The Vietnam People's Army will be 20 years old on 22 December 1964. Over the past 24 years, if calculated from the day the Bac Son uprising shots were heard, the armed forces of our people have constantly developed and grown strong.

Our army started from nothing and has gone from small units to large forces and from minor to major victories. During the past 20 years, the revolutionary armed forces of our people under party leadership have developed from a small self-defense guerrilla unit into the powerful armed force it is today. Today our people have a revolutionary regular and relatively modern army, firm and steady regional units, and strong self-defense and militia and reserve forces. Looking back at the growth of their revolutionary armed forces, our party and people have the right to be proud of them.

The growth of our army is due to our party's correct political line and to our people's spirit on thorough revolution, warm patriotism, and profound hatred for the enemy. It is also due to our party's correct military line. Guided by these correct political and military lines, the officers and enlisted men of the armed forces are absolutely loyal to the revolutionary cause of the party and the people. They have inspired high courage and heroism in combat and industriousness and the spirit of undergoing hardships and overcoming difficulties in work, study, and production.

Our party's military line consists, on the one hand, of popularizing to a high degree the combat traditions and experiences of our people during the past struggle against foreign aggression and the protracted revolutionary struggle and, on the other hand, of assimilating and applying in a creative manner the general Marxist-Leninist principles on the class struggle and proletarian dictatorship, the general principles on revolutionary wars, and the experiences of the world proletariat in armed struggles—especially the experiences of the Russian October Revolution in armed uprising and the experiences of the Chinese Revolution in protracted armed struggle—in the realities of Vietnam in the present period with a view to winning power and protecting the revolutionary power. Our party's military line came into existence and constantly developed in the revolutionary struggle and protracted armed struggle of our people. It reflects the basic laws of the revolutionary war in our country and has been tested in reality.

Facts prove that, because they were thoroughly imbued with the party's correct military line, all our people and our entire army fulfilled satisfactorily all revolutionary tasks set forth by the party. We successfully carried out the general armed uprising in August 1945; we overthrew the imperialist and feudalist yoke of domination; we succeeded in founding the DRV; and we initially set up the armed revolutionary forces for our people.
We conducted a lasting war of resistance from 1945 to 1954, defeated the French aggressors and the U.S. interventionists, achieved the people's democratic national revolution in half of the country, consolidated and developed the people's democratic government, and set up a people's army and strong paramilitary forces.

Since the reestablishment of peace, in North Vietnam—as a result of their understanding the party's correct military line—our army and people have scored new achievements in building up strong armed forces, in consolidating national defense, in assuring security and discipline and the peaceful labor of our people, and in assuring readiness to fight to frustrate all plots of provocations of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys.

In South Vietnam, engaging in a very heroic revolutionary war to frustrate the "special war" of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, our people have achieved and are achieving many great victories and have led their armed struggle to make steady, strong progressive steps. Along with the political struggle, our forces have grown stronger with every passing day. The enemy has become more and more confused and is suffering serious crises. These victories have been due to the fact that our people in South Vietnam have heroic struggle traditions and rich combat experience, have such courageous and unyielding children as Le Quang Vinh, Nguyen Van Troi, and so forth, and have constantly applied the revolutionary military line in their patriotic war.

It is crystal clear that our party's Marxist military line is an extremely sharp weapon for the people's armed forces, for the entire party, and for all our people in the struggle against all enemies of the revolution and against the imperialists headed by the U.S. imperialists. Therefore, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of our army, a review of the main features in the party military line—a review which is aimed at applying more thoroughly this military line in the present building of the army and consolidation of national defense—is indispensable.

To be conscious of and fully understand our party's military line, we must, first of all, hold firmly to the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint on the class struggle and proletarian dictatorship. The theory of class struggle and proletarian dictatorship is the quintessence of Marxism-Leninism. As Marx and Engels said 100 years ago, the history of human society after the obliteration of the original commune system has been the history of class struggle. "The oppressors and the oppressed, always opposed to each other, have engaged in an endless, now active, now latent struggle, one which always ends either with a revolutionary reform of the entire society or with the annihilation of the two classes struggling against each other" (Marx and Engels: Selected Works, "The Communist Party Manifesto," Vietnamese version, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, Vol. 1, page 18—HOC TAP footnote).

In our present era, this class struggle took place and is taking place in an acute manner in many forms. It is a struggle between the two opposed social systems on a world scale; it is a struggle of the oppressed people in colonial or semicolonial countries against imperialism and colonialism, old and new, in Asia, Africa, and Latin America; it is a struggle between the proletariat and bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries; it is a struggle between the peaceful and progressive forces and the warmongering reactionary forces led by the U.S. imperialists.
Class struggle is a motive for development in a society divided into antagonistic classes, a motive for development of human society. The most thorough revolutionary view of the Marxist theory of class and class struggle is to consider revolution by force necessary to eliminate the old social system and set up a new social system. Marx once taught us that force is a nurse for the revolution. This means that to liberate itself and other strata of laboring people from the oppression and exploitation of the bourgeoisie and other oppressing classes, it is absolutely necessary that the proletariat carry out a revolution by force, smash the governmental machinery of the bourgeoisie and other oppressing classes, and set up a proletarian dictatorial government of its own. Applying Marxism in a creative manner in the period of dying capitalism—that is, the imperialist period—Lenin asserted that "without a revolution by force, the bourgeois government cannot be replaced with a proletarian government" (Lenin: "State and Revolution," Selected Works, Vietnamese Version, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Vol. 2, Chap. 1, page 192—HOC TAP footnote).

The successful Russian October Revolution of 1917 set a standard for using a revolution by force in the form of armed uprising to overthrow the dictatorship of the landlord class and bourgeoisie and to set up a proletarian dictatorship, in this case the first socialist state in the world. Applying the theory of class struggle and proletarian dictatorship in the practical circumstances in China, the Chinese Communist Party, led by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, conducted a protracted revolutionary struggle and finally succeeded in overthrowing the reactionary government of the bureaucratic capitalists and the feudalists and setting up a revolutionary government of the people. This set another standard—this one being for revolution by force in a semicolonial, semifeudal, vast, and densely populated country in Asia.

After the end of World War II, many people's democratic countries in Europe and Asia were founded on the basis of using revolutionary wars to eliminate the counterrevolutionary war of the German, Italian, and Japanese fascists, as well as on the basis of using the revolutionary force of the masses, armed uprisings, or protracted revolutionary wars to overthrow bourgeois dictatorships, which were the dictatorships of the imperialists and feudalists in these countries. A network of socialist countries was formed. The national liberation movement in Asia, Africa, and Latin America over nearly the past 20 years shed light on this truth. All proletarian revolutions and national armed democratic revolutions occurring during the first few score years of the 20th century prove that the Marxist theory of class struggle and proletarian dictatorship is "not dogmatic, but is a guide for activities." This theory has been further enriched by realities.

That the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle and proletarian dictatorship entered into the revolutionary realities of Vietnam—a semicolonial, semifeudal, small, and sparsely populated country in southeast Asia—all the more illustrates its vitality and strong creativeness. This theory is the foundation, the soul, of our party's political line; it is also the foundation, the soul, of our party's military line.
In fact, prior to the August revolution, applying the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle and proletarian dictatorship and the experiences of the Russian October Revolution in armed uprising for power and the experience of the Chinese revolution in protracted armed struggle in the practical circumstances in our country, our party created a correct line of armed uprisings which was consistent with the conditions of our country.

The main content of our party's armed uprising line involved the following: On the basis of raising high the national and democratic banner, conducting a protracted political struggle in order to stir up a broad mass movement in the rural areas and in the cities; educating the masses thoroughly so that they may develop a revolutionary spirit, and creating a great revolutionary force; as the situation permit, switching the political struggle to military struggle; waging guerrilla warfare in coordination with the partial uprising and the building of guerrilla bases; advancing from partial uprising and the building of guerrilla bases to general armed uprising in the rural areas and in the cities; and using the political force of the majority of the masses in coordination with the armed force to launch a general uprising for power.

The foregoing is also the content of our party's military line on armed uprisings for power. The basic content of our party's military line during the subsequent period—that is, during the national liberation war against the French imperialists and the U.S. interventionists—has been the viewpoint of people's war and the viewpoint of building up the people's armed forces.

The viewpoint of people's war is the most basic viewpoint in our party's military line. It reflects the class and mass viewpoints of the party in the problem of war. It reflects the decisive role of the masses and party leadership in the revolutionary war. It also reflects the character of the just cause and the character of thorough revolution of the war conducted by the people under party leadership. The former war of resistance of our people against the French imperialists and the U.S. interventionists as well as the present war of resistance of the southern people against the U.S. imperialists is, above all, people's war.

When the war of resistance throughout the country was initiated, President Ho appealed: "All Vietnamese citizens, whether old or young, male or female, and without distinction as to religion, party, or nationality, must rise up to fight the French colonials and save the fatherland. Everyone must endeavor to fight the colonials and save the country with whatever they have at hand—rifles, swords, picks, clubs, or pickaxes." President Ho's appeal demonstrated in a brief, simple, and concise manner the national character of our war of resistance for national salvation. This national character was reflected in the fact that our party was always interested in strengthening the unity of the people and in directing it toward the single aim of conducting a war of resistance to save the country. Naturally, this national character was not separated from the class character of the war because our party always laid emphasis on the problem of the worker-peasant alliance and considered the peasants the main troops of the war of resistance.
As a matter of fact, the people's war in our country was a peasants' war led by the working class. It was reflected in the fact that our people used all usable weapons and instruments to annihilate the enemy and resorted to all forms of sabotage and attacks against the enemy in order to forestall, fight, and destroy the enemy everywhere and at any time. It was also reflected in the fact that our war was fought in a special form; it was a war which had no battlefronts or a spread-out war. In addition to their direct participation in fighting and killing the enemy, all our people positively participated in consolidating the rear and providing efficient help for the frontlines. Since our war served a just cause, it was approved and supported by the world people.

The people's war in Vietnam was also a comprehensive war. In this war not only did we fight the enemy in the military field, but we also positively fought him in the political, economic, and cultural fields. Because our war was an all-people and comprehensive war and was led by the party of the working class, it bore a character of thorough revolution. "All-people," "comprehensive," and "thoroughly revolutionary"—these are three indispensable factors in our party's viewpoint of military war. In the present revolutionary war of our compatriots in South Vietnam, these three factors are reflected very clearly and increasingly develop their great effect.

A war is named according to the tactics and strategies used in it. Our war was a people's war. Therefore, our tactics and strategies were those of a people's war in a colonial, semifeudal, and agriculturally backward country; they were an important part of our party's military line. First of all, the strategy of our war of resistance was the strategy of protracted fighting in which self-sufficiency was considered a principal task.

As everyone knows, our just people's war against the unjust war of the French imperialists and the U.S. interventionists broke out under the conditions wherein the enemy was strong while we were weak. Before the "frontier campaign" was successful, the war broke out under the conditions wherein we were encircled from all sides. Under such circumstances, only by determining the above strategy could we change the balance of forces in our favor and to the detriment of the enemy.

Concerning the implementation of the strategy of protracted fighting, the war in our country broke out in two forms—guerrilla warfare and conventional warfare. The law of development of this strategy was to advance from guerrilla warfare to conventional warfare and to associate the conventional warfare closely with the broad guerrilla warfare.

Concerning combat forms, during the war of resistance we resorted to guerrilla warfare, mobile warfare, and position warfare. The law of development of the above strategy was to advance gradually from guerrilla warfare to mobile warfare in coordination with position warfare. The decision on the use of this or that combat form and on the association of all combat forms was made according to the practical conditions of each area and in each period of time.

We drew many experiences and correct principles of combat leadership. These experiences and principles were extremely sharp weapons for our army. They helped our army score many victories in fighting.
The viewpoint of building up the people's armed forces is also a basic viewpoint in our party's military line. The Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle and proletarian dictatorship points out that the governmental machinery of a class is its instrument of domination used to repress the opposition of its enemies. An army is an organ of the state, a principal instrument of the state to implement the class dictatorship in general and to carry out an armed struggle in particular. Our revolutionary armed forces originated and grew in the revolutionary struggle and the revolutionary protracted war of the people. They came from the laboring people—especially the workers and the peasants—fought for the interests of the laboring people, and were organized, educated, and led by the party of the working class. Their common tasks were the tasks of the revolution; their practical task was to fight, work, and carry out production.

The people's armed forces must be under absolute party leadership. They must be thoroughly imbued with the party's class line on the building up of their organization and the organization of cadres. They must constantly maintain and consolidate the political work system, especially the political and ideological educational system. They must improve and increase their equipment in consonance with our practical conditions. They must constantly improve the troops' technical and tactical standards and pay special attention to training officers and improving their command and fighting habits and customs. Organizationally, the people's armed forces include three indispensable elements—the main forces, the regional forces, and the self-defense and militia forces.

The foregoing is the basic viewpoints of our party in building the armed forces. They reflect the revolutionary character, the class character, and the mass character of our armed forces. They reflect our party leadership over the armed forces and our party's class and mass viewpoints in the problem of building up the armed forces. They were tested in the past revolutionary struggle and war; they have developed and are developing their great effect in the struggle to protect socialist construction in North Vietnam and in the revolutionary war of our compatriots in South Vietnam.

As everyone knows, the balance of forces in the world has changed and is changing in favor of the revolutionary struggle of the people in various countries and to the detriment of the imperialists and the reactionaries. Nevertheless, by their unchanged aggressive character, the imperialists led by the Americans are actively preparing a world war, while at the same time they strengthen their preparations for regional wars and create "special wars." On the other hand, they are trying to take advantage of modern revisionism to sow dissension in the international communist movement and in the socialist camp, to prevent the national liberation movement, to diminish the vigilance and struggle will of the people in various countries, and to weaken the revolutionary forces of the people of the world.

In Indochina, since the end of the war against the French colonialists, the U.S. imperialists' basic and unchanged scheme has been to strengthen their intervention in all domains in the internal affairs of the countries in this area, to create "special wars" in South Vietnam and Laos, and to threaten seriously the genuine independence and neutrality of the Kingdom of Cambodia.
The main goal of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys in the aggressive SEATO bloc is to try to use force to suppress the national liberation movement in these countries, to strive to transform the latter into their military bases and new-type colonies, and to prepare for attacks on North Vietnam and China.

But this is no longer a time when the imperialists can rule the roost. Imperialism, especially the U.S. imperialism, has met and is meeting with very heavy defeats everywhere. In Indochina its defeat is more and more obvious. Particularly in South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists' defeat over the past 10 years has been a strategic failure. They want to eliminate promptly the revolutionary forces of our people, but instead of being destroyed, these forces have grown in all respects.

The U.S. imperialists conducted the "northward advance" plot, but this plot went bankrupt. With the Staley-Taylor plan, they wanted to pacify South Vietnam within 18 months. Today everyone is aware that this plan was completely frustrated by our compatriots. Since the two coups d'etat in late 1963 and in early 1964, the U.S. imperialists' efforts have not yielded remarkable results. Militarily they have suffered heavy losses and damage while politically they have become increasingly bogged down in an extremely acute crisis. The major Bien Hoa victory made their losses and damage heavier and their political crisis more acute.

To remedy this situation, along with the strengthening of forces and the extension of the "special war" in South Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys continuously boast about the extension of the war to North Vietnam, and they actively carry out acts of sabotage and provocation against the DRV. With these acts--ranging from the dropping of rangers on our rear, the violations by their planes of our airspace, and the open violations by warships of their Seventh Fleet against our territorial waters to the warlike acts and brazen air raids on some of our positions in our North Vietnamese territory in early August--the U.S. imperialists have advanced a step further along the criminal plan. Nonetheless, all their criminal acts have been appropriately punished by our people's armed forces and our people.

Facts over the past 10 years show that the U.S. imperialists--an international gendarme--are the number one enemy of our people and the Indochinese people. They have been and are being defeated, and it is certain that they will eventually be completely defeated. These facts also prove that the weaker and more critical the U.S. imperialists become, the more they strive foolishly to carry out their plot to step up their "special wars" in South Vietnam and Laos and to intensify their acts of sabotage, provocation, and aggression against North Vietnam on a larger scale.

Faced with this situation and enemy plot, one of the basic problems at present is the need to apply the party military line in the building up of the army and the consolidation of national defense and to make positive preparations in all fields to be ready to frustrate all dark schemes of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys.

First, it is necessary to strengthen education among cadres and the people so they may acquire correct views on the capabilities and character of war, should it break out in North Vietnam in the future.
At the same time, it is necessary to mobilize the entire army and all people to be always vigilant and ready to fight. According to the resolution of our national Third Party Congress, the Vietnamese revolution in the present stage has two strategic tasks: the first involves achieving the socialist revolution and socialist construction in North Vietnam; the second consists of liberating South Vietnam from the ruling yoke of neocolonialism of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, achieving national unification, and achieving independence and democracy in the entire country. These two tasks are closely related to each other and support each other. In other words, while we are carrying out socialist construction in North Vietnam, the people in South Vietnam have to conduct a life-and-death struggle against the aggressive enemy.

The problem of peace and war under the practical conditions of Vietnam requires that we should adopt correct views and settle it correctly. Our people love peace very much and are struggling to maintain it because peace is a requisite for stepping up socialist construction in North Vietnam. In fact, under the present conditions, we are definitely capable of maintaining peace and frustrating the U.S. imperialists' plot to expand war. The defensive forces of North Vietnam, after 10 years of building the economy and national defense, have been strengthened considerably compared with the period when our army defeated the French colonialists' aggressive army at Dien Bien Phu. The revolutionary forces of our people in South Vietnam grow stronger in all fields with every passing day. North Vietnam is a member of the socialist camp. Aggression against North Vietnam would certainly draw a strong reaction from the socialist and nationalist countries as well as from the majority of the peace-loving people throughout the world.

We are determined to maintain peace in order to strive to build up the economy in North Vietnam in a situation wherein the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys continue to carry out acts of sabotage and provocations against North Vietnam and in a situation wherein our people in South Vietnam must step up further their revolutionary war in order to defeat the U.S. imperialists' "special war." Therefore, the maintenance of peace must go along with vigilance and combat readiness, and the readiness to prevent an aggressive war of the U.S. imperialists against North Vietnam. This is a problem of principle. This also draws a line between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism. Any thought of act disregarding the possibility of a war or staying aloof from this principle is erroneous and might lead to serious consequences.

On the other hand, it is our belief that if the U.S. imperialists take the risk of launching an offensive on North Vietnam, the war we will conduct to protect the fatherland will still bear the character of a people's war, a people's war under modern conditions, even though the fighting conditions in this war will be different from those of the former war of resistance. This future war would still be an all-people, comprehensive war employing the strategy of protracted fighting during which self-sufficiency would be considered the main task.

On the basis of our correct views on the above potentialities and character of war, we must carry out constant, profound, and broad ideological education among the masses—that is, the workers, peasants, intellectuals, college and high school students, cadres of party and state organs, and especially leading cadres at all levels.
This education is aimed at helping them overcome pacifist thoughts and negative rightist thoughts, the lack of vigilance, loose combat will, hesitation, fear of the enemy, and so forth in order to heighten vigilance, combat readiness, and the readiness to frustrate all acts of sabotage, provocation, and aggression of the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys.

Along with the improvement of awareness and ideological education, it is necessary to carry out the organizational work in a broad, scientific, and elaborate manner in order to insure combat readiness. The most basic demand of the organizational work to insure combat readiness is to understand the party's military line thoroughly. In other words, this work must reflect the all-people, comprehensive character and the thoroughly revolutionary character of a people's war under party leadership.

Initially, positive efforts must be made to strengthen the antiaircraft defense of the armed forces, especially the people's antiaircraft defense. The people's antiaircraft defense is the duty of all the people. It embraces many branches and fields of activity. It is aimed at protecting the lives, property, and the peaceful labor of the people; protecting the safety of leading party, government, and army organs, and protecting various political and economic centers and public discipline and security. This is an urgent task.

In the past year, the people's antiaircraft defense was organized relatively satisfactorily, but, generally speaking, it still fails to meet the demands of the duty. Therefore, we must step up further this work and continue to make the people and cadres hold fast to antiaircraft defense laws and regulations. We must organize regular exercises and draw experiences from these exercises in order to correct our shortcomings promptly. At the same time, we must exert serious control over the execution of antiaircraft defense laws and regulations.

Second, it is necessary to intensify the combat readiness tasks of the armed forces and paramilitary forces and of the cadres and people in strategic areas such as the coastal areas, islands, frontier and border areas, and hinterlands so as to smash all enemy surprise attacks, completely destroy rangers and bandits and, at the same time, prevent, detect, and positively stop all enemy plots to carry out large-scale acts of aggression. To that end, in the field of leadership, we must devise truly practical plans based on the close coordination and uniform command among the people's armed forces, among the political and economic bases, and among organs and branches. Meanwhile, we must rely on the masses to carry out close managerial and control measures.

Third, it is necessary to step up the movement to protect public order and prevent and oppose spies and rangers into a broad, wide, and strong mass movement. We must step up further the movement "to thward evildoers, protect secrets, and build safety organs, enterprises, and units with a view to protecting these organizations and making them meet the combat readiness demands.

Heightening vigilance and combat readiness is a permanent, protracted process of improving awareness and ideological education. It is a complex, elaborate organizational process. The 5 August victory and other achievements in apprehending and destroying rangers are the great experiments for our preparatory process; they brought us many
Valuable lessons, the most valuable of which is: on the basis of heightening patriotism and hatred for the enemy, to sharpen constantly revolutionary vigilance and make ideological and organizational preparations in order to insure the readiness to fight and deal the enemy deadly blows.

We must build up strong people's armed forces capable of frustrating all enemy plots of sabotage, provocation, and aggression under any circumstances. In building up these forces, the first demand is that we must be thoroughly imbued with the party's military line, must base ourselves on our practical conditions, and must develop our army's combat traditions and experiences. At the same time, the building up of these forces must aim at satisfying the demands of a people's war under modern conditions. Therefore, on the basis achieved during the past 10 years, we must continue to build up the main troops into a revolutionary, standardized, and relatively modern army. This army must be in a position to fight and defeat any enemy regardless of the condition of matériel, of the terrain, or of weather conditions.

To fulfill this duty, we must constantly hold fast to the main problem, which is to build up the army politically and ideologically, always to sharpen the officers' and men's resolve to fight, to apply the class line in the organizational and cadre work, to develop the traditions and experiences of our army in all fields, and at the same time to endeavor to study and train ourselves in order to hold firmly to modern techniques and equipment and improve our skillfulness in coordinated combat of the army branches.

We must positively build up the regional forces and the people's armed security forces in order to make them increasingly stronger. In peacetime these forces can surely protect socialist construction in the localities; in wartime they will serve as a nucleus for the guerrilla warfare movement in each locality and might efficiently coordinate with the main troops in destroying the enemy.

We must also pay special attention to building up the militia and self-defense and reserve forces. The militia, guerrilla, self-defense, and combat self-defense forces are very large paramilitary forces of the laboring people in agricultural cooperatives, enterprises, mines, and organs, at construction sites, on state farms, and so forth. These forces are responsible for protecting labor in peacetime; if a war breaks out their tasks will become heavier and more important.

We maintain that, in case of war in North Vietnam, in the future two forms of war—the conventional warfare and guerrilla warfare—will be used, and the guerrilla warfare will maintain its position of great strategic importance. We have valuable traditions and experiences in guerrilla warfare. It is the form of armed struggle of the broad masses of the people, of the weak or relatively weak and small armed and semiarmed local forces which oppose a strongly equipped enemy; they fight the enemy everywhere, by all methods, and with every type of arms and at the same time mobilize the people to struggle against the enemy by all methods in order to weaken and annihilate enemy vitality, maintain and defend our political and economic force, compel the enemy to disperse and face us everywhere, create conditions for conventional warfare to develop, and coordinate with the conventional warfare in order to defeat the enemy.

Such are the characteristics of guerrilla warfare in our country. They have manifested the all-people, comprehensive, and thoroughly revolutionary character of the people's war in new conditions.
Basing ourselves upon these characteristics, we can assert that the position of the self-defense militia in guerrilla warfare in particular and in the war in general is extremely important. Any thought or action which tends to slight the task of building the self-defense militia will not only be incapable of consolidating the semiarmed forces and making them grow stronger and fulfill their peacetime duties, but will also manifest a failure to recognize thoroughly the strategic importance of guerrilla warfare and the tendency to slight, to a certain extent, the valuable experiences and traditions of our people. This must be rapidly overcome.

To intensify the building of the militia means that simultaneously with the organization of broad forces attention must be paid to building the nucleus force; simultaneously with this comprehensive organization more attention must be paid to such crucial regions as the coastal areas, the frontier and border, the high areas, and the areas along important lines of communication; class enlightenment, the spirit of revolutionary vigilance, and readiness for combat must constantly be heightened; and the technical and tactical level must be constantly raised on the basis of the recapitulation and study of the valuable experiences gained from the former resistance struggle and from the present revolutionary war in the southern part of our country. Simultaneously with stepping up the building of the militia, it is necessary to carry out the effective management of the reserve force and the tasks related to it.

The task of building powerful people's armed forces is the common task of the entire party, people, and army. It is a long task, but must be carried out urgently and simultaneously with the task of constantly heightening vigilance and readiness for combat.

The third task is to strengthen both economic construction in coordination with the consolidation of national defense and peacetime construction in coordination with wartime requirements at present, the central task of the entire party and people is actively to build the material and technical base of socialism with a view to transforming the country from a backward agricultural country into a country which has modern industry and agriculture and is thus an increasingly firm rear for the struggle to achieve national reunification.

Economic construction is aimed at strengthening the economic potential of the country, improving the people's living conditions, and at the same time increasing the national defense potential with a view to meeting the situation and the present revolutionary tasks. Therefore, in economic construction, it is necessary that we be thoroughly imbued with the following essential points:

First, it is necessary to insure a close coordination between economic requirements and national defense requirements. The awareness of this coordination must primarily be manifested in the fact that one must base oneself on the strategic viewpoint which takes into account national defense requirements in studying a rational economic distribution. The rational arrangement of the production force not only has economic significance in that it is aimed at developing every resource of the country and political significance in that it reduces the distinction between various regions and strengthens the unity between the urban and rural areas and between the mountain and lowland peoples, but also has military significance in that it comprehensively strengthens the national defense force everywhere in our country.
It is also necessary to be imbued with this sense of coordination when determining developmental trends and tasks of each economic branch, in concrete plans in planning each project and product, in training and using cadres, and in all activities of the economic and national defense branches in order to insure that each step forward in economic development is one step forward in strengthening the national defense potential. On the other hand, this sense of coordination is also manifested in the fact that it is necessary to improve step by step the capability of self-sufficiency in the people's living and in peacetime and wartime national defense and to seek every means to use the country's material wealth and resources in the most rational, economical, and beneficial manner to serve the people's way of living and national defense.

Second, it is necessary to strive to build and consolidate a firm rear, the common rear of the entire country, as well as the rear of each region. The building of a firm rear is one of the factors determining the success of the present revolutionary enterprise of our people, as well as determining success in war if it breaks out in the future. The building and consolidation of a firm rear is consolidation and building in the political field; the consolidation and development of the militia and guerrillas; and the development of the economy, particularly the construction and development of necessary roads, and the building of local agriculture and industry. It also means to step up the movement to send lowland compatriots to the mountain region to participate in economic development in a better planned and closely organized manner with a view to increasing manpower that contributes to building the rear in the mountain region in a comprehensive and steady manner. In addition to the common rear of the entire country, it is necessary to build and consolidate the rear of each region in order that it will serve as a base for the locality when a difficult situation arises. The task of building and consolidating the rear is a protracted task, but plans must be formulated to carry it out step by step, urgently and positively.

While fulfilling the above tasks, we must carry out all preparatory work to insure that when war breaks out the rear will be able to readily transform itself from peacetime to wartime. Thus, in the performance of economic tasks, it is necessary to coordinate peacetime requirements with wartime requirements. The base of the preparation for war in the economic field is that there must be an anticipation of wartime plans. It is necessary to base oneself upon this anticipation to determine the developmental trends and tasks of peacetime economic development plans and to insure that peacetime plans are closely coordinated with wartime plans. This sense of coordination must not only be manifested in the determination of common plans of the entire people's economy—the plans of each branch and each unit—but it must also be manifested in the production plan of each worker and each person in charge of production.

In other words, in each economic plan two considerations must be made: The plan must be aimed at serving the people's life and peacetime and wartime national defense, and it must anticipate capabilities and methods for shifting from peacetime to wartime. This is an extremely complex and scientific task. It requires meticulous calculation, comprehensive and lasting planning, and at the same time urgent and realistic execution. We must of course develop this task comprehensively, but our effort must be concentrated to perform it satisfactorily in a number of essential branches.
In the process of carrying out the above basic tasks, the strengthening of the party committees' leadership is a decisive factor. The responsible cadres' behavior in conducting a profound and comprehensive coordination between both the economic and national defense aspects plays a very important role. Therefore, various echelons of the party committees and the cadres in charge at various levels must be thoroughly imbued with the above tasks, work out a comprehensive plan embodying various aspects of these tasks, carry out education profoundly and intensively among cadres and the masses in the spirit of these tasks, strictly follow up the implementation of these tasks, exert regular control, conduct practice, draw experiences, and effect timely supplements.

The problem of being aware of and thoroughly imbued with our party's military line in the present period is one of the major problems for our entire party, people, and army. It is one of the decisive factors which insure that our people always have a spirit of high vigilance and combat readiness; that the people's armed forces become mighty, armed revolutionary forces; and that all of the above preparatory tasks be carried out effectively. Our party's Marxist military line is the banner of victory of our armed forces and people. If it was due to the raising high of this victory banner that our people successfully carried out the August revolution and the protracted resistance struggle, today in our task of protecting the building of socialism in the north as well as in the accomplishment of the national democratic revolution in the south we must determinedly and persistently raise high this victory banner in order to defeat the U.S. imperialists and their lackey clique and achieve final success.