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Gen. Vo Nguyen Giap outlines his strategic thinking as of late 1969.

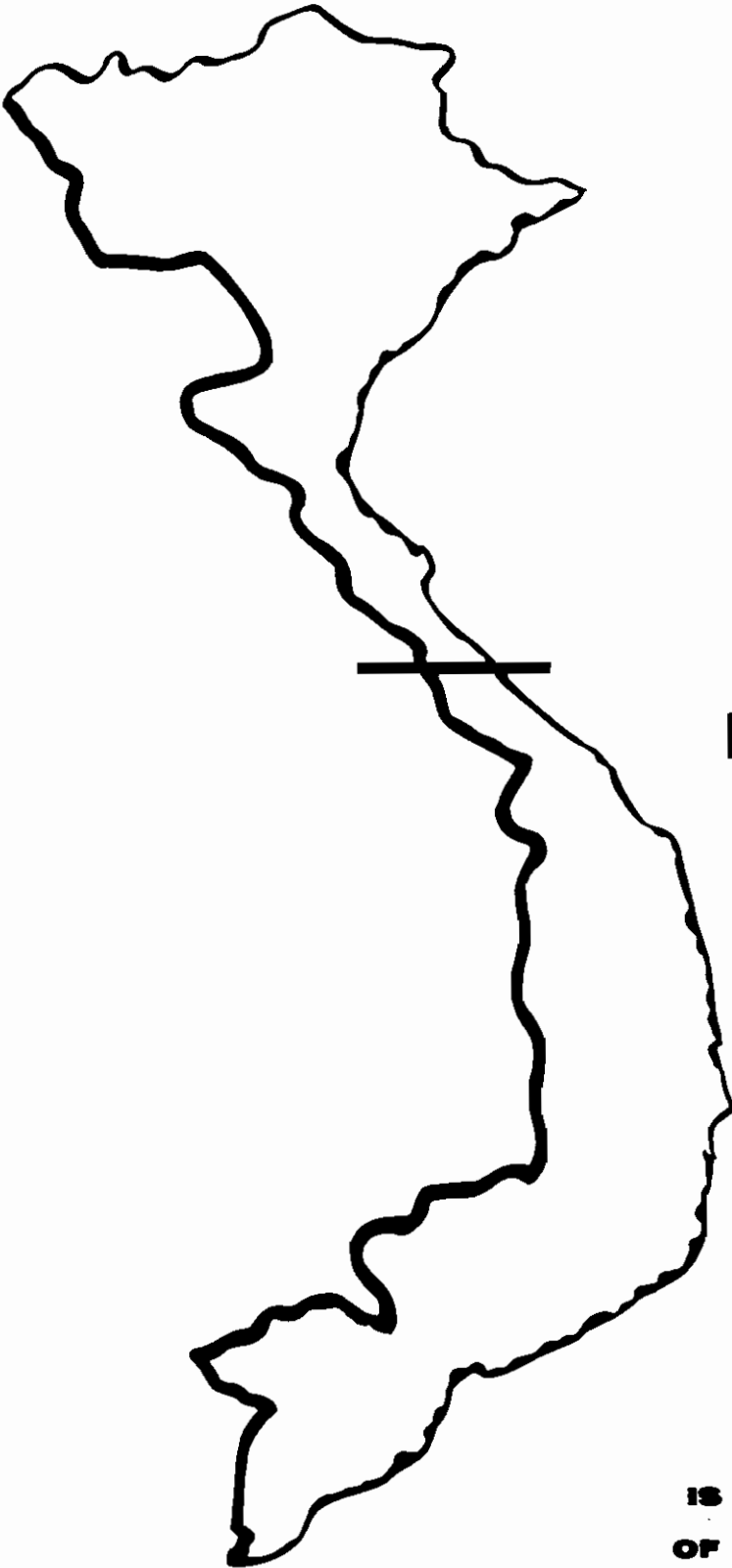
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NOTES

**THE PARTY'S MILITARY LINE
IS THE EVER-VICTORIOUS BANNER
OF PEOPLE'S WAR IN OUR COUNTRY**

By General Vo Nguyen Giap



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By General Võ Nguyên Giáp

Page 49, line 11:

In the sentence "Apply the Protracted War Strategy While Striving to Create Opportunities and Gain Time in Order to Score Even Greater Victories," instead of "Gain Time" read "Use Time to the Best Advantage." (Vietnamese: "...Tranh thủ thời gian ...")

Page 58, line 2:

In the sentence "It does not mean carrying out only small offensives, but also medium and big offensives," instead of "small offensives, but also medium and big offensives" read "small attacks, but also medium and big attacks." (Vietnamese: "Không phải chỉ là đánh nhỏ mà còn đánh vừa và đánh lớn.")

THE PARTY'S MILITARY LINE IS THE EVER-VICTORIOUS
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Background

In mid-December 1969 the official Viet-Nam People's Army newspaper Quan Doi Nhan Dan and the Lao Dong Party daily Nhan Dan serialized a seven-part treatise by General Vo Nguyen Giap entitled "The Party's Military Line is the Ever-Victorious Banner of People's War in our Country." (*) This, together with articles by Van Tien Dung, the Chief of Staff, and Song Hao, head of the Army's General Political Department, forms a trilogy commemorating the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Viet-Nam People's Army. Giap's newest work may be ranked with Truong Chinh's The Resistance Will Win (1947) and Giap's People's War, People's Army (1959) and Big Victory, Great Task (1967) as a major exposition of the Lao Dong Party's military line.

"The Party's Military Line" differs from Giap's previous major works--which are collections of articles--in that it systematically and comprehensively deals with the Party's military theory, strategy, and tactics, with a minimum of "propaganda" content. Unlike People's War, People's Army, Giap in his most recent formulation does not characterize the Party's military line as progressing inevitably through a series of phases, but emphasizes flexibility and creativity: "When it is necessary we must change in time outdated forms of warfare, taking new ones which are more appropriate... We should not apply old experience mechanically, or reapply outmoded forms of warfare."

The Party's military line, as presented by Giap, is that of a protracted "people's war," of "fighting strength with weakness" and "fighting many with few." The principle of protracted people's war has always been a fundamental element of the Party's military line, but Giap gives it extraordinary stress when reviewing the previous military experiences of the Vietnamese nation and the Lao Dong Party. And it is perhaps significant that there is bare mention of Dien Bien Phu and no mention of such major battles as Ap Bac, Binh Gia, Ia Drang, and Khe Sanh, which the North

(*) The article was serialized in Nhan Dan and Quan Doi Nhan Dan from 14 to 17 December 1969 and was broadcast by Radio Hanoi in installments from 14 to 20 December.

Vietnamese have hailed as great victories of the "liberation forces." When discussing the need to concentrate forces, Giap stresses that when doing so "we must make careful calculations, economize in the use of forces, use forces rationally . . . as for numbers, the fewer the better."

The three-phase progression of guerrilla war, mobile war, and the strategic counter-offensive, which was formulated by Truong Chinh and Giap in earlier works, is not to be found in "The Party's Military Line." Giap does maintain that "guerrilla war must advance to regular war," but emphasizes that "The problem in guiding the war is to advance guerrilla war to regular war at the right time and at the right place, to combine closely guerrilla war and regular war in an appropriate manner in each period and on each war theater." The present "war-waging formula" of people's war is, according to Giap: "carrying out armed uprising and revolutionary war, resolutely attacking the enemy both militarily and politically in both the countryside both militarily and politically in both the countryside and the cities, over a long period, combining annihilating the enemy forces with winning and keeping the people's right to self-mastery, maintaining and bolstering our forces...overcoming the enemy segment by segment, until final victory."

The debate over military policy in North Viet-Nam has centered around the question of the nature of the "offensive." According to Giap, "The revolution is an offensive, uprising is an offensive. The revolutionary war, throughout its existence, is an offensive..." He adds, however, that "our offensive capability is closely bound to the correct evaluation of the characteristics and development trend of the balance of forces between ourselves and the enemy." To take the offensive is, to Giap, "to attack the enemy comprehensively, by both armed and political struggle, by both combat and mass uprisings, by both guerrilla warfare and regular warfare."

In People's War, People's Army Giap also formulated a three-phase progression of the "struggle form," from political struggle to a combination of political struggle and armed struggle, and finally to a stage in which armed struggle is the principal form. In "The Party's Military Line," however, he emphasizes flexibility in combining the two forms: "The combining of political force with military force, political struggle with armed struggle, armed uprising with revolutionary war, is the law of revolutionary violence in our country." "The revolutionary war in the South," he avers, "is the combination at a new level, in new historic conditions, of armed force with political force."

Normally, North Vietnamese commentaries on the Party's military line or the war situation are heavily larded with fulsome praise for the

"constant, storm-like offensives and uprisings" and give considerable attention to the "contradictions and insurmountable basic weaknesses" of the Americans and the "puppet army and administration." In his Big Victory, Great Task, which was published in the fall of 1967, Giap declared that "the puppet army and administration have daily declined" and that "they will surely arrive at complete disintegration." He saw no viable options by which the Americans could prevail and predicted that "the more protracted the war is, the more fierce will be the basic contradictions and weaknesses of the aggressive war of the U.S. imperialists in South Vietnam--contradictions and weaknesses that will lead them to increasingly big defeats." As for world opinion, Big Victory, Great Task declared that "the support of the world's peoples for our people has become more and more vigorous," and that America "has been disastrously isolated in the world."

Although in "The Party's Military Line" Giap insists that "Our people will certainly win! The U.S. imperialists will certainly be defeated!" and that "U.S. imperialism...is on the decline," the document has a remarkably sober tone in comparison to its predecessors. No mention is made of the "collapsing state" of the "puppet army and administration" or of the "growing intensity" of the worldwide anti-war movement. Rather, Giap declares that "the Nixon Administration continues to plunge deeper and deeper into the military adventure in Viet-Nam" and that it continues to seek a military solution through the "Vietnamization" policy. This, warns Giap, "is a challenge to our people, the revolutionary and peace forces worldwide, and American progressives."

Note: Words and passages in the following text underscored with broken lines appear in the original text in italics. Those underscored in solid lines appear in bold-face type.

THE PARTY'S MILITARY LINE IS THE EVER-VICTORIOUS
BANNER OF PEOPLE'S WAR IN OUR COUNTRY

This year we are enthusiastically celebrating our VPA's 25th Founding Anniversary and are preparing for the celebration of our Great Party's 40th Founding Anniversary.

In a seething revolutionary mettle, all our armed forces and people in both the North and South are resolutely striving to implement President Ho's historic will. With its great victories, the South, the Fatherland's heroic great frontline, is staging simultaneous attacks and uprisings. With its prideful achievements in protecting and building socialism, the North is wholeheartedly fulfilling the great rear's duties toward the kith-and-kin South.

Under the glorious banner of our Party and great leader Ho Chi Minh, our people have been struggling over the past 40 years, scoring very great victories along the national liberation path, opening a new era--the era of the Fatherland's independence and freedom and of socialism in our country--and making worthy contributions to the world's revolutionary undertaking.

Born and growing up in the people's revolutionary tide and enjoying the Party's clear-sighted leadership, Uncle Ho's solicitous care, and the people's wholehearted assistance, our people's armed forces have developed from nothing into a great, powerful, heroic, and steel-like revolutionary army endowed with a tradition of very glorious victory. This is due, above all, to the fact that our people and armed forces possess this invincible weapon: our Party's Marxist political and military line.

As an organic part of its political line, a creative application of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the war and army to our country's concrete conditions, and a recapitulation of numerous practical experiences in all-people uprising and people's war of the Vietnamese revolution, our Party's military line has inherited, developed, and improved our nation's age-old traditional strategic ability to a new level while electing and accepting the experiences of advanced military struggle of the world revolution. In the past, at present, and in the future this line has remained and will remain as an ever-victorious banner of our armed forces and people. On these historic anniversaries, let us further understand our Party's military, revolutionary, and scientific line and advance toward defeating U.S. aggression completely.

I

THE SUCCESSFUL PEOPLE'S WAR AGAINST THREE IMPERIALISMS

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

Due to its important position in Southeast Asia and since its founding by King Hung, our country has had always to rise up to struggle against invasion. The process of this struggle is continuing at present, thus making our people's history an epic replete with numerous heroic feats of arms in the struggle against aggression to safeguard the nation's existence and the Fatherland's independence and freedom.

From the beginning of the present era to the 18th century, our people have waged more than 20 fierce nationwide wars to liberate the country or to safeguard national sovereignty. During 1,000 years under the foreign feudalist yoke, our people staged successive uprisings to regain national independence, beginning with the Trung sisters' heroic and successful nationwide uprising, and then with the national liberation uprisings and wars under the leadership of the Trieu, Ly Bon and Mai Thuc Loan dynasties. Finally, Ngo Quyen's glorious victory on Bach Dang River in 938 ended the ten-century-long period of foreign domination and opened a long period of independence and self-governing for our people. Since then, in nearly 1,000 years of independence, our people always had to conduct many wars to protect our country from foreign aggression in order to safeguard our national sovereignty. These wars were: the resistance under the Ly Dynasty with the staunch and bold offensive conducted by Ly Thuong Kiet, who first took the initiative in frustrating the enemy's aggressive scheme and later counter-attacked and annihilated the T'ang troops on Nhu Nguyet River, thus dooming their aggression; the resistance under the Tran Dynasty in the 13th century-- the most symbolic resistance which, under Tran Hung Dao's command, thrice defeated in over 30 years the aggressive army of the Mongolian aggressors, famous for their cruelty and combat efficiency, who, although having repeatedly won from Asia to Europe and conquered nearly half the world, were completely defeated thrice in Thang Long; the Lam Son uprising which, under the leadership of Le Loi and Nguyen Trai, was turned into a ten-year-long staunch and persevering national liberation war and which finally ousted the Ming army from the country and regained independence after 20 years of foreign domination; and the resistance under Nguyen Hue with the new strength of the widespread peasants' revolutionary movement to arise

and to successfully struggle against feudalism and rottenness in the country-- this resistance was later turned into a country-defending war which, through lightning operations and within seven to eight days, annihilated 200 thousand Manchu troops, thus dooming the last aggressive war conducted by foreign feudalism in our country.

Generally speaking, these popular uprisings and national liberation wars were led by a feudal class, but all of them were obviously people's wars in which our people voluntarily played the active role in arising and unitedly fighting for national salvation. It can be said that these uprisings and wars were of popular character in our country.

Throughout such a long and continuous struggle, our people's intelligence and valiant military tradition was shaped. It accumulated and developed our ancestors' rich strategic knowledge.

In modern times, in the middle of the 19th century, the French colonialists began invading our country. Despite the Nguyen Dynasty's cowardly surrender, our people valiantly arose throughout the country and waged resistance wars successively led by Truong Cong Dinh, Nguyen Trung Truc, and so forth in the South, and by Phan Dinh Phung, Nguyen Thien Thuat, Hoang Hoa Tham, and so forth in the North. It took the French imperialists some 30 years to occupy our country. Later, their rule was continuously shaken.

In the old days, our people had to permanently face aggression by great foreign powers which, like our country, were under feudal regimes. There had been a slight difference between their economic, cultural, and technical levels and ours. But now we had to face a war of colonialist aggression waged by a capitalist power far superior to us, not only in numbers, but also in economy, techniques, equipment, and ammunition. Our Party was born to shoulder the historical task of leading the Vietnamese revolution in this new era of mankind, a transitional period from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale initially marked by the great Russian October Revolution.

Under these historical circumstances, our Party, headed by President Ho, the Vietnamese Communist who first creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of our country, set forth a correct revolutionary line, a people's democratic national revolution line toward socialist revolution by passing to capitalist development phase. Our Party has led the national liberation struggle to advance along a completely new path.

With its correct political lines which were set forth at the outset in the 1930 political programs, our Party succeeded, in the process of its revolution-

ary leadership, in mobilizing the extremely great revolutionary forces of the working class and the peasants--the basic forces of the national, democratic revolution--and in building a steady worker-peasant alliance bloc under the working class' leadership and used it as a basic for the broad united national front.

It is on the basis of these correct political lines that the Party's military lines were shaped up and have been gradually improved through the realities of our people's protracted revolutionary struggle. Right at the emergence of our Party, a revolutionary storm of the masses, whose peak was the 1930-1931 Soviet-Nghe Tinh movement, was surging throughout the country.

For the first time in our country, the peasants' movement was closely combined with the workers'; the worker-peasant alliance was achieved; and the sole leadership right over the working class, which has been represented by our Party, was asserted through realities.

Under the Regional Party Chapters' leadership, the workers and peasants in Nghe An and Ha Tinh arose and conducted uprisings and used revolutionary violence along with combining the political and armed struggles to topple the regional colonialist rulers, officials, and villains and to set up the worker-peasant administration in a number of rural areas. In the 1936-1939 democratic movement, our Party cleverly combined the overt, legal, semi-overt, and semi-legal struggles with secret and illegal activities and started a seething political struggle movement from the cities to the rural areas to oppose colonialist reactionaries and the feudalistic king-official clique, to demand freedom, democracy, and a better life, to oppose aggressive fascism, and to protect world peace.

This building of political forces and launching of the political struggle movement constituted a basis for advancing toward an ensuing, new revolutionary struggle era. During World War II, our Party, faced with a new situation, asserted that the national liberation task was its main task and considered the preparation for an uprising the central task at that time. The Party founded the united national front in order to muster all forces on a broad basis.

Under the Party's leadership, the masses' revolutionary movement proceeded from the political struggle toward the armed struggle and from the masses' political organizations toward the building of revolutionary armed organizations, cleverly combined the political and armed struggles, started the local guerrilla warfare and a partial uprising, gave rise to a seething revolutionary high tide countrywide, and advanced toward a general uprising to seize the administration.

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

From the 1930-1931 revolutionary high tide to the August Revolution in 1945--throughout the 15 years of our people's brave struggle for seizing the administration--our Party's military lines were basically shaped up. Immediately after the success of the August Revolution, our people had to conduct a resistance against the French colonialists who were aided by the U.S. interventionists and who returned to our country and invaded it.

Our first sacred resistance lasted eight to nine years and was concluded with the great success in the 1953-1954 winter-spring period, whose peak was the historic Dien Bien Phu campaign which forced the French colonialists to sign the Geneva Agreements and to re-establish peace in Indochina on the basis of the signatory countries' recognition of the independence, sovereignty, unification, and territorial integrity of the Vietnamese, Khmer, and Laotian peoples. The Northern part of our country was completely liberated.

This resistance is a continuation of the August Revolution, a national liberation war, and our people's war to defend the Fatherland. This is the resistance of a small underdeveloped agricultural country which defeated a professional aggressive half-a-million-man army of an imperialist power much more predominant in equipment and technique and enjoying U.S. aid which provided 80 percent of war expenditures.

In this resistance, our people's very important prop was the newly formed world socialist network. The success of our anti-French resistance was the initial great one of the war for colonial people's liberation. In this resistance, our Party's military line was further developed and improved in every respect.

As soon as their first protracted resistance ended successfully, our people had to continue the struggle against U.S. imperialism replacing French colonialism in the aggression against the Southern part of our country. The U.S. imperialists have plotted to turn the South into their neocolony and military base from which to attack the North, to oppose the socialist camp,

and to check the revolutionary development in Southeast Asia.

This time, our country's aggressive enemy is none other than the ring-leader U.S. imperialism which is the most prosperous and powerful one in the imperialist camp, which possesses an impressive, modern war machinery and great economic and military potentialities, and which is an international gendarme and enemy number one of all mankind.

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

After several years of very stalwart, fierce political struggle, the 1959-1960 simultaneous uprising erupted in the vast rural areas of South Viet-Nam. This was a very valiant and creative uprising of millions of our compatriots who, with the masses as their main political force and with a very small armed force, rose up to smash the enemy's oppressive yoke in villages and hamlets and to wrest back mastership from an enemy possessing more than 200 thousand troops and a great oppressive apparatus, thus causing the collapse of the fascist Ngo Dinh Diem regime.

The successful simultaneous uprising was developed into a revolutionary war or a national liberation war against the U.S. "special war" waged by half a million puppet troops and more than 30 thousand U.S. "advisers" who applied the latest experiences of international imperialism in repressing the national liberation movement to counterattack the Southern revolution.

Our people have been conducting the second sacred resistance against aggressive U.S. imperialism. In only four years, the heroic Southern armed forces and people annihilated and eroded a great part of the puppet army and administration, defeating the U.S.-puppets' strategic hamlet policy and basically foiling the U.S. imperialists' special war strategy.

Since U.S. imperialism has sent U.S. expeditionary and satellite troops en masse to directly invade the South and to wage the war of destruction against the North in order to avert its failure in the South, our armed forces and people nationwide, responding to President Ho's sacred appeal, have unanimously and resolutely risen up to struggle against U.S. aggression to save the country, liberate the South, protect the North, and proceed toward national reunification. This is a revolutionary war, a liberation war against the greatest and most brutal regional war in the history of U.S. imperialism which has achieved a high escalation with more than a million U.S., puppet, and satellite troops, with several hundred billion-dollar war expenditures, and with modern weapons of all types, not including nuclear weapons.

With matchless gallantry, our people were determined to develop an offensive position. The more they fought the more they won and the stronger they became. Therefore, after only three years, the Southern armed forces and people achieved the Mau Than Spring General Offensive and Uprising, creating a turning point in the history of the war and forcing the enemy to be on the defensive on all battlefields, to tacitly recognize the bankruptcy of their local war, and to passively adopt the de-Americanization or Vietnamization of the aggressive war.

The revolutionary war in South Viet-Nam moved to a new phase scoring greater and more comprehensive successes than ever before and proceeding toward complete victory. The Southern revolution and revolutionary war are synthesizing and applying and developing by one new step the experiences of the August Revolution, of the resistance against the French, as well as of all previous Vietnamese revolutions.

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

Our all-country anti-U.S. resistance has been the great and the most glorious anti-aggressive resistance in our people's history. It is being the vanguard front and the apogee of the world's people's present anti-U.S. imperialist common struggle. In this resistance, our Party's military line has been developed by one step with many rich experiences in many aspects. Under the Party's leadership, continuing our nation's indomitable struggle tradition, our people unremittingly struggled during scores of years, successively defeated three great imperialist countries' aggressive armies, and actively contributed to collapsing old colonialism and are strongly prompting the failure and bankruptcy of neocolonialism in the world.

This justified President Ho's sayings, "our nation is a heroic nation; we defeated the Japanese fascists, the French colonialists, and are now determined to defeat the aggressive U.S. imperialists".(1) Our people may be proud of being one of the nations possessing the most valiant anti-aggression and the staunchest anti-imperialism traditions.

(1) Chairman Ho's appeal of 20 July 1965.

II

THE ENTIRE COUNTRY HAS FOUGHT THE AGGRESSORS UNDER THE VANGUARD PARTY'S LEADERSHIP.

In the process of protractedly fighting under the Party's leadership, our people have accumulated rich experiences in various respects. Regarding the enemy and his forms of war of aggression, our people have gained experiences by using armed uprisings and revolutionary war to successively defeat three great imperialist powers on three continents: the Japanese fascists--the cruel fascist in Asia--the French colonialists--a great colonialist power in Europe--and the U.S. imperialists--the top imperialist and an international gendarme. We have thwarted all their forms of aggressive war, from the old colonialist wars of aggression of the French colonialists and the Japanese fascists to the U.S. imperialists' neocolonialist war of aggression, and from the U.S. neocolonialist policy of ruling by means of fascist maneuvers through a puppet lackey administration to the U.S. special and local wars and war of destruction by means of air force and navy.

Regarding methods of struggling and using revolutionary violence to regain and preserve administrative power, liberate the nation, and defend the Fatherland, our people have become experienced in staging all-people uprisings, uprisings in rural and in urban areas, partial and general uprisings throughout the country, in using protracted people's war in which armed struggle is the central concern to oppose the old-style colonialist war of aggression, in waging people's war, revolutionary war against various forms neocolonialist war of aggression, in combining military struggle with political struggle, military offensives with uprisings in war, and in waging a people's ground-to-air war, defeating the U.S. war of destruction.

Regarding our conditions, our historic conditions at home and abroad, our people have been experienced in waging people's war, revolutionary war under greatly different historic conditions: sometimes having not yet a revolutionary administration, sometimes having assumed local or national powers, sometimes relying on the strength of the emerging people's democratic regime, sometimes relying on the superiority of the Socialist regime under construction, sometimes applying throughout the country a unified revolutionary strategy--the people's democratic, national revolutionary strategy--sometimes practicing a different revolutionary war for each part of the temporarily divided country, sometimes with a world war unfolding due to infightings among imperialists on a worldwide scale, sometimes arising and fighting a resistance war without a world war, sometimes being obliged to fight a resistance war while being surrounded in all directions by imperialism and still immature and weak in strength, sometimes being able to steadily rely on the vast Socialist camp, and so forth.

This situation has reflected the protracted, hardship-filled, complicated, and violent character of our people's revolutionary struggle. Because of the extremely important strategic position of the Vietnamese revolution in South-east Asia, the international imperialists--from the French to the Japanese, then the French again and the Americans and their satellites--for scores of successive years, have intensively and continuously used counter-revolutionary violence to repress our people.

Faced with such strong and cruel enemies, our people, our nation, under the Party's glorious banner, have heightened their stalwart and unsubmitive spirit of resistance and their thoroughly revolutionary spirit in firmly maintaining and developing the offensive position of the revolution, leading our country's revolutionary undertaking from victory to victory, scoring marvelous achievements in our nation's history, and making worthy contributions to the world's revolutionary undertaking.

This situation has also reflected the very rich practical basis of the Party's revolutionary and military lines which require us to have a very high independent, self-governing, and creative spirit with which we cannot copy foreign experiences nor be complacent with the experiences we have acquired.

From these points, we can point out the following basic characteristics of the war which our people have waged under our Party's leadership:

1. This is a just war, a national liberation war, or a Fatherland-protecting war, aimed at implementing the Party's political lines and at achieving the revolutionary objectives for the sake of the people, the Vietnamese people, and the world's revolutionary undertaking of opposing the unjust, aggressive war being waged by imperialism. War is a continuation of politics. Our Party's revolutionary lines decide the political objectives of the revolutionary war and the just nature of the war being waged by our people.

Conversely, the imperialists' colonialist, aggressive political lines decide the unjust, counterrevolutionary nature of their war. The military tradition of our forefathers and fathers were in essence the tradition of waging a just war to save and protect the country. For our people's survival and benefit, the feudalistic class, which led the uprisings and national liberation wars in our history, hoisted high the great-cause banner for saving the country and the people and for materializing various definite democratic forms in an effort to achieve national unity and to save the country.

Although limited in the framework of the feudalistic regime, this military tradition has permeated the 'great ideology of the just war aimed at protecting Viet-Nam' (Ly Thuong Kiet), the 'policy urging the entire country to join in

combat' and the 'policy of strengthening the people and of considering this the best means to protect the country' (Tran Hung Dao), and the 'policy of using a great cause to doom cruelty and of using intelligence and kindness to doom violence' (Nguyen Trai). It is due to the goal of saving our country and race from national destruction that our people's just war has succeeded in mobilizing an invincible force, namely our people's patriotism and unity.

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

Our present revolution and revolutionary war have closely combined the national liberation problem with the 'people's struggle for the right to democracy' problem, closely combined the national liberation path with the socialist path, and closely combined the Vietnamese revolution with the world revolution.

President Ho said: 'To save the country and liberate the people, there can be no other path than that of proletarian revolution.'⁽²⁾ Our Party's national salvation banner has closely combined the national and class factors and the national and international factors. This has reflected the law governing the objective development of Vietnamese society in the present era. This has also reflected the basic interests and deep aspirations of the working class and our laboring people and entire people, which are consistent with the interests of the world revolution. Therefore, with its just nature, the national liberation war or the Fatherland-protecting war being waged by our people under our Party's leadership has acquired new contents with regard to its quality and an entirely new strength.

Our just cause has vigorously mobilized the forces of our entire people and our entire country to stand up to resolutely fight, to liberate our people, and to protect our Fatherland. The just cause and success of our revolutionary war have succeeded in mobilizing the forces of the progressives worldwide to support us. This constitutes our inexhaustible source of strength which the enemy can never evaluate. This constitutes a basis of absolute superiority of our Party's military lines.

(2) Introduction to Ho Chi Minh: Selected Writings and Speeches. Published in the Soviet Union, 1959.

2. This is a national liberation war, a war to defend the Fatherland of a people whose country is not very vast and populous and was a semi-feudalist colony with an underdeveloped economy and who, endowed with a long-standing anti-invasion tradition, are building a new regime--the people's democratic regime, the socialist regime. This is a war of a brave, intelligent, stalwart, and resourceful people who use a small, weak army to fight and defeat a great, strong aggressive army of an imperialist power whose country is vast and populous and which possesses a great economic and military potential and modern technical equipment. At present as well as in the history of our people's anti-invasion wars, we have always had to struggle against the invasion by powers possessing more vast and populous lands and a greater army. What is different in previous epochs is that these big aggressive countries were under the same feudal regime as our country.

Nowadays, the aggressors are imperialist powers, which are far superior to us not only in numbers and in superficialities, but also in highly developed industries, in great economic and military potentiality, and in modern weapons.

Our country is not very vast and numerous and was a semi-feudalist colony with an underdeveloped economy. However, differently from our ancestors, our people are proceeding toward or are being masters of a new socialist regime--the people's democratic regime, a socialist regime which is definitely superior to the aggressors' reactionary and rotten one. We are endowed with the great strength of our progressive socialist regime and of the new Vietnamese who is mastering this regime.

From this comparison of strength, to win the present national liberation war, a war for safeguarding our Fatherland, our people are relying on winning popularity and on taking advantages of ground forms and opportunities for highly developing the new strength of the progressive socialist regime and of the Vietnamese in this new era, in order to defeat the enemy.

On this foundation, our people have continued and developed by one step our country's intelligent and valiant anti-invasion tradition, which had known not only how to use weakness for defeating strength and to use the few to defeat the numerous in new conditions, but also how to use civilization to defeat ruthlessness, how to use our definite superiority in political and spiritual strength for winning over the enemy's iron and steel, and how to combine modern weapons with relatively modern and rudimentary weapons to win over the enemy's modern weapons.

On the basis of our people's determination to win, their sagacity, and creativity, we have used our fundamental strength for limiting and mastering the enemy's relative strength and for intensifying the enemy's fundamental

weaknesses, thus developing the combined strength of the people's war in the new era for attacking and defeating the enemy.

3. This is a national liberation war, a war to defend the Fatherland being carried on in the extremely advantageous international conditions of the present era, an era of success for socialist and national salvation revolutions when revolutionary forces are stronger than anti-revolutionary forces internationally and when world's revolutions are on the offensive against imperialism.

In the old days, our fathers, struggling in the feudal era, had to completely rely on their own forces for no one supported and assisted them. Nowadays, our people are carrying on the liberation war, a war to defend the Fatherland in completely different international conditions. The great success of the Russian October Revolution gave birth to a new era in mankind's history, the era of capitalist ruin and of socialist victory worldwide. It united the working class' socialist revolutionary movements in developed capitalist countries with the oppressed nation's national liberation revolutionary movements.

The Vietnamese revolution led by our Party is an inseparable part of the world revolution winning the collaboration and broad support of revolutionary movements in various countries, especially after the Second World War when the Soviet victory over fascists had created advantageous conditions for the revolutions in many European and Asiatic countries to succeed. The world's system of socialist countries was born and hence has become the decisive factor of the development of world revolutions. The socialist camp is the stable wall and moat for nations to lean on in their liberation struggles in this era. With the success of the Chinese Revolution and the foundation of the People's Republic of China, the world's revolutionary forces, the core of which is the socialist camp, became stronger than the anti-revolutionary imperialist forces.

The world revolution is attacking imperialism continually and from many directions and is achieving many great victories. This international situation is very advantageous to the revolution and revolutionary war in Viet-Nam in the present epoch.

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

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

As for the imperialist aggressors, they represent the reactionary social system which has been condemned by history. They are endeavoring to regroup their forces, frantically opposing the attacks of the world revolution. However, along with other reactionary forces, the imperialists are being driven into an increasingly weakened, defensive, and defeated position. They are being increasingly strongly opposed by people in their own countries and isolated in the world. Their internal contradictions are becoming increasingly fiercer.

This is one of the fundamental weaknesses of the imperialist aggressors in our present era. It is also a great advantage for our people's struggle. During the previous war of aggression against our country, the Japanese fascists were defeated by the Soviet Union and allies. Defeated and losing their country during World War II, the French colonialists were rehabilitating themselves. Now, the U.S. imperialists--leaders of the imperialist camp--are encountering various difficulties and contradictions, sustaining repeated defeats, and declining.

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

The founders of Marxism-Leninism spoke of people's war long ago. Engels highly estimated the French people's struggle during the 1793 bourgeois revolution and called it "a mass uprising, an all-people uprising, a people's

war."(3) Engels also called the Chinese people's struggle against the British colonialists in mid 19th century " a people's war for preserving the Chinese nation, " and "in the last analysis, a genuine people's war." (4)

In our country, our people have the tradition of launching all-people uprisings and people's wars to liberate our nation and defend our territory. In our history, there have been anti-aggression people's war led by the feudal class, people's war developing from the revolutionary movement launched by the Tay Son peasants against the corrupt feudalists in the country and the aggressors from abroad. Now, we have the people's war led by the working class. Our people's wars in the past--whether they derived from peasants' revolutionary movements or were feudalism-led--had limitations in the fields of history, their objectives, as well as the forces that led or undertook the wars. Nowadays, our people's war, led by the working class, is a war fought by the people and for the people, with its fullest meaning and content in the new era.

The revolutionary lines of our Party--the Vietnamese working class--are aimed at achieving national independence, the people's democracy, and socialism in our country and at making our people's war most fully combine the national salvation goal with that of saving the people and the liberation and protection of the Fatherland with the laboring people's liberation. Therefore, basing themselves on our Party's political lines, the present all-country forces which are fighting the aggressors are the most powerful and broadest forces of our entire people that have stood up to fight.

Our Party has mobilized and organized the all-people unity bloc, joined in the broad, united national front, and used the worker-peasant alliance as a basis in order, under the working class' leadership, to closely unite with the working class and the people worldwide. This constitutes the new 'invincible strength of the people's war. Deeply enlightened with regard to their revolutionary task and the war goal, the forces countrywide now fighting the aggressors possess the great strength of national consciousness and Vietnamese patriotism and tradition with new aspects of the present era.

This is patriotism united with the democratic spirit and the love for socialism and proletarian internationalism; this is our people's ardent patriotism combined with the working class' thoroughly revolutionary spirit. With

(3) Engles, "Defeat of the Piedmont Army, " Collected Works of Marx-Engles (Russian edition), Vol. 6, p. 413.

(4) Engles, England's Colonial War, People's Army Publishing House, p.p. 98 - 99.

the new strength of the entire country now fighting the aggressors in the present era, our people's war mainly relies on its own strength and fights the aggressors in our country with the strength of the Vietnamese people and the advanced socialist regime of Viet-Nam, while leaning on the extremely great support and aid from the world revolution whose nucleus is the socialist camp.

Our military line consists of creatively adopting the revolutionary violence viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism, of considering revolution the masses' undertaking, and of regarding the revolutionary violence as the masses' violence. Therefore, revolutionary violence must also combine the masses' political forces with the people's armed forces and the armed struggle with the masses' political struggle, thus turning them into the all-people uprising and war.

Only by correctly and thoroughly understanding the violence viewpoint in such a way can we organize and mobilize the forces of all our people and entire country to fight the aggressors. Not only do we possess our armed forces to fight the aggressors, but our people also fight them with every appropriate means. Our people not only step up production and support combat, but also directly engage in fighting the aggressors.

We not only conduct an armed struggle, but also possess the masses' fierce political struggle. We also attack the aggressors through troop-proselyting and enemy-proselyting activities. We not only conduct military attacks, but also enjoy the masses' uprisings on every scale and in various forms. We also use the all-people uprisings and the people's war to fight the aggressors. All our people's present fight against the aggressors bears new characteristics, namely a high sense of national enlightenment and class enlightenment among the masses, a very scientific, tight, and widespread organization, and very flexible struggle methods. All this has, therefore, made all our people--the 31 million Vietnamese people--become valiant combatants to kill the aggressors for national salvation. The 'entire country animated by the same mind and all the people fight the aggressors' lines have been reflected in the following main subjects:

Organizing and mobilizing all the people to fight the aggressors, building the people's political and armed forces, using the people's armed forces with the three troop categories as the core forces for all the people to fight the aggressors; relying on the masses' political forces, building the bases and rear of the people's war from have not to have, from small to big, and from imperfect to perfect everywhere, combining the local rear with the rear countrywide while relying on the internal rear namely the Socialist camp, creatively applying the war-waging method and the military art of the revolutionary war, fighting larger enemy forces with smaller forces of ours, using weak forces to fight strong forces, attacking the aggressors with the combined strength of the armed and political struggles on various strategic operational

theaters both in the rural areas and the cities, defeating the aggressors step by step and advancing toward completely defeating them, strengthening the Party's leadership over the war, and considering this a main factor deciding success.

In general, our experiences are essentially those of the armed uprisings, the revolutionary war, and the national liberation war to regain the power, and to overthrow the imperialists' yokes and are partially those of a war to defend the Fatherland as our administration is prepared to fight foreign aggressors. We should strive to further study and develop our experiences, not only to serve the immediate struggle to completely defeat the U.S. aggressors, but also to defend the Fatherland for a long time to come.

Our Party's military line is originated from our Party's correct political line, from the Marxist theory of war and armed forces, from the intelligence and strategic abilities of our ancestors, and from the experiences of the world advanced revolutionary struggles. It profoundly reflects the realities of our people's multiform revolutionary struggle for the past 40 years under our Party's leadership. This military line, since its formation and in the process of its development, has proved itself to be always correct and to have an invincible strength, because it originates directly from and is always guided by our Party's correct political line, and because it always relies on the tremendous force and inexhaustible source of initiatives of the masses.

The strength of the revolutionary war is the centralized manifestation of the all-out strength of the revolution, from the correct revolutionary task to the correct political objective of the people's war, from the scientific disposition of the great revolutionary force to the line of building a powerful force of the people's war, and from the correct view of revolutionary violence to that of the all-people uprising and all-people war.

This is the very close dialectical relationship between the military and political lines of our Party, the source of strength of the military lines and the strength of our people's revolutionary war. In the situation of a continuous war, our Party's military line has always been thoroughly examined through the realities of the war, and has been constantly improved and developed and has scored repeated successes in theory as well as in practice. It is the invincible weapon of our people to defeat all imperialist aggressors and their rotten and reactionary military science and theories.

THE MOBILIZATION AND ORGANIZATION OF THE ENTIRE PEOPLE TO FIGHT THE AGGRESSORS AND THE BUILDING OF THE POWERFUL POLITICAL AND ARMED FORCES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR AND UPRISING.

To conduct people's war, it is necessary to adopt a correct line in building forces. This is the line of mobilizing, arming and mobilizing the entire people to participate in the uprising and war under all forms, and building a widespread mass political force and three categories of people's armed forces as nucleus forces to stage a nationwide struggle against aggression. This line is a creative application of Marxist-Leninist thoughts on mobilizing and arming the entire people and building a new type of revolutionary army to our country's concrete conditions. It is a manifestation of the understanding of the conception that revolutionary violence is the masses' violence in building the forces of revolutionary war. It inherits and develops to a new level the tradition of nationwide anti-invasion struggle in which everyone must be a soldier, every woman must fight the enemy whenever he invades her home. This is a longstanding tradition in the history of our people's heroic wars for national liberation and defense.

To conduct people's war, it is necessary to mobilize the entire people. This is a very basic conception in our Party's line of building people's war forces. Lenin said: "To conduct war, it is necessary to mobilize all people's forces, to turn the entire country into a revolutionary bastion, to devote everything to the war"(5). "Use all forces and national resources to protect the revolution"(6). To mobilize and organize the entire people to participate in the uprising and war is our Party's process of educating and organizing the masses widely, deeply, and constantly, from the low to the high levels, and in accordance with a correct revolutionary line. The process of our Party's revolutionary campaign since its birth has been to conduct propaganda, organize and lead the masses to struggle from the lower to the upper levels, and motivate them to rise up and regain administrative power through revolutionary violence. Due to the widespread mobilization and organization of the masses' forces to vigorously struggle in the 1930-31 revolutionary movement, in the 1936-39 democratic campaign period, and in the 1940-45 national liberation campaign period, the entire people's great forces were able to rise up to fight aggression during the August Revolution as well as during the anti-French resistance and the present anti-U.S. resistance.

In partial uprisings, our Party, based on secret political and armed organs, motivated the masses in each locality to valiantly arise to overthrow the enemy's local administration and establish the revolutionary administration, then to promote local guerrilla warfare, to step up political and armed

(5) Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 28, pp. 342-344.

(6) Lenin, Collected Works (Russian edition), vol. 27, pp. 13-14.

struggles, to speedily develop masses' and revolutionary armed forces, and to strongly boost a countrywide revolutionary high tide preparing for the general uprising to wrest political power by force.

In the general uprising, the Party motivated all Northern and Southern people to adhere to the broad National United Front and to simultaneously arise throughout cities and rural areas in order to smash the imperialists' and feudalists' yoke and to regain power for the people.

After carrying on the revolutionary war, possessing an improved and steady rear and the people's administration, the mobilization and organization of the people for combat were more gigantic and comprehensive. With the 'entire people's resistance', 'comprehensive resistance', 'everything for victory' slogans, all the people's forces were mobilized to the maximum to serve the task of defeating the aggressors.

Even during the war, our Party emphasized propaganda to motivate the organization and improvement of people's forces, unremittingly broadened the people's political force, and developed the people's armed forces, aiming at mobilizing the entire people to fight. To motivate the entire people to take part in the uprisings and war, it was necessary to build the masses' political force along with building the people's armed forces.

Our political force is an all-people force participating in uprisings and wars in an organized manner under the vanguard Party's leadership. It includes revolutionary classes, patriotic elements, and nationalities in our country assembled in a broad united national front which used the worker-peasant alliance as a foundation under the working class leadership.

The political force is a firm, steady basis for building and developing comprehensive forces for the revolutionary war, protecting the material and moral forces on the political, military, economic, and cultural fronts on the frontline and in the rear, and forming and developing the people's armed revolutionary forces.

The people's armed forces cannot exist nor grow strong without the revolutionaries or the people's strong political force, whose core is the worker-peasant class organized and led by the Party. From the first worker-peasant self-defense units in the Soviet-Nghe Tinh (short for Nghe An and Ha Tinh provinces in North Viet-Nam) movement in 1930-31 to the national salvation troops, the Viet-Nam propaganda units of the liberation army, the Ba To guerrillas, and thousands of self-defense and combat self-defense units in all localities in the pre-August Revolution period, the people's armed forces have developed from weak to strong forces during the period of implementing

the systems of voluntary and compulsory military service. They have come from the enlightened and organized revolutionaries.

Relying on these firm, numerous political forces, our armed forces, under Party leadership, have displayed a fine revolutionary nature. In the face of the great opportunities and turning points of the war, we have steadfastly and rapidly developed and strengthened our people's armed forces. Realities emerging from the revolutionary struggle in our country have clearly showed that the mass political forces also constitute an offensive force attacking the enemy with revolutionary violence, both in the uprisings and in the revolutionary war, especially in the uprisings. Our political forces have been coordinated with our people's armed forces in extremely inspiring forms.

Further developing the experience acquired in the August Revolution and in the anti-French resistance under new historical conditions, the Southern masses' political forces under the NLFV banner have developed their extremely great effect in the protracted, resolute struggle against every domination policy and every form of neocolonialist, aggressive war of the U.S. imperialists. It is reasonable to say that the Southern people's political forces are more powerful than ever. They played the main, decisive role in the victory of the great spontaneous uprising. In coordination with the people's armed forces, they have defeated the special war strategy and are defeating the limited war strategy of the U.S. imperialists.

The political struggle army's presence in war has been a striking initiative in the organization of forces for the present South Viet-Nam revolutionary war. The political struggle army was organized and based on the masses' strong political force and on workers and farmers. It includes excellent and valiant elements of masses' organs, of all social strata, and of all ages, having agents throughout plains, mountainous, and rural areas, and cities. It is carefully organized and militarized, thus struggling in a very revolutionary and scientific manner by using extremely rich and lively means of struggle. It is the core force of the masses' political struggle in the present South Viet-Nam revolution and revolutionary war.

Armed uprisings and revolutionary wars are the highest struggle forms in revolutionary struggles for wresting and maintaining power. No uprising nor war lacks armed forces. Therefore, to prepare for and to carry on our armed uprisings and revolutionary war, along with building a political force, our Party particularly puts emphasis on building people's armed forces as basis for all our people's fighting against aggressors. Under the Party's glorious banner, our people's armed forces were born and raised in the entire people's fierce revolutionary struggle on the basis of the people's

political force. Our army is truly a people's army, born of the people and fighting for them. In a score of years, our people's armed forces have gradually developed from guerrilla units and masses' self-defense units into independent armed organs, from small guerrilla cells into increasingly concentrating units including main force, regional, and militia units, and from poorly equipped infantry units into armed forces with numerous branches and services modernly equipped. In this course, our Party's line and stand toward building people's armed forces are increasingly improved.

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

It is a combating as well as a working and producing army. It is of working class nature. Its stand and thoughts are that of the working class and of Marxism-Leninism. In any circumstances, when our armed forces were mere guerrilla units as well as when they became stronger with modernly equipped branches and services, our Party constantly emphasized the strengthening of the army's class nature, considering it the most sufficient guarantee and fundamental factor for creating the people's armed forces' fighting strength.

This becomes more important in a country where the majority of the people are peasants and bourgeois while the leading class--the working class--is not numerous. In the first days of building the Red worker-and-peasant army, Lenin had considered the strengthening of the working element one of the most important measures to strengthen the revolutionary nature of Soviet armed forces. In our country, starting from the concrete conditions of our Vietnamese society and armed forces, our Party considered the strengthening of its leadership vis-a-vis the armed forces, of the teaching of proletarian thoughts, and of the building of the armed forces' political stand, along with strengthening the working-and-farming element, especially among the armed forces' cadres, essential measures to strengthen the armed forces' revolutionary nature.

The essential problems of the building of our armed forces in the political field which loomed in the course of our armed forces' development have been how to unremittingly consolidate and strengthen the Party's absolute, direct, and comprehensive leadership vis-a-vis the people's armed forces, considering it the most fundamental principle; to unremittingly strengthen the political task, considering it the source of strength and a principle of building the people's armed forces to extremely emphasize the task of political teaching and thought-leading in the army, so that all cadres and soldiers will be keenly aware of the Party's political line and task, military line and task, and stands and policies and state laws; to teach Marxism-Leninism, increase class awareness, coordinate it with nation awareness, educate patriotism, love of socialism, and the international proletarian spirit, and, on this basis, to unremittingly heighten the armed forces' combativeness and determination to fight and to win; to unremittingly consolidate the Party's organization and the organization of political tasks; to actively build and train an army of cadres absolutely faithful to the Party's revolutionary enterprise and expert in leading, organizing, and commanding; to implement a centralized democratic regime and a severe, just, and self-awareness discipline, that of a revolutionary army, on the basis of broadening internal democracy; to firmly strengthen internal solidarity, the solidarity between army and people which must be similar to that between fish and water, and the intimate international solidarity.

In this way, our people's armed forces developed a satisfactory revolutionary character, being loyal to the Party and faithful to the people, fighting without fear, sacrificing themselves for the independence and freedom of the Fatherland and for socialism, and considering themselves the tool of the workers' and peasants' dictatorship during the people's national and democratic revolution phase. They have advanced toward successfully carrying out their task of being the tool of the proletariat dictatorship during the socialist revolutionary phase.

On the basis of building the armed forces politically, our Party must successfully settle the problem of building them organizationally. Experience in carrying out the people's war over the past 25 years in our country has proved that the three categories of troops--main force units, regional forces, and guerrilla and self-defense militia forces --are the most appropriate organizational form to mobilize all people to fight the enemy.

Great attention must be paid to building main force units as well as regional forces. The building of main force units must be closely associated with the building of regional forces, on-the-spot forces or mobile forces. In building our armed forces, we have developed all traditions of our forefathers of organizing an all-people force for the war.

Self-defense militia forces are the broad armed force of the laboring people which have not deviated from production. They are an instrument of violence of basic people's administrations. They are organized according to the combat tasks, conditions, and characteristics in hamlets, villages, industrial enterprises, and city wards. They form a steady, strong, and widespread force throughout the country, ready to fight and fight well with all kinds of weapons, from rudimentary to modern ones, and with highly efficient fighting methods.

They have satisfactorily carried out the tasks of directly protecting the people, firmly maintaining and developing political bases, engaging in production, and supplying regional forces and main force units with good cadres and combatants.

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

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

Therefore, the people's armed forces must satisfactorily carry out not only their main duty to annihilate the enemy, but also the tasks of protecting the people and contributing toward and participating in the building and development of the masses' political forces which serve as a core of an all-people war against the enemy.

In view of the characteristics of the revolutionary war in our country and of the increasingly fierce war conditions, especially when the enemy has implemented a neocolonialist aggressive policy, along with building main force units of increasingly high combat quality, we must take interest in activating really strong regional armed forces. Only then will the three

categories of troops be able to develop to the utmost their combat strength, to achieve close coordination in annihilating the enemy, to effectively protect the people's comprehensive forces, to firmly maintain our mastership, to strongly and comprehensively develop the people's war, and to win ever greater victories.

Closely combining with the political force and the people's security armed force, the three troop categories have been organized and built according to a suitable and proportionate scope and rationally deployed on each strategic theater, battlefield, and locality to insure that in-place and mobile forces are both strong and to combine closely and specifically in-place forces with mobile forces at the various echelons and nationally.

This is a typical feature of the problem of building forces in a people's war and, at the same time, an outstanding advantage of the people's war in our country. Having strong in-place forces, we can attack the enemy everywhere with units very knowledgeable of local environments, thus keeping a firm hold on the enemy situation and hitting him accurately and, furthermore, attack the enemy as soon as he arrives anywhere and erode, annihilate, disperse, tie down enemy troops everywhere, creating conditions for mobile forces to launch concentrated blows to annihilate the enemy where his gaps are exposed.

With our territory being narrow, our people's war being widespread, and the enemy having a high mobility and a large troop strength, such an organization and deployment is able to restrict the enemy's strength and develop ours, creating a steady strategic deployment position of people's war to maintain our initiative in attacking the enemy under any circumstance. It insures that we constantly have enough forces to attack the enemy everywhere while being able to mass a strong regular force capable of defeating his strategic mobile army and successively winning greater and greater victories in the war without having to possess a permanent troop strength superior or equal to that of the enemy.

Along with the development of the revolution and the maturity of the armed forces, our army has proceeded from the voluntary military service system to the compulsory military service system, advancing the mobilization of the entire people to participate in building the people's armed forces and strengthening the national defense a new step. Initially, our army was merely composed of small guerrilla groups born in the process of the people's revolutionary struggle and arising to resist imperialism and its lackeys with bare hands at the outset.

We then advocated relying on the people's consciousness to build the army through the voluntary military service system which we applied throughout the anti-French resistance war. After peace was restored, the completely liberated North has advanced toward building socialism with a perfected state and every institution of an independent nation.

Faced with the requirements of the revolutionary task in our country which call for strengthening the all-people national defense with a standing, regular, crack army coupled with a really strong reserve force, combining economy with national defense, advancing the armament of the entire people and the popularization of the entire army a new step, fully developing the people's mastership right, realizing an equitable contribution among the entire people to the task of defending the Fatherland, and, at the same time, aiming at overcoming the weaknesses due to the long application of the entirely voluntary military service system, the Party advocated advancing toward a compulsory military service system.

This is a new development and a new success in the undertaking of building the people's army, arming and popularizing the entire people, and consolidating our people's national defense. Along with realizing the compulsory military service system, we must step up the general military training, step up the national defense physical training and sports movement, build a military style of living, and disseminate military knowledge widely among the entire people, especially among youths, in order to practically prepare them to do their military duty and duty of defending the Fatherland.

Weapons and equipment are the material and technical bases of the armed forces' fighting power and are the fundamental factors of their strength. To increase the armed forces' fighting power, it is necessary to constantly improve their equipment.

Applying the Marxist-Leninist view on the relationship between men and weapons that if men are the factors deciding victories in war, weapons and equipment are very important and essential and basing itself on our country's concrete conditions and on our revolutionary war's realities, our Party has settled the problem of our armed forces' weapons and equipment.

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

During the first phase of the building of our armed forces, due to the fact that our economy was backward, due to the inexistence of weapons manufacturing bases, and due to the fact that our country was completely encircled by the imperialists, our armed forces encountered many difficulties in equipping themselves. Relying on the masses and applying the motto "fighting with any available weapon," our Party mobilized our people to do their utmost to provide our armed forces with any necessary equipment to fight the enemy. Simultaneously, it surmounted all difficulties to produce part of the needed weapons and ammunition.

Moreover, our Party clearsightedly urged our armed forces to find a source of equipment on the frontline, taking weapons from the enemy to arm themselves and using enemy weapons to shoot at the enemy's head. During the anti-French resistance, our armed forces were mainly equipped with modern weapons taken from the enemy. We received aid from fraternal socialist countries only later, as of 1950.

Since the restoration of peace, we have relied on our ever growing socialist economy and on the great assistance from the fraternal socialist countries to improve, on a large scale, our armed forces' equipment along the modernization trend. Thus, during the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle, despite the underdeveloped situation of our national defense industry, we have quickly achieved big leaps forward in qualitatively improving our armed forces' equipment.

Along with doing this for our infantry, we have quickly developed other modern military services--such as the antiaircraft force and the air force--to defeat U.S. aggression. Relying on the above-mentioned sources of equipment, taking into account the concrete situation of our country, the all-people-fighting-the-enemy line, and the military objectives and military art of the people's war, and in order to develop our strong point--the fact that we are fighting the enemy in our own country--our Party advocates the necessity of associating modern and relatively modern weapons with rudimentary weapons and continually improving and modernizing our weapons and equipment in an appropriate way in order to increase the fighting power of our three forces and all our people.

Our regular and regional troops have been mainly equipped with modern and relatively modern weapons and equipment. But rudimentary ones must be exhaustively used in training and combat. Our self-defense militiamen have paid great attention to developing rudimentary weapons. Simultaneously, they have gradually, appropriately, and partially equipped themselves with relatively modern and modern weapons-- especially their core units.

War realities in our country have demonstrated that if modern weapons play an important role in the annihilation of the enemy, rudimentary weapons are very efficient in helping all our people participate in annihilating the enemy. Along with improving weapons and equipment, we have endeavored to heighten the level of organization and management of various categories of weapons and improve the capacity to handle these weapons in accordance with the military line and ideology of our Party and the concrete situation of the battlefield in our country.

The building and training of a body of cadres is a very important problem, a key point in the task of building the armed forces. Our armed forces, developed from nothing, have a large body of cadres who are absolutely faithful to the revolutionary enterprise of the Party and people. They have been and are constantly being trained and seasoned in the revolutionary struggle and the long and hard armed struggle, and have successfully completed the tasks entrusted them by the Party and people. Based on the masses' strength, the body of cadres built and improved by the Party has met the requirements, both quantitatively and qualitatively, of the regular and reserve forces, in peace time as well as in war time, and has served in time all the complicated building and combat tasks of the armed forces in the war. This is the great achievement of our Party's task concerning cadres.

In building the body of cadres, our Party set forth a correct line for the task concerning cadres, and set and improved the class trend and the norms and policy toward army cadres. Our Party has always firmly held to the class trend, considering the workers class the main one. Our Party attaches importance to the selection, improvement, and promotion of outstanding cadres taken from the worker-peasant class; and, at the same time, it selects, improves and promotes cadres from among outstanding intellectuals having close relations with workers and peasants, and having wholeheartedly served the revolution. In carrying out our Party's policy and task concerning cadres, we have fought all tendencies to divert from class policy, to neglect the task of improving outstanding persons from the worker-peasant class, and narrow-minded sectarianism.

Our Party has constantly trained and improved our armed forces cadres to make them both virtuous and talented, to consolidate their class standpoint, to strengthen their intense patriotism and readiness to fight and sacrifice their lives for the independence and freedom of our Fatherland and for socialism, to strengthen their absolute loyalty to the revolution, to constantly keep a firm hold on and resolutely implement the Party's political and military line, to establish close relations with the masses, to heighten their technical and specialist level, to fully understand modern military theories, and to improve their ability to cleverly organize the execution of all tasks under difficult and complex conditions.

In each phase, our Party has actively applied appropriate measures to improve cadres. It has continually paid special attention to training cadres in accordance with the realities of the revolutionary struggle of the masses, especially combat realities, basing itself on this training to constantly improve our body of cadres qualitatively and quantitatively.

With regard to building our people's armed forces, we have satisfactorily solved the problems of quality and quantity, paying attention to both, but regarding quality as more important. The view that quality is more important is an important feature in our people's military tradition. "Crack troops are not needed in large numbers"--this was the view of Tran Hung Dao and Nguyen Hue, national heroes who used their well-trained armies to defeat the aggressors' much larger armies. The quality of armed forces is the result of a combination of the factors of men and weapons and of various factors--military, political, logistical, ideological, organizational, equipment, and fighting methods--the human, political, and moral factors being the most decisive ones.

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

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

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

If all of our units possess a high quality and are capable of fighting the enemy with high combat efficiency, we can greatly increase the combat

strength of our limited armed forces, and, at the same time, reduce the organizational and leadership problems, replenish our forces, meet our armed forces' material requirements, and use our forces economically. This represents a major problem of strategic importance.

To insure that the more our armed forces fight, the greater vitality they acquire and the great victories they win in a protracted, resolute struggle, we have implemented the motto "fighting while building and developing our forces."

We fight in order to build and develop our forces. We build and develop our forces in order to fight vigorously and win greater victories. We have coordinated the gradual development with the rapid development of our forces in order to seize every opportunity to advance the war toward victory.

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

This represents the essence of our Party's viewpoint on building the forces of the people's war. Realities emerging from the revolutionary war in our country have proved that this viewpoint is completely correct. The enormous strength of this correct viewpoint has been demonstrated by the fact that by basing ourselves upon this viewpoint we have mobilized, trained, and organized the strength of all our armed forces and people into a firm bloc, a steel-like body which has insured a highly scientific distribution of combat tasks, forming a great combat force for continuously attacking the enemy and defeating every aggressor army, no matter how cruel and how numerous it may be and no matter what modern equipment it may possess.

This viewpoint was demonstrated most substantially and lucidly in President Ho's great appeal in which he said: "Our 31 million compatriots in both part of the country, regardless of age and sex, must be 31 million courageous American-annihilating, national salvation combatants who are determined to win final victory." (7)

(7) President Ho's talk at a solemn meeting held in 1967 to commemorate the anniversaries of the founding of the Vietnamese People's Army and of the National Resistance Day.

IV

BUILD POLITICAL BASES AND BUILD BASE AREAS AND A STRONG REAR FOR PEOPLE'S WAR.

"In order to really wage a war, it is necessary to possess a steadily-organized rear" (8) The rear is a permanent factor for success because it is a source of supply of human and material resources for the war and a source of political and spiritual motivation and encouragement for the frontline. Without a steady rear, the frontline cannot defeat the aggressors. This is the general law for every war. The problem which was posed to our Party was how could our people, barehanded, without an inch of free land as a base, having a small country and population, and with a backward agricultural economy, struggle to liberate themselves and to build steady bases and rears for the people's war to defeat the imperialist aggressors. Our Party creatively solved this problem, and in the process of its long, revolutionary struggle, accumulated many valuable experiences in building the political bases and the bases and rears for the all-people uprising and the people's war and the revolutionary war under the concrete conditions and circumstances in our country.

1.-Thoroughly Rely on the People and Proceed from Building the Masses' Political Bases Toward Building Bases and Rears, from Have-Not to Have, from Small to Big, and from Imperfect to Ever More Perfect.

In our national history, every time our people fought to gain or protect their national independence, our forefathers and fathers knew how to build their bases. They paid attention to the friendliness of the people and favorable terrain features. At times, they installed their bases in forests, mountains, and sometimes, in the swampy plains. At times, they favored the deltas, gathering men of ability and material resources among the people in order to build and develop their forces. Since the emergence of our Party and since it set a revolutionary path through violence--the path of armed uprising and revolutionary war--which was designed to seize the administration and to topple the enemy of the class and the people, the problem of building bases was also posed.

In line with the revolutionary struggle development, we have proceeded from building political bases toward building bases and rears and creating increasingly larger rears, from have not to have, from small to big, and from split to systematized. We now possess a perfect all-people national defense foundation in the socialist North. It can be said that at the outset when our Party set forth the policy of preparing for the armed struggle and uprising we did not possess a single inch of free land. At that time, our sole prop was the people's revolutionary organization and the already enlightened people's (8) Lenin's Works, Vol. 27, p.p. 54-55

patriotism and boundless loyalty toward the revolutionary undertaking. Relying on this patriotism, our Party did its best to conduct a revolutionary drive, to educate, mobilize, and lead the masses in their political struggle, in various forms, and through this, to develop its and the masses' political organizations, to build political bases everywhere, and to see to it that wherever the masses were, there would be political bases and revolutionary organizations. It was from those political bases, using the motto that "the armed political propaganda is more important than military matters," which President Ho set forth for the first guerrilla units, that our Party did its best to build secret armed bases and to step up the political struggle combined with the armed struggle, from bottom to top. Following this, our Party advanced toward starting the guerrilla warfare and the phased armed uprising and building the Viet Bac liberated zone and a number of guerrilla bases in other localities, along with vigorously and broadly developing political bases countrywide, stepping up the masses' revolutionary high tide, and advancing toward successfully conducting the general uprising, seizing the administration countrywide, and founding the DRV.

During the long resistance against the French imperialist aggressors, we did our best to defend and consolidate our vast free areas--using them as the firm rear for the people's war--along with fighting to continually enlarge the guerrilla-infested areas and guerrilla bases everywhere in the enemy's rear.

The resistance's increasingly and comprehensively consolidated rear was a source of great political and moral encouragement, a source of supplies for satisfying the increasingly great needs of the frontline. In the areas under the enemy's temporary control, basically the building of bases followed this pattern: through various forms of struggle--from illegal to legal struggle, from economic to political and armed struggle--and through the fierce struggle against the enemy, the clandestine political bases of the masses gradually turned the areas under the enemy's temporary control into guerrilla-infested areas and guerrilla bases which, small and isolated at first, were linked together into increasingly vast areas.

Nowadays, the Southerners--who rose up to liberate themselves--have a large and solid rear which is the socialist North. They are also endeavoring to build their bases and rear on the spot, which are the liberated areas. These increasingly enlarged liberated areas have been developing their increasingly great and diversified effects upon the Southern revolutionary war. Creatively applying the past experiences about building the bases and rear to the new historic conditions, the Southerners have not only built solid bases in the mountainous areas and deltas, but have also succeeded in building solid footholds even in strategic areas near cities, where the enemy has set up military posts everywhere, and which are crisscrossed by rivers and canals, and in a number of cities.

The liberated areas--where enemy posts are still present--have appeared, close to the enemy's large bases. These are the areas where the U.S.-puppets still have their military posts, sometimes in relatively large numbers. Although the enemy has resorted to many cruel military or crafty political tricks, he has been unable to set up his oppressive machinery. But through their resolute, courageous, and creative struggle, the Southern people have succeeded in maintaining their mastership there, seriously encircling and threatening the enemy's bases and rear.

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

2.-Rely on the Revolutionary Strength in Both Rural and Urban Areas, Build Solid Bases and Rears in Rural Areas While Building Revolutionary Bases in Cities, and Associate the On-the-Spot Rear Everywhere with the Common Rear of the Entire Country.

Our revolutionary war depends on the entire people's strength and on regular forces comprising workers and peasants, fighting the enemy right on our territory and coordinating attacks by all means in rural and urban areas. For this reason, we can and must rely on our revolutionary strength in these areas and build steadfast bases in the countryside and revolutionary structures in cities. In rural areas (embracing the jungles, mountains, and deltas) we possess a revolutionary force including the bulk of peasants and laborers or 90 percent of our total population equipped with a revolutionary determination, a self-sufficient and self-supplying local economy independent from cities and very suitable for launching and maintaining our people's war against the aggressive war, despite the enemy's material and technical predominance, and a terrain favorable for our people's armed forces' fight, whereas the enemy's ruling machinery has proved to be relatively weak and has revealed many deficiencies.

The countryside, jungles, and mountains with their dangerous terrains are important military strategic areas where the ethnic peoples are very eager for and loyal to the revolution while the enemy reveals almost all of his weaknesses and gaps. Relying on these very steadfast bases of the revolution and revolutionary war, our people can maintain, build, and develop their forces and persist in a protracted struggle under the most difficult circum-

tances. These bases can serve as a steadfast springboard from which we can expand our struggle to the plains.

The rural 'delta' areas are densely-populated areas which possess enormous resources and which the aggressor enemy has constantly tried to occupy in order to scrape up human and material resources and, thereby, implement his policy of using Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese and using war to support war.

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

Obviously, the rural areas constitute the firm, longterm prop and battleground of the revolutionary war in our country. Firmly relying on the rural areas and building firm strongholds in the rural, mountainous, and delta areas represent a strategic requirement of the revolutionary war in our country. While building firm, strong bases in the rural areas, our Party has attached great importance to building revolutionary bases in the urban areas.

The urban areas are the concentration places of the working class which possesses the highest revolutionary spirit and which is both the leading class and the force which, together with the peasants and laborers, form the main-force army of the revolution. The urban areas also are the concentration places of numerous strata of laborers, students, and progressive intellectuals, the forces which have a fairly high patriotic, anti-imperialist spirit.

The urban areas, especially the major cities and townships, are the enemy's political, military, economic, and cultural centers, where his leading organs and his dominating, repressive facilities are concentrated. The urban areas represent the enemy's strongpoints, compared with the rural areas. But the enemy also has weakpoints in the urban areas, politically and militarily, especially in the political field. The enemy's basic scheme consists of strenuously building the urban areas into the safe rear base of the aggressive war.

To advance the revolutionary war toward victory, it is necessary to positively build revolutionary bases in the urban areas, create conditions for attacking the enemy right in the cities in every suitable form, and, thereby,

deprive him of a safe rearbase. It is also necessary to insure a close coordination between the urban revolutionary forces and the rural revolutionary forces in order to attack the enemy right in his dens, insure that the revolutionary war annihilate more and more extensively his military and political forces, extend the people's mastership from lower to higher echelons and from small to large areas, and advance toward winning final victory.

The coordination between building firm strongholds in the rural areas with building revolutionary bases in the urban areas had contributed toward creating the unique uprising feature of the Vietnamese revolution, as demonstrated by the August Revolution, and toward successfully executing the strategy of fighting on a protracted basis, relying on the rural bases, and, at the same time, stimulating the urban struggle movement during the anti-French resistance.

This coordination has made and is making an important contribution to the great victories in the three strategic areas of the Southern revolutionary war. In compliance with the rule governing the development of the revolutionary war's rearbase and to exploit, mobilize, and highly develop the comprehensive forces of our country, we have advocated combining the building of on-the-spot rearbases everywhere with the common rearbase of our entire country. Our experience has clearly shown that it is necessary not only to build common strongholds and rear bases for the entire country, but also to build on-the-spot strongholds and rear bases everywhere, on every battlefield, and in each locality.

The tasks involved in building the immediate strongholds and rearbases of every locality, battlefield, and echelon, from the basic echelon upwards, are closely associated with our Party's line on mobilizing all the people and the entire country to fight the aggressors and with the policy of building firm, strong, on-the-spot forces everywhere for the people's war. This conforms with the conditions of our country, which is not very large, and with the methods of waging our people's war in which our people have been determined to stand firm, to attack the enemy everywhere, and not to budge even one inch.

Implementing this line and this policy, we have fully used and successfully developed the strength and mastership of our people and of the new social system which has taken shape and is being consolidated in the liberated areas, in order to meet rapidly and in time the local combat requirements.

In our present anti-U.S. national salvation fight, we have combined the on-the-spot strongholds and rearbases in the South with the vast rearbases of the entire country, the socialist North, which is linked with the vast socialist camp.

This coordination ensures the development of the strength of all out people, of the socialist regime in the North and the new socialist regime in the liberated area of South Viet-Nam, and the strength of the entire revolutionary achievement of our people in the past scores of years of continuous struggle to defeat the imperialists' ringleaders. This basic point clearly shows that in the present resistance war, our people are strong enough and are able to stand steadfastly, as seen in the previous resistance against the French.

3.-Develop Strongly The Active Offensive Spirit, Strive to Develop Comprehensively the Strongholds and Rear Bases, Positively Struggle to Defend Our Rear, and at the Same Time Actively Attack the Enemy Rears into Our Forefronts, and Constantly Expand Our Strongholds and Rear Bases.

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

According to the people's war viewpoint, the strengthening of the strongholds and rear bases primarily depends on political, economic, military and geographic factors, of which the most important are the political and people factors and the nature of the social regime. Therefore, the building of the rear bases must be comprehensive--including the various political, economic, military and cultural aspects.

It is first necessary to build a sound political position, to strengthen the political and moral unanimity among the people, to strive to constantly develop the supremacy of the new social regime in various aspects, political, economic and cultural, to gradually and actively achieve democratic reforms, to improve the material and spiritual life of the people, and to constantly develop the latent potentials of the rear bases, thanks to which the rear bases will be able to defend themselves and, at the same time, develop comprehensively their great effects toward the war. The strongholds and rear bases of the people's war constitute a constant threat for the enemy, and are therefore the objectives of the enemy's repeated and violent attacks.

Therefore, the question of strengthening the strongholds and rear bases must be closely connected with the struggle for the defense of the rear bases and the expansion and development of the comprehensive effects of the strong-

holds and rear bases. It is necessary to strongly develop the active offensive spirit, and to closely coordinate the active struggle for defending our rear bases with the active attacks against the enemy rear areas, thus transforming the enemy rear areas into our battlefields.

Attacks and strong attacks are the best way to defend and broaden our rear bases, to shrink the enemy rear areas and to develop strongly and comprehensively the effects of our rear bases. This is also the essential requirement of the building of the strongholds and rear bases of the liberation war, starting from nothing, from small to larger scale, and aiming at regaining, maintaining and developing--from partially to comprehensively--the mastership right of the people.

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

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

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

4.-Building and Consolidating The Socialist Northern Rear.

Since the Dien Bien Phu victory, our North Viet-Nam has been entirely

liberated, moving toward socialist construction and becoming a steadfast rear and base area for our people's countrywide revolutionary undertaking. This event marks a great turning point and a forward progress in the process of building and developing the base area and rear of people's war in our country.

Since our Party's assumption of leadership over our people's struggle for independence and freedom, our people, with half the country being entirely liberated, are for the first time, advancing toward successfully building socialism which is the most advanced social regime in our nation's several-thousand-year history, thus perfecting and consolidating this base area of our nationwide revolution.

Right after the successful anti-French resistance, our Party stressed the need to consolidate and make the North steadfast and strong in every respect. According to the resolution of the Third Party Congress, the more strongly the North advances toward socialism, the further all Northern forces will be strengthened, thus benefiting the revolution for liberating the South, the development of our nationwide revolution, and the maintenance and consolidation of peace in Indochina and in the world.

"The North is the common base area for our nationwide revolution" (9) The comprehensive consolidation and strengthening of all Northern forces has further consolidated the North's national defense, an all-people national defense built by the entire people and depending on the people's comprehensive strength to protect the people's interests, the revolutionary fruit, and the socialist regime.

For the first time, the views on the all-people national defense were expressed in the resolution of the 12th Party Congress in 1957. This is the understanding of the concept of people's war and the task of defending the North and making it ready and able to smash every aggressive scheme of imperialism while developing the effect of the North as a rear base of the nationwide revolution. This is a new progress in our Party's theory on building the rear and base of our people's war under the new conditions.

The building of the all-people national defense in the North must be comprehensively conducted. To secure a steadfast, strong all-people national defense politically, it is necessary to unceasingly consolidate and strengthen the Party's leading role, the proletarian, dictatorial state, the socialist regime, and the unity and singlemindedness of the laboring people, workers, collective peasantry, and socialist intellectuals on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance.

(9) National Assembly Documents, V.1, p. 32.

It is necessary to constantly heighten socialist consciousness, patriotism, love for socialism, the collective mastership spirit, and determination to reunify the country. It is necessary to satisfactorily carry out the mobilization and enlistment policy, the policy toward wounded and sick combatants, toward dead heroes' families, toward soldiers' families, and so forth; and on this basis, to mobilize all our people in the struggle to step up production and build socialism while being prepared to fight, and fight bravely, to defend the North, to fulfill their obligations toward the Southern revolution, and to contribute to fulfilling international obligations.

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

The strength of all-people national defense requires that the North be consolidated militarily. Military strength is not only that of a regular army but also that of the entire people with the people's armed forces as the nucleus depending on the comprehensively steadfast new social regime. The military construction task consists of positively stepping up the arming and militarizing of the entire people, intensifying the building of the people's armed forces including the three troop categories, the seasoned regular force, and the powerful reserve force, gradually building combat villages, hamlets, and wards, and intensifying the maintenance of security.

It is necessary to ready the country in every respect and to constantly heighten the vigilant spirit and combat readiness of the armed forces and people so that every aggressive move and scheme of imperialism can be smashed. Moreover, it is necessary to stress the importance of every strategic area in national defense, to concentrate all forces on accelerating the comprehensive building and consolidation of particularly important areas, and to strengthen the leadership of the party and administrations at all levels over the consolidation of national defense and army building.

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

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

5.- Rely On the Socialist Camp, Our Broad Rear.

The Vietnamese revolution is an integral part of the world revolution and since its early days has enjoyed the latter's support. This support has been increasingly strengthened as our people carried on uprisings and wars. From being encircled by imperialism, we have advanced by firmly relying on socialism. Nowadays, our people's anti-U.S. national salvation resistance is proceeding when the Socialist camp has developed by leaps and bounds, having a billion-plus population and strong economical and matchless national defense powers. This is the steadfast foundation to be relied upon. It is our people's and world people's steadfast wall and moat in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

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

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

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

Our Party's military line holds that to lead the people's war to victory, it is necessary to have a correct and creative war-waging formula and military art. Our Party has relied on the revolutionary nature and just cause of our people's national liberation war or national defense, on the concrete situation of the balance of power between the enemy and us in our country and in the world, and on battlefield characteristics in our country to correctly and creatively solve the problem of mobilizing all our people, to fight the enemy until victory.

Born from the realities of our people's glorious struggle under Party leadership, a war-waging formula and a military art having great power and rich content have been shaped and perfected day by day. These are the war-waging formula and military art of the people's war, of the all-people and comprehensive war of a small country having a small population and struggling against large aggressive imperialist armies. These are the formula and military art of waging military uprisings and revolutionary war, of resolutely attacking the enemy with both military and political forces, in both rural and urban areas during a long process of associating the annihilation improvement of our own forces so that the more they fight, the stronger they become and the more victories they win, so that they can drive back the enemy step by step, annihilate him by large chunks, and advance toward complete victory. Carrying out this formula and art, we must mainly rely on our own forces to develop the power of the just cause and advantages of the national liberation war or the national defense being fought in our own country, and simultaneously endeavor to win world sympathy and support and develop all the advantages of our epoch in order to create the combined power of people's war, defeat the enemy, and liberate and defend our country. Following are the main points of our people's war-waging formula:

1. Wage the All-People and Comprehensive War and Associate Military Forces with Political Forces, Armed Struggle with Political Struggle, and Armed Uprisings with Revolutionary War.

The main content of our Party's military line consists of mobilizing all the people to fight the enemy, through waging armed uprisings and revolutionary war. Since the imperialists use their armed forces to invade our

country and rule our people, we must arm all our people, organize our armed forces, and use armed struggle to defeat them. This is inevitable. However, to develop the great power of all our people in order to defeat an enemy who has more troops and more powerful weapons, but who is engaging in an unjust aggressive war and encountering many contradictions and weakpoints, we must fight him comprehensively, in the military field as well as in the political, economic, cultural, diplomatic, and other fields. We must use various forms of struggle, including the most basic ones--namely armed and political struggles. The combination of the armed forces with the political forces, the armed struggle with the political struggle, and the armed uprising with the revolutionary war constitutes the main content of the 'waging an all-people and comprehensive war' formula.

In their long history of building and protecting the country, along with using the army to fight the aggressors, our people know how to mobilize the people countrywide to arise and fight, combining the army's combat with the people's uprising. In shifting from the political struggle to the armed struggle in an effort to achieve the political objectives of the revolution, our people, under the Party's leadership, combined the armed forces with the political forces, the armed struggle with the political struggle, and the masses' uprising with the armed forces' combat. The armed struggle is an aspect of basic struggle, directly playing a decisive role in annihilating the enemy's military forces. The armed struggle is also dutybound to protect the people, to win them over, to combine with the political struggle, and to support the revolutionary masses in conducting their political struggle, in arising, in gaining the right to mastership, and in scoring the greatest successes for the revolution. The more fiercely the war develops, the more important the armed struggle.

At a time when the aggressors have intensified the use of armed forces to invade our country and enslave our people, the use of the armed struggle to counter their armed aggression has become increasingly important and imperative. It is necessary to annihilate the enemy's military forces, to doom all his military strategies, and to militarily defeat him in order to score success for the resistance.

The political struggle is a basic struggle form. It is always a base for the armed struggle to develop and also a formula for attacking the enemy. The political struggle is aimed at mobilizing and organizing the people, at leading the people in struggling against the enemy, from bottom to top, at exposing and dooming every deceitful enemy trick, at dispersing and weakening his military forces, at confusing his rear, and at protecting the people's

livelihood and production and the revolutionary bases. In the process of the uprising and war, the political struggle has incessantly developed into the armed struggle and has closely combined with it in order to score the greatest successes for the revolution. The people's political forces have advanced from the ordinary aspects of political struggle toward conducting an armed uprising under definite conditions and cooperating with the armed forces in directly deciding the formation of the revolutionary administration. The combination of the political forces and the armed forces, the political struggle with the armed struggle, and the armed uprising with the revolutionary war is of a universal nature and is a law governing revolutionary violence in our country. Our people have cleverly utilized this combination, in conformity with each concrete situation: Now the political force plays the main role--with the military force playing the role of the prop--associating political struggle with armed struggle in order to advance toward a nationwide armed uprising. Now the military force plays the main role in the all-people war--in association with the political force--associating armed struggle with political struggle and fighting with uprising, using armed struggle as the main form of struggle in carrying out a protracted revolutionary war. Now the military force is associated with the political force in conducting the armed struggle along with the political struggle and the armed uprising along with the revolutionary war.

In the general uprising of August 1945 supported by the liberation troops, our people's strong mass forces resorted to the widespread armed uprising to regain administrative power in urban and rural areas. The success of the August Revolution was basically due to the fact that our people's political force seized in time the most favorable opportunity to start the uprising to win administrative power for the state. But the revolution would not have been achieved promptly if our Party had not beforehand built the armed forces and vast base areas as a prop for the political force and the political struggle movement and if it had not quickly launched the armed uprising when the conditions were ripe. (10)

In the anti-French resistance, all our people rose up to fight the enemy, using the people's armed forces as the nucleus. In the coordination of the armed struggle with the political struggle, the armed struggle was the main form of struggle. The armed forces conducted guerrilla warfare and, on this basis, moved toward regular warfare. In this process, they constantly and closely coordinated their combat activities with the political struggle and partial uprising of the masses behind the enemy lines.

(10) Political Report of the Party Central Committee, read at the Third National Congress of Representatives (5 September 1960).

Whereas the enemy had achieved old colonialism, the revolutionary masses in many urban and rural areas resolutely conducted face-to-face multiform struggles against terrorism, massacre, strafing, pillage, military conscription, and forced labor, demanding the return of their husbands and sons, motivating puppet troops to join the revolution, coordinating combat with military proselyting, annihilating spies and villains, staging partial uprisings, overthrowing the enemy's basic administrations in the countryside, and so forth.

The present revolutionary war in South Viet-Nam is coordination, at a new level and under new historic conditions, between the armed and political forces, between the armed and political struggles, and between the armed uprising and revolutionary war to overthrow the neocolonialist yoke and defeat the U.S. imperialists' neocolonialist, aggressive war. This is a very great stride in the development of the comprehensive all-people war. All the 14 million Southern people are rushing toward the frontline, attacking the U.S. aggressive troops and the puppet army and administration in the military, political, and troop proselyting spheres, conducting widespread uprisings in war, and coordinating the political struggle with the armed struggle and the armed uprising with the revolutionary war.

The military proselyting task aimed at enlightening puppet troops and attracting them to the revolutionary side has become a strategic offensive spearhead of the revolutionary war and a basic problem in the revolutionary movement to achieve the "worker-peasant-troop alliance" slogan of the Southern revolution.

In war, on the basis of a widespread struggle movement and with the coordination of the people's armed forces in attacks against enemy troops, the mass uprising movement can be launched even more vigorously on various occasions. An uprising can help widen the terrain, increase war forces, and accelerate the war, whereas the war can make the uprising conditions more mature and stimulate the uprising to expand unceasingly.

Even though different from each other, uprising and war, as Lenin remarked, "they cannot be separated and are difficult to distinguish" (11). In our entire people's comprehensive war, besides the two fundamental military and political struggles, the economic struggle also plays a very important role, especially when we have bases and rears, when the liberation war is developed and broadened, or when we carry on a national defense war. Along with motivating a war economy, we must resolutely carry on the economic struggle against the enemy, coordinate political and military struggles with

(11) Strategy and Tactics in the October Revolution. Su That Publishing House, p. 269.