

1968

**PHAM VAN DONG**

**FORWARD !  
FINAL VICTORY  
WILL BE OURS !**

**D. R. V. N. Government Report  
at the National Assembly  
(Third Legislature, Fourth Session — May 24, 1968)**

**FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE  
HANOI — 1968**

*Forward!*

*Final victory will be ours!*

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Respected and beloved President Ho Chi Minh,  
Dear members of the Presidium,  
Dear comrade-deputies,

Let me present the Government report before this fourth session of the National Assembly, Third Legislature.

Since 1965, resisting the war of aggression conducted by the U.S. imperialists against the entire Vietnamese people, and fighting against about 1,200,000 enemy troops, including more than half a million men of the American expeditionary force, our people, united as one man and pooling their efforts and energy, have been confronting the adversary with matchless valiancy. They have been always holding initiative of action, gaining ever more strength and winning ever-greater victories. The South Vietnamese armed forces and people have made an important step in the process of defeating the U.S. "limited war", and so have those in the North while confronting the U.S. war of destruction against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. Early this year a general offensive and simultaneous uprisings broke out on all theatres of operations in the South, marking a very great defeat

of the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen, and their irreversible course towards collapse, and taking our people's fight against U.S. aggression, for national salvation to a new period that will lead to complete victory.

In the world, the profound international significance of our people's just struggle, our resounding victories and the correct policy of our Party and State on international relations have won ever-broader and more vigorous support and assistance from the fraternal socialist countries and the world people, including progressive people in the United States. This support and assistance is making an important contribution to the certain victory of the Vietnamese people.

At present, our people are pushing ahead their struggle on three fronts — military, political and diplomatic — to secure complete victory for our resistance to U.S. aggression, defend the North, liberate the South and proceed towards the peaceful reunification of our Fatherland, thus contributing to the struggle of the world people for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

The Government report consists of the following three parts:

- The South fights victoriously;
- The North also fights victoriously;
- The whole world supports our people.

## PART I

### THE SOUTH FIGHTS VICTORIOUSLY

Dear comrade-deputies,

**"This spring far outshines the previous springs."** This New Year's wish expressed by President Ho Chi Minh has been materialized. The 1968 spring was one of general offensive and simultaneous uprisings in South Viet Nam with the heaviest blows delivered to the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen ever since the start of American aggression in Viet Nam, and also with the greatest victories of our people since the beginning of their resistance to this aggression. It was a spring that shook the world as Western press put it, and that had taken the struggle of our whole nation to a new period.

This victorious general offensive and these simultaneous uprisings are the logic result of a process in which we shall win and the enemy will lose. The whole development of the revolutionary struggle in the South over the last fourteen years led us throughout its successive stages to these spring victories.

After the signing of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam, in utter violation of their commitments, the American imperialists interfered in South Viet Nam, rigged up the Ngo Dinh Diem puppet administration and rejected the general elections stipulated by the Geneva Agreements and due to be held in July 1956 with a view to the reunification of Viet Nam. They thus attempted to turn the South into a colony and military base of theirs so as to invade our whole country. Immediately, our Southern compatriots counter-attacked the enemy by stepping up legal and illegal struggle, supported by armed propaganda and armed self-defence, thus keeping up the revolutionary movement in the South.

When the U.S.-Diem clique, carrying out a fascist policy, terrorized and massacred the people in cold blood with the hope of wiping out the revolutionary forces, our compatriots switched to an offensive strategy, staging partial insurrections in a number of vast rural areas. The success of the simultaneous uprisings in the Nam Bo delta in late 1959 and early 1960 provided the groundwork to broaden and impel political and military struggle, and to start an all-out people's war under the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation's banner of unity for national salvation.

This was the first failure of the U.S. imperialists' policy of aggression against the Southern part of our country. This was also a victory of paramount importance for our Southern compatriots as it opened the way for more glorious successes in their resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation.

When the U.S. imperialists waged "special warfare", mainly relying on the puppet army and administration under their direct guidance and their increasing assistance, they did their best to liquidate the revolutionary forces in the countryside by setting up a system of "strategic hamlets", and to "search and destroy" the newly-organized revolutionary armed forces. The people in the South and their armed forces concentrated their strength on breaking the enemy's grip and most of his "strategic hamlets", controlled the countryside, developed political and military struggle and co-ordinated their spearheads in all the three strategic areas — countryside, hills and forests, and towns. On the other hand, they rapidly increased their revolutionary strength, especially their military force, destroyed many puppet regular units, and foiled the enemy's new tactics. The victories at Ap Bac, Binh Gia and other places from early 1963 to Winter 1964-Spring 1965, together with the high tide of struggle to dismantle the "strategic hamlets" in the countryside and the wave of mass political struggle in the towns, brought down the Ngo Dinh Diem fascist dictatorial rule and many following puppet administrations, thereby driving the U.S. imperialists' "special warfare" to bankruptcy.

Late in 1964, it was obvious that the American aggressors realized that they had been defeated in their "special warfare" in South Viet Nam whereas our compatriots there were nearing victory. Not resigning themselves to their defeat, they stepped a new,

extremely dangerous rung. On the one hand, they massively sent in U.S. troops and switched to a "limited war" in the South; on the other, they started an air and naval war of destruction against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, actively intervened in Laos, repeatedly intimidated Cambodia and drew several of their satellites in the Pacific into their war of aggression against South Viet Nam. They thought that by intensifying and expanding the war to such a scope, they would overpower the Vietnamese people, but they were mistaken: they suffered heavy setbacks and our people scored glorious victories.

When the American aggressors launched their first dry-season strategic counter-offensive (1965-1966)\* with 200,000 U.S.-satellite troops and over half a million puppet troops, they hoped that they could drive the Liberation armed forces back to the defensive or to a stalemate. But our people and their armed forces in the South resolutely upheld their offensive position, fighting both the Americans and the puppets. After dealing thundering blows at the G.I.'s at Nui Thanh and Van Tuong, they won major battles at Bau Bang, Plei Me, Dat Cuoc, etc.; they repeatedly attacked and registered great victories, and constantly kept the strategic initiative

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\* As usual, the enemy's major operations in 1965-1967 took place in the dry season, from October to the end of April the next year.

in all theatres of operations, thus inflicting an initial setback upon the U.S. "limited war" \*.

When the U.S. aggressors mounted their second dry-season strategic counter-offensive (1966-1967) with over 400,000 Americans and more than half a million puppet and satellite troops, the South Vietnamese Liberation armed forces and people fiercely attacked the enemy in the Quang Tri-Thua Thien theatre, compelling him to further scatter his mobile forces, thereby shattering his plan to expand the war north of the demarcation-line and bring troops into the Mekong delta. Meanwhile, they crushed his big "search-and-destroy" operations, like the *Junction City* campaign, vigorously broke his "pacification" pincer and held the plains under firm control. They thus upset his strategy and drive him into a more passive position \*\*.

Therefore, with over one million American, puppet and satellite troops the U.S. aggressors had mounted

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\* Enemy losses in the first dry-season strategic counter-offensive (1965-1966) :

- 114,000 troops wiped out, including 43,000 G.I.'s
- 1,440 aircraft downed or destroyed
- 1,310 military vehicles demolished, among which 330 tanks and armoured cars. (*Pub.*)

\*\* Enemy losses in the second dry-season strategic counter-offensive (1966-1967) :

- 175,000 troops wiped out, including 70,000 American and 15,000 satellite troops
- 1,800 aircraft downed or destroyed
- 3,985 military vehicles demolished, among which 1,785 tanks and armoured cars
- 200 posts and 6 military subsectors razed. (*Pub.*)

two dry-season strategic counter-offensives aimed chiefly at "searching and destroying the main force" in an attempt to smash the South Vietnamese people's liberation war. However, in both dry seasons they suffered heavy losses and were compelled to switch from strategic counter-offensive to passive strategic defensive; this was a setback for their strategy in the South Vietnamese theatre.

This is also a great strategic failure of the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression in the South of our country just before the Winter 1967-Spring 1968 campaign. It stemmed from the following fundamental causes:

First of all, the failure of the American imperialists' military strategy which originated from their political fiasco in Viet Nam, in the United States and in the world.

Second, the obvious failure of the "limited war" strategy intended to maintain U.S. neo-colonialism in South Viet Nam in face of revolutionary war, invincible people's war developed to a high degree.

Third, the fundamental failure of a series of military tactics\*—the main support of U.S. strategy. The enemy's failure was due to our victory, the victory of a patriotic and just war bound to win in our time, the victory of a highly developed people's war under

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\* The enemy's military tactics mainly rely on strong firepower, chiefly on air bombings and artillery shellings, and at the same time on his mobility (helicopter tactics, air cavalry, etc.).

extremely rich and creative forms. It was due to the success of the Front's clever conduct of the war both in strategy and in tactics, in keeping the initiative of operations, in compelling the adversary to give battles of its choice and to lose as it anticipated in set battlefields and in engagements fought with extremely flexible tactics unexpected by the enemy.

As regards North Viet Nam, over the past three years the American imperialists have been stepping up their air and naval war of destruction in an attempt to break the fighting solidarity between the North and the South, sabotage our socialist construction and dampen our people's determination, thus compelling us to end the war on their terms. But our armed forces and people have valiantly fought off, and inflicted heavy losses upon, the enemy air force and navy, while rapidly developing their armed forces, ready to cope with the American design to expand their ground war to the North. On the other hand, our people have timely geared their economy to meet war-time conditions, kept up and boosted production, ensured communications and transport, determined to safeguard and strengthen the North, stand shoulder to shoulder with the heroic South, and to support it with might and main.

At the same time, the American imperialists have failed in their scheme to encroach upon the liberated areas of Laos and to turn this country into a springboard to attack us from the west. They have failed to extend the McNamara line from Viet Nam

to Laos. They have also failed to intimidate Cambodia and encroach upon it from all sides, with the hope of forcing it to give up its policy of peace and neutrality, and using it to step up their war of aggression against South Viet Nam.

It was with successes on our side and setbacks on the enemy's that we entered the Winter 1967 - Spring 1968 campaign.

Dear comrade-deputies,

Since the beginning of this campaign, with more initiative the armed forces and people in South Viet Nam have fought and won great victories in East Nam Bo, Binh Long, Phuoc Long, Dac To (Western) High Plateaux) and Quang Tri-Thua Thien. Meanwhile, they struck the enemy all over South Viet Nam, driving him into strategic defensive, and creating conditions for still harder blows and still greater successes. On Tet's eve, unleashing in a general offensive and simultaneous uprisings a force accumulated in many years of victories and of growing people's war, they dealt thunder blows at the U.S. aggressors and the puppets, hitting them at the same time in almost all cities and provincial capitals, in their important bases and offices. Then, throughout the past three months, the South Vietnamese armed forces and people mounted unremitting attacks on all battlefields with all kinds of forces and weapons, applying every form of military and political struggle. The first week of this general

offensive and these simultaneous uprisings alone resulted in the crumbling of an important part of the structure built up by the Americans and the puppets. The losses were so serious that even now they cannot yet evaluate all their consequences; the whole of their 1968 strategic plan has been frustrated and the situation on the battlefields has changed completely. The war has thus entered a new period.

This is an all-sided strategic victory for the South Vietnamese people.

As pointed out by the special communiqués of the P.L.A.F. Command, the South Vietnamese armed forces and people have within a short period of time wiped out and caused the disintegration of a great part of the enemy's forces, and destroyed a large quantity of his war means. Meanwhile, their military and political strength have grown rapidly, both in quality and in quantity. All the three categories of armed forces have grown up very quickly in fighting, and have gained very valuable experiences, particularly in appraising the enemy's capacity and their own. The liberated zone has been widened, and the people's control consolidated and extended to the urban centres, even to Saigon.

The general offensive and simultaneous uprisings beginning from the Tet festival this year were a very wise undertaking. Because they have given full play to the strength and winning position of the war of liberation in South Viet Nam, and supplied it a good opportunity to forge ahead. Because they have given ample scope to the fighting capacity and revolutionary

mettle of millions of combatants and people rising up to encounter the enemy and his 1,200,000 well-equipped troops in his own political and military centres, well-fortified bases and leading organs that he firmly believes to be impregnable. Moreover, they trounced them everywhere at the same time and in surprise, thus not only inflicting very heavy losses upon him, but striking him with fright, throwing him in confusion, shattering his fantastic illusions, and as a result, further disintegrating the puppet army and administration, and shaking the U.S. aggressive will. This undertaking was wise in that it has created a new strategic position, a battle-array which enabled the Front's armed forces, other patriotic armed forces and the popular masses to strike the enemy anywhere, at any time, with any of their marvellous combat methods, to hit him accurately and give him no chance of escape in order to bring into full play their strong points while strictly limiting the enemy's advantage in weapons, technique and firepower. It was wise in that in no while it afforded an opportunity to some million people living in the enemy's grip in the occupied urban centres of South Viet Nam to rise up and liberate themselves and take part in the sacred struggle of the entire nation. This is a force of great significance from both the military and political points of view, since it embraces the youth, women, workers, labouring people, intellectuals, patriotic personalities, even sections of the national bourgeoisie, all of whom hold an important position in the towns and cities. This undertaking was wise in that it resulted from a scientific analysis of the balance of forces in the

concrete conditions of the war at that time. It has also borne out the revolutionary spirit, courage, heroic mettle of the Vietnamese people who dare to fight and know how to win; it has shown the boundless confidence that the Front reposed in the masses in South Viet Nam, including the townsfolk, staunch fighters in this sacred struggle. In such a situation the enemy has had to fall back and concentrate efforts on defending his vital positions in Saigon, Hue, Da Nang, Khe Sanh, on the Western High Plateaux and the Mekong delta, where new thunder blows may be delivered to him at any moment. Such is the situation of an aggressor army that has been driven to the wall. Such is also the new period which has opened up very splendid vistas to us. Our people's strength is increasing, our people are more and more in a position to overpower the enemy, and the time is becoming more and more favourable to us. Thus, we have all favourable conditions for success: opportunity, terrain and men. As the Fourth Special Communique of the South Viet Nam People's Liberation Armed Forces Command (March 19, 1968) put it:

“Obviously, the time has come when the Americans and the puppets are irretrievably declining and disintegrating, while we begin attacking them relentlessly, setting up revolutionary power and developing our forces until complete victory is won.”

The underlying and immediate causes of the resounding victories won by our compatriots in South Viet Nam so far, particularly since the beginning of this year, lie in the policy of broad union for national

salvation of the Front headed by Dr Nguyen Huu Tho. The Front's Political Programme is an expression of the iron will of the 14 million people, of all social strata in South Viet Nam "to unite, to fight and to win", which is making its effect felt widely and deeply everywhere in the South.

Another victory of the policy of broad union for national salvation in the present situation in South Viet Nam is the emergence of the Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces led by Dr Trinh Dinh Thao, which represents various political tendencies and religious beliefs and nationalities. This is an alliance of patriotic forces in the towns and cities which, responding to the appeal of the Front, have come forth to assume their important and glorious responsibility in the fierce struggle at present. Our people in the North affectionately convey to the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces their warmest greetings of militant solidarity and success.

While the military and political strength of the South Vietnamese armed forces and people is growing vigorously and rapidly, the puppet army and administration, under the impact of the telling blows dealt them since early this year, continue to weaken and disintegrate. Driven to a corner, the chieftains of this army and administration are involved in bitterer internal contradictions and wrangles while the anti-war movement among the officers and men and administration personnel keeps growing.

The Political Programme of the National Front for Liberation and the Statement of National Salvation of the Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces in the South are exerting a deep influence upon the puppet army and administration, calling on individuals and units to side with the people in service of the struggle against American aggression. Following the impetuous victories of the South Vietnamese armed forces and people, the anti-war movement in the puppet army and administration will spread still more widely while the puppet authorities and mercenary troops of the U.S. satellite countries will irretrievably disintegrate by big chunks.

At present, the Thieu-Ky clique are clamouring for a so-called "general mobilization". This farce is nothing but a scheme for pressganging people on Americans' order to fill the gap in their troop strength following their recent heavy setback. Indeed, a general mobilization is going on in the South and it is the mobilization of the broadest strata of the people under the banner of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, who are preparing to march forward in the flush of their victories so as to smash the U.S. aggressors and overthrow the puppet administration.

Together with the splendid successes already recorded the general offensive and simultaneous uprisings early this year are inspiring the South Vietnamese armed forces and people with unprecedented enthusiasm. Through their face-to-face struggles with the enemy the latter have clearly realized his weakness, as well as their tremendous capacity to defeat him,

and drawn rich experiences in many respects for the forthcoming engagements. All this has the effect of broadly and deeply mobilizing the youth, women, various popular strata in rural, urban and hill-forest areas, strengthening their confidence and their determination to sacrifice everything for ever-bigger successes until complete victory is won.

Dear comrade-deputies,

The resounding victories echoing from the great front have filled our people in the North with pride and enthusiasm. As President Ho Chi Minh said in his New Year wishes, "**News of victories will bloom everywhere in our country.**" With unbounded joy and admiration, we are daily, hourly following the fight in each city, each locality of the South. All our affection is for our fourteen million fellow-countrymen in the South — the Fatherland's Brass Wall, on whom we place full confidence. We are awaiting and stand ready to diffuse the news of their victories. Forever the Vietnamese people will bear in mind the wonderful exploits that the South Vietnamese armed forces and population achieved early this lunar year. They will never forget the feats of arms of the fighters who assaulted the American Embassy, sowing panic even at the White House, who broke into the "Independence Palace" of the puppets, struck at the Tan Son Nhat airbase, occupied the General Headquarters of the puppet staff, ruled the roost in Saigon, controlled

Hue for many days on end, and recorded so many other exploits over the length and breadth of South Viet Nam, thus ushering in a new and glorious phase in our resistance against the American invaders. These victories urge everybody in the North to march forward with enthusiasm so as to be worthy of the South, to push forth production and fighting and, shoulder to shoulder with the South Vietnamese armed forces and people, to completely defeat the U.S. aggressors.

By nature the U.S. imperialists are aggressive and bellicose. In spite of heavy setbacks, they remain very stubborn. The larger looms their complete defeat, the more cruel and perfidious they become. Our people, our Southern fellow-countrymen must go on perseveringly in their struggle, keep high their vigilance and be ready to cope with whatever situation. The enemy is seeking every means to counter-attack and extricate himself from his passive position, and obstinately continuing his aggressive war. On the one hand, Johnson brings more troops into the South and presses U.S. satellite countries to do so, on the other, he forces the puppet authorities to step up the draft, and deploy their troops in the van as a shield for the G.I.'s. Shortly after the Tet offensive, the Americans and their valets tried to launch some operations near Saigon, Hue, Da Nang and at Khe Sanh in an effort to fan out of their major bases to relieve the pressure of the South Vietnamese armed forces and people. It was their intention to generate some kind of optimism, to give the impression that their situation had gradually returned to normal. But these operations have brought

them heavy losses and proved that they cannot wriggle out of their predicament, have not enough mobile forces to mount big strategic counter-offensives and are being bogged down in a more defensive position.

Before the enemy had recovered from the staggering blows inflicted on him during the Tet festival, the South Vietnamese armed forces and people, beginning May 5, started another offensive and uprisings on all theatres, trouncing him in most cities, provincial capitals, headquarters, air bases, ports, storages and logistical bases\*. Though very precautions, the enemy was caught unawares by the strength and scale of the most diversified forms of attack. While striking the enemy throughout South Viet Nam, the P.L.A.F. mounted fierce actions right in Saigon-Cholon, knocking many U.S.-puppet battalions in the city, storming many key offices and bases. Together with the

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\* According to still incomplete figures, the enemy losses in the 100 days of the general offensive and simultaneous uprisings by the South Vietnamese armed forces and people (from January 30 to May 10, 1968) were as follows:

— 253,600 enemy troops put out of action, among them 84,600 of the U.S.A. and its satellites,

— 2,750 enemy aircraft downed or destroyed,

— 360 naval ships and combat launches sunk or set afire.

The number of enemy units badly mauled or wiped out included:

— 3 armoured regiments,

— 1 multi-battalion of paratroops,

— 14 squadrons of armoured cars,

— 96 battalions,

— 363 companies. (*Pub.*).

revolutionary armed forces, the people in Saigon-Cholon and in many other localities have risen up to round up and wipe out cruel agents and seized control of whole city quarters, set up the people's power and flown Front flags over many places. Once again, in an attempt to counter this drive of general offensive and uprisings, the U.S. aggressors sent aircraft to bomb and strafe our people in Saigon-Cholon and many other localities. It is they who are causing horrible destruction on the very places that they have always pretended to defend. Those extremely savage crimes have deepened the hatred of the South Vietnamese armed forces and people, and impelled them to rush forward still more vigorously.

Our Southern compatriots are striving to make further strides in the new stage of their people's war. They and their armed forces are determined to rush forward on the flush of their victories, to attack unremittingly and rise up more vigorously every day to wipe out and disintegrate the bulk of the puppet troops, overthrow the puppet administration at all levels and wrest power for the people; to destroy as many troops and war means as possible of the enemy so that he cannot materialize his military and political designs in the South; on this basis, to smash the will of aggression of the American imperialists, completely liberate the South, defend the North and proceed towards the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland. The nearer we come to victory, the more hardships we meet. The fight ahead will be harder than ever. The adversary driven into a corner will resort to every

savage means to devastate the south of our country. The new stage of the resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, requires that each Vietnamese stands ready to sacrifice everything to win victory, and displays the best of his courage, intelligence and creative capabilities. Bearing in mind President Ho Chi Minh's words "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom", the armed forces and people in the South will certainly overcome all difficulties and hardships, overpower their enemy and win complete victory.

## PART II

### THE NORTH ALSO FIGHTS VICTORIOUSLY

Dear comrade-deputies,

In the resistance to U.S. aggression of our entire people, Socialist North Viet Nam plays an extremely important role. The birth of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam as a result of the triumph of the August Revolution was the fruit of the patriotic movements conducted by our entire people against the colonialists during nearly a century, and especially of their arduous struggle for fifteen years under the leadership of the Viet Nam Workers' Party. Throughout the past twenty-three years, the D.R.V.N. has been consolidated and grown in strength. It is a force which has a great impact on the defence of our national independence, on our resistance against foreign aggression and on the building of a new life. Over the last fourteen years following the success of the resistance war against the French colonialists, the D.R.V.N. keeps on advancing on the path of socialist construction and

has become a strong socialist country resolved to fulfil her obligation as an outpost of the socialist camp in Southeast Asia. The D.R.V.N. constitutes the revolutionary base of the whole country and the great rear of South Viet Nam, linking our people's struggle for national salvation with the mighty forces of the world socialist system and the broad movement of the world people for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

It is because they have realized this extremely important position and role of North Viet Nam that, in face of the bankruptcy of their "special war" in the South on February 7, 1965, the U.S. imperialists brazenly sent aircraft and warships to attack it after forging the so-called "Tonkin Gulf incident" in August 1964. They thought that within a short time they could overcome the North then subdue the South and force our people in both parts of the country to surrender. But they have miscalculated and their scheme has failed.

The U.S. aggressors attacked the North with the hope of extricating themselves from their very critical situation in the South. However, the more they strike at the North, the more they tighten the blood-sealed relations between North and South. As a result, they have incurred heavy losses in the North and suffered heavier defeats in the South. Our Southern compatriots have translated into reality the statement of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation to the effect that "If the U.S. aggressors deliver a blow at the North, the armed forces and people in the South

will deal them five or even ten blows." By dealing the U.S. and puppets harder blows and driving them to a corner, the South Vietnamese armed forces and people have effectively defended the North. Inversely, the very steady growth of the North reinforces the South in a tremendous measure. Our entire nation is bound together in a fight against the common enemy to achieve a common goal. In the present resistance war, more than ever in their history, the whole Vietnamese people are of one mind, North and South are united.

In their attack on the North, the U.S. aggressors strike particularly at communication and transport lines, economic establishments and heavily populated areas in an attempt to weaken the D.R.V.N. potential. However, North Viet Nam continues to grow in wartime, its economic and military potentials have been unceasingly reinforced, socialist construction is going on and the people's life is ensured. North Viet Nam is in better shape as it fights, capable of defending itself victoriously and fulfilling its task as the great rear of South Viet Nam.

In their war of destruction against the North, the U.S. aggressors have so far lost nearly 3,000 aircraft and a great many pilots, including aces of the U.S. Air Force. The myth about the superiority of the U.S. Air Force has been completely exploded. Their losses have become increasingly heavier. Not only have they failed to attain their strategic objectives but all their tactics and techniques have been foiled. The U.S. aggressors have been gradually weakened and are

running shorter of pilots and aircraft. Their stocks of bombs and bullets are not inexhaustible.

By attacking the D.R.V.N., the U.S. aggressors have encroached upon an independent and sovereign socialist country, and committed barbarous crimes that shock the whole world \*. They are more and more strongly condemned by the entire mankind, including the American people. They have drawn ever-stronger protests from political circles in many countries. They are completely isolated in the international arena and in the United States. The result of three years of U.S. aero-naval war of destruction against the North is that the aggressors have met with a failure, a very heavy failure. President Johnson's speech on March 31, 1968 about the "limited bombing" of North Viet Nam was, on the one hand, a perfidious calculation and a deceitful manoeuvre, and on the other, an admittance of the United States failure in the war of destruction against the North. It has proved that the U.S. will to attack North Viet Nam had sustained a major setback. And this was a very great victory of our entire people's resistance to U.S. aggression, a strong morale-booster for our

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\* From February 1965 to the end of 1967, the Americans utilized 650,000 tons of bombs and bullets to strike at the north of our country, that is, more than the quantity used in the whole Pacific theatre during World War II. In the same period, the quantity of explosives rained over Viet Nam, both North and South, amounted to 1,840,000 tons, that is, more than the quantity used in Europe during World War II and almost the equivalent of what had been employed both in Europe and in the Pacific during World War II.

Southern compatriots who are dashing forward on the impetus of their victories towards final victory.

Dear comrade-deputies,

War is the gravest trial for a regime; the socialist North has overcome this trial with glory, our 17 million compatriots here are victoriously fulfilling their heavy tasks in fighting and production under particularly difficult circumstances.

Repelling the enemy's aero-naval war of destruction, the socialist North has mobilized its armed forces and people to fight him and defend itself while developing its power in every field, accumulating experiences and growing up more rapidly than the opponent escalates the war. The armed forces and people have scored a great victory right in their first engagement and registered success after success over the past three years, curbing every escalation step of the adversary. Our various defence forces, from missiles to militiamen's rifles, have been deployed to form a well-co-ordinated system and provide a dense and very mobile network of firepower with many ranges. Together with other people's armed forces, including old militiamen and militiawomen, they stand ready to deal heavy blows at the enemy at any moment and throw bewilderment in his ranks, whatever modern aircraft and war means he may use, whatever experiences he may draw, and whatever tactics and technique he may resort to. In close co-ordination with the defence forces, our young air force has, in the fighting conditions of our air space,

developed people's war tactics, displaying a high degree of resourcefulness and courage, winning splendid victories as from their first engagement. Besides the fighting, civilian air defence and dispersion of the population, which aim at organizing daily work and combat activities in every walk of life, every locality and every family, have greatly helped reduce our losses. As the war is going on, we patiently strive to better discharge our responsibilities in this respect.

Since March 31, 1968, in execution of their perfidious "limited bombing" manoeuvre, the U.S. aggressors have concentrated their forces to strike day and night with much more ferocity a vast and populous area of the D.R.V.N. from Thanh Hoa to Vinh Linh\*. Our

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\* The area from the 20th to the 17th parallels covers four provinces — Thanh Hoa, Nghe An, Ha Tinh, Quang Binh — and the Vinh Linh zone and has four million and a half people. In April last, American aircraft flew over 3,000 sorties against this area, dropping about 15,000 bombs of various types — most of which 250 - 1500 kg demolition bombs — in extremely fierce raids aimed at blotting out whole regions. Admitted *UPI* on April 21, 1968: on April 19, at least 500 U.S. jets struck at the saucer-shaped part of North Viet Nam in one of the most violent raids of the war. And *Reuter* concluded on May 1st: The number of sorties flown by U.S. planes against North Viet Nam in April increased nearly 25 per cent as compared with the period before President Johnson announced his limited bombing.

In the first half of May 1968 U.S. planes struck at 600 populated and economic centres from Thanh Hoa to Vinh Linh, dropping 14,000 demolition bombs and time-bombs from Thanh Hoa to Quang Binh. Fifteen reconnaissance flights took place over Hanoi, Haiphong and fourteen other provinces. Besides, U.S. warships off the coast and U.S. cannons positioned south of the demilitarized zone fired more than 30,000 shells at the villages north of this zone and along the coast in Vinh Linh, and Quang Binh and Ha Tinh provinces. (*Pub.*).

armed forces and people there have been fighting still more staunchly and downed many enemy planes, including F.111A's, the latest type of the U.S. air force. They inflicted heavy losses upon them, determined to smash their new perfidious manoeuvre and completely defeat their war of destruction against the D.R.V.N.

The brilliant victories of the North Vietnamese army and people are victories of people's war of a very new kind against a new kind of war of the U.S. aggressors. Through the fighting, not only our aircraft defence and air force have grown up quickly, but the whole of the D.R.V.N. national defence has been unceasingly steel-ed and strengthened, its combat readiness and vigilance heightened to cope with any eventuality.

One of the main targets of the enemy is communications and transport. Our resistance in this field throughout North Viet Nam is an epic for those engaged in it as well as for our compatriots living along the highways. Bridge builders and menders, young volunteers, professional and unprofessional communication workers, time-bomb demolition units, lorry-drivers, tug pilots, boatmen, all of them have round the clock successfully stood up to the enemy bombing by putting in their work all their strength, talent and energy. Thanks to their efforts our people have kept open the traffic between the rear and the front, between the different regions of our country, between our country and the fraternal and friendly countries; we have increased the volume of transported goods, opened various kinds of communications, strengthened our central and regional

means of communications and transport, and substantially augmented our contingent of cadres and workers in this sphere.

Thus, in war-time our communications and transport has made a step forward ahead of other branches, meeting the present requirements of fighting, production and everyday life while preparing for the future.

Faced with repeated trials due to natural calamities and war destruction over the past three years, our co-op farmers have kept up the output of paddy and other food crops, boosted the output of subsidiary crops, extended the average of many important industrial crops, continuously developed afforestation and animal husbandry. Thus, it is in war-time that intensive cultivation to raise crop yield and labour productivity has become a mass movement involving the application of advanced technical means, which helps materialize on an ever-larger area the slogan "One labourer for one hectare of cultivated land" and "Five tons of paddy per hectare per year". It is in war-time that the material and technical bases of agriculture in general, and of each co-operative in particular, have been further reinforced. It is also in war-time that the agricultural co-operativization movement has recorded good achievements, won over the overwhelming majority of the toiling peasants, ameliorated and enlarged the co-operatives, thus showing the might and excellence of collective production. In the present drive to improve co-op management combined with the broadening