

3. OUR PARTY'S CORRECT LINE : FOUNTAIN-HEAD OF ALL OUR SUCCESSES

All the great successes of our people originate from the correct revolutionary line and the clever leadership of our Party headed by President Ho Chi Minh.

Our Party has laid down its revolutionary line by correctly and creatively applying Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of the revolution and of revolutionary war in our country.

That is the line of "promoting the socialist revolution in the North and at the same time the national people's democratic revolution in the South, achieving the reunification of the country on the basis of independence and democracy, building a peaceful, reunified, independent, democratic and prosperous Viet Nam, thereby contributing effectively to the strengthening of the socialist camp and to the defence of peace in Southeast Asia and the world".

That is the line of revolutionary war in a country with no large territory and population, but carried out by a heroic people—who possess a time-honoured tradition of building and defending their country, who have stood up time and again to fight and defeat enemies many times stronger than themselves economically and militarily — for their independence and freedom, for socialism.

This line, imbued with the radical revolutionary spirit of the working class, is the application of an offensive strategy to the concrete conditions of

the present epoch; it is imbued with a constant determination to attack the enemy, to repel them step by step and smash them part by part so as to crush them completely and secure final victory for the revolution. That line gives full play to the ardent patriotism of our people, and at the same time is permeated with genuine proletarian internationalism. Our Party has always upheld the spirit of self-help, of relying mainly on our own strength while highly valuing the devoted assistance of the fraternal countries and the sympathy and support of all progressive mankind. That line is a condensed expression of our Party's spirit of independence and sovereignty and stems from its sense of political responsibility for the revolutionary cause of our people and nation.

The fundamental point of our Party's line of revolutionary war is this: *the whole people, the whole country fights the aggressors with the people's armed forces as the hard core.* By mobilizing the entire people to resist aggression, by bringing people's war to a very high level, and by displaying unprecedented courage and creative power, our Party has firmly grasped the rule of revolutionary war in Viet Nam, thus generating a mighty force to get the better of any aggressor.

Deeply confident of the people's invincible strength, and indomitable in face of U.S. imperialism—an enemy possessed of a tremendous potential and, in addition, utterly cruel and perfidious—our Party has always seen through the nature and scheme of the enemy, their general strategic intentions just as their political manoeuvres and concrete tactics, accurately appraised

their strong and weak points, their innumerable contradictions and insurmountable difficulties, and has made a scientific analysis of the rules of the U.S. neo-colonialist war of aggression. In this aggressive war, all strategic schemes of neo-colonialism have been foiled one after another by the powerful offensives of people's war. The failure of their "special war" compelled the U.S. imperialists to wage a "limited war". Their bitter defeats in the South drove them to launch a war of destruction in the North. Their reverses forced them to escalate and it is their losses which led them to de-escalate in their war of destruction. The more reckless they were, the heavier setbacks they suffered as a result of our people's strong offensives. Obdurate in escalation they met with defeats; obdurate and frenzied in de-escalation they met with still more humiliating ones. That is a blind alley which will inevitably lead them to complete failure. *That is the irrevocable development process of the U.S. imperialists' aggressive war, which has the character of a rule.*

The military line in our people's war against the U.S. neo-colonialists' war of aggression has these marked characteristics:

The spirit of sustained, resolute and all-round offensive against the enemy. To strike the enemy with all our forces: basing ourselves on the valiant spirit and intelligence of the Vietnamese people who have reached a high level of political consciousness and are very closely united, to vigorously develop the efficiency of all kinds of weapons at our disposal, use all forms of struggle and combat methods and hit the enemy

everywhere and at any time. To constantly attack and wipe out the enemy while seeing to the preservation and development of our own forces so that we become stronger and score more successes as we fight.

The capability to strike a big force with a small force, the courage to confront and defeat an opponent disposing of a modern matériel with weapons in most cases unsophisticated, to use seasoned troops and clever combat methods to fight an enemy superior in number and equipped with modern armaments. Imbued with such a spirit and devising excellent fighting tactics, our people and armed forces always hold the initiative of operations against the enemy, hitting them devastatingly from a position of strength.

In the South, under the clever leadership of the National Front for Liberation, our people, millions acting as one man, have taken up arms and launched a strategic offensive by making use of both political and revolutionary armed forces, of the regular army, regional troops and militia and guerillas, of all weapons available, rudimentary, improved and modern; they have co-ordinated armed struggle with political action, military operations with uprisings, military and political offensives with persuasion work among the enemy troops, used various combat methods — fielding small, medium-size and big units in all the three strategic arms: hills-forests, plains and urban centres. The South Viet Nam people and armed forces have skilfully used the method of opposing a small force to a bigger one, concentrating an appropriate troop-strength when need be, using a highly effective force, striking hard and

smarting blows at the enemy's manpower, war means and rear bases, in order to cause them ever-heavier losses while we grow stronger in the fighting and win bigger successes.

In the North, to worst the U.S. war of destruction our people have developed an enormous fighting potential. To defend the North and fulfil their duty as the great rear area to the great fighting front in the South, our people and armed forces have thwarted all frenzied efforts of the American aggressors and scored brilliant successes.

Our Party has energetically aroused the patriotism and love for socialism of the entire people, and called on our armed forces and people to enhance their determination to fight, bring into full play their revolutionary heroism, surmount all difficulties and hardships, make sacrifices and endure losses, in order to mobilize and organize the people's forces in the fight against the invader.

Hence, the entire people have taken part in the struggle in a well organized manner. Prompted by deep hatred for the enemy, our army has made good use of ever more sophisticated weapons and equipment and devised highly efficient combat methods. In the course of the fighting *they have developed to the utmost their offensive spirit, searched the enemy to beat them, grasped the rule governing their activities and the characteristics and capabilities of our own forces, then acted with determination, secrecy and suddenness* to engage the enemy and wipe them out. All this has enabled us to avail ourselves of the adversary's moves to hit them

back, depriving their attacks of all or part of their efficiency while constantly keeping our initiative of operations. We have thus made notable progress in our efforts to oppose a smaller force to a bigger one and to co-ordinate small engagements with medium-size and big ones. Where and when we grasp this fighting method, there and then we can obtain the greatest success, continually harass the enemy, destroy their manpower and foil all their tactical manoeuvres and schemes.

Everywhere in our country, *all our three kinds of armed forces have defeated the enemy*. Our militiamen and guerillas young or old, men or women, have downed enemy jets and captured American pilots. Each rifle, machine-gun, heavy gun, missile-launching pad or modern plane at our brave and resourceful fighters' disposal has been brought into full play; even rifles can successfully cope with modern U.S. jet planes.

Being aware of the enemy's perfidious scheme to check our communications and transport and sever the relations between our rear area and our fighting front, we have set our army and people to fight on the communications and transport front considered as an emergency central task. With gallantry, perseverance and commendable creativeness our people have remarkably fulfilled their task on this front, frustrating the above-mentioned scheme of the enemy.

The adversary plotted to cause us heavy losses in life and property and to wreck our economic potentialities and national defence. Parallel to the participation in the fighting, our people have made great efforts to effectively preserve their forces. The dispersal

of civilians and anti-air raid precautions have proved their efficiency in the protection of the lives and property of the population and their tremendous significance in our victorious resistance.

We have envisaged to change the orientation of economic construction in war time, strengthen regional industry, ensure production while fighting and continue to build socialism, in order to satisfy the immediate needs of the war and to meet the long-range requirements of socialist construction in the North. In the thick of the fight, the socialist relations of production have only been maintained but also developed their great efficiency in the enhancement of our people's material and moral strength to defeat U.S. aggression and to build socialism. Our people have fulfilled this glorious task with a high political consciousness tempered in the process of socialist construction in the North. Whereas our resistance war against the French colonialists was conducted with a people's democratic economy, today, for the first time in our millenary history we wage a war of resistance against the American imperialists, for national salvation, under the socialist regime. *Through the trials of the war the socialist system has proved to be an excellent and very steady one.*

Since the outset of the U.S. predatory war against the North, our Party has realized that the aim of the aggressors was to stave off the U.S. puppet predicament in the South Viet Nam theatre and has therefore called on the entire people to devote their heart and strength to the fight against the aggressors with a view to liberating the South and defending the North. Our

fellow-countrymen in the South and their Liberation armed forces have put up a stubborn struggle : against a blow dealt at the North, the enemy received ten at the hand of the South Viet Nam people and armed forces who have thus won bigger and bigger successes.

It is in these conditions that our armed forces and people in the North have unceasingly heightened their combativeness, caused ever-heavier losses to the enemy, foiled all their strategic schemes and political and tactical manoeuvres, compelling them to unconditionally halt the bombing of the North and resign themselves to total failure in their war of destruction.

Such are the new developments in our Party's line of revolutionary war and conduct of war. The mapping out and development of this line has been a great achievement in the application of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism concerning war and armed forces to the concrete conditions of our country. Our people have promoted to a higher level the traditional indomitability, the heroism and combat skill of a people who have defeated powerful aggressor armies in the course of their millenary history.

The soundness of the revolutionary and military lines of our Party has been demonstrated by the successes recorded on the battlefield. *These lines are the very source of our indomitable strength and of all our victories.*

Viet Nam military science is an advanced one, which has been outwitting the strategies and tactics of the imperialist war of aggression and the outmoded

military thought of an imperialist power which, though possessed of a tremendous economic and military potential, is on the wane and will continue to weaken in the inevitable development process of history at the present time.

In the revolutionary struggle of our people for independence, for the reunification of their country and for socialism, *Viet Nam military science has brought into play its far-reaching bearing and proved its unquestionable superiority over the military thought of the imperialists, as well as its tremendous combativeness and invincible strength.*

4. LET US VALIANTLY MARCH FORWARD TO BRING OUR STRUGGLE AGAINST U.S. AGGRESSION, FOR NATIONAL SALVATION, TO TOTAL VICTORY

The ultimate defeat of the U.S. imperialists is a foregone conclusion. The longer they drag on the war, the heavier setbacks they will incur. But they are still very obdurate and do not want to give up their aggressive designs upon our country.

Though compelled to talk about an "honourable" settlement of the war, the U.S. imperialists are feverishly stepping up their aggression, exerting every effort to retrieve their situation by "de-Americanizing" the war step by step, and continuing their attempt to impose neo-colonialism on South Viet Nam and prolong the partition of our country. In their passive and defensive posture and serious predicament, they are doing their best to reinforce their defences,

frantically shore up the crumbling puppet army in all respects, rally the forces on their payroll and breathe life into them in an attempt to bolster up the puppet Thieu-Ky-Huong administration. At the same time, they are frenziedly using B.52s, bombs and shells and toxic chemicals to devastate the liberated zone, launching repeated military operations and stepping up the so-called "accelerated pacification" program to repress, persecute and massacre our fellow-countrymen. While drifting toward ultimate defeat the U.S. imperialists still nurture the illusion that they can check the advance of the South Viet Nam armed forces and people who in the impetus of their victories, are dashing toward final victory.

Meanwhile, in the North, they stubbornly go on with their acts of war, carrying on reconnaissance flights and provocations, perpetrating other crimes, encroaching upon the sovereignty and threatening the security of the D.R.V.N., and continuing to dispatch spies and commandos to devastate socialist North Viet Nam. For all their failures in four years of war of destruction, they have not yet renounced their dark designs upon the North.

For the independence and reunification of the country, and for socialism, *we pledge ourselves to strictly implement the teaching of President Ho Chi Minh: "So long as a single aggressor remains on our soil, we must fight on to sweep him away."* Our people throughout the country, united as one man, are resolved to rush forward to fight the U.S. aggressors till final victory.

It is the sacred duty of our people, of our nation, to completely defeat the U.S. aggressors. *All cadres and fighters of the people's armed forces show their determination to fight and to win, heighten their vigilance and resolutely fulfil all the tasks entrusted them by our Party and people.*

All cadres and fighters of the anti-aircraft and air forces must be well aware of the new situation and of their new tasks, fight stubbornly together with the other arms and services of the people's armed forces, resolutely smash all acts of war of the enemy, bring down all types of reconnaissance planes, be constantly prepared to fight, and with a strong resolve foil all the perfidious schemes of the American imperialists.

To accomplish these tasks, *we must ceaselessly strengthen our anti-aircraft and air forces, help them acquire great fighting capabilities and a great combat efficiency.*

We must build excellent A.A. artillery: all A.A. battalions should fight as well as, or better than, the Nguyen Viet Xuan battalion; all A.A. units should fight as well as, or better than, the Hong Linh unit.

We must build excellent missile units so that all its units can fight as well as, or better than, the heroic sections No 61 and No 64 or the Song Da unit.

We must build an excellent air force so that all its units fight as well as, or better than, heroic Company No 1 and Company No 2 or the Sao Do unit.

We must build excellent radar units so that they can in good time detect the enemy when they intrude into our air space

We must consolidate all our services, paying adequate attention to technical and logistic bases.

The standpoint of our Party on the building of the armed forces is constantly *to attach utmost importance to raising their fighting capabilities and combat efficiency.* Only by so doing can we successfully fight a big force with a small one, vanquish an aggressive numerous and modernly equipped force with a not-so-large and not-so-modernly-equipped force and get the better of an army of the topmost imperialist power which disposes of the greatest economic and military potentials in the capitalist world. Only by so doing can we promote the fighting tradition of our forefathers and grasp the spirit and content of Viet Nam military science.

The yardstick to measure the fighting capabilities of an army is the combat efficiency of its units. Should all our air force companies be able to destroy over 60 enemy aircraft as the heroic company No 1 did, should all our missile units be able to knock out of our skies over 40 planes as did one of them, should all our A.A. artillery battalions be able to destroy over 120 aircraft as the Nguyen Viet Xuan battalion did, even with their present number, our anti-aircraft and air forces would have fighting capabilities five, ten or more times stronger. This means that the fighting capabilities of our army would be considerably multiplied. And this is what we are exerting ourselves to achieve a realistic goal that all cadres and fighters of our anti-aircraft and air forces must attain at any cost.

First and foremost, *we must grasp the military line and operational thought of the Party.* This is the line of people's war developed to a high degree where the entire people fight and are valiant fighters; this is the thought of resolutely attacking the enemy to wipe them out, of striking them without respite and on all planes, acting with initiative, secrecy, suddenness, determination, courage and resourcefulness and using a small force against a bigger one, so as to achieve ever-higher combat efficiency and winning ever-greater victories.

Organizationally, our troops must be well seasoned, very strong, built up and equipped in accordance with the requirements of our combat methods. They must be politically and ideologically steadfast, and thoroughly conversant with technique and tactics; they must perfect the organization of their command, be appropriately equipped, and enjoy good material and technical conditions, especially as far as modernly equipped arms and services like the anti-aircraft and air forces are concerned. The officers in particular must be highly qualified, evince revolutionary virtues, master technique and tactics, show a grim determination to fight, and proved equal to their task as commanders, capable of leading their units to victory.

Your emulation congress has highlighted a great many examples set by army units and individual fighters in combat and in training. For the Congress to develop its great impact, it is necessary to *review* more concretely and more penetratingly the experiences of

the most representative units, and from these experiences draw guide-lines and principles in order to enrich our Party's military thought, improve our combat methods and achieve greater achievements and feats of arms. This is a very good basis to strengthen our anti-aircraft and air forces, and improve their fighting capabilities *so that they can become an excellent arm, capable of defeating any enemy and effectively defending the beloved skies of our heroic Viet Nam.*

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A very great and heavy task faces our people throughout the country, that of *making all-out efforts to bring our resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, to complete victory.*

Our countrymen and the liberation armed forces in the heroic South are rushing ahead like tidal waves, pushing up their attacks, and winning great victories, thus landing the American imperialists in an ever-graver losing position and passive posture. For the liberation of South Viet Nam, for the reunification of our country, for socialism, and for the fulfilment of our lofty internationalist obligation, our armed forces and people in the North are exerting the greatest efforts to fight in order to defend the North, push ahead socialist construction and accomplish their sacred duty as the great area toward the great fighting front.

Never have the Vietnamese people been confronted with such a historic and glorious task as today.

Never have they deployed their combat strength with such an impetus.

Under the banner of the Party headed by our beloved and venerated President Ho Chi Minh, all our cadres and fighters in the people's armed forces in general and the anti-aircraft and air forces in particular *will courageously march forward together with our people all over the country in order to carry through our glorious mission and record the most shining exploits in the history of our resistance against aggression: to completely defeat the American aggressors, liberate the South, defend the North and advance toward the reunification of the country.*

BRILLIANT SUCCESSES AND IMMENSE STRENGTH OF PEOPLE'S WAR IN THE VARIOUS REGIONS OF SOCIALIST NORTH VIET NAM

Comrades,

Today you are meeting to discuss the review of four years of people's war versus the war of destruction in the various regions of the North. I am very glad to address your meeting. Let me convey the cordial greetings of President Ho Chi Minh, the Party Central Committee and the Central Military Committee to all the participants in this congress and all cadres and fighters of the regional armed forces, to all our fellow-countrymen and all cadres and Party members in the various regions.

On many previous occasions I have talked about people's war versus the U.S. war of destruction in the North as a whole. Today I would like to deal with *the brilliant successes and immense strength of people's war in the various regions* of the North, i.e. in the various provinces, and take this opportunity to set forth some views about the progress, new potentialities, and important position of *regional military work*.

Over the past years, *under the direct leadership of the regional Party organizations, the gallant fight and creative labour of our people and armed forces accounted for a worthy part in the common achievements of the North and of the country as a whole, and our people's war in various regions attained a rather high level.*

People's war versus war of destruction was a nationwide and all-sided resistance with new features. Hence the abundant and valuable experiences gathered by the various regions in all fields.

The first experience consists in having *the entire people fight the enemy*, in having the entire people hit back at enemy aircraft to defend our airspace, and enemy vessels to defend our territorial waters, *in conducting wartime mobilization in such a way as to expand our regular troops and at the same time to build and develop our regional armed forces*, and make all-sided preparations to guard against the expansion by the enemy of the "limited war" of aggression to the whole country.

As the war goes on, the various regions have continued to maintain and boost production and to build socialism, the immediate aim being to help bring the resistance to victory and the long-term one being to push socialist revolution forward. That is why they have also gained experience in *changing the economic orientation, building socialism in wartime conditions*, and closely combining combat duties with the task of building socialism. We must stress that this is the first time in our history that people's war has been conducted on the basis of a socialist regime, unlike the

former resistance against French aggression and the current resistance in the South against U.S. aggression, waged on the basis of a people's democratic regime in the liberated areas.

Another experience of great importance consists in *strengthening the leadership of regional party organizations in an all-sided way, in combat and in production, in ideology and organization, so as to bring the power of people's war into full play in all regions.*

The American imperialists' perfidious design is to perpetuate the division of our country. But in their war of aggression they have looked upon Viet Nam as one single battlefield, thus tacitly and unwittingly admitting that Viet Nam is one. They have introduced a large expeditionary force into the South, considering this as the main battlefield, at the same time attacking the socialist North with air and naval forces, considering it as a combinative battlefield. That is why the resistance waged by the people and armed forces of the North against the American imperialists' war of destruction, for the defence of the D.R.V.N. is at the same time part and parcel of the common resistance waged by the entire nation against the limited war of aggression, for the defence of the great rear base of South Viet Nam, the great fighting front. Therefore, *the experiences gained by people's war in the North in opposing the enemy's war of destruction are also experiences gained by people's war against their "limited war" of aggression in the socialist rear base.* Meanwhile, in the South, our countrymen and the Liberation armed forces are getting the better of over 1,200,000 American

and puppet troops, winning great successes, and gaining very precious experiences in the fight against American ground, air and naval forces.

And so the experiences drawn by our people and armed forces in both zones of the country are very rich ; they complement each other and complete the experiences acquired by our entire nation in the resistance against American aggression, for national salvation. In practice, people's war in the various regions in both the South and the North has proved to contain extremely great potentialities. That is why *we must not only sum up the experiences obtained in the North but also strive to learn from those secured in the various regions of the South*. Only so can we substantially strengthen regional military work, develop the tremendous power of the regions and contribute to bringing our resistance to complete victory, and at the same time make good preparations for the long-range building of our armed forces and the consolidation of our national defence.

I

THE PEOPLE AND ARMED FORCES IN ALL REGIONS HAVE MADE WORTHY CONTRIBUTION TO DEFEATING THE AMERICAN AGGRESSORS' WAR OF DESTRUCTION

The summing-up report prepared by the command of the military zone is fairly complete and to a degree reflects the ideas of the leadership of the provinces