revolutionary line and tasks, the objectives of the war, the correct assessment of the balance of forces and the development trends existing between us and the enemy, and the protracted, arduous, yet inevitably victorious, character of the revolutionary war. Our Party has constantly intensified political education and strengthened ideological leadership in the army and among the people, educating them regarding the sense of class and national consciousness, intensifying their love for the country and for the new system--the people's democratic and socialist system--and enhancing their proletarian, internationalist spirit.

Our Party has disseminated among the masses President Ho's great principle: "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom"; and the determined-to-fight spirit: "Prefer to sacrifice everything rather than let the country be lost and serve as slaves."

Developing the determined-to-fight-and-win spirit and the spirit of sacrifice for national salvation, our Party has constantly conducted an ideological struggle against erroneous tendencies, especially the rightist thought and the tendency to fear a protracted war and hardship, and so forth.

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

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

The Vietnamese revolutionary heroism is the will and determination of our people to win independence and freedom and to protect the results in all fields of the revolution, results which our people have won under Party leadership.

Our people who endured countless suffering and misfortunes under the old regime have enjoyed an independent and free life under the new regime. Therefore, our people have all the more resolutely fought to the end in order to gain and protect independence and freedom. The Vietnamese revolutionary heroism is the synthetic result of the deep education and daily training in various aspects of consciousness with regard to revolutionary ideology, intellect, and feelings. This constitutes a concentrated manifestation of enlightenment regarding revolutionary tasks, the war goal, the strong patriotism, the deep hatred for the enemy, the determination to fight and win, and the absolute confidence in our Party, President Ho, the people's strength and heroic tradition, the class, and the combat ability of the community and of every individual. The Vietnamese revolutionary heroism is the great spiritual force of our people, our nation, and the Vietnamese people in the new era and the new social regime. We fought fiercely for national liberation, for the protection of the Fatherland, and for national protection and building.

The formula for prosecuting the war and the heroic and intelligent military art of our Party have been built, shaped up, and developed from the realities of the great struggle conducted by millions of new Vietnamese people bearing revolutionary heroism. Only by relying on and highly developing the Vietnamese revolutionary heroism can the Party's formula for prosecuting the war and its military art become the masses' actual revolutionary acts and bring about practical successes in the war. The marvelous feats of arms of our army and people, from the frontline to the rear, have been so far the feats of arms of the Vietnamese revolutionary heroism and our Party's great achievement in political mobilization and ideological building and in building the new Vietnamese people.

2. - Fully Mobilize the Potentialities of the People's War, While Stepping Up the Prosecution of the War, Gradually Fulfilling the Revolutionary Tasks, Strengthening the Victorious Factors of the War, and Insuring the Leading of the War Toward Final Victory.

Lenin said that "Whoever has more reserves and human resources and whoever can stand more firmly among the masses and people than others will win victory in a war ." (16) In our national liberation war, we have attacked strongly and won great victories, and we have defeated large enemy forces with small forces. In order to win victory, we must know how to acquire greater strength than the enemy and how to use the forces of our entire people and country to defeat the imperialists' large, aggressive armed forces in our country. Therefore, on the basis of politically mobilizing all our people, our Party has paid special attention to fully mobilizing the potential of the People's war and to strengthening the victorious factors of the war. In the previous anti-French resistance, President Ho pointed out: "The victorious key task of the resistance consists of consolidating and broadening the united national front, of consolidating the worker-peasant alliance, of consolidating the people's administration, of consolidating and developing the army, and of consolidating the Party and strengthening its leadership in all fields." (17) Today, in the anti-U.S. resistance President Ho also pointed out: "Our lines and policies are correct, our entire people are united and singleminded, and our armed forces are matchlessly heroic. We are also wholeheartedly aided by the brotherly countries in the Socialist camp and greatly supported by friends worldwide. Therefore, we will certainly win, and the Americans will certainly be defeated." (18) This is the comprehensive, adequate recapitulation of the factors and conditions which insure the victory of the people's war, the revolutionary war in our country in the present era.

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

A very basic matter involved in this objective is that our Party has always grasped and correctly settled the relation between stepping up the revolutionary war and carrying out step-by-step revolutionary tasks right in the process of war. It has asserted that the Party-directed revolutionary war is the most decisive means to guarantee the implementation of strategic missions of the revolution in case the invading imperialism uses counter-revolutionary war to oppose our people's revolutionary war and carrying it on until victory. Thus, only by overthrowing the ruling yoke of the imperialists and their lackeys, can we achieve the basic objective of the revolution.

(16) Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 30, p. 55, (Russian-language edition).

(17) Ho Chi Minh, Collected Works, p. 464.

(18) Speech delivered at the meeting to commemorate the founding of the People's Army and the National Resistance, 1967.

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

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

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

In the liberated areas in the South, under the leadership of the NLFSV and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam, our people have fought bravely, regaining and preserving revolutionary achievements and building while fighting a people-mastered political, economic, and cultural new life. These policies of our Party have established steady economic and political bases for improving the people's strength comprehensively during the resistance war, consolidating the worker-peasant alliance--an alliance between the working class and agricultural laborers in a national democratic revolution and between the working class and the class of collective peasants in a socialist revolution--the people's administration, and the National United Front, heightening the fighting strength of the people's armed forces, and consolidating and strengthening the Party's leadership.

In wartime, the coordination between accelerating the resistance and carrying out step-by-step revolutionary tasks also means coordination between intensifying the frontline and consolidating the rear, between fighting the enemy

and building and improving our forces so as to make them ever strong as they fight. The gradual implementation of revolutionary tasks in wartime is also a very basic measure to improve and develop the masses' great political and spiritual strength and highly develop Vietnamese heroism, building for it a firm basis of the new production formula of the people-mastered new social regime.

3. - Build and Consolidate the Party's Leadership System, from Central to Local Organs, Among the People's Armed Forces and Among All Other Masses' Organizations, and in the Military, Political, Economic, and Cultural Struggle Realms, in Order to Insure the Party's Comprehensive, Concentrated, and United Leadership in Wartime.

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

Our Party has built and consolidated the Party's leadership system, from Central to local organs, from the Party Executive Central Committee to Party echelons on battlefields and in provinces, districts, and villages. In the Army, Party's organs, from the Army Central Military Affairs Party Committee to Company Party Chapters, have been present always. Moreover, our Party set forth four relations between the Party's Army organs and local leading organs, thus insuring the Party's concentrated and united leadership vis-a-vis all the forces and regional as well as nationwide struggles.

In rural areas, the village is the fundamental unit of the people's war. The Village Party Chapter and Party echelon constitute the staff of the people's war in villages. In the anti-French resistance as well as in the present anti-U.S. resistance, we made each village a bunker and each village Party echelon and chapter a staff of the people's war. The village Party chapter has led the people in building combat villages, developing guerrilla warfare, strongly stepping up political struggle, safeguarding

the people, regaining and maintaining local administrative power, and coordinating their own combat with that of main force troops, along with leading the people in developing production, building a new life, consolidating the rear, and providing the front with manpower and supplies.

All the Party Central Committee's wartime lines and policies have been carried out in villages. Without the local Party Chapters' resolute and active leadership, we would never have a strong and persistent anti-aggressive national resistance. To lead the people's war, every echelon's leadership must be comprehensive, encompassing all struggle aspects which, essentially, are military, political, and military and enemy proselyting struggles. It, also, must build strength in all aspects, military political, as well as economical, along with consolidating the people's mastership while fighting.

The long war has made it necessary for our Party to have a well-formed organization. Each of the Party's leading ranks has much experience in organizing leading organs for struggling and building--organs which materialize the Party's comprehensive, concentrated, and united leadership vis-a-vis the people's war as a whole. This is the key condition for creating an efficient synthesized strength leading the people's war in each locality.

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

To strengthen Party leadership in the war, it is necessary to step up the building of the Party, the training and improvement of cadres and Party members, and to constantly strengthen and improve the Party Chapters. The cadres and Party members have the duty to wage propaganda and educate and organize the masses to carry on the Party's line and policies in the war. Therefore, the training and improvement of cadres and Party members is a key problem in understanding the Party's building task. It is necessary to constantly have a strong--both quantitatively and qualitatively--body of cadres to meet the requirements of the leadership task in the development of the war. It is necessary to positively develop the strength of new Party members, to

consolidate the leadership strength everywhere, and to guide the masses in the struggle to win victories on every battlefield. In the training and improvement of cadres and Party members, primary consideration must be given to the improvement of the class and vanguard character of cadres and Party members. In war, the cadres and Party members must have a sound stand and ideology of the workers class and Marxism-Leninism, patriotism, revolutionary eagerness, and a staunch fighting spirit for the sake of national liberation and communism, and must always rush ahead in the class struggle and the violent struggle of our people.

For the past scores of years, our cadres and Party members have raised high their heroic fighting spirit under all circumstances, attracting the affection and confidence of the people. Many of our cadres and Party members have heroically sacrificed themselves for the Fatherland's independence and freedom, for socialism, and for the revolutionary enterprise of our Party and people. This is a pride and an honor for our Party. To fulfill the leadership task in the war, the cadres and Party members must be capable of leading the masses in the military struggle and in other fields of activities of the all-people and comprehensive war. Military training has become an urgent problem for cadres and Party members in the Army as well as for other cadres and Party members.

In the preparations for an armed uprising, the Party Central Committee had called on cadres and Party members to actively undertake military training. In the anti-French resistance and when the war entered a violent and decisive phase, the Second Party Congress held in 1951, issued a resolution on "the military training high-point in the Party" (19) and "the direction for the activities of all branches in the service of the resistance" (20)

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

The contingent of cadres and Party members trained in this protracted war constitutes very valuable capital for our Party to lead the war to final victory and to constantly step up the revolution. As the cells of the Party and a part of the masses, Party branches must connect the Party with the masses and lead them in accelerating the revolutionary war at bases and to stalwartly and resourcefully struggle against the enemy on all fronts, every day and every hour, under every difficult circumstance.

(19) From Documents of the Second Party Congress.

(20) Ibid.

It is necessary to improve the tasks of Party branches, to set up strong Party branches in the army, localities, and rural and urban areas, from the frontline to the rear, in the enemy lairs, and in heavily embattled areas, and to strengthen them so they can lead the masses at bases and reinforce Party leadership in war. A Party branch is a leading nucleus of the resistance at bases. Without strong, stalwart, and skillful Party branches, people's war cannot develop strongly and widely on all fronts. Local Party branches in the army must constantly hold aloft the Party's leading banner, stand firm under every circumstance, skillfully lead combat and other struggles, and achieve comprehensive, concentrated, and unified leadership in localities as well as in Army units. It is necessary to consolidate and improve Party branches in every respect, to pay major attention to the link of educating and developing Party committees, to improve the leadership task of Party branches, to closely connect the consolidation and perfection of Party branches with the task of leading localities and army units to struggle successfully and to satisfactorily carry out other tasks, to consider the fulfillment of the leadership task of Party branches in war as an objective, and to consolidate and perfect Party branches through the completion of this task.

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

Through practical experiences and with their warm revolutionary sentiments and reason, our people have manifested their absolute confidence in our Party. Our people are very proud of Party and of great leader Ho Chi Minh. Our Party is closely connected with the masses. Our people are closely united around our Party and remain its faithful followers.

Only our Party can correctly combine class interests with national interests, the class factor with the national factor, and genuine patriotism with lofty international proletarianism, carry on our national glorious traditions, and open the way for our people to advance toward a brilliant future. Only our Party can mobilize the greatest strength of the nation and win the greatest support from the world revolution to defeat the imperialist aggressors. The fact that our Party's leadership has been constantly consolidated and strengthened constitutes the essential condition for victory in the all-people uprising and the People's War.

Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom; hold high President Ho banner and bravely advance toward defeating completely the U S. aggressors.

The past dozen years represent but a short period of time in the national history, but during this short period, under the Party's leadership, our people, our nation, have won repeated great successes. The face of our country and our nation has changed completely. The era of independence, freedom, and socialism for our country has begun. The Ho Chi Minh epoch, the nation's most glorious epoch, has been inaugurated. Our people's successes have all resulted from the Party's stalwart and clear-sighted leadership and correct political and military lines, associated with the name of President Ho, the founder, trainer, and leader of our Party and the beloved father of our people's armed forces.

President Ho was a great leader of the working class and our nation, a talented strategist, a national hero, and an outstanding combatant in the international Communist movement and the national liberation movement of this century. He was "a noble symbol of the thorough combination of genuine patriotism and international proletarianism" (21) President Ho was the first Communist to apply Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of our country, setting forth a revolutionary line filled with an independent, self-governing, valiant, and inventive spirit and helping our people to advance steadily. We are extremely proud of our Party's and President Ho's revolutionary line, a people's democratic national revolutionary line, a socialist revolutionary line, the people's war line in our country, and a correct international line. Along this line, our country's revolutionary undertaking will continue to advance steadily toward complete victory. President Ho was "a symbol of the Vietnamese people's cream and stalwart and unsubmitting spirit throughout their 4000-year history." (22)

Inspired by the thoroughly revolutionary spirit and the constant revolutionary spirit of the workers class, President Ho stated: "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom. We will sacrifice all rather than lose the country and live as slaves." He also said: "Only socialism and communism can liberate the oppressed peoples and the workers worldwide from the yoke of slavery." (23) This is the consolidated truth from the long process of national struggle to our national liberation, This is the truth of the present era, in which the workers class,

(21) Enology of the Party Central Committee, read by Le Duan, First Party Secretary, at the funeral of Chairman Ho.

(22) Ibid.

(23) Ho Chi Minh, My Path to Leninism.

which is the genuine leader of the national liberation struggle, opens the way toward socialism. This is the indomitable spirit of our nation and our people's revolutionary determination. This thought of President Ho is a vigorous spiritual motivation and encouragement for our people who have overcome and are overcoming countless hardships and sacrifices, determined to gain independence and freedom. President Ho told us: "Our people's anti-U.S. national salvation struggle, although it must undergo many more hardships and sacrifices, will certainly be completely victorious. This is certain." (24) The anti-U.S. national salvation resistance is the greatest resistance in our national history. This is the fierce confrontation of forces on the battlefield in our country between the most revolutionary forces and the most reactionary forces in the present era. Our people's successes are also the common successes of the revolutionary forces and progressives worldwide. Fighting the U.S. aggressors until complete victory is our people's present sacred national duty and lofty international obligation. The U.S. imperialists have been seriously defeated and are going downhill. Yet they remain very stubborn in their plot to invade the Southern part of our country and in playing their evil role as international gendarmes. Nixon's policies, since his accession to power and, especially, his 3 November 1969 speech, have exposed the U.S. imperialists' evil design and stubbornness. Through the Vietnamization-of-the-war policy, the U.S. ruling clique continues to seek a military solution from a position of strength, to turn Johnson's war into Nixon's and to stubbornly pursue its aggressive war. The Nixon Administration continues to plunge deeper and deeper into the military adventure in Viet-Nam. This is a challenge to our people, the revolutionary forces, the peace forces worldwide, and American progressives. Our people have repeatedly defeated the U.S. imperialists, from the neocolonialist ruling policy represented by the Ngo Dinh Diem's fascist regime to their typical special war and the strategy of the limited war during the highest U.S. escalation. How can the U.S. imperialists, on the verge of defeat and decline, hope to win victory by continuing to prolong their aggressive war, by carrying out symbolic U.S. troop withdrawals, and by reverting to a modified and patched-up special war?

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

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(24) Testament of Chairman Ho.

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

Our entire Party and all our troops and people are resolved to implement our oaths of honor before President Ho's soul: "We will forever carry aloft the banner of national independence, resolved to fight and defeat the U.S. aggressors to liberate the South, to defend the North, and to reunify the country with a view to meeting President Ho's desire." (25) We are "determined to completely defeat the U.S. aggressors and successfully build socialism." (26)

The protracted revolutionary struggle full of hardship, sacrifices, and also glorious victories has forged our people and army. Our people are very heroic. Our country is a heroic one. Our army is a heroic one. And our Party, as President Ho said: "With all the modesty of a revolutionary, we still have the right to say that our Party is really great." (27)

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

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

Our people will certain win! The U.S. imperialists will certainly be defeated!

(25) Central Committee Eulogy at Chairman Ho's funeral.

(26) Ibid.

(27) Ho Chi Minh, Collected Works, p. 764.