

building shelters, co-op gangs concurrently devoted to carrying out production and the fighting, etc. revealed the great capabilities of the socialist regime in many fields and in organization in particular.

Before the war broke out, the regions had laid some *material and technical bases for socialism*. These were strengthened and gradually modernized in war time. They provided new facilities for people's war to meet its logistical needs on the spot, raised labour productivity and liberated manpower for the fighting, thereby contributing to the increase of combat potential and services to the front of the regional armed forces and people. In plane-hunting, civilian air defence, maintenance of communications and transport, the various regions required substantial material and technical contributions from co-operatives, enterprises, state offices and people.

The superiority of the socialist system in the North is embodied in *the new man, the socialist Vietnamese* with ardent patriotism, genuine proletarian internationalism, a spirit of collective mastery, a high fighting spirit, a continuously improving cultural level, good health, a loyal, simple and sound way of life. Regional young people, labour youth members and Party members who joined regular units set bright examples in the life-and-death struggle against the enemy, which are a source of pride for the socialist regime. Our militia and self-defence members are not only courageous but also clever in the handling of many kinds of modern weapons and equipment. Our workers and co-op members are industrious, good

organizers and show great ability and ingenuity in improving technique, increasing labour productivity, in production and in the service to the front.

Clearly enough, *the socialist regime has made the most of its superiority to step up people's war in politics, organization, material and technical bases, and in ideology, intelligence and human qualities.* These are new capabilities, a great source of strength of people's war in the regions. Any region able to develop and use all potentialities to the full and to perform a skilful division of labour and a rational combination of all forces can fulfil brilliantly at regional level all the complex tasks of the all-sided war involving the entire people, with the highest quality and effectiveness.

4. TO STRENGTHEN THE LEADERSHIP OF LOCAL PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

If people's war in the various regions developed a great force and scored brilliant successes, it was due primarily to the leadership of the regional Party organizations which strictly followed the correct policy of the Party Central Committee. Those Party organizations upheld the radical revolutionary spirit of the working class, brought into full play the cleverness of Party members and of the masses, did their best to grasp the Party's line and policies, and successfully fulfilled all the tasks assigned to their areas in our great national resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation. They took care to give overall leadership while seeing with particular attention to

the accomplishment of the military tasks entrusted to their areas and attaching special importance to political education, ideological guidance and organizational work, thereby making the most of the great strength of the socialist system so as to push people's war ahead.

Leadership in the war does not imply only military leadership but also overall leadership, co-ordinating military affairs with economic affairs, the fighting with production, the front with the rear. *The achievements of the regional Party organizations lie in the fact that they intimately coupled production with combat, discharging their task of mobilizing manpower and resources to meet the resistance needs, while fulfilling their production and combat duties on the spot, in accordance with the specific situation of their areas under different circumstances.* That is why, under all circumstances, in general the regions were able to keep up production, fight effectively and perform satisfactorily all the military and other tasks set by the central authorities. These accomplishments speak volumes for the high sense of political responsibility and also the practical organizational ability of, progress made in many fields by, the regional Party organizations.

The Party organizations credited with the fulfilment of their tasks in war time were those which *paid due attention to military leadership, providing guidance to both combat and production, and displayed great ability in leading production amidst fierce fighting.* This has become a new requirement from the leadership of all Party organizations.

Many regional Party organizations, especially those in the areas worst hit by the enemy, met this requirement with distinction and drawn many experiences, the main ones of which they have summed up as follows:

— Provincial Party committees must strengthen their leadership over the regional military services and promote the latter's role;

— In order to give the best help to the Party committees the regional military services must be not only expert in military affairs but also conversant in economic affairs, grasp the main problems of socialist construction in the area and ably co-ordinate military with other affairs;

— All regional services and branches of activities must grasp the military requirements, and closely co-ordinate the fighting with production, and economic affairs with national defence affairs;

— One must raise the military knowledge of Party members and cadres; the work and way of life of all branches and services must be militarized;

— One must closely co-ordinate the activities of all branches and services under the overall leadership of the regional Party committees.

In order to fulfil the task of leading and guiding people's war in the regions the Party committees attached the greatest importance to *consolidating themselves* in every aspect: political, ideological and organizational. In the provinces, the number of Party members has increased and their quality has been enhanced. In war time, in many provinces, particularly in the Fourth Military Zone, there emerged many

outstanding Party members and many Party cells that staunchly and ably led the people in combat and production, worthy of being the standard bearers, the steel fortresses, the efficient general staffs of people's war. They are the pride of the regional Party organizations of our entire Party. In sum, *regional Party organizations have been tempered, have grown up in the gruelling fight and made a worthy contribution to the great achievements of our entire Party.*

II

*RESOLUTELY MARCH FORWARD,
GIVE PRACTICAL REINFORCEMENT TO
REGIONAL MILITARY WORK AND STRIVE
TO FULFIL ALL TASKS SUCCESSFULLY*

The successes won by people's war in all regions are very brilliant ones. The strength of people's war in the various regions of the socialist North is truly immense. Those successes have brought a worthy contribution to the common victories of the population and armed forces of the North and to the common victories of our people throughout the country.

At present, the American imperialists have been forced to put an unconditional end to their bombing of the North. This bespeaks not only the complete failure of their war of destruction but also the bankruptcy of their "limited war" strategy in the southern part of our country.

An American politician has written that when President Johnson spoke on March 31, 1968, of the Viet Nam issue before the American people, he did not only declare the end of the military escalation, the step up of the search for negotiations and his renunciation to stand for presidential elections but also spelled out the fiasco of a policy and, may be, even the termination of a period." * He thereby means the end of the period in which the American imperialists considered themselves to be a super-power, and the collapse of their role in the world.

Our people's resistance to American aggression, for national salvation, has not yet come to a close; we have not yet achieved complete victory, but *it is clear that we have won and that the American imperialists have lost. The Vietnamese people's victory is an extremely important one, on account of its significance both as regards our nation and vis-à-vis the world revolutionary movement.* The failure suffered by the American imperialists on the Vietnamese battlefield is one of their heaviest failures in the history of their wars of aggression.

In the recent years, Viet Nam has become for the American imperialists their number one problem. Johnson has declared that the Viet Nam war is a crucial trial and has an importance equal to any war waged so far by America. That is why the American imperialists have sent more than one half million troops

* Arthur Schelesinger Jr., a former adviser to President John F. Kennedy, in an article in *Harpers'* magazine, N° 3, 1969.

for aggression to Viet Nam. Counting puppet and satellite troops, they have mustered over one million troops. With such a great military force, the American imperialists' aim is to commit aggression against the southern part of our country, but they also nurture other perfidious designs.

Viet Nam is now standing in the van of the national-liberation movement. The American imperialists' hope is that, if they won in Viet Nam they would be able to defeat the national-liberation movement of the world's peoples. Viet Nam is also standing in the front-line of the socialist camp against the imperialist chieftain. It is the American imperialists' hope that, if they won in Viet Nam they would have struck a great blow at the socialist camp. That is why they have shown the greatest frenzy and truculence in rushing headlong into a military venture with a colossal force, in spite of the extremely heavy price in wealth and manpower, the military and political costs, and also the costs to American honour and future. They never anticipated that in this "crucial trial" the Vietnamese people would be the victor and they the vanquished.

The victory of the resistance to American aggression, for national salvation, will bring our people independence, freedom and the reunification of their country, and will play an ever-greater role in mobilizing, encouraging and uniting the world revolutionary movement. The victory of the Vietnamese people means the victory of the world peoples' national liberation movement and that of the socialist camp. Our victorious resistance is a great historic event in the latter half of the 20th

century, an important milestone in the collapse of imperialism in its role of world gendarme, marking the upsurge of, and opening up bright prospects for, the common struggle waged by the world's peoples for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. That is precisely why the Vietnamese people's valiant struggle has been looked upon as the hope, the conscience and honour of all progressive mankind.

Ever since the American imperialists put an end to their war of destruction against the North, our fellow-countrymen and the Liberation troops in the heroic South have repeatedly attacked them in the military, political and diplomatic fields. On the battlefield, the recent powerful onslaughts prove the great strength and stamina of the South Viet Nam liberation troops, who, fighting with great skill, have inflicted extremely heavy losses on the enemy and foiled the American scheme of increasing military pressure while cutting casualties. At the conference table, the ten-point solution put forward by the N.F.L. has driven the enemy into a state of passivity and confusion. The subsequent coming into being of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam has won extremely great sympathy and support in the international arena.

Clearly, the American imperialists cannot continue their war of aggression with the present scope and intensity for a long time. Nixon himself has said that the Viet Nam war is the most difficult ever for the Americans.

However, they remain very obdurate. Although they are seeking to extricate themselves from the war, they want to do it from a position of strength and to keep the southern part of our country within their neo-colonialist orbit. They are actively carrying out a scheme of "de-Americanization" and "Vietnamization" of the war, nurturing the illusion that, while American troops withdraw, the puppet army and administration would grow stronger. The American imperialists were insane when they rushed into a war of aggression now considered their greatest strategic mistake by the American rulers. At present they are proving themselves to be even more insane by seeking, following their heavy failure, to "Vietnamize" the war in the hope of getting out of it, American style. Surely they will sustain even more pitiful failures.

The present resistance against American aggression, for national salvation, is the greatest war against foreign aggression in our national history. *To be resolved to carry on the resistance until final victory, for the independence and reunification of our country, for the fulfilment of our lofty internationalist duty, such is the most sacred task of every Vietnamese citizen.* President Ho Chi Minh has said: "So long as a single aggressor remains on our soil, we must fight on to sweep him away." The complete victory of the North over the enemy's war of destruction has created favourable conditions for its building and consolidation and for the strengthening of its forces in all fields. The armed forces and people of the North are well aware that so long as the more than one million American and

puppet troops are trampling on the South, all activities by our people should follow the watchword: "*Everything to defeat the American aggressors!*"

The military task of the people in the North remains very heavy. In all regions they should continue to show vigilance and stand ready to fight in order to defend the North and fulfil the duty of the great rear area towards the great fighting front. We must continue to raise the fighting standard of the armed forces, shoot down all enemy reconnaissance aircraft, smash all enemy sabotage activities, destroy all enemy commando units, maintain security and order, and watch out for any enemy comeback.

In order to accomplish successfully the military tasks, of the various regions in the present situation, *we must give real reinforcement to regional military work and keep it abreast of the Party's policy of regional economic construction with a view to building our provinces, militarily and economically into ever-stronger basic units of people's war.*

Regional military work is an important part of our Party's military work. Its strategic position, hitherto already important, will grow ever more so in both the general revolutionary struggle and the armed struggle of the Party.

First, regional military work embodies our Party's views on people's war. It is closely connected with the just character of the wars for the defence of the fatherland and for national liberation waged by our people on their soil.

To defend the fatherland and liberate the nation, our Party holds that the entire people should engage in fighting the enemy, using the people's armed forces as a nucleus. The setting up of the three categories of armed forces is the most adequate form of organization for the people's armed forces, aimed at mobilizing and organizing the entire people in the fight against the enemy, for national salvation. That is why the regular troops assume a very important role, while that played by the regional troops, the militia and self-defence corps is also very important. The task of regional military work is to rely directly on the regional people's political and economic bases, directly develop the people's forces in an all-sided manner, organize regional armed forces to fight on the spot, destroy the enemy, safeguard the people's lives and property, protect the people's regional power, firmly preserve the rights of the local people as the masters in their own areas.

Second, in the present resistance to American aggression, for national salvation, regional military work assumes an even more important role. This is because our enemy is an extremely truculent imperialism, with a numerous army, up-to-date weapons and a high degree of mobility; moreover, in modern warfare it is hard to make a clear distinction between front and rear.

In those conditions, the requirement that we should hit at the enemy in time, effectively and wherever he comes, so as to destroy them, defend our rear, and safeguard the people's lives and property, becomes all the more urgent and permanent. That is why regional military work should be reinforced, strong regional

troops and militia and self-defence corps should be organized everywhere, the people should be mobilized and stand ready to hit back at the enemy. If the entire people and the entire army are valiant fighters, we can defeat any enemy however truculent. On-the-spot forces in all regions constitute an advantageous feature of people's war against a highly mobile enemy, for the man on the spot is the most mobile of all, as admitted even by the bourgeois military.

Third, on account of the new potentialities of the regional armed forces regarding technique and equipment and on account of the new development of military art in revolutionary warfare, regional military work becomes all the more important.

In the North the regional troops, militia and self-defence corps are now equipped with weapons and means to bring down enemy jets, sink or set afire enemy vessels, defuse and blow up enemy bombs and mines of the most modern types. In the South, the guerillas not only annihilate enemy infantry but also can cope with armoured vehicles, tanks and helicopters. The regional troops have been able to fight relatively important annihilation battles.

Our way of fighting has undergone new development: using few troops to fight many, fighting big battles with few troops, hitting hard and smarting blows, striking at nerve centres and logistic bases with a view to destroying precious vital strength and up-to-date war equipment. With this creative fighting style, the regional troops and guerillas have acquired new fighting power and progressed by leaps and bounds.

In face of the new situation, we must further strengthen regional military work and bring the potentialities of the regional armed forces into full play. In the conditions of modern warfare, guerilla warfare should be brought to an even higher level, thus creating favourable factors for regular warfare to defeat the enemy. The regional armed forces should be all the more broadly and powerfully expanded. In this way the regular forces will see their mobility and striking power increased. The harmonious co-ordination at a high level between the three categories of armed forces, between the armed and political forces, creates new offensive power for people's war, which attacks the enemy without respite, by all means and ways, with forces of various sizes, everywhere and at all times, depriving them of effective striking power in spite of their numbers and driving them into dispersion, passivity and defeat.

Fourth, the ever-growing importance of regional military work also springs from the development of all regions, especially the provinces, in wealth and manpower, economic potential and logistic capabilities as regards people's war.

In the North, ever since the Party Central Committee set forth the policy of regional economic development and building the provinces into ever-stronger economic units, new favourable conditions and new potentialities have been created for regional military work. Generally speaking, the provinces of the North have fairly wide areas and populations of varying numbers, from one to two millions. In keeping with the rate of socialist building, agriculture has been expanding, regional industry growing, transport and

communications widening, the material and technical bases of socialism in the various regions ceaselessly strengthened.

Hence, the point is to give real impetus to regional military work in order to use all latent forces in each region, combine economics and national defence within the regional framework, build each province all-sidedly in both the economic and military fields and turn the province into an ever stronger basic unit of people's war at regional level.

Fifth, regional military work is closely connected with the important role played by the reserve forces in people's war and all-people national defence.

Only by reinforcing regional military work can we build strong reserve forces, qualitatively and quantitatively, stand ready to fight in peace time, and rapidly expand and strengthen the armed forces in war time.

Over the past war years, regional military bodies have actively organized, managed and trained reserve forces and effectively carried out wartime mobilization with a view to replenishing the permanent forces. Thanks to this, our standing forces have developed by leaps and bounds within a short time. We constantly have at our disposal reserve forces in order to ceaselessly expand our armed forces and meet the new requirements of the resistance.

In future, following the complete victory of our resistance, and the restoration of peace, we shall, parallel to maintaining a not-too-big standing force, have to activate regional military work all the more

so as to adequately organize, manage and train reserve forces. Only so, while concentrating on peacetime economic construction, shall we be in a position of combat readiness and be fully prepared to carry out mobilization and expand our forces should war break out.

And so, *we may aver that, under all circumstances, whether in peace or war, we must set great store by regional military work.* To raise our awareness of the important position and role of regional military work is a foremost problem, if an even stronger change is to happen in the thinking of leading cadres at all levels of the Party, the armed forces and the administration. To make light of regional military work is to stray from the viewpoint of people's war and to commit a serious mistake.

Having acquired a correct viewpoint on regional military work we must, when tackling *practical work*, continue to build, consolidate and heighten the quality in all fields of the militia, self-defence corps and regional troops; we must also raise the quality of, build and manage adequately, the reserve forces, and carry on with the building of combat villages, with points of priority. On the basis of a good combination of the regional economy with the requirement of national defence, we must strive to build material and technical bases and logistic bases of people's war at regional level, parallel to the building of common rear bases for the armed forces. An important point, which should be fully carried out by authorities at all levels, is the application of policies in the rear

regarding the armed forces, for instance concerning wounded servicemen, soldiers' families, war martyrs' families, etc.

To carry out the above-mentioned tasks, we must really *strengthen the leadership of regional Party organizations, consolidate regional military bodies* at all levels, especially at provincial and grassroot levels, which does not mean that the district level should be made light of; we must *foster and train regional military cadres* who are not only proficient in political and military matters but also familiar with the local political and economic situation, and who know how to closely combine military work with other regional works.

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The greatest resistance war in our national history has reaped extremely important victories. We are facing a heavy but extremely glorious task: *our entire people are of one mind and are resolved to carry on the resistance and bring the struggle against American aggression, for national salvation, to final victory.*

The American imperialists have suffered crushing defeats. Whatever their truculence, perfidy and stubbornness, they will not be able to retrieve the situation and escape total failure. Our people are firmly determined to resist until victory, for the sake of the independence, freedom and unity of the fatherland, and for the sake of socialism. This fighting resolve is the most precious spiritual value of the Vietnamese people. It has sprung, and has been tempered from one generation to another, in the course of the history of national

resistance to foreign aggression. This will to fight and win, this "nothing-is-more-precious-than-independence-and-freedom" spirit, is creating the invincible strength of people's war.

In this hard struggle against a cruel enemy, whose economic and military potential is many times greater than ours, our people, under the correct leadership of our Party, headed by President Ho Chi Minh, have shown both determination to resist the aggressors and defend the country, and high fighting skill. Not only have they set brilliant examples of revolutionary heroism, they have also evinced great military talents and creative originality. The fight in the various regions of the socialist North against the enemy's modern air and naval forces engaged in a war of destruction, is one instance of that creative originality.

The experiences gained in people's war in general, in military work in particular, in both parts of our country, are extremely valuable ones. Their timely review will help Viet Nam's military science make another step forward and enrich our Party's military line. They also contribute to strengthening the fighting capacity of our armed forces and people so as to bring the resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation, to its final victory and also to make good preparations for the building of our armed forces and for the consolidation of our national defence in the future.

We are resolved to preserve our beloved Viet Nam, now and for ever, for all generations to come, for the heroic Vietnamese nation.

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