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ARTICLE BY DRV DEFENSE MINISTER GIAP

"THE BIG VICTORY; THE GREAT TASK"

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*This volume contains the complete text of
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GIAP ARTICLE: 'BIG VICTORY; GREAT TASK'

Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1300 GMT 17-20 Sep 67 S

[Article by Gen Vo Nguyen Giap--"The Big Victory; the Great Task"--serialized in NHAN DAN and QUAN DOI NHAN DAN on 14-16 September 1967]

[Text] Our people are living the most glorious years and months in the history of our people's thousands-year-old struggle against foreign aggression and in the history of the decades-old revolutionary struggle under the leadership of our party. In the heroic south, with 170,000 square meters of land, our people are defeating more than a million troops of the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their lackeys and winning increasingly big victories. In the north, our army and people are defeating the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction and thwarting their basic plots while pursuing socialist construction and economic development, consolidating national defense, and fulfilling the duties of the great rear toward the great frontline.

These glorious victories reflect the mountain-moving and river-filling power of our nation and our people. This power is invincible! The anti-U.S. national salvation line of our party, which is very correct, makes our people and our people's armed forces invincible. The sympathy and support of the brotherly socialist countries and the progressive people the world over for our people's anti-U.S. national salvation cause have grown daily and become increasingly effective.

In the enthusiastic atmosphere of carrying out production and fighting to commemorate the August Revolution and 2 September national day anniversaries, looking back at the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance during the past two years, and fully realizing the significance of our big victories and the heavy defeats of the enemy, our army and people are increasingly proud of and confident in our nation, our people, and beloved President Ho. Our nation and people are resolved to heighten their determination to fight, step up their great national salvation resistance, crush all the aggressive plots of the U.S. imperialists, and advance toward final victory.

Part I--The situation of the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance during the past two years.

The Binh Gia victory in January 1965 by the southern army and people marked the fundamental defeat of the special war strategy of the U.S. imperialists in the south of our country. Faced with this situation, the U.S. imperialists, panic-stricken and on the defensive, resorted to all measures to save the puppet authorities and army, who were facing the danger of grave collapse. From the beginning to mid-1965, they carried out a makeshift strategy by hastily introducing a number of U.S. fighting units into the south and, at the same time, expanded the war to the north by using their air force and navy to continually wage a war of destruction, thus hoping to prevent the collapse of the Saigon puppet authorities and army, consolidate and strengthen the reactionary puppet forces in the south, and save their special war strategy from defeat. However, the situation continued to develop in a direction unfavorable to the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys.

Fired with enthusiasm by victories, our people throughout the country unanimously rose up to resist the Americans for national salvation. They continued to develop the initiative on the battlefields and attack the enemy everywhere.

After the Binh Gia victory, between February and June 1965, on the basis of combining armed struggle with political struggle, the southern army and people stepped up the guerrilla war and, at the same time, developed large-scale attacks, completely annihilating puppet companies and battalions in each battle on all battlefields. They drove the puppet troops into a state of collapse, unable to resist the strong attacks of the Liberation Armed Forces.

At that time, the freshly introduced U.S. troops received heavy blows at An Tan, Nui Thanh, Pleiku, Da Nang, and especially Van Tuong. They were tightly encircled in their bases by the guerrilla belts. Neither the U.S. nor the puppet forces were able to stop the massive, continuous, and victorious attacks of the southern army and people. The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys became increasingly confused.

In the north, as of 7 February 1965, when the U.S. imperialists began using their air force to carry out attacks, our army and people dealt resounding blows to the U.S. Air Force, causing the U.S. imperialists to suffer heavy losses and become more defensive. Faced with this state of defeat and danger, and especially faced with the fact that the puppet troops were being repeatedly attacked and annihilated toward the end of July 1965, U.S. President Johnson, after forcing General Taylor to resign, decided to massively introduce U.S. expeditionary troops into South Vietnam to directly participate in combat, thus shifting the aggressive war to a new strategic phase; the local war strategy.

In October 1965, after introducing 180,000 U.S. expeditionary troops into South Vietnam, thus increasing the total of U.S. and puppet troops to 700,000 men, the U.S. imperialists launched their first strategic counteroffensive with the extravagant hope of quickly annihilating the regular units of the southern liberation forces and ending the war in 1966. This strategic counteroffensive developed under the form of two successive major operations during the 1965-1966 dry season.

The first operation was launched during the winter of 1965 with a large force, composed of many of the most seasoned units of the U.S. armed forces such as the First Mobile Division, the First Armored Infantry Division, paratroop units, and so forth. The U.S. imperialists launched their attacks in two main directions: north of Saigon, and the high plateaus, where they believed the liberation troops were concentrating their main forces. Contrary to the desires of the U.S. imperialists, both these attacks failed.

After their heavy defeat in Van Tuong, the Americans and puppets lost many battalions in Bau Bang, Dau Tieng, north of Saigon, Plei Me, the high plateaus, and other areas. Thus the U.S. troops were defeated right at the beginning. McNamara was very surprised, and Washington was flabbergasted. They hastily increased the number of U.S. fighting men, and then launched their second tide of attacks in the spring of 1966.

At that time, the total of U.S. troops reached 250,000 men. They poured their entire mobile force into their five-pronged attack, which was aimed in three main directions: eastern Nam Bo, the Trung Bo delta, and the high plateaus, with the aim of annihilating the Liberation Armed Forces and, at the same time, carrying out the pacification task. But again, they failed ignominiously! During this tide of large-scale attacks, in some battles the enemy even used as many as 27 battalions, such as in Bong Son and Binh Dinh.

The enemy was unable to annihilate any liberation detachment. On the contrary U.S. and puppet troops suffered heavy losses in Cu Chi, Nha Do, Bong Trang, eastern Nam Bo, Phu Yen, Quang Ngai, Binh Dinh, the Trung Bo delta, the high plateaus, and so forth. The first dry-season strategic counteroffensive of the U.S. imperialists ended tragically, with more than 30 battalions annihilated, of which 14 were U.S. and satellite infantry battalions, and more than 110,000 troops killed or wounded, of whom more than 40,000 were U.S. and satellite troops.

During the 1965-1966 winter-spring period, while U.S. troops sustained heavy defeats during the initial fighting and the puppet troops were continuously on the defensive, the southern army and people, on the contrary, maintained and developed their initiative on the battlefields and stepped up guerrilla and large-size attacks. They took the initiative in counterattacking and annihilating the enemy in his various operations and, at the same time, in attacking and annihilating the enemy deep in his rear--such as the attacks against his lair in Saigon, his barracks and logistic bases in various areas, and so forth.

The southern army and people defeated the U.S. puppet, and satellite troops right in the first round of the local war of the U.S. imperialists. On the basis of the 1965-1966 winter-spring victories, the southern army and people stepped up the combination of military struggle with political struggle and actively attacked the enemy, causing an unstable situation in which the puppet authorities and army encountered crises in all fields, and driving the U.S. imperialists into an embarrassed and defensive position. Thirty cities and municipalities throughout the south seethed with the struggle of city people rising up to struggle against the introduction of U.S. aggressive troops and against the Thieu-Ky clique. In Da Nang and Hue, the political struggle movement developed most widely and vigorously during this period.

It was obvious that contradictions between the U.S. imperialists and the traitors and the southern people were becoming very fierce. The fierce attacks of the southern army and people caused the Americans and puppets to sustain heavy military defeats and encounter grave political crises. This situation brought about quarrels, conflicts, and discord among the puppet authorities and army in the First Corps area. This crisis lasted over two months and led to a change in commanders five times. Six enemy battalions were dispersed as a result of their shooting at each other.

Faced with this situation and especially with U.S. troop defeats, the decline of the puppet troops was accelerated. In some months, there were 20,000 deserters. At the same time, many military revolts broke out, such as at the first regiment in Thu Dau Mot and other puppet units.

During the summer of 1966, after the defeat of their first dry-season strategic counteroffensive, the U.S. imperialists planned to return to the defensive, avoid the major attacks of the liberation troops, and actively reinforce and increase the U.S. expeditionary troops in order to prepare for their new strategic counteroffensive during the 1966-1967 dry season. But during the summer of 1966, U.S. and puppet troops continued to suffer repeated attacks from the southern army and people on all important strategic battlefields from Tri Thien, the high plateaus, and central Trung Bo to eastern, central, and western Nam Bo.

During the 1966-1967 dry season, after having reinforced and increased the U.S. expeditionary troops to 400,000 men, thus boosting the total of U.S. and puppet troops to over 1 million men, the U.S. imperialists launched their second strategic counteroffensive. The projected prominent characteristics of this major counter-

offensive were: a) carrying out their two-pronged strategic plan: search-and-destroy and pacification raids; b) drawing experiences from the defeat of their first counteroffensive so that this time they concentrated on carrying out the main tasks of the new counteroffensive; c) achieving a new distribution of labor between the two strategic forces, with the U.S. forces being in charge of the search-and-destroy mission while the puppet regulars were responsible for pacification.

With a very large military force, the U.S. imperialists, launched their counteroffensive this time with the aim of destroying the areas in which, they believed, resistance organs were concentrated, trying to annihilate the liberation regulars, and stepped up the pacification task in order to change the situation, win a victory of strategic significance in a short period, and solve the Vietnamese problem quickly. But the U.S. imperialists again sustained heavy defeats during this second dry season strategic counteroffensive and faced a more serious defensive state.

In early winter of 1966, carrying out the NFLSV Central Committee's 17 October 1966 appeal to resolutely fight and defeat the U.S. aggressors during the 1966-1967 winter-spring period, the southern army and people prepared to counterattack the enemy and, at the same time, took the initiative in launching new attacks on all battlefields. After summer ended in 1966, the southern army and people opened a new battlefield in Tri-Thien, attacking the U.S. and puppet troops strongly and repeatedly and forcing them to bring U.S. troops from other battlefields and disperse them to cope with various attacks on this battlefield.

This was a big surprise for the U.S. imperialists which caused them to become passive and embarrassed before pouring their forces into their second dry-season strategic counteroffensive. In the high plateau area, the Liberation Armed Forces lured the U.S. troops into coming to Plei Djereng and annihilated them in bloody battles along the banks of the Sa Thay River. On the Nam Bo battlefield, especially in the Trung Bo delta, the southern army and people developed a new offensive situation.

The southern Liberation Armed Forces inaugurated the 1966-1967 winter-spring victories by attacking the Long Binh bomb depot on 28 October and shelling the military parade of the U.S.-puppet clique in the heart of Saigon on 1 November. These were heavy blows to the enemy.

In eastern Nam Bo, the main target of U.S. troop attacks throughout the 1966-1967 winter-spring period, the enemy launched many military operations. The most important were Attleboro, Cedar Falls, and Junction City. These were defensive operations, aimed at coping with the fierce attacks of the Nam Bo troops and people. For the Attleboro campaign, the enemy mobilized over 30,000 troops. But the campaign ended with heavy losses for the 196th Brigade, units of the 25th "Tropical Lightning Division, the Big Red One division, the 173d Paratroop Brigade, and so forth.

The Junction City campaign, begun in February 1967, was one into which the Americans poured the largest number of troops to take a single objective during this dry season. They poured a large force--composed of 45,000 troops and a large number of planes, pieces of artillery, and armored vehicles--into a battlefield of less than 400 square kilometers with the hope of achieving a decisive victory. But this largest campaign was dealt the greatest defeat which ignominiously ended the second dry-season strategic counteroffensive of the Americans. The search-and-destroy operations of the Americans and puppets had failed. Naturally, their pacification task achieved no results.

While fighting fiercely, the southern army and people continued to step up the coordination between the military along with political struggles. The political struggle movement of the southern city people continue to develop strongly. Its anti-U.S. character increased. The southern people's liberated areas continued to be firmly maintained, and some liberated areas were even enlarged. The bitter failure of the U.S. pacification plan was marked by the dismissal of Cabot Lodge and Lansdale. In the second strategic counteroffensive, the U.S. imperialists were defeated more heavily than in the first. Some 175,000 troops were annihilated, including more than 70,000 U.S. troops. A total of 99 battalions and battalion-size units, including 28 U.S. battalions, were put out of action. Some 3,000 aircraft, hundreds of artillery pieces, and other equipment were destroyed.

The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have been increasingly bogged down and constantly passive. They could not destroy even one small-size unit of the liberation troops' main force, and were annihilated in great numbers. They could not gain the initiative, but had to passively resist our forces on all battlefields.

They have suffered the heaviest defeats wherever the greatest bulk of their forces was concentrated. They planned to send troops to the Mekong River delta, but had to postpone this because the situation on all battlefields was very difficult for them and their lackeys. They intended to save the puppet troops, but the regular puppet troops continued to decline and lose their fighting ability, even in the pacification task.

This summer, following the failure of the second dry-season strategic counteroffensive, a pessimistic atmosphere has enveloped the U.S. ruling clique and the Vietnamese traitors in Saigon. The U.S. aggressors and their lackeys got a headache in the face of increasingly serious and insurmountable political and military difficulties and deadlock. They are embarrassed by the increasingly stronger offensive of the southern army and people and the determination of all the Vietnamese people to oppose the Americans for national salvation. They are encountering the increasingly firm opposition of progressive people in the world and even in the United States.

The ruling clique in the White House and the Pentagon have fiercely quarreled with one another about the seriously deadlocked U.S. situation in Vietnam. Westmoreland was called back to the United States to deliver a speech in which he deceitfully said that there was no deadlock, but he himself had to ask Johnson to send many more reinforcements to the south. U.S. Defense Secretary McNamara, who hurriedly went to Saigon for the ninth time in order to study all aspects of the war, openly criticized Westmoreland for wasting human strength and told him to increase the efficiency of U.S. troops now on hand in Vietnam.

Following this, Taylor, a U.S. strategist, and Clifford, a U.S. intelligence ringleader, toured the satellite countries of the United States in Southeast Asia in order to recruit more mercenary troops, but failed to attain the results desired by the U.S. imperialists.

It is clear that the U.S. imperialists have been increasingly stalemated, following the second strategic counteroffensive. Their local war has been disastrously defeated. As for the southern army and people, following the 1966-1967 winter-spring feats of arms, a stimulating, confident, and seething atmosphere has been reigning over all battlefields and has urged the southern army and people to move forward to score greater and more resounding achievements.

The Liberation Armed Forces have matured swiftly and gained many more fighting experiences and have showed that they are in very good shape. This summer, with the impetus of big victories, the southern army and people continue to develop their initiative, step up both military and political offensives everywhere, and deal the U.S., puppet, and satellite troops painful blows in Con Tien, Gioe Mieu, Gio An, Nong Son, Mo Duc, Tan Uyen, Can Le, My Tho, and Quoi Son, and at many airbases such as Da Nang, Chu Lai, and elsewhere. The above is the war situation in the south during the past two years.

In the same period, in the northern part of our country, the U.S. imperialists used an important part of the U.S. Air Force based in the Seventh Fleet, in the south, and in Thailand to attack the north in an attempt to extricate themselves from their predicament in the south, shake the morale of our people in both zones, and check the northern people's support of the southern compatriots' liberation struggle. This is an important measure of the local war strategy and, at the same time, a passive act of the U.S. imperialists.

At the outset, they attacked the southern areas of the Fourth Military Zone. Following this, they have gradually escalated the war against the northern part of North Vietnam. On several occasions, they temporarily stopped attacking the north for some time in order to deceive people with their peace tricks and to reorganize their forces, and then continued to widely escalate the war beyond the 21st, 22d, and 23d parallels.

On 29 June 1966, they began rashly attacking the capital of Hanoi, thus increasing their war of destruction against the north to the most serious degree. They have also used the naval forces of the Seventh Fleet and the artillery units stationed south of the temporary military demarcation line to supplement the activities of their air force against the coastal areas of the military zone and the southern part of Vinh Linh. Their targets have been axes of communications, industrial sites, dams and dikes, cities, popular areas, schools, hospitals, markets, and so forth.

However, for more than two years the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction in the north has been defeated. The U.S. imperialists have been confronted with an anti-U.S. national salvation high tide of the northern army and people. To date, nearly 2,300 fighter aircraft of the U.S. imperialists have been shot down, and thousands of U.S. pilots have been annihilated or captured in the north. The prestige of the U.S. air force has collapsed disastrously. These figures were computed as of 14 September 1967.

In the war, the north has developed the strength of the socialist regime and has fought well, along with achieving good production. The north has constantly insured good communications and transportation and has incessantly developed its economy and culture. Despite many difficulties created by the enemy, the people's living conditions continue to be stabilized. The determination of our people to oppose the Americans for national salvation has been increasingly strengthened.

Meanwhile, in the south, with the spirit "The north calls, the south answers," the southern army and people have continuously attacked the U.S., puppet, and satellite troops everywhere and have striven to attack their airbases and logistical depots, thus causing them to suffer heavy losses and to be increasingly passive.

Generally speaking, the war developments during the past years can be summarized as follows:

On the Enemy Side

A--Because of the failure of their special war strategy, the U.S. imperialists, have passively shifted to the local war strategy. They have waged an unprecedentedly large local war of aggression. With regard to military strength, they have mobilized more than a million troops, including half a million U.S. troops. As for military means, they have used about one-third of the U.S. Strategic Air Force, as many as 4,000 aircraft of all types, including some 1,300 modern fighter aircraft, and 13 of the 17 attack aircraft carriers of the U.S. naval force. They have used very great quantities of the most modern weapons and equipment, except for atomic weapons, in the war.

With regard to their war budget, according to their official sources, in 1966 alone the U.S. imperialists spent as much as 13 billion dollars; they plan to increase (?this) to 30 billion in 1967 and 1968.

The U.S. imperialists mobilized the U.S., rebel, and satellite forces to launch two strategic offensives in South Vietnam, and have continuously used their air and naval forces to attack the north. Yet they have not been able to extricate themselves from their predicament in South Vietnam which is getting worse and worse.

B--The U.S. imperialists have been utterly defeated in all fields--military, political, and tactical--throughout the very important period of the local war. All of their strategic objectives have failed. The U.S. and rebel forces have suffered heavy setbacks, while their pacification plan has gone bankrupt. The puppet administration and armed forces have weakened with every passing day. They are faced with a very bad and seriously stalemated war situation.

C--As a result of their waging of the war of aggression in Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists are increasingly isolated in the world. The progressive people throughout the world, including the American people, have vehemently condemned the U.S. imperialists for their aggression against Vietnam and have risen up to struggle against them by all means. Many of the U.S. imperialists' satellite countries have shown themselves indifferent to the war of aggression in Vietnam. Some of them have even officially protested against it. Even the U.S. ruling authorities themselves have fallen into discord and dissension in the face of their heavy setbacks in Vietnam.

On Our Side

A--A glance at all aspects of the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance war of our people shows that the war situation has never been so favorable as it is now. The armed forces and people in the entire country have stood up to fight the enemy and are achieving one great victory after another. In South Vietnam, faced with the U.S. imperialists' change of strategy, the southern armed forces and people have continued developing their initiative, have continuously attacked the enemy on all battlefields, and have defeated two large-scale strategic counteroffensives of the U.S., rebel, and satellite forces. The military struggle has been stepped up in

close coordination with the political struggle, which is developing increasingly deeply and widely. The resistance forces of the southern combatants and people have matured rapidly and are strong.

In North Vietnam, our armed forces and people have defeated and are defeating the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction, have continued building socialism, and at the same time have striven to fulfill the duty of a large rear toward a large front-line. North Vietnam has become increasingly strong and steady in all fields.

B--The victories achieved by the armed forces and people in the entire country have been of great political and military strategic significance. Our people throughout the country are standing shoulder to shoulder in steadily advancing and pushing the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance war to final victory.

C--Our people's anti-U.S. national salvation resistance war is just and is aimed at safeguarding their independence and freedom. It is of great international significance, because it is strongly approved of and supported by brother socialist countries and progressive people all over the world. Never has our people's resistance war against foreign aggression been so strongly encouraged and supported by the world's peoples as it is now. The world's revolutionary people consider the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance war of our people as an anti-U.S. frontline of the world's peoples and a center of the present national liberation struggle movement.

Part II--The U.S. imperialists were heavily defeated during the very important period of the local war of aggression in South Vietnam.

Ever since World War II, and especially after their defeats in China, Korea, Indochina, and Cuba, the U.S. imperialists have sensed the inferiority of the imperialist camp and their own inferiority in the balance of power in the world. The imperialist camp, led by the U.S. imperialists, has been forced to take a passive and defensive position in the face of the growth of the socialist camp, of the seething and mounting national liberation movement, and of the continuous offensive posture of the revolutionary movement in the world.

The U.S. imperialists have had to give up their massive retaliation strategy and adopt the flexible response strategy. They maintain that the flexible response strategy, which includes three forms of war--special war, local war, and total war--is the most suitable strategy that may help them find a way out of their passiveness when they are not in a position to prosecute a nuclear war. They add that it is the most positive strategy for implementing their aggressive policy and performing their function as an international gendarme so as to cope with the national liberation movement, which is rising like a storm throughout the world, and to prepare for aggression against socialist countries. They call the special war and the local war a sharp sword that cuts into the national liberation movement, creating favorable conditions for them to prepare for a world war.

In the south of our country, the U.S. imperialists resorted to the special war and failed. They had to hastily and defensively shift to the local war strategy to cope with their dangerous situation. This act not only reflected their failure, but also laid bare their obdurate, aggressive, and warlike nature.

What is the U.S. imperialists' local war strategy? According to their views, local war is one of the three forms of their aggressive war. It is an actual war for the Americans, but with limitations as far as size and scope are concerned. Differing from special war mainly waged by local lackey troops, the local war (of) the U.S. imperialists is directly waged by U.S. troops.

But the general aggressive policy of the U.S. imperialists is aimed at achieving neocolonialism. Thus, when they wage local war in order to repress the national liberation movement, they must brazenly use local lackey troops and the puppet authorities to wage war along with U.S. troops. They regard the puppet troops and authorities as an important political buttress.

In the U.S. imperialists' local wars aimed at achieving their aggressive neocolonialist policy, the final goal that the war must achieve is: consolidating the puppet army and government and turning them into effective tools for the achievement of neocolonialism. The main military goal of the local war strategy is: annihilating the enemy's military forces. The philosophy of this strategy is: attacking, and attacking quickly in order to solve the war quickly.

The prominent characteristic of the local war strategy is: using U.S. troops in direct aggression, but limiting the war scope; winning military victory in the shortest possible time; and creating conditions for achieving the enslaving domination of neocolonialism.

Limiting the number of U.S. troops means using only a certain part of the military forces of the U.S. infantry, air force, and navy in the local war. The U.S. imperialists must restrict the U.S. forces participating in a local war, because without this restriction, their global strategy will encounter difficulties and their influence over the world will be affected. They must achieve this restriction to avoid upsetting political, economic, and social life in the United States. This means that although they wage the war, they do not have to mobilize their forces and they continue to carry out their economic and social programs in the United States.

They impose this restriction because they are convinced that they can achieve victory even if they use only a restricted number of U.S. troops to directly participate in a local war aimed at repressing the national liberation movement in any given country in Asia, Africa, or Latin America.

Having to restrict the number of U.S. troops, the U.S. imperialists pay special attention to consolidating and using the forces of the local lackeys. They believe that if they use a restricted number of U.S. troops as a core for local lackey troops, equipped with modern weapons, to wage a local aggressive war in the countries where the economy is relatively backward or newly developed, they will be able to repress their adversaries, thanks to their superiority in military force and firepower, and will be victorious in a short time. Restricting the strategic goals means restricting the political goals of the war and, in the military field, concentrating forces to quickly annihilate the adversaries' military forces--especially their regulars. They must do this so that they can avoid having to disperse their troops to different targets and so that they can fight and solve the war quickly.

They believe that the adversaries' backbone is their armed forces, and that if they can defeat these armed forces, they can end the war, but that if they cannot do so, the war will last a long time and they will be defeated. They must win, because they want to create favorable conditions for the lackey forces to fulfill the tasks following victory, thus allowing the imperialists to bring their troops home quickly but still maintain political conditions to achieve neocolonialism.

Restricting the scope of the war means waging war only in a certain country or area, thus preventing it from ravaging other countries or areas. They believe that if they cannot restrict the scope of the war, they will become more defensive and face greater defeats, because bigger countries will be forced to join the war. As of now they have not finished making preparations for a new world war.

The U.S. imperialists can restrict the local war to a certain country or area, depending upon concrete conditions. But no matter what the scope is, their objective continues to be to annihilate quickly the revolutionary forces and pursue the achievement of neocolonialism.

Having in mind the above-mentioned views about the local war strategy of the U.S. imperialists, we note that the local war which the U.S. imperialists are waging in South Vietnam has exceeded the original restrictions as far as scope is concerned. The U.S. forces have far exceeded the limitation that each local war may mobilize only between three and six divisions. The U.S. and satellite forces now in South Vietnam equal 11 divisions, of which nine are American and South Korean.

The U.S. troops' strategic objectives on the southern battlefield are not restricted to annihilating the Liberation Armed Forces, but have included the pacification task. As far as the scope of the war is concerned, the U.S. imperialists have initially exceeded the restriction of limiting the war to South Vietnam. They have been using their air force and navy to wage a war of destruction against North Vietnam; they are continuing to intervene increasingly strongly in the Laotian kingdom and brazenly provoke the Cambodian kingdom and they are planning to expand the war to the entire Indochinese peninsula in order to extricate themselves from their dangerous situation in South Vietnam.

In the south of our country, when the U.S. imperialists shifted to the local-war strategy, they obviously pursued the achievement of neocolonialism. Therefore, although they have sent hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops to the south, they still have had to strive to consolidate the puppet army and administration as a necessary political and military support for their neocolonialist war of aggression. They still capitalize on the name of the puppet administration and strive to consolidate the puppet army.

Along with the military tricks of the war of aggression, they have feverishly carried out the political tricks of neocolonialism. Therefore, the nature of the U.S. imperialists' war is still aggressive and is aimed at achieving the political objectives of neocolonialism; it is a neocolonialist war of aggression. The limited-war strategy in particular and the flexible reaction strategy in general are products of the U.S. imperialists' bourgeois military thinking which have come into existence under circumstances under which imperialism has become increasingly depressed, defeated, and passive in the face of a situation in which the balance of power in the world is not favorable for them.

Like their neocolonialist policy of aggression, and U.S. imperialists' limited-war strategy is full of contradictions and insurmountable basic weaknesses. In essence, the contradictions and basic weaknesses of the limited-war strategy are the inherent contradictions and weaknesses of an unjust war of aggression. In the southern part of our country, these contradictions and weaknesses have increasingly worsened and have revealed themselves clearly in the process of development of the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression and of our people's anti-U.S. national salvation resistance.

Since they started the limited war and began to send U.S. troops to wage direct aggression against the south and to use their air force and navy to stage raids against the north, the U.S. imperialists have brazenly revealed their cruel aggressive face and have made the contradictions between themselves and their lackeys and all the Vietnamese people increasingly acute on a national scale. The contradictions between the Vietnamese people and the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys are the main contradictions which will determine the failure of the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression.

The U.S. imperialists have encountered the resistance of an entire people who are courageous, undaunted, full of fighting experiences, and united as one. The south and the north have unanimously taken up arms and have fought shoulder to shoulder for the just cause and for the complete independence and freedom of the fatherland.

In sending U.S. troops to South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists have encountered a people's war which has developed to a high degree and is in an offensive position. This people's war has successfully developed the people's strength, has succeeded in mobilizing all the people to fight the aggressors militarily and politically under all forms and with all kinds of weapons--from primitive to modern weapons--and has created a very great combined strength.

This great people's war has gloriously defeated the U.S. imperialists' special war and is on an irreversible trend of vigorous development. Events have proved that from the time they began to send U.S. troops to wage direct aggression in the south, the U.S. imperialists have been defeated. They are being compelled to scatter their forces and are in a passive position on all battlefields. In waging the war of aggression against the north, the U.S. imperialists have knocked their hands against a firm steel bastion.

To protect the north, liberate the south, and proceed toward reunifying the country, the northern armed forces and people have stepped up and are stepping up the violent people's war against the U.S. aggressors' war of destruction. The northern armed forces and people have developed their revolutionary heroism to a high degree, have defeated the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction, and have fulfilled wholeheartedly and to the best of their ability the obligation of the large rear base toward the large frontline.

By sending U.S. troops to wage direct aggression in South Vietnam, and by using their air force to stage raids against the north, which is an independent and sovereign country and a component of the socialist camp, the U.S. imperialists have made more acute their contradictions with the socialist camp, the national liberation movement, and the progressive people in the world. The more the U.S. imperialists step up their war of aggression in Vietnam, the more resolutely they make the socialist countries oppose them and more positively help the Vietnamese people in order to protect a member country of the socialist camp and an outpost of socialism, and to fulfill the socialist countries' glorious obligation toward the national liberation movement.

The progressive people of the world have supported more and more vigorously the Vietnamese people's struggle against the U.S. aggressors and are attacking them everywhere in the world. The U.S. imperialists are meeting with vigorous protests from the progressive people in the world, including the American people.

The U.S. imperialists have pursued a policy of neocolonialist aggression. Yet they have had to send U.S. troops to wage direct aggression in South Vietnam. This has worsened the contradictions between their aim of imposing neocolonialism and their trick of using U.S. troops to prosecute the war. By sending U.S. troops to wage direct aggression in the south, the U.S. imperialists have clearly revealed their brazen aggressive face, which they cannot cover. These contradictions have deepened the basic political weaknesses of neocolonialism and led the U.S. imperialists toward many difficulties and defeats.

The U.S. imperialists' introduction of troops into the south has been aimed at preventing the collapse of the puppet army and administration and creating new conditions for consolidating and strengthening the puppet forces.

Yet the more the war of aggression is Americanized, the more disintegrated the puppet Saigon army and administration becomes. The traitorous and country-selling nature of the leaders of the puppet army and administration has been exposed. They have been cursed by all our people.

Furthermore, the internal contradictions of the puppet army and administration and the contradictions between the U.S. imperialists and the puppet army and administration have increasingly developed. Those in the puppet army and administration who still have some national spirit have become gradually enlightened. More and more of them have returned to the people. Faced with the towering crimes of the U.S. aggressors and the country-selling traitors, the southern people have become more full of hatred, have tightened their solidarity, and have fought valiantly and resolutely for final victory under the NFLSV's anti-U.S. national salvation banner.

The more they increase the number of their troops in the south and the more they extend the fighting, the more the U.S. imperialists deepen the contradictions between their limited war strategy and their global strategy. The more the limited war in the south is stepped up, the more adversely it will affect the other positions of the U.S. imperialists around the world--especially when they have had to mobilize forces for a limited war which has far exceeded their estimates. As a result, the contradictions between their limited-war strategy and their global strategy have become acute.

The world revolutionary people can take advantage of this situation to step up their attacks against the U.S. imperialists, with a view to repulsing them step by step and eliminating them part by part. The U.S. imperialists' allies can also take advantage of this situation to wrangle for their own interests, thus creating difficulties for the U.S. imperialists.

In the southern part of our country, during the past two years the U.S. imperialists' limited-war strategy has revealed many basic weaknesses. First of all, the U.S. imperialists' limited-war strategy was adopted on the basis of the defeat of the special-war strategy--the U.S. imperialists have sent U.S. troops to the south in a passive and defeated position and in a situation in which the puppet army and administration have been on the decline. As a result, from the outset their limited-war strategy has become a passive strategy and had to accept a very unfavorable strategic position.

By waging a limited war, the U.S. imperialists have hoped to ward off the decline of the puppet army and administration, so that they could use them to support politically and militarily their neocolonialist war of aggression. Yet, in the southern part of our country, the puppet army and administration have become impotent and increasingly weakened.

The introduction of U.S. expeditionary troops into the south has been aimed at providing military support for the puppet army. Yet the U.S. troops have sustained continuous defeats and serious losses. The U.S. and puppet troops have not been able to rely upon each other, support each other, or coordinate with each other. As a result, their strategic effect has been reduced. The U.S. imperialists have developed their limited-war strategy in an extremely passive situation. The puppet army and administration have become impotent.

Moreover, the U.S. imperialists have encountered the Vietnamese people who have a determination to fight and win a great people's war, and who have developed to a high degree creative strategy and tactics, and an invincible strength. Therefore, the serious defeats sustained by the U.S. troops have been inevitable.

In the unjust war of aggression in the south, the U.S. expeditionary troops have been fighting without an ideal and, as a result, their morale has been very low. The more they are defeated, the worse this basic weakness becomes. Furthermore, although they are numerous and equipped with modern armaments, they have encountered very great difficulties: topography, climate, [words indistinct] and training which is not suitable to the Vietnamese battlefield. Unaccustomed to the topography and climate, U.S. troops have encountered very great difficulties.

How has the U.S. imperialists' strategic defeat developed during the past two years, during which they have waged a limited war in South Vietnam? As we all know, when they introduced U.S. troops into the south, the U.S. imperialists wanted to use their great military supremacy, concentrate their military forces, and launch an offensive in an attempt to annihilate the Liberation Armed Forces and regain the initiative. Yet, although they have more than 1 million troops at their disposal, the U.S. imperialists so far have not been able to realize this strategic design. Although they wanted to concentrate their forces, they have had to scatter their forces in many theaters and assign them many tasks. From the time they were introduced into the south until the end of 1966, the U.S. expeditionary troops were compelled to scatter in three major theaters--eastern Nam Bo, the highlands, and central Trung Bo--to cope with the vigorously developing people's war.

Recently, U.S. troops have been scattered in another theater: the Quang Tri-Thua Thien theater. Generally speaking, on the southern battlefield U.S. forces have been scattered almost equally in these four theaters.

This scattered deployment of strategic forces runs counter to the U.S. military leaders' plans. It is bitter for the U.S. imperialists to realize that in each of these four theaters, U.S. troops have been thinly scattered.

In the First Army Corps area, U.S. Marines have been scattered over an area of approximately 500 to 600 kilometers. In the highlands, U.S. forces, which are not large, have been scattered over a 200-kilometer area. In eastern Nam Bo, U.S. troops have had to spread out on many fronts and have found it necessary to defend all areas. As a result, large U.S. forces have become small and have failed to yield adequate strength.

The U.S. and puppet troops have not only been scattered in many theaters, but have been also assigned many tasks. It has been the U.S. imperialists' intention to concentrate U.S. and puppet forces on annihilating the Liberation Armed Forces and, thereby, rapidly settling the war. Yet, faced with the southern people's mounting military and political struggle from the rural areas to the cities, the U.S. imperialists have had to assign U.S. and puppet troops to pacification. The assignment of the bulk of the regular units of the puppet army to pacification is a strategic setback. The assignment of U.S. and satellite troops to pacification will certainly lead the U.S. imperialists to greater political and military setbacks.

Although the U.S. imperialists wanted to launch an offensive, they have fallen into a defensive position. It is an extremely dangerous thing for any aggressive army to have forces scattered, and to remain on the defensive is even more dangerous.

At present, about 70 percent of the U.S. troops perform defensive tasks in South Vietnam. According to the Pentagon's calculations, at least 200,000 troops are needed to defend U.S. bases of various sizes in South Vietnam. To defend the Da Nang airbase alone, the U.S. imperialists have mobilized one division of U.S. troops and deployed them over a 25-kilometer perimeter. Recently, the U.S. imperialists estimated that only one out of eight U.S. servicemen in South Vietnam is engaged in mobile combat. McNamara admitted that the combat efficiency of U.S. troops is very low. He found that of the nearly 500,000 U.S. troops in South Vietnam, only 70,000 are directly engaged in combat.

The U.S. imperialists have had to commit their combat forces to the defense of their bases, cities, military lines of communications, and even the puppet army, which is being shaken, depressed, and disintegrated. As a result, although U.S. troops are very numerous, they are thinly scattered and lack offensive strength.

The U.S. imperialists wanted to annihilate the Liberation Armed Forces, but they have been seriously annihilated. During the past two years on the southern battlefield, the U.S. imperialists have feverishly concentrated efforts on trying to extricate themselves from their scattered and defensive position. They have continuously increased the number of their troops, and their troops and have conducted offensive operations. Yet they have failed. They sustained very serious defeats in the two "dry-season strategic counteroffensives."

Why do the U.S. and puppet troops not have strategic effect and combat efficiency, although they have conducted many battalion-size, division-size, and even multidivision-size search-and-destroy operations?

To annihilate the enemy it is necessary, first of all, to concentrate forces. The U.S. troops have been scattered to cope with the comprehensive and powerful people's war. They have not only failed to concentrate their offensive forces, but have also been compelled to fight according to the will of the southern Liberation Armed Forces. In actual combat, in most of the battles, U.S. troops have failed to find their targets, not because the U.S. imperialists lack modern reconnaissance instruments, but because in the people's war in South Vietnam which had developed to a high degree, targets and battlefronts exist everywhere, yet do not exist anywhere.

The prevalent phenomenon emerging from the war in South Vietnam is that U.S. troops have always been surprised, caught in the Liberation Armed Forces' traps, and annihilated. U.S. troops have not been able to annihilate the Liberation Armed Forces; on the contrary, they have been seriously annihilated, although they are very numerous and have continuously conducted search-and-destroy operations. This is a strategic and tactical defeat sustained by U.S. troops on the southern battlefield.

The U.S. imperialists wanted to regain the initiative. Yet they have fallen deeper and deeper into a passive position. As everyone knows, initiative on the battlefield is manifested by the facts that one can act freely and at will, that one is fully free to choose the place and time for launching attacks, and that one can maneuver the enemy and compel him to adopt the fighting methods one selects. The most important factor is that one must succeed in annihilating the enemy.

On the southern battlefield during the past two years, U.S. troops have not had freedom of action, have been compelled to fight on the terms of the southern armed forces and people, and have not been able to annihilate any section of the Liberation Armed Forces. How can they regain the initiative on the battlefields?

During the past two years, U.S. troops have been very eager to annihilate the Liberation Armed Forces in eastern Nam Bo, in the highlands, in the delta of the Fifth Zone, and in the Tri-Thien region. Yet it is in these areas that the U.S. expeditionary troops have sustained serious annihilating blows. The Americans have not yet been able to carry out their plan to introduce U.S. troops into the Mekong Delta.

During the past two years, U.S. troops have exerted extensive efforts and conducted thousands of operations of various sizes. Yet they have failed to regain the initiative.

It may seem that U.S. troops have taken the initiative in conducting these operations, which appeared to have an offensive character. Yet, in essence they have had neither combat efficiency nor strategic effect. Therefore, U.S. troops have fallen deeper and deeper into a passive position.

Wanting to engage in a blitzkrieg, the U.S. imperialists have been forced to fight a protracted war. The leading strategic idea of the imperialists' aggressive war is to fight quickly in order to solve the war quickly. Waging the local aggressive war in South Vietnam under the present situation in the world and the United States, the U.S. imperialists want to fight quickly. But they have been forced to fight a protracted war, although they have boosted the aggressive war to a large scale. They have encountered an adversary--the southern army and people--who is both resolute and clever and who has successively thwarted their blitzkrieg plots since the day they started implementing their special--war strategy. They could not fight quickly because they did not know their adversary and because they overestimated their own strongpoints in the fields of numerical strength and modern weapons.

The fact that the U.S. imperialists have been forced to fight a protracted war is a big defeat for them. The more protracted the war is, the more fierce will be the basic contradictions and weaknesses of the aggressive war of the U.S. imperialists in South Vietnam--contradictions and weakness which will lead them to increasingly big defeats.

The U.S. imperialists have been unable to pacify the countryside and stabilize the situation in the cities. They have used the majority of the puppet troops and a part of the U.S. forces to fulfill the pacification task, but they have failed ignominiously. The pacification plan has not made any progress, and the situation in the cities has become increasingly more troubled. They have bitterly admitted that "the history of South Vietnam pacification is a list of plans which have collapsed and of talented advisers' boundless efforts which have been reduced to ashes." (AP, 6 January 1967)

The ultimate goal of the local aggressive war of the U.S. imperialists in South Vietnam is to consolidate the puppet army and government and to bring about neocolonialism. However, faced with the fierce contradictions between the U.S. imperialists and lackeys and all our people, and faced with the increasingly strong resistance of the southern people, the internal contradictions of the puppet army and government have developed day by day.

The puppet army and government have declined day by day, and will surely arrive at complete disintegration and collapse, this actually has happened and is happening in the south of our country. This proves that the U.S. imperialists have sustained heavy defeats on the path leading to the ultimate goal of their neocolonialist aggressive war.

Thus, the U.S. imperialists have been drafted strategically. What about their tactics? It can be said that after waging the local war for two years, the U.S. imperialists have encountered more and more crises and increasingly greater deadlock in the tactical field. All their offensive and defensive tactics, as well as all private tactics of each branch of the U.S. Armed Forces, have not achieved the expected results.

All forms of tactics--from the search-and-destroy tactic, mopup operations, pacification measures, and rescuing operations to police and security operations, attacks with firepower, chemical poison spraying, and so forth--have proved to be inefficient. The Van Tuong, Cu Chi, and Plei Me battles as well as the search-and-destroy and mopup operations during the major campaigns--Five Arrows, Attleboro, Cedar Falls, Junction City, Highway 9, and so forth--have demonstrated the deadlock and failure of these forms of tactics. Modern military bases such as Da Nang and Chu Lai, and logistic bases such as Long Binh, Bien Hoa, and so forth, have been threatened permanently and attacked repeatedly, and have suffered heavy losses.

The private tactics of each military branch of the U.S. Armed Forces have also been defeated.

Based on the support of armored vehicles, artillery, and aviation, the motorized infantry tactics of the First Division has proved inefficient. Faced with the clever tactics of the liberation troops, this tactic of the First Division has shown many major weaknesses: one is not free to achieve one's own intention, but must comply with the conditions and tactics of the enemy. The Bau Ban, Cam Xe, Nha Do, Bong Trang, and other battles were bitter defeats for this division.

The Air Cavalry Division's massive heliborne tactics have been aimed at staging surprise raids and swiftly annihilating the enemy. Yet, it has never been able to achieve the surprise factor or to annihilate any section of the Liberation Armed Forces. Troops of the Air Cavalry Division are even weaker than ordinary U.S. infantry troops, because they lack the support mechanized and artillery units. Units of the Air Cavalry Division have been battered by the Liberation Armed Forces in Plei Me, Binh Dinh, and other localities.

The U.S. Marines' tactics of blocking defense combine with conducting mopup operations aimed at pacifying the areas surrounding the military bases has revealed many weaknesses. The U.S. Marine bases at Da Nang and Chu Lai are like isolated islands in the open sea of people's war. The Marines, who belong to one of the armed branches regarded by the U.S. imperialists as the most seasoned, have been most frequently and most seriously defeated, and are being stretched as taut as a bowstring over hundreds of kilometers in the Tri-Thien region and along Highway 9.

The bombing and strafing tactics, which have been aimed at annihilating the Liberation Armed Forces units, destroying the resistance bases, and massacring the people, have also become ineffective because of inaccurate intelligence information and the failure to identify targets accurately. To date, U.S. Air Force bombings and strafings, including that of B-52 strategic bombers, have not been able to annihilate any Liberation Armed Forces unit, but have only, as the U.S. imperialists have often admitted, shattered trees or destroyed empty tunnels.

Why have the various tactics adopted by U.S. troops been ineffective? As everyone knows, tactics are inseparable from strategy. If strategy becomes passive and stalemated, it will vigorously and adversely affect tactics. The reason for the failure and stalemate of the various tactics adopted by U.S. troops also lies in their erroneous tactical thinking. The U.S. troops' tactics have been based solely upon the power of weapons and upon the assumption that firepower is their soul. Therefore, when these bases--weapons and firepower--are restricted or fail to develop their effectiveness, the U.S. troops' tactics become ineffective and are defeated.

The tactics adopted by the U.S. troops in South Vietnam are undergoing a crisis and are stalemated, not because they are the outmoded tactics of a bourgeois military science, but mainly because they cannot match the creative and flexible tactics of the people's war of the heroic, intelligent, valiant, and skillful southern armed forces and people. If U.S. troops were free to fight according to their tactics against an enemy who does not possess fighting experiences, their tactics might develop and have a certain effectiveness. Yet, faced with the strength of the people's war and the skillful strategy and tactics of the southern armed forces and people, U.S. troops have had no freedom of action and, as a result, all their tactics have been ineffective.

The New York TIMES on 28 February 1967 correctly admitted: How can they--that is, the U.S. troops--win decisive victories over the South Vietnamese people's armed forces, who cannot be defeated? These armed forces have come from the people and are fighting in areas which are very familiar to them. They know how to apply expertly the art and experiences of the war which they have waged for one quarter of this century.

The defeat of the U.S. imperialists' tactics and strategies during the past two years on the southern battlefields was very heavy. Although they have poured in more and more troops to step up their local aggressive war, the U.S. imperialists not only have not achieved their strategic schemes, but also have failed to achieve all their strategic goals.

During the past two years, the U.S. imperialists have expanded the war with the aim of discovering a turning point toward victory; but this turning point has eluded them more and more. Moreover, the turning point toward defeat is drawing increasingly nearer for them. Their aggressive war in the south has exceeded the limitations of a local war. Yet the U.S. imperialists are still unable to find a way out. Johnson continues to find that this war is bloody and stalemated. McNamara and Westmoreland are becoming confused and are quarreling with each other about the problems of increasing U.S. strength or of increasing the U.S. troops' fighting efficiency. All the big shots at the White House and Pentagon have admitted that they cannot defeat the adversary. The WALL STREET JOURNAL on 20 May 1967 said: "In Vietnam, the Americans have thrust themselves into a horrible, issueless, eight-diagram battle scheme. It is time to admit that Vietnam has become an incurable disease for the Americans."

The experiences drawn from the Vietnam war during the past two years have exposed the fallacy of a series of military views of the U.S. imperialists, as well as of bourgeois military science in general.

The U.S. imperialists maintain that they will surely win if they wage local war with a large army equipped with modern weapons and supported by the air force and navy. The realities on the Vietnamese battlefield have caused this view to go bankrupt, along with the local war theory of the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

First of all, the U.S. imperialists' view that the number of troops decides victory on the battlefield has lost all meaning during the special war as well as the local war. The Americans and their lackeys have continually had more troops than the southern Liberation Armed Forces, but they have never won victory. Facts prove that the U.S. imperialists have been losing on the southern battlefield not because they have lacked troops, and not because their troops have been less numerous than the Liberation troops, but because they have encountered an entire nation which has risen up to resist them resolutely, which has had a strongly developed people's war, and which has had a powerful and inexhaustible political force and Liberation Armed Forces having a high fighting power and clever tactics.

From the purely numerical viewpoint, it is obvious that over a million U.S. puppet, and satellite troops constitute a large force--especially as this force is carrying out aggression on a battleground of only 170,000 square kilometers. But to have numerous troops does not necessarily mean to have powerful and efficient fighting power, since their aggressive war is unjust and since they have no fighting spirit and no appropriate tactics and are in a defensive strategic state. The over 1 million U.S., puppet, and satellite troops do not have the hoped-for fighting power.

Along with the argument on troop strength, the argument that equipment and weapons can decide victory has also been smashed.

It can be said that on the southern battlefields, those who have a great amount of up-to-date equipment and weapons are the U.S. imperialists. Except for nuclear weapons, all the most up-to-date U.S. weapons and war means have been lavishly expanded. Nevertheless, all this equipment and these weapons have been unable to help the U.S. troops protect themselves and develop their effectiveness in annihilating the southern Liberation Armed Forces.

Conversely, although they have no aircraft, armored vehicles, or warships, the Liberation Armed Forces continue to succeed in destroying U.S., puppet, and satellite troop units equipped with up-to-date equipment.

Everyone knows that armed forces must have equipment and weapons and that equipment and weapons are an important factor which creates the fighting strength of armed forces. However, it is obvious that equipment and weapons are not a factor which can decide victory. What decides victory on the battlefields is whether the armed forces have high fighting spirit and good fighting methods. Only with high fighting spirit and proper fighting methods can we develop to the fullest extent the use of equipment and weapons in order to defeat the enemy.

The arguments on the strength of the air force and on the use of the air force to decide victory on the battlefields has also gone bankrupt. In the south, the U.S. imperialists have a very great superiority in air power. They have used aircraft, including B-52 strategic bombers, to drop bombs of various types in an attempt to destroy the Liberation Armed Forces and massacre the people. However, they continue to be unable to save the U.S. infantry units from defeat and to check the ubiquitous and strong offensive thrust of the southern Liberation Armed Forces.

While it is true that the U.S. troops in the south have a considerable air force, it is obvious that the U.S. Air Force's effect has been limited, because it must cope with the widespread people's war of the heroic southern army and people. From Tri Thien to Ca Mau, there are thousands of targets which the Americans want to attack. Therefore, the U.S. Air Force has been forced to scatter, and, as a result, its fighting effect has not developed as desired. The failure of the U.S. Air Force, from héliborne tactics to large-scale airborne landing tactics, has demonstrated the bankruptcy of the U.S. imperialists' argument concerning air power on the southern battlefields.

In the north, the U.S. Air Force has been dealt fierce blows. Nearly 2,300 up-to-date fighter aircraft of various types of the U.S. Air Force have been destroyed in the northern skies. The U.S. air superiority has disastrously collapsed.

U.S. aircraft, bombs, and bullets cannot intimidate our people. McNamara himself acknowledged that bombs and bullets cannot weaken North Vietnam. This is an acknowledgement of the inefficiency of the U.S. Air Force in the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression in Vietnam.

The local-war strategy is collapsing along with the unimaginable strength of the U.S. Armed Forces. The war is not yet ended. However, it can be concluded that the U.S. local-war strategy in the south has proved inefficient and will certainly meet with complete failure. In the unjust war of aggression in Vietnam, the U.S. expeditionary troops, with nearly half a million men with up-to-date equipment, have not won any victory and are nothing but a defeated armed force.

In war, the ground forces play a decisive role on the battlefields. Nevertheless, the fighting strength of the U.S. ground forces is very poor, their morale is lower than grass, and their fighting methods are bad. The U.S. generals are subjective and haughty and have always been caught by surprise and defeated.

The U.S. imperialists have spent much effort to publicize the so-called unimaginable strength of the U.S. Armed Forces, with the aim of intimidating the world's people--especially the people of small and weak nations. This trick has gone bankrupt. The truth is that the U.S. expeditionary troops are being defeated in the people's war of the Vietnamese, who, although not possessing a vast territory and not having a great population, rely mainly on their own strength, and are determined to fight in order to wrest back independence and freedom.

Part III--The people throughout the country have achieved very great victories.

The foregoing is a review of the heavy setbacks, especially strategic and tactical setbacks, of the U.S. imperialists in implementing the strategy of local war of aggression in South Vietnam during the past two years. For our people, the past two anti-U.S. national salvation years were violent fighting and testing years, during which they have achieved very great and glorious victories.

Confronted with the fact that the U.S. imperialists have massively sent expeditionary troops to South Vietnam and frenziedly stepped up the war of destruction, mainly by means of their air and naval forces, against the north, the people in the entire country find themselves in a very serious situation, that is, the struggle for the country's survival. This situation sets forth for our people throughout the country a common duty: unite the entire people and make both north and south stand shoulder to shoulder in stepping up the great patriotic war and determined to fight to vanquish the U.S. aggressors in order to protect the north, liberate the south, and advance toward the unification of the fatherland.

President Ho said: "At present, struggling against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is the most sacred duty of every patriotic Vietnamese. All our soldiers and people are united and of the same minds, fear no sacrifices and hardships, and are determined to fight until complete victory."

On the South Vietnam battlefield, with their special war strategy going bankrupt, the U.S. imperialists have been forced to shift to the local war strategy. However, the character of their war still is a war of aggression aimed at achieving the political objectives of neocolonialism. Thus, their war is a neocolonialist aggressive war.

The anti-U.S. national salvation resistance war of the Vietnamese people in South Vietnam is a revolutionary war, a people's war developed to an unprecedentedly high degree. It is a revolutionary war, a people's war of an entire people against U.S. imperialism's neocolonialist aggressive war.

The great resistance war is developing favorably, because it is directed by an accurate and creative line and because it has synthetically applied and creatively developed all of the valuable experiences and forms of struggle of the Vietnamese revolution, ranging from the political struggle to uprisings and war. Thus our people's anti-U.S. national salvation resistance war is progressing according to all the laws of a revolutionary war against the neocolonialist aggressive war, laws whose main contents are the spirit of indomitable struggle of an heroic people, the spirit of thorough revolution of the working class and the basic masses of workers and peasants, and the skillful and unique combination of all forms of struggle, especially of the political struggle with the armed struggle, in all regions of the country, from jungles, rural areas, and plains to cities.

Naturally under the direction of all these laws, each form of struggle, such as the armed struggle as well as the political struggle, has its own law. Since our people are already equipped with an indomitable spirit--better to die than agree to serve as slaves, have at their disposal very valuable revolutionary struggle experiences, hold fast to the laws of the revolutionary war against the neocolonialist aggressive war, have very correct strategies and tactics, understand the enemy and friendly situations, and are resolved and know how to fight to defeat the enemy--their anti-U.S. national salvation resistance war has achieved great victories and will certainly achieve final victory.

Holding firm to the character and goal of the U.S. imperialists' local war, our people in South Vietnam continue developing the achievements scored, strive to step up the people's war, and are resolved to fight and vanquish the U.S. aggressors. The strategies and tactics of the people's war have undergone new developments so that they are consistent with the new situation of the war.

The southern armed forces and people have asserted that their combat targets are the U.S. and puppet forces. These are the enemy's strategic forces to prosecute the war of aggression. They rely on each other and fight in close cooperation. The U.S. troops are the core force which is a military buttress for the puppet armed forces and administration and at the same time the main mobile force. The fact that the U.S. troops are heavily defeated will have a very great adverse effect on the puppet armed forces and administration, causing the puppet troops to disintegrate and the puppet administration to collapse quickly. Since the U.S. armed forces are the most modern armed forces in the capitalist world, they need abundant war means and important logistic bases. Therefore, we seek to destroy not only U.S. military strength, but also the enemy's war means and logistic bases.

The puppet armed forces rely on the U.S. forces to survive and to consolidate and develop their ranks. But they play a very important role toward the Americans in the neocolonialist aggressive war. They are the political buttress for the U.S. forces. They are used as both occupation forces and mobile forces on battlefields. They are primarily in charge of controlling and oppressing the people and at the same time carrying out the pacification task. The fact that they are destroyed and disintegrated will deprive the U.S. forces of a buttress for continuing their neocolonialist aggressive war.

The puppet administration is the political buttress and an instrument for the U.S. imperialists to achieve neocolonialism. In view of this, our people in South Vietnam have combined their armed struggle with their political struggle in order to overthrow the puppet administration, not only at the basic levels, as they have done so far, but also at other levels.

On the basis of clearly acknowledging their combat targets, our people in South Vietnam have correctly and successfully settled the strategic and tactical problems of the people's war. Our people have waged an all-people, comprehensive, and protracted resistance war in which they have always taken the offensive, have relied on their own force which they consider as the principal force, and have highly appreciated the support of brother socialist countries and progressive people all over the world. The resistance war of our people will certainly be victorious, even though it has to undergo sacrifices and hardships.

The participation of all our people in the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance war is one of the basic points in our country's people's war strategy. The objective of the southern compatriots' resistance war is to liberate the south, defend the north, and advance toward the reunification of the fatherland. This objective is entirely consistent with the profound aspirations of all people. This has been instrumental in mobilizing and organizing all people to take part in the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance war, thus forming a large and strong resistance force in which the 14 million South Vietnamese people are combatants, fighting the enemy by all means and everywhere.

Since the victory of the general uprising, the South Vietnam National Liberation Front has developed and broadened the great national unity bloc, has succeeded in mobilizing all people to stand up to save the country and themselves, and has insured the practical interests of the people from all walks of life, including the peasants' right to own land. Therefore, the front has been able to consolidate the worker-peasant alliance as a firm and steady foundation for the great national unity front against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

Ever since the sending of U.S. troops to invade South Vietnam, the contradictions between the U.S. imperialists and the country-selling Vietnamese traitors and the Vietnamese people have become increasingly acute and deep. Our people in South Vietnam, millions as one, have closed their ranks in the all-people unity bloc under the NFLSV's invincible banner in order to fight U.S. aggression to save the country. Since our people in South Vietnam have carried out the slogan of "All people are armed and take part in fighting the enemy," the people's war has been developed deeply and broadly and has produced a great effect.

On the basis of the participation of all people in the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance war, our people in South Vietnam have built and developed swiftly the Liberation Armed Forces which are composed of three kinds of troops: the guerrillas, the regional units, and the main force units. These three kinds of troops of the Liberation Armed Forces are a core force of the southern people in their anti-U.S. national salvation resistance war. With a large political force and with the increasingly large and strong Liberation Armed Forces, the South Vietnamese people will certainly and completely defeat more than a million U.S., puppet, and satellite troops.

In our country at present, fighting against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is the great, sacred historic task of the Vietnamese people as a whole. Our people in the south and the north resolutely stand shoulder to shoulder in fighting until final victory in order to achieve independence and freedom of the entire country. Waging a comprehensive resistance war is a very important strategic problem for developing our strength in all fields in order to vanquish the aggressors, an enemy with numerous troops and strong equipment, but with many contradictions and weaknesses in the neocolonialist war of aggression.

A striking characteristic of the people's war in our country at present is that even within the local war, the fight against the enemy on all fronts--military, political, cultural, diplomatic, and so forth--is waged at the same time, in which the military struggle and the political struggle are the most basic forms of struggle. The military struggle and political struggle are closely coordinated, assist each other, and encourage each other to develop. The coordination between the military struggle and the political struggle is a law of the revolutionary struggle in our country. It is also an initiative of our people in the process of the protracted revolutionary struggle.

The political struggle plays a very important role throughout the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance. In our country, the political struggle of the masses has always served as a basis for the development of the military struggle. At present in South Vietnam, our people's struggle has become a direct confrontation with the enemy, and together with the military struggle, has scored repeated and great successes.

In the present local warfare, the political struggle continues to play a very important role. The U.S. imperialists have used expeditionary forces to launch direct aggression against South Vietnam. But they are forced to carry out a neocolonialist policy, and to resort to all kinds of political maneuvers to fool the people. This constitutes an opportunity for the South Vietnamese people to further step up their political struggle. Moreover, the sending of American troops to directly launch aggression against South Vietnam has further developed the contradictions between our people and the U.S. imperialists. Therefore, the South Vietnamese people of all walks of life including those who did not realize the true nature of the U.S. aggressors or who were fooled into following them have now stood up to fight the enemy. This constitutes a favorable condition for the South Vietnamese people's struggle to develop and to score great victories.

The main objectives of the political struggle are: to mobilize and organize the people, to guide the people in the struggle against the enemy in all forms, and at the same time to closely coordinate with the military struggle and to help it score the greatest victories for the resistance.

The more violent the war becomes, the more strengthened and effective the political struggle will be, especially in the urban centers of South Vietnam where many contradictions between the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen on the one hand and our people on the other, contradictions even between the U.S. imperialists, and so forth. In the process of the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance, the political struggle of the urban compatriots of South Vietnam will play an ever more important role and directly hit the enemy in their deepest dens.

The military struggle is becoming ever more important and is playing a decisive role in directly defeating the enemy on the battlefield. At present the U.S. imperialists are concentrating their forces and resorting to a policy of arms and force to invade South Vietnam and enslave our people. Therefore our people in South Vietnam have to resort to revolutionary violence to oppose the counterrevolutionary violence, and to use military struggle to oppose the armed aggression of the enemy. The U.S. imperialists are using a huge military force to carry out aggression in South Vietnam. As a result, the military struggle of our people in South Vietnam has become ever more important.

The main objectives of the military struggle are: to destroy the enemy military force, to defend the people, to attract the people's sympathy, to coordinate with the political struggle, and to serve and help the political struggle score the greatest victories for the resistance.

Along with the political struggle, the military struggle of our people in South Vietnam has defeated over half a million rebel troops in the special war, and is now defeating over 1 million U.S., rebel, and satellite troops in the local war. In parallel with the new progress of the political struggle, the military struggle of the South Vietnamese people has developed and is developing strongly, quickly, and steadfastly in both forms, guerrillas and large-scale combat.

Guerrilla activities and large-scale combat coordinate with each other, help each other, and encourage each other to develop. At the same time, they closely coordinate with the political struggle to score great victories in both military and political fields, thus leading the resistance toward final victory. Protracted resistance is an essential strategy of a people of a country which is not large and crowded and which has restricted economic and military potentials, but who are determined to defeat an enemy and aggressor have large and well-armed forces.

The anti-U.S. national salvation resistance of our people in South Vietnam must be a protracted resistance, because our people have to fight the imperialists' ringleader, that is the U.S. imperialists, who have large military and economic potentials. Despite their bitter defeats, the enemy is still very obdurate. In the process of their protracted resistance, the longer they fight, the stronger the South Vietnamese people become. On the contrary, the longer the enemy fights the greater difficulties he encounters. The comparison of forces on the battlefields turns in our people's favor and creates favorable conditions for our people to rush ahead and to completely defeat the enemy. In carrying out their protracted resistance, the South Vietnamese people have frustrated the blitzkrieg strategic scheme of the U.S. aggressor, and forced him to fight in accordance with our strategy, thus causing him to be extremely confused and incapable of escaping complete defeat.

In the present era, with the common offensive thrust of the world revolution, national liberation wars have favorable conditions for developing. National liberation wars can and will certainly score victories without necessarily being connected with a world war or with the revolution right in the country of the imperialist aggressors. Therefore, national liberation wars must allow some time, and a long time, to be able to crush the aggressive desire of the colonialist imperialists and to win final victory.

Our people highly appreciate the struggle of the American people against the aggressive Vietnam war of the Johnson administration, considering it a valuable mark of sympathy and support of our people's just resistance. Moreover, our people are thoroughly aware that the decisive factor for the success of the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance is our people's objective efforts to turn the comparison of forces more and more in our favor on the Vietnam battlefield, where there is a firm struggle between the aggressors and the victims of aggression, and where the war situation is developing more and more in favor of the heroic South Vietnamese people.

Our people hold that after the forthcoming presidential elections in the United States, and despite a possible change of presidents, the U.S. imperialists' aggressive policy cannot be changed in nature. The U.S. presidential elections are but a distribution of hierarchies among the personalities of the parties of the ruling capitalist class in the United States. Of course, through the forthcoming elections, the American people will better realize the errors and setbacks of the Johnson administration in the aggressive war in Vietnam. And so, the struggle of the American people against the aggressive war will be stronger.

The southern people's protracted fighting strategy reflects the determination to fight and the ability of our people to defeat the U.S. imperialists under all war circumstances. The southern people, as well as the people in our entire country, are ready to carry on the resistance for 5, 10, 20, or more years, and are firmly confident of victory. In the protracted resistance against the U.S. imperialist aggressors, our people in the south are able and determined to gain time and to score increasingly greater achievements. The southern people are able to do this, because in the past they have scored great achievements and because the resistance forces have swiftly matured.

On this basis, the southern army and people will make greater efforts and will certainly score increasingly greater achievements. The southern people are able to do this, because the U.S. imperialists, following their successive, heavy setbacks, are driven into a strategically deadlocked situation, the U.S. troops' fighting efficiency has increasingly decreased, the U.S. troops are considerably scattered and passive, and the puppet troops and administration are on the verge of collapse. The U.S. ruling circles have been increasingly opposed by the U.S. people and is being isolated politically to a high degree in the international arena.

Although it is ~~great~~ the U.S. economic and military potential is not boundless. Moreover, the realities of the war in Vietnam have proved that although they have a great number of troops, good rifles, and much money, the Americans are unable to extricate themselves from defeat and deadlock and will certainly be completely defeated.

Relying mainly on our own force but at the same time seeking assistance from the socialist bloc and the people in the world is a very important strategic matter. This is a manifestation of the masses' steadfast viewpoint, which places absolute confidence in our people and nation, who are imbued with an indomitable tradition and have sufficient conditions and ability to defeat the aggressive enemy, even if it is the U.S. imperialists.

Revolution is the work of the masses. No one can replace our people in carrying out the resistance to wrest back independence and freedom from the Vietnamese fatherland. Only our people can decide their destiny. Relying mainly on our own force and the all-people unity strength and firmly grasping the strategy and tactics of the invincible people's war, our people are determined to defeat the aggressive enemy, the U.S. imperialists.

Relying mainly on their own force, our people have defeated hundreds of thousands of professional troops of the French aggressor colonialists. Relying mainly on their own force, our people in the south have successfully conducted a general uprising and have defeated the special war of the Americans and the puppets. Relying mainly on their own force, our people have defeated the first phase of the U.S. imperialists' local war strategy and will certainly and completely defeat more than one million U.S., puppet, and satellite troops.

The present era is the era of revolutionary storms. The strong socialist bloc is becoming a factor which decides the development of human society, and the people's liberation movement is boiling throughout Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Imperialism, headed by the U.S. imperialists, is being repeatedly attacked everywhere; our people can and must fully develop the advantages of the present area and positively seek assistance from the socialist countries and the people in the world in order to strengthen our force and ability to defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

Our people do not detach our anti-U.S. national salvation resistance from the present era and highly value the assistance of the socialist countries and our friends in the world. Nevertheless, relying mainly on our own force must be set forth as a matter of primary and decisive importance. In the southern part of our country, the offensive strategy is the strategy of the people's war in the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance.

In the south, the offensive strategy has been carried out by our people since the general uprising period, and the coordinated military and political offensive strategy has scored great achievements in defeating the enemy's special war. Nevertheless, when the U.S. imperialists sent in masses of U.S. troops to directly invade the South, the problem was whether our people would continue to carry out the offensive strategy. The southern people have continued to carry out the offensive strategy, because their resistance has a winning position and because the southern people also possess mature military and political forces, which have conditions for further swift development, while the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys are being heavily defeated and are seriously declining. At the outset, the U.S. expeditionary troops introduced into the south were forced to remain in a strategically passive and scattered position in order to cope with the people's war, which has developed vigorously everywhere.

The striking characteristic of the offensive strategy of our southern people is to comprehensively and continuously attack and to gain the initiative in attacking the enemy everywhere with all forces and weapons and with all appropriate methods. The comprehensive offensive is a coordinated military and political offensive and includes the attacks on U.S. troops and the puppet troops and administration in the mountain and jungle areas, the deltas, and the cities. This requires a very great determination and very flexible, creative attacking methods. Our people have succeeded in doing this, because our people have an extremely valiant fighting spirit, mature political and armed forces, and unique, versatile, and extremely damaging fighting methods.

The southern people have used all methods of the military and political struggles to attack the enemy. It is due to coordinated military and political attacks on the enemy that the southern people's offensive strategy has acquired strong and great effect. It is due to the fact that the offensive strategy has been carried out in a flexible and creative manner, depending upon the place, time, and objective, that the southern people have developed a very steadfast offensive strategy posture and have driven the enemy deep into a passive and defensive position everywhere. Not only have the armed forces including the three categories of troops composed of guerrillas, regional forces, and regular troops carried out the offensive strategy, but the women's troops, and all the people in the political forces have also repeatedly attacked the enemy.

It is on the basis of this offensive strategy that the revolutionary war in the south, with its various forms, has successfully developed and has acquired increasingly greater strength. It is on the basis of this offensive strategy that the people's army and political struggles have developed successfully from the rural areas to the cities and from the mountain and jungle areas to the deltas, and especially on the battlefields and in various strategic directions. These creative forms of struggle, including the political struggle with its extremely rich contents from low level to high level and the armed struggle for guerrilla warfare to attacks with concentrated forces and with skilled, flexible, and unique fighting methods, have allowed the people's armed forces and political forces to develop their offensive strength to a high degree,

attack the areas regarded by the enemy as indestructible, thus opening extremely great new prospects and capabilities for the offensive strategy and giving the offensive strategy--a comprehensive and continuous offensive--an immeasurable strength, an invincible strength.

[The following segment of Part III was transmitted by Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese at 1300 GMT on 19 September]:

The foregoing is a summary of the main contents of the people's war strategy, which our southern people have applied in the present anti-U.S. national salvation resistance. This strategy has achieved very great victories and has defeated the local war strategy of the U.S. imperialists during the recent very important phase.

The "all people resist the Americans for national salvation" strategy has caused the large and strong U.S., puppet, and satellite forces of more than a million men to become small and weak. The comprehensive resistance strategy has made the already passive enemy become more passive in all fields. The protracted resistance strategy has defeated the blitzkrieg strategy of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. The offensive strategy has developed to a high level the great political and military power of the entire nation and driven more than a million enemy troops deeper into a defensive and passive state.

It is obvious that our people's war strategy is superior to all strategies of the U.S. imperialist aggressors. Every day this strategy has proved that it is invincible. To defeat the U.S. imperialists, our people have not only correct, creative, and very effective strategies, but also clever tactics.

We all know that with good tactics a certain number of troops can defeat the enemy, but if the tactics are bad, these troops can hardly be victorious and sometimes sustain losses. In war, to defeat the enemy's strategies and open the way for greater victories, it is sometimes better to fight a few battles with good tactics than to fight many battles with bad tactics. In fighting an enemy having millions of troops, we will encounter many difficulties if we do not have flexible and creative tactics. If we have good tactics, not only can we achieve great results in fighting, but also develop the effects of military operations and strategies and deal heavy blows to the enemy aggressors.

In the south of our country, by strongly developing the effects of the people's war strategy, the Liberation Armed Forces have heightened their wonderful courage, resourcefulness, creativeness, and spirit of mastery; developed to a high degree the efficiency of all weapons at hand; limited the efficiency of the enemy's modern weapons; and invented clever, varied, and effective tactics.

All tactics of the Liberation Armed Forces have been invented and developed on the basis of intense patriotism, deep hatred for the enemy, and the spirit of voluntarily, actively, and resolutely finding resourceful and creative means to attack and annihilate the enemy.

On the southern battlefield, the tactics of the guerrilla force have developed in varied ways, thus greatly frightening the enemy. The guerrillas have fought with primitive weapons such as spikes, mines, and traps as well as with semimodern and modern weapons. They have fought with means aimed at decimating as well as annihilating the enemy. The guerrillas have recognized the enemy's weak points and fully developed their own strong points.

They have discovered clever tactics and devoted their courage, spirit of sacrifices, and intelligence to successfully enforcing these tactics. Now the southern guerrillas' tactics are very powerful.

There have been battles in which guerrillas have defeated raids by enemy battalions, in which a guerrilla squad annihilated an entire U.S. company, in which guerrillas have destroyed an enemy command headquarters. Cases of shooting at and burning the enemy's armored vehicles, planes, warships, and so forth have become common among southern guerrillas. Southern guerrillas have stretched out the enemy to decimate and annihilate him, thus sowing great fear among his ranks.

On the southern battlefield, the LAF's method of fighting with concentrated forces to completely annihilate enemy troops has increasingly developed and has been very effective. On the basis of the people's war, which has developed to a high degree, and in coordination with the guerrillas and regional forces, the LAF's main force units have dealt powerful blows to the enemy on all battlefields.

With gallantry and skill and by restricting to a minimum the effect of the enemy's aircraft and artillery, fully developing all kinds of weapons, and deepening the difficulties encountered by the U.S. troops--low morale, unfamiliarity with the terrain and climate poor command, and so forth--the southern LAF have dealt serious, annihilating blows to the enemy, whether he remains in his well-fortified and adequately protected bases, ~~removes~~ out to launch attacks or conduct mopup operations, and even if he belongs to seasoned U.S. divisions, such as the First Infantry Division, the Air Cavalry Division, U.S. Marine divisions, and so forth.

Attacking U.S. military bases and logistical installations is also a powerful fighting method of the LAF on the southern battlefield. Although the enemy stays deep in his extremely well-protected bases, the LAF has been able to penetrate deep into his lairs, inflicted very heavy losses on him, and, as the enemy has admitted, has carried the fear of the war to his bed.

LAF attacks against the U.S. bases at Da Nang and Chu Lai, the large airfields, and the logistical installations at Lien Chieu, Long Binh, and many other areas have brought about very great results which were like the feats of arms scored by a marvelous strategic air force unit of the people's war and which, as the enemy has had to admit, could not be prevented [from coming forward] or warded off.

On the southern battlefield the LAF's method of attacking cities is being developed. With the support of the people's political forces, small units of the LAF have succeeded in winning resounding victories and annihilating a substantial part of the enemy's vitality. In particular, the attacks launched by the LAF in the heart of Saigon, Hue, and other cities have supported the struggle movement of the urban compatriots, frightened the enemy, and filled the hearts of our compatriots throughout the country with elation. The attacks on the cities have demonstrated the marvelous courage, skill, and flexibility of the LAF.

On the southern battlefields the methods for attacking military communications, especially important strategic axes of communications, are very effective LAF methods. With them, the LAF have disrupted and paralyzed the enemy's ground logistical supply movement and weakened his mobile ability on the battlefields. The U.S. and puppet troops were forced to shift an important part of their forces to protect and clear their communications, but to date the enemy's military communications still face many difficulties, and his important strategic routes are still constantly and violently attacked and threatened.

The LAF's method for attacking military communications are developing, thus making the U.S. expeditionary troops unable to develop the effect of their up-to-date equipment and highly mobile ability.

At present in the south, all three categories of troops--guerrillas, regional forces, and regular troops--are very familiar with the methods for attacking military communications and are placing the U.S. and puppet troops in a truly perilous situation on the military communications front.

On the southern battlefields, the LAF forces also have other skilled fighting methods such as those designed to destroy enemy positions, to combine fighting with troop proselytizing in order to disintegrate the enemy ranks, to combine fighting with military revolt in order to destroy one important unit of the enemy ~~after~~ another, to combine political struggle with military struggle in order to destroy strategic hamlets, to foment revolts in the rural areas, and so forth.

In the process of fighting and defeating the U.S., puppet, and satellite troops, our southern people have constantly sought fighting methods that are able to help develop the fighting strength of all their military and political forces to a high degree with a view to continuously and comprehensively attacking the enemy at all times and in all places, soon all his strategies and tactics, and score increasingly greater achievements.

At present these fighting methods of the LAF have been creatively and effectively applied by the three categories of troops: guerrillas, regional forces, and regular troops. Herewith, I present only the fighting methods adopted by the LAF's main force units and which have undergone development.

The fighting methods are based upon coordination ~~among~~ among various armed branches and the independent fighting method of each armed branch. The coordinated fighting method of various armed branches of the LAF is one in which infantry troops constitute the main elements operating in coordination with one or many other armed branches and creating a superior strength and a powerful fighting capacity in order to annihilate major units or command posts of the enemy.

Because of the characteristics of the situation of friendly and enemy units on the battlefield, the organization of coordinated fighting does not depend on the availability of units of all armed branches. The LAF have proceeded from coordinating combat among a few armed branches ~~to~~ ~~and~~ ~~to~~ coordinating combat among many of the basis of using infantry troops as the main elements, with a view to developing the decisive role of infantry troops on the battlefield.

Thus, to improve the effectiveness of the coordinated fighting method, the LAF have attached great importance to building and developing many infantry units which fight effectively under all circumstances by coordinating their actions with the armed branches and combining many fighting methods and tactical forms and tricks of the people's war.

In addition to the fighting method based upon coordination among various armed branches with infantry units constituting the main elements, the LAF have also adopted fighting methods based upon coordination among the various armed branches themselves. For instance, coordination between artillery units and crack special units, between engineer and antiaircraft units, and so forth. The existing conditions and the nature of the need to annihilate the enemy serve as a basis for determining the coordination of combat between the armed branch and the other, with a view to adopting a fighting method able to insure victory and rapid and complete annihilation of enemy troops.

To insure that the fighting method based upon coordination among various armed branches achieves increasing effectiveness, the southern liberation armed forces have laid special emphasis on developing the highest efficiency of all kinds of weapons and equipment, developing to a high degree the liberation troops' fighting ability, and using each unit and each armed branch at the right time and place, with a view to raising its level of mastery over the battlefield and completely annihilating large enemy units.

The liberation armed forces' fighting methods based upon coordination among various armed branches is being vigorously developed along with the steady development of the armed branches, especially the development of the infantry units, and in accordance with the growing requirement for concentrated fighting. The fighting method based upon coordination among various armed branches will certainly make a decisive contribution toward annihilating many large units and many important bases of the enemy, changing the situation on the battlefield in favor of the southern people and providing the southern people with opportunities to move forward to completely defeat more than a million troops of the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

The independent fighting method of each armed branch is a very unique creation of the people's war in the southern part of our country. Not to mention the infantry force, the other armed branches of the liberation armed forces, such as the artillery units, the crack special units, the engineer units, the antiaircraft units, and so forth, have their own independent fighting methods. The common characteristics of the independent fighting methods adopted by various armed branches is the thorough comprehension of the spirit of positively attacking and annihilating the enemy, developing to the highest degree the initiative of the southern armed forces and people at any time, anywhere, and in the face of any enemy. With the independent fighting methods of various armed branches, the southern liberation armed forces have succeeded in creating many opportunities to attack the enemy and enabling the armed branches to acquire a tremendous new fighting ability.

The independent fighting method of the artillery units of the liberation armed forces:

On the southern battlefield today, the liberation armed forces' artillery units, in fighting in coordination with infantry units as well as in fighting independently, have increasingly developed their tremendous power. In many independently fought battles, the liberation armed forces' artillery units have rapidly annihilated a substantial part of the enemy troops just as they began to maneuver or assemble. The liberation armed forces' artillery barrages against the enemy's command posts, military bases, and logistical installations as well as against his bivouacs have inflicted heavy losses on the enemy and rendered him panic-stricken. It goes without saying that for the artillery units, independent fighting is but one method. The primary mission of artillery units is to fight in coordination with infantry units and to support infantry units in major battles in order to annihilate large enemy units.

The independent fighting method of the crack special units, whose numbers are small but whose quality is high, has achieved extremely great results. No matter where the enemy troops are located and no matter how adequately protected they may be, regardless of whether they are U.S. or puppet troops or whether they are in airbases, logistical facilities, U.S. officers' quarters, and so forth, with their independent fighting method the liberation armed forces' crack special units have been able to seriously annihilate them.

With boundless courage, marvelous intelligence, and a thoroughly tested fighting capacity, the crack special units, with their own fighting methods, have dealt vigorous surprise blows at the enemy and rendered him incapable of reacting in time. With small numbers but high quality, the crack special units have defeated the enemy and inflicted with heavy losses on him even in areas where large infantry or artillery units have encountered difficulties in organizing combat. The independent fighting method of the crack special units is developing vigorously among the three categories of troops. This has created new fighting abilities and strength for the liberation armed forces to annihilate increasingly larger numbers of the enemy's military forces everywhere.

With their independent fighting methods, the southern liberation armed forces' engineering units have paralyzed the enemy's communications, cut the important strategic routes, destroyed military bridges, attacked the enemy's mechanized vehicles, and so forth. They have inflicted very serious losses on the enemy. Of course, the engineering units also have the primary task of supporting the infantry and artillery units in combat. Yet, with their independent fighting methods, engineering units have contributed toward effectively annihilating the enemy in a situation in which the liberation armed forces are fighting against U.S. troops, who possess plenty of modern weapons and instruments.

With their independent fighting methods, the liberation armed forces' antiaircraft units have inflicted considerable losses on the enemy's air force and have restricted to a minimum the activities of the enemy's aircraft, especially his helicopters. Although they are newly developed units, the liberation armed forces' antiaircraft units have demonstrated a courageous fighting spirit and resourcefulness and have created fighting methods which are appropriate for the southern battlefields. As a result, they have inflicted considerable losses on the enemy and have caused many difficulties for him in developing the effect of his air force on the southern battlefield. The southern liberation armed forces' antiaircraft units have increasingly matured in combat and will certainly deal more serious blows at the U.S. Air Force.

The fighting method based upon coordination among various armed branches and the independent fighting methods of each armed branch of the liberation armed forces have indicated that the liberation armed forces know how to apply the universal principle of concentrating forces to annihilate the enemy and, at the same time, know how to apply the principle of using a small number of troops to defeat a large number of enemy troops who possess modern equipment.

This fact indicates another invention of the people's war and the Vietnamese military art: not only in the strategic field do we use a small force against a larger force, but in the tactical field, along with using a large force to strike at a smaller force, we use a small force against a larger force. Events on the South Vietnam battlefield have proved that this fighting method is completely and definitely feasible and has been fruitfully implemented. Naturally, when the tactics of using a small force to fight a large force is applied, we must have the following conditions: the quality of units must be high; the targets must be chosen carefully; opportunities must be created; and the situation maintained, especially when there are flaws developed by the enemy; actions must be unexpected and swift; and so forth.

With such varied and creative fighting methods, the South Vietnam Liberation Armed Forces have been able to strike at all targets of the enemy in and outside fortifications, to destroy both the enemy's strength, and war means, and to attack even the enemy's military headquarters and bases, logistic bases, communication lines, cities, and so forth, thus inflicting heavy damage on the enemy forces in all domains and everywhere.

With these fighting methods, especially the method of coordinated fighting among various armed branches, not only have the South Vietnam LAF taken the initiative in counter-attacking and smashing the enemy's counteroffensive strategy, but they have also continuously attacked the enemy, achieved glorious victories, and strongly developed their enemy-attacking posture on all battlefronts in the jungle and mountain areas, in the rural areas, and in the cities.

With these fighting methods, the liberation forces have developed to a high degree their militant strength, enabling their three categories of troops to develop their strong offensive force. Not only have the main force units adopted the method of coordinated fighting among various armed branches, but the regional forces and the guerrilla forces are also advancing toward the adoption of this fighting method. As a result of their being closely combined with the methods of the political struggle, these varied and creative fighting methods of the military struggle have become increasingly strong and effective and have brought about resounding victories on battlefields.

A very important factor deciding the victories of the liberation forces in all battles is their skillful and creative fighting methods. Although the U.S. forces have fought many battles, they have not achieved victories because their fighting methods have been clumsy. The fighting methods of the South Vietnamese armed forces and people prevail over those of the U.S., puppet, and satellite forces. They are the methods of a creative people's war and a brave, heroic, unyielding, intelligent, and resourceful people who, though living in a small and less populous country, possess a steadfast determination to fight to protect their fatherland and are resolved and know how to defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressors' armed forces consisting of more than a million men.

We have just dealt with how the strategies and tactics of the South Vietnamese people's war have defeated the strategies and tactics of the limited war of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. But besides the problems of strategies and tactics, there is another very basic problem: How many troops do our people need to defeat the U.S. imperialists' aggressive armed forces of more than a million men? Our people in South Vietnam have settled this problem very satisfactorily and successfully.

On the basis of the development of the people's war, our people in the south have attached importance to the building of military and political forces, considering it a decisive problem in order to implement the strategies and tactics of the people's war.

Our people in South Vietnam, under the glorious banner of the NFLSV, have developed the experiences of the former resistance war against the French and have been able to develop a policy on the building of armed and political forces, a policy which is consistent with the present conditions of the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance war.

Although South Vietnam is not large and is less populous, the southern compatriots have been able to build strong military and political forces who have the great militant strength and are fully capable of vanquishing more than a million U.S., puppet, and satellite troops who have modern equipment. This armed forces-building policy consists of mobilizing and arming all people and urging them to participate in the war in which the armed forces are a nucleus force. It is a policy of building the armed forces, composed of three categories of troops, along with building increasingly large and broad political forces of the people.

Concerning the building of the armed forces, our people in the south maintain that to develop the people's war to a high degree and to step up the armed struggle, it is necessary to pay attention to the building of three categories of troops. It is necessary to build steady, strong, widespread self-defense forces and main-force units.

The building and development of the regional forces and main force units must conform to the practical conditions of each region and of the battlefield. These concentrated armed forces must in fact constitute the core forces in annihilating the enemy's military forces, protecting the people, and achieving increasingly greater successes. The main force units must not necessarily possess a strength equalling that of the enemy. Yet their quality must be high and their fighting methods must be highly effective so that they can deal steel-like blows to the enemy. They must be fully capable of fighting big annihilating battles, dealing serious blows to the enemy, and changing the situation on the battlefield in our favor. Today the southern people's three categories of troops--guerrilla forces, regional forces, and main force units--have developed harmoniously. They have been rationally deployed on various battlefields, have increasingly developed their great fighting strength, and have been able to enhance their position and improve the strategic effect of the LAF in the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle.

The LAF have been fighting while building up their strength and have unceasingly improved their fighting quality. Along with intensifying political education and military training, adequate attention has been paid to improving equipment, weapons, and combat instruments. As a result, all three categories of troops have acquired a greater fighting strength and will certainly deal more vigorous blows to the enemy.

With regard to building political forces, the southern people have satisfactorily settled the relations between developing their political forces numerically and constantly improving the quality of their political forces on the basis of broadening the all-people's great unity bloc and firmly consolidating the key role of the worker-peasant alliance. Today, the southern people's political forces are very numerous and powerful. It is fitting to say that the 14 million southern people are closing their ranks and moving forward to attack the enemy through military and political struggles.

The political corps, which constitutes the core elements of the people's political struggle movement, has been strengthened both quantitatively and qualitatively and has vigorously developed in the cities as well as in the rural and mountainous areas.

The political forces of the people in southern cities and towns have developed more and more comprehensively and will certainly step up further their political struggle and continuous attacks against the enemy's lairs. The southern people's armed and political forces have been built along a correct and creative line. As a result, they have acquired a tremendous strength, which serves as a basis for stepping up the people's war, have closely coordinated armed struggle with political struggle, have achieved extremely great successes, and will certainly defeat completely the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression and overthrow the puppet administration.

If in South Vietnam our armed forces and people under the NFLSV's leadership have achieved great victories during the past two years, in North Vietnam our armed forces and people, under the leadership of the party, government, and respected and beloved President Ho, have defeated the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction and frustrated their basic schemes while at the same time continuing to build socialism and wholeheartedly supporting the liberation struggle of the kith-and-kin southern compatriots. We have mobilized and organized all people to participate in resisting the war of destruction by positively fighting the enemy and positively engaging in people's air defense.

In the field of positively fighting the U.S. air and naval forces, we have mobilized all people to fight, using the armed forces as a nucleus. We have simultaneously mobilized and organized all people to emulate in shooting down U.S. aircraft and strengthened the antiaircraft defense forces, the coast guard forces, and the frontier and demarcation line defense forces.

While developing the capacity of all armed branches and the regional forces and the self-defense and militia forces to fight U.S. aircraft, we have developed our antiaircraft defense, air forces, and artillery forces and improved their technical and tactical standards.

We have strongly developed the effect of antiaircraft guns and other ordinary types of infantry weapons, while striving to develop the effect of jet fighter planes and anti-aircraft missiles in order to create thick and highly effective firenets. While fighting, we have carried out training and drawn experiences from the fighting in order to improve the antiaircraft defense quality of our armed forces. We have positively resisted the enemy's planes and warships, while positively improving our combat activity, and stand ready to fight and defeat the enemy when he ventures to expand the limited war to the north.

The principle of combat adopted by our armed forces in opposing the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction through air and naval power is: positively annihilate the enemy, protect the targets the enemy wants to hit, and preserve and improve our forces. Only by succeeding in annihilating the enemy can we protect our targets from the enemy and preserve and improve our forces. Conversely, only by succeeding in protecting these targets and preserving and improving our forces can we create favorable conditions to annihilate the enemy. On the basis of the concrete situation, sometimes we regard annihilating the enemy as the main task and sometimes we regard protecting targets from the enemy as the main task. Yet normally the principle of positively annihilating the enemy is the most basic and most decisive contents of our task.

As a result of their thorough understanding of the principle of fighting against the enemy's aircraft and warships, the northern armed forces, especially the antiaircraft and the air force units, have created many highly effective fighting methods. On the basis of developing the fighting ability of each armed branch and on the basis of the coordination among many armed branches, it is necessary to pay special attention to adopting fighting methods which are most appropriate to each concrete object of combat.

Generally speaking, the objects of combat are the U.S. air and naval forces. However, on the battlefield in general and in each region, each direction, and each battle in particular, it is necessary to determine the concrete objects of combat to be struck, as the strength of many armed branches. The basic requirement is to firmly understand the enemy's actions and our own strength and capabilities in order to determine which object must be struck, and how.

In the field of active defense, we have stepped up the people's antiaircraft defense with the aim of restricting the losses in human lives and properties caused by the U.S. Air Force and Navy. We have improved the people's antiaircraft defense organization and the alert-reporting organization and strengthened the construction and consolidation of shelters and communication trenches everywhere. We have evacuated people from the densely populated areas and adjusted the work, study, and life habits to war conditions. We have taken defense measures against the bombings and shellings of the U.S. Air Force and Navy and, at the same time, intensified the protection of security and order and taken precautionary and defense measures against the psychological warfare of the enemy, as well as against the evil plot of the reactionaries and spies.

Events during the two years of struggling against the war of destruction of the U.S. imperialists prove that our defense measures have achieved great results. Although the U.S. imperialists have caused certain damages in human lives and properties of our people, basically the life of our troops and people continues to be stable, the local economy continues to develop, agricultural production continues to increase, communication and transport is not interrupted, and general education, as well as other cultural and artistic activities, continue to develop. Naturally these results have their origin in the fact that our people have satisfactorily fulfilled the task of fighting and producing at the same time. But it is obvious that the defense measures have made an important contribution to this task.

Events during the two years of struggling against the war of destruction and tactics of our army's and people's struggle against enemy planes and warships are completely correct and have achieved great results. We have downed almost 2,300 fighter planes of the U.S. imperialists, sunk and burnt many commando boats and warships of the enemy's navy, annihilated and captured enemy pilots. We have forced the U.S. imperialists to pay a high price for their violations of our airspace and territorial waters.

In addition to actively counterattacking the enemy's planes and warships and actively taking defense measures, we have made timely changes in the direction of our economic building and development and actively maintained and developed communications and transport on all communication lines, especially on roads leading to the frontline. This is a very important success which our people have achieved under the leadership of the party, the government and President Ho.

Thanks to the fact that we have changed the direction of our economic building and development in good time, we have been able to pursue our socialist construction under fierce war conditions. The economy of the socialist north in war time has satisfied people's war and provided our people with sufficient strength to fight for a long time and victoriously.

On the production front, our people have strengthened revolutionary heroism, overcome all difficulties, and valiantly produced even though the war of destruction has become increasingly fierce. Even in the areas where the enemy has attacked continuously, such as Vinh Linh, Quang Binh, and other localities, our people have stuck fast to their positions on land and sea and in factories, fighting and producing well at the same time.

Thanks to actively protecting and developing communications and transport, we have satisfactorily insured the demands of the frontline, as well as the demands of economic building, cultural development, and the people's life. Our peoples have smoothed out all our difficulties and hardships and disregarded sacrifices while insuring the continuity of communications and transport with the aim of bringing a large amount of goods to the frontline and serving the frontline in good time and efficaciously. This is a very great exploit of important strategic significance. This exploit has defeated the wicked and evil design of the U.S. imperialists of creating obstacles to our communications, thus hoping to stop the support of the great rear to the great frontline.

It is obvious that our people's war has defeated the war of destruction of the U.S. imperialists. In the fire of war, the socialist north has become increasingly more powerful. The all-people solidarity bloc has become increasingly firm and has become increasingly high. Some 17 million northern compatriots are siding with 34 million southern kith-and-kin compatriots to struggle until final victory.

The U.S. imperialists have sustained heavy defeats in their war of destruction against the north of our country. All their strategic designs have gone bankrupt. It is obvious that the independent activities of an air force--even if it is the modern air force of the U.S. imperialists--cannot have the effect of deciding victory on the battlefield. The U.S. air force can cause certain damages to our people, but it surely cannot shake our people's rockline determination to oppose the Americans for national salvation. It surely cannot save the U.S. imperialists from complete defeat in their aggressive war against the south. The north's big victories demonstrate the great power of the people's war and of the socialist system. This power has dealt and will deal heavy blows at the U.S. Air Force, smashing the so-called superiority of the U.S. Air Force.

Our people throughout the country have won big victories. Our people are taking advantage of these victories to rush forward and defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressors in both the north and south, win increasingly bigger victories, and win final victory.

Part IV--Four conclusions drawn from the two-year old anti-U.S. national salvation resistance. Basing ourselves on the war situation during the past two years, on the heavy defeats of the U.S. imperialists, and on the big victories of our people, we can draw the following four conclusions;

A--Our people won big victories during a very important phase of the local war strategy of the U.S. imperialists. The possibility of inflicting complete military defeat upon more than a million of U.S., puppet, and satellite troops is becoming a reality.

It can be said that the last two years are a very important phase of the local war strategy of the U.S. imperialists. They have exerted very great war efforts. During the last two years, they have massively increased their troops, boosting quickly the total of U.S. expeditionary troops in South Vietnam from 50,000 to about 500,000 men and the total of U.S., puppet, and satellite troops to over a million men. They have concentrated their troops to launch two strategic counteroffensives in South Vietnam and, at the same time, undertaken very serious escalation steps in their war of destruction against North Vietnam. They have poured an enormous quantity of modern war means into the battlefield and resorted to very cruel war measures, hoping to achieve a decisive victory and bring the war to a turning point.

But they have sustained heavy defeats. They have not only been unable to achieve a turning point toward victory, but have been forced to take a step backward toward defeat. All their strategic objectives--from searching and destroying the enemy's regulars, pacifying the countryside, consolidating the puppet army, and stabilizing the Saigon puppet government to encircling and isolating the southern revolution--have gone bankrupt ignominiously. The strategic efficiency of U.S. troops have been reduced obviously. As for the puppet troops, they seem to be losing in combativity.

During the past two years, our people have passed through many fierce challenges and achieved many big victories, victories having a strategic meaning in both military and political fields. On the southern battlefield--a decisive battlefield--the army and people of the heroic south, under the glorious NFLSV banner, have developed the great people's war to an unprecedentedly high level by stepping up both the military and political struggles and by continually attacking the enemy. The compatriots and liberation armed forces in the south have annihilated an important part of the U.S., puppet, and satellite military forces, developed their own military and political forces very quickly, made the balance of forces tilt in our favor day by day, further developed their initiative on the battlefield, consolidated the liberated areas, further enlarged the front for uniting all the people for the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle, isolated the U.S. aggressors and the country-selling traitors, and continuously heightened the determination of all the people to fight and win.

On the northern battlefield, our army and people under the leadership of the party, headed by respected and beloved President Ho, have successively defeated all the war escalation steps of the U.S. imperialists and inflicted heavy losses upon them, thus causing them to become more embarrassed and stalemated in their aggressive war in Vietnam. The increasingly strong and powerful socialist north has been strongly developing its role of the great rear toward the great frontline.

The victories that our people throughout the country have won during the past two years are comprehensive victories in the military and political fields. In the recent past, the U.S. imperialists have concentrated their troops on carrying out their war policy in order to invade our country. That is why our people have been forced to concentrate our troops and activities on the task of defeating the U.S. bandits on the battlefield. Our people are defeating an army of over a million U.S., puppet, and satellite troops.

This is a military victory of great significance, a heavy blow at the aggressive will of the U.S. war maniacs who are using the policy of force to subdue our people and conquer the south of our country. This great victory of our army and people is eloquent proof demonstrating the great power of the people's war of our country, is a firm argument upon which we can base ourselves to conclude that we are fully able to completely defeat over a million U.S., puppet, and satellite troops in the military field. This ability is becoming a reality.

B--Our people's victory is first of all the victory of the people's warfare strategy and tactics and the victory of the anti-U.S. national salvation victory.

The victory of an armed struggle depends on many factors, the nature of the war, the comparison of forces between the two camps, the strength and quality of the armed forces, the fighting spirit of the armed forces and people, the economic and military potentials, the strategic and tactical leadership, the international assistance, and so forth.

With respect to our country, which is a small and not very populous country and which has to oppose an imperialist ring leader who has carried out a great military build-up with powerful weapons, not only must we have great determination to fight and win, but we must also know how to fight and to win, that is, we must have a good fighting method to be able to defeat the enemy.

The people's warfare strategy and tactics, an important part of our anti-U.S. national salvation struggle, not only have developed the determination to fight and win and the latent potential of our people, but have also developed to the utmost the intelligence and stratagem of our people to defeat the enemy. Our people's warfare strategy and tactics have succeeded in concentrating our people's creativeness under the leadership of a correct political and military policy. Moreover, with the experiences of our ancestors in the struggle against foreign invaders in the old days and the experiences of the revolutionary wars in other countries, they brought about glorious victories in our people's resistance against the French colonialists.

Today, our people's war strategy and tactics have further developed in an inspiring and creative manner, have defeated the Americans and puppets in their special war strategy, and are defeating them in their limited war strategy. During the past years, our people's war strategy and tactics have directly tested their strength with that of the strategy and tactics of the U.S. imperialists, the arch imperialists, in whom the essence of the bourgeois military doctrine is concentrated. Through challenges, our people's war strategy and tactics have demonstrated their superiority and invincible strength, whereas the enemy's strategy and tactics have proved to be ineffective, old, weak, and decadent along with the decadence and decline of imperialism.

Our people's war strategy and tactics have radically upset the bourgeois military doctrine's viewpoint on the balance of power between two sides and have driven the imperialists' viewpoint on relying upon weapons into complete bankruptcy. Our people's war strategy and tactics have driven the enemy into a situation in which his forces remain insufficient even though they are numerous. He is slow, even though he possesses high mobility. He fails to acquire strength, on the offensive as well as on the defensive, even though he has large numbers of aircraft, artillery pieces, and mechanized vehicles.

Besides, he has exhibited many weaknesses and pitfalls. Although the war has not yet come to an end, it is fitting to say that our people's war strategy and tactics have defeated the Americans' limited war strategy and tactics. The successes and invincible strength of our people's war strategy and tactics are paving the way for greater successes in the days ahead. In a war, once one has fallen into a strategic and tactical stalemate, he can by no means ward off his final defeat even if he possesses plenty of troops, weapons, and money. This is the stalemated situation in which the U.S. imperialists find themselves.

The great successes achieved by our people have proved that our anti-U.S. salvation line is completely correct. Our anti-U.S. national salvation line reflects not only the ironlike determination of our armed forces and people, but also the fact that in adopting this line we have ourselves firmly grasped the military science of Marxism-Leninism and the art of war leadership, made a scientific analysis of our own strengths and weaknesses and those of the enemy and an analysis of the balance of power between both sides, correctly evaluated the enemy's scheme, thereby setting forth a correct direction with a view to achieving success for our people's resistance.

This line has mobilized and organized all our people and has developed the strength of our entire country to defeat the U.S. aggressors. This line has been deeply imbued with the spirit of independence and the spirit of relying mainly on our own strength, while attaching great importance to the assistance of the fraternal socialist countries and the progressive people all over the world, including the progressive American people. This line has not only held aloft the patriotic banner of our people's struggle for independence and freedom, but has also highly demonstrated our people's proletarian internationalist spirit, because our people's anti-U.S. national salvation struggle is an important contribution to the common struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism waged by progressive people throughout the world.

It is for this reason that the prestige of our resistance has been increasingly enhanced and the support of the world's peoples for our people has become more and more vigorous. No national liberation struggle in history has ever obtained as much vigorous and comprehensive sympathy and support from the world's peoples as does our people's anti-U.S. national salvation resistance today. The U.S. imperialists have sought by every means to weaken our resistance forces. Yet, they have failed. They have been disastrously isolated in the world. The success of the anti-U.S., national salvation line is also the glorious success of our party's true Marxist-Leninist line and spirit of independence, self-reliance, and international solidarity.

C--The longer the fight, the more mature our forces, and the weaker the enemy forces. Through our anti-U.S. national resistance, all forces of our people have gone through ordeals and become increasingly mature. On the vast frontline, through two years of direct confrontation with the U.S. expeditionary troops, not only have the southern army and people scored great achievements, but they have also gained many rich fighting experiences. The liberation armed forces have become increasingly mature, their fighting effect and their strategic efficiency have been more and more increased, and their offensive impetus has become increasingly stronger.

The NLFSV has been increasingly consolidated and enlarged and has increasingly strengthened the people's political forces. The liberated areas have been enlarged and firmly consolidated. The political struggle movement has been widely developed. The people in the southern cities are rising up to struggle more and more fiercely against the U.S. aggressors and the country-selling Vietnamese traitors.

In the north, as the people's armed forces have been developed in quantity, as their quality has been increased, and as they have also learned from the southern liberation armed forces' fighting experiences, their fighting strength has been comprehensively increased.

The U.S. imperialists have attacked the north in a very fierce manner, but our people have never been shaken, and their fighting determination has constantly been heightened. Our army and people have ever more valiantly engaged in production and combat, are determined to insure good communications and transportation, and have devoted themselves to supporting the frontline. Never before was the kith-and-kin northern-southern love expressed so ardently and deeply as it is now by the 17 million northern compatriots in their production and combat efforts and in support of the frontline. The northern army and people fear no sacrifices and hardships and are devoting efforts day and night to fulfilling their task toward the vast frontline with the spirit of "all for the frontline and all for victory."

As for the enemy, although his economic and military potential is great, it is, however, obvious that the more he intensifies the war of aggression in Vietnam, the more weakened he becomes, and the more difficulties he encounters. Although great, the U.S. military forces have been scattered in many parts of the world. The U.S. imperialists must cope with the national liberation movement, with the socialist bloc, with the U.S. people, and with other imperialist countries.

The U.S. imperialists cannot mobilize all their forces for the war of aggression in Vietnam. The present force-mobilizing level has far exceeded initial U.S. forecasts and is at sharp variance with U.S. global strategy. At present, the United States does not have enough troops to meet Westmoreland's requirements. In the days ahead, even if the U.S. imperialists send more forces to the south, they will remain unable to stop the decline of the U.S. expeditionary and the puppet troops.

The U.S. troops' fighting spirit has declined, and the U.S. officers' leadership is very poor. Westmoreland remains unable to find any method which can help the U.S. imperialists extricate themselves from their deadlocked situation, and to discover any way to help increase the U.S. troops' efficiency and to recover the puppet troops' strength, which has become more and more exhausted.

The (enemy's) weakness stems from his contradictions and his basic weak points, but is also attributable to a decisive factor: The invincible strength and the great achievements of our people.

Our maturity stems from the radiant just cause of the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance, the all-people great unity bloc with the determination to fight and win, the correct anti-U.S. national salvation lines, and the strategies and tactics of the invincible people's war, the tenacious, indomitable tradition, the potential strength, and the fighting experiences of our people in countering foreign aggression, the absolute superiority of the vast rear--the socialist north--and the strong and wide sympathy and support of the brotherly socialist countries and progressive people in the world. Facts in the past years have proved that the more we fight the stronger we become, and the more the enemy fights the weaker he becomes. This is the law of the protracted, hard, but certainly victorious resistance of our people.

D--The past great achievements are a firm base for our people to move forward to win final victory. The enemy's heavy setbacks will certainly lead him to complete defeat. At the outset, everything is difficult to do. In the past two years, the anti-U.S., national salvation resistance of our people has gone through fierce ordeals and has initially defeated the U.S. imperialists' local war strategy. As we have succeeded in overcoming all difficulties at the beginning, we will certainly succeed in overcoming all the forthcoming difficulties and hardships in a more advantageous manner. The recent great achievements are a firm base for our people to move forward to win final victory.

We do not subjectively evaluate our successes. President Ho has said: "The nearer victory is, the more hardships there will be." The U.S. imperialists are still very stubborn and cunning. Yet, no matter how frantically they may writhe, they will certainly not be able to change the situation to avoid final defeat. They can by no means turn the cause of defeat into the cause of victory, but will merely deepen the causes leading them toward defeat. Taylor himself, who initiated the flexible reaction strategy and who once directly led the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam, had to admit in his latest work entitled "Responsibility and Reaction" that the Americans committed an error in choosing the time, place, and objective in this war. Taylor complained that the Americans have sent troops to South Vietnam in an instinctive rather than a calculated manner and that the Americans committed themselves too late yet too deeply to a war which is very costly in terms of human and material resources. He said that the puppet Saigon army and administration are too weak, are on the decline, and so forth.

The U.S. imperialists will certainly meet with complete defeat in their war of aggression in Vietnam, because they have encountered a people who not only have a determination to fight and win, but who also know how to fight and defeat all aggressive enemies. The territory of Vietnam is not vast and its population is not large. Yet, the Vietnamese people possess traditions of indomitability and a very high spirit of self-reliance and have defeated all aggressive enemies. In the past few decades, our Vietnamese people, relying mainly on their own strength, defeated the Japanese fascists and the French colonialist aggressors and the U.S. interventionists. Today, our people have defeated the Americans' special war strategy and are defeating more than 1 million U.S., puppet, and satellite troops in their limited war strategy.

This eloquent fact proves that in the present age, even though a people be small, but have a determination to unite and fight for independence and freedom in accordance with correct and creative political and military lines, they know how to rely mainly on their own strength, how to develop the favorable conditions of their time, and how to launch a people's war in conformity with the characteristics and situation of their own country. Having effective fighting methods, they are fully capable of defeating and will certainly defeat all aggressive enemies, including the U.S. imperialists.

Can a small country, which relies mainly upon its own strength, defeat the limited war of aggression of the U.S. imperialists, the archimperialists who possess great military and economic potentials? This is the burning question of our time. The Vietnamese people are replying to this question with their glorious victories. These victories are the Vietnamese people's great contribution to the world's peoples. History has entrusted this glorious mission to our people. Our people are resolved to devote all their minds and abilities to completely defeating the U.S. aggressors and thereby fulfilling this historic task.

Part V--The U.S. imperialists' forthcoming plots and our task

The U.S. imperialists are confronted with a tragic war situation. On the military front, the U.S. imperialists' strategy has showed that it is ineffective and failing.

Following the failure of the two large-scale strategic counteroffensives, the U.S. imperialists are now at a crossroad: Must the war be limited or expanded? If the war is to be expanded, to what degree must it be expanded? Must efforts be mainly concentrated on stepping up the war of aggression in the south or seeking a turning point by attacking the north? Since the quick victory strategy met with failure and since it is necessary to fight a protracted war, how long will it drag on? What is to be done to increase the U.S. troops' fighting efficiency, which is very poor, to strengthen the puppet troops, who have increasingly declined, and to escape a passive, scattered, and defensive position, and to carry out an offensive strategy?

All these strategic problems are puzzling and very urgent for the U.S. imperialists. From Johnson and McNamara to Westmoreland, they all have clearly realized their bogged down and deadlocked situation in Vietnam but have not yet found any new solution. They have, at last, resorted to the troop-reinforcement measure. However, they are encountering big difficulties with this problem. If small reinforcements are sent in, it will be impossible to remedy the situation of the U.S. troops who are endangered on the battlefields. If large reinforcements are sent in, this will greatly influence the U.S. people's political and economic life and the U.S. strategy in the world and will not succeed in saving the U.S. imperialists from complete failure.

On the political front, the pacification mission has met with increasingly greater failure and has made no progress. The puppet troops have been increasingly weakened and have lost more and more of their strategic efficiency. Following the deceitful election, the puppet administration remains unable to escape their conflicting, confused, and lost situation. The contradictions among the lackeys of the Americans, among the puppet generals, and between the military faction and the civilian cliques have become ever more acute.

The U.S. imperialists resorted to the deceitful election farce with the aim of applying a new layer of paint on the Thieu-Ky clique. However, through this farce, the Thieu-Ky clique's face of country-selling Vietnamese traitors and lackeys of the Americans has been exposed ever more clearly. U.S. public opinion also acknowledged that Thieu and Ky are shameless and inefficient. The puppet Saigon administration has become increasingly isolated and imperiled in the face of the widespread and vigorous development of the struggle of the heroic southern army and people.

In the international arena, the U.S. imperialists are also confronted with new difficulties. Since they have been tied firmly to the war of aggression in Vietnam and have suffered one failure after another, the U.S. imperialists have increasingly revealed their weaknesses and flaws. Revolutionary people the world over have more clearly realized that the U.S. imperialists are wealthy but not strong and that their

economic and military potential, although great, are nonetheless limited. The U.S. imperialists are being defeated by a small but heroic people. The more they prolong the war of aggression in Vietnam, the more the U.S. imperialists are isolated politically in the world.

In the present conflict in the Middle East and Near East, the U.S. imperialists have to cope with a new front. The temporary military victories of the Israeli mercenaries, the lackeys of the Americans, did not put an end to the boiling national liberation movement of the Arab countries in this area but were an event that marked a new step of this movement. The people in the Arab countries are firmly pursuing their struggle and will certainly pursue it to liberate themselves.

The temporary victories of the U.S. imperialists and the Israeli mercenaries have become their [word indistinct] mistakes and are causing them increasingly greater difficulties in all fields.

In Latin America, which the U.S. imperialists have always considered (an extension of their territory), the revolutionary movement has been developed vigorously, and the Latin American people have stood up to struggle against the U.S. imperialists' interventionist and aggressive policy and the reactionary governments, the lackeys of the Americans, in this part of the world.

In the United States itself, the Johnson government is confronted with the contradictions among the U.S. ruling clique and the U.S. people's increasingly stronger protest. The U.S. Negroes' boiling and widespread struggle is a fierce offensive blow dealt both at the Johnson clique's domestic and foreign policies. Never before has U.S. President Johnson been so deadlocked as he is now. On 14 August 1967 U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT admitted that war, racial conflict, the growing budget deficit, and troubles with the Congress, with the allies, and with the dollar are bad news which are pressing the government from all directions. Suddenly, the situation at the White House has become like that of a building whose roof is about to cave in.

Although they are encountering difficulties and stalemate in Vietnam, in the world, and even in the United States because of their stubborn, warlike, and aggressive nature and because they possess economic and military potentials, the U.S. imperialists still continue to adopt a policy of military strength in prosecuting their war of aggression in our country. What are the U.S. imperialists' plans?

A--They will continue to step up the limited war on a large scale by increasing the number of U.S. troops in the south and staging fierce raids against the north. After making extensive calculations and weighing the pros and cons, Johnson has decided to increase the number of U.S. troops in the south by another 50,000 men, thus bringing the total number of U.S. forces in South Vietnam to over half a million by July 1968.

Yet, the U.S. imperialists are in a difficult and stalemated situation in Vietnam not because they lack troops, but because their war of aggression is unjust, because they have committed many errors in exerting leadership over the war, and because they have been in a strategic stalemate and tactical crisis. For this reason, even if they increase their troops by another 50,000, 100,000, or more, they cannot extricate themselves from their comprehensive stalemate in the southern part of our country. They cannot overcome their scattered, passive, and defensive battle position, cannot achieve any turning point favorable to them, and can by no means cope with the increasingly vigorous and resolute offensive thrust of the heroic southern armed forces and people.

It can be asserted that even if they increase the number of U.S. troops in the south by another 100,000, 200,000, or more, the U.S. imperialists will certainly sustain more serious defeats in the southern part of our country.

Recently, on his ninth trip to Saigon, McNamara urged Westmoreland to improve the efficiency of the present number of U.S. troops in the south, in order to raise the present combat ratio of one out of eight U.S. servicemen. Yet, how can Westmoreland do so at a time when U.S. and puppet troops are scattered in many areas and performing many tasks? This situation is irremediable. The organization of the U.S. troops depends heavily upon war equipment and technology and, as a result, it is very cumbersome and requires enormous logistical support. If weaponry, technology, and logistical support were reduced, the U.S. troops would not be able to perform their combat mission, because they would be deprived of what they regard as their strength. After all is said and done, the ratio of U.S. expeditionary troops actually engaged in combat will continue to be low. This is a bitter fact, a weakness, and a major difficulty for the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

The U.S. imperialists are planning to build a barrier along the temporary military demarcation line. Yet, no well-fortified barrier can avoid collapsing in the face of our people's strength. As a result of the construction of this barrier, (U.S.) troops would become more scattered and would be trapped in a passive and defensive situation.

The U.S. imperialists hold that to rapidly settle the war, it is necessary for their air and naval forces to intensify their raids against the north. They are stepping up their strikes at our lines of communications on land and on waterways, industrial establishments, cities and towns, populated areas, and so forth. Yet, McNamara himself recently admitted that with the bombing of new targets in the north, no matter what results it may bring, the United States cannot win or shorten the war and that the problem is that the war must be settled on the ground in South Vietnam.

At present, in their stalemated situation, the U.S. imperialists will write even more frantically. They may stage fierce strikes against our cities, villages, and populated areas, further intensify their strikes against our lines of communications, step up their bombing and strafing of our dams and dikes, and strengthen their blockade of our coastal areas. Nevertheless, they definitely cannot shake our people's determination to completely defeat the U.S. aggressors in order to protect the north, liberate the south, and proceed toward reunifying the fatherland.

Our people are not afraid of undertaking sacrifices and hardships and are not afraid of any threat of the Americans. With their intense patriotism, their intelligence and creativeness, and their tremendous organizational ability, our people are resolved to make the north more and more powerful economically and in the field of national defense to insure that production achieves further progress amid the flames of war, to insure uninterrupted communications and transport under all circumstances, and to insure that all our people's needs, especially the requirements of the frontline, are met.

Using a large expeditionary corps to wage aggression in the southern part of our country is one of the most serious strategic errors in the history of U.S. imperialism. In this strategic error, the use of air and naval forces to extend the war to the northern part of our country is also one of the most serious errors and one of the most stupid measures adopted by the U.S. imperialists. Regardless of this fact, the U.S. general and field grade officers at the Pentagon have claimed that only by escalating the war against the north can the initiative be regained and the situation reversed.

It is obvious that, faced with continuous defeats, the stupid U.S. imperialists have become more stupid. The more they increase the number of their troops and the further they escalate the war of destruction against the north, the more isolated they become politically, and the more ignominious defeats they will sustain not only in the north, but also in the south, and mainly in the south.

B--The U.S. imperialists may adventurously expand their limited war all over our country. We have adequately prepared ourselves to cope with this possibility. If the U.S. imperialists expand the limited war to the north, it is certain that they will rapidly meet with complete defeat. Although they have more than 1 million troops at their disposal, the U.S. imperialists have been defeated in the south. If they expand the war to the north with infantry troops, how many more troops would be sufficient? Attacking the north means opening another large battlefield. The U.S. imperialists' forces would become more scattered and would be annihilated more easily.

We have adequately prepared ourselves and are ready to deal annihilating blows at the U.S. imperialists if they adventurously send infantry troops to the north. If they expand the war to the north, the war would become more complex, because by attacking the north they would be attacking the mainland of a member country of the socialist camp. In this enlarged war, the U.S. imperialists would meet with incalculable serious consequences.

The war would not develop according to the U.S. imperialists' subjective expectations. It would also depend on the policy and actions of their adversary. Our people are prepared to annihilate the aggressors. The U.S. imperialists may extend the war to the Royal Kingdom of Laos and intensify their provocations against the Royal Kingdom of Cambodia.

The U.S. imperialists have been passive and defeated in their aggression in South Vietnam. If they expand the war all over the Indochinese peninsula, they will certainly encounter greater difficulties and sustain more serious defeats. The Vietnamese, Laos, and Cambodian peoples, united in life as well as in death, will fight side by side against the common enemy, the U.S. imperialist aggressors, to gain complete victory for the three brotherly peoples on its beloved Indochina peninsula. All the activities of the U.S. imperialists clearly prove that they are very obdurate. Despite their bitter defeats, they still persist in continuing their aggression against the southern part of our country. They are striving to step up their criminal war of aggression.

Faced with this situation, the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance of our people sets forth new great and urgent tasks and requirements. With the great victories they have scored, our people in both zones will closely unite, overcome all difficulties and hardships, strongly develop their offensive position, resolutely smash all war attempts of the U.S. imperialists, rush ahead and completely defeat over 1 million U.S., rebel, and satellite troops, fulfill the glorious historical mission, and lead the anti-U.S. national salvation enterprise to final victory.

In South Vietnam, the great frontline of the fatherland, the compatriots and heroic Liberation Armed Forces have not ceased enhancing their indomitable spirit, bravery, and intelligence, overcoming all hard tests, and writing the most glorious pages of history of the heroic Vietnamese people. The South Vietnamese people have raised high their victorious banner and have shown themselves worthy of the indomitable traditions of Nguyen Dinh Chieu, Truong Dinh, Thu Khoa Huan, worthy of the Nam Ky uprising traditions, worthy of the title of the brass fortress of the fatherland, and worthy of the confidence of the whole nation and of beloved President Ho.

The South Vietnamese people are heroic. The whole nation is directing its eyes toward the compatriots and combatants of South Vietnam and is closely uniting with South Vietnam in an unshakable belief that the South Vietnamese people will certainly be victorious and the Vietnamese people will certainly be victorious. Under the national liberation front's leadership, the armed forces and people of South Vietnam are striving to develop their victories, harassing the enemy, developing their initiatives, and stepping up the people's warfare on the various battlefields.

Following the victorious 1966-1967 winter-spring campaign, the armed forces and people of South Vietnam are rushing forward and attacking the enemy on both fields, military and political, in the mountain and delta regions as well as in urban centers. From Tri Thien, the Fifth Zone, and Tay Nguyen high plateau, to eastern, central, and western Nam Bo, the guerrilla and large-size forces are strongly developing their effectiveness, inflicting heavy losses on the enemy, and further driving the enemy into a stalemate.

On the South Vietnam battlefield, the Liberation Armed Forces are clearly showing their ability in destroying U.S. battalions and rebel battle groups. In the days ahead, the Liberation Armed Forces will certainly hit hard and score great victories. They will repeatedly harass the enemy and destroy many large U.S. and rebel units and achieve more resounding victories. On the South Vietnam battlefield, the guerrilla activities have been further developed. In the days ahead, the guerrilla activities will clearly show their ability in annihilating the enemy everywhere, scattering the enemy in order to fight them, and together with large-size battles, scoring many greater victories.

Along with military activities in South Vietnam, the political struggles are directly affecting the enemy, destroying the fighting will of the U.S. troops, and dismantling the rebel administration and armed forces. In the days ahead, the political struggle of the South Vietnamese people, especially those in the urban centers, will certainly score more glorious victories. In developing the victorious 1966-1967 campaign, along with the repeated and overall attacks against the enemy, the armed forces and people of South Vietnam are striving to strengthen and develop the liberated areas and to mobilize more manpower and wealth to further step up and lead the resistance to final victory.

In mid-August, in an enthusiastic atmosphere of the resounding victories throughout the South Vietnam battlefields, the national liberation front held an extraordinary session to approve the front's political program, aimed at further developing the past great victories of the South Vietnam revolution, meeting the present requirements of the situation and the revolution, and paving the way for greater victories in the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle of the heroic South Vietnamese people.

The political program set forth the national salvation objectives and tasks of our southern people: to unite all the people, to resolutely defeat the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression, to overthrow the puppet administration, to form a broad national and democratic coalition administration, to build an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral, and prosperous South Vietnam, and to proceed toward peaceful reunification of the fatherland. The front's political program is the heroic southern people's great national unity banner, a banner of determination to fight and win, and a banner of determination to completely defeat the U.S. aggressors.

It is a bugle call which urges the 14 million southern people to take advantage of their victories to surge forward to defeat more than 1 million U.S., puppet, and satellite troops and win great and (heroic) victories.

In the light of the political program recently proclaimed by the front, the heroic southern people will certainly develop vigorously all the potential capabilities of the people, develop their offensive thrust, step up their armed and political struggle, make the great people's war develop to a new degree, and completely defeat the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys.

In the north, under the leadership of the party Central Committee and government, headed by respected and beloved President Ho, our armed forces and people are simultaneously engaged, wholeheartedly and to the best of their ability, in production and combat and in resolutely fulfilling the large rear base's obligation toward the large frontline. For more than two years, our northern armed forces and people have overcome all difficulties, fought courageously, and scored many great achievements in production and combat and in serving the frontline. Our fight will be more violent in the days ahead. Therefore, the tasks of our armed forces and people will be heavier and require us to make outstanding efforts to achieve greater successes in all fields.

The present glorious and heavy tasks of the north, which have been set forth by our party, government, and President Ho, are: To simultaneously perform production and combat, to pool human and material resources, to contribute toward defeating the enemy's war of destruction against the north, to determinedly step up production under all war circumstances, to support the southern revolution wholeheartedly and to the best of our ability, and, at the same time, to take precautionary measures against the U.S. imperialists' schemes to expand the limited war all over our country. We must thoroughly and deeply grasp these tasks and strive resolutely to carry them out by every means. Concerning combat, we must step up the people's war, resolutely defeat the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction against the northern part of our country, and hold aloft the banner of determination to defeat the U.S. aggressors through valiant and skillful acts.

Our armed forces and people must appropriately punish all new war escalation steps taken by the U.S. imperialists. We must vigorously develop the moral, material, political, and military strength of the socialist north and, at the same time, effectively use the assistance of the socialist countries in order to defeat the U.S. aggressors. We must regularly heighten our vigilance and firmly grasp the continuous, protracted, and resolute character of our task of fighting against the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction. We have never nourished any illusions about the U.S. imperialists' good will for peace. Only by dealing vigorous and continuous blows at their air, naval, and artillery forces, conflicting heavy losses on them, and reducing their forces and aggressive determination can we check their criminal hands. Dealing vigorous and continuous blows at the U.S. imperialists' air, naval, and artillery forces constitute the most realistic and most effective act aimed at insuring coordination with the heroic southern armed forces and people and, at the same time, is a great encouragement for the armed forces and people all over our country.

We must strive to develop the fighting capacity of our armed forces and the various branches of the people's army and make our fire nets against U.S. aircraft, warships, and artillery units increasingly highly effective in order to destroy as many U.S. aircraft, warships, and artillery units as possible and to protect the socialist north more satisfactorily.

We must invent more methods of fighting the U.S. air force. For more than two years, as of 14 September 1967 the U.S. imperialists had suffered about 2,300 aircraft shot down over the north. This indicates the tragic bankruptcy of the U.S. air force's tactics and proves that we have had creative and appropriate tactics developed by each of our forces and branches.

Now faced with the U.S. imperialists' new plots and acts of sabotage, it is all the more necessary for us to devise more brave and resourceful tactics in order to constantly take the enemy by surprise and to cause him to sustain heavy defeats. We must also pay great attention to improving and developing methods of fighting the U.S. naval force and artillery units. With a steadfast militant determination, heroism, courage, and intelligence, we must do our best to develop the superiority of our existing weapons and be determined to invent highly effective tactics in order to punish the U.S. naval force and artillery units appropriately.

Along with positively fighting the enemy, we must better perform our air defense tasks. It is necessary to continue consolidating our people's air defense system, to consolidate and develop our alert network against the enemy's aircraft and warship attacks, and to consolidate and build more shelters and communication trenches, especially in densely populated places like factories, hospitals, schools, and so forth. It is necessary to promptly commend and reward individuals, units, and localities for their achievements in people's air defense. At the same time, appropriate disciplinary measures must be taken against individuals, units, and localities for their negligence of air defense tasks, negligence which may cause avoidable damage and losses.

On the communications and transportation front, our soldiers and people have made great efforts, have fought valiantly and heroically, and have scored outstanding achievements. In the days to come, we must make greater efforts in order to achieve more glorious victories on this front. No matter how fierce and ruthless enemy attacks may be, we must be resolved to insure smooth communication operations, to meet the demands of the frontline and the demands for combat and production, and to insure the people's livelihood.

While continuing their resistance against the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction, the northern armed forces and people have not stopped preparing to fight and defeat the enemy if he ventures to expand the local war to North Vietnam. We must continue making more careful and urgent ideological and organizational preparations for vanquishing the U.S. ground force, as well as any of the enemy's armed services, on whatever scale. We must closely combine our fighting against the war of destruction with those preparations in order to defeat the enemy under all other war circumstances.

With regard to production, we must positively implement the policies and plans of the party and the state concerning the change of trends for building and developing the economy and continue building the material and technical base for socialism. We must do our utmost and resolutely fulfill the state plan in order to meet the immediate demands of the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle, the demands for building socialism, and the demands of the people's everyday life.

We must step up agricultural and industrial production, attach importance to developing local industries, and endeavor to increase the economic potentials and national defense force of our people. During the past two years, under the correct leadership of the party and the government and under the violent fighting conditions, North Vietnam's economy has indicated the superiority of socialism.

North Vietnam's socialist agriculture is settling with good results such problems as food, irrigation, intensive cultivation designed to increase production, increases in yearly crops, land clearing, and so forth. Our new-born industry has made very positive contributions to developing production, insuring the people's livelihood, and serving national defense.

On the basis of these achievements, our people can and will surely achieve socialist construction in North Vietnam more satisfactorily under the violent fighting conditions. The anti-U.S. national salvation struggle of our people in the entire country has entered a very urgent state. As a large rear of the entire country, North Vietnam is resolved to mobilize all of her manpower and wealth to carry out the slogan: "Everything for the frontline, everything for victory."

The clear-sighted leadership of the party and the government, the unbroken solidarity of the people, the determination to fight to win, the spirit of sacrificing everything for the fatherland's independence and freedom, and the outstanding efforts of our people are the most basic guarantees for our people to have sufficient strength to fight tenaciously and protractedly to score greater achievements and advance toward the final victory.

Our people's armed forces must be fully and deeply aware of the enemy's schemes and their present revolutionary and military tasks, uphold the spirit of resolutely fighting to achieve victory, and increase their fighting capacity in order to become the truly invincible armed forces of the heroic Vietnamese people. "In the past, under the leadership of the party and President Ho, our people's armed forces have upheld revolutionary heroism, developed their "determination to fight and win" tradition, incessantly heightened their fighting strength, fought in an extremely valiant and heroic manner, and won glorious victories on all battlefields. Never before were our people's armed forces so strong as they are now. Our people's armed forces are a heroic community of a heroic people." On all anti-U.S. battlefields, officers and enlisted men and units of our people's armed forces have performed thousands of heroic acts. On all anti-U.S. battlefields, our people's armed forces have stood side by side with the people in raising high President Ho's banner of resolutely fighting to defeat the U.S. aggressors and have achieved glorious victories.

As the shock force of our people in the present anti-U.S. national salvation resistance war, our people's armed forces are highly enthusiastic over their achievements and feats of arms in building their ranks and fighting the enemy. We must not be subjective and conceited and must endeavor to struggle without respite to improve our fighting quality, to develop our fighting force, and to make our people's armed forces, which have fought well, fight better and resolved to fight to vanquish the U.S. imperialist aggressors under all war circumstances.

The present tasks of our people's armed forces is to fight and at the same time build themselves into an invincible steel-like force for completely defeating the U.S. aggressors. We know that to defeat the enemy, the armed forces must have a certain number of troops and at the same time be of high quality. Of these two aspects, special emphasis must be paid upon quality. To be of high quality, a company must be as strong as 10 ordinary companies.

The military theory of Marxism-Leninism points out that the power of a revolutionary force must not be measured by the number of its troops alone. Quantity is necessary, but on the basis of a certain quantity, quality plays a decisive role. The problem of improving quality is a precious tradition and a great experience of our people's armed forces. From the guerrilla units of the pre-1945 general uprising period to the army units during the resistance against the French colonialist aggressors, our people's armed forces, thanks to their high fighting quality, have used small units to defeat larger enemy units and achieved victories everywhere.

The drives for training troops for achieving victories, for training officers and improving soldiers, and for political and military reeducation have helped our People's Armed Forces fulfill in an outstanding way all fighting tasks during the anti-French resistance. During the past few years, the "three first" drive and the campaign for building "determination to win" units have made important contributions to making the People's Armed Forces grow quickly and win glorious victories. The burning lesson of the southern army and people who are using a force of high quality to defeat an enemy who is superior numerically and who is equipped with stronger weapons is encouraging us to struggle continually and improve the quality of our People's Armed Forces.

In the struggle against the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction, we have clearly realized the important influence of the task of improving our fighting quality. The Nguyen Viet Xuan anti-aircraft artillery battalion, the sixth missile regiment, the first and second companies of the air force, the seventh detachment of the navy, many artillery units, many self-defense militia units, and so forth have fought very well: they are typical examples of units having high fighting quality. The anti-French resistance of our people in the past, in its entire process as well as in the development of various combats and campaigns, has brought forth brilliant examples of the great influence of troop quality.

In the present anti-U.S. national salvation resistance, we do not have as many troops and modern weapons as the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys; yet we have defeated the enemy. This proves the great influence of troop quality. After carefully studying the strategic and fighting efficiency of the armed forces in general as well as of each category of troops, each military service, and each unit in particular, we have clearly realized the great influence of troop quality. Therefore, the problem of improving troop quality and developing their fighting power is now a task of strategic significance having a decisive meaning for the task of achieving our people's great determination to completely defeat the U.S. aggressors. To strive to struggle and improve troop quality and to develop the fighting power of all three categories of troops will surely increase by many times the strategic and fighting efficiency of the People's Armed Forces, achieve great progress and a big leap forward and bring about great changes in the political and military situation of the resistance.

The problem of improving the armed forces' quality must be raised in a comprehensive way, embracing all fields: political, military, logistic, ideological, organizational, and efficiency. We must implement this policy in all three categories of troops--regulars, local troops, and self-defense militiamen--in all military services and branches, and in all military organs at all echelons with the aim of developing the power of all the components of the People's Armed Forces in order to defeat the U.S. aggressors in all war circumstances.

We must endeavor to further increase the regulars' fighting, making all regular units fight better and actually become the iron fists which will win every battle and continually and quickly and completely annihilate the enemy everywhere in our country. We must pay more attention to increasing the fighting power of local troops in order to make the local units from the mountainous region to the coastal areas become strong units having great fighting capacity in the localities and being able to fight well independently as well in cooperation with militiamen and regulars, fulfill all tasks in an outstanding way, annihilate the enemy forces, launch the guerrilla war, and protect the people.

We must pay great attention to increasing the fighting power and numerical strength of the self-defense militia, thus making the self-defense militia become a strong, stable, and widespread armed force ready to fight the enemy and fight him well with all weapons on hand or to be obtained, play the role of a shock force in production, and supply the local and regular forces with good officers and soldiers.

We must pay greater attention to increasing the quality of the armed forces' military organs and schools so that these organs can be of great help to military leaders and commanders, so that these schools can train and improve many officers of high quality, thus actively contributing to the fulfillment of the building and fighting task of the people's armed forces. We must endeavor to satisfy the following requirements:

A--To heighten the political and ideological levels of officers and men so that they can more deeply understand the sacred anti-U.S. national salvation duty, have a boiling revolutionary spirit, have a strong offensive spirit and a high fighting will, unite closely around the party Central Committee, the government, and President Ho, thoroughly implement the policies and lines of the party and the instructions and orders of higher echelons, fulfill all fighting, building, and other tasks, and have the determination to completely defeat the U.S. aggressors and win the greatest victories on the battlefield under any war circumstances.

B--To heighten their technical and tactical levels, it is necessary to pursue the training of officers and men so that they can maintain and cleverly use their weapons and equipment, and flexibly and efficiently apply the tactical principles and fighting methods of the people's war. It is necessary to lay emphasis on the quality of resoluteness, courage, resourcefulness, and creativeness in combat and study. We must also pay special attention to training units so that they can launch military operations, station troops, and fight continually on all battlefields under arduous and fierce conditions.

C--To rearrange and improve organizations and equipment in order to fit them to the combat requirements, to the characteristics and duties of different units, to battlefield conditions, and to our capacity, in order to make the various units become orderly, light, and strong organizationally and have great fighting power. It is necessary to streamline the organization, arrange the forces rationally, and build for various organizations work habits and systems to be applied in military operations and combat.

D--To streamline party organizations and mass organizations; to streamline party committees and branches in order to make them strong and stable in all fields; to regularly develop the party; to improve party members so that they will have a high political level and be able to mobilize the masses; to build leading methods for various party echelons from top to bottom; to continuously heighten the leading role of the party under all circumstances; to continue streamlining the mass organizations so that these organizations can fulfill all their tasks and missions, fully develop the intelligence and capacity of all their members, and become a great force in each unit.

E--To improve the troops' material life, heighten their technical level, and improve their stamina and endurance; to strictly enforce the systems of preserving and repairing weapons and military equipment; to rationally use spare weapons, ammunitions, and equipment; to strictly enforce the principle of taking weapons from the enemy to equip ourselves; to satisfactorily organize the feeding of troops, their physical training, the improvement of their endurance and stamina, and the improvement of their health, thus insuring a high percentage of fighting men; to satisfactorily organize the treatment of wounded and sick troops so that they will be restored and returned to their units quickly.

F--To develop and increase the efficiency of cadres at all levels. The cadres have played a very important role in building the armed forces and in improving their fighting ability. Only when the cadres are good can units become good and fulfill their fighting task and other tasks. Therefore, it is necessary to strive to develop and increase the efficiency of cadres at all levels and to pay attention to heightening the troop units' leadership, command, and management level and the organizational level in order to fulfill all concrete tasks under difficult, complicated circumstances, especially under urgent, fierce fighting circumstances.

We must have a very high determination and many effective measures in order to swiftly increase the efficiency of cadres at all levels. Only on this basis can we satisfy the early maturity of the armed forces and the war development. At present, the movement to heighten the quality and to develop the fighting strength of the people's armed forces and to increase their determination to fight and defeat the U.S. aggressors is highly significant with regard to the fighting and building task of our people's armed forces. This movement requires all cadres and combatants to make strenuous efforts and to devote themselves to increasing the fighting strength of all units to a new higher degree.

The leading and commanding cadres bear a very great responsibility. Cadres and party members must certainly take the lead in this important movement. All cadres at all levels must have a great determination. This is the determination to fight and completely defeat the U.S. aggressors. It is necessary to see all the enemy's setbacks, difficulties, confusion, and deadlock, and, at the same time, it is necessary to see all the great successes and capabilities of our army and people, to make a detailed study of the enemy and ourselves, and to firmly grasp the laws of the resistance and the skilled military art of the people's war. Let all cadres at all levels enthusiastically move forward, be more determined and valiant, and resolutely fight and defeat and know how to defeat the aggressors in order to make valuable contributions to the glorious task of our people and people's armed forces.

On the vast frontline, the southern liberation armed forces are simultaneously fulfilling the fighting and building tasks and have incessantly increased their fighting strength. The resounding feats of arms, the swift maturity, the outstanding progress, and the abundant achievements of the heroic southern liberation armed forces are vigorously encouraging all cadres and combatants of our people's armed forces. It is hoped that the heroic southern liberation armed forces will score great achievements in fulfilling their fighting task as well as in fulfilling the task of increasing their fighting strength and will, together with all our people, move forward to completely defeat the U.S. aggressors.

In carrying out President Ho's sacred anti-U.S. national salvation appeal in order to completely defeat the more than 1 million U.S., puppet, and satellite troops, our People's armed forces must have in mind and carry out his advice: be loyal to the party and the people, fulfill all tasks, overcome all difficulties, and defeat all aggressors. All our cadres and combatants must clearly understand their tasks, strive to struggle, swiftly increase the fighting strength of the people's armed forces, and resolutely fulfill their glorious task as shock forces of all our people in the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle.

The victories on the battlefields are encouraging us and filling us with enthusiasm. All our people are awaiting from our people's armed forces new steps of progress and more resounding and greater feats of arms in the days ahead. The history of our people is the history of a victorious people. Tran Hung Dao, Le Loi, Nguyen Trai, and Quang Trung fiercely fought an enemy of greater strength and were gloriously victorious.

Since the party and President Ho assumed leadership, our people have brought to success the August Revolution and the resistance and successively defeated the Japanese fascists, the French imperialists, and the U.S. interventionists. In the past 10 years, our people have successively defeated all the aggressive schemes of the U.S. imperialists, their neocolonialist aggressive policy with their traditional tricks, and their special war with more than half a million puppet troops, and have defeated and are defeating their local war strategy with more than 1 million U.S., puppets, and satellite troops in the south and have, at the same time, defeated and are defeating their war of destruction with air and naval forces in the north.

It is obvious that our Vietnamese people have sufficient determination and capabilities and will certainly and completely defeat the U.S. invaders' war of aggression. In the fierce fight against the U.S. aggressors, the most cruel and barbarous imperialist ringleaders in the present war, our Vietnamese people will certainly achieve complete victory, because our great national salvation resistance has been glowing with just cause, has enjoyed correct political and military lines and the unity strength of our people who rose up to struggle, has possessed a firm determination and skilled fighting methods, and has enjoyed great assistance from the brotherly socialist countries and strong sympathy and encouragement from progressive people in the world, including the U.S. people.

The anti-U.S. national salvation resistance of our people is the continuation and development of the August Revolutionary struggle and the anti-French resistance in the past. This resistance must overcome a great many sacrifices and hardships but will certainly score glorious successes. This is the great struggle, which has never been seen before in the country-building and country-protecting history of our people. This struggle is also of great international significance, because it contributes to protecting the socialist bloc and stepping up the movement to liberate the peoples and to protect peace in the world. This struggle is a great contribution of our Vietnamese people to the common revolutionary struggle of the people in the world to oppose imperialism headed by the U.S. imperialists and to achieve peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

Under President Ho's "determination to defeat the U.S. aggressors!" flag, let all our army and people take advantage of victories to move forward. The Vietnamese people are determined to completely defeat more than a million U.S., puppet, and satellite troops. The U.S. imperialists' neocolonialist war of aggression will certainly be defeated. The people's war of the heroic Vietnamese people will certainly win complete victory!