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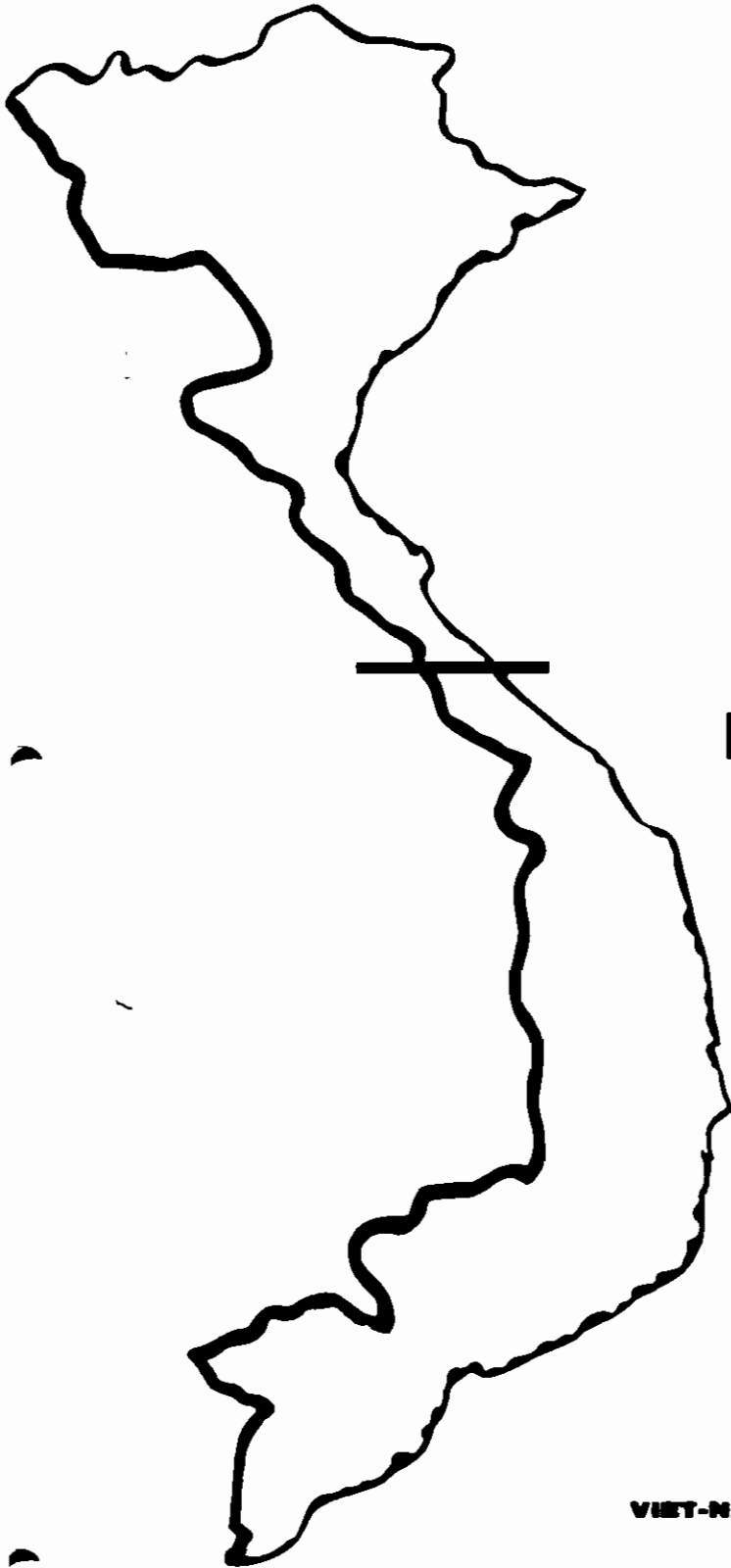
T I T L E "Under the Party Banner, VN's Military Art..."

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Gen. Van Tien Dung article on military science in PAVN
with assessment and strategy commentary on war.

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NOTES**

**UNDER THE PARTY'S BANNER,
VIET-NAM'S MILITARY ART HAS CONSTANTLY
DEVELOPED AND TRIUMPHED**

By Colonel General Van Tien Dung

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UNDER THE PARTY'S BANNER, VIET-NAM'S MILITARY ART
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By Colonel General Van Tien Dung

Background

In December 1969 the Viet-Nam People's Army newspaper Quan Doi Nhan Dan, the Lao Dong Party daily Nhan Dan, and Radio Hanoi serialized three major articles commemorating the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Viet-Nam People's Army. The first article, by Vo Nguyen Giap, Minister of Defense and Commander-in-Chief of the VPA, deals comprehensively, with the Lao Dong Party's military line. (1) The last, by Lt. Gen. Song Hao, head of the VPA's General Political Department, focuses on the Lao Dong Party's leadership of military matters. The second article--"Under the Party's Banner, Viet-Nam's Military Art has Constantly Developed and Triumphed"--by the VPA Chief-of-Staff Van Tien Dung, discusses military strategy, methods, and tactics, and is presented in this number of Viet-Nam Documents and Research Notes.

Both the Giap and Dung articles avoid dogmatic formulations of strategies and "struggle forms" passing through distinct phases, but stress flexibility. "We do not bind ourselves to any fixed form or method of struggle," claims Dung, for "The practical conditions of our fight ... constantly change and, therefore, do not permit us to mechanically utilize our own combat experience which is no longer practicable." And like Giap, Dung takes as his central theme the strategy of prolonged, comprehensive people's war. The art of people's war is, according to Dung, "the art of using weakness to defeat strength, the few to defeat the numerous, and of unremittingly developing our forms, methods, and scales of attack ..."

As for the "two combat forms," both guerrilla warfare and concentrated, big-unit warfare have, according to Dung, "played an important strategic role." In an earlier article on the Party's military line Dung claimed that "Regular war is the backbone of guerrilla war, and plays the decisive role in annihilating the enemy's manpower and winning ultimate victory." (2) But in the present article he stresses that "The combination of these two

(1) For the text of the Giap article, see Viet-Nam Documents and Research Notes, No. 70. For the Song Hao article, see No. 72

(2) Van Tien Dung, "Thoroughly Understand the Party's Line of People's War," Hoc Tap, August 1965.

combat forms . . . constitutes a problem of decisive significance for the development and success of the armed struggle."

In discussing tactics, Dung focuses on the concepts of "using few to fight many" and "using quality to defeat quantity." Such tactics, says Dung, "requires of our officers and men great efforts, unusual courage, heroism, resourcefulness, mobility, and flexibility," that "we avail ourselves of good occasions to attack the enemy when and where he is negligent," and that "we highly develop the factors of surprise and secrecy." "In striking," he warns, "we should avoid large enemy troop concentrations . . ." and should attack "in the way chosen by us and which does not allow the enemy to make use of his favorite forms of fighting." The basic principle of concentrating troops, as formulated by Mao Tse-Tung and Vo Nguyen Giap, is "to realize overwhelming superiority over the enemy where he is sufficiently exposed." (3) According to Dung, however, "we have eliminated every military formula according to which attack can only be launched when we possess more numerous armed forces...than does the enemy."

Such emphasis on "using few to fight many" and "using quality to defeat quantity," however, does not mean a total abandonment of "concentrated attacks": "Our military art," states Dung, "finds no opposition between the use of the few to fight the numerous and the launching of major attacks to score great victories and the rational concentration of forces to exterminate the enemy." Dung quotes Lenin in saying that "It is necessary to show that one possesses a stronger force at a decisive moment and in a decisive place."

An important aspect of the "military art of the revolutionary war" is, according to Dung, combining the military struggle with the political struggle, "--closely coordinating the annihilation of the enemy with the regaining and expansion of the people's mastership, "--for "only by realizing the people's mastership while annihilating the enemy can we develop our strength." "The armed forces must know how, where, and when to exterminate the enemy in order to support the people's uprisings to regain mastership over rural and urban areas," he avers; and to do this, he adds, "it is necessary to eliminate the local administrative personnel and spy servitors of the enemy."

Although Dung touches on such factors as the "support of world progressives" for the NLF and the anti-war protests in the United States, and claims that the Americans are "sustaining heavy defeats on the battlefield," he neither stresses the "collapsing state" of the "puppet army and administration" nor declares the "liberation forces" to be on the verge of victory. Rather, Dung emphasizes that when evaluating the situation it is necessary to take the long

(3) Vo Nguyen Giap, People's War, People's Army, Praeger, 1962, p. 48

view, to understand fully "the revolution's fundamental problems -- such as the revolutionary line, objectives, driving power, and methods, the mass nature of violence and so forth, and the characteristics of the present era... the era of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale."

Note: The underscored words and passages in the following text appear in the original text in italics or bold-face type.

UNDER THE PARTY'S BANNER, VIET-NAM'S MILITARY ART
HAS CONSTANTLY DEVELOPED AND TRIUMPHED

By Colonel General Van Tien Dung

Having a 4,000-year old history, our Vietnamese nation has maintained a tradition of very valiant armed struggle. Faced with aggressors having strong military and economic potentials and vast armies equipped with numerous weapons, our people have had to conduct several liberation or self-defense wars to regain and safeguard their independence and freedom.

In the process of our struggle against foreign invasion, Viet-Nam's military art came into being, developing unceasingly and making important contributions to the nation's victories. The armed uprisings and liberation and self-defense wars led by the two Trung sisters, Lady Trieu, Ly Bon, Mai Thuc Loan, Phung Hung, Ngo Quyen, Le Hoan, Ly Thuong Kiet, Tran Quoc Tuan, Le Loi, Nguyen Trai, Nguyen Hue, and others were immortal feats of arms, representing our nation's stalwart, unyielding spirit and military art.

Since the emergence of our Party which assumes leadership over the Vietnamese revolution, our people have inherited and developed by one new step our nation's age-old military art bearing the nature of the working class, on the basis of Marxist-Leninist stand and viewpoint and of our people's revolutionary struggle under the leadership banner of the Party and working class in the new era, the era of victory of the socialist revolution and national liberation revolution, thus responding to the requirements of a successful struggle against the imperialists' modern aggressive armies invading our country.

The great successes of the general uprising of August 1945, of the 1945-1954 resistance against aggressive French colonialism, and of our people's present anti-U.S. national salvation undertaking have demonstrated the superiority of Viet-Nam's military art over that of any imperialist aggressor.

In the 1945-1954 resistance, our people alongside their people's administration and their young people's armed forces rushed forward and defeated 480,000 troops (including 240,000 expeditionary troops--Nhan Dan) equipped with modern weapons of the aggressive French colonialists. Though assisted by U.S. imperialism, French colonialism could not avoid defeat in this aggressive war.

The more our armed forces and people fought, the stronger they became and they constantly developed their offensive stance, staging attacks from a small to a large scale and from a regional to an all-out basis. The 1953-1954 winter-spring military campaign with the notable historic Dien Bien Phu battle constituted a mortal blow smashing the French-U.S. aggressive plan and was also a step of high development of the military art of our people's war in this resistance.

In the present anti-U.S. national salvation undertaking, Viet-Nam's military art, on the basis of experiences in the 1945-1954 resistance, has constantly developed in a brilliant way unprecedented in our nation's history. Following the great 1959-60 general uprising, our Southern compatriots, under the NLSFV's glorious banner, have been conducting people's war very valiantly, defeating the U.S. imperialists' special war strategy.

Shifting to the regional war strategy since 1965, the U.S. aggressors have dispatched major U.S. and satellite army units en masse to South Viet-Nam while waging the war of destruction against the Northern part of our country.

They have thrown into this local war more than half-a-million expeditionary troops composed of 68 percent infantrymen and paratroopers and 60 percent marines; 32 percent of the tactical air force, including 75 percent of "actually efficient" U.S. wings and 50 percent of the remaining U.S. combat planes to be used to recoup the losses on the Vietnamese battlefield; 20 percent of the strategic air force; 36 percent of the Navy's air force; and 66 percent of the U.S. Navy's aircraft carriers. But the U.S. imperialists have sustained ignominious defeats. According to still incomplete statistics, in the four years of the "local war," U.S. casualties reached 650,000, 20,000 planes, including those downed in North Viet-Nam, were lost, and about 40,000 military vehicles, over 2,000 warships and combat launches, and thousands of cannons were destroyed. The U.S. aggressors have sustained heavy defeats and are advancing toward total defeat. Our troops and people countrywide have won and are resolutely advancing toward final victory. The realities of the past four years' victorious fight have reflected the courage and fighting ability of our troops and people countrywide. Faced with a cruel enemy--U.S. imperialism, the richest and most powerful imperialist of the imperialist camp--all our people have not only dared to fight him, but also have been determined to fight him and known how to fight him. In the North, the military art of the people's war has defeated the U.S. aggressors' war of destruction waged mainly with their air force. In the South, the military art of the people's war has defeated their "special war" and "local war." Our military art has been continuously improved, making big leaps forward,

and has won increasingly big victories. This is a pride for our nation and our generation, for the revolutionary line and military line of our Party, and for the Vietnamese military art of the great Ho Chi Minh era.

The Source of the Basic Strength of the Modern Vietnamese
Military Art

The Vietnamese military art's strength and constant progress and development originate from the following bases:

1.-The Party's political line, military line, and leadership are the decisive factors of the formation of the source of strength and constant progress of the modern Vietnamese military art.

We are very proud of our military art which is imbued with our best national traditions. Our military art is the art of waging the armed struggle in the self-defense wars or liberation wars in our country--a country small in terms of territory and population--to defeat the enemy aggressors who are much stronger than us in the fields of economic and military potentialities and who can concentrate a large quantity of weapons, equipment, and troops on the battlefield. It is the military art of the just struggles waged on the territory of our Fatherland.

War is a continuation of politics. Our revolutionary war is aimed at carrying out our Party's political line and revolutionary tasks. Our Party's political line is the line of the people's national democratic revolution advancing toward socialist revolution in Viet-Nam. It reflects the creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the realities of the Vietnamese revolutionary struggle. It reflects close association between national liberation and class liberation, patriotism and proletarian internationalism. It reflects close association between the national and international obligations of the Vietnamese revolution in the present era.

Our Party's correct political line and leadership not only have mobilized, encouraged, and organized all our people to arise and struggle for the implementation of this political line, but also have helped us win over the sympathy, support, and assistance of the socialist camp and revolutionaries worldwide. The progressives of the countries which have sent their troops to invade our country also have arisen to protest against their own authorities, protest against the imperialist aggressors' war in Viet-Nam, and support the Vietnamese revolution. Our revolutionary undertaking and our revolutionary war are an organic part of the international revolutionary movement. They have relied on the great advantages of the world revolution's present offensive posture and on the sympathy, support, and assistance of

fraternal socialist countries and world revolutionary forces. The ever great victories won by our revolution and revolutionary war have stimulated and contributed to the development of these factors' influence upon our revolutionary war, thus increasing our advantages and the enemy's disadvantages.

Our Party's political line and leadership have stimulated our revolutionary forces and governed their organization. They are the bases of the military ideology, line, and art of the Vietnamese revolution and revolutionary war. As a people having lost our country, we have arisen empty-handedly to carry out the revolution, a liberation revolution. We can defeat the enemy who is stronger and better organized than us only if we use all the struggle forms and methods of all the revolutionary forces and of all our people.

Our troops and people have resorted to the most appropriate, most advantageous, most resolute, and fiercest forms and methods to struggle against the enemy, creating a combined power and a combined strong position to defeat him. We have struggled with the power of all our people and our armed forces--composed of three forces--on all fronts. We have struggled against the enemy on the military, political, and diplomatic fronts, through attacks by the armed forces, uprisings by the masses, and military proselyting, through attacks by small guerrilla units and large units, and through small-sized, middle-sized, and large-sized attacks. We have attacked the enemy in the mountainous areas, the rural areas in the delta, and the cities.

By fighting the enemy with self-reliance, we have simultaneously known how to gain and to most correctly and efficiently use international help. While attacking and annihilating the enemy, we have realized our people's mastership. This mastership has been realized not only in liberated areas, but also, to varying extent, in areas temporarily under the enemy's control, including cities. We must realize the people's mastership where they are. Only by realizing the people's mastership while annihilating the enemy can we develop our strength. The more successful the realization of our people's mastership, the stronger the development of our strength, the more intensified is the annihilation of the enemy, and the broader our offensive position. We have known how to persistingly fight along with unremittingly and strongly stepping up our struggle to increasingly gain greater successes so as to advance toward final success.

We have known how to learn from experiences, improve them, and creatively use our fraternal countries' experiences, our procedure for waging the war as well as our armed struggle methods have entirely originated in our country's concrete revolutionary struggle conditions in the present

era. We do not bind ourselves to any fixed form or method of struggle. We have been deeply penetrated by Lenin's teachings, "Marxism differs from all primitive forms of socialism in that it does not bind the movement to any unique and fixed form of struggle. It admits the most completely different forms of struggle, but, at the same time, does not make them up. It only starts from the revolutionary classes' spontaneous forms of struggle which appeared in the course of the movement to synthesize, reorganize, and make them be conscious."(1)

In the 1945-54 resistance against the French colonialists as well as the present resistance against the U.S. imperialist aggressors, our people and people's armed forces throughout the country have creatively and actively used very rich forms of organizing forces and methods and forms of struggle to attack the enemy in all aspects. The reality of the war waged according to correct political and military lines has trained and improved our organs and methods and forms of struggles, thus increasingly strengthening our forces which have matured rapidly. The more developed and coordinated our different aspects of struggle, the greater is our combined strength, which will attack and harass the enemy, step by step gain great and comprehensive successes, and drive the enemy into deadlock and failure.

Armed struggle is a fundamental aspect of our revolutionary war. Armed struggle must be able to destroy the enemy's military forces in order to coordinate and to create conditions favorable for the development of other struggle aspects so that our revolutionary war can achieve comprehensive and great successes.

We fight the aggressors by using the strength of the entire people and of three-force armed forces. Therefore, our armed struggle does not use only one fixed form, method, or scale. Various forms, methods, and scales are to be used, developed, and closely coordinated in order to actively, resolutely, and continuously attack and annihilate the enemy in each locality, on all battlefields, and in each phase as well as during the whole war.

On the political plane, the assignment and organization of revolutionary forces, the Party's revolutionary method, and the people's war military line and art have been constantly progressed and copiously developed, thus contributing to scoring successes in the previous anti-French colonialist and the present anti-U.S. imperialist resistances.

Following are the outstanding points of the Vietnamese military art:

(1) Lenin, Marx-Engles and Marxism, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, p. 184

Our military art is that of fully understanding the offensive spirit of our country's just war of defense or of liberation in the present era - the spirit which aims at defeating the aggressive army of powerful imperialists on the territory of our Fatherland. With our comprehensive offensive position being sympathetically supported by the world progressive people, we have been defeating the imperialists' absurd war of aggression on our country's battlefields as well as in their country and in the world.

Our military art is that of people's military war, the military art of the entire people who fight by using armed forces possessing three types of core troops. It is the art of coordinating guerrilla warfare with regular warfare, widespread battles with concentrated battles, and small-scale battles with medium and largescale battles. It is the art of using weakness to defeat strength, the few to defeat the numerous, and of unremittingly developing our forms, methods, and scales of attack so that our offensive position develops from being modest and regional to being strong and general, thus overwhelming the enemy and advancing toward complete success.

Our military art is that of closely coordinating armed struggle with other forms of struggle in order to create the combined strength and position which unremittingly attack the enemy and gain increasingly steadfast and comprehensive successes.

Our military art is that of attacking the enemy in the way chosen by us and which does not allow the enemy to make use of his favorite forms of fighting.

Obviously, the present Vietnamese military art is a progressive one which has won and developed its apogee in the people's greatest war in our nation's history against the aggressive war waged by U.S. imperialism, a top imperialism and the most cruel enemy of the era.

2.-Our present military art has inherited and developed our nation's valiant, staunch, and indomitable armed struggle tradition.

In our history, since the foundation of our nation by the Hung kings, our nation has had to carry on scores of great anti-aggressive wars. Our Vietnamese people have always held a spirit of fighting and sacrificing for independence and freedom, a spirit of national solidarity and patriotism, and a spirit of persistingly, throughout years and generations, struggling against all powerful and cruel aggressors. Thus, our tradition of armed struggle for safeguarding the Fatherland or liberating the country was formed and developed very soon.

In the old days, in their resistance against aggression, our ancestors fought enemies who were stronger than they, but both sides were feudal regimes having agricultural economies. Therefore, despite great discrepancies in economic potentials and the sizes of armies, there were no great differences in equipment and weapons. Today, our enemies are the imperialists who possess a modern industry, massive material and technical foundations, numerous troops, high logistic capabilities, strong and rich firepower, and rapid replacement. As for us, from an agricultural country and a colony which fought for national salvation, we have gradually built a number of fundamental defense industries and received material and technical help from fraternal socialist countries. However, we are still inferior to the enemy in regard to concentrated armed forces, economic potentials, material and technical foundations, and modern equipment and weapons. Therefore, the old and present conditions of war greatly differ from each other. However, since we possess our Party's correct political and military lines and leadership, our present military art has not only inherited but has, by leaps and bounds, developed our nation's valiant, staunch, indomitable, and resourceful struggle tradition.

From the uprising led by the two Trung sisters, a wide-spread national salvation movement which overthrew the domination administration and established an independent, national administration, to the successive armed uprisings, the Vietnamese nation has had a glorious tradition of uprisings for overthrowing aggressors' yokes. This tradition was strongly developed in the new era in the Nghe-Tinh Soviet movement, in the Bac Son uprising, in the Nam Ky uprising, and especially in the August 1945 general uprising which regained national mastership throughout our entire territory and led to the founding of the DRV.

From the uprising led by Phung Hung to the Lam Son uprising, our nation began a tradition of opening liberation wars by uprisings; then, coordinating military with political struggles, attacks with uprisings, and proselyting among the enemy, our people had continuously, over long periods of time attacked the enemies to achieve complete success. This tradition was strongly developed in the 1945-54 anti-French colonialist resistance and has been particularly developed in the present anti-U.S. aggression resistance.

From the Trung sisters uprising to Nguyen Hue's battles, the outstanding traits in the history of our people's military art had been fantastic schemes and clever stratagems (Tran Quoc Tuan epoch), patience and endurance (Trieu Quang Phuc, Phung Hung, and Le Loi epochs), speedy and fierce attacks (Ngo Quyen, Le Hoan, Ly Thuong Kiet, Nguyen Hue, and so forth). All these outstanding traits have been stepped up to a new level under the new conditions of the present military art. The latter has an

increasingly sound scientific basis and has been tested in realistic and victorious struggles.

From surprise attacks during the Trieu Quang Phuc epoch, and Tran Quoc Tuan's generals Da Tuong and Yet Kieu's unique attacks using one man to penetrate the enemy's naval bases where they drilled holes in and sunk their combat boats, using the few to defeat the numerous and coordinating small battles with large battles, to the annihilation of Lieu Thang's elements and the complete annihilation of Ton Si Nghi's 200,000 troops, using the few to defeat the numerous in great battles, our nation developed the tradition of using weakness to defeat strength and the few to resist the numerous, winning over strong enemies in small, medium, and large battles. This traditional military art of using weakness to defeat strength and the few to defeat the numerous in strategic operations, occasionally concentrating troops definitely stronger than the enemy's according to the need of each battle, was developed step by step to fit the recent resistance against the French colonialists, as it has in the present revolutionary war against the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression.

Since the late 1959 general uprising, our Southern compatriots and NLF/SV have synthesized and highly and creatively developed the experiences from the August Revolution and the 1945-54 resistance as well as our people's experience and generations-old traditions and the world people's struggle experiences.

By successfully solving the military struggle problems for defeating U.S. imperialism, the strongest aggressor in the era, our present Vietnamese military art has become the most distinguished and progressive one in our people's history. This is due to our people and people's armed forces who, under the Party's leadership, have known how to use the era's most progressive and scientific thoughts and reasoning--those of Marxism-Leninism and the Party's political, ideological, and military lines--to illuminate the inheritance and development of our people's resourceful and valiant traditional military art. Also, along with selectively assimilating our fraternal countries' experiences, we must unremittingly improve our military art in the war process.

3.-The steadfastness and the definite superiority of neo-socialism, the popular democratic regime, and socialism, are the foundations of the certainly victorious strength of the Vietnamese military art.

Our military art relies upon two fundamental elements: one is man, the other is material and technical foundations, but man is the most fundamental element. Voluntarily taking part in struggles men--including the masses and the army--will highly develop their capabilities in all aspects and

in many excellent struggle ways to defeat the enemy. Men's attitudes vis-a-vis war is always closely linked with political goals and with the social system to be achieved by this war and to be built after victory. Aimed at liberating the oppressed peoples and classes and building a new social system, revolutionary wars will surely be joined by the great masses and will create new fighting methods having a great winning power. As noted by Lenin, "Once the oppressed laborers actually participate in a revolutionary war and pay attention to it, and once this war makes them conscious of the necessity to struggle against the exploiters, this revolutionary war will surely stimulate their eagerness and help them accomplish extraordinary deeds." (2) The power of the revolutionary military art originates from here.

Our people's revolutionary war under Party leadership was aimed at overthrowing the colonialist and feudalist regime, setting up a people's democratic regime, and advancing toward socialism, thus contributing to the world people's revolutionary undertaking. That is, it was aimed at liberating our working class, laboring people, and all our people. That is why it succeeded in mobilizing all our people--especially the majority of our workers and peasants--to arise and struggle, in developing all the material and moral forces of our people and country, and in winning over the all-sided assistance from the socialist camp and world people. Our people's unique and creative military art, which took shape, developed, and improved day by day during past decades, is the military product of our people's national democratic revolution and socialist revolution, undertaken under Party leadership. Its strength originates in the correct revolutionary line of our Party and in the strength of the people's democratic regime set up in our country after the August Revolution and of the socialist system built up in the North after the victory in the anti-French resistance. As correctly predicted by Engels, "the liberation of the proletariat will also have its own military manifestations and will create its new special fighting methods." (3)

The new social system creates great political and moral powers, new organizational capacities, and new material and technical--first of all and mainly, political and moral--conditions in order to continually develop the military art and its power.

(2) Military Essays of Marx, Engles, Lenin, and Stalin, People's Army Publishing House, p. 122

(3) Engles, Collected Works, "The Capabilities and Prospect of the War of the Sacred Alliance Against France in 1852."

Indeed, during the forties, to overthrow the colonialist and feudal rule and achieve national independence and people's democracy, our people arose, organizing our own forces, using all available weapons, undertaking guerrilla warfare and practical uprisings, and quickly advancing toward general uprising in the early days of August 1945. Obviously our people's military art during the August general uprising drew its power from the fact that our people countrywide voluntarily arose. Under Party leadership, the masses organized their own forces in the shortest time and invented many lively and varied fighting methods in order to attack the enemy's administration and military forces and regain power for the people.

Due to new conditions--such as, the people's democratic administration was building the new system, our political and economic forces were developing, our military forces were composed of three forces--our military art made a big leap forward during the people's war against the French colonialists. When the People's Republic of China came into existence, the rear of our resistance war was linked with socialist countries, the material bases of our armed forces were improved, the precious combat experiences of fraternal countries were appropriately applied, our troops' combativity was strongly strengthened, and so forth. Thus, our military art made a new step forward. In particular, when our Party launched the mass movement to reduce land rent and carry out land reforms, our peasants were mobilized, the national united front was consolidated, the worker-peasant alliance was reinforced, and our troops and people were improved materially and morally on the frontline as well as in the rear. The military art of our people's war further developed its great strength, especially during the 1953-1954 winter-spring campaign, first of all at the Dien Bien Phu campaign.

During the present anti-U.S. national salvation resistance, the new social system in the Southern liberated areas, where the people are the masters, and the socialist system in the North have created new great strengths to quickly develop our Vietnamese military art.

It is the strength of the militant solidarity of 31 million Vietnamese people who, under the leadership of a correct political and military line, are resolutely fighting for the independence, freedom, and unification of the Fatherland and for socialism. It has been brilliantly reflected in this teaching by President Ho: "Thirty one million of our compatriots in both zones regardless of age and sex must be 31 million combatants who heroically annihilate the U.S. aggressors to save the country and who are determined to achieve final victory." (4)

(4) Speech by Chairman Ho at the solemn meeting to commemorate the anniversaries of the founding of the VPA and the beginning of the National Resistance, 1967.

This is an organized strength of the masters of the new social regime. Depending on the new regime, our people can organize their forces scientifically and rationally, mobilize all forces quickly, create numerous ways of using forces and many skillful fighting methods, develop all forces' combativity to the highest degree, and fight the enemy in a most effective way.

This is the material and technical strength brought by the new social regime (produced by ourselves with the assistance of brotherly socialist countries.) Due to that we can constantly improve and increase the modern equipment for the three troop categories of the people's armed forces, further develop new military branches and forces, increase the firepower, mobility, and assault might of the people's armed forces, the people's ability in combat and in the service to combat, and the potentials of the people's national defense, and constantly develop the military art of people's war.

The strength of the new social regime is concentratedly manifested in the new men. Now our troops and people, our cadres and combatants have a high political and ideological level and a relatively high cultural level. Thus they can quickly assimilate known military knowledge and cleverly use all weapons and equipment, both modern and rudimentary. They are also in good health. Thus they can fulfill arduous and complex tasks under present war conditions. These are fundamental factors creating invincible power of our military art.

The great military victories of the people's war over the "local war" in the South and of the people's war over the war of destruction in the North in the past few years are evidence of this invincible power. These victories have been constantly connected with the all-sided power of the people's democratic regime in the Southern liberated areas and of the socialist regime in the North and with the power of the socialist camp and the revolutionary forces worldwide.

4.-The heroic combativity and creative intelligence of our troops and people have constantly enriched and perfected our Vietnamese military art.

The Vietnamese military art is the national salvation, anti-aggression, and national defense military art of a people whose territory is not large, whose population is not numerous, but who are resolute in resisting a bigger and more powerful aggressor. Its moral basis is our people's age-old traditional staunchness, courage, and intelligence, associated with the Vietnamese working class' thorough revolutionary spirit and great creative spirit. Only through basing ourselves on such a basis can we give birth to an art consisting of using a weak force to defeat a stronger force and a small force to defeat a bigger force, invent unique fighting methods, and create a strong position and force to attack and defeat an enemy who is stronger than us in the fields of military effectives and material and technical equip-

ment. During the decade-long process of our people's revolutionary struggle, armed uprisings, and national salvation war, our Party succeeded in mobilizing and improving the greatest moral power of our people, especially our workers and laborers. This power is composed of the deep consciousness of the revolution's objectives and the war's political goals set forth by our Party, the class consciousness and national consciousness, the intense love for the country and socialism, and the association between patriotism and proletarian internationalism. All these components have been reflected in these simple and immutable truths that great President Ho taught us: "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom" and "We prefer to sacrifice everything rather than lose our country; we are determined not to become slaves." It is thanks to this highly-enlightened combativity that in the face of a bigger, stronger, and cruel enemy, our troops and people have dared to fight him, have fought him resolutely and well, and have won.

Before each objective to attack and before each concrete enemy, only he who dares to attack and is determined to attack can apply fighting methods and invent new fighting methods to supplement and develop his old fighting methods. But if he is determined to fight, but does not know how to fight, he not only cannot achieve victories, but also cannot avoid losses; he cannot become stronger and cannot fight protractedly. If he does not dare to fight, he cannot apply any good military art; nor can he mobilize powerful military potentialities to defeat the enemy. If we have both enlightened combatants and a good military art, we will surely defeat an enemy who is stronger than us in the fields of military effectiveness, equipment, weapons, and techniques. We can invent new fighting methods and enrich and perfect our military art only if we have an enlightened fighting spirit.

The heroic fighting spirit and wonderful intelligence of our troops and people have caused each of our people, combatants, and cadres, when facing an enemy, to continually discover the enemy's gaps and weakpoints and find the most efficacious fighting methods in order to annihilate the largest number of enemy troops, while restricting our losses to the minimum. Our military art is imbued with the mass viewpoints and practical views of our Party; thus, it has paid special attention to studying and recapitulating the creative combat experiences of the masses in order to perfect them and disseminate them widely. Our army and people are united. They have learned from one another and have constantly heightened the degree of their military art in order to win. Our military art has fully used and has upheld, organized, and combined all brave and resourceful combat methods of our army and people. It has been victorious in every battle, every locality, every campaign, every military situation, and in the entire war. Wherever the enemy is, every citizen, every combatant, every three-man cell, and every unit of our armed forces has constantly heightened its positive and

active spirit, determined to search for and annihilate the enemy. With his experiences available, everyone has constantly and creatively devised new combat methods which certainly can help defeat the enemy. Wherever the enemy is, our army and people have taken the initiative in attacking him with the combined strength of the people's war. With these combat methods and with this combined strength, we can materialize a position stronger than the enemy's on the battlefield, even though he has superiority in terms of military strength and modern weaponry and equipment. From this base, we have constantly developed our offensive strategic position, from small to large scale and from localities to the entire country. The Southern compatriots and liberation troops, with their self-conscious combat spirit and their intelligence and creativeness, have rapidly materialized a position stronger than the U.S. aggressors' in order to continue to attack them right at the time when they massively rushed 180,000 to 400,000 and more than 500,000 U.S. troops into the Southern part of our country. The Southern compatriots and liberation troops have painfully defeated and bogged the U.S. troops down, forcing them to retreat deep into a strategic defensive position and to suffer one heavy defeat after another right at the time when the enemy possessed more than one million troops on the battlefield.

The high self-conscious spirit and the intelligence and creativeness of our army and people constitute a source of unique features of the Vietnamese military art. We are very proud of the masses' nature of our Vietnamese military art.

5.- The long and rich armed struggle process constitutes a practical base to urge our military art to develop rapidly and correctly.

Under our Party's leadership, our people and people's armed forces have undergone a long combat process from the masses' glorious uprisings in the Soviet-Nghe Tinh movement and the Bac Son and Nam Ky uprisings to the limited guerrilla warfare, the phased uprisings during World War II, the general uprising in August 1945, and the long resistance against the colonialists and then the present anti-U.S. resistance. The realities of the revolutionary struggle in general and the revolutionary armed struggle in particular of our people are very inspiring in many forms. Judging from the enemy's combat objectives and forms of aggressive war and from our internal and external conditions, each phase and period possessed many completely different characteristics. We fought the enemy at a time when our armed forces were still small, possessed only bamboo sticks, machetes, shotguns, shared with one another sweet potatoes and salt, and were surrounded by imperialism from four directions. We have fought the enemy at a time when our armed forces matured, when we had the North, which is

building socialism, as the vast rear of the entire country, when we were positively aided by brotherly socialist countries and when we were supported by the world peoples' movement.

Because it has firmly grasped the law governing the revolutionary war and that governing the revolutionary armed struggle, and because it has constantly met the requirements in developing the realities of the revolutionary struggle, our military art has constantly progressed, has constantly made leaps and bounds in the scope of strategy, the art of conducting campaigns, and tactics, and has, through each phase of the revolution and the revolutionary war, led our armed struggle in incessantly scoring even greater victories.

In the resistance against the French colonialists, from 1945 to 1954, if the border campaign was our leap-and-bound progress with regard to the art of conducting campaigns, in this campaign, the tactics of attacking and annihilating the enemy in the Dong Khe stronghold and of destroying the Lo-Pa and Sac Tong units marked a leap-and-bound progress which led this campaign to victory; if the 1953-54 winter-spring military situation marked a leap-and-bound progress of the strategic leadership art, the campaigns conducted in this military situation, such as those which annihilated the 100th Mobile Unit, which liberated Kontum, which were conducted deep in the enemy's rear, in the Bac Bo and Nam Bo deltas, and so forth, and, especially the historic Dien Bien Phu campaign, marked a new development of our art of conducting campaigns. The 1953-54 winter-spring military situation, whose peak was the Dien Bien Phu campaign, decisively influenced the successful conclusion of the 1945-54 resistance.

In the present Southern revolutionary war, from the period of defeating the U.S. special war strategy to that of defeating the U.S. limited war strategy, the heroic Southern army and people have, under the NLFSV banner, created leap-and-bound progress in the scope of strategic leadership as well as in the art of conducting campaigns and in tactics.

In both resistances, our revolutionary forces in general and our people's armed forces have developed constantly and vigorously. Our military art has constantly succeeded in setting forth the most advantageous struggle directions, consistent with every step of development of our armed forces. This art leads our armed activities in effectively serving the development of the resistance forces and in making the most positive contributions of the armed struggle to the strength and the general, combined struggle actions of the resistance in order to win victories before the stubborn, dishonest, and cruel enemies possessing superiority in terms of firepower, mobility, and the strength of concentrated troops.

Our enemy, the form of his war of aggression, the social, political, economic, and cultural conditions, the national characteristics, and the space and time factors of our fight have inherent characteristics which are different from those of other countries. These practical conditions require us to be constantly creative in learning from the experience acquired by the fraternal countries in fighting the aggressors. The practical conditions of our fight also constantly change and, therefore, do not permit us to mechanically utilize our own combat experience which is no longer practicable. In our military art, which must be really courageous and skillful, we must use weakness to defeat strongness, use limited capabilities to counter superior capabilities, insure that the more we fight the more powerful we become and the greater victories we win, and advance toward winning total victory.

The realities emerging from our resistance against U.S. aggression have proved that the U.S. imperialists' reactionary nature, their political line, and their counterrevolutionary, aggressive war line have determined the adventurous character of their military strategies in Viet-Nam. The adventurousness of these military strategies have dictated the subjective, erroneous political decisions and the decisions on leadership over the war of aggression taken by the U.S. imperialists who have blindly thrown their troops, weapons, and money into the war, thus "escalating" their "limited war" far beyond their initial assessment and, consequently, suffering disastrous defeats. But, though obviously defeated, the U.S. imperialists have remained very stubborn, squirming frenziedly in the hope of achieving an "honorable conclusion" and an "honorable peace". They have persistently prolonged the war by implementing the "Vietnamization" of the war policy through very insidious, perfidious schemes and tricks. This situation requires us to constantly develop our people's military art, correctly and creatively solve strategic and tactical problems and the problems related to the art of conducting campaigns, and insure that our armed forces and people constantly improve their combat efficiency in order to continue to thwart every stubborn, adventurous enemy scheme, and act and to win increasingly great victories.

Our Party's political and military lines and leadership are correct. We possess traditions of indomitable, stalwart struggle. Our revolutionary social system is firm and unexcelled. Our armed forces and people are courageous, skillful, and heroic. We enjoy the great assistance of the fraternal socialist countries and of progressives worldwide. Our military art has always been a progressive, victorious one. Our Vietnamese people have won and are winning. They will certainly win complete victory. The U.S. imperialists have been and are being defeated, and they will certainly be swept away from Viet-Nam.

Some Unique, Creative Features of the Vietnamese Military Art

The strength of the Vietnamese revolutionary war is the combined strength of our armed and political forces, of the highly inspiring and rich forms of revolutionary struggle, and of all aspects of our struggle, primarily the military and political struggles. The art of leading our revolutionary war is that of fighting the enemy with the strength of an entire people who have arisen with a determination to regain independence and freedom. This art reflects the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary-violence viewpoint and the contents of the revolutionary methods adopted in our country. This is an art of coordinating various aspects of struggle in attacking the enemy in both the rural and urban areas; coordinating annihilation of the enemy and restoration of mastership to the people; and applying and developing the Vietnamese revolution's offensive strategic ideology from the common offensive, strategic position of the world revolution.

The Vietnamese military art is a component of the art of leading the Vietnamese revolutionary war. This military art is deeply imbued with the revolutionary methods and the ways of waging the revolutionary war in our country. Though dependent upon the rules of revolutionary war, it has its own rules.

1--The Vietnamese military art is the offensive art of the entire people's armed struggle in all the three strategic areas.

The Vietnamese military art is that of leading the armed struggle in the uprisings and in the revolutionary war. It is essentially an offensive art.

The Vietnamese military art fully reflects the thoroughly revolutionary spirit of the working class and our people's stalwart, indomitable spirit which has been demonstrated by their spirit of taking the initiative in actively, resolutely, and continuously attacking and annihilating the enemy.

The spirit of attacking and annihilating the enemy is the nature of the proletarian military ideology, the ideological basis of revolutionary and military strategies, and the soul of our military art. The ideology guiding every act of our revolutionary armed forces and guiding our armed struggle is that of taking the initiative in resolutely and continuously attacking the enemy, strategically, in campaigns, and in combat. The defensive is only temporary, partial, and supplementary to the offensive. It creates conditions for launching attacks.

Any self-defense or liberation wars we have waged to date have been aimed primarily at resisting the foreign aggressors and firmly maintaining

our country's independence and freedom, or at toppling their yoke of domination and restoring to our people their sacred right to national independence. To achieve this objective, it is primarily necessary to defeat the enemy's aggressor army possessing superior troop strength and technical equipment and to crush its aggressive determination. In the present era, with thorough understanding of revolutionary methods and of the ways of waging the revolutionary war in our country, we must fight the enemy with the strength of all our people and in all fields of struggle, primarily armed and political struggles. We must closely coordinate all aspects of our struggle and must take the initiative in actively, resolutely, and continuously attacking the enemy everywhere and at any times. Only by comprehensively attacking the enemy can we acquire a generally stronger position than the enemy's, and create conditions for the constant development of our armed struggle to annihilate him. Armed struggle is a special feature of war. Armed struggle plays the main, decisive role in annihilating enemy military forces. Only by extensively annihilating the enemy and winning great victories can armed struggle create conditions for and stimulate the development of the struggle in the political and other fields and can it drive the enemy troops into a comprehensively defeated position.

Faced with an enemy army possessing superior troop strength, firepower, and mobility, only by closely coordinating armed struggle and other aspects of the struggle and by taking the initiative in actively, resolutely, and continuously attacking and annihilating the enemy can we compel him to regularly disperse his armed forces to cope confusedly and passively with the situation, and drive him into a situation in which his numerous forces remain insufficient, his massive forces become thinly spread, and his strong forces become weak and incapable of providing timely mutual reinforcements, nor of knowing where and when his forces should be concentrated and how his mobile forces should be employed. Thereby, we can create favorable conditions and opportunities for our armed forces to concentrate their strength and, thereby, acquire a combat strength which is more powerful than the enemy's wherever and whenever necessary, in order to attack him and annihilate more and more extensively his strength and war equipment, successfully develop our offensive military position, and advance toward final victory. Even when our armed forces are still small, we could and should attack and annihilate the enemy in order to develop our forces and change the balance of forces increasingly in our favor. We have eliminated every military formula according to which attacks can only be launched when we possess more numerous armed forces and more powerful weapons and technical means than does the enemy. The most outstanding lesson on the success of the Vietnamese military art, which has been drawn from our people's two sacred resistance wars, is that of taking the initiative in actively, resolutely, and continuously attacking and annihilating the enemy every-

where, at all times, with all our forces, on every scale, and through every measure, and constantly developing our small, limited offensive position into a widespread, comprehensive one. The Southern armed forces' and people's general offensive and concerted uprisings since early Mau Than spring represent a new development in the art of launching military attacks in coordination with mass uprisings, and in the spirit of taking the initiative in actively, resolutely, and continuously attacking the enemy--strategically, in campaigns, and in combat. The enemy forces have sustained very extensive losses. Their fighting determination has seriously declined. They have been driven deeply into a passive, defensive position throughout the Southern war theater. The harder they tried to emerge from this position, the more deeply they sank into a comprehensive predicament.

Keeping a firm hold on the Marxist-Leninist dialectical methods and guided by the view that it is necessary to correctly and comprehensively assess our forces and those of the enemy, the Vietnamese military art has continually developed our strong points and increased the enemy's weaknesses in order to attack and defeat the stronger enemy.

In a very fierce and complex war against an enemy who has great economic and military potentialities, such as the U.S. imperialists, the problem of correctly assessing our forces and those of the enemy is not simple. Only through clinging fast to the thorough revolutionary stand of the working class and strengthening our revolutionary offensive spirit and determination to fight the U.S. aggressors to the end until complete victory can we clearsightedly and correctly assess our strong and weak points and those of the enemy, clearly realize the might of the inevitable victory of our revolution and people, and base ourselves on these observations to draw up accurate conclusions. To assess our situation and the enemy's correctly, we must set the war between our people and the U.S. imperialists against the characteristics of the present era--the era of transition from capitalism to socialism on a world scale. The international socialist system is the firm prop of the movement of struggle for national independence, democracy, and peace. The international revolutionary forces are clearly stronger than the international counterrevolutionary forces, of which the United States is the main fortress. The world revolution is on the offensive. The revolutionary strategy is aimed at destroying each war policy, than the entire war-seeking plan of the imperialists; and at driving back step by step, destroying chunk by chunk, and destroying completely imperialism. In our present era, the brilliant just cause of our people's heroic, persevering, and certainly victorious anti-U.S. national salvation undertaking has won over the sympathy and support of the progressives the world over. Our resounding victories on the battlefield and the brilliant victories of our people's military, political, and diplomatic struggle against the U.S. imperialists have increased the power of our just cause and won

over the strong support of our camp and all the progressives worldwide. The Americans are boisterously struggling in protest against the U.S. authorities, demanding that they end the war of aggression in Viet-Nam. The U.S. imperialists have sustained and are sustaining heavy defeats on the Vietnamese battlefield. They are being opposed by the Americans and condemned by and isolated from world peoples.

Keeping a firm hold on the Marxist-Leninist views on revolutionary violence, the Vietnamese art of leading the revolutionary war and the Vietnamese military art regard revolutionary violence as the violence of the masses and as a close association between military forces and political forces and between armed struggle and political struggle. The revolutionary war in the South is a comprehensive attack against the entire rule of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys in South Viet-Nam and is not a purely military attack. The power of the South Vietnamese revolutionary war is the combined power of the revolution and the people's war and is not a purely military power. Therefore, it is necessary to keep a firm hold on the revolution's fundamental problems--such as revolutionary line, objectives, driving power, and methods, the mass nature of violence, and so forth--and the characteristics of the present era in order to correctly assess the power of the revolutionary war, in general, and of the armed struggle, in particular, of our revolution.

The U.S. imperialists believed that in massively introducing 180,000, then 400,000, then 500,000 troops into South Viet-Nam, they could change the situation, turn defeat into victory, and drive the South Vietnamese troops and people into a defensive position. But through correctly assessing the balance of forces, the Southern compatriots and liberation troops have maintained and developed their strategically offensive position and crushed all the U.S. strategic counterattacks, driving the U.S. aggressors into a stalemated, defeated, defensive position. The Southern compatriots and liberation troops launched the general offensive and simultaneous uprisings and won unprecedentedly great and comprehensive victories at a moment when the U.S. imperialists' "local war" had reached its climax and when they had more than one million troops on the battlefield.

We have correctly assessed the great power of the revolutionary war and the revolutionary armed struggle, correctly assessed the fundamental political and military weaknesses of the enemy's unjust and very reactionary war of aggression, drawn up accurate conclusions concerning the balance between our position and power and those of the enemy, and determined the trend of the inevitable development of this balance on the battlefield. Thus, the Viet-Nam war's leading art and military art have perseveringly developed the concept of offensive strategy under very complex circumstances;

fully developed the power of the attacks by all the troops and people and all the political and armed forces in cities, rural areas, and mountainous areas; launched continuous, comprehensive, and widespread attacks against the enemy; and strongly stepped up the armed struggle in order to win glorious victories. This offensive position has caused the balance of powers during the war process to develop quickly along a trend increasingly favorable to us and unfavorable to the enemy.

The Vietnamese military art is the art of associating the three forces into a core for the all-people armed struggle.

Organized at all levels--from hamlets, villages, factories, and wards to the central level--our revolutionary armed forces are composed of three forces: the regular force, the regional force, and the self-defense militia. These three forces have used all weapons and equipment, modern and rudimentary, to attack and annihilate the enemy. The task of associating these three forces during the armed struggle is a strategic problem of great significance deciding the victories of the armed struggle in our people's anti-aggression war.

Our armed forces are often inferior to the enemy in the numerical strength of concentrated troops and in technical equipment. But due to the close association between the military struggle and the political and proselyting struggle in our revolutionary war and due to the skillful coordination of our three troop categories in the strategic, campaign, and combat spheres on all battlefields, we can acquire a position of synthesized strength in which we can keep the initiative in successive offensives, thus forcing the enemy to resist passively, tensely, and wearily. With this coordination, on all battlefields, we can always have a force at our disposal to attack the enemy relentlessly, permanently, and successively. We can fight everywhere without dispersing our forces. We can fight vigorously and protractedly at the same time. We can stage permanent attacks while organizing strong activity drives. All units of the three troop categories can take turns at fighting so as to consolidate and increase their combativity unceasingly. Thus, the more they fight, the greater will be their victories and the stronger they will become.

With the revolutionary forces' strategic deployment, all our three troop categories can develop harmoniously and further increase their quality, especially their offensive capacity. Since they are rationally deployed in every strategic area, especially in strategically important areas, they stand in a position from which they can constantly exert a great pressure on the enemy everywhere, especially in important areas. In all localities and even in areas under temporary enemy control, our strong regional troops and

self-defense militia force are present and can serve as a basis for the development of mobile forces in a locality or on the entire battlefield. Despite his very great mobility, the enemy cannot cope with our three troop categories. Since we keep the initiative in using our forces on a suitable scale, we can have favorable conditions to deal surprise blows at the enemy at will. This offensive stance prevailing over the enemy insures that our revolutionary armed forces can operate freely, create opportunities, and choose areas and suitable ways to attack the enemy, especially in strategically important areas, thus making him act according to our will and our movement in the strategic, campaign, and combat fields. In South Viet-Nam, U.S. commanders sadly admitted that our Southern armed forces and people "fight at a time, in a place, and with a force of their choice" (UPI, 16 June 1969--Nhan Dan.)

The Vietnamese military art is that of coordinating armed struggle with other aspects of struggle, mainly political struggle and masses' uprisings, and of coordinating enemy-annihilating with the regaining of the people's mastership in all the three strategic regions aiming at developing armed struggle to its apogee and strongly stepping up the general offensive position of the revolutionary war.

The military art must closely coordinate armed struggle with political struggle and other aspects of struggle and solve the armed struggle problems in armed uprisings and revolutionary war. It is a characteristic of our Vietnamese military art.

Today, on Southern battlefields, the close coordination between armed struggle and political struggle for realizing strategic, operational, and combat tasks is going on under various forms to attack the enemy in three fronts: military, political, and military proselyting. It involves close coordination of all forces and measures to fight the enemy on the battlefield and forming a great combined strength in revolutionary war in general and in armed struggle in particular. To effectively support the political struggle, the revolutionary armed forces are actively, resolutely, and continuously attacking and annihilating the enemy on battlefields and unremittingly speeding up and broadening the scale of concentrated attacks on the basis of wide-spreading guerrilla warfare in all the three strategic regions. The greater, the more numerous, and the more continuous the military successes, the faster the development of the masses' political force and struggle. This will increasingly create conditions favorable for the masses' political struggle to carry out the task of uniting with armed struggle for foiling the enemy's "pacification" plans, disturbing the enemy's rear, consolidating and broadening ours, disintegrating the puppets' troops and administration, narrowing the areas under the enemy's control, smashing the enemy's scheme of "using Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese", and regaining and broadening the people's mastership.

To be closely coordinated with the political struggle, the leadership and implementation of the armed struggle must fulfill the following requirements:

The armed struggle must develop decisive actions in annihilating the enemy's military force, considering the annihilating of the enemy's military force the main undertaking for supporting political struggle. It is necessary to be thoroughly aware of the political struggle tasks on battlefields, in each area, and each phase, just being able to coordinate armed struggle with political struggle.

The armed struggle must make intensive efforts to thoroughly use and develop the masses' political struggle and uprising successes, take advantage of opportunities to resolutely and actively heighten the level and scale of attacks which annihilate the enemy's military force, speed the disintegration of the puppets' administration and troops, and stimulate the political struggle and uprisings to develop to higher levels.

The armed struggle must be active in coordinating with and supporting the political struggle, by continuously attacking and annihilating the enemy, in order to form a position stronger than the enemy's on the battlefield.

In the anti-French resistance, armed struggle played a very important role. Under such a condition, in many areas and localities, especially on the battlefields located deep into the enemy's lairs (in the Bac Bo delta and Nam Bo area---Nhan Dan), mass uprisings, in coordination with the armed forces' offensive to eliminate local administrators and traitors and to expand and consolidate guerrilla sectors and bases, occurred successively and resolutely, effectively supporting the extermination of enemy troops and enabling the armed struggle to develop successfully. At present, the Southern revolutionary war, originating from general uprisings, constitutes a means to regain revolutionary administration. In war, mass uprisings and armed struggle are coordinated and support each other. The extermination of the enemy and the regaining of mastership for the people develop according to each locality and each period. These two events are inseparable throughout the war process and are closely correlated. As a rule, it is necessary to closely coordinate the annihilating of the enemy with the regaining of mastership for the people, to annihilate the enemy in order to regain mastership for the people, and to regain, build, and extend mastership in order to step up the extermination of the enemy. The essential function of armed struggle and our people's armed forces is to exterminate the enemy.

Influenced by this relationship, the military art of the revolutionary war must help satisfactorily settle the problem of closely coordinating the annihilation of the enemy with the regaining and expansion of the people's mastership. The armed forces must know how, where, and when to exterminate the enemy in order to support the people's uprisings to regain mastership over rural and urban areas. This fact has a deep impact on the guidance of combat of armed forces, from the choice of an operational area to the determination of objectives and targets of the offensive and the use of assault forces in every activity drive, campaign, and battle... (Nhan Dan ellipses--ed). However, the armed forces must constantly grasp the particular rule of military struggle, make constant efforts to stage continuous attacks on an increasingly larger scale and with increasingly high quality, and exterminate increasingly numerous important enemy military forces. Along with annihilating the enemy's armed forces, it is necessary to eliminate the wicked local administrative personnel and spy servitors of the enemy. Only in this way can armed struggle assist the relentless regaining and broadening of the people's mastership, narrow the areas under the enemy's control, and consolidate and unremittingly develop our offensive forces and operational areas.

As shown by experiences, armed struggle must be harmoniously connected with the masses' uprisings to regain mastership in order to be able to strongly develop its offensive force, operational areas and initiatives on battlefields, always possess a combat strength stronger than the enemy's, and always attack the enemy from a position of strength and initiative. Only in this way can we satisfactorily carry out the task of annihilating the enemy and improving the process of annihilation on the battlefield. When the people's mastership is broadened and consolidated from highland to lowland and from rural areas to cities, this not only creates new strength, new capability, new force, and new opportunity for developing by leaps and bounds the military offensive position, but also creates a great pressure upon the enemy so that he cannot resist our blows despite his superiority in troops, weapons, and war means.

2.-The Vietnamese military art is the art of using the few to defeat the numerous, using quality to defeat quantity.

Our people's history of building and defending the country for thousands of years has been the history of a people whose country is small and not crowded and who always have had to fight aggressive forces that were better equipped and far more numerous. In the old days, our people were brave, unsubmissive and very clever, and had outstanding initiatives in strategies and tactics. As a result, they succeeded in repeatedly and very gloriously defeating a great feudal country, achieved outstanding

exploits, and created a unique military art. This is the art of "using the few to defeat the numerous, using weakness to defeat strength," which brilliantly reflected the heroism, intelligence and creativeness of our people. Our ancestors often said: "The enemy relies on their great strength, our people rely on weakness. To use weakness to fight strength is a common thing in our military tactics." (5) Or "wise men use weakness to oppose strength and the few to oppose the numerous." (6) The history of our people's military art is the history of an art of using the few to defeat the numerous, the seasoned combatants to defeat a great army.

Since its emergence and in the leadership of the Viet-Nam revolution, our Party has creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to the concrete situation of our country, set forth correct political and military lines, inherited and developed to a new phase our people's fighting traditions, and, at the same time, carefully learned a number of selected experiences from the brotherly socialist countries. In our country, our Party has developed to a high degree our military art of using the few to defeat the numerous, and quality to defeat quantity and has improved it under new circumstances.

The art of using the few to defeat the numerous has become popular and has proven brilliantly successful in the present anti-U.S. national salvation resistance. In the South, the PLAF are perfecting the method of annihilating the enemy on a scale and at a degree suitable for attacks of a better quality, coordinating annihilating attacks on a part of enemy forces, disintegrating all his strength and frustrating combat measures and tactical forms in the "special war" and "regional war" of the U.S. imperialists.

Our art of using the few to defeat the numerous has constantly progressed. Strategically, our people have so far used the few to defeat the numerous with respect to concentrated armed forces. However, in the realms of campaign and combat, our armed forces and people have vividly applied the art of using the few to defeat the numerous according to different concrete conditions. Sometimes, our forces are more numerous than, or equal to, the enemy's. Generally, they are less numerous but can win a stronger position from which to attack and annihilate him. In the anti-French resistance, our

(5) Tran Hung Dao, from Viet Su Thong Glam Cuong Muc, Vol.5, Su Dia Publishing House, Hanoi, 1958, p.99.

(6) Collected Works of Nguyen Trai, Social Science Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, p. 93

concentrated armed forces simultaneously used the few to oppose the numerous and the numerous to fight the few, thus coordinating these two fighting methods. In the decisive strategic Dien Bien Phu battle, we concentrated our predominant forces to successfully fight a great annihilating battle. At present, in South Viet-Nam, the art of using the few to defeat the numerous in combat and military campaigns has been applied vividly and developed extensively. The characteristics in defeating the "special war" differ from those in defeating the "regional war" of U.S. imperialism.

In the direct fight against U.S. troops, an enemy having a great war potential and plentiful, modern technical equipment, the military art of using the few to fight the numerous in the revolutionary war undergoes a new development suitable to the new conditions under which the fighting spirit, experiences, and combat capacity of our armed forces and people are heightened, our material bases are strengthened, and the enemy's fighting methods are very cunning and constantly changing, and so forth.

The concept of using the few to defeat the numerous, the small to defeat the great is always connected with the need to rationally concentrate forces to exterminate the enemy. Our military art vividly applies and coordinates all combat scales, finding no opposition between the use of the few to fight the numerous and the launching of major attacks to score great victories and the rational concentration of forces to exterminate the enemy. Formerly, with the concept of using the few to defeat the numerous, our forefathers achieved famous military feats, exterminating thousands of enemy troops in every battle. At present, our art of using the few to fight the numerous is that of using a small army to fight a big battle and win a great victory according to an objective of resolute offensive and a unified plan and command.

This is the art of developing and perfecting guerrilla attacks and concentrated attacks, and of constantly raising the level and scope of annihilating attacks in concentrated combat on various battlefield. In each battle, in each important trend of each locality, and on each battlefield, it is necessary to resolutely and rationally concentrate forces according to the concrete requirements and conditions to score very great victories. Lenin said: "It is necessary to show that one possesses a stronger force at a decisive moment and in a decisive place; it is necessary to triumph." (7)

(7) Lenin, Complete Works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi 1963, p. 235
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Obviously, Viet-Nam's military art is the art of using a small army to defeat a large army, using a high-quality army to defeat a larger army, developing our strongpoints to the maximum while restricting the enemy in a protracted resistance war, and reinforcing our army through combat. These points are consistent in theory as well as in practice. Using a small army to defeat a large army has become a principle for our armed forces and military struggles to win in fighting against strong aggressive enemies.

It is due to the following reasons:

First, the Vietnamese military art knows how to thoroughly use and develop the comprehensively advantageous strategic position of the revolutionary war and to create a militarily advantageous strategic position in order to use the few to defeat the numerous. In the present anti-U.S. national salvation war, our advantageous strategic position is, first of all, the active and winning position which bears the latent and certainly victorious strength of a just and revolutionary war against an unjust and counter-revolutionary one. It is the strong position of our entire people's revolutionary forces which have arisen to fight for the independence, freedom, and reunification of the Fatherland in the correct revolutionary line and revolutionary war which ~~are~~ being sympathetically supported by progressive mankind, including U.S. progressives.

This strategically advantageous position, closely linked with the characteristics of the era, relies on the common offensive position and the increasingly combined strength of the world revolution which, from many sides, is attacking imperialism headed by the Americans. It is the position of the U.S. imperialists who, defeated in Viet-Nam, are encountering difficulties and being defeated in the United States and in the capitalist world are more isolated than ever before. The balance between the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces in the world is increasingly advantageous to us.

In the country and on the battlefield, this advantageous position is created by the strength of the comprehensive war waged by the entire people who fight the enemy right in their territory, thus benefiting from wholeheartedness, geographic advantages, and opportunities. This is the very wicked position of our people's war against the U.S. for national salvation. This is a war of combtooth tactics to strategically encircle and divide the enemy and one of continuous and increasingly strong attacks of the general offensive and simultaneous uprisings throughout the three Southern strategic regions. This is a maze-battleground which encircles and generously scatters the enemy's forces so that, despite his numerous troops, strong firepower, and high logistic capabilities, everywhere, the enemy

is short of troops, in a shortcoming and oppressed position, and in situation of being attacked and annihilated. These are the advantageous conditions for the people's armed forces to use fewer forces than the enemy's to create a struggle strength stronger than his, in order to continuously attack him from a strong position in campaigns as well as combat.

The strategic superiority of the revolutionary war is a very important factor deciding the development of the fighting strength of revolutionary armed forces to use the few to defeat the numerous. In the meantime, the increasing victories in various campaigns and combat, in which the revolutionary armed forces increasingly annihilate the enemy, and the masses' uprisings for regaining mastership, increasingly consolidate and develop this strategic superiority of the revolutionary war.

Therefore, the art of creating a struggling strength superior to the enemy's in strategy, campaigns, and combat, using the few to defeat the numerous, must, first of all, be that of thoroughly using and developing our strategically advantageous position. It is also the art of every locality, unit, and combat in achieving comprehensive, steadfast, continuous, and increasingly greater successes, in order to maintain and develop our strategically strong and winning position. President Ho, the great master of the Vietnamese revolution, a genius strategist, clearly and outstandingly discussed strategic position, the dialectical relationship between position and strength, and that between advantageous position in war and the art of using the few to defeat the numerous. He used a weight to explain to us the enemy's and our present positions. Essentially, he said: "In an advantageous position, the force of a weight of only one kilogram enormously increases and is able to lift a weight of some hundreds of kilograms. This is position winning over strength. In fighting the Americans, we can use the few to win over the numerous thanks to our very advantageous position, Obviously, our position is winning, the enemy's is failing," (8)

Especially, President Ho's following verses, excerpted from his, "learning to play chess", poem, most concentratedly expressed the leading thought of our people's revolutionary struggle, revolutionary war in general and military art in particular:

"Watch covertly and resolutely and unremittingly
"Think over your offensive position;
"In clumsy stratagems you will waste your cars,
"But in favorable opportunities you will succeed with one soldier alone."
(9)

(8) Speech by Chairman Ho before class of high-ranking Army cadres, May 1969.

(9) Chairman Ho, Jail Diary, Culture Publishing House, 1960, p. 46.

Second, the Vietnamese military art fully develops the offensive strength of our armed forces composed of three troop categories, using our higher quality to defeat the enemy's greater quantity. Aggressive forces are usually abundant in troops and weapons. In South Viet-Nam, the U.S. imperialists have had on hand more than one million troops and a large quantity of very modern weapons and war materiel. But they have lost more and more heavily. Why? Because militarily, the initially low quality of this aggressive army has dropped increasingly due to the unjust nature of the war, the repeated defeats suffered on the battlefield, the increasingly confused situation in the rear, and other reasons. The U.S. imperialists have no other choice but to rely on their large quantity to recoup their low quality and to use weapons instead of men to cope with our people. Our art of using the few to defeat the numerous is no other than that of using our higher quality to defeat the enemy's greater quantity.

In the past, our ancestors attached great importance to using seasoned troops to defeat larger aggressive forces. Tran Quoc Tuan said: "In the military art, what counts is seasoning, not numbers." Nguyen Trai summarily put it: "Thus, using half strength, we score double achievements." Using higher quality to defeat greater quantity has become our people's tradition and military specialty. At present, our armed forces and people, fighting the United States in both parts of the country, have set many outstanding typical examples of using higher quality to defeat greater quantity. In the North, during the people's war against the war of destruction, our militia and self-defense combatants used rifles to repeatedly shoot down modern jet aircraft; our air force, deployed in small formations, defeated the U.S. air force's large formations; and so forth. In the South, PLAF combatants, although many times fewer than enemy troops, have rushed into the enemy's lairs, destroying airfields, storage facilities, military bases, or destroying tanks, sinking vessels, and annihilating ever greater units of the forces considered as favorite sons of the U.S. expeditionary corps. These marvelous achievements have constituted a brilliant manifestation of a wonderful valiant spirit and an intelligent and skillful fighting method in making use of the art of using higher quality to defeat greater quantity in combat and military campaigns.

Through reality, our armed forces and people have further developed their experiences in using the few to fight the numerous and higher quality to defeat greater quantity in small, medium, and great attacks, in battles, and in military campaigns. These experiences help settle satisfactorily the relation between quantity and quality in building forces and carrying out combat, with quality always being considered the main factor.

Our armed forces' combat quality is the combined strength from these factors: political and military, ideological and organizational, men and weapons, tactics and techniques of all the three troop categories, of which men, political, and spiritual factors are the most important. The combat spirit is the basis on which develops our ever-victorious military art.

The highest quality of troops must be demonstrated by their combat capacity, by brave, wise, stalwart, and vigorous offensives, by crack soldiers, talented and skillful generals, steadfast organizations, active and resolute commanders who can exterminate the enemy when engaged in combat, and by their high combat efficiency and their ability to fight many battles within a short time, to attack relentlessly, to take the initiative in searching the enemy to neatly annihilate him, and to score resounding victories. To this end, it is necessary to develop the method of fighting bravely, wisely, and secretly, staging surprise attacks, destroying much of the enemy's strength with a small force, defeating his combat measures and tactics, and frustrating, therefore, his objective in every battle, in every military operation, and in the entire war. Through this fighting method, the more we fight, the stronger we will become, and we can conduct a protracted fight against the enemy and defeat him in every situation and under every complex circumstance.

Third, the Vietnamese military art highly develops the subjective activity of our officers and men, getting each officer, and enlisted man, and unit to act resolutely, strongly, wisely, and resourcefully and score the greatest achievements under difficult, complex circumstances.

War is a contest of subjective efforts between the two warring parties on the basis of definite, objective conditions. The subjective activity decides the victory or defeat of war. It is the concentrated reflection of our will, talent, courage, heroism, and resourcefulness. It can transform our forces which are small but of high quality, into large ones; make our militant strength stronger than the enemy's; and weaken and minimize the large, strong enemy forces constantly caught by surprise and defeated by our offensive blows.

Our military art highly develops the subjective activity, reflected chiefly in the enemy-attacking and-annihilating will, courage, heroism, positiveness, activeness, resoluteness, intelligence, and creativeness of our entire army and people. In the old days, military strategist of genius Nguyen Hue said: "The fact that a victory is cleverly achieved is due to flexibility and not to the use of the strength to defeat the weakness and of the numerous to crush the few." (10)

(10) Foreign Relations of the Tay Son.

By flexibility, we mean resourcefulness and liveliness in fighting leadership. Our present using-the-few-to-defeat-the-numerous military art is one which compels the enemy to passively cope with our fighting methods and prevents him from developing his strongpoints and superiority. It requires of our officers and men great efforts, unusual courage, heroism, resourcefulness, mobility, and flexibility and not dogmatism and conservativeness in applying fighting methods. It requires that we choose appropriate offensive directions and objectives, avail ourselves of good occasions to attack the enemy when and where he is negligent, and know how to choose important enemy positions to deal decisive blows. It requires that we highly develop the factors of surprise and secrecy so that when we strike, our blows will be like lightning and thunder, making it impossible for the enemy to foresee and cope with them. In striking, we should avoid large enemy troop concentrations, while attacking where the enemy is negligent. We should apply the "using a big stone to smash an egg" method, one which can smash any enemy.

Obviously, theoretically as well as in reality, strategically as well as in a campaign or a battle, continually increasing the subjective activity is a key point in the development of the military art of using the few to defeat the numerous and small forces to defeat the larger ones. The higher the activity, the stronger the militant strength. The more one fights, the more versatile the fighting methods will be, and the higher the combat efficiency, the greater the victories.

3.-The Viet-Nam military art creatively applies and combines many enemy-attacking and-annihilating methods and forms and carries out the comprehensive, relentless offensive method.

Under our Party's leadership banner, the process of development of the all-people uprising and the people's war is that of the offensive art of the revolutionary war which has defeated the Japanese fascists and the French colonialists and is defeating the U.S. imperialists. On the South Viet-Nam battlefield, under the NLFSV's leadership banner, the heroic Southern troops and people have defeated and are gloriously defeating the large U.S. war of aggression in the forms of "special war" and "limited war" along with their latest combat and tactical measures, bankrupting an important step further U.S. imperialism's global military theory: "flexible reactions"! In the North, our troops and people enjoying the great assistance of the Socialist camp, have gloriously triumphed over the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction, mainly by air power. We have destroyed part of the strategically significant U.S. air force composed of modern aircraft and professional pilots, many of whom were "crack" pilots of the U.S. air and naval forces. We have defeated a series of new tactics and

techniques of the U.S. armed forces. The U.S. Air Force's prestige has sharply declined, and the myth about the "might of the U.S. Air Force" has gone complete bankrupt in North Viet-Nam.

Our people's war strategies and tactics have strongly developed through these violent tests. We can say in the history of our people's struggle against foreign aggressors, never before have we adopted such a fighting method, full of creativeness and effectiveness, as the one we are now using. In the violent confrontation between our armed forces and people's fighting method and that of the enemy on the anti-U.S. battlefronts in both zones of the country, our fighting method has emerged triumphant.

In the North our people and armed forces have creatively applied many fighting methods, have effectively organized defensive measures and gained valuable experiences in various fields: firmly holding on to the characteristics, rules, activity schemes and technical functions of the various kinds of bombs, shells, aircraft and warships of the enemy; to offensive and defensive measures; to mobility and combat; to the close coordination among various forces and army branches, from the air-defense units, air force, missile units to the regional and people's militia forces; coordination between the enemy-annihilating task and the defense of our positions and preservation and strengthening of our forces, and so forth. We have exhaustively employed all kinds of weapons and technical means: using rifles, submachine guns, and heavy machineguns to destroy the enemy at a low altitude; and using anti-aircraft guns, airplanes and missiles to destroy the enemy at low, middle and high altitudes. We have fully employed all defensive measures and means to reduce our damages to the minimum. Our people's fire network to intercept the enemy and defensive system are the combination of many effective fighting forms, filling the enemy with great fear and reducing the greatest efforts of the U.S. air force and navy to impotence and bitter setbacks. As for our fighting methods they have not ceased developing creatively.

In the South, our armed forces and people have fought the enemy with all categories of troops, all kinds of weapons and war means, from rudimentary to relatively modern, and modern weapons and war means. The Southern armed forces and people have fought the enemy in every way and on every combat scale, adopting highly diversified tactical forms and attacking him everywhere, at all times, and in all the three strategic areas. We fight the enemy under all circumstances and in diversified terrains, that is, in mountainous and delta areas, on hills, in coastal areas, and along waterways, attacking him regardless of whether he is advancing or retreating. We strike not only at the enemy's weak and vulnerable points, but also at his strongpoints and at the points where and when he has taken precautionary measures. The Southern compatriots and liberation

troops have constantly taken the initiative in actively searching for and attacking the enemy. The compatriots and liberation troops on every battlefield, in every locality, and in every unit have constantly and creatively adopted new fighting methods based upon their common experience in order to constantly increase their efficiency in annihilating the enemy. Specifically, during the general offensive and concerted uprising period, the Southern armed forces and people have developed in an extremely inspiring fashion their fighting methods in the revolutionary war.

The outstanding success of the Vietnamese military art in creatively adopting and applying various offensive forms and methods has been demonstrated by the two following major points:

--Closely combining the widespread combat methods of small detachments of regional forces, militia and self-defense forces, and armed masses with the combat methods of the concentrated armed forces; combining small, medium, and large-scale attacks in order to constantly heighten the enemy-annihilating level, while broadening the gaining of the right to mastership by the people in strategic zones.

In our national anti-foreign aggression history, our ancestors had many times cleverly combined the small-scale, widespread combat methods with the large-scale, concentrated combat methods. They had, therefore, succeeded in gloriously defeating the powerful enemies coming from afar.

The history of development of our people's armed struggle, under the Party's leadership, began with and progressed from small-scale, scattered attacks and the guerrilla warfare. The guerrilla warfare, with small-scale, widespread combat methods of detachments of regional forces and militia and self-defense forces or, at times, with dispersed regular units, has played a very important strategic role. Years before the August Revolution, President Ho himself wrote the book "Guerrilla Tactics." He wrote: "Guerrilla warfare is a method of fighting the enemy by the oppressed peoples opposing imperialism...This time, we conduct an armed uprising to fight the French and Japanese. We will mainly adopt the guerrilla warfare method to fight the enemy. If we know how to conduct the guerrilla warfare, we will certainly win". He also set forth four conditions for insuring victory for guerrilla warfare, which are: it is necessary to have a correct political path, it is necessary to rely on the masses' bases, it is necessary to have steady and well-secured organizations, it is necessary to have a talented combat method...President Ho also said: "It is thanks to this talented combat method that the guerrilla forces have defeated the enemy. The guerrilla forces are a multiform and outstanding army. If we cleverly adopt this

combat method, we will be invincible". Today, through guerrilla and concentrated attacks, both the guerrilla warfare and conventional warfare have developed to a degree completely different with regard to nature from that of ancient eras. Both these combat methods have played an important strategic role. The combination of these two combat methods in the entire war, on each battlefield, and each phase of activity constitutes a problem of decisive significance for the development and success of the armed struggle. These two combat methods with small, medium, and large combat scales rely on one another, support one another, and stimulate one another to develop.

Therefore, the Southern army and people have stepped up the armed struggle of the masses, the militia and self-defense forces, and the regional forces in the entire zone. Especially, the Southern army and people have developed the strategic role of the militia and self-defense forces and the armed masses in small-scale and widespread attacks in both the rural areas and the cities, while endeavoring to develop concentrated attacks on all battlefields, developing the role of the concentrated regular units and regional forces, constantly heightening the enemy-annihilating level in concentrated attacks in order to create conditions for the small-scale combat methods and the guerrilla warfare methods to develop vigorously, closely combining small-and medium-scale attacks with large-scale attacks, and using small-and medium-scale attacks as a base for the large-scale attacks by appropriately concentrated forces to win great victories.

--Flexibly combining and using various combat formulas and tactical forms to annihilate the enemy and doom the enemy's combat measures and tactics.

Through war realities, our army and people have created many Vietnamese unique combat formulas and tactical forms. The Southern army and people possess many redoubtable combat formulas. They have succeeded in annihilating much enemy potential and in destroying increasingly greater numbers of his nerve centers, rear bases, and war means, thus causing him heavy losses in potential and material bases and declining his combat spirit.

Various methods for attacking communication lines and bases and for engaging in combat, combined with troops-and enemy-proselyting activities and so forth, have exerted a great effect on the tactical forms which have been increasingly changed and developed.

The Southern army and people have not only highly developed the force of each formula but have also closely combined many combat and

tactical formulas in various phases of activity, campaigns, and coordinated attacks, thus creating an increasingly greater offensive strength.

Tactics are the most changing component of the military art. In the present anti-U.S. national salvation resistance, the tactics of our people's war have developed and are developing in an extremely vivid fashion, with many new forms and tricks designed to step up the annihilation of the enemy. In the South, the tactical forms, such as ambushes, raids, attacks on bases, shellings, attacks on airborne landing troops, attacks on the enemy on streets, destruction of posts, attacks on communications lines, and so forth, have constantly changed, thus meeting the ever-increasing requirements along with the development of the armed struggle and combat formulas, especially in the period of general offensive and concerted uprisings.

In the North, numerous combat forms were applied and developed in the fight of our anti-aircraft and air forces in the people's war against the war of destruction. On the basis of past experiences, the enemy constantly changed his fighting methods and improved his technical means to prevent or avoid our offensive blows; he resorted to many cunning and brutal maneuvers, especially his firepower to cause us many difficulties.

Highly developing man's political and spiritual strength, our tactics, on the basis of our determination to fight and win and to positively attack and annihilate the enemy, make wise and skillful use of all weapons and means available and of the topographical features and weather of our country, and hold fast to the enemy's situation and activity rules to actively and resolutely stage successive attacks to annihilate enemy army units having numerous, modern weapons and technical equipment.

The enemy's tactics are based on quantity instead of quality, thus turning "infantrymen" into "supporters of aircraft and artillery." Such is the present situation of U.S. troops in the South using modern weapons and means to make up for their weak spirit and combat capacity.

Using high quality to defeat large quantity, our tactics develop our spiritual strength and combat capacity, make rational use of all forces and weapons available, and secretly and unexpectedly attack the enemy's weak-points to destroy his strong units. Our tactics are coordination of the three troop categories, of army branches and forces, and between the active, vivid, bold, secret, and unexpected guerrilla warfare methods and the organizational, disciplinal, resolute, and accurate concentrated combat methods. With these tactics, we adapt ourselves to circumstances and operate actively and ingeniously to positively annihilate the enemy. Our

tactics highly develop the bravery and subjective activity of each cadre and fighter to achieve plans and objectives. Every person, every team, and every unit knows how to actively fight the enemy so as to coordinate with and reinforce team-mates and to win a strong position in every battle and campaign and on the entire battlefield.

With our tactics, we take the initiative in offensives, resolutely applying fighting methods of our choice, preventing the enemy from applying his skillful combat methods, and making his reactions untimely and his tactics passive and patched-up. As a result, the more he fights, the more numerous will be his defeats.

The above characteristics are also the main substance and necessary trend of development of our tactics, manifesting their superiority and inevitably victorious might over the enemy's tactics and having an impact on all tactical forms. As a result, the more we fight, the more successful will be the tactics of people's war, and the more we win, the further they will change and develop and the more creative they will become, thereby satisfactorily fulfilling all requirements in the development of our art, campaign, and strategy.

"At the beginning, both sides were of equal strength, but one won over the other afterwards." This voiced the winning side's strategic skill. Wars in which the bitterly defeated enemies are manifoldly stronger than us in economic and military potentials and in quantity of troops and modern weapons and equipment concentrated on battlefields--previously the case of the French colonialists and presently that of the U.S. imperialists--have even proved that our war leadership in general and military art in particular are correct, creative, and definitely superior to the enemy's.

Our people's great successes in our nation's two sacred resistances have proved the present era's brilliant truth that: a nation with not a very vast territory, not a very numerous population, and not a highly developed economy can surely create a procedure to carry on the war and a modern and progressive revolutionary military art for defeating any cruel and great aggressive armies, including the U.S. imperialists, the top imperialists having the greatest economic and military potentials in the capitalist world, if it resolutely arises to struggle for liberating itself by using the matchless strength of the "Nothing is more valuable than independence and freedom" spirit, under the leadership of a Marxism-Leninism Party having correct political and military lines, and knowing how to essentially rely on its own strength, along with thoroughly benefiting from international help.

President Ho, the genius leader and the great master of the Vietnamese revolution, together with our Party, creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to the realities of our country and opened the "Ho Chi Minh era, the most brilliant era in our people's glorious history. This is the era of our Fatherland's independence and freedom and of socialism in our country." (11) Our Party's leadership has constantly developed the modern Vietnamese military art which is bearing the era's certainly winning strength to win over any aggressive enemies.

How proud we are of our Party's clear-sighted leadership, a staunch and eminently experienced Marxist-Leninist Party which is leading the revolutionary war. How proud we are of the heroic Vietnamese nation's staunch and indomitable tradition and adroit and creative genius.

The U.S. imperialists are being defeated by our people and can not avoid complete defeat. No matter how stubborn, crafty, and fiery, they will not be able to resist the historic development rule, according to which the U.S. imperialists will certainly be defeated and our people will certainly and completely win.

(11) Eulogy of the Central Executive Committee, read by Le Duan at the funeral of Uncle Ho.