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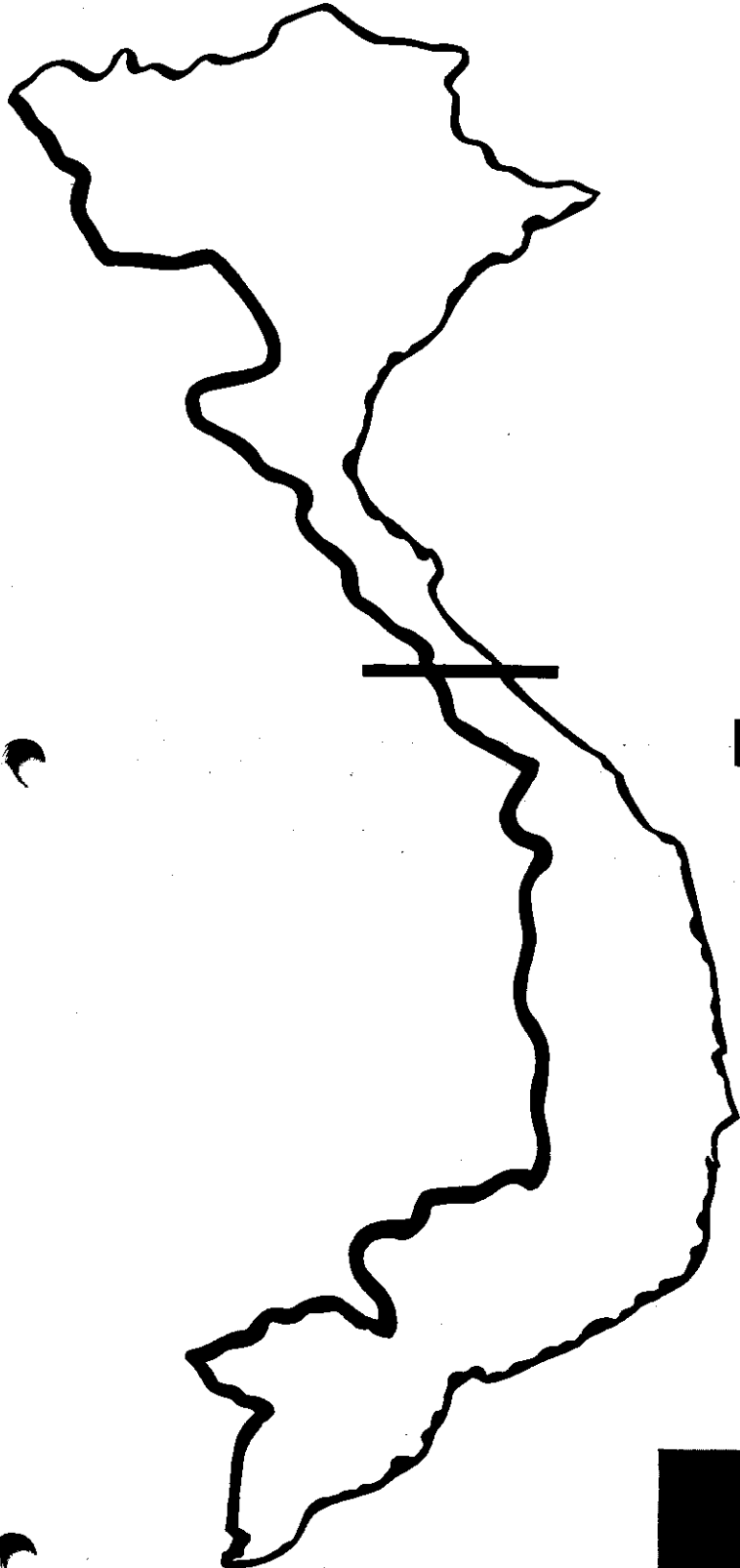
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TWO SPEECHES BY GENERAL VŌ NGUYỄN GIÁP

Background

In June and July 1969, General VŌ Nguyễn Giáp, Minister of Defense of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam (DRVN) and Commander in Chief of Viet-Nam's People's Army (VPA), delivered two speeches. In both--the first delivered to a congress of antiaircraft and air forces, and the second, before the cadre of the Third Military Sector--Giáp stresses the need for an all-out preparation for continued political and armed conflict. Emphasizing the requirements to attain the Party's objective of victory over the "imperialist aggressors," Giáp outlines measures which need the people's immediate attention. While making clear the primacy of ideology and absolute support of the people for the Party's "revolutionary war line," he also reiterates a much-repeated "military line" calling for the use of a "minimal force" to oppose a "maximal force"--a small force equipped with older weapons to defeat an enemy having a larger force equipped with modern weapons.

He points out the need for "crack forces" which can apply "clever tactics" in bringing into full play all available "crude, semi-modern and modern" weapons. Giáp calls attention to the "Party's stand" to raise the fighting quality and combat efficiency of the armed forces. For example, he wants the cadre most of all to have "revolutionary ethics," high tactical and technical standards and, as leaders, to be able to command skillfully.

Turning to the performance of the antiaircraft and air forces, he extols their "glorious performance" but also indicates explicitly the need for improving antiaircraft artillery, missile and radar forces and for the consolidation of agencies in the logistic bases. Giáp refers to the North as a revolutionary base for the whole country, and a great "rear" for the South which he calls a "great front-line."

In his July speech Giáp cites four continuing problems which obstruct the orderly development of "socialist construction" and the speedy rebuilding of the local forces. These are: (1) the need of the people to fight against the enemy's air and naval war of destruction; (2) the need to meet the manpower requirements of the mobilization of the armed forces and of rapid expansion and development of local armed forces; (3) the need to prepare, during wartime conditions, for the building of socialist economy; and (4) the need to improve the leadership of the local party chapters.

Though Giáp sees the bombing halt, the Paris talks and the de-Americanization of the war as evidence that the "U.S. imperialists will certainly be even more disastrously defeated," he insists that "the local military task is an important

part of our Party's military task as a whole." It is, he says, "closely associated with the just nature of . . . national salvation wars." The nature of the regional military task is to "directly rely on local political and economic bases to develop the all-sided forces of the people and organize on-the-spot forces for fighting in these localities to annihilate the enemy, protect the people's lives and property, protect . . . local administration, and safeguard the local people's master-ship right."

Giáp's call for a small force to attack a large force and his insistence on using rudimentary weapons against sophisticated ones is consistent with the prevailing situation; and, his exhortation to attack the "enemy everywhere and at any time after the previous campaigns have failed to attain their announced goals can be understood as military support for the Paris talks. It is clear, however, that the Party line remains, as Giáp puts it, the complete defeat of "the U.S. aggressors in order to liberate the South, protect the North, and advance toward reunifying the fatherland."

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TEXT OF GIAP'S SPEECH TO AIR FORCE CONGRESS.

Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1115 GMT 22 Jun 69 S.

[Speech by Gen. Vo Nguyen Giap at second determination-to-win emulation congress of the antiaircraft and air forces].

[Text] Dear comrades, today I enthusiastically convey to the determination-to-win emulation congress of the antiaircraft and air forces warm salutations from the Party Central Committee, the government, President Ho, the Central Military Committee, and the high command, greeting all delegates of heroic units, comrade heroes, determination-to-win combatants, and emulation combatants, and comrade delegates present here and, through the comrades present, best wishes to all officers and men, workers, and personnel of various units and compatriots of various localities.

The determination-to-win emulation congress of the antiaircraft and air forces, along with the determination-to-win emulation congresses of various military zones and various military branches and services of our armed forces from early spring this year, is a very great victory by our people in the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance. This is the victory of the northern people's war which has completely defeated the war of destruction waged by the U.S. imperialists with their air force and navy. Along with the resounding victories on the southern battlefield, this victory is very important and strategically significant.

Four years ago, while their special war in South Viet-Nam was facing the danger of complete bankruptcy, the U.S. aggressors, with the obduracy of an international gendarme, relying on their great economic and military potentialities, committed the most serious strategic and political mistakes in the history of their aggression. To avoid defeat in South Viet-Nam, they waged a large-scale local war by introducing a large expeditionary force to invade the southern part of our country. Concurrently, using their air force and navy, they waged a bandit war of destruction against the northern part of our country--an independent and sovereign country and a component of the socialist camp. On the southern battlefield, they successively launched major attacks during two (? dry seasons); but they were successively defeated. The more they were defeated, the more they intensified their war of aggression, mobilizing an increasingly large infantry, air, and naval force largely surpassing the initial estimations for a local war.

On the northern battlefield, they attacked frantically--the more they were defeated, the higher they escalated the attacks--attacking northward up to the 19th and 20th parallels, then attacking the northwest region, the northeast

region, the Sino-Vietnamese border, our capital Hanoi, and our biggest harbor Haiphong. They mobilized a fairly large number of planes based in Thailand and on aircraft carriers, in coordination with artillery of various types from the 7th Fleet and ground forces south of the parallel, to frenziedly attack our beloved north, dropping and firing over a million tons of bombs and shells. They used every type of bomb and shell, with the exception of atomic weapons: missiles, steel-pellet bombs, napalm bombs, and [words indistinct] bombs--the most modern and cruel lethal weapons.

The U.S. imperialists believed that no force could hold out against their modern air force and navy and their huge quantity of bombs and shells. They were certain that they could easily attain their coveted strategic objectives, finally force our people to submit to them, and carry out their neocolonialist aggressive plot. But the U.S. imperialists were grossly mistaken. They believed that within weeks, our determination would be shaken and our people would submit to them. But facts were entirely contrary to their expectations.

The more fierce their attacks, the more seething became our Vietnamese people's hatred and the steadier became the determination of all our armed forces and people to defeat the U.S. aggressors. The U.S. imperialists made all-sided, extremely careful calculations and weighed the very great effect of modern weapons of various types. But they did not take into consideration a great truth--that the Vietnamese people are a heroic people who have never in thousands of years submitted to any aggressor, and who have, in less than 30 years, consecutively defeated Japanese fascism and French imperialism and are resolutely defeating the U.S. imperialists. They believed that with the power of their bombs and shells they could cut off our roadways and waterways, definitely partition our country, and carry out their dark scheme of preventing our northern compatriots from fulfilling their sacred task toward the blood-sealed southern compatriots.

But facts were entirely contrary to their expectations. The more they intensified their attacks, the stronger the north-south militant unity became; and the more closely the northern compatriots sided with the beloved southern compatriots and the greater efforts they made, devoting themselves to fulfilling the obligation of the vast rear to the vast frontline. The Vietnamese fatherland is one, and the Vietnamese people are one. No force can split them.

With the "all-for-defeating-the-U.S.-aggressors" spirit and with the "nothing-is-more-precious-than-independence-and-freedom" spirit, the North has always looked toward the blood-sealed south and fulfilled its sacred duty to liberate the southern part of the beloved country. The U.S. imperialists believed that with the destructive power of their modern air force and navy, they could, within a short period of time, paralyze our people's economic and cultural life and destroy our national defense potentialities and socialist construction. But they miscalculated.

Amid combat flames and in the belief in victory over the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction, the north has become increasingly stable and strong, as hard as steel and as steady as brass, maintaining and developing its agriculture and industry, retaining its communications and transport lines, and developing its cultural, educational, and public health acts: Its national defense forces have been consolidated, becoming outstandingly strong in size and strength; its people's war-time life has been basically stabilized; its troops' combat requirements have been insured; the spiritual and political unanimity of our people nationwide is more consolidated than ever. With these marvelous achievements in combat and production, the socialist regime has clearly proved its superiority and its great strength. The north has vigorously developed its role as a revolutionary base for the whole country, and as a great rear for the south--a great frontline. In combat, the north has become more stable and stronger than ever. It is actually a steadfast and firm steel fortress. We should be proud of it !

Friendly foreigners visiting the north have been surprised by our people's strong vitality and marvelous revolutionary optimism. Such a nation, such a people, under the socialist regime, will certainly defeat all aggressors.

What was the enemy's goal in attacking the north? The U.S. imperialists' main goal in waging the destructive war in the north was to effectively coordinate with their expeditionary troops on the southern battlefield in carrying out the plot to invade the southern part of our country. Throughout years of intensifying the aggressive war in both zones, the southern situation has undergone great changes. The more the U.S. imperialists intensify their aggressive war, the more heavily they are defeated.

The longer our compatriots continue their resistance, the greater their victories. Especially since early spring 1968, under the NFLSV banner, the southern heroic compatriots and liberation troops have launched the general offensive and widespread uprisings, attacking the enemy strongly, continually, and comprehensively in the military as well as political fields, in cities as well as in rural and mountain areas. The liberated areas have been enlarged, and the people's revolutionary administration has been set up everywhere. This general offensive and uprising movement has achieved unprecedentedly big victories, completely upsetting the enemy's strategic position, shaking his rear, and shaking to the roots his aggressive will.

These historic victories have forced the U.S. imperialists to end the offensive phase of their local war on the southern battlefield, definitively shift to the defensive phase, implement the clear-and-hold strategy, and concentrate the majority of their forces to defend important cities and bases.

Early this spring, when the Nixon administration, which had just assumed power, was at a loss to settle the Viet-Nam problem, the southern troops and people launched new, strong, and timely attacks. Their very wonderful, high-efficiency battles bewildered the U.S. aggressors. These relentless offensives have proved that the southern troops and people have become increasingly strong in fighting the enemy and that South Viet-Nam, the fatherland's brass bastion, has great capabilities of fighting strongly, relentlessly, and resolutely until final victory.

Facing toward the heroic south, we heartily greet the great victories of our beloved 14 million compatriots and the heroic PLAF, the pride of our people nationwide.

Heavily defeated in their war effort and encountering innumerable difficulties not only on the Viet-Nam battlefield, but also in the United States and the world, the U.S. imperialists were forced to reexamine their policy of waging the unjust war, which is being condemned by progressive mankind. They were compelled to sit and talk with us, both the DRV Government and NLFSV delegates. This was something the U.S. imperialists never considered when they brought their great aggressive army to invade our country. [words indistinct] in the political field in the face of our people's shining just cause and great strength. Recently the NLFSV put forward a 10-point overall solution on the Viet-Nam problem, specifying very correct and serious principles, which has all the more embarrassed the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys.

Thus, the U.S. imperialists, who advocated bombing and shelling the north to remedy their predicament in the south, have experienced heavy defeats in both zones. On the South Vietnamese battlefield, the compatriots and the heroic PLAF are defeating more than 1.2 million troops of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys.

The marvelous military exploits of the southern troops and people have dealt a deadly blow at the U.S. imperialists' aggressive scheme and the same time greatly contributed to defeating the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction in the north. The U.S. imperialists were compelled to unconditionally end the bombing and shelling of North Viet-Nam which was a defeat not only of the war of destruction, but also of an important part of the limited war strategy, and then of the complete limited war strategy. We can assert that the U.S. imperialists have tacitly admitted the bankruptcy of their limited war strategy and are forced to talk about settling the war honorably and de-Americanizing it.

Is the de-Americanization of the war a new scheme? Certainly the U.S. imperialists remember that they once used non-American forces, the puppet

lackey forces, in the special war during which they were tragically defeated, prompting them to passively Americanize the war. Now after the bankruptcy of their local war, they are trying to salvage the situation by following the old path, by de-Americanizing or puppetizing the war. Both the Americans and puppets have been unable to achieve a strong position. The more they fought, the more they were defeated. Yet now the Americans want to gradually pull out their troops and let the puppet troops replace U.S. troops in achieving a strong position. Obviously they are plunging increasingly deeply into a stalemated, bogged down, and defeated state.

Our people are determined to frustrate all their new plots and pursue the resistance until final victory. The anti-U.S. national salvation resistance-- the greatest resistance against foreign aggression in our people's history -- will put an end to the legend about the U.S. imperialists' invincible military and economic might. The people's war of the Vietnamese nation is defeating, and will surely and completely defeat, the neocolonialist war of aggression of the U.S. imperialists.

Dear comrades, our northern people's armed forces, under the leadership of our party headed by venerated President Ho, have heightened the traditions of determination to fight and win and loyalty to the party and people and fulfilled their glorious mission of completely defeating the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction, making worthy contributions to our people's great victories.

All the antiaircraft units of all our three categories of troops in all localities, from part-time and full-time self-defense militia units to antiaircraft and air force units, have scored glorious performances, collaborating with all the people in downing about 3,300 U.S. planes, defeating the modern U.S. Air Force, and setting ablaze hundreds of warships and ranger ships of the top imperialists. This is a very glorious feat of arms.

At this congress, first of all, we want to warmly praise all officers and men in our heroic people's armed forces, all antiaircraft, infantry, artillery, engineering, transport, navy, and other units for their collective victories. We warmly praise the antiaircraft, missile, aviation, radar, and other units of the antiaircraft and air force, which have made an important contribution to the brilliant victory of defeating the U.S. Air Force. These comrades have strengthened their revolutionary heroism, determination to fight and win, marvelous heroism, and high sense of vigilance. They have developed their intelligence and creativeness, constantly heightened their technical and tactical levels, and invented clever fighting methods in order to crush the crafty tactical measures of the U.S. aggressors and down almost all categories of their modern planes.

Developing the spirit of accurately aiming at the enemy and firing at him, many units and individuals of the antiaircraft force have scored outstanding performances, such as the heroic 1st Company, the staunch Hong Linh unit which has the highest fighting efficiency and has downed over 200 U.S. planes, and the assault units which have heroically fought along the strategic communication lines. Many comrades, such as fire commander Nguyen Qui Hong, who continued fighting heroically although he was seriously wounded, and fire commander Bui Xuan Chien, who sacrificed himself to safeguard his unit's fighting force, are brilliant examples of revolutionary heroism. Very young, but very heroic, the missile force has grown quickly.

Many units and comrades, such as heroic Detachment 61, Detachment 64 which has downed the highest number of enemy planes -- over 40 -- the (Song Na) unit, which has downed 137 U.S. planes, the Nam Trieu and Ha Long units, each of which has downed over 100 U.S. planes, hero Nguyen Tuyen and other comrades who, with high revolutionary enthusiasm, have constantly made progress in mastering science and techniques -- all have heroically scored great performances.

Young, but heroic, the air force, with its tradition of winning victory each time it takes off, has won glorious victories. Many units have won brilliant victories, such as the heroic 1st Company, which has downed over 60 U.S. planes; the heroic 2d Company, which has downed over 100 U.S. planes. Beside heroic comrades Tran Hanh, Nguyen Van Bay, and Lam Van Linh, other comrades have fought very heroically and resourcefully and scored outstanding performances. For example, Comrade Nguyen Van Goc, who has downed nine U.S. planes, and Comrade Ha Van Chuc who, by himself, flew into a formation of 36 enemy planes, and downed the leading plane of the commanding colonel, frustrating the enemy attack.

The courageous and permanently vigilant radar force has constantly heightened its technical level, kept a firm hold on the need to spot out the enemy from afar quickly, accurately, and completely, fought tirelessly beside the radar screen, and won increasingly great victories. There have been good units such as determination-to-win observation companies 11 and 19, and so forth. Many comrades have scored brilliant performances, such as Comrade Pham Thi Yen, Comrade Do Ngoan, Comrade Nguyen Van Giang, Comrade Tran Vinh Quang, and other comrades.

Other units participating in combat, such as signal units, engineering units, transport units, armored units, and so forth, and organs, and schools have heightened their fighting spirit and their spirit of serving combat, making important contributions to the common victories of the entire force. Our courageous air defense force and air force troops have satisfactorily fulfilled the tasks entrusted to them by the party and people, proving themselves worthy of the confidence and love of our armed forces and people.

We are boundlessly proud of our people who have directly engaged in combat or served combat in an extremely courageous way, unreservedly devoting their energy and even their blood to helping our troops and, together with them, fighting the aggressors. Our people have spent millions of workdays on preparing the battleground, building roads, moving artillery pieces, carrying ammunition, and providing medical care for the wounded combatants. Our army would have been unable to score such great armed exploits without the whole-hearted assistance, motivation, and encouragement of the people, party chapters, administrations of various echelons, mass organizations in the localities, and compatriots of various nationalities.

Our armed forces' combat achievements have been closely associated with the success of the people's air defense task. Our compatriots have built millions of anti-aircraft shelters and tens of thousands of kilometers of communication trenches, satisfactorily organizing the relay of information and the sounding of the alert, thoroughly carrying out initial evacuation, and, thereby, minimizing the losses inflicted by the enemy. As a result, we have acquired a highly favorable position from which we have fought the enemy, frustrating his attempts to achieve his objectives.

The combat achievements of our troops and people are closely interrelated in the fields of production, communication and transport, culture, public health, and so forth. On the production front, our compatriots have highly demonstrated their courage and resourcefulness, constantly improving techniques and increasing labor output, successfully combating natural calamities and enemy-caused dangers, and meeting every requirement of the resistance.

An extremely fierce fight has been going on along communication lines on which the enemy has in the recent past concentrated his air raids. Heightening their spirit of strenuously repairing any section of road destroyed by the enemy in order to insure uninterrupted communication and transport, the communication and transport forces and our people have courageously fought against the enemy, winning very glorious victories. We have achieved great, comprehensive victories because all of our compatriots in various branches, agencies, and localities have fought courageously, making outstanding efforts, braving enemy bombs, shells, and bullets, overcoming every difficulty and hardship, and winning victories on every front.

We again warmly congratulate and praise our compatriots in all localities for their extremely great achievements on all fronts. We are boundlessly grateful to, respect, and love our compatriots who, under party leadership, have enabled us to acquire a greater strength to defeat the enemy. Every great victory of our people originates in the correct revolutionary lines, military line, and talented leadership of our party headed by President Ho. Our party has correctly and creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to the practical conditions of the revolution and the revolutionary war in our country in order to formulate its own line. It is the line of simultaneously accelerating the socialist revolution in

the north and the people's democratic, national revolution in the south, achieving national reunification on the basis of independence and democracy, building a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, and prosperous Viet-Nam, and realistically contributing toward strengthening the socialist camp and protecting peace in Southeast Asia and in the world. It is the revolutionary war line of a country whose territory and population are not very large and of a heroic people who possess extremely glorious, longstanding traditions of building and protecting the country and who, for independence, freedom, and socialism, have fought and defeated enemies possessing greatly superior economic and military potentials. Deeply imbued with the thoroughly revolutionary spirit of the working class, this line advocates unremitting and resolute attack upon the enemy, repulsing him step by step, wiping him out part by part, and moving toward completely wiping out enemy troops, winning final victory for the revolution. This line has highly developed our people's intense patriotism and is deeply imbued with genuine proletarian internationalism.

Our party has always stressed the spirit of self-help and self-reliance and the spirit of relying mainly on our own strength, while highly valuing the hearty assistance of the fraternal countries and the sympathy and support of all progressive mankind. This line is a concentrated manifestation of our party's independent and self-reliant spirit originating in its noble political responsibility to the revolutionary undertaking of our people and nation.

The most basic point in the content of our party's revolutionary war line is that all the people and the entire country are fighting the aggressors. Using the people's armed forces as the core force, mobilizing all the people to fight the aggressors, and highly developing the people's war with unprecedented courage and creativeness, our party has firmly grasped the rules governing the revolutionary war in Viet-Nam, acquiring an extremely great strength capable of defeating every aggressive enemy.

Firmly confident in the invincible strength of our people, who have remained stalwart and indomitable in the face of such an extremely cruel, perfidious enemy possessing enormous potentials as the U.S. imperialists, our party has always clearly understood the enemy's nature and schemes-- from his general strategic scheme to his political maneuvers and specific tactics -- clearly identifying his strongpoints, weaknesses, growing contradictions, and insurmountable difficulties, and scientifically analyzing the rules governing the U.S. imperialists' neocolonialist war of aggression.

In the war of aggression in Viet-Nam, every strategic scheme of U.S. neocolonialism has gone bankrupt as a result of the vigorous offensive blows of the people's war. Defeated in their special war, the U.S. imperialists passively

shifted to the limited war. Faced with serious defeats in the south, they passively launched the war of destruction against the north. Defeated, they passively escalated the war of destruction and, subsequently, to passively deescalate it. The more adventurous efforts they made, the more serious defeats they suffered in the face of our people's offensive strength. The more serious defeats they suffered, the more frenzied efforts they made and, subsequently, the more vigorously they squirmed while deescalating the war, the more ignominious defeats they suffered. This is an impasse, a dead-end road leading them to complete defeat. This is the predetermined, irreversible development of the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression.

Our military line in the people's war against the U.S. imperialists' neocolonialist war of aggression shows the following outstanding characteristics: a spirit of attacking the enemy relentlessly, resolutely, continuously, comprehensively, and with every force available; and, on the basis of the courage and intelligence of the Vietnamese people who possess high political enlightenment and a spirit of close solidarity, vigorously developing the effect of every type of weapon available, adopting every form of struggle and every fighting method, attacking the enemy everywhere and at any time, and taking the initiative in attacking and annihilating the enemy while constantly fostering and improving our forces in order to insure that the more they fight, the greater victories they win.

This is the method of using minimal force to oppose an overpowerful enemy and using ordinary weapons against his much better modern weapons, using crack forces and clever tactics to cope with his much stronger strength and modern weapons to score big victories for the revolution and defeat him. Fully understanding the method of opposing a maximal force with a minimal force and devising new clever tactics, our armed forces and people continue to hold the initiative, attacking and annihilating the enemy from a position of strength. In the southern part of our country, under the NFLSV's clever leadership, our people, united millions as one, have taken up arms [word indistinct] the offensive, developing the strength of both political and revolutionary armed forces, and main, regional, and guerrilla forces, and bringing into full play all available crude, semimodern, and modern weapons. They are coordinating armed and political struggles, combat and uprising, military attacks and political and troop proselyting activities, flexibly applying fighting methods for small, medium, and big attacks, and attacking the enemy in the strategic mountain, delta, and city areas. The people and the NFLSV know how to flexibly apply clever tactics, oppose a maximal force with a minimal one, use the proper size force to suit the circumstances, use highly efficient combat units to deal the enemy's manpower and war material stinging blows, inflicting upon him increasingly greater losses while developing their strength in fighting.

In the North, to defeat the enemy's war of destruction, our people have strongly developed combat strength to protect the north and fulfill the missions of the big rear toward the great frontline. Our people and armed forces have foiled all the U.S. imperialists' foolish combat efforts, scoring glorious success. Our party has strongly motivated patriotism and socialism among the people calling on the armed forces and people to uphold the determination-to-fight-and-to-win spirit, develop revolutionary heroism, and resolve to fight and defeat the U.S. aggressors and overcome difficulties, hardships, sacrifices, and losses; and, on this basis, motivating and organizing all people's forces to fight the aggressors. Therefore, our people have methodically taken part in this struggle. Nurturing deep animosity for the enemy, our armed forces have developed their strength, using increasingly modernized weapons, devising new combat methods with high combat efficiency, and extensively developing the initiative in combat, tracking the enemy to fight him, fully understanding his habits as well as the characteristics of our forces, and acting with determination, secrecy, and surprise to fight and exterminate him.

By bringing our initiative, secrecy and surprise factors, skillfulness and creativeness into full play, we have turned enemy offensives into favorable conditions for harassment, negating his offensives, rendering them fruitless or of little effect. Meanwhile, our offensive and initiative posture have been constantly developed. Thanks to this we have made noteworthy progress in using small force to defeat a large force and coordinating small-, medium- and large-scale battles. Wherever and whenever we have firmly held to this fighting method, we have always gained the greatest victories. We continuously harass and destroy large enemy forces, while smashing all tactical tricks and machinations.

Throughout our country, our three categories of troops have defeated the enemy. Our guerrillas, old and young, men and women, have downed enemy jet aircraft and captured enemy pilots. In the hands of our heroic and skillful combatants, each rifle, each automatic rifle, each gun, each missile stand, each modern aircraft has developed its effects to the utmost. An ordinary rifle can also defeat a modern aircraft of the U.S. imperialists. Being aware of the wicked enemy scheme to undermine our communication and transportation efforts and separate the vast rear from the vast frontline, we have motivated all our armed forces and people in carrying out communication and transportation tasks, considering them as central tasks; and on this front our people have fought with exceptional bravery, perseverance, and creativeness, achieving more outstanding performances and, thereby, smashing all enemy machinations. The enemy scheme is aimed at inflicting serious losses in men and property on us and destroying our economic and national defense potentials. Along with the struggle against the enemy, our people have exerted great efforts in carrying out effective measures to preserve their strength.

The evacuation of people and the satisfactory implementation of civil air defense tasks were instrumental in protecting our people's lives and property and were highly significant in the struggle to defeat the enemy.

We have adopted policies of switching to the building of economy in wartime, strengthening local economy, insuring fighting and production at the same time, and continuing to build socialism in wartime in order to satisfy the immediate demands of the war and the lasting demands of socialist construction in the north.

In the process of the fierce war, the socialist production relations in the north have not only been firmly maintained, but have continued to develop.

They have developed their great effect and further increased the material and moral strength for our people in the struggle to defeat the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression as well as in socialist construction. Our people have fulfilled this glorious task with a very high political sense which has been strengthened in the process of socialist construction in the north. If the previous anti-French war was carried out on the basis of a people's democratic economy, nowadays, for the first time in our national thousand-year history, we have conducted the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance on the basis of the socialist regime. Through the challenge of war, the socialist regime has proven to be an extremely steady and superior regime. When the enemy began his piratical war in the southern part of our country, our party, by understanding his goal--which consists of saving the U.S.-puppets' imperiled situation on the southern battlefield--called on and mobilized our people countrywide to singlemindedly and wholeheartedly join their efforts in resolutely defeating the U.S. aggressors, liberating the south, and protecting the north.

The southern compatriots and liberation troops have resolutely fought the enemy. Following each enemy attack against the north, the compatriots and liberation troops attacked him in the south 10 times more violently and won increasingly greater victories.

It was under these circumstances that the northern armed forces and people incessantly strengthened their fighting force in the war, inflicting on the enemy increasingly heavier losses, defeating all of his strategic plots and political and tactical tricks, forcing him to unconditionally end the bombing of the north and to resign himself to being completely defeated in the destructive war. All this constitutes new developments in the lines of the revolutionary war and the leadership of our party over the war. The materialization and development of these lines is a great success in applying the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, regarding war and armed forces to the concrete circumstances in our country.

Our people have further developed the indomitable and heroic tradition and combat proficiency of a people who have defeated many great, powerful, aggressive armies in their several-thousand-year history. Our party's revolutionary and military lines have been tested by the realities and victories on the battlefields. These lines have been the source of an unsubduable strength and the cause of all victories of our people.

Vietnamese military science is an advanced one which has vanquished and is vanquishing imperialist aggressive war strategies and tactics and triumphing over the already backward military potentials, but is weakening and declining and will become more so, according to the natural development trend of history in the present era. In our people's revolutionary struggle for independence, national reunification, and socialism, Vietnamese military science has developed its great effect, proved its absolute superiority over the imperialists' military ideology, and demonstrated that it has very great, invincible militant strength.

Dear comrades, the U.S. imperialists are obviously defeated. The more they prolong the war, the heavier defeat they will sustain. They are very obdurate, refusing to give up their aggressive design against the southern part of our country. Although they have been forced to speak of an honorable way of settling the war, in fact they are actively pursuing their war of aggression. They are doing their utmost to salvage the situation by gradually de-Americanizing the war.

They are carrying out their plots of continuing to implement neocolonialism in South Vietnam and partitioning our country forever. Although they are in a passive and critically serious situation, they are endeavoring to consolidate their defense lines, reinforce the declining puppets in all fields, and breathe life into the mustered puppet forces in order to consolidate the country-selling Thieu-Ky-Huong puppet administration. Meanwhile, they are frantically using B-52's, bombs, ammunition, and chemical poisons to destroy our liberated areas. They are successively launching military operations and stepping up their so-called accelerated pacification in order to repress, terrorize, and massacre our compatriots.

The U.S. imperialists persist in entertaining the fantastic hope that in their impasse they can check the advance of the southern armed forces and people who are taking advantage of their victories to surge forward and fight to win final victory.

In the northern part of our country, they have stubbornly continued their war acts, sending aircraft to carry out espionage and provocative activities, committing many new crimes, encroaching upon our country's sovereignty and security, and continuing to send spies and commandoes to sabotage the socialist

north. Despite the fact that they were defeated after waging the war of destruction for more than 4 years, the U.S. imperialists have not yet definitely renounced their dark designs against the northern part of our country. For the independence and reunification of the fatherland and for socialism, we vow to fully implement President Ho's teaching that "so long as a single aggressor remains in our country, we must continue to fight to sweep him away."

Our people countrywide are unanimously determined to surge forward to defeat the U.S. aggressors to fight until final victory. Determinedly and completely defeating the U.S. aggressors is a sacred task of our people and nation. All the cadres and combatants of the people's armed forces must highly demonstrate their determination to fight and win, heighten their revolutionary vigilance, and resolutely fulfill every task entrusted to them by the party and people. All cadres and combatants of the air defense force and the air force must clearly realize the new situation and tasks, fight stalwartly, and, together with other armed services and branches of the people's armed forces, resolutely crush every enemy war act, destroy his reconnaissance aircraft of all types, and, at the same time, be fully prepared and stand ready to fight with a determination to frustrate every insidious scheme of the U.S. imperialists.

To fulfill these tasks, we must strive to build an increasingly firm and strong anti-aircraft force and air force of very high combat quality and with great combat efficiency. We must build a really anti-aircraft artillery force and see to it that all of its battalions fight as good as or better than the Nguyen Viet Xuan battalion and that all of its groups fight as good as or better than the Hong Linh group.

We must build a very good missile force and see to it that all of its units fight as good as or better than the heroic 61st and 64th sections and the Song Ngan group. We must build a very good air force and see to it that all of its units fight as good as or better than the heroic 1st and 2d companies and the Sao Do group. We must build a very good radar force in order to promptly detect enemy aircraft when they come to our skies. We must consolidate all agencies and pay proper attention to technical and logistic bases.

Our party's stand concerning the building of armed forces consists of paying constant attention to heightening their fighting quality and developing their combat efficiency. By so doing, one can implement clever fighting methods, use a small force to defeat a larger force, and use a small force equipped with older weapons to defeat an aggressor having a larger force equipped with more modern weapons.

Only by so doing can one defeat the army of the archimperialist having the highest economic and military potentialities in the capitalist world. Only by so doing can we develop our ancestors' fighting traditions and thoroughly understand the spirit and content of our Vietnamese military science. The criterion on

which we can rely to measure our army's fighting quality is the combat efficiency of each unit. If all of our air force companies down at least 60 enemy planes, as did the heroic 1st Company in the recent past, if all our missile detachments down at least 40 enemy planes, as some detachments have done, and if all our anti-aircraft artillery battalions down at least 120 enemy planes, as the Nguyen Viet Xuan battalion has done, our anti-aircraft and air force, with the present strength, will have a fighting power five or six times greater. This also means that our army's fighting quality will be improved tremendously. This is the trend of our struggle -- a realistic goal. All officers and men of the anti-aircraft and air force must do their best to attain it.

First of all, they must thoroughly understand the party's military line and ideology. This is the people's war line which is developed to the highest level. The entire country participates in the war; all the people are valiant combatants. This is the ideology of resolutely attacking and annihilating the enemy; attacking continually, comprehensively, actively, with initiative, secretly, by surprise, resolutely, resourcefully, and creatively; using a small army to attack a larger army; heightening combat efficiency constantly; and winning increasingly great victories.

Organizationally, our forces must be clever, rational, and strong in conformity with the demands of their fighting methods. They must improve their political and ideological standards and have a command of techniques and tactics. Their command organization must be perfect and their equipment and weapons [words indistinct] especially with regard to services and branches armed with modern weapons, such as the anti-aircraft force and air force. In particular, cadres' quality must be high. They must have revolutionary ethics and steadfast combat determination, improve their technical and tactical standards, be qualified for leadership, and skillfully command their units in constantly winning victories.

The determined-to-win emulation congress of the anti-aircraft force and air force has cited many good fighting and building examples of units and individual soldiers. To develop the great effect of the congress, we must recapitulate the experiences of exemplary units more practically and thoroughly and turn these experiences into principles and guiding lines, further enriching our party's military ideology and further developing our fighting methods. This is a very good basis for continuing to build an increasingly firm and strong anti-aircraft force and air force, for improving units' combat quality, and for helping our anti-aircraft force and air force become an army service that will fight very well and defeat all enemies in order to steadily protect our heroic country's beloved skies.

Comrades, our people nationwide are faced with a very great and difficult task: striving to annihilate the enemy in order to bring the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle to complete victory. The heroic southern compatriots and

PLAF are advancing vigorously. They have waged relentless attacks against the enemy, scoring great military exploits and driving the U.S. imperialists into an increasingly serious defeated and passive position.

For the liberation of South Viet-Nam, national reunification, socialism, and the lofty international obligation, all our soldiers and people in the north are doing their best to fight and stand combat ready [words indistinct] while accelerating socialist construction in order to fulfill the sacred duty as the great rear to the great frontline. Never have the Vietnamese people been faced with such a glorious historic task. Never have our people developed their militant strength with such a great impetus.

Under the leadership banner of our party led by beloved and respected President Ho, let all cadres and combatants of the people's armed forces in general and of the anti-aircraft force and air force in particular, heroically and bravely advance and, together with our people nationwide, fulfill their glorious mission, and the most brilliant exploits of our people's history of struggle against foreign aggression, and completely defeat the U.S. aggressors in order to liberate the south, protect the north, and advance toward reunifying the fatherland.

TEXT OF GIÁP SPEECH AT 3D MILITARY

SECTOR CONFERENCE

Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1400 GMT 6 Aug. 69 S.

[Gen. Võ Nguyên Giáp speech at conference of 3d Military Sector cadres in July 1969--read by announcer].

[Text] Dear comrades, today, I am very glad to talk to you at this conference reviewing the 4 years of people's war against the war of destruction in various localities. I convey cordial greetings from President Ho, the party Central Committee, and the Central Military Council to all the conferees, cadres, and combatants of regional armed forces, and compatriots, cadres, and party members in various localities.

On several occasions, I have generally talked about people's war against the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction in North Viet-Nam. This time, I will talk about the brilliant victories and great might of people's war in various localities throughout the North, especially in provinces; and on this basis, I will express some views on the changes, new possibilities, and important position of local military tasks.

In the past, under local party chapters' leadership, the valiant struggle and creative labor of our people and regional armed forces in various localities have made worthy contributions to the common victories, north and south. Our people's war in various localities has developed to a fairly high level. Since people's war against the war of destruction is a nationwide, comprehensive resistance with many new characteristics, our local people have gained new valuable experience in all fields. First these are experiences in a nationwide struggle against the enemy's air force and navy to protect our airspace and territorial waters.

Second, these are the sudden experiences in wartime which help us develop our regular and regional armed forces and make comprehensive preparations to guard against the enemy's expansion of his regional aggressive war over the entire country.

During the war, all localities have continued to maintain and develop production and socialist construction to serve a protracted resistance successfully and to advance the socialist revolutionary undertaking. For this reason, these localities must gain experiences in economic orientation and social construction in wartime and must closely coordinate combat tasks and services with socialist construction. I deem it necessary to stress that this is the first time in our country's history that we have conducted a people's war under a socialist

regime; the previous anti-French resistance was conducted, as the present anti-U.S. resistance in South Viet-Nam is now being conducted, under a popular, democratic regime in the free liberated areas.

Another experience is related to the comprehensive improvement of local party chapters' leadership over combat, production, ideology, and organization with a view to developing the might of people's war in localities. The U.S. imperialists' shrewd plot is to perpetuate the partition of our country. But, in their aggressive war, they consider Viet-Nam a battlefield, thus unwittingly and tacitly recognizing Viet-Nam as one. They sent their expeditionary troops to invade South Viet-Nam, considering South Viet-Nam as the principal front, and they have sent their air force and navy to attack socialist North Viet-Nam, considering it a battlefield for combined attacks.

So, the resistance by our Northern armed forces and people is a resistance against U.S. imperialism to protect socialist North Viet-Nam. It is also part of our nation's general resistance against the U.S. imperialists' regional aggressive war to protect the great rear of the great frontline. For this reason, the experiences in the people's war against the enemy's war of destruction in North Viet-Nam are also the same as those experiences in the people's war against his regional aggressive war within the socialist rear.

Meanwhile, in South Viet-Nam, our southern compatriots and liberation troops are successfully fighting against more than 1.2 million U.S. puppet troops, scoring great victories and gaining valuable experiences in the fight against the U.S. imperialists' infantry, air force, and navy. So, the experiences of our armed forces and people in both zones are enormous and supplemental. They can help ameliorate our entire nation's experiences in the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance.

Through realities, people's war in localities in the south and north has manifested its great abilities. Therefore, not only must we recapitulate the experiences in the north, but we must also endeavor to learn the experiences from southern localities in order to vigorously improve local military tasks, to develop the great strength of localities, to contribute toward leading the resistance to complete victory, and to make adequate preparations for building the armed forces and consolidating our country's national defense in the future.

Our local people and regional armed forces have made worthy contributions to the direct struggle against the enemy's war of destruction [words indistinct].

I will talk more about the following problems: 1) our entire people's fight against the enemy's air and naval war of destruction; 2) the mobilization of war-time forces and the building and development of local armed forces; 3) economic

preparations for building a socialist economy during wartime in localities;
4) the improvement of local party chapters' leadership.

1--Our entire people's fight against the enemy's air and naval war of destruction.

To defeat the U.S. imperialists' modern air force and navy, our northern armed forces and people conducted [words indistinct]: Our entire people battled enemy aircraft and warships, carried out the air defense task, and insured thorough communications and transportation. Because of the characteristics and concrete objectives of the war of destruction, we have close mutual relations and [words indistinct]. On these fronts, there were antiaircraft forces of the regular forces as well as local antiaircraft forces; central communications and transportation forces. The regular forces' role are extremely important. The vast local forces are also very important.

a) As regards combat, we have achieved the policy of our entire people fighting enemy aircraft, using the antiaircraft force of the three troop categories as the backbone. This is a new development of people's war. We had gained some experience in the all-people movement to fight the enemy, especially his infantrymen.

Our young antiaircraft troops and air force have made rapid, outstanding progress. Local antiaircraft forces have become stronger and more experienced. Regardless of their age or sex, our ethnic self-defense militia combatants in the plains or highlands downed modern U.S. aircraft as did regional troops in provinces and districts.

Our people enthusiastically participated in combat and combat support, capturing piratical pilots, preparing battlegrounds, making roads for antiaircraft artillery and trains, and assisting troops in all spheres.

We have fully utilized all available weapons--from rifles, machineguns, and antiaircraft guns of all calibers to rockets and modern aircraft. Due to the fact that the regular forces' antiaircraft forces have been assisted by local antiaircraft forces, and due to the exhaustive use of all sorts of weapons, we have set up a network of fire--widely disseminated as well as concentrated in key areas, composed of several layers as well as oriented to different directions--to down enemy planes at different altitudes, everywhere, every moment. The strong antiaircraft firepower network of the socialist north has greatly frightened U.S. imperialists by inflicting heavy losses upon their modern airforce.

The regional forces' contributions to the antiaircraft defense have been clearly manifested under the form of enemy planes downed by self-defense militiamen and regional troops. Mainly using [words indistinct] and machine-

guns of various types, in some cases using the "rifle in one hand and plow in the other, rifle in one hand, and hammer in the other" methods, self-defense militiamen have downed many modern U.S. jets. People's self-defense men in Quang Binh have downed more than 100 planes. Many women's militia units in various localities have downed U.S. planes.

Provincial anti-aircraft artillery units have achieved fairly great achievements. Some units have downed 70 or 80 enemy planes and achieved high combat efficiency. The regional forces' influence on anti-aircraft defense has been manifested in their coordination of actions with the regular forces. Their mutual support has created favorable conditions for annihilating many enemy troops and setting up a network of fire efficient at different altitudes and at different sites.

On the other hand, during a war of destruction, enemy planes can attack every area in our rear. To cope with the enemy's mobile capacity, we have had to build an anti-aircraft network which is widely disseminated and, at the same time, concentrated in key areas. Thanks to the close cooperation between the regular forces' anti-aircraft forces and the local anti-aircraft forces--those of regional and militia forces--we have satisfactorily settled those complex combat requirements.

Another important influence of regional armed forces has been the satisfactory fulfillment of a very important task in the anti-aircraft task--the task of fighting low-flying enemy planes. Regional troops and self-defense militiamen have had the duty of directly fighting the enemy, spotting the enemy, and helping the people organize the anti-aircraft task, (thus contributing) to protecting the people's lives and property, protecting production, and stabilizing the people's life despite fierce war conditions.

Regional armed forces in coastal areas achieved great victories in fighting U.S. warships and U.S.-puppet ranger ships and have collaborated with the regular forces' artillery in protecting key areas. Local artillery units achieved good results in fighting enemy ships, protecting the people's production activities within the efficient range of their guns, and opening new local capacities to protect the territorial waters near our country, [words indistinct] a rather long coast.

The regional armed forces and the people's security forces have cooperated with the regional people [words indistinct] in combat, gloriously fulfilling their tasks, downing enemy planes, annihilating commando detachments, satisfactorily accomplishing the task of protecting order and security, and defeating the enemy's psychological warfare tricks. Along with the regular forces, the regional armed forces brave and effective fight has encouraged the people's enthusiastic

spirit of engaging in combat and production, chiefly and resolutely routing and defeating the U.S. aggressors, and heightening their confidence in victory.

From the combat viewpoint, the Vietnamese militia and self-defense forces' downing of U.S. imperialists' jets with infantry guns of various types is highly significant. This reflects our people's traditional enemy-fighting high spirit in fighting large numbers of enemy troops with small numbers of ours, using all available weapons, which usually are inferior to those of the enemy, [words indistinct]. It can be said that in the realities of the militia and self-defense forces' victorious fight can be found the reason why the Vietnamese people have defeated the U.S. imperialists.

b) Along with the policy of "all the people fight enemy planes and warships" is the policy of "all the people positively engage in the people's air defense task". Through the realities of years of war, we have ever more clearly realized the extremely important significance of the people's air defense task, the effect of which is to doom enemy attacks on objectives and to reduce our losses in men and property to the lowest degree. Annihilating the enemy to protect ourselves and preserving our forces to annihilate the enemy is a basic principle in every war and must be all the more deeply understood in the people's war against the destructive war.

In fact, fighting the enemy air force is not like fighting his ground forces, especially under circumstances where we do not yet possess a powerful air force or long-range missiles to destroy enemy planes at their bases or from afar, when they are still far away from their targets. Under these circumstances, to develop our positiveness and initiative and to reduce our losses, what is extremely important is that we make the enemy's air attacks become ineffective, or reduce their effectiveness, and we will then, on this basis, turn the enemy attacks on us into good opportunities for us to annihilate him. Therefore, we must conceal our installations, build fortifications to protect them, and camouflage, disperse, or move them. Therefore, the people's air defense task and that of providing the economy with new trends are strategically important measures to nullify or reduce the effect of the enemy's air attacks.

Only by satisfactorily carrying out the people's air defense task could our localities create favorable conditions to maintain the struggle and production and insure communications and transportation on the spot for a long time.

Moreover, in many localities, especially in the provinces south of the 4th Military Sector, as a result of the improvement of our people's air defense task, our casualties were low during the period when bombing raids were restricted but fiercer than previously. Our people devoted a great part of their labor and strength to this task.

In past year, tens of millions of shelters and tens of thousands of trenches have been completed and the first-aid services satisfactorily organized by our people in various localities, thus overcoming the aftermath of enemy bombings. We also satisfactorily evacuated to the rural areas millions of people from important targets of enemy bombing, cities, and provincial and district capitals. We moved many factories, agencies, storage facilities, schools, and hospitals to other areas. These activities were very successful. They also serve as new experiences for localities in the war. Since the people's air defense task is directly connected with the people's sentiments and habits and production and combat, activities of various installations, organs, and branches, it is necessary to satisfactorily carry out the tasks related to the political education and motivation of the masses, cadres, and party members, and to pay major attention to the organizational task which must be based on socialist production relationships.

In the countryside, cooperatives must set forth tasks aimed at improving the people's air defense. They must adopt concrete, correct measures to carry out these tasks systematically. They must also have a force charged with building shelters and trenches. A correct plan for shelter construction must be worked out. For instance, according to a plan, shelters for families of wounded soldiers and fallen heroes must be built before those of other families. First-aid stations and services must be set up. There also must be a concrete policy or plan for evacuation and so forth. Many localities have popularized experiences in building shelters and trenches among the people and have increased material and technical means with which to improve shelters and trenches without losing much labor strength. Our people have built several types of shelters and trenches which can effectively resist bombs and shells of all kinds. They are: individual or collective shelters, underground shelters, mobile shelters, surface shelters in their rice fields or on the sand, and complicated, fortified trench networks.

When connecting the requirements of the struggle against the war of destruction with the preparations for the resistance against the regional war, many localities have coordinated the building of shelters and trenches with the construction of combat villages. The people's air defense task has scored great achievements, demonstrating the endless engineering capabilities of our people and the great creativeness of people's war in various localities.

c) The fight on the communications and transportation front is also an important part of the people's war against the war of destruction. One of the enemy's important objectives was to attack our communications and transportation, in order to stop aid from the vast rear to the vast frontline. At times, the enemy's air force concentrated three-fourths of its attacks on our major communications lines. Military reports by the commander-in-chief in the Pacific revealed the

wicked plots, measures, and great U.S. effort, from bombing isolated objectives to bombing networks of objectives, especially our important communications lines. These reports also admitted the bitter U.S. defeats on this front.

Our people have scored great achievements in securing communications and transportation. In fact, in the fight to secure communications and transportation, our troop units and people in all localities have displayed their great determination to defeat the enemy and their braveness, intelligence, and organizational talent. Insuring uninterrupted communications and transportation under all circumstances is a central task. All our people have been mobilized to satisfactorily fulfill this task. Despite fierce enemy attacks on our communications lines, we repaired and used them.

Securing communications and transportation is truly a fight, especially under circumstances where the terrain in our country is complex, with many rivers, bridges, and dangerous roads. To defeat the enemy in this war, it is necessary to firmly grasp our transportation forces, road-building and road-repairing forces, and enemy-attacking forces, in order to protect communications. Leadership over securing communications and transportation has become part of the military art, requiring that we firmly grasp the enemy situation and ours and satisfactorily achieve close coordination between central-level and regional forces. Organizationally, the forces to secure communications and transportation [words indistinct] the central-level forces and the regular forces; the provincial specialized forces; and the large militia and self-defense forces at basic levels. The specialized forces and the regular forces are very important, especially in unpopulated or sparsely populated areas or at important points under fierce enemy attacks. The regional forces are also very important. Without them, the task of securing communications and transportation would not have been fulfilled as satisfactorily as it was.

Our experiences and the capabilities of our localities, provinces, and villages are great. The problem is that we must develop all these capabilities rationally. We must entrust localities with what they can do, provided that this will not influence the unified, concentrated leadership of the central level and the mobility and flexibility in the general activities of the communications and transportation task. In recent years, the provinces which most satisfactorily fulfilled the task of securing communications and transportation were those which accurately assessed its importance, adequately strengthened their transportation forces, knew how to firmly grasp the engineer and shock youth forces, adequately strengthened their forces to attack the enemy, enjoyed firm command and concentrated and unified leadership, achieved close coordination between their forces and those of the central level, and also satisfactorily developed the capabilities of the militia and self-defense forces and the people at basic levels.

[The following portion was broadcast by Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese at 1400 GMT on 7 August] .

2-- Mobilize wartime forces and build and develop local armed forces.

Under the conditions of violent resistance to the war of destruction, localities positively mobilized youths to join the army while positively building and developing local forces and self-defense and militia forces.

A)--To meet the demands of the resistance war, our main-force army, especially modern armed services and branches such as the anti-aircraft and air force, was developed enormously in a short period of time. The rapid quantitative and qualitative development of our main-force army made it possible for it to achieve great victories on battlefields. This was due to the great contributions of localities and to the presence of strategic reserve forces trained locally in peacetime years.

In a situation requiring us to simultaneously engage in production, combat, and serving combat, the successful mobilization of a large number of youths to join the army represents a highly significant success for various localities. This achievement has been attributed to our people's and youths' love for the country and socialism, to the leadership and organizational capabilities of local party chapters and administrative agencies, and to the absolute superiority of the socialist system. This achievement also proves the new progress of the local military task and of local military organs. This is the first time the localities have conducted such an extensive troop recruitment in conformity with the draft system.

In peacetime, we satisfactorily made preparations for wartime mobilization, enacting laws and establishing various systems and rules. In wartime, we have realized more clearly the necessity of coordination between state law enforcement and comprehensive political education, which must be based on ideological motivation of the masses, the mass line, party branches, cooperatives, state farms, enterprises, agencies, schools, and mass movements, namely, the three-ready youth movement and the three-responsibility women's movement.

If the localities follow the mass line and conduct vigorous mass movements, especially the youth movement, local military recruitment can always fulfill or overfulfill quantitative and qualitative norms. What is noteworthy is that the localities must attach importance to accelerating the mass movements in areas where they have not yet been vigorously conducted and must closely follow the progress made in advanced areas, in order to accelerate the general movement. It is necessary to insure that every locality fulfills its duty to the resistance.

Organizationally, we have attached importance to satisfactorily solving the problem of relations between production and combat and between providing supplementary troops for the main force units and retaining forces for on-the-spot combat. We have established an adequate draft quota for each locality.

The localities which have satisfactorily conducted military recruitment have effectively combined conscription with the accelerated performance of other tasks, satisfactorily conducting recruitment while improving and developing local core forces, positively building the self-defense militia and reserve forces, building strong on-the-spot combat forces, constantly preparing forces for subsequent conscription, and paying attention to fully implementing rear-base policies toward the armed forces.

Most of the youths inducted into the army have proven to be courageous and determined combatants being loyal to the party and devoted to the people and rapidly acquiring military knowledge. They are obviously the outstanding youths of the socialist system who have been intensively educated and trained by our party. This is a great success for our beautiful socialist system.

The localities must constantly improve troop recruitment qualitatively and insure that every local combatant and cadre setting out for combat is a determined, courageous combatant who possesses an extensive knowledge and a high fighting determination, and who, after a short training period, can satisfactorily carry out their tasks. To achieve this objective, the localities must pay greater attention to educating youths politically and utilizing and developing good experience. Specifically, it is necessary to positively train youths while they are members of the self-defense militia organization, comprehensively and qualitatively improve the training of supplementary forces in the localities, build good local units which will supplement the regular forces, form basic-echelon reserve sections, and so forth.

B)--During the high tide of the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance, regional armed forces have grown tremendously, made new improvements in organization and equipment, and heightened fighting capacity. Although the self-defense militia has supplied the regular forces with a large number of its men, its numerical strength has increased continually and its quality has been improved day by day. Self-defense organizations have developed quickly in factories, organs, and wards. The percentage of party members, youth union members and women in the self-defense militia has increased continually. The equipment supplied to the self-defense militia has increased in quantity and been improved, obviously.

Many villages set up heavy weapon cells and teams and specialist cells and

teams, such as engineering, signal, intelligence, or first aid cells and teams. Many localities set up village-sized mobile fighting forces. Self-defense militiamen have been able to use many types of weapons and equipment, from rudimentary to modern ones. They have succeeded in downing enemy planes, setting enemy ships ablaze, and destroying tens of thousands of the enemy's modern mines, bombs, and torpedoes of various types.

The regional forces have rapidly matured, achieving extensive development organizationally and in equipment and combat performance. In many provinces, local anti-aircraft units have downed enemy aircraft, ground artillery units have contributed toward sinking or setting ablaze enemy warships and commando boats, and engineer units have made an important contribution to insuring uninterrupted local communication and transport.

Local infantry units have also downed enemy aircraft and, in some localities, scored very outstanding combat achievements. Local military organs of various echelons have made substantial progress in providing staff service for local party committees and in commanding the local armed forces and leading the people's self-defense militia movement. These facts show that we are fully capable of building very strong local armed forces, including strong and widely organized self-defense militia forces and high quality regional forces possessing necessary armed branches and organized in conformity with local conditions. Local military organs of various echelons have been improved and perfected.

The local armed forces have their own tasks and responsibilities. Adequately organized, equipped, and trained, they possess a high combat morale and are familiar with the local terrain, people, and climate.

Adopting suitable fighting methods, they are fully capable of fighting well, winning great victories with a limited strength, consuming a small quantity of ammunition, and fulfilling most satisfactorily their important tasks and responsibilities.

Only by building strong local armed forces can we acquire a firm core force for all-people's, all-out warfare in the localities. Only by building strong local armed forces and strong local reserve forces can we acquire a firm basis for vigorously and rapidly developing the regular forces whenever necessary.

3--Initiate a change in the direction of economic development, build and develop the local economy, continue to vigorously step up the socialist revolution, develop the absolute superiority of the socialist system, and build a great strength for the local people's war.

Faced with the U.S. imperialists' limited war in the South and war of destruction in the North, our party Central Committee clearly pointed out that the North has the duty to simultaneously engage in production and combat in order

to protect the North help the South wholeheartedly and to the best of its ability, and continuously accelerate socialist construction in the North in conformity with the new situation. The anti-U.S. national salvation resistance and socialist construction are our northern people's revolutionary tasks in the new situation. Only by achieving a successful national salvation resistance can we protect socialist construction in the North and realize, together with our compatriots countrywide, the national, democratic revolution in the South. Only by continuing socialist construction in the North can we increase our economic and national defense potentialities and effectively serve and lead the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance to victory.

To achieve these tasks, our party has promoted a change of economic direction and the building and development of local economy. Economic construction and development in the North must be consistent with wartime, immediate requirements, a situation where in the U.S. imperialists expand their regional war over the entire country, and the continuance of our socialist construction after the U.S. defeat. This is a very correct, creative policy of our party.

Under the rain of bombs and bullets, along with fighting the enemy on the spot and serving the fighting and battlefronts, localities made very great efforts to carry out the policy of changing the trend of economy, which was to build and develop local economy in conformity with the practical local situation. Localities have continued accelerating the revolution of production relations, the technical revolution of production relations, the technical revolution, and the cultural and ideological revolution in order to consolidate and build socialism in wartime, to strive to develop the superiority of socialism, and to accelerate the people's war in localities. These are new, very valuable experiences of our party and local party chapters in the war.

The courage, heroism, labor creativeness, intelligence, and studiousness of the Vietnamese people have been reflected in their struggle on the production front, in their efforts to develop education, culture, and public health, and insure their lives, and in socialist construction. Our troops and people in all localities were heroic not only in fighting, but also in production bombs. This is also a characteristic of the Vietnamese people's revolutionary heroism. It tells how great our struggle is, a struggle of which the socialist Vietnamese are very proud! [words indistinct] has triumphed over barbarism. This is why the U.S. war of destruction was tragically defeated.

Despite shortcomings and weakpoints, the achievements of our people in localities on the production front have been very great. Many Western newsmen have praised the economic construction in the North during wartime, considering it a wonder. The enemy has caused us a number of difficulties and losses, but the U.S. imperialists have obviously failed in their scheme of undermining our economic potentials, with a view to weakening our fighting capacity and disturbing

the quiet life of the people in the North. In wartime, our socialist economy in the various regions has been maintained and constantly developed, thus effectively serving the resistance. In the agricultural field, the socialist relations of production have been strengthened and developed. The number of peasant families joining cooperatives and the number of high-level cooperatives have constantly increased in the years of war. The cooperatives have not been weakened, but have adversely shown their great vitality. The cooperatives have mobilized manpower, organized combat forces, assured logistic tasks, solved the question of labor marks and policies for various production, combat, combat-support, people's air defense, and communication and transportation tasks in the region, and stabilized the cooperative members' lives. Without cooperatives and without the socialist regime, it would be hard for the regions to fulfill the heavy and complicated tasks in wartime, as they have done in the recent past.

Despite the violent attacks by the enemy, and although an important part of manpower has been removed from agricultural fields, agricultural production continues to be maintained or to develop in a number of regions. Many regions have exerted efforts to meet their own food requirements, considering it a matter of strategy. The agricultural technical revolution continues to be stepped up. Mechanization has become widespread in the regions. Many provinces have increased machine-plowed acreage.

The movement for three agricultural objectives has cropped up in wartime. Under the rain of enemy bombs and shells, the peasants and cooperative members of many regions have transplanted seedlings in straight lines. This clearly reflects the resistance spirit and eagerness for technical improvement of the new peasants' class, the collective peasants' class in the socialist north. The development of local industry has been an important characteristic of local economy over the past many years. Many new factories set up in the regions have started producing. In wartime, a network of local industry with thousands of small-and medium-sized factories has been established in the north. All localities have produced many goods which could not be produced in peacetime.

Local industry has contributed toward serving agriculture, communications and transportation, the lives of the people and troops, and national defense in localities. Mechanical and engineer installations in localities have partly solved technical problems facing troops, such as repairing ordinary weapons.

Under war circumstances, educational, cultural, and medical activities in localities have also developed. The number of students at various levels has increased tenfold, with underground schools and night classes. In wartime, our educational branch has made definite efforts to meet the requirements in production and combat. Almost all villages possess dispensaries and physicians. Dispensaries in villages and hospitals in districts and provinces have also engaged

in serving combat, providing troop units and the people with first aid and long-term treatment. The development of regional agriculture, industry, medical activities, and supply bases of the people's war is being stepped up.

War is a fierce challenge to every social system. Thanks to an adaptation of our economy to wartime circumstances and a continuous and vigorous acceleration of the three revolutions in all localities, the socialist system in the north has been continuously built, consolidated, and developed in wartime, while it has developed its superiority and stepped up the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance. The situation in localities in the years of war has showed us that along with eliminating the "exploitation of men by men" system, the regional laborers have achieved political unanimity and constantly heightened their morale. As a result, the people's war in localities has leaned on the all-sided great strength and potentialities of the majority of the masses, workers, peasant communities, and socialist intellectuals. Our regional troops and people have upheld the collective mastership thinking and their brave spirit in combat and production. They have increasingly loved and helped one another, sharing rice and clothing under difficult, dangerous, fierce enemy attacks.

Innumerable examples were sent by the majority of the masses and ordinary laborers in making heroic fighting sacrifices, in working industriously and in devoting themselves to serving their cooperatives, villages, and country as much as, or more than, they did their families. The system of socialist ownership in two forms--the all-people ownership and collective ownership--has been widely implemented and gradually perfected, step by step, in localities. This is a favorable objective condition for every activity of scientific organization of the people's war. Among laborers exist not only love and the revolutionary self-enlightenment, but also new organizational relations. Many combat and production organizations in localities have emerged and effectively operated. This is due to the existence of socialist production relations and cooperatives. The combat-ready and bomb-destroying cells of the militia and self-defense forces, the trench-digging units of the cooperatives, the labor cells operating in coordination with the militia squads and platoons of cooperatives, and so forth have reflected the many-sided great capabilities of the socialist system, in general, and its organizational capabilities, in particular.

During the previous peaceful years, definite material and technical socialist bases were built in localities. These bases have been strengthened and modernized step by step in wartime. They have constituted new favorable conditions for the people's war to solve logistic problems on the spot and to increase labor output to reinforce the labor force serving combat, thus contributing to increasing combat and combat serving efficiency of local armed forces and people.

An important volume of material and technical means of cooperatives, enterprises, state organs, and people has been mobilized and employed in achie-

ving tasks in fighting enemy aircraft, building the people's air defense, and insuring communications and transport in localities. The superiority of the socialist regime in the north is concentrated in the new men, the socialist Vietnamese, who have an ardent patriotism, a genuine international proletarian spirit, and a very high sense of collective ownership and combat spirit in addition to an increasingly progressive cultural standard, good health, and a faithful, simple, and healthy way of life.

Regional youth groups and party members who have enrolled in the regular forces in the death-or-life fight against the enemy have set many brilliant examples, thus honoring the socialist system. Our militia and self-defense forces have not only been brave but also intelligent, able to swiftly use a great amount of modern weapons and equipment of various types.

Our workers and peasants in cooperatives have worked industriously, have been clever organizationally and talented, and have invented many things and taken many initiatives in order to improve technology, increase labor output in production, and serve combat.

It is obvious that the socialist system has developed its superiority in order to step up the people's war, with regard to politics, organization, material and technological installations, and human morale, intelligence, and virtues. These are new capabilities and a great source of strength of the regional people's war. Those localities, which have excellently developed and fully used all their capabilities, made a good division of labor, and rationally combined all forces can brilliantly fulfill every complex task of the all-people and comprehensive war in localities with the highest quality and greatest effect.

4-- Strengthening the leadership of the regional party chapters.

That the regional people's war has succeeded in developing its great strength and winning brilliant victories is due directly to the leadership of the regional party chapters in conformity with the correct lines of the party Central Committee. Our regional party chapters have upheld the thoroughly revolutionary spirit of the working class, developed the intelligence of the party members and the masses, and endeavored to struggle to thoroughly understand the party lines and policies and to successfully fulfill every regional task in the great anti-U.S. national salvation resistance.

The party chapters have bravely achieved comprehensive leadership while going deeply into leading the fulfillment of every regional military task, satisfactorily fulfilling the educational, political, and ideological tasks along with organizational tasks, and making full use of and developing the great strength of the socialist system in order to step up the people's war.

Leadership over the war is not only a purely military leadership but also a comprehensive leadership combining military with economic matters, combat with production, and the frontline with the rear.

The success of the regional party chapters is due to their know-how in combining all production measures with combat, while satisfactorily fulfilling the task of mobilizing human and material resources in order to meet the requirements of the resistance and fulfilling the regional production and combat tasks in conformity with the regional concrete situation under varying circumstances. As a result, under all circumstances, generally speaking, the localities have produced well and fought successfully and have fulfilled all regional military tasks and other tasks entrusted to them by the central level.

This success reflects a very high sense of political responsibility, concrete organizational ability, and the progress of the regional party chapters in other fields. The party chapters have satisfactorily fulfilled their tasks in wartime and highly valued military leadership, combat leadership, and production leadership while knowing how to lead production under fierce combat circumstances.

This is a new requirement vis-a-vis the party chapters' leadership. Many regional party chapters, especially those in areas under fierce enemy attacks, have met this requirement and gained many experiences. The main experiences recapitulated by the localities are: the provincial party committees must strengthen their leadership over and develop the role of the regional military agencies. In order to serve as good staffs for various levels of party committees, the regional military agencies must not only be good in military matters but must also understand economic problems, grasp the main problems of socialist construction in localities, and skillfully combine the military tasks and other tasks of localities. It is necessary to thoroughly understand the military requirements in various regional branches and agencies, to closely combine combat with production and economy with national defense, and to heighten the military level for party members and cadres. The tasks and ways of life of branches and agencies must be militarized. It is necessary to closely combine branches and agencies under the concentrated, unified leadership of various levels of party committees.

To fulfill the task of leading and guiding the regional people's war, the party chapters have paid special attention to strongly building themselves in the political, ideological, and organizational fields. In all provinces, the number of party members continues to increase, and their quality has been noticeably heightened. In wartime, in many provinces, especially those in the 4th Military Zone, there have appeared many outstanding party members and many party branches that have led the people to firmly and outstandingly fight and produce, thus truly deserving to be the leading banners, steel fortresses, and efficient staffs of the regional people's war. This is a source of legitimate pride for all our regional party chapters and the party as a whole. The regional party chapters have been

forged and have matured in the fierce fight. They have worthily contributed to the great achievements of our entire party.

[The following portion was broadcast on Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese at 1400 GMT on 8 August.]

Enthusiastically advance toward further strengthening local military tasks while striving to successfully achieve every mission.

The victories won by the people's war in localities have been really brilliant. The people's war's power over localities in the socialist north has been really great. These victories have deservedly contributed to the common victories of our armed forces and people in the north and those of our compatriots nationwide.

At present, the U.S. imperialists have been compelled to unconditionally stop bombing the northern part of our country. This event has not only proved the complete failure of the war of destruction but has also shown the bankruptcy of the American's regional war strategy against the southern part of our country. An American politician, Arthur Schlesinger, former adviser to Kennedy, wrote in the March 1969 issue of HARPER'S magazine that on 31 March 1969, when President Johnson talked to the nation on the Viet-Nam issue, he not only declared a halt to the escalation of the war, a stepped up search for negotiations, and his withdrawal from the presidential race, but also revealed the collapse of a policy and even the possible end of a whole era--he meant to imply the end of the era in which the U.S. imperialists considered themselves a superpower, and the collapse of the U.S. role in the world.

Our people's anti-U.S. national salvation resistance has not yet come to an end nor have we won complete victory, but we are victorious and the Americans are obviously defeated. The Vietnamese people's victories are extremely great, as to their significance to both our nation and the world revolutionary movement.

The U.S. defeats on the Vietnamese battlefield have represented one of the U.S. imperialists' heaviest defeats throughout their history of aggressive wars. In the past few years, Viet-Nam has become the number one problem for the Americans. Johnson declared that the Viet-Nam war constituted a vital trial and that its importance equaled that of any war waged by the United States to date. It is for this very reason that the U.S. imperialists have sent more than one-half million troops to invade Viet-Nam, thus mobilizing a force of more than 1 million U.S. and satellite troops.

With so great a military force, the U.S. imperialists have obviously had other shrewd designs in addition to that of invading the southern part of our country. Viet-Nam is on the frontline of the peoples' liberation movement. The U.S. imperialists hope that their victory in Viet-Nam will lead to a victory

over the movement for liberating the world's peoples. Moreover, since Viet-Nam is on the frontline of the socialist camp in the struggle against an imperialist ringleader, they think that winning the Viet-Nam war means defeating the socialist camp.

For this reason, they have frenziedly and brutally embarked on a military adventure with an enormous force, despite the fact that they have to pay very dearly in terms of human and material resources, military and political losses and U.S. honor and its future. They have never thought that in the very important life-and-death trial, the Vietnamese people are the vanquishers while U.S. imperialism is the vanquished.

The success of the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance will bring independence freedom, and national reunification to our people while developing its great effect in promoting militant solidarity and motivating and encouraging the world revolutionary movement. The Vietnamese people's victory means the victory of the movement for liberating the world's peoples and also the victory of the socialist camp. Our people's victorious resistance is the great historic event of the second half of the 20th Century. Marking a step in the total collapse of imperialism in its role of world policeman and, at the same time, marking the strong and hopeful progress of the world's people toward even greater successes in the common struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism. For this reason, the Vietnamese people's heroic struggle is considered as the hope, the conscience, and the honor of all world's progressiveness.

Since the U.S. imperialists ended their war of destruction against the North, our heroic southern compatriots and PLAF have continuously attacked them militarily, politically, and diplomatically. On the battlefield, the recent waves of vigorous attacks have proven more lucidly the herculean strength of the southern PLAF which, by adopting skillful fighting methods have inflicted serious losses on the enemy, frustrating the U.S. policy of increasing military pressure while reducing U.S. casualties.

At the conference table, the NLFSV's 10-point overall solution has driven the enemy into a passive, confused situation. The proclamation of the NLFSV's 10-point overall solution was followed by the emergence of the Republic of South Viet-Nam Provisional Revolutionary Government which has won extensive international sympathy and support.

Obviously, the U.S. imperialists cannot continue their war of aggression on the present scale for an extended period of time. Nixon himself had to admit that the Viet-Nam war is the most difficult war for the United States. But the U.S. imperialists remain very stubborn. They are seeking ways to get out of the war

from a position of strength while successfully maintaining the southern part of our country in the U.S. neocolonialist orbit. They are feverishly implementing the policy of de-Americanizing or Vietnamizing the war, cherishing the illusion that the more they withdraw their troops from the South, the stronger the puppet army and administration will become.

The U.S. imperialists were frenzied when they began to rush headlong into an aggressive war which the U.S. Government leaders now consider their most serious strategic mistake. They show now that they are ever more frenzied, because although they are badly defeated, they have plotted to Vietnamize the war in an attempt to extricate themselves from it in U.S. style.

The U.S. imperialists will certainly be even more disastrously defeated. The present anti-U.S. national salvation resistance is the greatest war against foreign aggression in our national history. The most sacred task of every Vietnamese citizen is to resolutely pursue the resistance until final victory, for the independence and reunification of the fatherland and as part of his noble international duty. As President Ho said, as long as a single aggressor remains in our country, we must continue to fight to wipe him out.

The North has completely defeated the enemy's aggressive war and, therefore, has favorable conditions for more firmly building, consolidating, and strengthening our forces in all fields. Our armed forces and people in the North have clearly realized that while over 1 million troops of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys are trampling on the lives of our compatriots in the South, our people's activities in every field must be carried out in conformity with the slogan "everything for defeating the U.S. aggressors".

The military tasks of our people in the North remain very heavy. Our armed forces and people in various localities must continue to heighten their vigilance, engage in combat, and maintain their combat readiness in order to protect the North and fulfill the duty of the vast rearbase to the vast frontline. We must continue to improve our armed forces' combat quality, shoot down enemy reconnaissance aircraft of every type, crush every enemy act of sabotage, annihilate commando teams, protect public order and security, and take precautionary measures against the enemy's resumption of his raids.

To successfully fulfill the local military task in the present situation, it is necessary to accelerate the performance of the local military task and insure that it catches up with the development of the local economic construction advocated by our party, in order to build our provinces economically and militarily and turn them into increasingly firm and strong basic units in the people's war. The local military task is an important part of our party's military task as a

whole. Its important strategic position will become even more important in our people's revolutionary undertaking in general, and in our party's armed struggle in particular.

First, the local military task primarily manifests the people's war viewpoint of our party. The local military task is closely associated with the just nature of the fatherland-protecting and national salvation wars which have been waged by our people in their own country.

For the protection of the fatherland and for national salvation, our party has advocated having all the people engage in fighting the aggressors and using the people's armed forces as the core force.

Organizing the armed forces into three categories of troops represents the most appropriate organizational form of the people's armed forces. This organizational pattern is designed to mobilize and organize all the people to arise and kill the aggressors for national salvation. Therefore, the main force units and the regional and self-defense forces play equally important roles.

The goal of the regional military task is to directly rely on local political and economic bases to develop the all-sided forces of the people and organize on-the-spot armed forces for fighting in these localities to annihilate the enemy, protect the people's lives and property, protect the people's local administration, and safeguard the local people's mastership right.

Second, in the present anti-U.S. national salvation resistance the regional military task is very important. This is because our enemy is a very cruel imperialist having a large force equipped with modern equipment and techniques and greatly mobile means. Moreover, in modern war it is difficult to clearly determine where the frontline is or where the rear is. Under such concrete conditions, the need to attack the enemy in time, attack him efficiently, and attack wherever he comes in order to annihilate him, protect our rear, and protect the people's lives and property, has become all the more permanent and urgent. Therefore, the regional military task must be strengthened. It is necessary to organize strong regional and militia and guerrilla forces everywhere and mobilize local people to organize themselves and achieve combat readiness. If all our people and troops are valiant combatants, we will surely be able to defeat any enemy, no matter how cruel they are. Regional forces are a factor of the superiority of the people's war against an enemy possessing mobile means, because local people are the most mobile men, as bourgeois strategists themselves have had to admit.

Third, the regional military task is very important because the regional armed forces have developed new techniques and equipment and because of the

new developments of the military art in the revolutionary war. In the North, regional troops and self-defense militiamen are equipped with weapons and means to down enemy jets, set ablaze or sink enemy ships, and destroy or defuse modern enemy bombs and mines of various types. In the South, guerrillas have been able not only to annihilate enemy infantrymen, but also to fight against enemy tanks, armored vehicles, and helicopters. Regional troops have been able to fight relatively large annihilating battles. Our fighting methods have undergone new changes. We have used a small unit to fight a larger unit, fought large-scale battles with small force, strongly attacked the enemy at his weakest point, and attacked the enemy's nerve centers and logistic bases in order to annihilate seasoned enemy troops and destroy the enemy's modern war means. Thanks to these creative fighting methods, regional troops, guerrillas, and militiamen have acquired a strong and tremendous fighting power.

In the new situation, we must further improve the local military tasks and develop the great capabilities of local armed forces. Under the present war conditions, it is necessary to develop guerrilla warfare to a very high level, thus creating favorable conditions for the regular war to defeat the enemy. Local armed forces must be developed vigorously and widely, thereby enabling regular troops to acquire high mobility and great offensive strength.

The highly harmonious coordination between the three troop categories and armed and rear forces will help create a new offensive strength for the people's war to constantly attack the enemy by every means, on every scale, at any time, and in any place, thus causing enemy troops, however numerous, to lose their strong offensive strength and to face a dispersed, passive, and defeated situation.

Fourth, the importance of local military tasks also depends on the progress of localities, especially provinces, in terms of human and material resources, economic potentialities, and the capability of insuring rear service for people's war.

In the North, with our party Central Committee's policy of developing local economy and building every province into a steadfast, strong economic unit, local military tasks can benefit many new favorable conditions and promote greater possibilities. At present, our provinces in North Viet-Nam generally have a fairly vast base area with a varied population which sometimes totals 1 or 2 million. Parallel with socialist construction, the agriculture, local industry, communications and transportation, and material and technical bases of socialism in various localities have further developed. Therefore, it is necessary to accelerate local military tasks in order to exploit all latent local potentialities, to adequately coordinate economy with national defense within the locality, and to economically and militarily build every province into an increasingly steadfast and vigorous basic unit of people's war in the locality.

Fifth, local military tasks are connected with the important role of a rear force in a people's war and all-people national defense. Only by improving local military tasks can we build a rear force qualitatively and quantitatively, always be prepared for combat in peacetime, and rapidly expand and increase our armed forces in wartime.

In the past years of war, our local military organs have positively organized the management and training of rear forces and have satisfactorily achieved wartime military mobilization to reinforce the regular army. As a result, our regular forces have made outstanding progress within a short period of time and a rear force has always been available for constantly developing the army according to the new requirements of the resistance.

In the future, after the complete victory of our resistance and the restoration of peace, along with maintaining a rather small standing army, we will have to improve local military tasks in order to satisfactorily organize, manage, and train our rear forces. Thus, in peacetime, when concentrating all forces on building our economy, we are always adequately prepared to improve military mobilization and to enlarge our forces in wartime.

We can assert that in any situation, in wartime, or in peacetime, we must pay great attention to local military tasks. Gaining a firm grasp of the position, role, and importance of local military tasks is a prominent question. This can help create a stronger change among leading cadres at all echelons of our party, armed forces, and administration. To disregard local military tasks is to lack the concept of a people's war. This is a great error. If we are thoroughly aware of local military tasks and actually engage in concrete tasks, we must continue to build, consolidate, and improve our self-defense, militia, regional, and rear forces and to specifically set up combat villages and hamlets.

We must, on the basis of satisfactorily combining local economic development with national defense requirements, strenuously and simultaneously build the material, technical, and logistic bases of the people's war in the localities and the general rear-base establishments of the army. An important task which various echelons must carry out very satisfactorily is to implement the rear-base policies regarding the army, namely, the policy regarding wounded combatants, the policy regarding families of army men and dead heroes, and so forth.

To satisfactorily carry out these specific tasks, we must actually strengthen the leadership of local party chapters, improve and perfect local military organs of various echelons, especially the provincial and basic echelons, attach equal importance to the district echelon, and strenuously train a local military cadre corps which is not only politically and militarily capable, but is also fully aware of the local political and economic situation and able to closely associate the military task with every other task of the localities. The greatest resistance in our national history has achieved extremely great victories. We are shouldering

a heavy, yet extremely glorious undertaking. Our people throughout the country are singlemindedly determined to carry on the resistance and lead the anti-U.S. national salvation undertaking to final victory.

The U.S. imperialists have suffered extremely serious defeats. No matter how cruel, stubborn, and perfidious they may be, they can in no way remedy their defeated situation or avoid complete defeat. For the independence, freedom, and reunification of the fatherland and for socialism, our people are determined to advance the resistance toward victory. This fighting determination represents the most valuable moral value of our Vietnamese people. It has been continuously enhanced through one generation after another in our people's glorious history of resistance against foreign aggression. This determination to fight and win and the "nothing is more valuable than independence and freedom" spirit have created the invincible, victorious strength of the people's war.

In their arduous fight against a cruel enemy possessing economic and national defense potentials which are greatly superior to their own, our Vietnamese people--under the correct leadership of our party headed by President Ho--have resolutely fought the aggressors in order to defend their country. Fighting well, our people have not only set a bright example of revolutionary heroism, but have also unequivocally proven to be a people who possess strategic skills and who have come up with many specialized creations. The fight in various localities of the socialist north against the enemy's modern air and naval forces during the war of destruction against the north represents one of these specialized creations.

The experience acquired by both parts of our country in people's warfare in general, and in the performance of the local military task in particular, is very valuable. If reviewed and utilized in time, this valuable experience will significantly contribute toward further developing our Vietnamese military science and further enhancing our party's military line. By so doing, we can contribute very realistically toward increasing the fighting strength of all our armed forces and people in order to advance the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle toward final victory and satisfactorily prepare for building our armed forces and consolidating our country's national defense in the future.

We are determined to insure that our beloved Viet-Nam will forever belong to the heroic Vietnamese people.