CONSOLIDATE AND STRENGTHEN PEOPLE'S NATIONAL DEFENSE AND LEAD THE ANTI-U.S. NATIONAL SALVATION CAUSE TO COMPLETE VICTORY


In the history of war from long ago up to now and from east to west, the problem of the rear has always played a very important role. Lenin said: "To conduct a war seriously, there must be a steady and firmly organized rear" (Selected Works, Vietnamese, the Su Thai Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, Vol. 2, Chapter 1, Page 359).

The realities of the former resistance war of our people against the French imperialists also showed that the more the resistance war developed, the more the rear of the country was enlarged and that the more the rear was enlarged, the more the resistance war was pushed forward. The rear became one of the factors deciding the victory of the resistance war.

At present, the people of our entire country are faced with a great, historic, anti-U.S. national salvation task. The heroic South Vietnamese people are upholding their determination to defeat the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys to liberate the south, protect the north, and advance toward the reunification of the country. The North Vietnamese people, engaging in production while fighting, are enthusiastically building socialism and are determined to defeat the U.S. imperialists' war of destruction, to protect the north, and to serve as a solid buttress for the revolutionary war in South Vietnam. The fighting of the people in the two zones is closely coordinated according to the "South Vietnam is the large frontline, North Vietnam is the vast rear" spirit.

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The north is the rear of the south. The DRV is an independent, sovereign country, a socialist country. Our northern people are carrying out the task of supporting the southern revolution, at the same time are directly resisting the war of destruction, and must make preparations in all fields to prevent a large war of aggression should the U.S. imperialists dare risk it. Therefore, endeavoring to build the northern rear at present also means building a strong people's national defense to serve the anti-U.S. national salvation cause.

This building task embraces the political, military, economic, and cultural fields. This is the common duty of our entire party, people, and army. To carry out this duty satisfactorily, we must solve a series of important problems, ranging from basic problems, such as viewpoints, lines, and principles, to a practical determination of tasks and their main content.

Our party's viewpoints in the preparations of the country to cope with the war of aggression are the viewpoints of people's national defense. The people's national defense viewpoints are the viewpoints of people's war applied in the building and consolidation of national defense and the building of the state's rear to conduct a revolutionary war. The people's national defense viewpoints of our party developed from the idea of building and protecting the revolutionary base as a buttress for the political force and the movement of the masses to wage an armed revolt during the period of the August revolution and from the idea of building and consolidating the rear of the resistance war to resist the French imperialists' war of aggression to the present idea of building and consolidating the socialist North Vietnam's national defense in order to meet the demands of the anti-U.S. national salvation cause. This process of development has reflected the growth of the revolutionary movement in our country and marked a new development step of our party's military ideology.

The people's national defense viewpoints have been pointed out by our party in many resolutions since the reestablishment of peace. It was reflected particularly in the most concentrated and fullest manner in the resolution of the 12th (enlarged) party Central Committee conference, second session. This resolution specified that to prepare the country to be ready to cope with a future war, we must strive to build the army and consolidate national defense. The problem of national defense in the conditions of modern war is not only a military problem; it is also a political, economic, and scientific problem. Therefore, the problem of people's national defense is essentially the problem of the rear in war, a problem of making preparations in all fields for the country to defeat all forms of aggressive war waged by the U.S. imperialists.
To apply the people's national defense viewpoints is to apply mass viewpoints, class viewpoints, and practical viewpoints in all fields of the building and consolidation of the northern rear. Generally speaking, between the rear and war there exists an organic relationship which develops according to a definite law. The more the war develops, the more it will require an ever greater contribution from the rear; the greater this contribution, the more complex the problem of building the rear will become. This of course, will have an adverse effect on the development of the war.

In all unjust wars of aggression, the following usual law will develop: the wider the war is enlarged, the more it will present many great demands for the rear and the more the rear will display many weak points, such as unstable political situation, weak and declining economy, financial exhaustion, and so forth, that might hinder the development of the war. The contradictions between the supply capabilities of the rear and the demands of the war will become increasingly acute and insoluble. This was proved in the French imperialists' war of aggression in our country and has now become very obvious in the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression in the two zones of our country.

Contrary to the foregoing law, in all people's wars led by the party of the working class, the following law usually develops: The more widely the people's war is enlarged, the more it will require the rear to develop quickly. The development of the rear will create many favorable conditions for the people's war to achieve greater and greater victories. There is absolutely no antagonism or contradiction between the demands of the war and the supply capabilities of the rear; rather, the rear and the frontline are a united bloc with the former providing a steady, firm guarantee for the latter.

This law was clearly reflected in our people's former war of resistance against the French. It is also clearly reflected in the current anti-U.S. national salvation struggle of our people. This is because on one hand, such a law is decided by the nature of the just war and, on the other, because our party has deeply applied the people's war viewpoints in the building and consolidation of the rear of the revolutionary war. Therefore, in the present anti-U.S. national salvation cause, the application of mass viewpoints, class viewpoints, and practical viewpoints in the building of people's national defense in the north is one of the fundamental problems.

Our party always holds that the victory of the war is achieved by the masses of the people. The people's war in our country will surely defeat any sort of war of aggression created by the U.S. imperialists because it has the extremely great
political, moral, and material strength of the masses. To apply
the people's war viewpoints, to rely completely on the broad and
great force of the masses, especially the masses of workers and
peasants, and to base ourselves on our practical conditions to
build a steady, firm people's national defense is precisely to
make the strength of the people's war invincible. We did pre­
cisely that during the one year of struggle against the war of
destruction.

Our party based itself on a correct analysis of the com­
parison between our force and that of the enemy and of their
difficulties and moral advantages to develop to the maximum the poli­
tical and moral strength of the masses and mobilize all branches
and persons to work hard to build a people's national defense in
accordance with our realities, thus satisfying the requirements
of the people's war against the U.S. aggressors' war of destruc­
tion conducted mainly by their air force. The great victory of
the people's war over the war of destruction of the U.S. im­
perialists during last year has reflected the great strength of
the people's national defense in the northern part of our
country. Our party has created this strength through a thorough
understanding of mass, class, and realistic viewpoints.

It is general knowledge that if the U.S. imperialists
dare wage a regional aggressive war throughout our entire country,
our people will undertake a people's war to oppose them. It will
be a people's war under modern conditions. This war will surely
be fierce and arduous. It will require that the people's national
defense of the north be stronger and firmer in all fields. To
achieve this strength and firmness, it is basically necessary to
apply thoroughly the above-mentioned viewpoints to the building
and consolidation of our people's national defense.

Our party's concept of people's national defense has not
only a national character, but also a deep class character. The
building of a strong people's national defense is aimed not only
at protecting the north and supporting the liberation struggle
of the southern compatriots, but also at protecting the socialist
camp, protecting peace in southeast Asia and the world, and de­
developing the influence of the north over the revolutionary
struggle movement of the oppressed nations.

Our party's concept of people's national defense reflects
the highest degree of conformity of views between the nationalist
stand and proletarian stand, between the love for the fatherland
and the love for socialism, and between genuine patriotism and
proletarian internationalism.

Being based on the above-mentioned viewpoints, the people's
national defense in the northern part of our country follows this
line: "All the people and branches serve the protracted anti-U.S. national salvation struggle of the people throughout the country." The northern national defense must be an all-people national defense because it is built by all the people and is aimed at protecting the supreme interests of the people, which are national independence, national unification, and socialism. The national defense power does not depend exclusively on the power of the regular forces, but mainly on all the people, whose core is the people's armed forces. To develop the power of all the people is to develop the political and moral power of workers, cooperative peasants, socialist intellectuals, and other laboring people. The basic interests and fate of workers, peasants, and socialist intellectuals are closely associated with the sacred interests of the fatherland and the fate of socialism.

Workers, peasants, and socialist intellectuals strongly hate the imperialist aggressors, the exploiting classes, and the system of exploitation of man by man. They actually exercise their mastery over the new society and are capable in the political, military, economic, cultural, technological, and other fields. The people's national defense in the northern part of our country is a comprehensive national defense, embracing all aspects: political, economic, military, and cultural. The imperialists in general and the U.S. imperialists in particular want to use all-out war to invade other countries. As far as forms are concern, they want to associate the political, military, economic, cultural, and other aspects. But in practice, the nature and rules of their aggressive war do not allow them to do so. That is why in the end their aggressive war continues to manifest itself in its most concentrated way in the form of military activities.

On the contrary, we continuously stress the necessity of using the all-people, comprehensive people's war to oppose them. We fight the enemy on the military, political, economic, and cultural fronts. The strength of the people's national defense in the north must be a combination of all these strengths: strength of men, masters of the community, of the progressive social system, and of the material and technical forces. In the building of the people's national defense in the north, only by achieving an all-people character can we achieve a comprehensive character, and vice versa. Moreover, the people's national defense in the north must directly serve the protracted anti-U.S. national salvation struggle of our people throughout the country with this spirit: "everything for the front, everything for victory." To build the people's national defense in the north along the above-mentioned line is to know how to rely on the fundamental strongpoints of our people and on the superiority of the socialist system to shift from a weak to a strong position.
turn our moral forces into our material ones, and turn the potentialities of our country and masses into an inexhaustible material strength.

Here is the method for building the people's national defense in the north of our country: to rely mainly on our own capacity and, at the same time, to take advantage of international aid. Our people's national defense is an independent, autonomous, and ever strong and firm one. Our party and state have done their best to exploit the potentialities of our country to build and improve our people's national defense.

At the same time, we know how to closely associate the self-sufficiency spirit at the highest degree and the spirit of taking advantage of the aid given our people by the entire socialist camp and by the peace-loving peoples the world over. We must mainly develop our self-sufficiency spirit and, on this basis, make the best use of the international aid. Making the best use of the aid from the fraternal countries and from the peace-loving peoples the world over is aimed at creating more favorable conditions so that we can by ourselves build an ever firm and strong people's national defense.

Last year's developments prove that the above-mentioned views, line, and methods about the building of a people's national defense are fully correct. The year 1965 was the first year during which the people's national defense of the north of our country was put to the test. The U.S. imperialists mobilized the major part of their Seventh Fleet Air Force and their 13th Air Force as well as almost all types of their modern combat jets and used all sorts of weapons, including guided rockets, to attack the north of our country. They associated war of destruction with psychological warfare and war of espionage in the hope of destroying the rear and shaking the morale of our people. In the south they continuously introduced more U.S. and satellite troops and enlarged their aggressive war on an increasingly large scale.

Faced with this situation, along with the southern people, the northern people resolutely rose up and opposed the U.S. imperialists. During last year, our people throughout the country won many great victories. In the south, after the Binh Gia and Ba Gia battles in which large numbers of puppet troops were disintegrated, there were the Dat, Cuoc, Bau Bang, Plei Me, Dau Tieng, and other battles in which many U.S. infantry battalions were completely wiped out. In the north, our people downed over 800 U.S. planes and exterminated or captured alive many U.S. pilots. Our people's determination to defeat the U.S. aggressors heightened daily. Socialist construction firmly entered the wartime phase and efficiently served the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle.
The brilliant achievements and exploits of the armed forces and people in both zones not only plunged the "superiority of the U.S. Air Force" into mud, but also smashed the prestige of the U.S. ground force and the so-called "offensive position" of the U.S. troops on the South Vietnamese battlefields. The above-mentioned achievements and exploits also prove that basing themselves mainly on their own economic and national defense potentialities, our people are fully able to defeat the U.S. imperialists—the richest and most powerful imperialists of capitalism.

The strength of our people's national defense is very great. It is the political and moral strength of over 17 million northern people, of those who actually hold the mastery over society, and of the complete consensus between the people, the party, and the government on the objectives of the revolutionary struggle and on the determination to defeat the U.S. aggressors. It is the strength of the people's armed forces having glorious fighting traditions, having rich fighting experiences, and having made quick progress after years of building. It is the strength of a socialist economy which, although young, had developed, under a correct leadership, to the maximum its impact on the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle. The strength of our people's national defense originates in patriotism, deep hatred for the enemy, and the superiority of the socialist system in the north. That is why the north has surmounted the first challenges set forth by the enemy, has grown daily in combat, and is firmly advancing toward fulfilling its historic mission.

Our people have the tradition of using a weak force to defeat a stronger one. During the 1945-1954 resistance against the French colonialists, although our rear was still very weak, our people were able to defeat the aggressive expeditionary troops of one of the advanced capitalist countries in Europe. This was not fortuitous, but was consistent with the rules of a people's war opposing an aggressive war. Now, although the situation is different, this rule will surely be reiterated; our people will surely win and the U.S. imperialists will surely be defeated.

Waging unjust aggressive war in Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists must fight not only against a "small" armed force, but must cope with an entire heroic nation, with the whole socialist camp, and with the peace-loving peoples the world over, including the U.S. people. The U.S. imperialists are rich. No one can deny it. To protect the hundreds of thousands of U.S. and satellite troops and half a million puppet troops in South Vietnam, they have spent tens of billions of dollars; sent millions of tons of weapons, technical equipment, and war materials and means to South Vietnam; built on the spot many military harbors, military airfields, and warehouses; and introduced a relatively large logistical force.
into South Vietnam. But the above-mentioned efforts do not prove that they are strong; that is, sufficiently strong to avoid repeated defeats because, as Comrade Stalin once said: "The largest and best-equipped armies are generally dispersed and wiped out because they have no firm rear and do not have the sympathy and support of the rear and of the laboring people." Indeed, the U.S. imperialists' rear has a number of fundamental weak points which cannot be overcome.

1--This rear is permanently unstable politically. Waging aggressive war in Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists absolutely do not have the sympathy and support of the U.S. people and progressive mankind. The U.S. people, who by tradition love peace and democratic freedoms, surely can never let their bloodthirsty rulers Johnson and McNamara freely pour U.S. men and money into the aggressive war in Vietnam. The people of the colonies and dependents of the United States such as Japan, South Korea, the Philippines, Thailand, and so forth under various forms and in different degrees have risen to struggle against the U.S. aggressive war in Vietnam, especially against the traditional imperialist policy of using Asians to fight Asians. The struggle movement of the U.S. people and world peoples will surely produce a strong impact upon the fighting spirit of U.S. servicemen and those of satellite countries, and also upon the material preparations for the aggressive war of the U.S. imperialists.

2--Because of the aggressive policy and armaments race of the United States, its economy does not develop normally. Its industry is crippled. Its production is restricted and is constantly sabotaged. Its finance daily faces difficulties. The danger of inflation is threatening the U.S. economy. Unemployment exists on a permanent basis, and there is the danger that it may increase, and so forth. The foregoing are surely obstacles to the satisfaction of the ever great requirements of the U.S. aggressive war in Vietnam.

3--Because of their ambition to dominate the world, the U.S. imperialists have set up a front composed of over 2,000 military bases extending over hundreds of thousands of kilometers from east to west aimed at encircling the socialist camp and repressing the national liberation movements in various countries. Their economic and defense potentialities are dispersed to the utmost.

4--Attacking Vietnam which is tens of thousands of kilometers away from the United States, the U.S. imperialists can never solve the logistical problem quickly, thoroughly, and in time, no matter how rich in means of transportation they are.
5—Fighting in South Vietnam, a battlefield with which they are completely unfamiliar, the U.S. imperialists have encountered many difficulties; the topographic situation is unfavorable to the use of modern weapons and technical equipment and means; the weather does not suit the aggressors, the aggressors cannot find any safe place due to the fact that the people's war has developed to the maximum and become a war without a front, the southern people are the masters of four-fifths of southern territory, the areas where the Americans are safe have shrunk daily, the communication lines seem to be paralyzed, airfields and warehouses are continually attacked and destroyed, cities no longer supply them with manpower and resources, the puppet government and troops are facing irremediable disintegration, and so forth. All the above-mentioned difficulties have caused the U.S. imperialists to be at a loss to solve the logistical problem for their troops.

Generally speaking, the fighting spirit of the U.S. troops in South Vietnam, like that of any aggressor, is very low. Their main vantage point is their material and technical force. Faced with the ever greater difficulties encountered in insuring their rear as mentioned above, and faced with the ever strong attacks by the southern armed forces and people, U.S. troops will gradually lose their mobility. Their fighting spirit will be lower and lower. They will be unable to avoid complete extermination.

Our people are not subjective, do not underestimate the enemy. They can discern the weak points of the U.S. imperialists and deepen these weak points. At the same time, they are well aware of their inexhaustible force and have firm confidence in their own strength. They do their best to consolidate and reinforce the people's national defense in the north and resolutely advance the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle to complete victory. The construction of a people's defense system at present is in fact the construction and consolidation of the state's rear and is the improvement of one of the factors which commonly determine the success of a revolutionary war.

In this construction, it is necessary to understand thoroughly the leadership's concepts: "The south is the great front, the north is the great rear," "Vietnam is the front against the U.S. imperialists of the entire socialist bloc and of the peace-loving peoples in the world." Therefore, the tasks of the construction of the people's defense system in the north are to rely on the complete knowledge of the strategic revolutionary tasks as well as the strategic military ones so as to understand thoroughly our party's line in the people's war, and to rely on the political, spiritual and material powers of the socialist north in order to produce firm conditions and prerequisites for the defeat, step by step, of the U.S. imperialists' air war of
destruction, for the effective protection of the socialist north while assuring that the war of aggression against the north will be defeated if the U.S. imperialists ever dare to wage it; to support actively the struggle of the southern people against the U.S. imperialists for national salvation, for the liberation of the south, and for the advancement toward the reunification of the fatherland; and to strive to assist the national liberation movements of our sister countries.

Based on the above-mentioned tasks, the substance of the construction and consolidation of our people's defense system includes the following aspects:

Foremost is the construction in politics and ideology. The task of political and ideological construction is based on the need to make the entire population and army really understand the present situation and political tasks so that they will set their determination on the defeat of the U.S. aggressors and resolve to exert all of their mind and force to fulfill the historic mission of the nation. This is an intensive and long-lasting political campaign aimed at strengthening the will to fight, enhancing the standpoint and outlook of the proletarian class, and achieving a strong ideological and organizational change and change of habits to suit the new situation.

The principal substance of the political and ideological task in the present situation is to indoctrinate the cadres and people regularly with a steel-like confidence in ultimate victory; to develop to the highest degree revolutionary heroism, the idea of fighting and vanquishing the U.S. imperialists, and the idea of readiness for defeating any kind of war to the enemy; to train increasingly the will to overcome all difficulties and hardship; the sense of self-reliance of the nation, and the spirit of self-sufficiency; and to continue to indoctrinate the outlook of the people's war and develop strongly the political factors as well as the spirit to defeat the power of the U.S. imperialists' weapons. Moreover, the indoctrination of the political and ideological struggle among the people must be concentrated in the destruction to the root of the idea of overestimating the enemy or of subjectively underestimating him, as well as the idea of relying on the assistance of the brother countries and of disbelieving in our own forces.

Our people have a tradition of unity against the invaders, and the national united front is the most vivid image of this fine tradition. The national united front is based on the alliance between the workers and farmers and, under the leadership of the working class, has made decisive contributions during the
past revolutionary stages. It will go on to fulfill its glorious mission in the struggle against the U.S. imperialists for national salvation at present. To keep strengthening the great national unity bloc is to strengthen a firm political base for the construction of a people's defense system in the north.

The people's administration which is carrying out the historic mission of the proletarian dictatorship in the struggle against the U.S. imperialists for national salvation at the present, particularly the administrations at the rural bases, in the mountainous region, and in vital areas must be firmly strengthened. Its main functions at this time are to be determined to exterminate the internal enemy and external aggressors, and to protect effectively the interests of the working people and of the socialist regime in the north while actively supporting the struggle for liberation of the southern compatriots.

The strengthening of the political indoctrination of the people and the consolidation of the national united front and the people's administration are the main aspects in the construction of the people's defense system in the political and ideological aspects. It is necessary, however, to be concerned with the intensification of the tasks of international propaganda and of diplomatic struggle in order to win over more sympathy and support from the entire socialist bloc and from the peace-loving peoples in the world, including the Americans. It is necessary to expose regularly and timely the hypocritical face and the barbarous and ruthless tricks of the U.S. imperialists in order to isolate them to the highest degree and to contribute to the enlargement of the united front against the U.S. imperialists of the peoples throughout the world. It is also necessary to make the Americans know more about the Vietnamese situation as an aid in accelerating the movement to demand the cessation of the war of aggression in Vietnam and the withdrawal of U.S. Armed Forces from South Vietnam.

Secondly, to build a strong and firm people's national defense in the north it is necessary to have a strongly developed economy. While building this economy, in order to satisfy the requirements of the anti-U.S. national salvation task it is necessary to pay special attention to the following three main aspects: agriculture, local industry, and communication and transportation.

Now more than ever, agricultural production plays a very important role in the national economy and is directly related to national defense. Its main duties are: To supply the people and troops with sufficient food and foodstuffs so that they can
eat their fill and defeat the enemy, to gradually increase the reserve stock of the state and people and to create conditions for developing the national defense forces and other economic branches; to step up agricultural production in the important areas in the delta, the middle region, and the mountainous region is to create favorable conditions to insure logistical support for the troops operating in these strategic areas. On the other hand, it is necessary—through the stepping up of agricultural production, improvement of cooperative management, introduction of science and techniques into agriculture, consolidation and perfection of the new production relations in the countryside, and so forth—to raise the levels of the peasant cooperative members and the militia and guerrillas in various respects, and create conditions for them to participate favorably in the main force troops and the regional troops.

Generally speaking, industrial production must be stepped up in order to accelerate the technical revolution in the entire people's economy, to serve agriculture, local industry and communications and transport, to contribute actively to building the young national defense, and to satisfy to the highest degree the requirements of production and combat under any circumstances. In particular, due to the topographical conditions and to the characteristics of the guerrilla war in our country, which are constantly to stick to the people and the land, local industry occupies an increasingly important role. Simultaneously with the production of production materials for agriculture and consumer goods, local industry must strive to produce weapons and other means necessary for the guerrilla war, repair weapons and technical equipment with the required standards, produce and repair the means of communications and transport, and so forth.

Together with the development of agriculture, local industry will contribute to enabling the economy of each zone to become more and more perfect, to meet by itself the basic economic and military requirements within the locality, and to advance toward settling the problem of insuring on the spot logistical support for the war. The building of local industry in the mountainous region plays an important role in the task of building and consolidating the mountainous region into a base which is stable in national defense and economically strong.

Communication and transport is the artery of the people's economy and national defense. One of the main objectives of the U.S. imperialists in carrying out the destructive war is to strike and destroy communication and transport, disrupting the communication and distribution network, and creating practical difficulties for us in the implementation of our economic and military plans, with a view to reducing our people's determination to
oppose them. Therefore, to insure communication and transport is one of the main objectives of the opposition to the destructive war, and is one of the central and long-lasting tasks of our entire party, people, and army.

The duty of the present communication and transport work is to concentrate the utmost force to insure that the lines of communication are completely open under all circumstances and anywhere, with a view to effectively serving the task of opposing the United States for national salvation. It is necessary to protect and repair the important lines of communication, to consolidate the existing lines and enlarge many new lines in necessary directions and, at the same time, to use fully the water, land, and railway lines of communication and to develop the system of local communication, rural communication, and communication in the mountainous region.

It is necessary to develop strongly and utilize fully the various types of rudimentary, semimechanized, and mechanized means of transportation in order to serve the frontline in time. It is necessary to concentrate forces to protect the bridges, ferries, and important sections of roads and, at the same time, to work out plans for the rapid and timely repair of the sections which were destroyed by the enemy. Our people, who inherently have "iron feet and copper shoulders," now also possess a relatively strong mechanized and semimechanized transportation force. What is necessary for us is to have a correct consciousness and high determination, to know how to exploit the people's transport capability, and to develop the spirit of self-help of each locality. Then the communication and transport problem will certainly be settled more satisfactorily.

In the military aspect, the substance of the building of the northern people's national defense is, on the basis of a thorough understanding of the party's military line, to wage the all-people and all-out war, and carry out the "each citizen is a soldier, each village, (ban, town, urban ward) is a fortress, each chi bo is a combat staff," slogan.

To generate the masses of the people to wage the national salvation war it is necessary, besides political and ideological mobilization, to intensify the building of the people's armed forces into increasingly powerful forces. It is necessary to build the main force troops into a regular and relatively firm modern force which is worthy of being our people's key force in opposing the U.S. aggressors' present war of destruction, and which is fully capable of defeating the U.S. troops in a general aggressive war if they dare adventurously create it in the future. It is necessary to build and train actively the regional troops to make them stronger and stronger so that they can satisfactorily
fulfill their functions in the immediate epoch as well as in the future; to organize more comprehensively and firmly the self-defense militia, and to intensify political and military training, training in the sense of organization and discipline, and the readiness to combat and to serve combat. More than ever, our people's armed forces must develop their glorious tradition of determination to fight and win, raise higher the determination to vanquish the U.S. aggressors, constantly and closely follow the fight of the southern people and strive to study the heroic southern liberation armed forces' experience in fighting and annihilating the U.S. aggressors, remain always ready to fight and fight valiantly, to annihilate the enemy, and successfully fulfill every task entrusted by the party and state.

To intensify the air defense force and the people's air defense work is an important aspect of military construction. Our present day air defense force is very great, and it includes the air defense forces of the main force troops, the regional troops, and the self-defense militia. In addition, there is a quite large combat-serving force constituted by the masses of the people. The above forces have been tried and trained during more than one year of countering the war of destruction and have rapidly matured.

These forces must be further strengthened both quantitatively and qualitatively, to insure that the enemy is attacked wherever he goes, and attacked with even stronger and heavier blows. Simultaneously with fighting the enemy, it is necessary to intensify the organization of precaution, initial dispersion, and protection of the lives of the people and the property of the people and the state, with a view of limiting our losses to the minimum, and safeguarding and improving our forces for conducting the protracted resistance war.

The building of combat villages (ban, chief towns, and urban wards) has an important strategic and military significance in the task of opposing the war of destruction at the present, as well as opposing the overall aggressive war should it occur in the future. Building combat villages is in essence building the people's national defense at the base. It is necessary to concentrate forces to build combat villages (ban, chief towns, and urban wards) along the important lines of communication, the strategic areas, and the crucial regions and, at the same time, to work out plans for expanding step by step the scope of construction, thus creating a situation in which "hamlets adjoin hamlets, villages adjoin villages, districts adjoin districts," and mutual support one another.

To strengthen the defense work and the maintenance of public security and order, to defeat the enemy's psychological
and espionage warfare, and to smash rapidly the enemy's ranger and raiding activities is one of the important duties of the local military work. It is necessary to educate the masses comprehensively as to the vicious schemes of the U.S. imperialists and the reactionary clique of their lackeys; to expose in time all of their psychological warfare arguments and tricks; and to intensify the education of the people in the prevention against enemy infiltration and preservation of secrets. Moreover, it is necessary to develop the function of the people's administration in suppressing reactionary elements, controlling bad elements, and educating backward persons. The regional troops, the people's armed security, and the self-defense militia must constantly remain vigilant and ready to put down any rebellion if it breaks out, to capture all of the teams of ranger spies sent by the enemy into the northern part of our country, and to smash rapidly any large or small raids of the enemy.

Apart from the above-mentioned political, economic, and military aspects, it is necessary to pay attention to the other fields, such as education, health, gymnastics and sports, literature, arts, and so forth, with a view to building a comprehensive people's national defense which adequately serve our people's task of opposing the U.S. for national salvation. It is necessary to associate closely our country's revolutionary education with the task of opposing the United States for national salvation, and to accelerate more rapidly the formation of a large pool of cadres who are virtuous and talented and can effectively serve the present production and combat tasks. It is necessary to bring our people's health system more deeply into production and combat and to work out plans for it to realistically serve production and combat. It is necessary to step up actively the gymnastics and sports activities in general, and the national defense sports in particular, with a view to improving the laboring people, the self-defense militia, and the youths so that they will become physically strong and attain a certain level of military techniques to efficiently serve production and communication and transport, and to join the troops.

It is necessary to strive to build and develop the anti-U.S. and national salvation literature and arts, to step up sound literary and artistic activities among the masses with a view to educating them in patriotism and hatred for the enemy, and to improve our troops' and people's revolutionary heroism.

Above is the substance of the building and consolidation of the people's national defense in the northern part of our country at present. To fulfill these tasks satisfactorily is to strengthen our people's forces in all respects in order to protect the socialist north and insure the defeat of any form of aggressive war waged by the U.S. imperialists, and to develop
the great impact of the large rear in the north upon the task of opposing the United States for national salvation.

The above-mentioned aspects are closely related. Political and ideological construction has the effect of thoroughly penetrating and guiding all other aspects. To build up the economy is to create a firm material base for the national defense undertaking, and for the development of the political and moral strength. The military construction, upon the basis of amalgamating the political and economic strengths, is aimed at bringing into existence mighty forces to defeat the enemy's military force. We build the people's national defense in the north in a situation where the entire country is at war. Therefore, we have simultaneously to build and to fight. Construction is aimed at raising our potentiality in all respects in order to insure a successful fight; and fighting is aimed at protecting the construction undertaking. These two tasks are equally important. They develop in parallel, and support each other.

In the building of the people's national defense in the north, it is necessary to settle satisfactorily the relations between the rear area of the central level and the rear of each zone and, particularly, to settle satisfactorily the problem of building the people's national defense in the mountainous region. Our party has hitherto paid constant attention to the building of the rear of the mountainous region in general, and of the people's national defense in the mountainous region in particular. Henceforth, we will realistically further step up this task in order to insure that the mountainous region of our country will always be a firm base whatever the circumstances.

The present building of the people's national defense in the north has very favorable fundamental conditions. Our party, by reason of its 36 years of leadership of the revolution, has correct political and military lines and possesses ample experience in guiding the war and building socialism in the north. Our people, who have been trained and tried in revolutionary struggle and in protracted revolutionary war, have a high level of national enlightenment and a profound class enlightenment. They have a tradition of unity and struggle against foreign invasion and ample experience in political and military struggle and in economic construction, and they are now masters of a new social system.

The northern part of our country has undergone 11 years of socialist revolution and of building socialism. Our socialist production relations have been increasingly consolidated, and our economic and national defense potentialities are growing day by day. The more new successes scored by the large frontline in the south in its task of opposing the U.S. for national salvation,
the more strongly we are encouraged to build the large rear in
the north so that it will develop rapidly.

Furthermore, we also obtain the aid of brotherly countries
and the sympathy and support of thousands of millions of pro-
gressive people in the world, including the U.S. people.

However, besides the above favorable conditions, on our
new path of maturity we have definite weakpoints, difficulties,
and shortcomings. In addition to this, the more the enemy is
defeated, the more he furiously squirms and the more he will cause
new difficulties for us. To strive to develop the favorable
conditions and actively overcome all of the above-mentioned dif-
ficulties, to develop fully and channel the masses' spirit and
energy into the intensification of the construction of the people's
national defense in the north firmly and comprehensively—these
constitute the correct and continuing path of struggle for our
entire party, people, and army.

To complete the task of building the people's national
defense, the central problem consists of strengthening party
leadership. Party committees of all echelons must directly lead
the war and the task of building the national defense in a com-
prehensive and wise way. To exert leadership over the task of
building the people's national defense, first of all it is neces-
sary to keep a firm hold on the basic problems, such as viewpoints,
lines, guiding principles, leading ideology, tasks, and main
contents. It is necessary to rely on the basis of education in
politics, morality, and duties, and on the full calculation of
advantages and difficulties continually to improve the anti-U.S.
national salvation determination of cadres and people and to
assert our determination to build the people's national defense
in the service of the anti-U.S. national salvation enterprise.

On the other hand, it is necessary to set forth practical
measures of organization and implementation and to work out plans
to check, supervise, and help echelons completely achieve the
people's national defense. There must always be systems of re-
viewing, initially recapitulating, and comprehensively recapitu-
lat ing the work done in order continually to improve cadres of
all echelons in the fields of dialectics and experience in or-
ganization and leadership and to improve the work methods in
accordance with the new situation. What is of special importance
is that the majority of the masses must be mobilized to partic-
cipate in building a strong people's national defense.

To help party committees of all echelons fulfill the
forthcoming tasks, it is necessary to perfect the agencies
working for the party committees, especially local military
agencies. Cadres working in these agencies must have high
political quality, adequate military and professional standards, high planning and organizational standards, and lively and appropriate manner and attitude.

Building and consolidating the anti-U.S. national salvation people's national defense is a very glorious duty of our entire party, people, and army in the present revolutionary stage. This is also a protracted, hard, and arduous undertaking requiring very great sacrifices and efforts of all of our people. Under the clear-sighted leadership of our party, led by the respected and loved President Ho Chi Minh, our people and people's armed forces will certainly fulfill this glorious duty, and the people's national defense in North Vietnam will certainly and firmly be consolidated, thus insuring the complete victory for the anti-U.S. national salvation enterprise.

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