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PROPAGANDA FOCUS FOLLOWING BOMBING END OUTLINED

[Article : "Develop Upon the New Victory and Continue to Push Ahead with the Political Drive Under the Slogan 'Everything in Order to Defeat the American Aggressors'"; Hanoi, Tuyen Huan, Vietnamese, No. 12, December 1968, pp 1-5]

Heavily defeated in both parts of our country, the U.S. imperialists, on 1 November 1968, were forced to unconditionally end the bombing and attacks over the entire territory of the northern part of our country.

This was a very great victory of strategic importance to the fight of our people against the United States for national salvation.

This victory created new advantages and a new situation for our army and people of both the South and the North to move forward to achieve complete victory. But, by the same token, the new victory also presented our party and our people with new and heavy tasks. In order to successfully complete these tasks, our entire party and all our army and people must make extraordinary efforts and must overcome many difficulties and hardships.

The revolution in our country entered a new phase at the beginning of spring this year. We also began at that time a period of political mobilization throughout the party, army, and people under the slogan: "Everything in order to defeat the American aggressors." Our political activities promptly came to the service of the requirements of that

political drive. We held several phases of political activities one after another and to good avail. Now, in expanding upon the new victory, we must continue to intensify the political drive with a view to elevating understanding, consolidating outlooks, upholding the will and determination to fight and to win, and successfully mobilizing the maximum efforts to win the greatest victories.

In order to meet the new requirement of the revolution with regard to the matter of understanding, we must make all cadre, party members, and people correctly and fully understand the situation and tasks during the new stage of development, clearly recognize the struggle goals, and clearly understand the correct line and position of the party and the immediate specific tasks in order to continue to intensify the fight against the United States for national salvation and to build socialism under the present conditions. We must make each person clearly understand the situation and task of the North, the great rear area for the great front line.

We must give attention to the following several points in elevating the understanding about the situation and task:

1. First of all, we must make each person clearly understand that the fact that the United States was forced to unconditionally end the bombing and attacks over the entire territory of the northern part of our country was a great failure of strategic significance for the enemy and a great victory of strategic significance for us. The strategic significance of the victory lies in the fact that it created favorable conditions for the North, the strong and sturdy great base of the revolutionary cause throughout the country, to rapidly strengthen its forces in every respect in order to fulfil the duty of the great rear area to the great front line. This is something most important and encouraging for us. Only when this matter is fully understood, will each branch, unit, and person be able to reach correct conclusions in thought and action.

The mightier North will make it possible for the South to become mightier and to win greater victories. The unconditional U.S. halt to the bombing and attacks not only has a major effect on the military struggle front but also creates new advantages for the political struggle in the South to develop more vigorously. The South's people desire independence and peace very ardently. The more stubborn the American imperialists become and the more brazenly the puppets oppose the cause of liberation, the more certainly the South's people will rise up to topple them. The new political situation

creates very favorable objective conditions for the South's people to intensify the political struggle movement, especially in the cities, to cause the balance of forces between us and the enemy to change further to our advantage.

Our new victory has made the enemy ranks very demoralized and confused and divided them internally to a high degree. It further exacerbated the internal contradictions among the American authorities, the internal contradictions within the puppet government and puppet army, and the contradictions between the Americans and the puppets. It caused a serious decline in the morale of the American and puppet troops; it caused an increasingly wider tendency among the enemy ranks to seek a rapid end to the aggressive war in Vietnam.

Our new victory has also had the effect of mobilizing progressive forces throughout the world, including the American people, to support our fight more powerfully.

The fact that the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam (NFLSVN) is participating as an independent and equal party at the Paris Conference has important significance. It increasingly bolsters the prestige of the front and creates a very advantageous situation for the struggle by our people. The National Liberation Front went to the Paris Conference in the capacity of the leader of the fight against the United States, the organizer of every victory of the South's people, and the entity which exercises real political power over 4/5 of the territory of the South and 10 million people. The presence of the Saigon puppet regime at the Paris Conference only further exposes its anti-people, country-harming, puppet, and lackey countenance.

The aforementioned victory is great and all-encompassing.

It is a victory for the correct lines of our party; these include the line on fighting the United States and saving the nation militarily, politically, economically, and diplomatically, the line on socialist construction, and the line on international solidarity.

It was a victory of the power of solidarity and of the ardent patriotism and revolutionary heroism of the people throughout our country. Confronted by the great aggressive power and the cruelty of the U.S. imperialists, all our people closely united, developed the tradition of ardent patriotism, struggled resolutely and unyieldingly, allied

themselves with the radically revolutionary spirit of the working class, developed revolutionary heroism to a high degree, and scored dazzling military achievements.

It was a victory of the beautiful socialist system in the North. The North developed the all-round power of the new system to defeat the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction and at the same time to make a very great contribution, along with the South, to the defeat of the special war and the limited war of the United States.

It was a victory for the people of our fraternal and friendly countries on all five continents. The great international support helped our people to further strengthen their economic and defense power.

2. Our victory was very great but, as Chairman Ho has instructed, it was just the preliminary victory.

It is obvious that the United States has lost and that their aggressive will has been shaken but they are still very stubborn and cunning and have not yet forsaken their scheme to realize neocolonialism in the South in the hope of permanently dividing our country. They are desperately trying to intensify the war in the South. They are still continuing actions which violate the sovereignty and security of the North.

We must clearly identify the enemy schemes in order to constantly elevate our spirit of vigilance and make everyone constantly cognizant of the fact that smashing the aggressive will of the U.S. imperialists is a process of arduous and severe struggle.

Between now and the time that complete victory is achieved, the people throughout our country will have to make very great efforts, the fighting will have to continue, and the difficulties and hardships will be many.

3. The task of all our people at this time is to "elevate their spirit of determination to fight and to win and their determination to liberate the South, protect the North, and move forward to peace and national reunification."

The task of our army and people in the South is to "constantly attack, constantly rise up, and resolutely move forward to secure total victory."

The task of our army and people in the North is to "strive to patriotically emulate, to build socialism, to fulfil their obligation to their blood-sealed southern compatriots, to constantly be on guard, to be self-sufficient, to strengthen their forces, and to be ready to fight and smash every new scheme of the enemy."

Under the slogan "Everything in order to defeat the American aggressors," we must strive to more vigorously mobilize manpower and materiel in order to meet the requirements of the front line. We must also maintain a spirit of responsibility and strive to practice frugality in mobilizing and employing manpower and materiel; we must rationally employ assistance from fraternal countries; and we must resolutely fight corruption and waste.

We must accelerate agricultural production, aggressively struggle to achieve the three goals; intensify the development of local industry, and strengthen central industry. We must properly carry out circulation and distribution activities and all other facets of operations. We must strive to overcome weaknesses and deficiencies in organization and management in order to raise labor productivity and operational efficiency in every branch and in every sector of operation. We must develop the collective master right of the people in the economic, political, and social sectors; we must effectively organize civilian life; and we must give attention to bolstering the strength of the people so that they can produce and fight for a long time. We must motivate the people to actively participate in the development of the armed forces, to properly carry out civilian air defense work, to stabilize daily life and work in the evacuation areas, to properly protect order, and to smash the activities of raiders and spies and all psychological warfare activities of the enemy.

4. Our position in the struggle to end the American war of aggression and restore peace on the basis of respect for the basic national rights of our people has always been the same. Our position was clearly spelled out in the appeal from Chairman Ho on 3 November 1968. This was:

--"the United States government must end the war of aggression in Vietnam. It must permanently abandon every action which violates the sovereignty and security of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

--"It must withdraw all American and satellite troops from South Vietnam.

--"the internal affairs of the South must be decided by the people of the South themselves in accordance with the political program of the National Liberation Front and without foreign interference.

--"the unification of Vietnam must be decided by the people of the North and the South themselves without interference from abroad."

This position is also in full agreement with the five-point declaration of the Central Committee of the NFLSVN. These five points are:

1--South Vietnam is determined to struggle to realize its sacred rights of independence, democracy, peace, neutrality, and prosperity and to move forward to peace and unification of the fatherland.

2--The U.S. imperialists must end the aggressive war in Vietnam, remove all U.S. and satellite troops and all of their war facilities from South Vietnam, and dismantle U.S. military bases in South Vietnam.

3--The internal affairs of South Vietnam must be decided by the people of South Vietnam themselves in accordance with the political program of the NFLSVN and without interference from abroad. A broad national and democratic coalition government must be established; free general elections must be held in South Vietnam.

4--The question of the unification of Vietnam will be gradually resolved by the people in both parts of Vietnam through peaceful methods based on discussion and agreement between the two parts of the country and without interference from abroad.

South Vietnam will practice a foreign policy of peace and neutrality: it will not have a military alliance with foreign countries under any guise; it will establish friendly relations with all countries on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. It will establish good neighborly relations with the Kingdom of Cambodia on the basis of respect for the independence, sovereignty, neutrality, and territorial integrity of Cambodia with the present borders and with Laos on the basis of respect for the 1962 Geneva Accords on Laos.

Each one of us must clearly understand and resolutely struggle to successfully carry out the contents of the aforementioned positions.

5--To clearly understand the aforementioned contents about the situation and task and about our struggle goals and correct position is to further consolidate the firm confidence in the ultimate victory of the fight against the United States for national salvation. We will definitely achieve complete victory because we have the correct revolutionary line; because we know how to fight and how to win; because our people have a passionate love of country and are developing the revolutionary tradition of the nation; because we have the power of national solidarity; and because our just fight enjoys the sympathy and support of our camp, of friendly countries near and far away, and of people throughout the world, including progressive people in the United States.

In addition to further clarifying the situation and task and the party line and position, we must continue to develop in our cadre, party members, and people basic concepts and ideas appropriate to the new situation and task in order to create a foundation for correct thought and action.

These basic concepts and ideas are:

1. The idea of revolutionary attack.

Unless we have the idea of revolutionary attack we will not be able to correctly understand the situation and we will not be able to fully see our position of strength and victorious posture or the desperate position and losing posture of the enemy; as a consequence, we will be unable to fully recognize the urgency of the heavy and sacred tasks of all our people. Experience has demonstrated that wherever cadre and people fully possess the spirit of revolutionary attack, the understanding of the situation will be clear, the work will be rapidly completed, and labor productivity and operational efficiency will be high.

2. The spirit of independence and autonomy and self-reliance.

In order to correctly and profoundly understand the situation and task and the party line and position, we must have an independent and autonomous outlook. The reason for this is that our party line and policy is a creative adaptation of the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the specific environment of our country. Unless we fully orientate ourselves in the perspective of our country's situation and

unless we have a spirit of revolutionary attack we will be unable to understand and creatively execute the line.

In addition to the independent and autonomous outlook, we must bolster the concept of self-reliance because this is the only way that each branch, echelon, locality, unit, and person will be able to fully recognize his great and invaluable capabilities and latent resources. Our capabilities and latent resources are very abundant. The machine capacity has not been fully utilized; materials are still being wasted; we have not fully mobilized work days and work hours; labor productivity and operational efficiency are not high. All we have to do in order to rapidly strengthen our forces in every respect is to further elevate the spirit of self-reliance, to resolutely struggle to overcome attitudes of relying on external assistance, on the state, on higher authorities, and on objective factors, and to strive to exploit and fully utilize the existing capabilities and latent resources.

3. The concept of organization and discipline and the concept of solemnly executing state laws.

Organization and discipline are indispensable to revolution. The strength of revolution is in the political consciousness and concept of organization and discipline of the revolutionaries. It is increasingly imperative to have a very high concept of organization and discipline when the revolution is undergoing powerful changes. There are still instances of laxity among us in regard to the concept of organization and discipline from the matter of protecting secrets to the matter of executing policies, programs, and systems and so forth. These deficiencies have a very great influence on production and on strengthening the fighting.

We must more profoundly and broadly inculcate the concept of organization and discipline and the concept of respecting laws and solemnly executing every government regulation among the cadre, party members, and people.

4. A firm and sound mass viewpoint.

Our immediate tasks are very heavy. In order to complete them, we must mobilize the intellect and energy of all the people. We must have a very high mass viewpoint and profound confidence in the power of the masses; we must strive to mobilize the masses; we must build up and respect the master right of the masses.

Experience has demonstrated that wherever cadre have a firm mass viewpoint and know how to mobilize the masses the revolutionary enthusiasm will be vigorously developed, new ideas will develop in abundance, difficulties will be overcome, and tasks will be properly completed. Wherever the mass viewpoint of the cadre is deficient many anxieties will develop, it will be impossible to build up the revolutionary zeal, it will be impossible to fully mobilize the intellect and energy of the masses, and the overall work will encounter many difficulties and proceed slowly.

Consequently, cadre and party members must profoundly realize that mobilizing the masses is a regular daily task in construction and combat in order to strive to develop in themselves a very sound mass viewpoint.

5. Strong confidence in the party leadership and in the ultimate victory in the fight against the United States for national salvation.

Confidence is a very great power. Without confidence it is impossible to carry out a revolution.

Our fight is still complicated. More than every before, we must have an iron-like confidence in the party and in the victory of the revolution in order to surmount every difficulty and hardship and move forward to achieve total victory. We must constantly strengthen our confidence in the enlightened leadership of central, in the correct line and position of the party, and in the inevitable victory in the fight against the United States for national salvation.

The effort to elevate understanding and to consolidate viewpoints and ideas is designed to create a powerful change in revolutionary action.

Ideological activities must be accompanied by organization and action. Concepts and ideas are the premise for organization and action. Organization and action are the specific results of ideas. Organization insures that the ideas which have been formulated are firmly adhered to and developed.

In order for ideological activities to attain a genuine revolutionary effectiveness it is important, in addition to explaining, persuading, and making concepts and ideas understood, to penetratingly resolve specific problems relating to organization and action so that each branch, locality, unit,

and individual, after attaining a clear understanding of the situation and task and of the line and policy, can chart his own program and plan, set forth specific and practical action measures, and concentrate his energies on solving the most crucial and urgent problems in order to propel the revolutionary activities forward.

This political mobilization activity must succeed in mobilizing and organizing a feverish and constant revolutionary movement among the masses in every sector of activity and in every branch, from top to bottom, in order to meet promptly the requirements brought forth by the new situation.

The fight of our people against the United States for national salvation is on the verge of major steps forward. Our entire country is in a position of charging ahead under the impetus of victory in order to totally defeat the American aggressors. In developing the great victory and continuing to display the spirit of revolutionary attack and of surmounting every difficulty and hardship, we are determined to complete the task on the ideological front in the best way and to actively help to bring the fight against the United States for national salvation to total victory.

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