



Supplement

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TEXT OF TALK BY GENERAL VO NGUYEN GIAP

AT JANUARY 1967 CONFERENCE

"THE STRATEGIC ROLE OF THE SELF-DEFENSE MILITIA FORCE IN THE
GREAT ANTI-U.S. NATIONAL SALVATION STRUGGLE OF OUR PEOPLE"

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GENERAL GIAP DISCUSSES ROLE OF MILITIA FORCE

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(Gen. Vo Nguyen Giap's talk at a conference held in January to recapitulate military tasks of the Third Military Zone: "The strategic role of the self-defense militia force in the great anti-U.S. national salvation struggle for our people"--recorded)

Part I

(Text) Comrades: All our people have successfully ended 1966 and entered 1967--a year of fierce struggle, but also a year of greater victories. On behalf of the party Central Committee and the party Military Affairs Committee, I convey my greetings to the conference for recapitulating the military tasks of the Third Military Zone and hope that the conference will achieve good results.

The party Military Affairs Committee is greatly interested in this conference and warmly praises the local force and the self-defense force of the Third Military Zone, which during the past two years have collaborated with the regular force and achieved outstanding results in combat, production, and communication and transport, thus actively contributing to the victories of both zones.

The party Military Affairs Committee welcomes the leadership of the military zone party committee and party committees at various echelons, which have strictly and creatively carried out the party's lines and policies and the high command's orders and instructions concerning local military tasks. Various localities in Thanh Hoa, Haiphong, and Nam Ha have scored many satisfactory achievements. As for Ha Tay, it has exhibited weaknesses in the recent past. Although it has exerted efforts, Ha Tay must move forward more steadfastly.

I am very happy to have the opportunity to talk to you comrades at a time when the anti-U.S. national salvation emulation heroes and combatants congress has achieved success and is encouraging all the people and army to attain the climax of the movement of emulation in scoring feats of arms and defeating the U.S. aggressors.

The latest anti-U.S. national salvation emulation heroes and combatants congress dazzlingly reflected Vietnamese revolutionary heroism and, at the same time, asserted the correctness and creativeness of our party's people's war line. The people's war line is the line of mobilizing all the people, arming all the people, and leading all the people to fight the aggressors and using the people's armed forces as a key force for defeating all aggressive enemies. According to our party's military line, the people's armed forces consist of three categories of troops: main-force troops, regional troops, and people's self-defense militia.

The self-defense militia forces have played and will always play an important strategic role in the people's war. In speaking of people's war, we must necessarily speak of the self-defense militia forces. Therefore, today, at this conference on the recapitulation of local military tasks, I would like to talk to you comrades about the self-defense militia forces so that you will clearly realize their strategic role in our people's great anti-U.S. national salvation task.

Part I

The self-defense militia is a strategic force in our people's armed revolutionary struggle.

Comrades, during the process of leading the extremely perilous and glorious armed struggle for national liberation, our party's line of waging a people's war and building the people's armed forces has emerged and developed, achieved more and more brilliant successes, and become increasingly creative. These successes of our party are the successes of the correct application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism concerning revolutionary war and the building of the revolutionary armed forces in accordance with the actual situation of our country.

The people's war viewpoint is a basic viewpoint in our party's Marxist military line. This viewpoint originated from the just nature of the revolutionary war and from the realization of the decisive role of the masses in the development of history.

In the present age, the people's war must be waged by all people under the leadership of the working class, and we must insure that all people are mobilized and armed. The strength of a people which is completely armed makes possible the holding of an absolutely superior position in people's war to defeat the aggressive wars of all enemies. This strength has led our people to brilliant successes in the high tide of anti-Japanese national salvation resistance and in the resistance against the French imperialists, and has brought glorious successes to our people in both parts of the country in the present anti-U.S. national salvation task.

To insure that all people are mobilized and armed, the people's armed forces must be used as the key force. The people's armed forces consist of three categories of troops: main-force units, regional troops, and self-defense militia. In speaking of people's war, it is impossible to omit any of these three categories. It is impossible to omit the main-force units, and it is impossible to omit the regional troops and the massive self-defense militia forces. In leading the armed revolutionary struggle, our party has paid the greatest attention to using the three categories of troops and has attached great importance to firmly maintaining relations, unity, and harmony among these three categories of troops.

In the instructions concerning the formation of the Vietnamese Liberation Armed Forces propaganda team, President Ho pointed out that "since our resistance is a resistance of all people, it is necessary to mobilize all people and arm all people. Therefore, in concentrating forces to form the Vietnamese Liberation Armed Forces propaganda team, it is necessary to maintain the armed forces in the localities, to coordinate actions, and to provide mutual assistance in all fields. On the other hand, the main-force units have the duty to guide the localities' armed teams, assist in training them, provide them with weapons if possible, and make them grow increasingly."

During the resistance war against the French colonialists, the creation of three categories of troops had been clearly manifested. Our party skillfully used each category of troops and coordinated the three categories of troops in accordance with the requirements of the revolutionary war.

The main-force army is grouped into regiments and divisions and with strategic tasks throughout the country. Regional forces are built into platoons and companies or battalions with combat missions in localities. They join the self-defense and militia and guerrilla forces in waging guerrilla warfare or fight in coordination with the main-force units.

The self-defense militia and guerrilla forces are the armed forces closely related to production and organized in hamlets, villages, city wards, and factories. They are responsible for serving, together with local forces, as a core force for the national movement to fight invaders and for coordinating with local forces and main-force units in preparing for wars as well as in combat.

It is clear that the existence of the three kinds of forces is very consistent with the law of development of people's war and of the people's armed forces. Each of the forces plays a definite role in the war.

Particularly with regard to the self-defense and militia forces, our party has asserted: they are a strategic force throughout the armed revolutionary struggle in our country. President Ho said: "The self-defense and militia and guerrilla forces are the forces of all of our people. They are an invincible force, an iron wall of the fatherland. Any enemy, no matter how cruel and ruthless he may be, who lays a hand on this force or iron wall will be smashed to pieces (Ho's letter to men and women self-defense and militia and guerrilla members throughout the country in 1947--Hanoi radio). This was proven by the protracted, arduous armed struggle of our people under party leadership, a struggle which developed from jungles and mountains to the swampy areas in the country and during which our people used rudimentary weapons, including outmoded rifles and pointed bamboo sticks, to fight the French and chase the Japanese away.

A--Self-defense units and combat self-defense units were the first form of the revolutionary armed forces in our country.

The revolutionary armed forces of our people came into being in the revolutionary struggle movement of all of our people, especially the majority of the masses of workers and peasants. In 1930 and 1931, the first self-defense units appeared in the Soviet Nghe Tinh movement. They were the forerunners of the future armed forces of our people. Our party's first resolution on military matters dealt with the formation of worker-peasant self-defense units, the worker-peasant army.

Later, at the beginning of World War II, when preparations for an armed uprising became a very urgent task for the revolution, self-defense units and combat self-defense units were activated in the revolutionary bases in the jungles and mountains and were gradually expanded to other large areas throughout the country, from the rural areas to the cities. The national salvation units, the Vietnam liberation troops propaganda units, and the Ba To guerrilla units came into being one after another.

Afterward, during the resistance movement against the Japanese in 1945, based on the guerrilla warfare launched throughout the country, a government was formed in the liberated areas. The party's armed forces were unified into an army called the Vietnam Liberation Army. After the success of the August revolution, the self-defense and militia forces became very strong compared with past years and this created favorable conditions for developing quickly the ranks of the liberation troops and building them into a regular army, which is now the people's army, for the democratic republic state. Thus, the self-defense and guerrilla units were the first forms of the revolutionary armed forces in our country.

B--The self-defense and combat self-defense forces were the shock forces which joined the people in waging the general uprising, leading the August revolution to success.

The self-defense and combat self-defense forces were activated on the basis of steady and strong political organizations of the masses and were developed in the revolutionary movement of the masses. Therefore, they grew up very quickly and played a very important role throughout the armed revolutionary struggle. These units became the essential forces responsible for protecting the basic organizations of the party and the masses. They effectively assisted the people in their political struggle, waged limited guerrilla warfare, joined the people in conducting partial uprisings, overthrew the enemy government in localities, established the people's government, and built revolutionary bases.

In the August 1945 general uprising, the self-defense and combat self-defense forces throughout the country played an effective shock role. Together with the Vietnam Liberation Army, they coordinated their armed struggle with the political struggle of millions of the masses who rose up with revolutionary violence to win power throughout the country. We all know that the liberation army was still small at the time while the self-defense and combat self-defense forces developed very broadly in the entire country. Therefore, in many places including such major cities as Hanoi, Hue, and Saigon, the self-defense and combat self-defense forces played the role of shock armed forces in leading, together with the revolutionary masses, the uprising to victory.

This reality proved that if there had not been clandestine self-defense and combat self-defense organizations during the period of preparations for the armed revolt, the limited guerrilla warfare and partial uprisings could not have been waged to drive the enemy into a seriously critical situation. It also proved that if the self-defense and combat self-defense forces had not been developed broadly throughout the country and if the liberation troops had not existed, there could not have been coordination between political violence and armed violence to achieve great success in the August revolution. Thus, right at the beginning of the armed uprising, the self-defense and combat self-defense forces played a very important strategic role.

C--The self-defense and militia forces and local units were essential forces which waged guerrilla warfare in the areas behind enemy lines and protected our large rear area during the protracted resistance war against the French imperialists.

Guerrilla warfare is one of the two basic forms of people's war and plays a very important strategic role in our people's national liberation war. It is a practical and lively manifestation of the movement to arm the people to fight a professional aggressive army with great military strength and strong equipment and weapons.

Prosecuting guerrilla warfare is a very effective form of struggle designed to mobilize, organize, and train the masses to become unyielding and staunch combatants to fight the aggressors, defend villages, and protect the country. Guerrilla warfare relies on the militant solidarity and heroism of the people who use rudimentary weapons and lively, inventive, and resourceful tactics, to create a continuous offensive position in order to fight the enemy everywhere. This causes him to be overwhelmed in an ocean of armed resistance fighters, impairing his morale, wearing down his strength, and driving him into strategic passiveness and into a tactical crisis.

The self-defense militia and guerrilla forces and local units are essential forces for waging a guerrilla warfare. Their strategic role is closely related to the strategic position of guerrilla warfare.

In the anti-French imperialist resistance, self-defense militia and guerrilla forces were the largest armed forces. They did not, however, dissociate themselves from production but constantly clung to the land and the masses to fight the aggressors, protect villages, and counter the enemy's mopup operations and terroristic acts, thus frustrating the enemy plot to use war to breed war and to use Vietnamese people to fight Vietnamese people. Self-defense militia and guerrilla forces assumed the task of eliminating dishonest people and bandits, wearing down and destroying enemy potential, and attacking enemy rear bases. With rudimentary weapons such as swords, knives, sticks, arrows, bows, homemade rifles and bullets, mines, spike-strewn trenches, and even stones and bricks, self-defense militia and guerrilla forces succeeded in devising versatile, skillful fighting methods, and thus caused the enemy to go without sleep, lose his appetite, and be surrounded by an inescapable steel net.

Self-defense militia and guerrilla forces are also core forces to mobilize, organize, and train all people to engage in killing the enemy, thus giving guerrilla warfare a boundless, latent strength and the ability to wear down and destroy the enemy everywhere. The strong guerrilla activities of the militia forces and regional troop units in the enemy rear have enabled the main-force units to launch big campaigns to destroy much of the enemy potential and have succeeded in building many base areas used as positions of departure for our main forces to attack the enemy in his own dens.

Self-defense militia and guerrilla forces have also played an extremely important role in the protection of our rear. In any war, a steady and strong rear is always a decisive factor in permanent victory. Since the role of the rear is important, the enemy has always plotted to sabotage our rear with every political, economic, and military scheme. Using up-to-date mobile means, the enemy has often sent commandos and bandits to harass our rear, massacre people, destroy property, spread false rumors, and create difficulties for us.

Faced with the enemy plots, our people's armed forces must naturally have positive countermeasures. Since the main-force units cannot be deployed everywhere, self-defense militia and guerrilla forces as well as regional forces continue to be important forces for the effective protection of the rear.

In the anti-French resistance in free zones, self-defense militia forces effectively fulfilled the task of countering the enemy and eliminating dishonest people and at the same time served as shock forces in production, supply, and transportation for the frontline. As self-defense militia and guerrilla forces are present everywhere--even though the enemy may unexpectedly set foot in certain areas in our rear where there is no great number of main-force units--the enemy continues to be surrounded, intercepted, attacked, worn down, and annihilated. We see clearly from this that the strategic role of the self-defense militia forces is closely associated with the strategic position of the rear.

D--Self-defense militia are an essential, basic-level authoritarian instrument of the people's government. Born of the people and embracing elite elements of the people, essentially the basic worker-peasant masses, self-defense militia and guerrilla forces as well as main-force units and regional units, who are children or brothers of laboring people and who are enlightened and educated by the party, not only have a high sense of patriotism but are also firmly class conscious.

Self-defense militia forces are an essential instrument of the people's government at the basic level for carrying out authoritarianism to cope with domestic adversaries and foreign aggressors and to protect national interests and the people's democratic interests. Through the entire process of the revolutionary armed struggle of our people, self-defense militia forces have proved to be very loyal to the nation and the laboring people and have joined the people in fighting to annihilate the imperialist enemy and his lackey, the Vietnamese traitors.

In the enemy rear areas self-defense militia forces have resolutely annihilated collaborators and eliminated dishonest people, thus contributing effectively to firmly protecting and consolidating the government. In free zones self-defense militia forces and people's security forces have taken steps to maintain order, insure peace, and happiness for hamlets and villages, repress reactionaries, and serve as core forces for strict implementation of the lines and policies of the party and government.

Self-defense militia forces have trustworthily played the role of supporting peasants and laborers in the struggle to achieve democratic revolution in the movement to reduce land rent and interest rates, to improve ricefields and land, and to fulfill the slogan "Land to the tillers."

Self-defense militia forces have been increasingly trained in the class struggle. Their ranks have been ever more consolidated. The national spirit and sense of class enlightenment have been ever more enhanced. As a result, like main-force units and regional units, self-defense militia and guerrilla forces are completely trusted, loved, and helped by our people. Because of this, self-defense militia and guerrilla forces have constantly developed and matured while advancing on their glorious path of struggle.

E--The self-defense militia forces is an efficient cooperating combat force and an inexhaustible force supplementing the regular and local forces.

During the resistance against the French imperialists millions of male and female self-defense militia members and guerrillas helped exterminate the enemy and protect hamlets and villages, thus making great contributions to the common victories. The self-defense militia and guerrilla forces directly cooperated with the regular force to fight and exterminate the enemy or with the local force to step up guerrilla activities, thus forcing the enemy to disperse his forces and providing conditions for our regular forces to exterminate an important part of the enemy forces in an advantageous way. The self-defense militia force also efficiently served the regular force in combat and helped satisfy the great, complex demands of the battlefield.

The self-defense militia force assumed the tasks of mounting guard, safeguarding secrets, insuring the safety of operations and billeting of the regular force, insuring the repair of roads and bridges and the supply of ammunition and food, insuring the transport of wounded soldiers, and so forth.

Concerning preparations for combat, the self-defense militia force, owing to its thorough knowledge of the local situation and roads, supplied the regular force with reliable guides and with accurate documents on the topography and the situation of the enemy. The self-defense militia force also satisfactorily fulfilled the task of eliminating the traitors and cruel agents and developing the victories after each great operation.

Being an armed force in direct contact with the bases, the self-defense force actively protected the people's lives and property, safeguarded manpower and wealth for the resistance, and created favorable conditions for the building and development of a large concentration of forces comprising the regular and local forces. Through combat and the fulfillment of tasks the trained and educated self-defense militia force became an inexhaustible and precious source of manpower for the centralized forces providing them with soldiers and officers with good political qualities and rich combat experience.

The self-defense militia forces was constantly a reserve force for the development of the centralized forces. This point was very important. Our centralized forces could grow only on the basis of having a powerful reserve force, of which the self-defense militia force was the core. The growth and development of the regular and local forces obviously were due to the important contributions of the self-defense militia force. Although later the regular and local forces assumed an increasingly important role on the battlefield, the strategic role of the self-defense militia force did not diminish.

Recalling the brilliant and glorious history of the self-defense militia force, we are greatly confident in and proud of the great achievements of our party, headed by President Ho, in leading the revolutionary war and building the revolutionary armed forces. As stated above, historic experiences prove that to victoriously wage revolutionary war it is necessary to mobilize, arm, and train all the peoples so that they can participate in fighting the enemy. To arm all the people, it is necessary to have the people's armed forces of which the three categories of troops are the core.

In our country the building of the three categories of troops is the law pertaining to the organization of the armed forces for people's war. The self-defense militia force is one of the three categories of troops and has assumed a very important strategic role during the entire process of the armed struggle for successfully carrying out the revolution, during the period of preparations for armed uprising, during the August general uprisings, and during our people's great resistance against the French imperialists.

Because of its strategic role, its great achievements, and its exceptional growth, our self-defense militia force has all the qualifications of an armed force worthy of being one of the three categories of troops of our heroic people's armed forces.

We can say that in speaking of the people's war one must necessarily speak of the strategic role of the self-defense militia force. Speaking of the people's war and at the same time underestimating the self-defense militia force's role is a very erroneous, empty view. That is why it is necessary to clearly realize the strategic role of the self-defense militia force. This correct realization has an important meaning regarding the task of reinforcing the armed forces and consolidating national defense in the north, as well as regarding the task of stepping up the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance of our people throughout the country.

Part II

The self-defense militia force plays a very important strategic role in the great anti-U.S. national salvation struggle.

Dear comrades, at present our people's armed forces are, together with the entire people, shouldering the historic and extremely great task of defeating the U.S. aggressors to safeguard the socialist north, liberate the south, and achieve national reunification. In view of the situation of our country--a small country with a population of 31 million which has just begun to develop its economy--defeating the U.S. aggressors would be a wonderful achievement.

The Americans are the ringleaders of the imperialists. They are extremely reactionary and cruel and have the richest and most powerful economic potentials in the imperialist camp. However, faced with the heroic Vietnamese people armed with Marxism-Leninism, the U.S. imperialists are merely aggressors who can be completely defeated and will certainly be defeated by our people.

The recent great successes of our people in both the north and south demonstrated more clearly the peerless strength of the people's war and further revealed the grandiose truth: In the present era, any people, even though small, if they are resolved to rise united and fight to liberate themselves and defend their fatherland, if they are provided with a correct revolutionary line, and if they know how to develop the strength of the people's war, will be fully able to defeat and will surely defeat any aggressors, including the U.S. imperialists. The realities on the battlefield have forced even the U.S. aggressors to admit that they have made mistakes and experienced setbacks and that they must cope with a large revolutionary army composed of combatants that are most skillful and experienced in the people's war.

Our people's great achievements have contributed to solving many extremely important strategic problems in the anti-U.S. national liberation movement of the world's peoples in general. When the U.S. imperialists began sending their large expeditionary forces to invade our country, some of our friends expressed concern over whether the Vietnamese people's liberation war could defeat the aggressive war waged by a modern army such as that of the U.S. imperialists.

Now the progressive people throughout the world are convinced that the Vietnamese people will certainly be victorious and that the U.S. imperialists will certainly be defeated. The U.S. imperialists will certainly be defeated because the war conducted by them is an unjust aggressive war and because they are unable to cope with the people's war of the Vietnamese people. The enormous successes achieved by our people have answered the following questions: In a people's war against an aggressive enemy who possesses great economic and military potentials, powerful material and technical strength, and large quantities of modern weapons and instruments as does the U.S. imperialists' army, is the organization of the revolutionary armed forces into three categories of troops still appropriate?

Does the self-defense militia force still play a strategic role?

Reality permits us to assert that in our people's great anti-U.S. national salvation undertaking the three categories of troops still represent the most appropriate pattern for organization of the armed forces to wage people's war, and that the self-defense militia force still plays an extremely important strategic role. The self-defense militia, together with the other patriotic armed forces of the Vietnamese people, defeated the Japanese fascists and drove the French colonialists out of the country. Today, with all types of weapons in their hands, including primitive and modern weapons, the self-defense militia force still plays an extremely important role in our people's sacred resistance against the U.S. imperialists. These realities are emerging in both parts of our country.

A--The great successes of the people's war in the south have confirmed the strategic position of guerrilla warfare and the extremely important strategic role of the self-defense militia in the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance:

During the past 12 years our southern compatriots have continuously defeated all aggressive schemes of the U.S. imperialists. The U.S. aggressors have suffered continuous defeats. The more troops and weapons they introduce into the south the more serious the defeats they suffer. At present our 14 million compatriots in the south are defeating more than 1 million American, puppet, and satellite troops. This is a great struggle that is unprecedented in the history of our country.

With the strength of the entire people our southern compatriots will surely defeat the U.S. imperialists completely, because our people have intense patriotism, a tradition of undaunted struggle, a steel-like determination to defeat the aggressors no matter who they may be, and at the same time they follow correct and creative revolutionary and military lines and have had rich experiences in revolutionary struggle. Therefore, our people have succeeded in and will succeed in overcoming all difficulties in order to move forward and achieve final successes.

At present our people in the south are waging a great people's war for the independence and unification of the fatherland. This people's war has coordinated very closely armed struggle with political struggle and guerrilla warfare with conventional warfare. The development of the people's war in the south is an eloquent reality that justifies the strategic position of guerrilla warfare in the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle

As in previous armed struggles against the Japanese fascists and French imperialists, at present guerrilla warfare in the south has taken shape and become a basis for conventional warfare. For conventional warfare it will score great victories in the task of liberating the south from the ruling yoke of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. Guerrilla warfare was born out of and has developed from the revolutionary struggle movement of the masses, which have used violence to oppose the U.S. imperialists' new-style colonialism.

Guerrilla warfare in the south has achieved new creative progress, greatly contributed to continuously frustrating the U.S. imperialists' strategic plots, and assumed an extremely important strategic position in armed struggle and in the revolutionary struggle in general.

To speak of the strategic position of guerrilla warfare also means to speak of the strategic role of the self-defense militia and guerrilla forces, for the latter are core forces for conducting guerrilla warfare. With the new progress of guerrilla warfare, the self-defense militia and guerrilla forces have shown that they have acquired new ability and new fighting strength.

(1) The self-defense and guerrilla units have effectively supported the southern people's general uprising, thus contributing to frustrating the U.S. imperialists' plot to rule the south with the traditional schemes of new-style colonialism.

Between 1954 and 1959 the U.S. imperialists used the economic and military assistance policy to set up a lackey fascist administration in an attempt to turn the south into a new-style colony and military base.

After years of fierce political struggle and after enduring innumerable sacrifices under Ngo Dinh Diem's extremely cruel regime, our southern compatriots resolutely rose up to conduct an uprising in the rural areas. It was during this general uprising that the motto "Combination of political struggle with armed struggle" was applied and that guerrilla warfare was born, developed, and played the role of effectively supporting the masses in rising up, and used revolutionary violence to crush the yoke of enemy control, topple the enemy administration, and regain for the people administration at the basic level.

From the outset, though, the self-defense and guerrilla units were small and inadequately equipped. Owing to their indomitable will and deep hatred for the enemy, they fought valiantly, eliminated hooligans, repressed collaborators, exterminated dishonest people, fought the enemy, and helped encourage and urge the uprising movement to move forward through the large rural areas.

The great success of the uprising marked the disastrous failure of the U.S. imperialists in their initial strategic plot to use Ngo Dinh Diem's lackey administration to annihilate the revolutionary forces and to repress the southern compatriots' revolutionary movement. Following this the political situation in the south changed, and thus favorable conditions were created for the vigorous development of the people's war.

(2) Together with the liberation forces and people, the self-defense militia and guerrilla forces defeated the U.S. imperialists while the latter were using the strategy of the special war to invade the south. Since 1960, to cope with the southern compatriots' revolutionary movement and to check the danger of disintegration of the puppet armed forces and administration, the U.S. imperialists have waged a special war in the south. However, they cannot avoid being disastrously defeated.

Under the NFLSV banner, our southern compatriots have waged a true people's war to oppose the U.S. imperialists' special war. Guerrilla warfare, which has increasingly developed everywhere, has, together with the masses' revolutionary movement, followed the motto "Combination of political struggle with armed struggle," made political, military, and troop-proselyting spearheads, and continuously attacked the enemy.

Limited guerrilla warfare has developed throughout the south, supporting the masses in rising up to destroy strategic hamlets, in continuing local uprisings, and in building many liberated areas. It has vigorously supported the political struggle movement in the cities and driven the puppet armed forces and administration into a seriously and permanently critical situation. Also in this period, the regional units and the main-force units have swiftly matured.

Guerrilla warfare has closely associated with conventional warfare, fulfilling the strategic task of wearing down and annihilating enemy strength, and further driving the puppet armed forces toward dangerous collapse.

Self-defense militia and guerrilla forces have fought independently of or in coordination with main-force and regional units. They have spelled doom for the enemy's "helicopter borne" and "armored-vehicle borne" tactics, served as the hard core for all the people to fight the aggressors, and contributed to stepping up the movement to arm all the people. As a result, in the south, from the mountains and jungles to the deltas and coastal areas, there are militia and guerrilla forces; from male and female youths to old people and children, all of them have engaged in killing the enemy. The political struggle and the troop-proselyting task have been further stepped up.

Together with the liberation troops and the people, the self-defense militia and guerrilla forces have basically frustrated the enemy's "special war" tactics. They created a strong and reliable strategic position for the people's war in the south before the U.S. expeditionary troops were sent in. This is the continuously active position and the overall offensive position of the South Vietnamese revolution.

(3) The self-defense militia and guerrilla forces have maintained an extremely important strategic role in the fight against the U.S. imperialists' limited war. Faced with the basic failure of the "special war" strategy, the U.S. imperialists hurriedly sent in expeditionary troops on a large scale to invade the south. However, the U.S. imperialists have introduced troops into the south while the puppet Saigon armed forces and administration were in a losing position, but while our armed forces and people were in a winning position. Our people's armed forces have developed and occupied combat positions on all battlefields and have maintained a reliable combat network from the mountains and jungles to the deltas and from the rural areas to the areas close to cities. The main-force units and the regional units have been the masters of various important strategic areas. The self-defense militia and guerrilla forces have developed vigorously in quantity and quality.

At present the people's war in the south has reached a far higher level than previously. Guerrilla warfare continues to vigorously support the masses' political struggle, serves as a base for conventional warfare, and will, together with conventional warfare, defeat the enemy's dry-season strategic counteroffensive. Guerrilla warfare has made progress in accordance with the characteristics of the three zones--mountain areas, deltas, and cities--and has satisfactorily fulfilled the strategic task of wearing down and annihilating enemy strength, thus contributing to a situation in which the U.S. imperialists are bogged down to their necks, confused in strategy, and suffering a tactical crisis. The self-defense militia and guerrilla forces have shown that they have a great fighting ability and have scored brilliant feats of arms, and have shown themselves worthy of their extremely important strategic role.

(4) The self-defense militia and guerrilla forces, together with the people, have established American-annihilating belts around American bases. They constitute the people's war's extremely flexible form of encirclement which has not only gnawed at the enemy's vitality, made him lose his appetite, and disturbed his sleep, but also positively foiled the U.S. aggressors' spreading "ink spot" tactics, and created favorable conditions for the Liberation Armed Forces to step up their activities and annihilate the enemy's military forces. As a result, the U.S. aggressors have been compelled to assign an important part of their military forces to defensive tasks, and, therefore, have not been able to concentrate substantial mobile forces.

(5) The self-defense militia and guerrilla forces, together with the main-force units, regional troops, and the people, have foiled the enemy's "rural pacification" plan. The self-defense militia and guerrilla forces, together with the people, have defeated the U.S.-puppet company-sized and battalion-sized mopup operations by armed struggle coupled with political struggle, and by the three-pronged--political, military, and military proselyting--offensive. In large-scale mopup operations in which the enemy used dozens of battalions, the self-defense militia and guerrilla forces, together with the people, fought valiantly to erode the enemy's strength and annihilate him, positively fought the enemy through political struggle and military proselyting and, at the same time, served as the eyes and ears for providing the Liberation Armed Forces with information about the enemy, coordinated combat with the Liberation Armed Forces, and created conditions for Liberation Armed Forces to fight big battles and win great victories. In many localities, such as Long An, Ben Tre, Cu Chi, Quang Nam, Quang Ngai, and so forth, the self-defense militia forces and regional troops have defeated brigade-sized and division-sized mopup operations conducted by the Americans and puppets.

Being the basic-level armed forces which have always olung to the people and land, the self-defense militia and guerrilla forces have made a great contribution to defeating the U.S.-puppet "rural pacification" scheme, protecting the people's lives and property, protecting production, and preserving the economic and military potentials of the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance. This constitutes an extremely great achievement of strategic significance, because one of the U.S. imperialists' strategic objectives is to "pacify the rural areas" and to build and consolidate the puppet administration in order to realize their neo-colonialism.

(6) The self-defense militia and guerrilla forces have coordinated with the regular and local forces in attacking and counterattacking the enemy, thus contributing to the protection and enlargement of the liberated areas. At the same time, they have joined the masses of people in face-to-face political struggle against the enemy in the rural areas as well as in the cities.

In the areas bordering enemy lines, the self-defense militia and guerrilla forces have operated independently or in coordination with the regular and local forces in continuously attacking the enemy, in strongly attacking the enemy's important positions, in penetrating deeply enemy lines, in continually assisting the masses in destroying "strategic hamlets," in winning over the people, and in enlarging the liberated areas. When the enemy attacked our liberated areas, the self-defense militia and guerrilla forces joined the regular and local forces and the people in launching counterattacks during which they fought the enemy day and night, strove to wear down or annihilate enemy strength in order to destroy enemy troops morale and disintegrate enemy military ranks, defeated all enemy attacks, and maintained the liberated areas.

The self-defense militia and guerrilla forces have also served as a nucleus for the movement among the people to fight spies and saboteurs. They have stepped up antiaircraft defense and the prevention of enemy bombardment and toxic gas spraying by firing at enemy planes which also carried poisonous chemicals, to destroy crops, and by building shelters, trenches, and so forth, in order to insure relative security for the people.

In the rural areas as well as in the cities, the self-defense militia and guerrilla forces have effectively coordinated with the masses of people in face-to-face political struggle against the enemy to force him to give up his attacks on our liberated areas, to pay indemnities for the damage caused by him, and to satisfy the demands for a better life and for democratic rights. Moreover, even in the present local war the self-defense militia and guerrilla forces continue to have a major effect in the violent struggles of the people, to associate the political struggle with the armed struggle, to carry out partial uprisings, and to overthrow the basic enemy institutions in order to win power for the people. In this respect, the self-defense militia and guerrilla forces have played an increasingly important role.

(7) The self-defense militia and guerrilla forces have, together with the local forces and people, built combat villages and hamlets in the mountainous areas and in the delta and formed them into coordinated combat networks in which villages and hamlets are linked to one another and have invented many new tactics for the people's war. With such networks of combat villages and hamlets, guerrilla warfare has contributed to creating a broad and continuous offensive position for us. Relying on combat villages and hamlets, the self-defense militia and guerrilla forces and the regular and local forces and the people can attack and counterattack the enemy in order to wear down or destroy his military strength during his mopup operations and to defend villages and the people's lives. Combat villages and hamlets have become special fortresses of the people's war; they have created conditions for our armed forces and people for attacking not only enemy infantry troops, but also enemy armored vehicles and aircraft.

(8) The self-defense militia and guerrilla forces have joined the local forces in strongly attacking enemy rear bases and important routes and in attacking the enemy right in the cities. With creative tactics, the self-defense militia and guerrilla forces have attacked and destroyed enemy logistic bases, airfields, ports, and warehouses, have launched surprise attacks on his firepower bases, have destroyed enemy military headquarters, have damaged or destroyed important communication lines, and have stepped up armed activities right in large and small cities. These military activities have caused heavy losses to the enemy, led him into transportation and supply difficulties, caused the morale of U.S. and rebel troops to sink more and more deeply, and forced the enemy to scatter his troops and concentrate his increasingly greater military strength on defensive tasks. These activities have been a strong support for the political struggle movement of the people in the enemy-controlled areas, especially in the cities, and have created favorable conditions for the liberation troops to destroy the enemy's important military forces.

(9) The militia, self-defense, and guerrilla forces have used all types of weapons--rudimentary and modern--to undermine and annihilate much of the enemy potential:

With their high fighting determination and their rich experiences accrued during scores of years of struggle against the French and Japanese, the South Vietnam militia, self-defense, and guerrilla combatants have fully exploited the power of primitive weapons, such as sharpened bamboo sticks, bamboo antlers, old-model rifles, and zip guns, with which they have dealt very accurate blows at the U.S. and puppet troops and obtained very high combat efficiency. Based on the collective, intellect of the people, the self-defense and guerrilla combatants have improved their rudimentary weapons, invented new types of pitfalls, and laid mine and grenade traps very cleverly, sowing panic among the enemy.

In addition, the southern militia, self-defense, and guerrilla combatants have shown both valor and creativeness during the struggle against the modernly equipped troops of aggression of the U.S. imperialists. In many areas, the militia, self-defense, and guerrilla combatants have been equipped with modern or relatively modern weapons including those seized from the enemy; they have used handcarried guns and recoilless guns to destroy enemy tanks and armored craft; they have used mines to attack enemy helicopters; and they have used ordinary rifles or light and heavy machineguns to down the enemy helicopters and jetplanes. Because of their absolute political and spiritual supremacy, the Vietnamese militia and self-defense combatants, though having only rudimentary weapons, can vanquish the U.S. and puppet troops; once equipped with modern weapons, they fight even more skillfully and can annihilate many more U.S. and puppet troops.

(10) The militia, self-defense, and guerrilla combatants in the south have invented many clever forms and aspects of fighting peculiar to the guerrilla warfare.

The new development in the military art is one of the outstanding characteristics of the people's war in the south. Based on the wonderful fighting art of the Liberation Armed Forces, the self-defense and guerrilla combatants in the south have relied firmly on the people and, in conjunction with the people, invented extremely creative and unique fighting methods. The characteristic of these fighting methods is the association of valor with creativeness and the use of available equipment and weapons--both primitive and modern--to apply the principle of employing few to vanquish many and to attack the weakest and most unguarded points of the enemy in order to inflict extremely heavy losses on them.

Due to these fighting methods, the militias in the south have annihilated U.S. and puppet troops of the squad and platoon size and this has been rather common. In a certain area, a small guerrilla team annihilated a whole U.S. company. During an antiraid drive, militias destroyed hundreds of enemy armored vehicles, downed their aircraft by scores, and burned millions of liters of gasoline and thousands of tons of ammunition. Militias have scored numerous achievements in annihilating evil agents and the ringleading reactionaries among the "pacification" teams, destroying the whole of an enemy battalion command while posts with the help of the fifth column, combining armed and political struggles, and destroying many "strategic hamlets" at a stretch and even the enemy oppressive position right in cities. Because of these fighting methods, guerrilla warfare has attained ever increasing combat power.

As a result of this progress, guerrilla warfare in the south has driven the enemy into a difficult position and forced him to resist everywhere. Stretched out thinly, the large enemy armed forces have become small, and despite their mobile means, they have been tied down, their strength has been worn down, and their morale has become tense. Under these circumstances, the liberation forces' concentrated units will have more and more opportunities to deal the enemy strong blows and to destroy his important military forces. Due to this, the more troops and weapons the Americans send in to invade the south, the more shameful defeats they will suffer.

The people's war, of which one of the basic forms is guerrilla warfare, is an extremely mysterious subject for the U.S. imperialists and is driving them crazy, because they are unable to solve the problem of shortage of troops. According to the estimates of high-ranking U.S. officers, it is necessary to have a 25 to 1 military superiority in order to be able to cope with the people's war. Through its escalation steps and repeated defeats and due to the fact that he has encountered many difficulties and nurtured illusions about the effect of his weapons and technique, the enemy thought that this ratio could be reduced to 10 to 1 or 5 to 1 on the basis of providing additional up-to-date weapons and mobile means. However, up to now, the shortage of troops continues to be a critical problem for the Americans.

At present, though the Americans and puppets have more than a million troops, they still cannot reverse the situation that is increasingly unfavorable for them and do not know how to drive back the liberation troops, not to speak of annihilating the latter, and to subdue the southern people. The Americans are caught in a dilemma and do not know how many more troops they must send in to meet the requirements--500,000 or 700,000 troops.

The U.S. aggressors cannot find any fantastic measures to escape from this dilemma in order to avoid final defeat, because they must cope with an entire people who are resolutely fighting them and we have the Liberation Armed Forces composed of three categories of troops. We have main-force units and regional units. Although fewer than a million men, our main-force units and regional units have a very great fighting strength. We also have millions of militiamen and militia-women who have valiantly and skillfully killed the enemy. We also have a movement to arm all the people, a movement in which all the people fight to kill the enemy: the 14 million patriotic southern compatriots are 14 million combatants. This is the invincible strength of the people's war and of the guerrilla warfare; this is the certainly victorious strength of the heroic southern armed forces and people.

(Editor's note: The concluding portion of this item was broadcast by Hanoi at 1330 GMT 7 April 1967)

From the aforementioned realities we can draw the following important conclusions:

1--In our people's anti-U.S. national salvation resistance against the U.S. imperialists' neocolonialist aggressive war to liberate the south, guerrilla war plays a very great strategic role.

Since the moment our people's revolutionary struggle advanced from political struggle to a new level--associating political struggle with armed struggle and developing them into a large people's struggle through the various phases of general uprisings and through defeating the enemy's special war and initially defeating his local war--

guerrilla war on the southern battlefield has developed strongly and widely and has had an increasingly great strategic role and effect.

Faced with the new demands of the resistance, southern people are endeavoring to step up political and armed struggles and to step up regular and guerrilla wars. It is obvious that developing guerrilla war to an increasingly high level is one of the main duties of our people in bringing the resistance to final victory. The highly developed guerrilla war on the southern battlefield must fully satisfy the following basic requirements:

a--Guerrilla war is one of the basic formulas of the revolutionary struggle in our country, associating the armed struggle and political struggle of the masses in the closest way, associating uprisings with revolutionary struggle, carrying out local uprisings where the enemy is the weakest, overthrowing his government, seizing power for the people, and developing the offensive power of the revolutionary war from rural to urban areas, thus making important contributions to advancing the resistance to final victory.

b--Guerrilla war is one of the two basic forms of the people's war in the military field. It is responsible for decimating a large number of enemy units, exterminating enemy troops by small units, attacking enemy rear bases, cutting his communication lines, destroying his leading organs, attacking his political and economic centers, and attacking the enemy in rural as well as urban areas and in the forests as well as in the delta and coastal areas, thus forcing enemy troops to fight back everywhere, exhausting their strength, and lowering their morale.

The objective of our southern people's resistance is the American and puppet troops. Along with attacking the U.S. troops, the guerrilla war must pay attention to attacking the puppet troops, associating combat with military proselyting, exterminating and disintegrating the puppet troops, exterminating the leading collaborators and cruel agents, and weakening and overthrowing the puppet government.

c--Guerrilla war is responsible for foiling all mopup and pacification plots of the enemy, thwarting all his plots aimed at destroying our liberated areas, protecting the compatriots' lives and properties, protecting production, defending and enlarging the liberated areas, and basically defeating one of the important goals of the U.S. imperialists' neocolonialism: winning over the people and consolidating the puppet force and government, thus creating conditions for us to make our political and armed forces grow constantly bigger and stronger.

d--Guerrilla war has the duty to collaborate efficiently with the regular war and create conditions for the latter to develop in itself. It is necessary to take advantage of the victories of the regular war to cause the guerrilla and political struggle movement of our people to make new steps forward. The association between guerrilla war and regular war is one of the fundamental laws of the people's war in our country. It has the effect of stepping up the development of both the armed struggle and political struggle to the maximum and achieving great victories for the revolution.

e--Generally speaking, guerrilla war is responsible for carrying out the task of wearing out the enemy strategically, protecting the people's forces, weakening the puppet forces and government at their very bases, containing and encircling the enemy forces, forcing them to sink increasingly deeply into a state of defense and dispersion, and seriously weakening the mobility and combativity of the enemy forces. Guerrilla war must make important contributions to consolidating and developing our

initiative spirit on all battlefields and stepping up the continuously offensive state of the people's war. Cooperating closely and helping each other, guerrilla war and regular war and armed struggle and political struggle have the decisive effect of leading our people's resistance to final victory.

2--The self-defense militia and guerrilla forces form a very important strategic force in the revolutionary struggle in general as well as in the armed struggle in particular in the liberation of the south from the rule of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys.

The realities of each phase of the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance prove that the self-defense militia and guerrilla forces form a very important strategic force in the revolutionary struggle in general as well as in the armed struggle in particular. The self-defense militia force, the guerrilla force, and the local force are the main forces for waging guerrilla war.

Therefore, as the NFLSV and the Southern Liberation Armed Forces Command have advocated, to develop the guerrilla war to a higher level and to step up the political and armed struggles, in the field of reinforcement of the armed forces one of the main tasks obviously is to build the self-defense militia and guerrilla forces into an exceptionally strong and powerful force along with reinforcing the regular and local forces.

a--It is necessary to develop the self-defense militia and guerrilla forces to the maximum in the quantitative field so that there are militia members everywhere in the south, from the delta and coastal areas to the forests, mountains, and cities; so that every one regardless of age and sex can participate in the extermination of the enemy. Strongly developing the militia force in the quantitative field is a very important demand which the people's war in the south is fully able to satisfy because our southern compatriots are very patriotic, strongly hate the enemy, and are united to struggle to the end for the independence and unification of the fatherland and because the southern people's political force is enlarged and reinforced daily. To reinforce the militia force, it is necessary to pay special attention to the important areas: around the enemy's barracks, in and around big cities, airfields, and the enemy's logistic bases, along the strategic communication lines in the important coastal areas. It is necessary to keep a firm control on the militia and guerrilla forces.

b--Along with greatly increasing the number of self-defense militia and guerrilla forces, it is necessary to consolidate them and improve their quality in all fields: political, ideological, organizational, technical, tactical, and equipment. To improve the quality of militiamen, first of all it is necessary to heighten their political and ideological levels. It is necessary to raise to a high level their patriotism, their hatred for the enemy, and their firm determination to defeat the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys, liberate the south, defend the north, and unify the country. It is necessary to develop revolutionary heroism among militiamen and make heroic actions and heroes blossom continuously in the guerrilla warfare movement.

c--It is necessary to further improve the militia's organization and equipment. It is necessary to consider the requirements of concrete combat tasks and the situation and characteristics of each region--the mountains, the delta, and the cities--in the political, economic, demographic, topographic, and other fields to establish a suitable organization for the militia force. As far as equipment is concerned, it is necessary to step up the development of primitive weapons and continue to improve these weapons. At the same time we must endeavor to develop our capacity of supplying the militia with relatively modern weapons--including modern weapons taken from the enemy.

d--It is necessary to teach self-defense militiamen and guerrillas revolutionary duties and military duties and further improve their fighting ability. Providing militiamen with military training is a very important task. It is necessary to continuously heighten militiamen's technical and tactical levels and develop to the maximum the best methods for fighting the enemy with all weapons available. Special attention must be paid to fighting methods which require only a small force to defeat an enemy, who is more numerous and equipped with more powerful weapons, and inflict heavy losses on him.

e--It is necessary to continuously reinforce the body of cadres. It is necessary to clearly realize the very important role of cadres to achieve the greatest success in training, improving, and cultivating them and making their body increasingly strong in number and quality. It is necessary to boldly promote to the ranks of cadres outstanding, courageous, and resourceful combatants who have been tested in combat and who have accumulated many experiences. Special attention must be paid to promoting outstanding militiawomen. It is necessary to constantly improve cadres, especially basic cadres, thus enabling them to satisfactorily fulfill all the tasks of leadership, command, and unit management.

f--Attention must be paid to recapitulating the experiences of the progressive cadres and developing their effects. This task not only influences the development of guerrilla warfare, but also greatly contributes to further enriching the content of Vietnamese military art.

If a strong and powerful self-defense militia force and a guerrilla force is built and if guerrilla warfare is greatly accelerated, as described above, the people's war in the south will have one of the necessary conditions for achieving complete victory.

B--The great victories of the people's war in the north against the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction demonstrate the very great strategic role of the self-defense militia force in the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance.

During the past two years our northern troops and people have been defeating the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction, waged mainly by their air force and navy. To date over 1,600 U.S. planes have been downed, many U.S. pilots have been killed or captured, and many U.S. warships have been sunk or damaged. It is true that the U.S. aggressors have created for us a number of difficulties and inflicted on us some damage. However, our people have become more and more united and have increasingly heightened their firm determination to defend the north, liberate the south, and advance toward national unification.

Despite development of the war, our people's economic and cultural life has been stabilized. All production activities in the north are being maintained. Northern compatriots continue striving to fulfill the responsibilities of the great rear to the great front, the south. In these great victories the contributions of the self-defense militia force are very significant. The recent victories of the north are victories of the people's war over the war of destruction of the U.S. imperialists. In all fields--combat, production, the insuring of communication and transport, serving the front, serving as the reserve force, and so forth--the self-defense militia force has displayed its rich potential and proved itself worthy of its strategic role in this great revolutionary undertaking.

(1) Self-defense militiamen have fought courageously to down U.S. planes, capture U.S. pilots, and exterminate enemy raiders. The success of the self-defense militiamen in downing U.S. planes with infantry rifles is an everlasting meritorious military service.

The first man on earth who used a rifle to down a modern U.S. jet was a Vietnamese self-defense militiaman. This honor embellished the tradition of heroism of our troops and people. Northern self-defense militiamen have downed over 100 U.S. planes of various types. Of these 22 were downed by self-defense militiamen of the Third Military Zone and 77 by self-defense militiamen of the Fourth Military Zone. Self-defense militiamen in Quang Binh Province have downed 28 U.S. planes. In the northwestern and Viet Bac zones ethnic minority self-defense militiamen have also downed U.S. planes, thus positively contributing to the common victories of all the people.

U.S. pilots are filled with fear each time they have to make piratical flights over the north. If they fly at low altitude they will be fired upon by the self-defense militiamen. They have complained that "each rifle bullet has the same effect as a hammerlike blow" at their planes. If they fly at high altitude to avoid the self-defense militiamen's ring of fire, they cannot hit their targets accurately and can easily be downed by antiaircraft artillery or missiles. Thus the mere fact that self-defense militiamen dare shoot at U.S. planes has the important effect of limiting destruction by the enemy air force.

Almost all U.S. pilots who have parachuted to earth in the north have been captured alive by self-defense militiamen and militiawomen. Militiamen of villages V and Q in the Fourth Military Zone collaborated with regular troops in fighting against enemy warships and capturing alive U.S. pilots who parachuted down at sea. The self-defense militiamen's achievements in exterminating enemy rangers are praiseworthy. All attacks against enemy rangers have been undertaken by self-defense militiamen and people's armed policemen. In the Fourth Military Zone militiawoman Ho Thi Duong captured alive enemy rangers with her bare hands. Militiaman Truong Phap of Quang Binh Province, along with his comrades, fought to his last breath to defeat the sabotage plots of a group of enemy rangers who had landed from the sea.

(2) Self-defense militiamen have enthusiastically served the regular troops in combat: Self-defense militiamen in various military zones have contributed millions of work-days to the construction of combat sites for antiaircraft artillery, missiles, coastal batteries, and the building of airfields, warehouses, and so forth. While the regulars fight against enemy planes and warships, self-defense militiamen and militiawomen heroically fulfilled the task of transporting ammunition and cleaning guns, and when required even played the role of artillerymen. Self-defense militiamen have enthusiastically helped the regulars satisfactorily carry out the postcombat tasks and quickly and secretly change the battle site. Self-defense militiamen have made positive contributions to each feat of arms of the regulars.

(3) The self-defense militia forces have cooperated with the people's security forces in firmly maintaining order and security in localities: In a situation in which the country is at war, the maintenance of order and security in localities is very important. The self-defense militia forces, together with the people's security forces, have discovered and repressed the reactionaries in time, stepped up the task of guarding against spies and countering enemy espionage and psychological warfare, and made achievements in protecting the party and government, insuring security for the people, and maintaining order and security in localities.

(4) The self-defense militia forces have made great achievements in fulfilling the people's air defense task: We must clearly realize that our people have been successful in countering the U.S. aggressors' war of destruction because our armed forces have vigorously fought the enemy and because our people's air defense task has been fulfilled. Fulfillment of the people's air defense task has been of great significance in protecting the people's lives and property and in keeping losses at a minimum. The self-defense militia forces are mainly the core forces for fulfilling

the people's air defense task. The self-defense militiamen and militiawomen have fulfilled the task of spotting enemy aircraft, sounding alerts, and digging trenches and pits.

Throughout the north there are now thousands of kilometers of communications trenches and tens of millions of other trenches and pits of various types. The militiamen and militiawomen have discovered and disarmed enemy bombs and shells and taken the lead in rescuing victims and protecting the goods and warehouses of the state and the people. It can be said that our people's air defense task has been satisfactorily fulfilled because of the presence of the self-defense militia forces, which are used as the core forces.

(5) The self-defense militia forces have greatly contributed to insuring communications and transportation: The self-defense militia forces have valiantly fought to protect bridges and roads, deactivate timebombs, fill bomb craters, build detours, camouflage vehicles, save vehicles and goods, build an illumination system for air raid defense along lines of communication, unload and transport goods, and so forth. As a result, we have not wasted manpower and materiel and we have constantly insured good communications and transport. The self-defense militia forces have accumulated many experiences in the performance of combat and other tasks.

Many localities have organized militia units to perform the engineering task of saving and repairing bridges and roads. In some localities the militia forces have by themselves built 20-meter-long bridges. Some localities have also extensively trained the people in engineering techniques.

(6) The self-defense militia forces are the core forces in the movement to build combat villages: To satisfactorily build combat villages many problems must be solved. One of the most important of these problems is that of having strong self-defense militia forces. Under the leadership of the village party chapter and relying on cooperatives, self-defense militiamen in various localities have engaged in study to heighten their political, ideological, technical, and tactical understanding and combat preparedness.

In various provinces, including Thanh Hoa, Haiphong, and Hung Yen, the self-defense militia forces, combining economy with national defense, have joined the people in modifying the terrain, building combat fortifications, planting millions of clusters of bamboo and evergreen trees, and digging irrigation canals in accordance with each locality's combat projects and socialist rural construction plans. These achievements are of great military significance, because combat villages are a unique form of people's war in our country. Combat villages are not only important for opposing the war of destruction but also for making preparations to counter the enemy's limited war.

(7) The self-defense militia forces are the shock forces in production and the consolidation of cooperatives: From the outset some localities have been afraid that the building of self-defense militia forces and combat villages, which requires a great amount of manpower and material, would affect production. This is not true. The localities which have good chi bo and strong self-defense militia forces have high revolutionary vigor. These localities have not only succeeded in building strong, steady combat villages, but they have also been able to increase production and consolidate cooperatives.

The most difficult and complicated production tasks have been voluntarily fulfilled by self-defense militiamen. Self-defense militiamen have actively engaged in improving

cooperative management and have taken the lead in caring for ricefields, improving techniques, insuring intensive cultivation, increasing output, and so forth. Almost all the good self-defense militia combatants are at the same time good in production. The slogans "Hammer in one hand, rifle in the other" and "Flow in one hand, rifle in the other" show the very important position of the self-defense militia forces on these two fronts.

(8) The self-defense militia forces have satisfactorily fulfilled the role of the reserve force. Under the leadership of our party and forged through realistic combat and production, the self-defense militia forces have matured swiftly and steadily, satisfactorily fulfilled the task of the reserve force, provided the frontline with replacements, and created every favorable condition for the expansion and development of main-force units.

We have always had strong reserve forces without having to mobilize many people and take them away from production. These forces consist mainly of the large self-defense militia forces. They have fulfilled the requirement of providing all battlefields with whatever men or armed service personnel are required. If the battlefields need combatants they will have combatants, and if they need cadres they will have cadres, especially at the basic level. Never before have our armed forces had such favorable conditions for swiftly expanding and developing.

The self-defense militia forces in all military regions have a great number of combatants who have been trained to become gunners of various types and comrades who excel in the use of engineering techniques and can be used as on-the-spot replacements in various anti-aircraft units. Many militiamen have directly engaged in fighting aircraft in Quang Binh, Vinh Linh, Ham Rong, Nam Ha, and elsewhere and have acquired great experience in using modern weapons. This is an inexhaustible source of replacement of combatants and cadres in our armed forces.

As a result of the outstanding achievements of the self-defense militia forces, we can clearly see that the self-defense militia forces have very great latent capabilities in various fields, not only for the fulfillment of the immediate task of countering the war of destruction but also for frustrating all aggressive plots of the U.S. aggressors, including any rash attempt of the latter to expand the limited war to the northern part of our country. We have such a valuable self-defense militia force because we have a heroic party and people and the correct creative lines of people's war. The outstanding achievements of each well-developed and strong self-defense militia unit result from the leadership of party committees and chapters of all echelons at the basic level and from the people's wholehearted assistance and care.

In short, we can conclude: The self-defense militia forces have played an extremely important strategic role in the great anti-U.S. national salvation struggle of our people. In assessing this role, we use as a basis the successes of self-defense militia forces in the actual war in both the south and north and the Marxist military lines of our party, the nature of people's war, the views of our party on the role of the masses in the evolution of history, and the characteristics of people's war in our country.

We must correctly realize the strategic role of the self-defense militia forces, understand more thoroughly the task, method of organization, and trend of building of the self-defense militia forces, and incessantly heighten our sense of responsibility and our struggle in order to build the self-defense militia forces into an increasingly mature and strong armed force so as to meet the new requirements of the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle.

Part III

Endeavor to make the self-defense militia forces remarkably strong to meet the ever higher demands of the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle.

Our people's anti-U.S. national salvation resistance war is going through a violent stage. The U.S. aggressors, who have experienced bitter military setbacks and are seriously isolated in the political arena, are frantically striving to accelerate their war of aggression in the hope of eventually reaching a turning point and concluding the war to their advantage, and at the same time to establish conditions for protracting and enlarging the war if this is necessary.

They continue to supply troops, weapons, and materiel to the South Vietnamese battlefield, plotting to raise the total number of U.S. expeditionary troops to 500,000 or more this year. They are waging the second "strategic offensive" and keep implementing their old schemes with more ruthless and perfidious tricks. Following heavy defeats in the previous dry season, they are striving to improve their plans of action, to coordinate more closely their "search-and-destroy" operations, and to launch attacks on our bases along with implementing their "pacification" and people-herding program in important areas. They are using most of the U.S. troops in large-scale operations and relegating a great portion of rebel troops whose morale is low to the "pacification" role. They are striving to attack our basic people's organizations, our basic organizations in the rear, and use aircraft to bomb, strafe, and spray poisonous chemicals more ruthlessly.

It is clear that the neocolonialism of the U.S. imperialists is the most ruthless and reactionary form of imperialism. On the South Vietnamese battlefield the U.S. imperialists are exposing themselves as the most stubborn and bloodthirsty international gendarme of the present era. However, the more they increase troops and the more strongly they step up the war of aggression, the more shameful their defeats will be.

The recent U.S. military operations aimed at "searching and destroying" our forces or attacking our bases have failed. They have been unable to eliminate the liberation troops' strength and (recover) our bases; on the contrary, they have been dealt deadly blows by the South Vietnamese armed forces and people. Many U.S. companies, battalions, and even brigades have been destroyed. The major victories of liberation troops in Tay Ninh, Binh Dinh, and Quang Ngai, in the high plateaus, in the Tri-Thien zone, and so forth, testify to this. The "pacification" plan of the U.S. imperialists and lackeys has failed repeatedly. They have been unable to implement their plot to control and oppress the people. Basically, our liberated areas have been maintained and some of them have been continually enlarged.

The two main fronts of the Americans, the "search-and-destroy" and "rural pacification" fronts, have continually gone bankrupt. The more they increase their troops in South Vietnam, the heavier their losses will be, the lower the rebel troops' morale will become, and the more confused the situation of the rebel authorities will be. The cities under their control cannot be stabilized, their important routes are continually being cut, and their major bases are continually being attacked. The U.S. imperialists have become bogged down more and more deeply into the mire of the people's war in South Vietnam.

In such a situation the U.S. imperialists will frenziedly attack the north, even though their war-escalation acts are despised and condemned by the people of the world, including the progressive American people. They will further accelerate in a more

violent manner the war of destruction. They will use their air force to attack more strongly our communication and transportation lines, our industrial zones, our irrigation projects and dams and dikes, populated areas, and political and economic centers. They will use their navy to strengthen their sea blockade and bombard our coastal areas. They are attempting to use their infantry to launch adventurous raids on the northern side of the 17th parallel.

Along with their military acts the Americans continue to use the "peace negotiation" smokescreen to fool the American people and the world's peoples and cover up their dark designs. Like a seriously wounded wild beast, the U.S. imperialists are gyrating furiously and hopelessly before breathing their last breath.

Our army and people must always be vigilant, heighten their revolutionary vigilance, and be deeply aware of the nature of the enemy and his schemes. We must strengthen the spirit of steady determination to fight and win under all circumstances, develop our efforts to a high degree, be resolved to foil all new schemes of the U.S. imperialists, and strive for ever greater achievements.

Under all circumstances our people are resolved to respond at all costs to President Ho's appeal: "For the sake of the fatherland's independence and of responsibility to the peoples who are struggling against U.S. imperialism, all of our people and soldiers are united and of the same mind, unafraid of sacrifices and hardships, and resolved to fight until complete victory."

In connection with this expression of determination our armed forces must perform the following immediate tasks: 1) endeavor to defeat the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction, defeat their air and navy forces, protect socialist North Vietnam, and achieve greater victories; 2) wholeheartedly support the liberation struggle of the southern compatriots; 3) be prepared in all fields and be ready to deal the U.S. aggressors lightning counterblows if they dare to expand the limited war to the north; and 4) positively participate in building socialism according to the new situation and join the people in building the north and making it increasingly strong and steady and worthy of being the revolutionary base for the entire country and the large rear for the large frontline of South Vietnam.

Our tasks are very difficult but also very glorious. To fulfill these historic tasks, we must strive to build our heroic people's armed forces into a very strong army so that it will fight very well and achieve victories in all battles and be capable of defeating all enemies, including the U.S. imperialists.

We must endeavor to build our armed forces into a strong army that includes strong and mobile regular forces, strong local forces capable of engaging in major battles in localities, and strong national self-defense militia forces.

I wish to point out here the need to make the self-defense militia forces remarkably strong to meet the ever higher demands of the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle. To make the self-defense militia forces strong and widespread is a very important task for strengthening the armed forces and consolidating North Vietnam. This is because the self-defense militia forces are one of the three categories of troops formed along the party's military line and, moreover, because under the practical conditions of modern wars--the present war of destruction as well as the limited war which the enemy might provoke in the future--there is no longer a marked difference between the frontline and the rear, and mobilization of the people to participate in the fighting is leading to new demands for killing the enemy on the frontline and at the same time protecting our large rear. For this reason it is very necessary to make the self-defense militia forces steady and strong.

Moreover, from the comprehensive national defense viewpoint a well-organized and strong armed force must always go along with a steady and strong economy and a rear rich in human strength and wealth. Therefore, if we are to maintain the law of equilibrium between concentrated armed forces and the potentials of human strength and wealth of the country, we must endeavor to develop the self-defense militia forces so as to make these production-adhering armed forces larger numerically and of higher quality.

In the present situation in the north, we are fighting the U.S. aggressors' air and navy forces and are not fighting enemy infantry troops. We have a pretty large permanent army, but we do not now need a large permanent army. For this reason, we must take great care to build the self-defense militia forces which will make it possible for us to make adequate preparations to resist the enemy's limited war and to achieve success in our national defense and economic building tasks.

Therefore, building and making the self-defense militia forces stronger is one of the most important measures for making North Vietnam steady and strong in all fields and for satisfactorily associating military demands with economic demands. Our party's line is the people's war line. North Vietnam is not large and has a population of about 17 million. So we must be deeply aware of the importance of building self-defense militia forces.

Can we build an outstandingly strong and large self-defense militia force? We are entirely able to do so because we have many new favorable conditions. They are:

a--Our people's high patriotism and profound love for socialism: After more than 12 years of reform and socialist construction, North Vietnam has made great strides. The laboring people have really become masters of the country. Political and spiritual unanimity among our people is firmer and steadier than ever before. Our beautiful social system is educating each worker, collective peasant, intellectual laborer, and all other citizens of all ages and of both sexes to develop high patriotism and profound love for socialism. The people's tradition of indomitable struggle and the revolutionary heroism which our party is developing to a high degree are training millions of new men ready to kill the enemy and sacrifice everything for the independence and reunification of the fatherland and for socialism, and are creating a new militant strength.

b--New possibilities for improvement of equipment: Our self-defense militia forces once fought and vanquished the enemy with rudimentary weapons. In the future, rudimentary weapons will continue to be a very important trend in equipment for the self-defense militia forces. But this does not mean that we will not endeavor to improve the weapons of the self-defense militia forces. Today, North Vietnam's material and technical bases are more developed compared with the past, and its local economy is becoming increasingly firm and strong. This new condition permits us to improve the weapons of the armed forces and to provide these forces, including the self-defense militia forces, with better weapons than before. The fact that the self-defense militia forces have high political and ideological standards and are equipped with good weapons will make it impossible for any enemy to defeat them.

c--New possibilities in the art of fighting the enemy: In the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance war our people's patriotic armed forces in the south as well as in the north have further developed experiences in fighting the enemy and applied tactics very skillfully and creatively.

Today on the South Vietnamese battlefield not only the regular forces but also the local forces and militia units are in a better position to wear down and annihilate

U.S. and rebel troops, to attack their mechanized units, to shoot down their aircraft, to launch raids on their airfields, to destroy their installations and logistic bases, to cut communications lines, and to attack cities to destroy the enemy's leading organs.

In the North Vietnamese theater not only the regular forces but also the local forces and militia units are capable of downing the enemy's supersonic jetplanes, protecting targets and roads and bridges, and annihilating enemy rangers. Not only are the self-defense militia forces skillfully using rudimentary weapons, but they know how to handle a number of modern weapons satisfactorily. Their technical and tactical standards are much higher.

The new, very important developments in Vietnamese military art, which have combined great heroism with creativeness, have helped our armed forces to know not only how to concentrate their strength on destroying the enemy but also how to use a limited number of troops to fight and defeat a large, strong, and fully equipped enemy unit, inflicting heavy losses and casualties on the enemy. These men, outstanding developments, along with the improvement of equipment, are opening new possibilities for the self-defense militia forces, possibilities which will make them an armed force with an immeasurably great and strong militant strength.

d--Our party's correct and creative leadership: Our party has a correct and creative military line and many rich and unique experiences. Our party leadership from central to basic chi bo levels is the surest and most decisive guide to (make) self-defense militia forces grow in an outstanding manner. In almost all hamlets, villages, and factories, construction and forest exploitation sites, and state farms in the north there are now steady, strong party organizations serving as staff. In all rural areas there are cooperatives supporting the armed forces at the basic level.

Only when basic party organizations understand and resolutely implement the party Central Committee's policies will we be able to carry out the following slogan with its full meaning according to the new requirements: "Each citizen is an enemy-killing combatant, each house is a combat cell, each village or factory is a fortress, each chi bo is a leader on the anti-U.S. national salvation front." Once this slogan is implemented it is certain that we will score greater achievements in resisting the present war of destruction of the enemy and make good preparations for resisting a limited war in the future if the U.S. imperialists dare send infantry troops to attack North Vietnam.

Dear comrades, our party advocates the building of strong self-defense militia forces in quantity and quality at all costs. Quantity and quality are closely related and must be given great attention to transform the self-defense militia forces into strong and widespread armed forces with a firm political quality, good fighting strength, and a high degree of combat readiness.

We must attract the masses into combat organizations and into supporting combat in localities, thus making the self-defense militia forces fully acquire a widespread mass character. Attention must be paid to attracting more and more women into the ranks of the self-defense militia forces, because the women of our country make up half the population and possess a high revolutionary spirit and a tradition of fulfilling their national and household tasks.

While increasing the number of self-defense militia forces it is necessary to hold firm to the requirements for strengthening them and raising their quality, to build the self-defense militia forces' positions and to concentrate leadership in important

areas. It is necessary to base ourselves on the characteristics of each area: rural area or city, mountain and jungle area or delta, coastal area or area along lines of communications, area close to critical points or in the rear, and elsewhere in order to achieve concrete and appropriate building, especially with regard to organization, equipment, and training.

To raise the quality of the self-defense militia forces we must thoroughly understand the basic principles regarding the policy of our party of building all armed forces, which is to consider political and ideological development as the base. It is necessary to strengthen political education and to make all cadres and combatants fully conscious of the new situation and tasks and the determination of all our party and people to fight and defeat the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys in all forms of their war of aggression. It is necessary to vigorously develop love for country and socialism, to increase hatred, and to build a very high spirit of determination to fight and win. It is necessary to mobilize the self-defense militia forces to strive to learn from the valiant examples of the heroic units and heroes of our people's armed forces, to develop efforts to struggle on all combat and production fronts, and to resolutely do their utmost to satisfactorily fulfill the most difficult tasks.

Along with political and ideological development, it is necessary for self-defense militia forces to acquire an appropriate organizational system and an increasingly improved equipment system. At present self-defense militia forces are organized according to village, enterprise, and street. This is appropriate. However, they must also be based on the combat tasks, conditions, and characteristics of each locality and equipment capabilities in order to move a step forward to determine the organizational system in a concrete manner.

With regard to equipment, the general trend is still to pay great attention to developing rudimentary weapons, and at the same time to gradually equip the self-defense militia forces with a number of modern or relatively modern weapons, especially in critical areas.

Each locality must make a concrete study of how to equip the self-defense militia forces in the task of countering the war of aggression to enable them to fulfill various tasks in various areas such as shooting at enemy aircraft, protecting coastal areas, attacking enemy commandos, attacking enemy raiders, insuring communications and transportation, and so forth, and how to equip the self-defense militia forces for the task of preparing to counter the limited war to enable them to successfully attack the enemy's infantry and mechanized units and so forth.

Therefore, we must base ourselves on the concrete objectives and combat task of each locality and on our equipment capabilities to determine the rational equipment of self-defense militia forces.

Special attention must be paid to military training and to training self-defense militiamen so that they can fight well. Knowing how to fight well is a matter of great importance. Therefore we must pay special attention to providing military training for self-defense militiamen. So far remarkable progress has been made in the performance of this task, especially in the technical field. Yet, generally speaking, the content of training still has failed to fully develop the combat capability of the self-defense force and to enable all self-defense militiamen to firmly grasp fighting methods.

In the days ahead it is necessary for responsible agencies and leading military and administrative officials to extensively study the problem, and, on the basis of our

military line and military thinking, combat objectives, actual organizational conditions of the self-defense militia force and its equipment, terrain conditions, and so forth, to determine the content of military training and to raise further the quality of military training. The recapitulation and dissemination of the combat experiences acquired by the self-defense militia forces in both parts of the country must be regarded as an important matter.

To satisfactorily carry out these tasks it is necessary to firmly grasp the importance of training and improving cadres and to unceasingly improve leading and directing organs to insure that all localities have cadres and organs which steadfastly lead and direct military training. Bold steps must be taken to admit into cadre corps brother and sister members of the self-defense militia force who have been tested. Efforts must be made to improve cadres and show them how to exert leadership and direct and manage the forces and weapons in their respective localities and units.

It is necessary to insure that military organs at the basic level are properly organized and at the same time capable of fulfilling their responsibility to assist party committees in satisfactorily leading the performance of the military task, mobilizing all the people to fight the aggressors, and satisfactorily guiding the self-defense militia movement. On the basis of building the self-defense militia forces so that they develop in an outstanding manner, it is necessary for us to concentrate all efforts on carrying out fully the following concrete task.

A--To satisfactorily carry out the task of opposing the war of destruction and score many bigger successes. Opposing the war of destruction involves many important tasks such as shooting at enemy aircraft, conducting people's air defense, countering the enemy's shelling of our coastal areas, countering enemy raids, opposing espionage warfare, opposing psychological warfare, annihilating enemy rangers, insuring communications and transport, protecting irrigation dams and dikes, and so forth.

We must organize the self-defense militia units so that they fire more effectively at enemy aircraft. It is necessary to fight the tendency to slight the efficiency and achievements of brother and sister members of the self-defense militia force in shooting at enemy aircraft. This tendency is highly incorrect and is contrary to the party's people's war viewpoint and to the actual situation.

Efforts must be exerted to recapitulate the valuable experiences acquired by self-defense militia units which have shot down enemy aircraft, to improve anti-aircraft fire, and to raise the combat quality of the self-defense militia cells on duty. On this basis it is necessary to maintain only an adequate number of militia members on duty. In so doing we can save manpower and at the same time achieve good results.

People's air defense must be further strengthened. Recently many localities satisfactorily performed the air-defense task. Yet a number of localities failed to conduct air defense satisfactorily, and 90 percent of the casualties suffered by these localities were found to have occurred outside shelters. In addition to making observations, sounding the alarm, and aiding compatriots in making initial dispersion, it is necessary to use experiences regularly and to disseminate among the people the best methods of taking precautionary measures against and evading enemy air raids. In particular, it is necessary to dig more shelters, foxholes, and communications trenches.

In insuring communications and transport it is also necessary to develop initiatives, raise the organizational level, use manpower and material power rationally, and save as much human and material resources as possible.

B--To closely coordinate the task of opposing the war of destruction with the task of preparing ourselves for opposing a limited war.

Preparing ourselves for opposing a limited war is an important task of all our party, people, and army. By satisfactorily opposing the enemy's war of destruction we can create favorable conditions for preparing ourselves for defeating all adventurous acts of the U.S. aggressors, including a situation in which they daringly use their infantry to attack the north. Therefore, it is necessary for us to closely coordinate the immediate fighting task with the task of making preparations for protracting combat which is entrusted to the armed forces in general and to the self-defense militia forces in particular. While concentrating leadership on opposing the enemy's war of destruction, all localities must work out plans for organizing defense and fighting against the enemy on the ground in accordance with the policy and intentions of superiors.

It is necessary to prepare local troops and self-defense militia in all fields and make them ready to collaborate with regulars to defeat enemy troops on the mainland from the very beginning. It is necessary to work out a plan for developing these preparatory tasks, for determining what tasks must be fulfilled immediately, what tasks must be carried out only after careful preparations to correctly enforce the policy of associating the economy with military aspects and combat with production.

C--It is necessary to satisfactorily carry out the task of setting up a reserve force so that, when required, the regular force can be supplemented quickly. To do so it is necessary to keep a firm hold on the guerrilla and self-defense militia forces. It is necessary to step up the three-readiness movement among youths and the three-responsibility movement among women. It is necessary to realize that widespread military training for militiamen is aimed not only at training militiamen in how to fight and defend their villages and hamlets, but also at training them to fill the regular force.

It is necessary to intensify the political education and military training of guerrillas and self-defense militiamen so that they will reach a firm political level, have good military knowledge, good health, and be prepared to fulfill their duties on the front. On the other hand, we must also mobilize the people to fully enforce the party and government policy toward families whose children have been drafted and the families of wounded soldiers and dead heroes in order to put the soldiers' minds at ease while they are fighting the enemy.

D--It is necessary to strongly develop the self-defense militia force's role as a shock force on the production front.

Our anti-U.S. national salvation resistance is being undertaken while the north is pursuing its socialist construction. That is why it is necessary to thoroughly understand the party policy of closely associating the economy with the military and combat with production. Since the war is entering a fierce phase more difficulties will be encountered in production.

We must strongly encourage the selfless labor spirit of all the people and thoroughly develop the self-defense militia's role as a shock force on the production front. Self-defense militiamen and militiawomen must volunteer for duty in dangerous areas, work with a high sense of responsibility, and achieve the highest output to encourage the majority of compatriots to follow suit. We must treasure the production achievements by self-defense militiamen in the anti-U.S. national salvation task.

E--It is necessary to further accelerate the task of building combat villages. This is a very important task, because combat villages are firm fortresses, linked battlegrounds for the people's war in our country. Their building must satisfy the requirements of the struggle against the war of destruction, insure good preparations for the struggle against local war, and insure production in each locality under all circumstances. Combat villages must become the battleground for the attack and defense of all three categories of troops, and at the same time for support for the people so that they can cling to their hamlets and carry out production even while fierce fighting is being waged.

The building of combat villages is in many respects an arduous struggle. It is necessary to have four-good party branches, a firm and strong political force of the masses, a powerful body of self-defense militiamen, and a plan for developing the topographic situation and combat projects. We must consider the correct situation, duties, and characteristics of each area in working out a plan for building suitable combat villages, building them step by step, and determining what tasks must be carried out immediately and what tasks can be postponed to satisfactorily relate military requirements to production requirements.

Recently various military zones have led the building of combat villages and have achieved initial results. In the future they must make greater efforts. At this conference you comrades have recalled some valuable experiences. The method of classifying combat villages, as set forth by the military zone, is an important innovation.

Comrades, your conference has the objective of recapitulating local military tasks, including leadership and command of the local force and self-defense militia force. You comrades have correctly noted that leadership over local military tasks must not separate the local force from the self-defense militia force.

At present in the north of our country each province is a large economic unit, embracing both agriculture and local industry, with a population of hundreds of thousands of people, or more or less a million people or (even) 2 million people. Each province has important military tasks and an armed force which is much bigger and more powerful than before, embracing both the local force and the self-defense militia force, thus how each province in the north of our country produces and fights is a very big problem.

Here I wish to stress the leading role of various party committees, from province down to basic level, especially the role of provincial committees and party branches, in local military tasks. Provincial party committees must keep a firm hold on military tasks and delve more deeply into the task of studying and thoroughly understanding the party's military line so that our party's leadership of the war can achieve increasingly great victories. Leadership of local military tasks requires a firm grasp of local characteristics, creative application of the party's military line, drawing up of a practical plan for combat and for building the armed force now and in the future, and the drafting of a plan for closely relating the struggle against the war of destruction to preparations for the struggle against the local war and for satisfactorily relating the military tasks to production tasks, and so forth.

It is necessary to know how to closely associate various branches and organizations to fulfill the military tasks set forth by the party. It is necessary to know how to mobilize the masses and their organizations to participate in combat and recall experiences in time to advance military tasks. Provincial party committees must heighten their sense of responsibility and develop their role as staff to local

military organs to satisfactorily fulfill the aforementioned tasks. District party committees must closely follow the basic party committees in order to supervise them and help them thoroughly understand and fully apply the decisions of superiors on military tasks.

Basic party committees responsible for directly leading production and combat are in charge of leading and uniting the masses in undertaking the people's war and building the people's armed forces in each locality and basic unit. Only through satisfactory leadership over military tasks can basic party committees insure that the power of the party's military line is developed to a high degree. Therefore, basic party committees, especially chi bo, must thoroughly understand the situation of the revolutionary and military tasks of the party and must be aware of the U.S. imperialists' wicked plots and of the great military and economic potentials of their localities. They must strive to lead various branches and organizations in satisfactorily fulfilling all military tasks entrusted to them by the party.

Comrades, for more than 20 years in each stage of advance of the revolution, the self-defense militia forces have always fulfilled their duty as an army which has fought well, carried out production and other tasks satisfactorily, and deserved to be an important strategic force in the revolutionary and armed struggles in our country. On this occasion I ask you comrades to convey to all men and women members of the self-defense militia forces the friendly "determination to win" salutations from the party Central Committee and the Supreme Military Council.

The more self-defense militiamen and militiawomen members take pride in their glorious achievements, the more they must be grateful to the party and the people for having taken pains to educate, train, feed, and improve them. They must be fully conscious of their great and honorable responsibility to the historic anti-U.S. national salvation struggle and must endeavor to seriously follow President Ho's advice: "Be loyal to the party, faithful to the people, and prepared to make sacrifices and to fight for the independence and unification of the fatherland and for socialism. Fulfill any task, overcome any difficulty, and defeat any enemy."

Also on this occasion all of us convey to the southern compatriots and the South Vietnam Liberation Armed Forces, including the self-defense militia units, our salutations of determination to fight to defeat the U.S. aggressors. We have the strength of militant solidarity of 31 million compatriots from North to South Vietnam. We have the wide and strong sympathy and support of brotherly socialist countries and the progressive people throughout the world. We will certainly be victorious. The U.S. imperialists will certainly be defeated.

I hope that you all will enthusiastically move forward, be brave and courageous and creative in combat and production, and accomplish more glorious feats of arms in order to further enrich the glorious tradition of the heroic Vietnam self-defense militia forces.