

concerned. This is very good. I would like to add my comments on the following subjects :

1. The entire people fight the enemy and oppose their war of destruction by air and naval forces.

2. Wartime mobilization ; building and development of regional armed forces.

3. Change in economic orientation ; building of socialism in the various regions in war time.

4. The strengthening of the leadership of regional Party organizations.

#### I. THE ENTIRE PEOPLE FIGHT BACK AIR AND NAVAL WAR OF DESTRUCTION

Against the U.S. imperialists' modern air and naval forces our armed forces and countrymen in the North waged an unusual people's war: *the entire people hit back at enemy planes and vessels, carried out defence and "dodging" work, and ensured the functioning of communications and transport.* Owing to the particular features and specific goals of the war of destruction, the above-mentioned three fronts, of which combat was the primary one, were closely related to each other and all of them actively contributed to defeating the enemy, foiling their main design against the North of our country. On these fronts worked side by side the anti-aircraft units of the regular forces and the regional forces, the communication-transport-maintenance units at the centre and the provinces and villages. The forces at the centre played a part of utmost importance. The widespread regional forces had also a very important role.

a) As regards *combat tasks*, we successfully implemented this directive: *the entire people hit back at enemy planes, taking the anti-aircraft units of the three armed forces as the nucleus*. This is a new development in people's war in our country. We had acquired experiences in our resistance mainly against ground forces, but not against air force. With our Party's sound line, our people's determination, intelligence and creative power, we launched a plane-hunting mass movement and achieved splendid results.

*Our young anti-aircraft defence and air force* developed by leaps and bounds. Regional anti-aircraft units also grew more experienced. Militia and self-defence members, young and old, men and women, no matter what their nationality, in the plains as in the hill regions, managed to down up-to-date U.S. jets. *Regional forces* of provinces and districts also grounded enemy planes. Our *people* valiantly fought and served the fighting, captured air pirates, built defence works and roads for anti-aircraft guns and missiles, helped the army in every respect. We used all available weapons from rifles, machine-guns, anti-aircraft guns of various calibres up to missiles and modern planes. With anti-aircraft units of both the regular forces and the widespread regional forces and all kinds of weapons, we wove an extensive network of fire with key points, many layers and many directions, to trap enemy planes at every altitude, place and moment. The strong fire-power in the socialist North inflicted very heavy losses to the enemy air force and struck fear into American pilots.

*The impact of the regional armed forces* in anti-aircraft defence could be felt in the number of enemy planes brought down by the militia, self-defence and regional forces. Keeping watch round the clock and using automatics of various kinds, sometimes while working in the fields or in the factories, and using rifles, militia and self-defence members managed to shoot down modern jets: those of Quang Binh province bagged over 100, and many militiawomen also did their bits. Provincial anti-aircraft units gave a good account of themselves, some of them blasting up to 70 or 80 enemy planes — a high record indeed.

The impact of the regional armed forces could be seen in their co-ordination in combat with the regular anti-aircraft units to knock down as many enemy planes as possible, forming an efficacious flak at different altitudes and in different places.

On the other hand, in the war of destruction, enemy air force was in a position to strike at any target in our rear. To cope with the enemy's mobility, we had to build an extensive air defence system with focal points. Thanks to the close co-ordination between the air defence forces of the regular army and of the regional troops, and between the regional troops and the militia and self-defence forces, we satisfactorily met that complex combat requirement.

Another major role of the armed forces was their important assignment in air defence: fighting enemy planes flying at low altitude. The regional forces and militia and self-defence units kept watch, detected adverse aircraft and helped the people organize

air defence, and therefore succeeded in protecting their lives and property and production, keeping their life at normal under the conditions of a gruelling war.

The regional armed forces in the coastal areas successfully hit back at U.S. vessels and U.S. - puppet commando-boats. In coordination with regular artillery units operating at key centres, regional gunners fired at enemy boats, provided cover for the people's activities within their gun's range and opened up new possibilities for the regions to defend our rather long coast-line.

Together with the people, regional troops and people's security forces honourably discharged their responsibility by grounding adverse planes, wiping out commandos, keeping order and security, and foiling the enemy psywar moves.

Along with operations of the regular forces, courageous and effective actions of the regional armed forces stimulated the people's fighting spirit and production zeal, and strengthened their determination to defeat American aggression, and their confidence in the final victory.

As regards *operational thinking*, the very fact that Vietnamese militia and self-defence units were able to knock down U.S. jets with infantry weapons bears a very important significance. It gives a concrete expression to the high level of our people's traditional military thinking to fight a big force with a small one and to use all weapons available to worst an adversary possessing up-to-date ones usually superior to ours. One can say that the successes of our militia

and self-defence forces supply part of the answer to the question why the Vietnamese people have got the better of the American aggressors.

b) Parallel to the directive "The entire people hit back at enemy planes and vessels" is this one: "*The entire people actively take part in civilian air defence*". The past years' fighting has highlighted the extremely important significance of the civilian air defence which frustrated the enemy's objective and reduced to the minimum our losses in life and property.

*"To wipe out the enemy so as to defend ourselves, to preserve our forces to wipe out the enemy,"* this fundamental principle of every war has to be thoroughly grasped when opposing a people's war to a war of destruction. Indeed, to fight the enemy air force is not like to deal with their infantry, especially when one does not yet possess a strong air force and long-range missiles to destroy their planes on the ground at their bases or on the wing to their targets. In these conditions, in order to bring our initiative into full play and reduce our losses, it is of utmost importance *to nullify or lessen the effectiveness of the adversary's air strikes, and on this basis to turn their attacks into opportunities for us to wipe them out.* Therefore, targets of eventual enemy strikes must be kept secret, protected by defence works, camouflaged, scattered and moved from place to place. Civilian air defence as well as the change of orientation in economic activities have a strategic significance, in the sense that they aim at neutralizing or diminishing the destructive effect of the enemy's raids. The satisfactory functioning

of civilian air defence makes it possible for the regions to carry out fighting, maintain production, keep communications and transport going for a long time. Moreover, in many areas, especially in the southern provinces of the Fourth Military Zone, where the adversary intensified their attacks during the "limited bombing" period, our losses were smaller than previously due to better air defence measures.

In this domain the people's efforts were truly considerable. Throughout the North the population dug tens of millions of shelters, tens of thousands of communication trenches, adequately organized first aid, and made good the aftermaths of enemy attacks. We evacuated to the countryside millions of people living in places worst hit by the enemy and in cities and other urban centres, dispersed many factories, offices, storages, schools and hospitals. Some provinces played hosts to hundreds of thousands of evacuees and helped them in their work and life. These were very great achievements and at the same time new experiences of the various regions in this war.

Civilian air defence work is directly related to the people's life, feelings, ways and customs, and to the production and combat activities of various bases, government services and branches of activity. We must, therefore, adequately perform the job of educating the masses, cadres and Party members in their tasks and of conducting deep and broad political mobilization, and at the same time pay the utmost attention to organizational work, relying on the socialist relations of production, and, in rural areas,

mainly on the co-operatives. Once the task of reinforcing civilian air defence is set forth, we must engage in organizational work, adopt concrete measures and correct policies with a view to fulfilling this task. We must have manpower to dig trenches and shelters (for instance the trench-digging teams of the co-ops), elaborate policies to ensure in every way good conditions for this activity; adopt a sound line in building shelters, for instance building shelters in priority for families of war invalids and war martyrs, organize first-aid and transport of the wounded, adopt concrete line and policies concerning evacuation and dispersion, etc. In many regions, effective models of shelters have been worked out and popularized, as well as efficient material and technical means which have made it possible to build better shelters with less labour. In the recent period, our people have built many types of highly effective shelters against the American imperialists' savage bombings and shelling: individual shelters, collective shelters, shelters for cattle, shelters for movable property, mobile shelters, shelters in the fields, shelters in sandy beaches, and solid and complex shelter systems.

Co-ordinating the resistance against the war of destruction with the preparations against the enemy's eventual expanding of the "limited war", many regions paid attention to coupling the building of shelters with the erection of combat villages.

Civilian air defence was very successful and has demonstrated our people's engineering capacities and the immense inventive power of people's war.

c) The *communications and transport front* was also an important part of people's war against the war of destruction.

One of the enemy's major objectives was to strike at our communications and transport and check all assistance of the great rear to the great fighting front. To this effect, the adversary at times concentrated three-fourths of their air attacks. The military report of Grant Sharp, U.S. commander in the Pacific, revealed his vicious schemes and measures and strenuous efforts to bomb scattered targets as well as networks of targets, especially our most important communication lines. This report also admitted U.S. bitter failure on this front, where our people's feats were remarkable.

Indeed, they unmistakably spelled out the grim determination to outwit the enemy, the courage, cleverness and organizational skill of the regional armed forces and people. *The entire people were mobilized to maintain communications and transport in good order under all circumstances, this being regarded as a central emergency task.* To repair what the enemy fiercely destroyed was a real combat job, especially in a country with an intricate terrain, so many rivers, bridges and roads difficult of access. To get the better of the enemy here, one must have a tight hold on all the forces of transport, of road-building and road-mending, and of self-defence to protect the communication lines. Leadership in this task became part of military art, which requires a good understanding of the enemy situation and ours, a close co-ordination

between the central and regional forces. Organizationally, the forces ensuring the smooth running of communications and transport were set up along the line of the three categories of armed forces: centrally-directed forces and forces of the regular army; the specialized units of the provinces; and the widespread militia and self-defence forces at the grassroots. The centrally-directed forces and the regular forces were most important, especially in the uninhabited or sparsely populated areas and at key points subjected to heavy attacks. But the regional forces played also a part of great consequence, without which our tasks in communications and transport could not have been fulfilled in the past years.

Experience proves the potentialities of the various regions, provinces and villages to be very great. The point is to develop these potentialities in the most rational way: any job a region can tackle should be entrusted to it, on condition that this will not affect the unified leadership of the central level and the mobility and flexibility in the overall activities of the transport and communications branch. Over the past years, transport and communications work was best ensured in those provinces which put adequate emphasis on it, which have received adequate reinforcements, which knew how to use adequately both army engineers and young volunteers, which were adequately strengthened as regards their fighting forces, which benefited from resolute command and concentrated and unified leadership, and where the central forces were effectively combined with the militia, self-defence corps and people at the grassroot level.

## 2. TO MOBILIZE THE MANPOWER NEEDED BY THE WAR, TO SET UP AND DEVELOP THE REGIONAL ARMED FORCES

In the tough fight against the war of destruction, every region *actively encouraged the youth to enlist in the army while steadily building and strengthening its armed forces, and militia and self-defence forces.*

a) To meet the requirements of the war, our regular forces, especially the modern arms like the anti-aircraft force and the air force, were considerably expanded in a short time, in both number and quality, and did well on the battlefield. This was made possible by the great contribution of the various regions to the strong reserve forces built there since the years of peace.

As production, combat and service to the front had to be carried out simultaneously, *successful mobilization of an adequate contingent of young people to serve in the army was in itself a tremendous achievement of the regions.* It was possible thanks to the patriotism and love for socialism of our people and youth, to the leadership and organizational ability of the regional Party organizations and government services, and to the superiority of our socialist system. It also threw light on the new progress of regional military work and military organs.

It was the first time that the regions had to draft so many young men. In peace time, we did make good preparations for wartime mobilization by working out relevant laws, statutes and regulations. When the war broke out, we further realized the necessity of combining the enforcement of State laws with a careful

political education, of carrying out ideological mobilization of the masses, of following the mass line and of relying on the Party cells, co-operatives, state farms, enterprises, offices, schools, mass movements like the youth's "three ready's" \*, the women's "three responsibilities" \*\*.

In those regions where the mass line was followed and where a strong mass movement prevailed, in particular the youth movement, the work of selecting men for the armed forces was always fulfilled, even overfulfilled, both quantitatively and qualitatively. A point to be stressed is that the various regions should pay full attention to strengthening the movement wherever it is still weak, and at the same time to getting a good hold on it wherever it is advancing, so as to bring about overall progress. All regions should act in such a way as to perform their duties towards the resistance.

Organizationally, we have adequately solved the relation between production and combat, and in replenishing the regular forces and setting up on the spot combat forces, with an adequate mobilization rate for each region. The selection of men for the armed forces was well done wherever this task was combined with that of giving a strong impetus to other regional works: fostering and developing nuclei of

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\* The three "ready's": ready to fight (U.S. aggression) and to join up, ready to overcome all difficulties to drive ahead production and study in all circumstances; and ready to do any work, to go anywhere, when requested.

\*\* The three "responsibilities": responsibility in production, in family task and in the fighting.

regional forces ; building militia and self-defence corps ; building reserve forces, ensuring strong on-the-spot combat forces with adequate mobilizable reserves ; paying full attention to the carrying out of policies vis-à-vis members of the armed forces in the rear.

Over the past years, *the overwhelming majority of the youth enlisted have proved to be courageous and staunch fighters, faithful to the Party, dedicated to the people, apt to rapidly master military knowledge, worthy of being the cream of the youth of the socialist regime, patiently educated and trained by the Party. This was another achievement creditable to our beautiful socialist system.*

The various regions should ceaselessly strive to heighten the quality of their selective services, so that every soldier and cadre setting out should be a fighter with high resolve, courage and military skill, eager to join the fighting and able to fulfil his duty after only a short training period. To this end, they should pay still greater attention to the political education of the youth, use and develop such good experience gained as that which consists in actively educating the youth ever since they join the militia and self-defence corps, raising the all-sided quality of regional complementary training, building at regional level whole units with good quality to replenish the regular forces, organizing reservist sections at the grassroot level, etc.

b) In the high tide of the resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, *regional armed forces grew up by leaps and bounds, in terms of organization and equipment, and acquired new fighting abilities.*

*The militia and self-defence units* increased in number though many were incorporated in the regular forces, and their quality enhanced. Self-defence units rapidly developed in enterprises, offices and city-wards. The percentage of Party members, Labour Youth members and women in militia and self-defence units also went up. They got more and better equipment. Many villages set up gunners' groups and special groups (like engineer, liaison, intelligence, first-aid groups) or even a mobile combat force. Militia and self-defence members learned to man many kinds of weapons and equipment—both rudimentary and sophisticated — brought down enemy planes, shot ablaze enemy vessels, disposed of tens of thousands of modern bombs and mines.

*The regional forces* rapidly grew up, in terms of organization, equipment and fighting ability. Many provinces boast anti-aircraft units which have grounded enemy planes, artillery units which have sunk or set ablaze enemy vessels and commando boats, or engineer units which have made a great contribution to keep traffic flowing. Many regional infantry units also knocked down enemy planes, and in some places performed most admirable feats of arms.

*Regional military services at all levels* made noticeable progress in helping Party Committees, in leading the armed forces and in guiding the militia and self-defence movement.

The above facts show our *actual capacities to build very strong armed forces comprising: strong and widespread militia and self-defence regional armed forces with high quality, required arms and appropriate organization;*

*and regional military services consolidated at all levels. Those regional armed forces, which have specific functions and tasks, adequate organization and equipment, appropriate training and especially a high fighting spirit, knowledge of the terrain, population and climate of their areas and suitable tactical methods, can fight successfully with a small force and few munitions and can fulfil their important functions and tasks with the best results.*

Strong armed forces constitute a solid nucleus for the nationwide and all-out people's war in the regions. Only with strong regional armed forces and a strong regional reserve force, can one have firm bases to vigorously and rapidly develop the regular forces when necessary.

3. TO CHANGE THE ECONOMIC ORIENTATION, SET UP AND DEVELOP LOCAL ECONOMY, CONTINUE TO PUSH AHEAD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND BRING INTO FULL PLAY THE SUPERIORITY OF THE SOCIALIST REGIME, INSTIL A BIG STRENGTH INTO PEOPLE'S WAR IN ALL REGIONS

In face of the U.S. imperialists' "limited war" in the South and war of destruction in the North, our Party Central Committee pointed out that the North had to carry out production while fighting to defend itself, support the South with might and main and continue to push ahead socialist construction in accordance with the new situation.

The resistance to U.S. aggression, for national salvation, and the continuation of socialist construction

constitute the revolutionary task of our people in the new situation. Only if we successfully carry out the resistance for national salvation can we safeguard the building of socialism in the North and, together with our compatriots in the whole country, bring to completion the national-democratic revolution in the South.

On the other hand, only if we continue socialist construction in the North can we strengthen our economic and national defence potentials, serve the resistance against U.S. aggression in the most efficient way, and bring it to victory.

To fulfil this task, our Party advocated *a change in the economic orientation by setting up and developing regional economy*. Economic construction and development in the North must conform to the wartime situation in order to meet the fighting requirements of the moment as well as in case of U.S. expansion of the "limited war" to the whole country, and at the same time must be consistent with the long-range orientation of socialist construction after our successful resistance against U.S. aggression. This was a perfectly sound and creative policy of our Party.

Despite the enemy's fierce attacks, together with the fighting and supplying of the front, the regions strove hard to implement the new economic orientation of setting up and developing their own economy in line with their situation. They went on with the revolution in the relations of production, the technological revolution, and the cultural and ideological revolution to build and consolidate the socialist regime in war time, and to promote the superiority of the socialist system

and step up people's war in their regions. These are new and most valuable experiences of our Party as well as of the regional Party organizations in this war.

The struggle on the production front, the development of education, culture and public health, the improvement of the living standards, and the building of socialism constitute a real epic which exalts the Vietnamese people's courage, creative labour, cleverness and thirst for learning. *In all regions, our armed forces and people are heroic not only in combat but also in production and in the building of a new life under enemy bombing and strafing.* This also is a characteristic of our people's revolutionary heroism. It spells out the greatness of our resistance and justifies the fact that the socialist Vietnamese can take a pride in themselves. Civilization has triumphed over violence. This is why the U.S. war of destruction has lamentably failed. For all our weaknesses and shortcomings, our achievements are, indeed, considerable. A Western journalist has referred to the economic achievements in the North as a "Vietnamese miracle". The U.S. imperialists who have caused difficulties to and inflicted losses upon us, have nevertheless failed in their scheme of shattering our economic potential to weaken our fighting capacity and disrupt the people's life in North Viet Nam. *In war time, our regional socialist economy was preserved and continued to expand, efficiently serving our war effort.*

In agriculture, the socialist relations of production have been consolidated and developed. The number of households having joined the co-ops and that of advanced co-ops have increased during the war years. Far

from weakening, the co-ops evinced great vitality. They mobilized manpower, organized combat forces, ensured supplies, solved the problem of remuneration and other policies concerning production, combat, combat serving, and civilian air defence tasks, ensure regional transport and communications, stabilized the life of their members. Were it not for the existence of co-operatives and the socialist regime, it would be very difficult for the various regions to fulfil their heavy and complex wartime duties as they have done in the past years.

Agricultural production has been maintained, even developed in some regions; in spite of fierce enemy attacks, part of the work force has been taken out of the agricultural sector. The various regions have striven to be self-sufficient in food, considering it to be a strategic problem.

The technological revolution in agriculture continues to receive a great impulse. The number of mechanical workshops is on the increase. In many provinces, the areas mechanically ploughed have expanded. A movement for "attaining three targets in agriculture" has appeared in war time. Under bombs and shells, in many regions the co-operative peasants observe the "straight rows" method in rice-transplanting. This shows the indomitable spirit and the determination to improve technique of the new peasantry, the collective peasantry in the socialist North.

The development of *regional industry* is an important feature of regional economy during the past few years. Many enterprises have been built and commissioned.

In war time, a network of regional industry with thousands of medium and small-sized enterprises has taken shape in the North. The various regions have succeeded in turning out goods which they had previously been unable to produce even in peace time. Regional industry has contributed to serving agriculture, transport and communications, the life of the people and the armed forces, and at the same time national defence at regional level. Part of the technical services for the army and the repair of ordinary weapons are ensured by regional mechanical workshops.

In wartime conditions, *educational, cultural, and health work* in all regions has also developed. School enrolment at all levels has increased several times; classes are held in underground shelters or at night. Our educational work in war time has made great efforts in keeping with the requirements of production and combat. Almost all villages have a health station, with an assistant doctor. Village health stations and district and provincial hospitals have turned to serving the fighting, contributing their share in first-aid care and giving medical treatment to army men and civilians.

With the development of regional agriculture, industry and medical work, the on-the-spot logistical base of people's war was substantially strengthened.

War is a hardest trial for a social system. Thanks to the new economic orientation to suit wartime requirements and to the stepping up of the three revolutions in various regions, *the socialist regime in the North continued to be built, consolidated and developed during the*

*war, and turned to account its superiority to push ahead the resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation.*

The reality in the various regions over the past years of war has made it plain that the elimination of the exploitation of man has brought about among the labouring people *increasing political and ideological oneness of mind*. Hence people's war could rely on the immense capabilities of the broad masses of workers, collective peasants and socialist intellectuals. Our armed forces and people displayed a high sense of collective mastery, courage in combat and production, and solidarity in face of fierce enemy attacks. One cannot list all the examples given by ordinary working people of heroism and selflessness in combat, of industriousness in production, or of the sense of responsibility as regards the affairs of the co-operative, the village or the country, caring for these even more than for their own.

*Socialist ownership under the two forms of ownership by the entire people and collective ownership has been consolidated and perfected step by in various areas. This constituted an objective favourable factor to scientifically organize people's war.* Between the labouring people there were not only sympathy and revolutionary consciousness but also new organizational relationship. Many combat and production units emerged and operated with efficiency thanks to the socialist relations of production and to the existence of co-operatives. Militia and self-defence groups to keep watch and to defuse bombs, co-op teams concurrently devoted to