

in the period when multi-megaton atomic bombs and intercontinental ballistic missiles are manufactured, this sentence is no longer true because nuclear war cannot be a means to achieve political aim and is too expensive for this aim." They add, "Nuclear bombs do not follow any class principle and annihilate everything within the range of their devastating power" Therefore they demand "to change the war viewpoint", that is to say to renounce the Marxist-Leninist outlook on war. They demand that the war should be studied on the basis of the analysis of the development of weapons and not on the basis of the analysis of classes and class struggle.

When a bomb explodes, all the people within the range of its devastating power are killed or wounded. This is true not only with atomic bombs but also with conventional bombs. Why does a bomb burst? Who explodes it and whose interest does this explosion serve? This is the gist of the problem. It is not because atomic bombs replace conventional bombs that the class character and the political objective of the war disappear. It is not because of the existence of atomic bombs that the character of aggressive war, if ever unleashed by the U.S. against the Soviet Union, is the same as that of the war waged by the latter to defend itself against the aggression of the former. It is erroneous to say that the emergence of nuclear weapons does not make it necessary to "adhere to the class principle" in the analysis of the war. With conventional weapons or with nuclear weapons, the war kindled by the reactionary imperialists is an unjust war all the same. Lenin said that imperialist wars are

merely the continuation of the politics of the bourgeoisie, no more, no less. He wrote, "the ruling class also decides the politics in war time. War is but politics from the beginning to the end, the pursuit of the same purposes by the same classes with different means".*

The communists use the class point to examine the war problem; they also use this viewpoint to examine the peace problem. A peace which follows and concludes the war is but a statistical table recapitulating this war, and a testimony of the change in the actual balance of forces brought about by this war. As war is the continuation of the politics carried out by the ruling class of the belligerent country during the length of the pre-war period, peace is likewise the continuation of this politics in the condition of the new balance of forces brought about by the military actions in the war. At the First Russian Soviet Congress held in June 1917, Lenin denounced the deceitful allegation of the reactionaries who advocated a vague peace which stands above classes, saying, "When dealing with peace you did not say what sort of peace you want." He opposed a peace established on a "status quo" basis; he stood against the "capitalist peace" and "imperialist peace". If the foundation of capitalist production relations remains unchanged, an imperialist war can be ended only with an imperialist "peace" that is a peace in which the imperialists are free to loot the people of

* LENIN, *Collected Works*, les Editions sociales, Paris, Vol. 25.

their own countries and of the colonies. Such a peace established after World War I by the Versailles treaty was dubbed by Lenin a "peace for usurers, stranglers and butchers". He wrote of this "peace" as follows, "What then is the Versailles treaty? It is a strange peace, a predatory peace which reduces to slavery dozens of millions of people, some of them are among the most civilized. It is not a peace, but conditions imposed by bandits, with knives in their hands, upon an unarmed victim" *. The communists oppose this kind of imperialist "peace" because it is harmful to and unwanted by the people. Only the bourgeois pacifists approve it. Lenin wrote, "To end war in a pacific way is only a myth. One can end a war by an imperialist peace, but that is not the peace wanted by the masses" **.

The peace longed for by the people is a democratic peace in which there is no partition of colonial territories and no huge profits netted by the capitalist sharks. In his article: *Is there a road to a just peace* written in 1917, Lenin asked: Is there a road to a peace without exchange of annexation (conquest) and without sharing of booties between the predatory capitalists? And he replied: Yes, this is the revolution waged by the workers against the capitalists in all countries. Lenin pointed out: An argument which holds

* LENIN, *Collected Works*, Les Editions sociales, Paris, Vol. 31.

** LENIN, *Collected Works*, Les Editions sociales, Paris, Vol. 22.

that a democratic peace can be secured by an imperialist war only deceives the people and paralyses their political vigilance. He said, "It is impossible to achieve a democratic peace without a series of revolutions."

Basing themselves on the class viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism, the communists draw a clear demarcation line between two kinds of peace: a democratic peace which guarantees the interests of the toiling people and the anti-democratic "peace", the imperialist "peace", in which the imperialists share privileges among themselves, and set the limits of their spheres of domination to exploit and oppress the toiling people and the subjugated nations. The communists oppose anti-democratic "peace" and approve democratic peace. This elementary and fundamental differentiation is necessary for the study of the peace problem.

The communists oppose those who speak of peace in abstract and hazy terms without stating the interest of which class this peace serves. Lenin criticized the socialists of the Second International for propagating a "vague peace" to serve the imperialists. In the *Question of Peace* he wrote, "The slogan for peace can be put forward, either by linking it with conditions of peace or not, like a struggle not for a certain peace but for a general peace. It is clear that in the latter case, we stand before an empty and meaningless slogan contrary to socialism. Everybody, even the blood-thirsty Kitchener, Joffre, Hindenburg and Nicolas, approve this general peace, because each of

them wants to put an end to war : the main question is that *each of them* sets conditions for an imperialist peace (that is to plunder and oppress other nations) beneficial to "his" nation. Slogans must be raised to explain to the masses, by propaganda and agitation, the differences between socialism and capitalism (imperialism) but not to *reconcile* two hostile classes, two hostile politics by a call for the unification of two very different things."

If in form, there are wars within a country called civil wars, wars between a country and another or "external wars" (according to Lenin in his article *Prediction*), and wars between many countries in the world, or world wars, there are also peace in one country, peace between two countries and world peace. Because aggressive war can be launched only by the imperialist countries, and because war is never unleashed by the socialist countries, in principle, the communists oppose the kindling of war between two countries as well as the launching of world war. Basing themselves on the principle that each nation has the right to dispose of its own affairs, the communists, in general, approve peace between two countries and world peace. At the same time they recognize for the conquered and oppressed peoples the right to wage war in order to drive the imperialist aggressors out of their countries. With regard to peace in each country, the communists hold that its character cannot be taken apart from the social regime of this country. In case this country has a capitalist or a pre-capitalist system, the "peace" obtaining in it is in essence profitable only to the

exploiters who rule this country and harmful to its toiling people ; the communists agree that the toiling people of this country have the right to wage revolutionary struggles, including armed struggle, that is civil war, wreck this capitalist or pre-capitalist "peace", overthrow the ruling oppressor class, seize State power in order to establish a democratic peace profitable to the people.

Lenin pointed out that the propaganda made for peace without calling on the people to wage the revolution and overthrow the ruling oppressor class has only the effect of sowing illusion into the working class and corroding its thinking by making it believe in the "humanitarianism" of the bourgeois class. Lenin wrote, "One of the forms of lulling the working class is pacifism and abstract propaganda about peace. Under the capitalist system, especially in its imperialist stage, war is inevitable. But this does not mean that the Social-Democrats can repudiate the positive value of revolutionary wars... or the wars to defend the victories won by the working class in the struggle against the capitalist class."* Lenin pointed out that those who wish for a stable and democratic peace must approve civil wars against the bourgeois class and governments. He said that those who genuinely fight for a democratic peace are not those who pray over and again for pacifism, but those who struggle stubbornly against imperialist war and imperialist "peace" and call on the peoples to wage the revolution to overthrow the reactionary governments.

* LENIN, *Collected Works*, les Editions sociales, Paris, Vol. 21.

The modern revisionists deal with the peace problem in vague and abstract terms, without class content; they approve all kinds of peace, including anti-democratic "peace" and imperialist "peace", a "peace" in which the imperialists get their shares at the cost of the blood and tears of the toiling people. They speak of war in vague and abstract terms. They oppose all kinds of war, including revolutionary wars, and national-liberation wars. They oppose peace to war by metaphysical method, and want to conceal the class character of war and peace. Any war as well as any peace serve a definite class. War and peace are but different means to realize the political aim of a class. Not only have war and peace contradictions (in the means employed) but they are united (in that they all serve the interests of a class). In his *Report on War and Peace* Lenin said, "History suggests that peace is a respite for war, war is a means of obtaining a somewhat better or somewhat worse peace."* In his article *Bread and Peace*, he wrote, "If socialism does not triumph, peace among the capitalist countries will be only an armistice, a truce in preparation for a new slaughter among the nations."

We do not know exactly when the word "peace" appeared in the languages of the nations, but it is certain that it only appeared after war broke out in society. In the primitive commune, there were no classes, no wars, and people did not know that they

* LENIN, *Collected Works*, Les Editions sociales, Paris, Vol. 26.

enjoyed peace though they were leading a peaceful life. Only when war made its appearance was, in human language, a word coined to designate war and another to name peace, a state in which the society was freed from war. In the future, when communism triumphs completely in the world, classes will disappear, and so will war, and the nightmare of a war is gradually washed out of the mind of mankind, the word peace will then vanish little by little from the languages of the nations. Peace will become a mode of daily life of all and will not be mentioned any longer. Like war, peace is but a historical category.

The struggle against war and for peace is only an aspect of the class struggle in a society divided into classes. Lenin clearly pointed out that the struggle against imperialist wars is possible only when it is launched by the revolutionary classes against the ruling classes, on a world-wide scale. And a lasting peace can be secured in the world only with the triumph of socialism all over the world. Lenin said, "Socialism, *and only socialism*, can save mankind from wars, famine and new hecatombs of millions and millions of persons." *

However the path leading to socialism is fraught with difficulties; it calls for a tremendous sacrifice and is not easy and smooth as humbugged by the pacifists. In the *Military Programme of the Proletarian Revolution*, Lenin wrote, "The social priests and the opportunists are always apt to dream of pacific

* LENIN, *Ibid.*, 1958, Vol. 24.

socialism in the future. But what distinguishes them from the revolutionary Social-Democrats is precisely that they do not want to pay attention to and think of the fierce class struggle and class wars in order to realize this magnificent future."

Marx himself taught the workers the determination to stubbornly wage revolutionary struggles including civil and protracted war to advance to socialism. In his *Denounce the Trial of Communists in Cologne* Marx told the workers, "You have to live through 15, 20, or 50 years of civil war and war among different nations, not only to change the existing relations but to change yourselves and to help you have enough strength to seize power."

The modern revisionists have kept deploring the ruins and horrors of war to frighten people and make them dare not rise up and oppose imperialism. In this respect, so long as imperialism exists, these ruins and horrors exist as the aftermaths of the war it provokes. To mourn before these scenes caused by imperialism is but to show our weakness. The problem is to wipe out imperialism so as to put an end to these ruins and horrors. The modern revisionists advise the world's people not to wage revolutions and revolutionary wars because this will lead to ruins and horrors. Long since, Lenin had dismissed this argument. In his *Letter to American workers* dated August 1918, he wrote, "In the time of revolution, the class struggle in all countries often takes place under the form of civil war, and it is impossible to imagine a *civil war* without disastrous destruction, without terror and without restrictions on formal democracy, in the

interests of war." In the same letter, Lenin wrote, "The international imperialist bourgeoisie has annihilated 10 million people and rendered invalid 20 million others in its war, which broke out with the aim of deciding as to whether it was the British or German sharks who would rule the world. If *our war*, the war of oppressed and exploited people, kills half a million or a million persons, the bourgeoisie will say that the former sacrifice is just and the latter is a crime."

In his *Prediction* written in 1918, Lenin said that in history there was no great revolution which was not accompanied by civil war, that there are no true Marxists who can believe that the transition from capitalism to socialism takes place without civil war and that there is no civil war without ruins and horrors. In the same article Lenin wrote, "There can be no hard war without ruins. Civil war, necessary and corollary conditions of socialist revolution, cannot take place without ruins. To repudiate revolution, to repudiate socialism, 'for fear' of ruins, is simply to disclose one's lack of principles and in fact to go over to the bourgeoisie."*

The modern revisionists speak a great deal of the "annihilation of mankind" should nuclear war flare up. If it broke out, this war would cause great damages to the world's people, but could not annihilate mankind. The theory on "annihilation of mankind" is but mythical and anti-scientific one diametrically

* LENIN, *Collected Works*, Les Editions sociales, Paris, Vol. 27.

opposed to Marxism-Leninism. Human society develops according to its objective laws, which are independent of man's will. According to the laws of development of human society, capitalism must give way to socialism. Nuclear weapons cannot change the matter.

Nearly eighty years ago in 1887 in a preface to Sigismund Borkheim's pamphlet after speaking of the ruins and horrors caused by future world war, Engels wrote that one result is absolutely certain: a general exhaustion and the creation of necessary conditions for the final victory of the working class. In the same preface, Engels told in the face of the capitalist politicians, "War may temporarily push us back... Perhaps war may take away many positions which we have conquered... But if you unleash forces which afterwards you cannot master, then no matter how things will happen at the end of the tragedy -- you will be a sheer heap of ruin, and the victory of the proletariat will be either achieved or inevitable."

The modern revisionists speak repeatedly of the horrors of the war but cannot discourage the revolutionaries. In his article *European war and world Socialism* Lenin wrote, "The most painful thing for a socialist is not the horror of war... but the horror of the socialist leaders' betrayal..." *

More than anyone else, the communists suffer to see death and ruin caused to the toiling people by imperialist wars and long for peace to relieve the suffer-

* LENIN, *Collected Works*, les Editions sociales, Paris, Vol. 21.

ings and mournings of the people. Nevertheless here the question is not a personal aspiration of anyone, but an objective law of development of the society. Ruin and mourning is caused by capitalism, not by us. We do not tell the people to remain with folded arms looking helplessly at these ruins and mournings or to pray the imperialists to pity us and grant us peace; but we tell them to rise up and carry out revolutionary struggle and if necessary and conditions permit, to wage revolutionary wars against capitalism for our own salvation. Of course, in revolutionary struggle in general, and revolutionary war in particular, ruin and mourning is inevitable, but only by making such a sacrifice can the people eradicate capitalism and be spared for ever of the ruins and mournings caused by capitalism. We frankly tell this to the masses and do not like to deceive them as the modern revisionists are doing.

WE ADVOCATE WORLD PEACE

The Vietnamese are a peace-loving people. For a century we were oppressed by the imperialists and never waged aggressive wars against any country. Under French rule we did enjoy "peace" for many years but this was a colonialist "peace", a "peace" created by the Patenotre treaty, in which the imperialists rode roughshod over our people, while our people served them as draught animals; in this "peace" the colonialists were free to kill the unarmed Vietnamese in a savage manner. Under French rule,

we were many times dragged into war. In World War I, 100,000 Vietnamese were sent to France to fight Germany, 51,000 of whom served at the front as cannon-fodder and 49,000 worked in arms factories. The financial and material resources the French imperialists robbed from our people to feed their war against Germany, were incalculable. During World War II, hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese were sent to France to serve as cannon-fodder and huge amounts of money and resources of the Vietnamese people were mobilized to feed the war against Germany for the second time. During World War II, great damages were also caused to our people by the conflicts between France and Thailand, between France and Japan and between Japan and the U.S.A.

It is true that under French rule, our people enjoyed "peace", but that "peace" was profitable only to the imperialists and very detrimental to our people. This was a colonial "peace" and not our peace. Only after the triumph of the August Revolution when we had recovered our national sovereignty, did we enjoy a peace of our own.

The peace established in our country after the August Revolution is a just and democratic peace, in which our country is independent and our people enjoy freedom and happiness. We cherish this peace and to maintain it, we have many a time conducted negotiations with the imperialists: the preliminary agreement of March 6, 1946, the Dalat conference, the Fontainebleau conference and the Modus Vivendi

of September 14, 1946. We made necessary concessions to maintain peace. But, as said President Ho Chi Minh in his *Appeal for the nation-wide Resistance War* on December 20, 1946, "As we desired peace we made concessions. But the more we made concessions, the further the French colonialists encroached upon us because they are resolved to invade our country once again". What is bred in the bone will come out in the flesh: the imperialists never want to change their aggressive nature. That is why we have no other alternative than to oppose national-liberation wars to the aggressive wars of the imperialists: All our people have risen against the imperialists in response to President Ho Chi Minh's appeal, "We would rather sacrifice all than lose our country. We are determined not to be enslaved." The nation-wide Resistance War began. Thanks to the August Revolution we have won the right to defend our Fatherland. Our Resistance War for national salvation was our sacred war, a great revolutionary war. How many of our fighters were sacrificed in this war to defend our Fatherland and our people! In that war we correctly followed Lenin's behest, "We are the defenders of our motherland"* and "If people continue to hinder our peaceful labour, we will carry out a war for national salvation and those who take part in adventures and plunders will be annihilated down to the last man."**

* LENIN, *Collected Works*, Les Editions sociales, Paris, Vol. 27.

** LENIN, *Collected Works*, Les Editions sociales, Paris, Vol. 33.

By waging the Resistance War for national salvation we have contributed greatly to the defence of world peace. In this war we have actively carried out the "disarmament" policy in Lenin's spirit which is to disarm the imperialists and arm the people ; and we have carried the day.

Revolutionary wars are the motive force of history. To curse them under the "peace" label as the modern revisionists are doing at present only proves that they utterly betray the revolution.

Thanks to the revolutionary war of resistance waged valiantly for many years, we defeated the French imperialists and American interventionists and restored peace in our country. The peace established after the Dien Bien Phu victory and after the Geneva Agreements is a democratic peace in which the national sovereignty, unity, territorial integrity, and democratic rights of our people have been internationally recognized. However the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen have unleashed a "special war" in South Vietnam. Our southern compatriots must oppose revolutionary war to the anti-revolutionary war and just war to the unjust war of the U.S. imperialists and their myrmidons. The liberation war waged by the South Vietnam people at present is aimed at establishing in the South a democratic peace in which national sovereignty is guaranteed, the democratic liberties secured and our people can advance toward national reunification on the basis of independence and democracy.

Since its establishment in 1945 the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has lived many years in the

encirclement of imperialism ; only after the triumph of the Chinese revolution, and the founding of the People's Republic of China could our country gradually get out of this encirclement. After its founding the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was repeatedly attacked by imperialism and only when the latter failed in its attempt to annihilate our country, was it obliged to let the Democratic Republic of Vietnam live. Though our country persistently pursues the policy of peaceful co-existence with countries having different social systems, no such peaceful co-existence has in fact existed between the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the imperialist countries, especially the U.S.A. On the contrary the U.S. imperialists are invading the south of our country and constantly threaten the North.

The socialist construction carried out in the North as well as the revolutionary struggle waged by our compatriots in the South at present, are two aspects of the gigantic struggle put up by all our people to establish and maintain a lasting peace in our country and to contribute to the establishment and maintenance of a lasting peace in Indo-China, South-East Asia and the world.

MAN AND WEAPONS

Marxism-Leninism holds that class struggle is the motive force of a class society and that the popular masses are always the makers of history. Therefore, while defining the relation between man and weapons, our Party affirms that man is the decisive factor and trenchantly criticizes the bourgeois theory attributing a decisive role to weapons.

In an attempt to rescue itself from doom, imperialism is trumpeting about the omnipotence of weapons and is actually using weapons to rule over people, threaten and repress the revolutionary movement of the toiling people. Modern revisionism is also basing themselves on nuclear weapons to revise the fundamental Marxist-Leninist viewpoints on class struggle. They hold that the oppressed and exploited toiling people confronted with the tremendous omnipotence of nuclear weapons, have no other alternative than to adopt class conciliation instead of class struggle. They substitute the "contradiction between mankind and nuclear weapons" for class antagonism, making no discrimination between ourselves, our friends and our foes, and even between just wars and unjust ones, the warmongers and the supporters of peace.

For the Marxists, nuclear weapons however powerful they might be, cannot replace class struggle, of which they are only a tool. Though exerting deep influence upon military strategy and tactics, they cannot change the revolutionary strategy of the proletariat and cannot in the least blot out the demarcation between ourselves, our friends and our foes. They exert tremendous influence upon the development of the hostilities and the victory in a war, but they are not the decisive factor of victory nor can they change the trend of development of human society. The decisive factor in a war is still man, and the popular masses are still the makers of history. In the class struggle to overthrow the domination of the exploiting class, if the proletariat and the toiling people under oppression and exploitation have won victory after victory and will still win further victories, it is mainly by relying on their political consciousness and sense of organization. Should the proletariat and the toiling people under oppression and exploitation adhere to the theory of the omnipotence of weapons, to the effect that victory infallibly belongs to those who have many and good weapons while defeat surely befalls those who have few and bad weapons, they would hopelessly land themselves into an impasse and could not with their bare hands obtain such achievements as they have so far recorded.

Criticism of the viewpoint of modern revisionism on the relation between man and weapons is not only necessary to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism, but also contributes to clarifying our officers' and men's viewpoint on class and class

struggle, strengthening their confidence in the victory of our people's struggle and making them thoroughly grasp our Party's correct viewpoint on the building of our revolutionary armed forces.

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War is the continuation of political struggle through armed form. Every war has its class character. By their armed struggle the oppressed and exploited people oppose the oppressor and exploiting class to wrest national independence, democracy and man's rights to live. How then must we conceive and solve the problem of relation between man and weapons in the building of our armed forces to win the war?

Proceeding from the fact that the main force of the revolution in our country is the masses of workers and peasants under the leadership of the Party of the working class, our Party, right from its inception, advocated in its *Political Thesis* the "setting up of a worker-peasant army". The members of the armed forces of our Party, of our people are none other than the workers, peasants and other toiling people. Their goal of struggle was national independence, land to the tillers and advance toward socialism. Inspired by a just goal of struggle, guided by the invincible ideal of Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary officers and men in the Vietnamese people's armed forces are steel nuclei united into a solid alloy that no force whatever can disrupt; no enemy can crush them, however cruel he may be, however modern his weapons, however

powerful his troops. The history of nearly 20 years of struggle and growth of our army and its tradition of "determination to fight and to win" eloquently show that its great combativeness is due to the fact that it is the army of the workers and peasants, comprising their best sons, fostered by the people, and organized and led by the Party of the working class.

Therefore, when we define the role of man in the armed struggle and in the armed forces, we must point out its class character, e. g. *which class wages the war and the class nature of these armed forces*. Therein lies the difference between proletarian military science and bourgeois military science. The bourgeois military experts also put forth a theory on the decisive role of man in the war but for them man is conceived only as a "living creature" without specific characters. According to the Marxist conception, man is a superior animal, endowed with a very high dynamism; man lives in society and maintains close relations with his fellow creatures, he represents the "general harmony of social relations", a "social entity", conscious of his personal interests, of his class interests, capable of transforming the world, of doing everything.

This Marxist conception of the role of man naturally gives the answer to the question as to the future of the army and to whom victory belongs. It accounts for the ineluctable victory of the just war led by the proletariat and the invincibility of the army of the proletariat, which represents the most modern mode of production in history. It also points to the ineluctable defeat of the unjust war waged by the decadent

class, and the fatal disintegration of all armies of the exploiting class. It is precisely because our Party, in the building of our army, has considered *the proletarian character as the key problem* that our army has been rapidly tempered in the fire of struggle and grown beyond recognition. From now on we must keep firm to this key problem to appreciate the role of man in the armed forces.

All armies are characterized by the fact that they are the close association of two fundamental factors: man and weapons. But the character of the relation between these two factors is determined by the class character of the army and the character of the war it wages. In the army of the exploiting class — tool of the unjust war — due to the class antagonism between the exploiters owning the weapons and the masses of officers and men born of the exploited class and obliged to hold weapons as mercenaries, the law which governs the relation between man and weapons is expressed by the law of domination of man by weapons; here the weapons are opposed to man by virtue of an antagonism which reflects the antagonism between man and man, between the exploiters possessing the weapons and the mercenaries who use them. Of course, a soldier who is not yet conscious of his class interests is obliged to carry weapons to fight, but every victory he wins as a soldier is for him a defeat as an oppressed and exploited toiler. It is only by renouncing his job of a mercenary, by mutining, by turning his weapons against the exploiters who own them, can he defend the interests of the toilers.

Such is the ineluctable development of all armies of the exploiting class, specially of those of imperialism and its puppet stooges, because the law of history leads to the victory of the exploited masses and not of the exploiting class; because man creates instruments to rule over them and not to resign to let them dominate him. Despite the various means used by the exploiters — psychological action, buying of consciences, inducement, debauchery, corruption of morales, brutal coercion, even fettering of soldiers to their guns, to achieve the “unity” of man and weapons and despite their temporary successes, their armies cannot escape defeat. A proof of it is the failure of the French expeditionary corps and Bao Dai’s puppet troops in the last war in our country as well as that of the U.S. - Diem troops in the South at present.

On the contrary, in the army of the proletariat, free from class antagonism and cemented by homogeneous class interests — basis of political and moral unity — the law of association between man and weapons finds its expression in the rule of man over weapons. Here the relation between man and weapons does not bear any antagonism between man and man, but the dialectical unity of components which influence each other and where man plays the leading role. That is why only here the unity between man and weapons is achieved entirely and thoroughly, man can develop his spirit and capacities to make the best use of weapons, stand firmly in every complex political conjuncture and win in every hard fighting condition. That is why the army of the proletariat is an army determined to fight and to win, an invincible army.

The unity of man and weapons in the army of the proletariat rests on a class basis, manifests itself and develops through the conscious activity of man. Man plays his decisive role in the fighting by associating himself with his weapons, because from the point of view of the particularities of armed activity, weapons are the essential tools enabling man to turn his capacities into material force to destroy the enemy. That is why when we consider man in the armed forces, besides its class character, we must study his organic relation with weapons and the dialectical evolution of the relation between man and weapons in accordance with the process of the revolution, of class struggle in each stage.

The history of the growth of our army has substantiated this law. Proceeding from the decisive role of man and the nature of the army, our Party has always based itself, in the building of our armed forces, on the economic situation and the objectives assigned to the operations gradually to equip the fighters, improve their armament, educate and train officers and men in the best use of their material, combining the strengthening of the morale with the perfection of technique to defeat the enemy.

During the Resistance War, thanks to the morale, wisdom and creative spirit of our people and army, we devised countless ways to kill the enemy and turn out a great quantity of weapons — very rudimentary at the outset — to equip ourselves. In the hands of our army these weapons many a time struck terror into the enemy’s hearts: in the course of fighting we grew

up and gradually equipped ourselves with better weapons. We attached utmost care to weapons and taught the fighter to regard "the rifle as his wife and the bullets as his children". Arms workshops were carried pick-back from the towns into the forests, and by dint of extraordinary efforts we have overcome all difficulties continuously to produce and repair weapons for our army. Enemy's unexploded shells and bombs were turned into weapons. We raised aloft the will to capture the enemy's weapons to kill him and the will to master technique in furtherance of the slogan "every bullet must kill an enemy". Weapons greatly contributed to enhance the combativeness of our army, and our people, officers and men who knew how to make the best use of them. It is precisely the deep revolutionary consciousness of our armymen, the indomitable spirit of our Party members and people which enabled us to create weapons and devised the fighting technique to win the war.

As for the line and guiding principle of the building of our armed forces in the Resistance War our Party always took politics as the basis. It paid utmost attention to the political education of our army in order highly to promote the moral and ideological factor. The courses of ideological remoulding, re-education of the army, political education, and permanent ideological guidance raised the class consciousness of our army. The political work, concrete manifestation of the Party's leadership, realized internal unity, solidarity between officers and soldiers, unity of the army and the people; encouraged the ardour and consciousness of the masses; and achieved the implementation

of the three great democratic principles to fulfil all tasks. Such are the essential factors which make our army strong. The improvement of equipment and the technical and tactical training are always given great attention, and strict guidance, closely linked to political education, to the training of the will, to the strengthening of the morale and the perfection of the style of combat.

In military instruction, as regards both the content and the methods, we have always dedicated ourselves to materializing the ideological character, the Party's character. We know that there exists between politics and technique an unity of the opposites, a dialectical relation, an inter-action, and that politics is the decisive factor which gives technique an orientation and a basis. A high political level and a high morale enabled one to make progress in study and in the application of technique; and technical progress resulted in a strengthening of the morale, of the faith and determination and created new conditions satisfactorily to carry out the political task. At Dien Bien Phu, everybody saw that the determination to fight and to win, the splendid heroism of our army acted in close connection with the creation and application—most successful though for the first time—of new technique and tactics: opening of roads, haulage of heavy artillery, combined use of guns, anti-aircraft defence, field fortifications, tactics of encroachment, harassment, continuous and massive attacks on a larger scale than formerly, etc. These achievements were based on the political re-education of the army in 1953

which had raised the class consciousness of our entire army, they were linked with the campaign for the reduction of land rent and agrarian reform and could not be separated from the improvement of technical equipment of our army at that time.

So, before the Revolution, while the Nippo-French imperialists were still very strong and our people had only their bare hands, our Party which had grasped the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint on man and weapons, held that the strong points of the imperialists were only temporary as well as the weak point of the revolutionary masses and did not hesitate to mobilize the latter to wage revolution. The August Revolution was then brought to success. When the imperialists came back with professional troops, planes, cannons and tanks, our Party again dared mobilize the entire people to carry out a resistance for national salvation, opposing primitive weapons to modern ones, making the best use of the absolute pre-eminence of our people and army in the political and moral planes, actively building our armed forces, turning weakness into strength, and bringing the Resistance War to victory. This viewpoint is again being evidenced by the practice of the revolutionary people in the South.

At present, following the requirements of the new revolutionary task, our people's army is actively and gradually being built into a regular and modern army. We must continue correctly to solve the problem of man and weapons according to the Party's viewpoint, in conformity with the requirements of the revolutionary task.

The equipment in weapons for our army must be improved on in keeping with the trend of modernization. We know that we have won with primitive weapons and will win with those weapons, but better weapons will also create material conditions for vigorously bracing up the combativeness of our army to defeat the enemy. In man's hands modern weapons will greatly increase his strength.

The reinforcement of the equipment in weapons for our army is posed by the requirements of the present revolutionary task and our present economic conditions. We have to face the modern army of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen in South-East Asia which is threatening the peaceful undertakings in the north of our country, carrying out a war of aggression against the south of our country, obstinately sabotaging the peace and neutrality of our neighbour Laos and frenziedly preparing for a new world war. Moreover, the north of our country, a part of the socialist camp, is gradually building a modern industry and agriculture, and an advanced culture and science.

Proceeding from the aforesaid requirements and practice on the one hand, we make the best use of the most up-to-date achievements of our camp in science and technology, on the other — and this is fundamental — we base ourselves on our economy as the main point and on the technical level gradually heightened of our industry to modernize our army step by step, make the best use of primitive weapons according to the principle of associating modern with primitive. We do not hold that it is necessary to have

similar weapons as those of the enemy to defeat him. We hold that the revolutionary masses can use primitive weapons, improve them and combine them with modern ones to win victory. This is the standpoint of the masses, of people's war, of practice, of development in tackling the problem of equipment for our army. This is also an evidence of man's mastery over weapons, of man's decisive role on the outcome of the war.

Thus the role of technical equipment in modern war is enhanced to a great extent. But this by no means diminishes the role of man using technical equipment. Therefore, while concentrating on solving the problem of equipment for our army in accordance with the objectives of the new fighting, we must actively and continuously raise the political level of officers and men a step further from national democratic awakening to an ever deeper socialist consciousness, strengthen their will for national reunification and proletarian internationalism among our army, in order to meet the requirements of the present class struggle at home and in the world. We must make our officers and men realize that the class struggle is being carried on, hard and resolute, so that our army-men stand firmly on the platform of the working class, enhance their combativeness and determination to fight to the end for the liberation of the toiling people, for the victory of socialism and communism at home and in the world. We must make our officers and men hold firm their weapons and aim right at the enemy of the class, and serve class struggle. We always consider the political and ideological work as

the key and decisive one; in every field of activity, we ceaselessly raise our political and ideological level, and develop the noble traditions of our army. We thoroughly and severely criticize every relaxation from the principles which must be those of a revolutionary army in its efforts towards becoming a regular and modern army.

When saying that man is the master of weapons, we do not mean that any one can be the master, or that man can be the master as a matter of course, without any previous effort. If man is the creator of weapons, he must have conditions to utilize them and adapt himself to them. This shows the necessity of an improvement in the plane of military science and technology among cadres and fighters in order to make them conversant with modern equipment.

But to utilize modern weapons, man must have another condition, a decisive one: the fighting spirit. Modern war, with its mass-annihilation weapons, especially the nuclear ones, requires of the fighters a morale higher than in classical fighting. *The spirit remains the fundamental factor to associate man with his weapons.* Weapons, how modern they are, are only inert things without man. It is necessary to have a certain technical level to utilize them, but even a high technical level is insufficient if the fighting spirit lacks. Only with a high fighting spirit prompted by the consciousness of class interests is he more determined to fight, even at the cost of his life, and do his utmost thoroughly to master his weapons and their technique, and utilize them in fighting the enemy. With a high

class consciousness man will have everything, for with his bare hands he can seize the enemy's weapons to kill him.

Modern weapons call for new requirements with regard to those who utilize them: new technique and tactics, new organizational ability, new physical strength, but the essential and decisive factor is always the fighting spirit.

An improved and modernized equipment of a revolutionary army is a material condition to raise its fighting potential but it is only a virtual power which demands to be translated into act. Weapons will be powerful only when they are associated with man, that is to say when the cadres and fighters of the revolutionary army will be thoroughly conversant with and skilfully utilize this weaponry under any circumstances. Therefore, the raising of the cadres' and fighters' military level and the impelling of the technical revolution in the army are an imperative and extremely difficult requirement, which we must consider as an important political task to increase the combativeness of the army and fulfil the heavy tasks entrusted by the Party and State, and which we have to tackle actively. We stand for the training of perfect revolutionary armymen as President Ho Chi Minh has taught: "If our armymen are physically, ideologically and politically strong, and possess a thorough technical knowledge, they are certain to succeed. On the contrary, if they are strong politically but weak militarily or politically and militarily strong but poor in health, they cannot win victory."

In short, in our efforts to set up a regular and modern army, we lay stress both on man and weapons, but always consider man as the decisive factor. We attach importance to the fact that the education of men must be all-sided but we consider the political and ideological factors the decisive ones, the basis of the fighting spirit. In our revolutionary army science and technology do not discard man but are mastered by him. We must firmly stick to the class line in building up our army. Our policy is to raise the cultural standard of the workers and peasants by means of creating conditions for them to learn science and technology, continue to foster cadres who were formerly workers and peasants and those who were tempered and steeled in the former protracted patriotic war, at the same time we train new cadres of worker and peasant stock. The nature and traditions of a worker-peasant army led by the proletariat are strengthened and developed. Its modernization is stepped up gradually. *It is the workers or peasants who, conscious of their revolutionary tasks and skilfully handling the weapons thus modernized, are the true images of the revolutionary militaryman in our present day's army.*

In the military art, with regard to the same kind of weapon and the parallel study of the military experiences and of the enemy situation, the proletarian military science and the bourgeois military science, proceeding from different viewpoints on man and weapons, draw conclusions different from each

other as for the principles which govern the conduct of the operations, the method of attack, the style of combat, etc.

Proceeding from the Marxist-Leninist theory of war and armies, in the thorough study of the new requirement of a modern war, including the nuclear war, our Party asserts that its military line — which is essentially that of the *people's war and people's army* — far from being outdated, still maintains its value intact and continues to experience new developments which are richer and more effective.

At present the experience of South Vietnam shows that the people can efficiently resist the enemy and sow panic in his ranks by opposing their rudimentary weapons to the U.S. modern weapons. The strategy and tactics of the people's war, relying on the forces of the entire people participating in the war, and on the determination of the masses in the fight against the enemy — the latter cannot cope with his opponents however great the experience he has gained — are driving the aggressors and traitors into "a tunnel" with no end in view. Strategically, tactically and technically they are in a crisis and a deadlock: lightning or protracted war? large-scale or small-scale offensives? concentration and mobility, or scattering and occupation of ground? practical role and efficiency of "heliborne" and "amphibious borne" tactics? use of modern weapons? etc.

These facts clearly prove the correctness of our Party's military ideology and throw a light on the present orientation of our military art. The military

equipment must be improved and modernized gradually, but if we want to have whatever modern weapons the enemy has we will run against an insuperable obstacle because the present state of our national industry will not allow it for a rather long period of time, and also because this way of setting the problem goes counter to the Party's viewpoint on the people's war and does not favour the full and far-reaching development of the positive character of the popular masses in the fight. As the enemy has nuclear weapons and we have not, if we consider the balance of forces from the angle of technical equipment (for want of a thorough understanding of the correct viewpoint on man and weapons), we shall be driven into an impasse with no hope of defeating the enemy. Of course, we shall meet with difficulties as the enemy has nuclear weapons while we have not. But if we develop to a degree man's subjective factor which is the masses' creativeness, we shall be able to devise an adequate method of fighting and certainly to achieve victory. If we fully utilize rudimentary weapons and combine them with modern ones it is not simply due to our poverty but first of all to the necessity of mobilizing the entire people to participate in the war, in line with the viewpoint upholding man and not weapons as the factor determining the principle that it is man, and not weapons, that decides the outcome of war. We must acquaint ourselves with the co-ordination of all arms in fighting without nevertheless forgetting that the revolutionary masses can create many methods of fighting unknown to the exploiters' army, or the latter can think them out but cannot apply

them in full for these are methods of fighting prompted by the revolutionary consciousness of the masses (for instance, in technique: spiked traps, petard, short-range artillery...; in tactics: close fighting, night attack, surprise attack, throng attack, guerilla warfare...). Therefore, we must study and sum up the experiences gained in the former Resistance War, improve them and consider them as a capital chapter of modern military knowledge to our army's credit.

These are some examples illustrating our correct viewpoint regarding man and weapons concretely crystallized in our present military art.

Although we are technically stronger now than during the Resistance War, had a war broken out in North Vietnam, we would have coped with an enemy superior to us in this domain. We would have fought a strong enemy. We would continue to make full use of our political and moral superiority to make up for our material inferiority, thoroughly exploit our potential of armament, translate the moral power of our entire people and army into a material power to annihilate the enemy. Once more, in the light of invincible Marxism-Leninism, we would have demonstrated by revolutionary practice the idea of Marx: "...A material force can be defeated by a material force only, but theory becomes a material force as soon as it has gripped the masses." *

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* K. MARX and F. ENGELS, Vol. I, p. 406.

The Marxist-Leninist viewpoint that man, and not weapons, decides the outcome of the war — victory or defeat — is the theoretical basis of our Party's doctrine on the people's war. Once conscious of their own interests, the popular masses can turn sticks, pickaxes and shovels into weapons, and seize the enemy's weapons, oppose their rudimentary weapons to modern ones, devise many methods of fighting, and become an invincible force. Therefore, at present, whatever modern the equipment of our standing army may be, our Party always advocates mobilizing the entire people to thwart the aggressive designs of U.S. imperialism and its agents against the North, closely co-ordinates the build up of a standing army with that of the people's militia, self-defence units and reserve forces, co-ordinates modern means with rudimentary ones, and economic building with strengthening of national defence. Thus, it is of utmost importance that the entire Party and people fully realize the necessity of military studies, of participation in the people's militia and self-defence units, and build up of powerful armed forces. We must closely co-ordinate production with defence of production, guide the political and military education of the people's militia and self-defence units, and pay constant attention to their consolidation and organization, chiefly in the vital zones.

To fulfil these tasks, in the ideological plane, it is absolutely necessary not to belittle the strategic role of guerilla warfare, the efficiency of rudimentary weapons, the many forms of and experiences from

small-scale operations and the rich experiences our people had gained, all of them have brought about great results, as many a little makes a mickle. We must redress the tendency to launch big offensives, win great victories and learn transcendent things unsuited to the level of organization and equipment, or the forms of guerilla warfare. Meanwhile we must realize that the present conditions of equipping the people's militia and self-defence units are gradually improving and that requirements of the setting up of forces to complement the regular army have changed. Therefore, conditions permitting, we must attach importance not only to the raising of the level of militiamen and self-defence guards in matter of infantry but also to inculcating upon them some technical and tactical knowledge of various arms and types of armed forces.

Together with our conscripted forces, at present our powerful reserves are playing a role of first importance. Every year they grow in numbers with the newly demobilized armymen of the regular army who will be called up in case of war directly to participate in combat tasks. In peace time we need not a big regular army like in war time, but in time of war it is certain that the requirement in number and quality of the regular army will be greater and higher and that the time devoted to organization and training cannot be drawn out. Consequently the reserves must be subject to a strict organization and management and their training must be conducted with the utmost rigour for the highest efficiency not

only to refresh their military instruction but also to raise their level in step with the progress of modern military science.

The standing army which is the core of the armed forces, has the heavy responsibility of building up the reserves, the people's militia and self-defence units. Therefore, our army must actively participate in the military work in the localities where it quarters, seriously contribute to the setting up and training of the local armed forces, the protection of order and security, and have its plan of close co-ordination with these forces in case of fighting.

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Man and weapons that make the armed forces are inseparable from society. The people and the rears are an inexhaustible source of men and weapons for the armed forces and national defence. To hold that man, that the moral factor — and not weapons — is the decisive factor, is to speak of man within the framework of a given society with its political and economic foundation. The triumph in a war means the triumph of a social regime over another, of a class over another. To endow the armed forces with highly combative elements, we must foster men right within their social framework, complete their formation — economic, political, cultural, psychological, etc. — right in the bosom of the society where they live. In this way, the vitality of the armed forces is dependent first of all on the rears which, concurrently with other factors, decide victory in every war. Our socialist

system is a most beautiful social regime which makes all the activities converge to the same aim, that is to serve the people's interests: this is the most important guarantee for the bringing up of revolutionary armymen endowed with political consciousness, staunch morale, good health and lofty ideal. Before, during and after the military service these men are masters of the society, makers and upholders of the happiness of the society as well as of their own. This is the basis of the firm single-mindedness of our army and people.

However, this basis by itself does not give those who are or will be in the revolutionary armed forces all-round abilities. Our regime is sound, but the socialist construction is replete with many difficulties, chiefly at the beginning of the transitional period and particularly in a backward agricultural country like ours where construction is being carried out in half the country and war is raging in the other half. The progress of co-operativization, the condition of crops, the output of production, the founding and development of state farms, factories, schools, etc., have a close bearing on everybody, the armed forces, life, the material and moral reinforcement of the armed forces themselves as well as on their bases in the rear. A more direct effect is exerted by the application of the policies with regard to the armymen in the rear. The correct implementation of the Party's policies concerning the spiritual and material interests of the armymen serving with the colours or demobilized and disabled soldiers, those died on the field of honour, soldiers of the regular army or others, etc. works like

a powerful stimulus upon the morale of the army. Besides, the propaganda, education and satisfactory fulfilment of the task of national defence and military service, combined with the education in patriotism, love for the regime and army, the spirit of proletarian internationalism and of vigilance, the readiness in fighting, etc., are important guarantees for the building up of the army, and the strengthening of national defence.

Thus, only by consolidating the political single-mindedness of the people, striving to build socialism, and correctly carrying out every Party's policy, can we strengthen our regime and directly work for the training of men in our armed forces, create the best conditions to make them an invincible force spiritually and materially.

As regards the army, once we are deeply convinced that man is the decisive factor, we must strengthen the solidarity between the army and the people, closely link the civil activities with the military ones, and participate in the building of the rear in every field. This is also a question of principle in the setting up of the army.

Born of the people and tended by them, the army must unceasingly affirm its fighting standpoint "to be in the service of the people". It is from the people that springs the latent power which makes the army invincible. If it remains faithful to its ideal "to be in the service of the people" it will have in itself the power which makes it invincible. Therefore, only by participating in the strengthening of the rear in every field, can the army materialize its ideal "to be

in the service of the people" and create new conditions for the development of the latent fighting power that it must draw in its turn from the people and the rear.

Our army must participate in the big political movements launched among the people, rouse them for a strict application of the Party's lines, guiding principles and policies in the socialist transformation and construction in the North at present, and contribute to the strengthening of the solidarity and political single-mindedness between the Party, State and people, between the army and the people.

Our army must practically participate in productive labour, economic building, contribute to help poor and backward North Vietnam advance to socialism step by step, secure a modern industry, a modern agriculture, and advanced culture and science, in order to raise the people's living standard and the national defence potential; only in this way, can it strengthen its class position — that of the proletariat — its viewpoint on labour and on the mass, so many essential factors to increase the fighting power of the army.

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The revisionists having put forth fallacious theses on weapons and man, the study of the problem of relations between man and weapons and the thorough understanding of our Party's viewpoint on the people's war and the people's army is most indispensable to firmly grasp and correctly apply the line and guiding principles to build up the army in its growth into a regular and modern army. This also provides the basis for all military studies in our army.

THE CORRECT ROAD TO DEFEND WORLD PEACE

At present, the problem of war and peace is the most burning problem affecting the destiny of thousands of millions of people in the world. Imperialism is by nature bellicose and aggressive. It does not change at all though since the end of World War II up to the present time, there have occurred in the world great events which have changed the balance of forces between revolution and counter-revolution, the forces of socialism have grown ever stronger than those of imperialism, and the forces of peace ever stronger than those of war.

The followers of modern revisionism hold that today the imperialists whose nature changed also want to safeguard world peace; and that the danger of war is created not by the imperialists, but by a certain socialist country which is carrying out an "adventurous" and "bellicose" policy. This viewpoint clearly upsets the truth purposely to embellish imperialism and defend the imperialists' bellicose and aggressive policy.

Any honest man who has been closely following the development of the world situation can see that since

the end of World War II up to the present time the imperialists with the United States in the lead have kindled more than ten aggressive and local wars. World War II had come to an end not long before the French colonialists backed by the American and British imperialists, waged a war to invade Vietnam once more, and the British colonialists carried on an aggressive war to suppress the Malayan revolution; meanwhile, the U.S. imperialists gave assistance to the Chiang Kai-shek clique in their counter-revolutionary war against the Chinese people; the U.S. imperialists and their ilk started an aggressive war against Korea; the French colonialists unleashed an aggressive war against the Algerian people; besides, the imperialists and their henchmen have kindled other aggressive and local wars in the Congo, Laos, South Vietnam, Venezuela, Angola, etc. These facts prove that the bellicose and aggressive nature of the imperialists has not changed.

Over the past 18 years and more, the imperialists headed by the U.S.A. have unceasingly pursued a frantic arms race, set up aggressive military blocs such as NATO, SEATO, CENTO, etc. and established thousands of military bases and positions on the territory of other countries feverishly to prepare for a new world war in order to eliminate the socialist camp at the same time they have waged limited wars and "special wars" with an attempt to suppress the national-liberation movement. The imperialists' race to produce and stockpile nuclear weapons has even aggravated the danger of world war.

But in the present era, the imperialists can no longer rule the roost and launch a world war of their free will. Today as the forces defending world peace have grown stronger than those of war, and aggression, the peoples of various countries have the possibilities to stay the hands of the bellicose imperialists, preventing them from kindling a new world war.

The socialist camp has grown stronger and has become a factor determining the development of human society. The huge political, economic and national defence forces of the socialist camp are strong enough to guarantee the security of the whole camp and deliver back telling blows to the imperialists. If the imperialists venture to attack the socialist camp, the whole world imperialism will be wiped out. On the side of the socialist camp which is struggling against the bellicose and aggressive policy of the imperialists, there are millions upon millions of people of the colonial and dependent and nationalist countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America struggling for independence and freedom; the working class and toiling people in capitalist countries struggling for democracy and socialism; and the other peace-loving forces throughout the world. This situation has created practical possibilities to prevent a new world war and made it become no more a fatal calamity.

The 1960 Moscow Statement has pointed out clearly, "The time has come when the attempts of the imperialists to start a world war, can be curbed. World war can be prevented by the joint efforts of the world socialist camp, the international working class, the

national-liberation movement, all the countries opposing war and all peace-loving forces."

But what have the peoples of various countries to do to translate the possibilities of preventing a world war into realities.

There are two roads before the world's people: one is to kowtow to the imperialists and beg them out of pity not to kindle a nuclear war which will annihilate mankind, pinning one's hopes on the "good will for peace" of the imperialists, or to rely on negotiations and "all-round co-operation" between the socialist countries and the imperialist countries; the other is firmly to struggle against the bellicose and aggressive policy of the U.S.-led imperialists, and carry on a revolutionary struggle to repulse imperialism gradually, defeat it piecemeal, weaken it more and more, bind the bellicose imperialists' feet and hands, and make them unable to kindle a world war.

Facts have clearly shown that the first road cannot prevent a world war, on the contrary it further encourages the imperialists to intensify their provocative activities and speed up their war preparations; only the second road is the correct one to defend world peace.

The Moscow Statement has correctly pointed out that to defend world peace, it is necessary to maintain the greatest vigilance, lay bare every bellicose scheme and plot of the imperialists, mobilize the people throughout the world to struggle resolutely against imperialism, spearhead this struggle against American imperialism, "the main force of aggression and war", demand disarmament, an end to the arms race,

the complete ban and all-out destruction of nuclear weapons, demand the dismantling of various military aggressive blocs and the elimination of various military bases on the soil of other countries, demand the solution of international issues through peaceful negotiations, etc.

The fundamental measure to defend world peace is to speed up the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the movement of revolutionary struggle in capitalist countries, disintegrate the rear of the imperialists and throw confusion into their rank, thus weakening them day by day, causing many difficulties and impediments to them in their preparation for war; at the same time the socialist camp must be reinforced and developed in the political, economic and national defence fields, making the forces of the socialist camp *markedly stronger* than those of the imperialist camp, thereby preventing the imperialists from starting a world war.

The contents of the struggle for world peace cover many aspects: reinforcement of the socialist camp, making revolution to overthrow imperialism and its henchmen where sufficient conditions are available, daily struggle against oppression and exploitation by imperialism, against arms race and for disarmament, carrying on negotiations between various countries to solve the international issues, etc. But whatever may be the form of struggle, whether world peace will be guaranteed or not, and whether a world war will be prevented or not, all that depends in the end on the balance of forces on the international arena.

The essence of the struggle for world peace is the endeavour of the international communist movement to strengthen further the revolutionary forces against imperialism, and the forces against war ; on the other hand, we will strive to make the forces of imperialism, the bellicose and aggressive forces weaker and weaker. Therefore the various revolutions against imperialism, old and new colonialism, carried on under whatever forms (armed struggle, political struggle or armed struggle combined with political struggle), are effective to defend world peace. In the present stage, the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of various countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, against imperialism and old and new colonialism, to reconquer and consolidate their national independence, and disintegrate the rear of imperialism, is a titanic force to defend world peace. Therefore, the assistance and support in all fields offered by the socialist camp and the international working class movement to the national-liberation movement is precisely a practical action having an extremely important significance to defend world peace. The revolutionary struggle is by no means contradictory to the struggle for world peace. Only by closely combining these two aspects of struggle can we defeat the bellicose and aggressive policy of the imperialist, repulse imperialism gradually, defeat it piecemeal, defend world peace, conquer national independence, democracy and socialism.

To develop their important effectiveness with regard to the defence of world peace the socialist countries must not only attach importance to the strengthening

and development of the forces of the whole camp in all fields, but also simultaneously give an active support and assistance to the national-liberation movement and the movement of revolutionary struggle in capitalist countries. This support and assistance is not only a sacred international duty of the socialist camp toward the movement of world revolution but it is also in its own interests ; for the development and triumph of revolutions in other countries can prevent world war, and create favourable conditions for the socialist countries successfully to build socialism and communism.

The followers of modern revisionism hold that in the present era, the appearance of nuclear weapons has changed the nature of war and no difference can be made between just and unjust wars.

The truth is that with the appearance of nuclear weapons, the destruction of a nuclear war is much more serious compared with other wars with conventional weapons, but war is still "the continuation of politics by other means" and the nature of war remains unchanged.

Belligerence and aggression is the fundamental policy of the imperialists. However the use of nuclear weapons does not depend on the free will of the imperialists, but on the balance of forces in the world and on the situation obtaining in places where the imperialists are carrying on wars. The objective of the imperialists when starting a war is to grasp markets, rob the super-profits in colonies, and not to exterminate everything. In the aggressive wars kindled by the imperialists in Asia, Africa and Latin America

since the end of World War II up to the present time, the U.S.-led imperialists dare not use nuclear weapons, this is due not only to their fear that the world's people will rise up to eliminate the whole of imperialism, but also to the fact that the use of nuclear weapons is contradictory to their aim of grabbing markets. Moreover in these wars the troops of the aggressive imperialists and the armed forces of the people opposing aggression fight intercalatively, therefore the imperialists dare not use nuclear weapons; if they do so, their troops will be eliminated too. In the case of the struggle of the peoples of imperialist countries, it is even more impossible for the monopoly capitalists to use nuclear weapons to suppress revolution. Therefore the viewpoint holding that a spark of fire of a national-liberation war or of any civil war can lead to a nuclear war is utterly groundless.

In present conditions, the balance of forces in the world has changed, the imperialists fear that they will be eliminated too once they use nuclear weapons to attack the socialist camp. Therefore they divide wars into three categories: world war, limited war and special war. The immediate goal of the imperialists is to use special and limited wars to suppress the national-liberation movement in order to consolidate their rear in Asia, Africa, and Latin America; at the same time through the medium of the followers of modern revisionism they carry out their "peace strategy" to split and sabotage the socialist camp and try to corrupt the socialist countries politically and ideologically to the extent that the latter will restore capitalism, thus making the balance of forces in the world

tip in favour of the imperialists in their scheme of starting a world war. To consolidate their rear and at the same time weaken the socialist camp in order to start a world war, is the perfidious bellicose and aggressive plot of the U.S.-led imperialists.

Therefore, to prevent a world war, the peoples of various countries must speed up the national-liberation movement and the revolutionary movement in capitalist countries, disintegrate the rear of the imperialists and throw confusion into their lair, thus ever weakening the imperialist forces. Meanwhile, the countries in the socialist camp must reinforce and develop the forces of the whole camp in all fields, and strengthen it unceasingly. Only by so doing can world peace be defended.

All wars — world war, limited war and special war — kindled by the imperialists for the selfish interests of a handful of monopoly capitalists are unjust wars, whereas the wars for national liberation, the revolutionary wars waged by the oppressed peoples, working class and toiling people in various countries against the imperialists and monopoly capitalists to achieve liberation, or the self-defence wars of the socialist countries against the aggressive wars started by the imperialists, and reactionary bourgeois in other countries, for the protection of the achievements of revolution, are just wars.

The communist longs for peace but does not advocate bourgeois pacifism: he therefore does not oppose war in a general meaning, but opposes unjust wars

and enthusiastically supports just wars. Only by energetically fighting against the preparation and the conduct of imperialist wars of all sizes and types (world war, limited war and special war) and keenly supporting the just wars which include national-liberation war, revolutionary war of the peoples of capitalist countries and wars for self-defence put up by the socialist countries, can the world's people secure a genuine democratic peace.

At present the world peace movement is effective in preventing a new world war but this does not mean that the danger of war is definitively averted. So long as imperialism exists, there exists hotbeds for aggressive wars. To abolish wars, it is necessary to wage the revolution in order to wipe out imperialism gradually until it disappears altogether, that is to suppress the source of war. Only when socialism triumphs all over the world can the social and national causes of all wars be eradicated.

General disarmament is a concrete slogan of struggle encouraging the peoples throughout the world to oppose the imperialists' arms race policy, prevent war and defend world peace. In the present conditions, the balance of forces between the revolution and counter-revolution in the world has changed and therefore it is possible for the people of various countries to compel the imperialists to carry out disarmament step by step. The 1960 Moscow Statement said clearly, "Through an active, determined struggle by the socialist and other peace-loving countries, by the international working class and the broad masses in all countries, it is possible to isolate the aggressive

circles, foil the arms race and war preparation, and force the imperialists into an agreement on general disarmament".

However, while the imperialists refuse to disarm, the socialist countries should strengthen their national defence forces, including the increase of their superiority in nuclear weapons, in order more effectively to defend the security of all the socialist camp and world peace. The strengthening of national defence of the whole socialist camp in the present-day conditions tallies entirely with the interests of all this camp and of the peoples throughout the world, because this is precisely a positive method to defend the socialist camp and prevent world war. On the contrary, all policies and actions aimed at weakening the national defence force of all the socialist camp in fact profit the imperialists and aggravate the danger of world war.

Nuclear weapons have a tremendous destructive effect but are not themselves the source of modern war. The source of war is imperialism. To abolish war radically, it is necessary to suppress the causes of war, that is to wage the revolution for the liquidation of imperialism.

The struggle put up at present by the world's people for disarmament and the banning of nuclear weapons is an indispensable contribution to the prevention of world war. Thanks to the resolute and persevering struggle of the socialist camp and world's people, the imperialists can be compelled to agree to a complete prohibition and all-out destruction of nuclear weapons

as well as their means of delivery, and to accept disarmament; nevertheless, this does not mean that the danger of the wars waged with conventional weapons can be discarded, because the warlike policy draws its origin from the economic basis of imperialism. Only by carrying out the revolution to eradicate imperialism can general disarmament be realized all-sidedly and all sources of war be suppressed.

Peaceful co-existence between countries of different social and political systems is an objective necessity in the present epoch. Owing to the effect of the law of irregular development of capitalism, the revolution cannot break out and triumph simultaneously in all countries, hence in a certain historical period, apart from the countries in which socialist revolution has triumphed, capitalist or nationalist countries still exist. In the socialist countries there are no social classes and strata which have their interests linked with war and use aggressive war as a means to make profit; that is why these countries never advocate war against any countries to expand their power. In the relationship between the countries of different social and political systems, the socialist countries advocate the implementation of the policy of peaceful co-existence laid down in the following five principles: 1. Mutual respect of sovereignty and territorial integrity; 2. Non-aggression; 3. Non-intervention in internal affairs of other countries; 4. Equality and mutual benefit; 5. Peaceful co-existence.

Peaceful co-existence between countries of different social systems is a form of class struggle in the poli-

tical, economic and ideological fields in which political struggle plays the leading role and bears a decisive significance.

The imperialists never give up their scheme of annihilating the socialist countries and are never willing to live peacefully side by side with them. Therefore to carry out peaceful co-existence between countries of different systems, the socialist countries cannot hope to persuade the imperialists into listening to reason and coexisting peacefully with them; on the contrary, they must fight stubbornly against the warlike and aggressive policy of the U.S.-led imperialists; on the other hand, the oppressed peoples and peoples of capitalist countries must struggle to check and wreck the warlike and aggressive schemes of the imperialists, especially they must wage the revolution to repulse imperialism gradually and defeat it piecemeal in order to gain national independence, democracy and socialism, weaken the imperialists and compel them to coexist peacefully with the socialist countries. Consequently, peaceful co-existence and revolutionary struggle do not oppose but promote each other.

The 1960 Moscow Statement pointed out, "In conditions of peaceful co-existence, favourable opportunities are provided for the development of the class struggle in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries. In their turn, the successes of the revolutionary class and national-liberation struggle promote peaceful co-existence".

Peaceful co-existence is one side of the struggle for world peace. However, a communist cannot attribute the whole content of the struggle for peace to peaceful co-existence and cannot regard this co-existence as the common line of the foreign policy of the socialist countries; still less he cannot regard it as the path leading to socialism on a world-wide scale, and the key of the strategy of the struggle for socialism on a world-wide scale.

The common line of the foreign policy of a socialist country must include three principal points:

— To carry out mutual assistance and co-operation in comradeship between the brother socialist countries;

— To struggle against the warlike and aggressive policy of the imperialists; to implement the five principles of peaceful co-existence between the countries of different political and social systems;

— To support actively and help wholeheartedly the movement for national liberation and the movement of revolutionary struggle of the working class and toiling people of capitalist countries.

Of course, in the struggle for peace and peaceful co-existence, if necessary, the socialist countries may carry out negotiations and come to some compromises with the imperialist countries, but these should be done in a principled way that is to say they must start from the permanent basic interests of the revolution and rely on the fighting force of the people of various

countries. Unprincipled negotiations and compromises—which do not take into consideration the interests of the revolution and do not rely on the movement of struggle of the masses—are but harmful to the revolution and world peace. In such a case, the more good-will we show in negotiations, the more aggressive the imperialists become, the more concessions we make, the more encroaching they become, so peaceful co-existence is not possible and world peace not guaranteed.

At present, the Vietnamese people are simultaneously carrying out two strategic tasks: to wage socialist revolution in a radical way and build socialism in the North and to achieve the national people's democratic revolution in the South.

The fulfilment of these two tasks is of course an active contribution of our people to the defence of peace in South-East Asia and the world.

In radically carrying out socialist revolution and building socialism in the North, our people will strengthen and develop the force of the North in every field—political, economic and national defence—in order to make the North a firm basis for the struggle for liberation waged by our compatriots in the South. This also aims at strengthening the outpost of the socialist camp in South-East Asia to defend world peace.

The energetic and steadfast struggle waged by our southern compatriots against the U.S. imperialists and their stooges to achieve the national people's democratic revolution is an active contribution to the defence of peace in South-East Asia and the world.

The aggressive war of a special type unleashed at present by U.S. imperialism in the south of our country is a part of the scheme of preparation for world war worked out by the imperialist warmongers. The U.S. imperialists pursue this "special war" to draw experiences for application in the repression of the national-liberation movement of other countries in order to strengthen their rear and wage a new world war. The resolution of our people to fight until victory and to foil the "special war" policy of U.S. imperialism is in fact a positive measure to frustrate the U.S. imperialists' plan of preparation for world war. Notwithstanding the many difficulties and hardships encountered, the struggle for liberation put up by our compatriots in the South will certainly win final victory, because this just struggle has been enthusiastically approved and supported by the people of North Vietnam, of the socialist countries and the peace-loving peoples throughout the world; owing to the ever sharper contradictions in their rank and the unremitting struggle put up by the peoples of various countries, the U.S. imperialists are more and more weakened and their defeat will be inevitable.

In a word, at present, the correct road followed by our people as well as by the peoples of other countries to safeguard world peace is not the road of class compromise, of giving up revolutionary struggle and begging imperialism for peace, but in fact the road of struggle against U.S.-led imperialism to secure peace. World peace is genuinely defended only when the world's people are closely united, fight energetically

against the warlike and aggressive policy of the U.S.-led imperialists and wage revolutionary struggle in order to repulse imperialism gradually and defeat it piecemeal so that it will become weaker and the force of the revolution and of world peace stronger with every passing day.

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